

## Reviews

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BORSOS, Balázs: *A magyar népi kultúra regionális struktúrája I-II.* [The Regional Structure of Hungarian Folk Culture I-II]. 2011, Budapest: MTA Néprajzi Kutatóintézet. 563, 354. ISBN: 978-963-567-049-9

BORSOS, Balázs: *The Regional Structure of Hungarian Folk Culture.* 2017, Münster – New York: Waxmann. 436. ISBN: 978-3-8309-3443-1

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In ethnography, it was a long road from recognizing cultural differences in the Hungarian public consciousness to comprehending the well-described, corresponding units of the interpretation and spatial examination of regional differences in cultural phenomena. By means of the cartographic method, the diffusion of cultural phenomena, the modes and laws of their distribution became explorable in an objective way. The Hungarian material published in 1987-1992 is prominent among the European ethnographic atlases, because it made use of the conclusions of earlier works, and thematically it is one of the most varied works, investigating the largest number of phenomena. The 9-volume Hungarian Ethnographic Atlas covers the entire Hungarian language area with 417 collection points. The research focuses primarily on the folk culture of the turn of the 19-20th century, with little or no outlook on changes and recent phenomena. 634 maps were published after the collection journals were processed, but their accompanying explanatory volumes are still missing.

The Hungarian Ethnographic Atlas served as a resource for the manual of *The Regional Structure of Hungarian Folk Culture*. The first major achievement of Balázs Borsos was to produce a digital version of the Hungarian Ethnographic Atlas, which made it possible to provide a quicker, more detailed overview of the data. Furthermore, he compiled two additional virtual volumes, numbers 10 and 11, and 100 additional virtual maps (for agricultural, population, geographic, historical, and economic sections), which opened up further analytical possibilities.

In his doctoral dissertation, which he defended in 2009, Balázs Borsos completed a cluster analysis of the digitized versions of the 634 maps, and this volume publishes the results of this work. Balázs Borsos's aim was to create a synthesized picture of the regional structure of Hungarian folk culture by building upon the data of the Hungarian Ethnographic Atlas and comparing the results of computer data processing and analysis with the regional diffusion of the already established ethnographic landscapes and cultural symbols.

Thanks to the newly developed mathematical research method, the computer cluster analysis, which is also suitable for the processing of other ethnographic atlases, the characteristic regional stratification of 19-20th-century Hungarian peasant culture and the cultural phenomena depicted in the Hungarian Ethnographic Atlas can now be traced. In defining the basic units of the study, Balázs Borsos used the concept of the cultural region

developed by Attila Paládi-Kovács: he demarcated large, medium and small regions, in some places even microregions. The studies have confirmed the levels of large, medium and small regions that have already been elaborated by the results of ethnography but not objectively clarified. At the same time, they also outlined zones that scholarship considered merely tentative, such as the Transitional large region between the northeastern part of the Great Plain and Transylvania, i.e., that the Great Plain could be divided into two regions – those under Ottoman occupation and those beyond. The analysis also showed that Western Moldavia (*Moldva*) does not diverge as sharply as it was previously assumed. Upper Hungary (*Felföld*) is the large region that is most difficult to demarcate, raising many issues both in name and in territory. The concept of medium size regions (or mesoregions) is new, not yet generally used in ethnography. Instead of the 26 mesoregions identified by László Kósa, 18 mesoregions can be drawn based on the group analysis of the mapped phenomena, with discrepancies in Western Transylvania and the Upper Hungary (*Felföld*). At this level of study, Balázs Borsos confirmed the earlier assessment that the cultural and ethnic separation of Palócföld cannot be justified, while the boundaries of the mesoregion are indicated by the dividing lines of mountains and river valleys.

Data gained from the collection points of the atlas were not always sufficient for the delimitation of the smallest sections of the cultural classification structure – the small and micro-regions – thus, to refine the picture, a different method was needed, namely, a cultural similarity test based on computer data processing. Károly Viski mentions more than 100 small regions in 1938, the Ethnographic Atlas indicates 77 small regions. Based on the research of Balázs Borsos, in Hungarian folk culture the clusterization resulted in the demarcation of 5 large regions, 18 medium regions, and 103 small regions, the latter being further refined into 31 micro-regions. Balázs Borsos also correlated these results with the cultural similarity test, as well as used the geographic and linguistic divisions, and the earlier results of relevant ethnographic studies (on the subjects of folk music, folk dance, architecture, calendar customs, hemp processing, ornamentation). Ethnography does not, however, have access to the same in-depth studies from all the examined regional units, so there is still a need to carry out further investigations based on the framework outline above and devoting more attention to the regional stratification, but the possibilities are limited, the author states, for these cultural aspects are no longer available for current studies, and historical sources may not be sufficient.

