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Is The Inner Healing Movement in Lithuania a Local Religious Response to the Cultural Trauma of Socialism?

This article analyses the pattern of emergence of religious healing movements after society or community goes through periods of totalitarian rule. Totalitarian rule produces so called cultural trauma, which is being transmitted to the next generations. Religious healing movements seem to tackle the issue in religious manner. Authors demonstrate that the pattern itself is found cross-culturally. However, the article focuses on particular religious movement called the Inner Healing movement in Post-Soviet Lithuania. Through the analysis of psychological and social anthropological theories of cultural and transgenerational trauma the authors reveal how the Inner Healing movement can be analysed as society's attempt to treat the collective trauma produced by the totalitarian rule of Soviet regime. Analysis of the Inner Healing movement through the theory of cultural and transgenerational trauma provides an explanation why the Catholic Charismatic movement which is well known globally, in post-totalitarian Lithuania rapidly underwent modulation towards the local Inner Healing movement, which concentrate all its teaching around the healing aspect of Christianity.

Šiame straipsnyje palyginamuoju metodu nagrinėjamas fenomenas, kai visuomenėse, kurios patyrė totalitarinę priespaudą, ima rastis religiniai judėjimai, susitelkę į išgydimo diskursą ir praktikas. Straipsnyje ši tendencija atskleidžiama lyginant įvairias pototalitarines visuomenes. Šio fenomeno iliustravimui autoriai pasitelkia Lietuvoje veikiantį Vidinio išgydymo judėjimą. Analizuodami judėjimo turinį ir pasitelkdami pavyzdžius iš lauko tyrimų medžiagos, jie atskleidžia, kad Vidinio išgydymo judėjimo atsiradimą, ko gero, geriausia suprasti pasitelkiant kultūrinės ir transgeneracinės traumos teoriją. Toks požiūris iš dalies paaiškina ir spartų gerai žinomo Katalikų charizminio atsinaujinimo virsmą į Vidinio išgydymo judėjimą. Straipsnyje, remiantis kultūrinės ir transgeneracinės traumos teorija, mėginama atsakyti į klausimą, kodėl konkretus globalus judėjimas, pasiekęs pototalitarinį regioną, staiga įgavo savitą vietinį pavidalą ir virto į judėjimą, sutelkiantį savo teologinį mokymą ir praktikas į išgydymo diskursą.

Introduction

After the collapse of the Soviet Union Lithuania have witnessed an advance of new religious movements along with different healing movements. All this marked a significant transformation of religious milieu. Judging from anthropological perspective the Catholic Church tradition in Lithuania underwent development and transformation of vast proportions. First, the advent of Pentecostal Christianity in a form of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal (CCR) created a mode of "urban" middle class Catholicism that contrasted with rural Catholic tradition. Then the CCR took an unprecedented local turn towards a set of ideas and practices that currently is known under the name of Inner Healing movement (IHM). The IHM exceeded the boundaries of mere Pentecostal Christianity as well as the limits of exclusively urban phenomenon. In roughly ten years, it spread all over the country and became an established discourse and practice of "popular" Catholicism, both in urban and rural environments.

The phenomenon of the IHM and the scale of change that it brought to the Lithuanian Catholic milieu is unprecedented. Nevertheless, the movement has still not been researched anthropologically neither in Lithuania nor in other countries. There is a need of thorough anthropological analysis to understand what triggered the emergence of the IHM as a phenomenon. The study of the IHM can reveal the complexity of sociocultural settings of Lithuanian post-totalitarian society and how it is trying to recover from trauma of Socialism through religious means.

The aim of this article is to reveal that the phenomenon of the Inner Healing movement is a local religious reaction and response to the trauma of totalitarianism.

The object of this research is the Inner Healing movement in the context of the theory of cultural trauma.

To achieve the aim of the article, following objectives will be met:

1. To describe briefly what is the Inner Healing movement and how it emerged from its "mother" phenomenon – the Catholic Charismatic Renewal.

2. To set the theoretical framework of historical/cultural trauma and trauma of totalitarianism combining anthropological and psychological theories.

3. To make a short comparative analysis of healing movements after totalitarianism.

4. To align empirical data on the IHM with the theoretical framework of historical/cultural trauma and to ask if the initial statement described in the aim of the article is valid.

What is the Inner Healing Movement?

The concept of the Inner Healing emerged in Lithuania in 1997 at the latest. People from the Catholic Charismatic Renewal started talking about it around the campfires

describing strange religious practices in the CCR communities located in the mountains of Slovakia and elsewhere. In those communities CCR prayer and ritual practices focused on prayer sessions during which people went through their past traumatic experiences, sometimes reaching as far as the time of childhood and even embryo state, facing painful realities and forgiving. Due to the deep analysis of personal experiences during the healing-aimed prayer sessions, this phenomenon became known as the Inner Healing (IH). Soon it became one of the most discussed issues in the Lithuanian CCR milieu; it gradually turned into the most frequently practiced type of CCR prayer in Lithuania. Local CCR conferences and public rallies took a great interest in the topic. In 2000, crowds of people attended anything associated with the IHM. It all accelerated when CCR organisation invited to Lithuania a priest from India Fr. Rufus Pereira, who was an official exorcist at his diocese and "expert" on Inner Healing. During his visits, churches where he spoke were overcrowded and his seminars were fully booked three months in advance. The local archbishop, seeing churches literally packed with people, said with astonishment: "This is like in the times of Jesus"[1]. The popularity of the IH teaching became so immense that a special genre of the (somewhat controversial) Catholic Mass (so called "Healing Mass") emerged in a number of parishes.[2] In late 2000s, while giving lectures on the anthropology of ritual and discussing matters of Christianity with Catholic students, the authors of this article had noticed that a language of contemporary popular piety became much dominated by the vocabulary, discourses and ideas of the IHM.[3] Moreover, IH discourses in Lithuania have exceeded the Pentecostal framework and have become an inseparable element of regular parochial lay activity. Significant number of parishes in Lithuania now have monthly Inner Healing Mass and parochial Inner Healing circles (many of which are former CCR circles). In addition, IH practices are being appropriated by the institutes of consecrated life. For example, the monastic community of St. John (in Vilnius) utilise elements of IH for the catechetical formation of the lay community.