The first chapter of Volume I. of *The Regional Structure of Hungarian Folk Culture* enumerates the results of studies of the regional stratification of culture, and the ethnographic atlases summarizing them, with a European perspective. It summarizes terminology issues and problems. The second chapter describes the database, gives a step-by-step account of the preliminary steps for the development of the Hungarian Ethnographic Atlas, and the process of digitization. The third chapter introduces the reader to the cluster analysis done with the help of the newly developed computer program, the interpretation, and the enormous task of evaluating the data. The difficulty of the work was due, for instance, to the fact that the shortcomings of data collection had to be addressed and corrected in the interpretation.

In the fourth chapter, Balázs Borsos steps a bit out of his line of thought: using the above research method, he also examines European ethnographic atlases. He demonstrates that the process can also be used successfully on the sample maps of the German Ethnographic Atlas to process map data.

Chapter five projects the regional stratification onto maps of administration, ethnicity, religion, demographics, agriculture, geography, dialect, and the ethnographic maps of certain cultural features. The sixth and largest chapter contains the description of all these results, the breakdown of each cultural region by level. The seventh chapter enumerates once again the problems that have emerged, the new methods that have been developed to solve them, and the solutions so far. The volume concludes with a rich Hungarian and foreign language bibliography.

Volume II. contains the annexes to the chapters of the main text, the clustering maps and tables, as well as the similarity table of settlements, and the maps of Vols. 10 and 11 of the Hungarian Ethnographic Atlas. The two volumes can be opened side by side to read the main text and to keep track of data which, for lack of space, are not referred to by the author where it is not necessary.

The results of the 2011 two-volume manual were published by the author in a single-volume, abbreviated version in English in 2017. Compared to the Hungarian version, the English edition diverges only by omitting the entire chapter 6 and the accompanying map annexes. Thus, only the introductory, descriptive, and summary chapters with an international relevance were included in this volume with the cluster map and table attachments, the Atlas collection points, and the virtual chapters 10 and 11.

While writing and editing this manual, the spelling of geographic names was one of the most demanding tasks that sometimes required further consideration of the relevant rules, like, for example, in the case of ethnographic landscapes and perpetuated phrases. During the English translation, it was difficult to handle and transcribe these geographic names. To do this, the author and translator Béla Borsos used a thoroughly strategic and consistent approach.

Balázs Borsos's comparative analyses and the objective research results of his novel approach proved Jenő Barabás's expectations formulated in 1992: through the analysis of the stratification based on the entire database of the Hungarian Ethnographic Atlas, previously less apparent relation systems were also revealed. On the other hand, smaller and larger cultural boundaries, drawn from partial investigations, have been confirmed by correlating them with earlier results collected by other disciplines. Beyond ethnography, Balázs Borsos's comparative, synthesizing manual can be a valuable resource, an important database for related disciplines as well.

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FÖLDESSY, Edina: *Torday Emil kongói gyűjteménye / Emil Torday's Congo Collection*. 2015, Budapest: Néprajzi Múzeum. [A Néprajzi Múzeum Tárgykatalógusai / Catalogues of the Museum of Ethnography 21.] 220. ISBN 978-963-954-096-5

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*Tamás Régi*

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Bilingual (Hungarian/English) museum catalogue, with two maps, black and white and colour object photographs from the Emil Torday collection at the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest.

Emil Torday (1875-1931) was a Hungarian ethnographer and Africanist who at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century undertook three major travels to the Congo Basin. First (1900-1904) he travelled as a Belgian colonial officer, and second (1905-1907), though still financed by a Belgian trading company, as a scientific researcher in a cooperation with the British Museum, the Pitt Rivers Museum, and the Royal Anthropological Society. Torday started collecting objects in the field for these museums and working with colleagues from these institutions (Thomas Joyce and Sir Charles Read). The majority of the collected objects is still in the British Museum, while a smaller collection is at the Pitt-Rivers Museum. His third trip (1907-1909) was the most successful from a scientific point of view. The British Museum offered to buy the objects Torday collected during the trip, so he was able to finance his trip from this sum. By this time, he was a well-established scholar, much more ahead of his age, applying modern ethnographic fieldwork techniques, speaking several local languages, and his personality made him popular among the visited groups. During this last trip, Torday collected thousands of objects, visited different ethnic groups, among them some entirely unknown to the Western world. The expedition collected a huge number of objects from the Kuba, Pende and Bunda people – to mention just a few.

According to the inventory, there are 462 objects in the Torday collection at the Museum of Ethnography in Budapest, and all of them originated from the third trip. The collection is very valuable. Torday offered most of the materials collected during this third trip to the above-mentioned museums and to the Kasai Company, and, although less in number, many objects of good quality arrived in Budapest (nevertheless there is no evidence that these objects had ever arrived at the Kasai Company). The visited groups are not represented proportionately by the objects, however, as the most objects were collected from the people of the Kuba Kingdom.

Some sources mistakenly attribute the “exploration” of the Kuba Kingdom to Torday, despite the fact that there were two other researchers who described the people of the Kingdom. However, Torday was the first who described the Lele and Wongo people, also well represented in the collection. Furthermore, the Torday collection contains objects from the Tetela and Pende people who lived north and west from the Kuba Kingdom.

To begin, the catalogue offers some new biographical details about Torday; the author, Edina Földessy, through a very thorough and exhaustive background research, sheds light on some yet unknown details about Torday’s early career. The comprehensive research is featured throughout the whole catalogue, making it a primary source for future Torday researchers. As the Budapest collection is from Torday’s third trip, the catalogue devotes a longer section to this third trip. We can read more details of the circumstances of the fieldtrips, and finally about Torday’s professional career, as well as memories of the Hungarian ethnographer.

The second part of the catalogue tells us about the history of the Budapest collection and introduces the people involved with the collection. This is also a useful part for understanding the ethnographic context of the later-mentioned objects. This section is followed by the introduction of the classification of the objects, which is partly based on Torday’s categories. The catalogue classifies the objects as follows: textiles, clothing, accessories, carved wooden articles for household and personal use, pottery and articles made of gourd, weaving techniques and basketry, weapons and tools, agricultural and crafting tools, musical instruments, games and other entertainment, traditional currency, and tools of personal hygiene and healing.

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Following this system, the catalogue gives us short object descriptions, each of them illustrated by colour photographs. The photographs are of good quality, full of details, and most of them depict yet unpublished objects. The descriptions are informative, catalogue-style descriptions. At the end of the book, a bibliography and an index help the reader find people and objects.

The catalogue is highly professional; the black and white field photographs and the colour object photographs provide an excellent reader experience. The publication is clearly based on a very thorough research, which makes the catalogue an outstanding book for future Torday researchers.

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WILHELM, Gábor: *Sámántárgyak. Diószegi Vilmos gyűjteménye / Shamanic Objects. The Vilmos Diószegi Collection*. 2016, Budapest: Néprajzi Múzeum. [A Néprajzi Múzeum Tárgykatalógusai / Catalogues of the Museum of Ethnography 23.] 118. ISBN 978-615-5682-01-8

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First of all, I have a feeling that I need to start my review with a positive remark on the layout of the catalogue. The images are not only beautifully printed, but they are sufficiently large, so that one may explore even the small details in the background. This is the reviewer's first impression of the catalogue.

Vilmos Diószegi (1923–1972) has an international reputation as a scholar of Siberian Studies who was able to conduct subsequent fieldworks in the USSR and Mongolia after World War II, when neither Soviet, nor Mongolian scholars were permitted to study shamanism in the field. He encouraged local and indigenous intellectuals to carry out research on the religious practices of their ancestors. By helping edit their collected works in English and German, he helped Soviet and Mongolian scholars publish their works on 'folk belief' and shamanism, and thus created a basis for an international recognition of their work. He not only conducted three fieldworks in Southern Siberia (1957, 1958 and 1964) and one in Northern Mongolia (1960) among indigenous peoples of Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus origins, but also examined the archival documents and photos and studied the local museum collections as well. His scholarly activities on Siberian (and Central Asian) shamanism ensured the continuity of Siberian studies in Hungary (from the representatives of the generation before the Revolution of 1956 to Eva Schmidt). He was a very influential person. His popular works (among others, Diószegi 1968) provided a starting point for many Hungarian scholars (including the reviewer) to travel, work and live with Siberian peoples, and also to establish a scientific career.

The next task is to determine the place of the exhibited materials in the context of the entire Diószegi legacy. The materials of Vilmos Diószegi's heritage can be found in four places: with his descendants, at the Institute of Ethnology of the Research Centre for Humanities at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (where Vilmos Diószegi was

employed between 1963 and 1972), the Institute of Musicology of the Research Centre for Humanities at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and finally at the Museum of Ethnography (where he worked until 1963). His family has kept his handwritten journals, fieldnotes booklets and letters (as well as his personal scientific library). The Institute of Ethnology owns the manuscripts of his unfinished projects (as of 1972). The Institute of Musicology archived his musical tracks (copied and collected by V. D. in the USSR and Mongolia), and the Museum of Ethnography takes care of the photos and objects (collected in Mongolia and Siberia). The present catalogue exhibits these latter, mostly collected in Northern Mongolia in 1960.

In this section I would like to review the main articles of the book. The contributors of the catalogue aim to analyze the Darkhat material from Northern Mongolia because it provides the main body of Diószegi's collection of objects. Ágnes Birtalan's contribution to the catalogue is a review of Diószegi's Mongolian terms. Her excellent work is right to criticize Diószegi for his insufficient skills in speaking (and writing) Mongolian. Her writing draws attention to the complexity of Diószegi's approach to combine ethnology and oriental studies (28–30).

Judith Hangartner criticizes Diószegi for his ethical approaches to local people and habits. Here, for the sake of Vilmos Diószegi, we need to note that science had a superior position in his view. For him, scientific interest was more important than local prohibitions, such as visiting forbidden places, touching and transporting shamanic objects (30–31). Even if, as a fieldworker, I absolutely agree with Judith Hangartner's criticism, Diószegi's approach to shamanic objects in the field was in accordance with Soviet scholars' field ethics of that period, namely, the early 1960s.