Today the IHM is well organised and on the big part resembles a psychotherapy with the Pentecostal approach. Trained groups or individuals (usually in pairs) counsel those in need who come with the problem, be it intergenerational ailment or physical disease, depression, repetitive misfortunes, family problems, post-abortion syndrome, addiction, gender identity issues etc. Almost anything can be moulded to fit the IH operational field thanks to the specific process of narrative construction. The process sometimes is being helped by the questionnaire which has to be filled in advance of the counselling – prayer session. This questionnaire draws a sketch of the narrative, which allows to make the diagnosis of a particular "spiritual wound". Broadly defined healing

1 At least four informants confirmed Archbishop saying this.

2 Catholic hierarchy swiftly reacted and suppressed the tendency of developing the sub-genre of the Catholic Mass.

3 Both authors taught a subject of "Liturgical anthropology" at the Faculty of Catholic theology of Vytautas Magnus University.

process is based on the content of the constructed narrative. The healing process itself is a sequence of (free of charge) counselling sessions during which personal issues are being extensively tackled. Pentecostal ritual practices (e.g. intercession prayers, prayers in tongues, prayers of deliverance and using "spiritual gifts", like the "discernment of spirits", "word of wisdom", "prophesy", "word of knowledge" etc.) follow each counselling session.

The IHM is the late local development of the CCR in the Eastern Europe.[4] Thus, the very origin of this movement is Catholic Pentecostal. Studies of Thomas Csordas, Meredith McGuire, Richard J. Bord and Joseph E. Foulkner so far stand out as the most comprehensive anthropological accounts of the Western CCR.[5] Writing in 80s and 90s, neither of them use a notion of "inner healing". Nevertheless, their studies grasp the emergence of the trend. Csordas gives ethnographic examples of the CCR practice called the "healing of memories" – the name of the early healing practice which later came to be known as part of "inner healing" process.[6] Bord and Foulkner assume that: "as the CCR matured, then, the gift of healing has come to the forefront."[7] Observation of Lithuanian CCR development confirms the tendency, as majority of CCR prayer meetings in the Country have gradually turned into what was called the Inner Healing prayer meetings. This apparently was not just a "maturation" but rather a turn towards the healing discourse in the Catholic Church. Moreover, the emphasis on the healing capacity of Christianity seems to be escaping the initial discursive constrains of the Pentecostal Catholicism (initially conditioned by the broader unfamiliarity with the movement and institutional suspicion) and becomes the global trend as well as the element of a popular Catholic piety.

Somewhat striking, however, is the fact that the pace of discursive modulation of CCR towards the healing practice as a separate religious genre, accelerated specifically in the post-Socialist Eastern Europe. Even more, closer observation shows that Lithuania served as a platform for the IHM to establish and migrate to Latvia, Belarus, Ukraine and even Kazakhstan. However, it seems that Slovakian CCR prayer groups and communities were the first to develop constant Inner Healing practices. Overall, while the big names in the CCR were mostly American and Western European, it appears that the main schools and currents of IHM are exclusively Eastern European and specifically of the post-Socialist region.

[4] Saulius Matulevičius, "From Pentecost to 'Inner Healing': Religious Change and Pentecostal Developments in the Post-Socialist Lithuanian Catholic Milieu", In *Approaching Religion* 5, No. 1 (2015), 67–78, seen 2019 01 25, https://doi.org/10.30664/ar.67564.

[5] Thomas J. Csordas, *The Sacred Self: A Cultural Phenomenology of Charismatic Healing* (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1997) and *Language Charisma and Creativity: The Ritual Life of a Religious Movement* (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1997); Richard J. Bord and Joseph E. Foulkner, *The Catholic Charismatics: The Anatomy of a Modern Religious Movement* (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1983); Meredith B. McGuire, *Pentecostal Catholics: Power, Charisma, and Order in a Religious Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982).

[6] Csordas, *The Sacred Self*, 74–141.

[7] Bord and Foulkner, *The Catholic Charismatics*, 93.

The Concept of Historical / Cultural Trauma in Social Anthropology and Psychology. The Theoretical Framework

1. Defining Trauma

It can be suggested that the CCR in Lithuania modulated towards the IH to respond to regional social realities, namely a sense of trauma related to the recent historical past of Soviet occupation. This trauma is shared by significant part of the population. This premise is based on anthropological, psychiatric and psychological research on collective trauma and the dynamics of its personal and collective experience.

Scholars of psychiatry were the first to focus on psychological dimension of human suffering. They gradually developed a theory of suffering experiences and expressions distinct from those of so-called hysteria. At the end of the 19th century John Eric Erichsen was the first to describe clinical symptoms manifested by the people who suffered accidents. However, the path to the idea of trauma was paved by neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot. He studied people who suffered railway accidents and came to conclusion that they suffer a different kind of hysteria-like symptoms, which are most likely related to the activity of micro lesions of spinal cord. German psychiatrist Hermann Oppenheim studying the same phenomenon came up with the idea of "trauma neurosis". Charcot developed further the notion of "trauma neurosis" separating it from the notion of hysteria, although, relating both of them exclusively to biological causes. It was Sigmund Freud and Pierre Janet who attributed the notions of hysteria and trauma to psychological causes. Moreover, what Freud and Pierre came up with was exactly what social and cultural anthropological theory insist on that "psychological trauma is not only the organism's reaction to an external event; it is integral to the way the psyche functions. Thus, the traumatic (…) is already present even before the event causes it to manifest itself."[8] According to Freud, trauma is an economic meaning in a sense that the disturbance permanently attacks the management of available energy. Traumatic experience can be stated when in a very short time span some human experience "increases the energy of a given stimulus so enormously that its assimilation or rather its elaboration can no longer be effected by normal means".[9] The shift in the theory of trauma from biological determinism to psychological causes was grounded in the idea that the traumatic event affects and stimulates areas of psychological framework, which are somewhat "naturally" designed to be stimulated. Yet, when this happens too fast and the stimulus is too great it generates excessive energy that is the traumatic experience.

That is exactly what anthropological theory is emphasising, although, from somewhat different perspective. This supposedly "naturally" designed psychological setting

[8] Didier Fassin and Richard Rechtman, *The Empire of Trauma: An Inquiry into the Condition of Victimhood* (Princeton University Press, 2009), 33.

[9] Sigmund Freud, „The General Theory of Neuroses" in *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis* (New York: Horace Liveright, 1920), 237–238.

is no other thing than the "cultural" nurture which pre-sets people to respond to some stimuli more than to the other. Stimulating or overstimulating those sociocultural pre-settings or braking those boundaries is exactly what generates experiences, which are called "traumatic". Very simple example would be nomadic societies vs settled life-style societies. Events which would force agrarian society to shift from sedentary to nomadic lifestyle would likely generate traumatic experience of displacement because the event affects their cultural pre-setting, values, mythology, calendar lifecycle revolving around harvest season and everything relating to their "normal" and safe life under settled conditions. However, the same conditions would likely much less affect nomadic society and unlikely generate the same experience of displacement, because they are displaced all the time yet at the same time they are at home everywhere. Mircea Eliade speculated that nomads bring their centre of the universe with them everywhere they go, while the centre of the universe for sedentary societies is permanently fixed in permanent place.[10] On the other hand, the loss of egalitarian lifestyle have been proven devastating for nomadic tribes, yet, many agrarian societies managed to suffer through centuries of the rule of serfdom which occasionally would have become a form of slavery.[11] In addition, female subordination to male might be much more traumatic experience to the Western woman then to some woman of non-Western societies. Mainly because the Christianised West is nurtured by the idea that all people are born free in the face of God and individual freedom is our natural right. On the other hand, this "problem" of individual freedom would never have occurred to, say, ordinary people of China where everyone is born as a subject of either a sovereign (in the past) or the state (currently). The main difficulty that the Chinese state has with Hong Kong to this day has roots in the fact that Hong Kong was ruled by the culturally Christian British Government for 150 years. Current protests against the Chinese rule in Hong Kong come from a clash of cultural values and respective traumatic experiences. The way Chinese people adopt to survive their subjugation is not by challenging the sovereign rule with an intention to break free from it but by adjusting to their cultural dependency matrix (that is by moving upwards almost 5000 years old matrix of bureaucratic inter-dependencies which enables an individual to break free from one particular dependency only to subject oneself to the higher one). It is a complex process of obtaining protection from higher officials, bribing and acquiring your own subjects and debtors in the hierarchy of power relations. The lack of Western notion of individual freedom is an unlikely source for traumatic experience there.

[10] Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987).

[11] David F. Aberlee in his exhaustive study on Navajo peyotism argues that there is a direct correlation between the governmental reduction of livestock among Navajos and joining of peyote religious movement, which is the fastest growing post-colonial religious movement among Native American nations. See: David F. Aberlee, *The Peyote Religion Among the Navaho* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 252–277.

Therefore, judging from Anthropological perspective, one can assert that the realisation of what is traumatic in a psychiatric sense is not necessarily universally existent. Different societies may and do experience trauma differently and for different reasons. What is to become traumatic in particular society depends on a complex matrix of cultural meanings (in a Geertzsian sense). What is even more important is that native cultural settings often appear to possess means to respond to trauma, especially collective trauma. Seemingly, those means often provide a more adequate response than the psychiatric approach based on biomedicine model. For example, traditional religious practices (like sweet lodge or peyote ceremony in Native America) are successfully used for the post-traumatic treatment.[12] It is increasingly admitted that the local cultural therapeutic means can efficiently contribute to the conventional trauma-treating procedures.

Alexander Hinton in his article "Terror and Trauma in the Cambodian Genocide" demonstrates how Cambodian mythology and even the 19th century religious prophesies enabled people to respond and activate culturally pre-set mechanisms of survival during the horrifying communist terror of Pol Pot and his Khmer Rouge. The response was a "Puth" prophesy. It was highly symbolic, understandable only to people nurtured within Cambodian Buddhism. Hinton writes: "Puth was a nineteenth-century sage who prophesied that the country would undergo a total reversal of traditional values, that the houses and the streets would be emptied, that the illiterate would condemn the educated, that infidels (thmils) would hold absolute power and persecute the priests. But people would be saved if they planted a kapok tree."[13]

Local interpretation of this myth was that to plant a "kapok" tree (which has a hollow trunk) means to become deaf and mute in the face of calamity of communist terror.[14] The myth asserts above all else the evils of "total reversal of traditional values" which is to become the source of collective trauma. The myth at the same time provides means for surviving this cultural calamity. Hinton also demonstrates how Cambodians deal with what is currently called post-traumatic stress disorder or PTSD and why conventional Western biomedical psychiatric approach would be insufficient. Many of his informants suffer from inner "choking" anger and hatred and "feeling hot" towards those who took part in the terror. However, Buddhist ethics of balance and peace prevent them from taking revenge (also, revenge is forbidden by the state). To alleviate the anger people resort to traditional medicine which is a combination of local Buddhist spirituality, shamanistic practices, esoteric beliefs as well as practices directly related to and explainable by the Western medicine. The same approach is

[12] See: Joseph D. Calabrese, *A Different Medicine: Postcolonial Healing in the Native American Church* (Oxford University Press, 2013); Raymond A. Bucko, *The Lakota Ritual of the Sweat Lodge: History and Contemporary Practice* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

[13] Alexander Hinton, "Terror and Trauma in the Cambodian Genocide", in *Understanding Trauma: Integrating Biological, Clinical, and Cultural Perspectives*, ed. L. Kirmayer, R. Lemelson, & M. Barad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2007), 433–450.