Gábor Wilhelm provides an excellent introduction to the history of comparative ethnological studies in Hungary. Wilhelm sees Diószegi in this context and criticizes him for using outdated methods (31–36), and for adopting the Soviet approach of ethnogenesis (34). Here I need to add that ethnogenesis is still an optional method even today, for example, in French ethnology, and the current works of Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov or David Anderson are evidence that this method is not entirely outdated. This method is also important to understanding earlier works, such as Leo Shternberg's book on Northern shamanism or Mikhail Shirokogoroff's book on the origins of Evenki people. Finally, Michael Oppitz's work (on Tibetan materials) provides a positive example of how shamanism can be successfully examined in a global comparison. In his study, Oppitz relied heavily on Diószegi's comparative study of shamanic drums (36–37). I suppose Diószegi would be content with the introductory article, because it is, although in a critical manner, in accordance with his ideas, and thus the article preserves the complexity and potentiality hidden in Diószegi's materials. However, it should be emphasized that ethnic and ethnogenetic comparison is not the only method of studying shamanism, and there are many other approaches to this phenomenon.

As in all complex works relying on oriental language skills, one can find minor spelling mistakes and insufficiently clear interpretations. In this respect the catalogue is also not an exception. For example, I do not really understand why it is not clarified that Diószegi worked with Tofa shamans in 1958 (107 and 109). Also, it should have been underlined that Diószegi had never conducted fieldwork in Eastern Siberia and had never visited Nanays in the Amur region (109).



Finally, I draw attention to some questions, interesting objects, and potentials for the future. The first question is about reindeer: how did the Darkhats acquire reindeer hide and leather for their shamanic objects (101, 109, 110)? Did they use wild or domesticated reindeer hides? Were these hides taken from the neighboring reindeer-herding Mongolian Tsaatans, Buryatian Soyots, Irkutskian Tofas or Tuvan Todzhas in the Sayan Mountains? We can also find objects in the catalogue that Diószegi did not donate to the Museum of Ethnography. He held on to them, and these objects were sold to the Museum only after his death. The catalogue showcases a copy of a shamanic object (107) and another one (made upon the request of Diószegi), which is a part of a shamanic object (109). Perhaps Diószegi had personal emotional attachments to these objects, or perhaps he may have even used them (110). Finally, thinking about the potential of these materials, I wonder why Diószegi, and the contributors, did not seek the connections between objects found in a particular shamanic burial. It could tell a lot about shamanic worlds and shamanic practices, and these systems of connections could even be compared among shamans and their burials.

In summary, I need to emphasize the importance of the materials published in this catalogue, especially because, due to the relocation of the Museum of Ethnography, Diószegi's scientific collection will be unsearchable for many years. This catalogue provides a guide to Diószegi's scattered collection located in different institutions, and points at the necessity of publishing the second half of Diószegi's journals, fieldnotes booklets and letters.

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SZARVAS, Zsuzsa: *Zsidó tárgyak / Jewish Objects*. 2017, Budapest: Néprajzi Múzeum. [A Néprajzi Múzeum Tárgykatalógusai / Catalogues of the Museum of Ethnography 24.] 160. ISBN 978-615-5682-02-5

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*Jewish Objects*, the new bilingual (Hungarian/English) catalogue of the Museum of Ethnography, edited by Zsuzsa Szarvas, accounts for all the artefacts found in the Museum with connections to Jewish culture. It is meant to be a follow-up to the 2014 breakthrough exhibit, *Picking up the Pieces: Fragments of Rural Hungarian Jewish Culture*, the ethnographic presentation and introduction of our native Jewry.

The catalogue is divided into five major sections. After the *Foreword and Acknowledgements* (7), the first section is titled *Jewish Objects at the Museum of Ethnography* by Zsuzsa Szarvas (45–59), followed by *The Offertory Book of the Bikur Holim Society of Pápa* (61–45) by Viktória Bányai and Szonja Ráhel Komoróczy. The third and main unit is the *Catalogue* itself (69–148), the fourth is the *Bibliography* (151–153), while the *Appendix* (155–159) comprises the final part.

The introductory study, *Jewish Objects at the Museum of Ethnography* by Zsuzsa Szarvas, describes the context in which the idea of the creation of the catalogue was born.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, neither the traditional nor the assimilated Jewish society expressed a desire to place their culture into the scope of ethnographic research. The introductory research, conducted at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, had no success, and therefore the Museum of Ethnography showed no interest either in studies regarding Jewish culture. In the '80s and '90s, exhibitions presenting Jewish culture appeared, however, and the real breakthrough was brought on by the above-mentioned *Picking up the Pieces: Fragments of the Rural Hungarian Jewish Culture* exhibit, to which this catalogue is meant to be an addition. As mentioned before, the purpose of the catalogue is to collect and present Jewish artefacts found in the Museum – but what artefacts are those, and on what basis can they be considered *Jewish*? Because the Jewry itself is a highly stratified micro-society, 'Jewish' as an attribute becomes a loaded compact expression; therefore, using it as such may bring some risks.