[14] Yathay Pin, *Stay Alive, My Son* (New York: Touchstone, 1987), 63.

used towards anxiety disorder. Overall, their paradigm of healing revolves around the restoration of the balance in the body and soul.[15]

Anthropologist Allan Young, who studies the social construction of PTSD confirms the idea that trauma as a social-cultural construction is generated by the pre-settings of social, cultural meanings and values. However, he makes a very important point that various memories or experiences only develop into trauma if there is a ground for cultural (epistemological) narration of them as of those leading into trauma. In the West, psychiatry often plays a big role in helping people (in Young's studies these are war veterans) to integrate their experiences into coherent narrative by using PTSD concepts and vocabulary.[16] In non-Western societies, different experiences are narrated to fit local wisdom, religious ethics and values, etc. Young suggest that those supposedly traumatic experiences, which cannot be narrated or cannot find a narrative expression in either way, remain repressed and might not at all be experienced through the trauma narrative. Jean Piaget interestingly noticed children's peculiar way of dealing with overwhelming experiences by re-enacting those experiences again and again in a repetitive symbolic play.[17] The same technique is widely used by archaic societies, only in more elaborate and complex fashion. For example, famous Lakota holy man Nicolas Black Elk relates about the mystical vision he had in his youth, and the necessity to re-enact it in a symbolic and theatrical way.[18] From these examples (to mention just a few) a conclusion can be made that every traumatic experience "reaches" for a tangible ritualistic expression, without which it cannot be realized, perceived as an integral part of human journey, and healed. Based on these observations it can be argued that one of the important goals of ritual activity is theatrical symbolic re-enactment of what is perceived as the most dramatic, overwhelming, or even traumatic facts of reality.[19] Thus, IH prayer sessions are very often invoking the long forgotten past images and experiences with the purpose of re-living them in a dramatic symbolic way here and now. On the other hand, it is easy to imagine how individual traumas, if opportunities of such ritualistic therapeutic re-enactments are not provided, are repressed, and become ever-growing transgenerational burden, which asks for particular psycho-analytically oriented attention and depth-healing.

2. Transgenerational Trauma and Healing Movements as Post-Traumatic Developments

In 2014, a new study on cultural trauma by Gražina Gudaitė and Murray Stein was published.[20] Both authors are psychologists working in the area of psychology of traumas.

[15] Hinton, *Terror and Trauma in the Cambodian Genocide.*

[16] Allan Young, *The Harmony of Illusions: Inventing Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 225–229.

[17] J. Piaget and I. Barbel, *The Psychology of the Child* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), 59–60.

[18] John G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2014).

[19] B. Ulevičius, *Dieviškasis žaidimas: liturginio amąstymo apmatai* (Vilnius: Aidai, 2009).

[20] Gražina Gudaitė and Murray Stein, *Confronting Cultural Trauma: Jungian Approaches to Understanding and Healing* (New Orleans, Louisiana: Spring Journal, Inc., 2014).

While reading the book one can wonder about the striking similarities of narratives of trauma of their clients and of those involved in the IHM. According to Gudaitė, traumatic experiences are usually suppressed in first generation by activating psychological defence mechanisms. Yet, if unresolved it passes on to another generation. It is usually the second and third (and forth) generations that seek therapy. Gudaitė writes: "A great deal of evidence is available to support the claim that the consequences of trauma linger for a long time after a traumatic event and that survivors of trauma not only show symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder but also experience a much wider spectrum of difficulties related to emotional adaptation, relationship, and identity. Insecurity and mistrust, tendencies to act out suppressed anger, a high prevalence of self-destructive behaviour, the lack of initiative in making decisions – these and other symptoms are among the consequences of trauma. Studies have shown that unresolved trauma can influence somatic illness (…). Studies (…) have revealed that victims often see themselves as powerless, inferior, non-existent, and without future."[21]

Moreover, according to Gudaitė there is a body of evidence that unresolved cultural trauma might pass from one generation to another, and influence lives of individuals, as well as groups. She writes: "Hundreds of studies have shown that the next generation of survivors of collective trauma tend to absorb some of the psychological burdens of their parents and grandparents. The traumatised parent can instil his or her own emotional insecurity into offspring. Internalisation of parental stress, frightening perceptions of external reality, and unconscious guilt increase the vulnerability to stressful events in the next generations".[22] Likewise, M. Stein points out that "research (…) conducted within the populations of cultures that were severely traumatised both by war and by tyranny in the secretive areas of the Soviet Union has made it clear that the effects of collective traumas linger markedly in to succeeding generations.[23]

The very first time psychology encountered the fact of cultural trauma being passed on to other generations was in the cases of Holocaust survivors and their children and grandchildren. These studies have expanded discovering same trends in post Socialist, postcolonial and post totalitarian societies. Evidence of shared sense of individual and collective trauma passing on to next generations comes from the Baltics, Germany, post-Apartheid South Africa, Russia, Japan (modernisation trauma) and post-conquest Americas.[24] All of these studies claim that feelings of insecurity, apathy, nothingness, sense of having "no future", depression, alcoholism and other forms of addiction and self-destructive behaviour are common to the particular generations, which experienced trauma of totalitarianism, as well as to their descendants.

This seems to resonate well with anthropological studies within the fields of post-Socialism and post-totalitarianism. For Cambodian people "planting a kapok tree" was

21 Gudaitė, *Confronting Cultural Trauma*, 1–2.
22 Ibid, 2.
23 Ibid, 7.
24 Ibid.

merely an element of their culture, merely one saying among many other. Yet it laid hidden within the Cambodian culture as a survival mechanism. It has been activated to respond to the extreme violence of Communist rule, which attempted to overturn cultural foundations of the Cambodian society. Parents taught their children to "plant a kapok tree" to survive. If there is no one to help them to "unroot" the "kapok tree" it is going to be "planted" throughout generations as if it were their daily life, part of their culture.[25]

Piers Vitebsky writing about the problems of reindeer herders in Siberia broadly describes their traumatic experience during Soviet and post-Soviet times and how these experiences affect their present. Although he presents it as a single case, he makes a remark that these problems are similar to all indigenous people of Russian North and Far East. He also notices the trauma being transmitted to the following generations. Vitebsky mentions high levels of depression, suicide rates, alcoholism and self-destructive behaviour as well as "no future" syndrome, that is the inability to adjust nor willingness to go on in life, lack of vision of future. Leaning heavily on psychology Vitebsky articulates discourse of trauma and anticipates the role of psychology in resolving it. However, he is somewhat pessimistic about the possibility of recovery for the people in this remote region.[26]

Nancy Ries in her book "Russian Talk: Culture and Conversation During Perestroika" also notes what we may see as a symptom of transgenerational traumatic experiences. She notes that people she researched use a formula of complaints and whining continuously and repetitively naming their sufferings. She named this formula "litany". The leitmotif in the content of those "litanies", she notes, is strikingly similar to the motifs in works of Anton Chekhov, Bulgakov, Akhmatova and others. Nancy Rise is also baffled by informants' passivity or unwillingness for actions in search for solution; she is also puzzled by their inability to understand that democracy needs time and effort.[27] What she fails to realise, though, is that reciting those "litanies" (if not the entire "Russian talk") is a subconscious act of psychological defence mechanism against the trauma. The process of reciting "litanies" is therapeutic to some extent as the very construction of narrative in this particular way allows the author to distance him/herself from the very narrative one constructs.[28] Reciting the "litany" and performing a "Russian talk" may actually be an attempt to resist trauma rather than seek for solution.

Overall, the overwhelming body of literature on post-Socialism talks about the difficulties that are experienced by people after the collapse of the Socialist/totalitarian regime (and changes towards market economies). The field of psychology of trauma

[25] Pin, *Stay Alive, My Son*, 63.

[26] Piers Vitebski, "Withdrawal from The Land: Social and Spiritual Crisis in the Indigenous Russian Arctic", *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies and Practices in Eurasia* (Routledge, 2002).

[27] Nancy Rice, *Russian Talk: Culture and Conversation `During Perestroika* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997), 188.

[28] Michael White, *Maps of Narrative Practice* (London: W.W. Norton & Co, 2007).

seems to provide a reasonable explanation why these people fail or have difficulties to adjust to the change. As we can see from the example of Vitebski's work, psychology may be of a huge help in attempting to understand social processes of post-Socialist regions and societies. The trauma of living under the Socialism and experiencing its sudden collapse is a shared psychological condition transmitted through generations and resulting in shared cultural condition.

Psychology and anthropology of historical / cultural trauma is a very recent development. It is still long way for it to become widely available to those who suffer from such post-traumatic condition, even in the Western world. That explains the pessimism of Vitebski about a solution in near future for his studied people, living so remotely. However, human psyche under trauma is always in a state of search for escape from it, be it withdrawal from the world or seeking spiritual comfort. It is important to notice, that millenarian religious movements are known to emerge as a result of traumatic experiences. Take for example Ghost Dance of 1890's among North American indigenous tribes. Soon after they were brutally broken, removed from their lands and placed in reserves, the mystic religious movement emerged promising an upcoming resolution of disaster and the return of peace and harmony in a near future. After US troops massacred participants of the movement at the Wounded Knee creek in 1890, cultural trauma seemed to deepen even further.[29] How did Native Americans react? Many made a conscious effort to adopt the "ways of white man". Interestingly, the testimonies about most sincere (and somewhat controversial) conversions of natives to different types of white-brought Christianity reach us right from the beginning of the 20th century. In all of them, a motif of trying to find answers and to acquire a new vision of reality in post-traumatic situation is easily detected.[30] Yet at the same time, shortly after final crushing of traditional way of life of Native tribes, new strong religious movement – "Peyote religion" (today known under the name of "Native American Church") has emerged. It was a unique variation of Native religion, in which Christian teachings and ethics found a genuine Native cultural expression.[31] Despite the opposition from governmental forces, white missionaries and in some cases even tribal authorities, this pan-indian religion soon became the fastest growing Native religion in the US, with some tribes adopting it totally.[32]

[29] See: James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).

[30] Ella Deloria, *Speaking of Indians* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 98–109; Michel F. Steltenkamp, *Black Elk: Holy Man of the Oglala* (Norman & London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993); Mary E. Cochran, *Dakota Cross-Bearer: The Life and World of a Native American Bishop* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); Ross A. Enochs, *The Jesuit Mission to the Lakota Sioux: A Study of Pastoral Ministry, 1886–1945* (Kansas City: Sheed & Ward, 1996).

[31] Omer C. Stewart, *Peyote Religion: A History* (Norman & London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 97; It can be argued, that Peyote religion in many cases can be understood not as a syncretic religion, but as "Christianity in-cultured" (Benas Ulevičius, "Native or Christian: Interaction of Traditions in Peyote Religion", in *Religious Experience and Tradition* (Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, 2012).

[32] A good example – Osages who adopted peyotism as an official tribal religion. See: D. Swan, "Early Osage Peyotism", *Plains Anthropologist* 43 (163), 1998.