Zsuzsa Szarvas discusses this in her study, while also illustrating why it is so complicated to present the artefacts belonging to the world of Jews. Finally, she takes the categories established by Tamás Raj and defines two groups: the first category contains religious-ceremonial artefacts, while the second contains Jewish ethnographic artefacts – thereby emphasizing that the rich material world of Jewish culture is synthesised by both sacred and profane elements. According to the author's line of reasoning, "the concept of a 'Jewish object' should be understood in terms of tradition and custom rather than strict regulations and laws" (46). She realizes that presenting the artefacts found in the Museum in passive categories is an individual solution based on intuitive perception and interpretation requiring further research and interpretations.

In the subsequent pages of her study, Zsuzsa Szarvas concentrates on the history of the collection by making an attempt to outline how the artefacts arrived at the Museum. First she mentions Gyula Grünbaum, a Transdanubian collector, who enriched the Museum's gallery with 52 items, after which she discusses the activities of József Lichtneckert, József Rosenstingl, and Ignác Hajnal (Holczmann). Of the relationship between the Hungarian Jewish Museum, opened in 1916, and the Museum of Ethnography, the author states: "the Jewish items assembled by the Museum of Ethnography during the initial decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century intersected at many points with the collection taking shape simultaneously at the Jewish Museum" (49). Zsuzsa Szarvas puts an emphasis on the fact that after WWI, five items of the collection arrived from the Metal Distribution Centre. She also describes the fieldwork conducted in a Hasidic community by Miklós Rékai of Munkács, during which Rékai collected items used in their daily life and during festivities, and donated them to the Museum. The author also mentions that the core of the collection comes from the objects that were part of the *Picking up the Pieces: Fragments of the Rural Hungarian Jewish Culture* exhibit, and then, abandoning the chronological order, she describes the group of souvenir items originating from Jerusalem.

From the study we also learn that in the various collections of the Museum of Ethnography, there are 183 pieces currently attributed to the Jewish culture; furthermore, that the oldest items of the collection are two pewter plates from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, while the only piece that has a date on it (1815) is a candle holder. The item that first became part of the collection is a richly decorated walking stick from 1886; the newest ones are mezuzots and items from the International Youth Camp of Szarvas. The author underlines that the collection contains more than the 183 artefacts named and presented in the catalogue, but some of those, for various reasons, can no longer be found



there. In her introductory study, Zsuzsa Szarvas reflects on the difficulty of classification, for in time many of the artefacts lost their original function, and only careful research could identify those. Finally, she establishes eight categories the pieces of the collection can be sorted into, and presents those in a structural manner: (1) *The offertory book* (examined by the second study of the catalogue), (2) *Head coverings, ritual clothing*, (3) *Synagogue furnishing and accessories*, (4) *Artefacts associated with the Sabbath*, (5) *Festival objects*, (6) *Artefacts associated with the kosher household and ritual purity*, (7) *Artefacts associated with funerals and burial*, (8) *Souvenir items*. Although photographs are not part of the catalogue, the author includes the specifics of those found in the collection, and presents the most well-known and published photos.

The second major unit of the catalogue is the study written by Viktória Bányai and Szonja Ráhel Komoróczy, titled *The Offertory Book of the Bikur Holim Society of Pápa*. The leather-bound offertory book of Pápa's Society for Visiting the Sick is a prominent artefact in the Museum of Ethnography's collection. Its title page displays the year 1829; the Museum purchased it from Gyula Grünbaum in 1913. The authors describe the specialities of the offertory book discovered during restoration, among which are five little pockets containing slips of paper. These papers have inscriptions, in German with Hebrew characters, of various amounts of wine. The authors assume that wine was part of the offerings, which means that donations to the Society were not only monetary in nature. The authors discuss the role and various modes of charity, underlining that Torah reading was one of the most common occasions. The last part of the study examines the offertory book from a philological perspective: the authors find that the languages used in the book carry a lot of information about the 19<sup>th</sup> century Jewish community of Pápa. They talk about a "process of linguistic assimilation:" in its first stage, Yiddish was changed to German; in the second, German was substituted by Hungarian. The spoken language during the transitional period was German, but the writing was still Hebrew. The authors conclude that the 19<sup>th</sup> century Pápa community was in this last, transitional period. At this point it is worth mentioning that there is a tasteful USB drive attached to the book cover to help with the visualization of the offertory book.

The above mentioned two studies are followed by the well-organized and richly illustrated, nearly 80-page-long *Catalogue*, which, starting with the walking stick from 1886 all the way to the artefacts of Camp Szarvas, introduces the items related to the Jewry found in the collection of the Museum of Ethnography.

The fourth section, the *Bibliography*, utilizes the national and international findings published in academic writings on the subjects of history, ethnography, and cultural anthropology. The book, *Jewish Objects*, edited by Zsuzsa Szarvas, achieved its goal: it represents well that the Jewish culture can truly be captured and understood in its particularity. The remarkably open language and composition of the two studies included in the book leave room for the readers to develop their own interpretations and understandings. The editor emphasizes all through the book that the research is still a work in progress, while at the same time presenting the available items without omission. Finally, as to the appearance of the book, the high utilization of the book's pages must be mentioned, while full-page pictures provide a high level of aesthetic experience to the reader.