It is not an accident that Peyote religion gained the strongest ground in the Great Indian Reservation in Oklahoma – where most of tribes were forcefully relocated. It is no less important that many of early proselytizers of Peyote religion were students of Indian boarding schools, where they learned tenets of Christianity in rather traumatic situation – far from home, staying with students from other tribes, restricted to learning of white man's customs and language under strict rules. Some turned to this new religion after losing faith in the Ghost Dance movement.[33] Having in mind all these traumatic factors, it is only natural, that the Peyote movement laid a great stress on the healing aspects of a peyote ceremony during which hallucinogenic peyote cactus was consumed by participants.[34] Many anthropological and medical studies explore the healing properties of peyote cactus, paying attention to physiological and psychological effects of the plant.[35] However, it is evident from the testimonies of participants that the movement provides much broader spectre of therapeutic means, like experiencing new type of communal relationship, confessing your sins, realizing your past traumas and mistakes, making peace with God and neighbours, and regaining ceremonially expressed value system. Many elements of Peyote ceremony itself may be considered of therapeutic value, like staring at the fire during all night ritual, chanting songs, often consisting of expressive syllables with no semantic value, with the accompaniment of rattle and drum, smelling burned cedar incense and the like. The overall results in many cases are striking: strengthening family relationships, forgiving abusive alcoholic parents, returning to duties of parenthood, recovering from addictions or being miraculously healed from sicknesses, and finally having a vision of life of sobriety, piety, honesty, humbleness, and industriousness. Thus, Joseph D. Calabrese in his study "A Different Medicine: Postcolonial Healing in the Native American Church" calls Peyote religion "indigenous healing/revitalization movement", which "instead on focusing on the transformation of the world through the disappearance of Europeans, focused on personal transformation that would allow one to survive in the post-conquest situation, build a stronger community, and avoid forms of postcolonial disorder."[36]

In Vitebski's ethnography, the pattern is noticeable as well. There are people among reindeer herders in Siberia who are keen on restoration of "culture" (that is overcoming trauma) through shamanistic practices. Healing practice would likely be an important aspect of such practices as in many cases shaman also plays a role of a "medicine man". However, it is reasonable to assume that large-scale therapeutic religious healing movements based on indigenous epistemology are unlikely to occur there because in shamanistic religions healing is rather directly linked to shaman's

[33] Stewart, *Peyote Religion*, 61–67; Calabrese broadens the list of traumatic preconditions going back to the initial stages of conquest and colonialism. See: Calabrese, *A Different Medicine*, 6–7.

[34] Thomas C. Maroukis, *The Peyote Road: Religious Freedom and the Native American Church* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 60–67.

[35] A good example – Anderson's study on Peyote. See: Alan Anderson, *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods* (London: University of California Press, 2010).

[36] Calabrese, *A Different Medicine*, 9.

institution. Yet such large-scale healing movements are possible in Christianity, in which concept of healing is vastly liberalised. The only role that ecclesiastical authority may play in healing practice is a Catholic or Orthodox priest administering sacrament of the sick. Everything else is left to individual's personal relation to God. Exception may occur in case of someone claiming having a gift of healing but even in such cases an institutional constrains may not be necessarily implied (most often they are not). Both clergy and lay people may make the claim of having such a gift. Thus, Christianity seems to be a fertile soil for therapeutic movements to emerge and work as a tool for overcoming cultural trauma.

Lithuania seems to fit the pattern of a country with rapidly emerging healing movements due to existence of post-totalitarian trauma. Right after the collapse of the Soviet regime, Lithuania have witnessed the wave of popularity of the so-called psychics (locally called "ekstrasensai"), who claimed having healing powers and focused on esoteric healing practices more than on anything else. Arguably, the reason the popularity of psychic practices declined was that they had no roots in local cosmology and tradition and were grounded in radical syncretism with no doctrinal boundaries. An individual psychic could develop her/his own esoteric theory synthesised from elements of any number of religious, occult and healing traditions. Most of the time those theories could not even be interpreted as close or distant variations of Lithuanian pre-Christian healing practices, since knowledge of those practices is basically lost.[37] In contrast, Pentecostal healing message adopted with some modifications by the IHM, was the "alternative healing" concept that Lithuanians could have related to much easier. It had conceptual boundaries and strongly resonated with Christian tradition which made it much more vernacular than healing through a kind of Buddhist enlightenment or supposed shamanistic practices performed by some self-proclaimed healer from a neighbouring street or abroad.

This is exactly how the development pattern of Pentecostal Christianity in Lithuanian Catholic milieu can be understood. It first came as a typical Global Pentecostal movement. In time, it adjusted and established itself within Lithuanian Catholic framework as Catholic Charismatic movement. An important aspect is that it was established with the help from CCR "big" names from the Ecumenical Charismatic community "Word of God" in USA – the same community that Csordas researched in 1980's. However, as soon as the movement in Lithuania was left to develop on its own, without the influence of the US Pentecostalism, it gradually started transforming into the Inner Healing movement. Based on the evidence it can be suggested that the root-cause for this modulation towards therapeutic ritual practices is a reaction to historical – cultural trauma through its own "cultural" means. Pentecostal Christianity as cultural means appeared to be more than suitable to address such complex issues of human suffering and search for meaning of life.

[37] Gintaras Beresnevičius, *Ant laiko ašmenų* (Vilnius: Aidai, 2002), 92.

The Inner Healing Movement – a Local Religious Response to Historical / Cultural Trauma?

The narratives of sufferings that are described in Gudaitė and Stein book "Confronting Cultural Trauma" illustrate the complex matrix of transgenerational trauma. The research of the IHM reveals very similar (if not identical) narrative structure of human sufferings. There is so much in common between the two, except for therapeutic or healing practices themselves. The research based on the IHM practitioners' narratives was done by S. Matulevičius in 2015. It confirms causal interconnection between the IH practices and transgenerational trauma. The documented case compiled from narratives of four informants – a husband and wife (say Tomas and Lina) and parents of a wife encompass and interconnect life stories of three generations. It begins with interviewing Tomas and Lina about how they came to participate in the IHM. Both informants introduce the interviewer to their individual sufferings and explain how the IHM led them to identify the causes of these sufferings in relations with their parents. After interviewing parents, who also happened to become IHM members, it became possible to find connection between narratives of different generations. The emerging pattern was clear. All grandparents of Lina and Tomas were affected by calamities of Soviet totalitarianism. Lina's grandfather was a member of Lithuanian armed resistance, captured and tortured, while Tomas's grandfather was an abusive soviet military officer, who left Tomas's grandmother as soon as she got pregnant. Sufferings from both sides accumulated further, resulting in sometimes tragic and lasting circumstances. These traumatic experiences led to behavioural and upbringing patterns, which affected the development of the next generation. All this produced a psychological and spiritual pain, which has been communicated and transmitted to Tomas and Lina respectively. These individuals in search of escape from the personal sufferings found themselves involved in religious healing practices, which addressed their issues in a systematic transgenerational manner.[38]