KLIMA, László: *Jürkák, tormák, merjék. Szemelvények a finnugor nyelvű népek történetének korai forrásaiból*. [Yurkas, Tormas and Meryas. Excerpts from the Early History of Finno-Ugric Peoples]. 2016, Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont. 471. ISBN 978-963-4160-37-3

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László Klima is a domestically and internationally renowned and esteemed scholar of Finno-Ugric Studies, more specifically of the history of Finno-Ugric peoples. His work has always targeted the wider audience alongside the narrower professional readership. His book, published in 2016, is closely linked to the author's scientific work so far, a summary and consolidation of his well-known source compilation and explanatory works.

The editorial principles of the book are clear: it analyzes selected texts according to source groups, separating early Latin, Greek and Hebrew sources, descriptions of medieval European travelers and Muslim geographers and travelers, and Russian chronicles. The author has made the appropriate choice with this editing principle, because, on the one hand, as he demonstrates, the identification of certain individual peoples is often uncertain, and it is hard to even decide whether or not the given sources are talking about ethnic groups; on the other hand, the source groups are clustered by their peculiar characteristics, as they show the Finno-Ugric peoples from a particular perspective, through a specific geographic underpinning and political influence. Thanks to this choice of editorial principle, we can see the history of the same territory and the same peoples through different prisms, which show the connection system of the Finno-Ugric peoples and the realms that define their history in a unique, polyphonic way, thus contributing to a more accurate picture.

The author calls his work excerpts, and rightly so, because the collection of sources is far from complete, even with regard to travelers' literature. Nonetheless, his choices are comprehensible and justified. He strives for a great deal of completeness where he can (Muslim sources), and makes rational and discreet choices where it is needed (Russian chronicles, yearbooks).

The editorial principles are also clear in terms of time, defined by historical events: by the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, all the peoples studied have been reached by Russian colonization, the Siberians being the last. By then, the European Finno-Ugric peoples can be considered to already be known about, primarily thanks to Russian sources, but the exploration of Finno-Ugric peoples in Siberia had only just begun at that time, so the sources from the 17-18<sup>th</sup> century are just as arbitrary as the 16<sup>th</sup>-century literature was regarding the groups in Europe. Fortunately, as he points out in a footnote, he considers the release of these sources as his next goal.

The presentation of the individual sources is also based on a unified structure: after introducing the author of the source, he describes the historical source itself, writing about its Finno-Ugric aspects and texts, placing the source within a historical context, and, finally, quoting the text excerpts related to Finno-Ugric peoples.

The work of László Klima serves primarily educational purposes: it is a consistently assembled collection of sources, a manual also appropriate for use as a textbook because of the source-related analyses it provides. The notes also serve this unconcealed educational objective, as do the two excellent appendices included at the end of the work: an index of geographic names and a glossary of persons mentioned in the texts. There has never existed such a detailed source library regarding Finno-Ugric peoples, and what's more, many of the texts see their very first publication in this work.

However, individual chapters of the book can also be read as stand-alone case studies. A prominent example is the presentation of the legend of Saint Stephan of Perm, which provides extensive information about everything related to Saint Stephan of Perm, ranging from the legendarian's personality and literary style to the saint's life, the problem of the Old Permian script, the presentation of the legend, the saint's cult, his relics and artistic memories – the thorough presentation of the parts that can be interpreted as a resource about Finno-Ugric peoples is almost an addition.

Obviously, the textbook as a genre also required that in regard to the early history of Finno-Ugric peoples the author should address in detail the issues of prehistory, homeland, and ethnogenesis. This issue cannot be missing from a manual of Finno-Ugric Studies – especially from a work of a historical nature – because Finno-Ugric Studies is by definition an ethnogenesis-based discipline. This chapter of the treatise is a very valuable achievement in itself: a readable and thorough, articulate overview of the history of the subject. It is of special merit that authors who are unjustly seldom cited in works on the prehistory of Finno-Ugric peoples (e.g., Bernát Munkácsi) are duly emphasized, and, naturally, the latest research is also incorporated, including the author's own insights.

All along, the author's reasoning is precise and convincing, which is presented to the readers in a readable, occasionally explicitly personal literary style. He is extremely discerning philologically, paying attention to the possible uncertainties of interpretation, and like a good teacher, he does not decide issues but presents problems instead. This he accomplishes in a particularly impressive, captivating way.

In summary, László Klima's book can be read equally as a scientific monograph, a textbook, or a source library. It meets both professional and educational needs at the same time; besides being a collection of sources, it can also be considered a history book of Finno-Ugric peoples. Its publication can only be welcomed.

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VON STOCKHAUSEN, Alban: *Imag(in)ing the Nagas. The Pictorial Ethnography of Hans-Eberhard Kauffmann and Christoph von Führer-Haimendorf*. 2014, Stuttgart: Arnoldsche Art Publishers. 452. ISBN 978-3-89790-412-5

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Given the allegedly “still-prevalent visual phobia in academic anthropology”, the aim of this imposing book is to suggest “a possible way to let the visual, the photograph, take as

much part in an academic historical or anthropological work as the written text” and to “let the photographs speak by providing them with context through the written ethnography of the time, through the life and working conditions of the anthropologists who took them, and through the historical traditions to which they belong” (11.) The undertaking is based on over 6000 photographs taken in the 1930-ies by two anthropologists of German-Austrian origin, Hans-Eberhard Kauffmann and Christoph von Führer-Haimendorf among the Naga, a world famous “Zomian” population on the hilly borderlands of India and Burma. The two protagonists have taken different paths. Though they knew each other from their university years, visited the Naga Hills at the same time (1936-37), what’s more worked for three weeks in the same village (Wakching) among the Konyak Naga and took even some shots of each other while doing fieldwork (!), whereas the more adventurous and elegant, easy-going Führer-Haimendorf has become an uncontested authority on South and Southeast Asian anthropology as a British citizen, Kauffmann’s activity and contribution were and are still largely ignored by the scientific community due to his hitherto unclear relationship to the ideologies of Nazi Germany.

Both of them brought back invaluable materials that are scattered all over Europe. Kauffmann’s ethnographic collections (512 objects) are housed in Zurich, Basel, Cologne and Paris, the ones of Führer-Haimendorf (800 pieces) in Vienna. Putting aside for the moment other collections of musical recordings (wax cylinders), physical anthropological measurements, plant specimens, written materials (diaries and notes) and the like, Führer-Haimendorf’s more than 3500 photographs are located at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, while Kauffmann’s around 2500 photographs were in greater part (re)discovered (!) by the author of the book at the University of Munich where Kauffmann had taught between 1958–1967. In the framework of several international museological projects and ethnographic exhibitions the two photographic collections have been digitalized by the author and the intensive study of this unique corpus delineated for him the contours of a “pictorial ethnography” “which may have also been at the back of the two anthropologist’s minds, even if they had not explicitly mentioned or published it in the literal sense of the word” (16).

The book consists of eight chapters: the first offers a short history of photography in anthropology and explains how and why photographs can be a valuable source for anthropology. In the second, the author outlines the reasons for his main focus on Kauffmann’s pictures and sets out the methodological framework of his study. Chapter three offers a very thorough and truly spectacular history of the visual representation of the Naga ending with a remarkable timeline summarizing almost 200 years of scientific research and visual information coupled with Naga history. The fourth and fifth chapters focus respectively on the two protagonists, on their lives and careers just as on their literary and photographic oeuvres; the sixth touches upon the historical context in which the two German anthropologists were implicated: Second World War and Nazi ideology and on how all this affected their activity.

With chapter seven we arrive to the core of the volume: a Naga “pictorial ethnography” through Kauffmann’s unpublished and partially unlegended photographs that are contextualized by the author through Kauffmann’s published and unpublished writings coupled with visual and textual materials from Führer-Haimendorf and others. „One idea behind this section of the book is to create as closely as possible an ethnography through images that Kauffman never got round to publishing – an experimental setup in the visual

anthropology of the Nagas of Northeast India” (235.). This chapter making up half of the book alone is structured thematically into eight parts covering different facets of Naga life: general vision of “Hinterindien”; villages, houses, architecture; social structure and political system; status as a core concept of Naga society; agriculture, hunting and trade; oral tradition and religion; arts and crafts and body decoration; impact of colonial rule. In what way the resulting Naga ethnography is new to Naga specialists only they could tell, but for a specialist of Southeast Asian Highland peoples it is an excellent summary offering a wealth of comparative material accentuated by the extraordinary visual power of the images.

For the present reviewer perhaps the most interesting parts of the book are the ones that shed light not only on *imaging* but also on *imagining* the Nagas. As the author himself underlines it several times, even the term “Naga” and the notion of “Naganness” is a European construction in itself. One has also to bear in mind “how large the impact of a visual representation of a culture is on the concept an observer has about the depicted culture in general” (13.). The breathtaking story of the well known cover photo of Furer-Haimendorf’s *The Naked Nagas*, unraveled by the author is a perfect illustration to it. The Konyak girl Henlong, “The Belle of Wakching”, is pictured on it with her hands behind her head, pushing out her bare breasts “in a pose reminiscent of poses known from Josephine Baker and other popular dancers of the 1930s”. (161.). A sensational series of pictures in the Kauffmann archive discovered by the author reveal that this picture was, in fact, set up by Furer-Haimendorf himself! Kauffmann photographed the scene from a few meters away and his shots, taken within the lapse of a few minutes show how Henlong, under the instructions of Furer-Haimendorf, uncovers gradually herself and takes up the posture. This strongly eroticizing and eroticizing picture of Henlong is then nothing else but an expression and a response to the phantasies of the anthropologist and of the European public. Does anyone need a better proof for the (de)construction of the ‘noble savage’?