What is striking though is the capacity of the IHM to operate in a psychotherapy-like mode and uncover hidden layers of human experiences. Following is one example from S. Matulevičius research, during which he interviewed IHM members. Informant (say Ignas) relates, how during the IH prayer session a team prayed for him. The prayer consisted of asking for healing of "wounds of the past" and going down the timeline to his early childhood reaching a prenatal state. At that point, the informant found himself warping into the embryo position and bursting into tears and cries, as suddenly memory of sensing of being unwanted child have popped up. Ignas thought he felt as if he was conceived in the act of violence. It turned out that his deceased "brutish" father, a Russian military officer (from what Ignas told about him, it can be assumed he suffered from PTSD too), would repeatedly rape informant's mother, his own wife. During one of rapes, Ignas had been conceived. According to Ignas, his mother confirmed these "memories", acquired during IH prayer session.

[38] It is not possible to provide here a full description of Lina's and Tomas's narrated stories due to their length.

In another documented case, IH counsellor interrupted his own prayer and encouraged a person, over whom he prayed, to investigate his family tree looking for possible curse. Counsellor sensed this inspiration came from the Holy Spirit. As it turned out, four generations ago, there was a conflict within the family of the prayed-over person due to issue of love vs arranged marriage. Because of disobedience to parental will, the parents had cursed the love union of one ancestor of the person. Informant narrated supposed implications of the curse and thus, healing practices followed.

Where does religion get its capacity to uncover such information remains speculative. What seems to be clear, however, is that the CCR movement triggered local religious developments, adjusting to local demands. Those demands apparently were the "healing". A sense of individual and shared suffering often resonates with a condition, that many psychologists and some anthropologists would call historical/cultural trauma. In this case, it is the trauma of Socialism. Psychologists note that it is the second and third generation, which seeks therapy to resolve their often initially unrealised trauma. Interestingly, many of IHM participants seem to be two or three generations apart from the Soviet regime experience. This allows assuming that the IHM is a somewhat spontaneous attempt to recover from trauma by religious means.

The liberal approach to religious healing practices in Christianity seems to be not the only reason of a therapeutic response to trauma in IHM. The "wordiness" of Christianity (especially Pentecostal Christianity) is of no less importance. The research of the IHM indicates that Pentecostal and IHM practices are always marked with an intense verbalism. Worship songs with clear emotional lyrics, intuitions and emotions (experienced during prayer) being verbalised and often interpreted as "God's word" about a particular person or situation, conversations during counselling/prayer sessions, narrative constructions, prayers in tongues, prophesies, testimonials and reading/reciting of the Bible – everything indicates an upmost importance of verbalism in IMH. Thomas Csordas had noted this in his CCR studies: "Catholic Charismatic ritual performance is characterised by a marked linguisticality, in that most of what goes on is verbal".[39]

How may this relate to therapeutic processes? Firstly, as it has been mentioned above, a construction of narrative from deep waters of experiences, emotions and events is a therapeutic process in itself. Moreover, Huppertzz notes that typical condition of totalitarian and post-totalitarian society is a lack of vocabulary to express emotions.[40] This results in unexpressed, unresolved emotional issues waiting for a chance to spring out. It seems that the intimate religious language or attempt to verbalise one's inner emotional condition would work as a trigger for emotions to erupt. To name emotions, to say how and what one feels is a step one in child psychotherapy. According to Huppertzz and others, those suffering cultural traumas have to start there as well.[41]

[39] Cosrdas, *Language Charisma and Creativity,* 158.

[40] Bernd Huppertz, *Psychotherapy in The Wake of War: Discovering Multiple Psychoanalytic Traditions* (Plymouth, United Kingdom: Jason Aronson Press, 2013), 5.

[41] Huppertz, *Psychotherapy in The Wake of War*.

Conclusions

The Inner Healing movement in the post-Socialist Eastern Europe and the theory of cultural transgenerational trauma as the catalyst of religious healing movements definitely needs further research and analysis. Moreover, broader reviews of literature on Anthropology of post-Socialism would be enlightening. This is a task for the further inquiry.

Nevertheless, there is enough psychological and anthropological evidence to state that healing movements often emerge as a response to historical / cultural trauma. The variations of Pentecostal Christianity have an intrinsic ability to adjust and modulate responding to regional sociocultural conditions. Since the emphasis on healing is strong in Pentecostal Christianity, it is only natural that the healing discourse received special attention in Catholic Lithuania primarily in Catholic Pentecostal (also known as Catholic Charismatic Renewal) soil. In the condition of post-Soviet transgenerational trauma, the turn of significant part of population to religious healing practices seems as a reasonable response. The Inner healing movement became especially popular, as it allowed embracing therapeutic practices without losing connection to the familiar environment of Catholic religion.

Thus, the Inner Healing movement can be seen as a local reaction to post-totalitarian conditions. This approach resonates well with other studies of religious development after collapse of totalitarian regimes. However, this is not to say that there cannot be other alternative explanations of the phenomenon. Historical and social developments are a complex issue. Yet, looking at until now available studies, we can infer that analysis of Inner Healing movement and conclusions, presented in this article, are relevant specifically to the theory of cultural trauma and to cross-cultural studies in general.

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IS THE INNER HEALING MOVEMENT IN LITHUANIA A LOCAL RELIGIOUS RESPONSE TO THE CULTURAL TRAUMA OF SOCIALISM?

Summary

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Lithuania have witnessed an advance of new religious movements along with different healing movements. All this marked a significant transformation of religious milieu. Judging from anthropological perspective the Catholic Church tradition in Lithuania underwent development and transformation of vast proportions. In merely two decades it shifted rather radically from rural to urban mode of Catholicism and later developed into something to be called as a post-Pentecostal religiosity. First, the advent of Pentecostal Christianity took place in a form of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal (CCR). It created a mode of "urban" middle class Catholicism which contrasted with rural Catholic tradition. Then, the CCR took an unprecedented local turn towards a set of ideas and practices that currently is known under the name of Inner Healing movement (IHM). Despite of the fact that the IHM initially emerged in the CCR circles, later it exceeded the boundaries of mere Pentecostal Christianity as well as the limits of exclusively urban phenomenon. In roughly ten years it spread all over the country and became an established discourse and practice of "popular" Catholicism, both in urban and rural environments. Ritual practices and epistemology of the IHM revolves exclusively around the healing aspect of Christianity making the IHM a religious healing movement.

Using religious developments in post-Socialist Lithuania as an empirical example, this article analyses the pattern of emergence of religious healing movements after society or community goes through periods of totalitarian rule. Totalitarian rule produces the so-called cultural trauma, which is being transmitted to next generations. Religious healing movements seem to tackle the issue of recovering from trauma in religious manner. Authors demonstrate that the pattern itself is found cross-culturally. However, the article particularly focuses on Inner Healing movement in post-Soviet Lithuania. Through the analysis of psychological and social anthropological theories of cultural and transgenerational trauma, the authors reveal how the Inner Healing movement can be analyzed as society's attempt to recover from the collective trauma produced by the totalitarian rule of Soviet regime. Analysis of the Inner Healing movement through the theory of cultural and transgenerational trauma provides an explanation why the Catholic Charismatic

movement, which is well known globally, in post-totalitarian Lithuania rapidly underwent modulation towards the local Inner Healing movement, e.g. the movement which concentrates all its teaching and ritual practices exclusively around the healing discourse.

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AR VIDINIO IŠGYDYMO JUDĖJIMĄ LIETUVOJE GALIMA VERTINTI KAIP VIETINĮ ATSAKĄ Į POSOCIALIZMO KULTŪRINĘ TRAUMĄ?

Santrauka

Žlugus Sovietų Sąjungai, Lietuvos visuomenėje ėmė plisti įvairūs religiniai ir ezoteriniai judėjimai. Tai buvo spartus religinio Lietuvos kraštovaizdžio kaitos etapas. Katalikų Bažnyčia taip pat patyrė stiprius vidinius pokyčius ir transformaciją. Būtent šiuo laikotarpiu ėmė stipriai veikti du dideli katalikiški judėjimai. Vienas iš jų buvo iš sekmininkiškos krikščionybės kilęs reiškinys – Katalikų charizminis atsinaujinimas. Kitas – Vidinio išgydymo judėjimas, išaugęs iš pirmojo ir tapęs svarbia šiuolaikinės miesto katalikybės Lietuvoje dalimi.

Katalikų charizminis atsinaujinimas Katalikų Bažnyčioje buvo globalus judėjimas. Atėjęs į Lietuvą jis iš esmės suformavo naują katalikiškumo modalumą. Šis judėjimas savotiškai metė iššūkį tradicinei katalikybei, kuri istoriškai formavosi kaimuose, priešpriešindamas ją su miestietišku viduriniosios klasės ir naujos kartos katalikišku dvasingumu, kuris buvo globalus ir „modernus“. Tačiau, sparčiai paplitęs, Katalikų charizminis atsinaujinimas Lietuvoje netikėtai ėmė kisti į kažką naujo. Jo praktikos ir epistemologija ėmė vis labiau telktis į „gydymo“ aspektą. Ši tendencija pagimdė vadinamąjį Vidinio išgydymo judėjimą. Perkopęs sekmininkiškos krikščionybės ribas šis judėjimas peraugo į šiuolaikinio populiaraus katalikiško dvasingumo formą ir įsitvirtino ne tik miestuose, bet ir regionuose. Šis judėjimas, susitelkęs į išgydymo diskursą, tapo religiniu išgydymo judėjimu, esmiškai prisidėjusiu prie posocialistinės katalikybės veido Lietuvoje kūrimo.

Šiame straipsnyje palyginamuoju metodu nagrinėjamas fenomenas, kai visuomenėse, kurios patyrė totalitarinę priespaudą, ima rastis religiniai išgydymo judėjimai, akcentuojantys išgydimo diskursą ir praktikas. Straipsnyje ši tendencija atskleidžiama lyginant įvairias pototalitarines visuomenes. Šio fenomeno iliustravimui autoriai pasitelkia Lietuvoje veikiantį Vidinio išgydymo judėjimą. Analizuodami judėjimo turinį ir pasitelkdami pavyzdžius iš lauko tyrimų medžiagos, jie atskleidžia, kad Vidinio išgydymo judėjimo atsiradimą ir populiarumą galima interpretuoti žvelgiant remiantis kultūrinės ir transgeneracinės traumos teorija. Toks požiūris iš dalies paaiškina sparčią Katalikų charizminio atsinaujinimo moduliaciją į Vidinio išgydymo judėjimą. Straipsnyje, remiantis kultūrinės ir transgeneracinės traumos teorija, mėginama atsakyti į klausimą, kodėl konkretus globalus judėjimas, pasiekęs pototalitarinį regioną, staiga įgavo savitą vietinį pavidalą ir virto į judėjimą, sutelkiantį savo teologinį mokymą ir praktikas į išgydymo diskursą.

PAGRINDINIAI ŽODŽIAI: Vidinio išgydymo judėjimas, Katalikų charizminis atsinaujinimas, posovietinė visuomenė, totalitarinis režimas, transgeneracinė trauma.

KEY WORDS: Inner Healing Movement, Catholic Charismatic Movement, post-Soviet Society, totalitarian regime, transgenerational trauma, cultural trauma.

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