In sum, this book is a most original, groundbreaking contribution, a must for at least three different publics: for sociocultural anthropologists of South and Southeast Asia; for all those interested in photography and visual anthropology; for museologists involved in redocumenting old archival material. They all can find what to digest in it.

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MICHAUD, Jean – BARKATAKI RUSCHEWEYH, Meenaxi – SWAIN, Margaret Byrne: *Historical Dictionary of the Peoples of the Southeast Asian Massif*. Second Edition, 2016. Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham – Boulder – New York – London. ISBN 10: 1442272783 ISBN 13: 9781442272781

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It is impossible to start the review of this second, expanded edition of Michaud’s *Historical Dictionary*, published originally in 2006, without referring to James Scott’s epoch-making book “The Art of Not Being Governed” (2009) that has changed our

fragmented, parochial view of the hill peoples of a huge geographic area, bringing to the fore their socio-cultural and historic unity. The dramatic but most welcome expansion in size and geographical coverage of this edition is a logical outcome, as Michaud hints at it in the Introduction, of Scott's generalizing look and the scholarly discourse that followed: parts of the Southeast Asian Massif (Northeast India east of the Brahmaputra, the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh, upland Peninsular Malaysia, the mountains of Taiwan, and the southern and southwestern highlands of China) that were *not* covered in the first edition are treated here in detail, for the first time in such a dictionary of peoples and cultures. A great result in itself.

The new scope is naturally far beyond the reach of one single author – a fact that explains the invitation of two co-authors, Meenaxi Barkataki Rouscheweyh and Margaret Byrne Swain, an Indian and a Chinese specialist, respectively, so that the two newly included highland regions would be covered as fully as possible. Nearly 300 ethnic groups totaling around 100 million persons living as “persistently ignored minorities” in 10 different countries (Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, China, Taiwan and Malaysia) are thus covered with their linguistic, demographic, socio-cultural, economic and religious peculiarities in more than 700 cross-referenced entries. Practically most of the entries are new: if not brand new, updated and in many cases expanded.

Similarly to the first edition, the Dictionary consists of four parts. The first contains a new Preface, more Maps, and an expanded general Chronology concentrating mainly on 19-20<sup>th</sup> century events. Then comes a completely re-written, tightly reasoned Introduction providing a general ethnographic and historic background to the entries, with special reference to historical sources, customary socio-political structure and highland/lowland relationships, concluding in a succinct sketch of the present and future of the minorities of the Southeast Asian Massif and their chances of survival.

The following 400 pages make up the body of the Dictionary. Every dictionary, just as anthologies, entails difficult decisions of “leaving out” and/or “bringing in”. Here, inevitably, personal preferences and competences decide what will and will not be included. Instead of dwelling on why this or that was left out or brought in, or why in a shorter or longer form than one would have expected, let us point out some of the choices of the authors. One of the most painful decisions must have been the exclusion of highland societies smaller than 5,000 individuals from the list of separate entries and from the demographic tables. Historical or anthropological importance is not necessarily related to demographic count. The example of the hunting-gathering Mlabri known commonly as the “Spirits of the Yellow Leaves” numbering only 282 individuals shows, however, that fortunately the authors do not stick unabashed to this principle (even if the Chút [Rùch, Arem, Sách] of Vietnam, a similar hunting-gathering group is excluded).

Another recurring issue with dictionaries is what the authors call “encyclopedization” – something similar to pruning. The reader, just as the representative of a Northeast Indian minority group mentioned in the Preface, feels, not infrequently, that the information is shorter than what he/she would have liked to read: “Is that it?” In many cases, necessary generalization makes it almost impossible to say anything definite on a given topic; one would need a whole book in order to present the details of a “burial” or of the “ancestor worship” of only one given ethnic group.



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And yet, there is an incredible wealth of information in these entries. It is enough to read the ones on “Affirmative action”, “Hmong”, “Institute of Anthropology of Vietnam”, “Khun Sa”, “Laos, Highland minorities in the Lao People’s Democratic Republic”, “Strategic hamlets in Vietnam”, “Territoires militaires” or “Yunnan”, to name but a few, in order to grasp the importance of this *Historical Dictionary*. Obviously, the focus is more on history than on ethnography, which is but natural for a “Historical Dictionary”. But given the fact that most of the entries deal with “anthropological” subject matters like identity, religion, lineage society, social structure or livelihood practices, sociocultural anthropologists will surely be amongst those who benefit the most from this major work.

The fourth part of the Dictionary is a more than 100-page-long Bibliography. This rich and up-to-date bibliography is a most useful, unique tool even to specialists of the region, not to mention undergraduate and graduate students and interested laymen. The only reproach a specialist of former French Indochina could/would make is the visibly decreasing number of non-English bibliographical entries – a very unfortunate sign of Anglo-Saxon publishing politics and linguistic imperialism that afflicts even a French Canadian author.

Nonetheless, this “first dictionary entirely devoted to Southeast Asian upland ethnic minorities with a transborder frame of reference”, together with its rich illustrations, figures, statistics and tables, as well as its comprehensive bibliography, is a most useful reference book, a must for anybody interested in the vast “Zomian” region.

