

own gender and that of the Jewish women whose songs and stories they often tried to record. Of course, one might add that there was also a significant class and educational divide between these representatives of the Jewish urban intelligentsia and the shtetl folk whose culture they were trying to “salvage.” The most interesting aspect of this paper is the idea that both the Russian and Yiddish folklore collectors managed to overcome this chasm while in such liminal states as nap or sleep (or pretend sleep) and in such liminal spaces as the synagogue at dusk when stories were often told. In the case of Russian folklorists’ and major literary figures, I would also add a very popular genre of lullabies sung by a peasant nanny to a child of nobility (this trope could be traced from Pushkin all the way to Vladislav Khodasevich).

Having embraced James Clifford’s and George Marcus’ view of ethnography as a “blurred genre,” where no clear distinction could be drawn between ethnographic data obtained from an interview or a recorded song, on the one hand, and a reworked folk tale plot incorporated into a work of fiction, the editors and many of the contributors use a “supra-generic category” of “ethnoliterature” to bring together and discuss various types of literary works, some of which resemble more standard ethnographies, while others are difficult to identify as “ethnographic.” They define this term, proposed by Annette Werbner, one of the volume’s contributors, as being products of a “contact zone” between ethnography and literature, which use their own specific literary devices and “serve ethnographic functions in their ability to describe travels, experiences, encounters—be they individual or social—in a subjective and autobiographical way” (8). This definition, which to this reviewer (an anthropologist) seems too broad, justifies an inclusion of a very broad range of topics: from an autobiography of German-Jewish philosopher Salomon Maimon (1753–1800) to Joseph Roth’s journalistic reports and fiction dealing with the “exotic” Jews of the Soviet Union and from Y.L. Peretz’s literary rendition of Jewish folklore to Leon Feuchtwanger’s re-interpretation of the (legendary) history of Jüd Suss in his novel by the same name. With the thematic net cast so wide, *Writing Jewish Culture* even features essays on the sketches by Hermann Struck of the of Russian-Jewish prisoners of war and other east European Jews, descriptions of east European Jewish architecture by nineteenth and early twentieth century Russian and Russian-Jewish travelers, twentieth-century Yiddish travelogues describing Jewish settlers in Argentina, and even M. Vorobeichic’s 1920s avant-garde photographs of Vilna.

While *Writing Jewish Culture* is a significant work in the field of Jewish Studies as well as German-Jewish and Yiddish literature and will be of great interest to scholars in these fields, its contribution to the history of Jewish ethnography seems somewhat limited. Readers interested in that subject would gain more from reading another recent collection: *Going to the People: Jews and the Ethnographic Impulse*, edited by Jeffrey Veidlinger.

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Enemies for a Day: Antisemitism and Anti-Jewish Violence in Lithuania under the

Tsars. By Darius Staliūnas. Historical Studies in Eastern Europe and Eurasia, 3. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2015. xii, 284 pp. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$60.00, hard bound; \$39.99, paper.

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In this first-rate study, Darius Staliūnas examines the dynamics of antisemitism and anti-Jewish violence in tsarist-ruled Lithuania (equivalent to the imperial provinces

of Vil'na, Kovno, and Suvalki). Firmly rooted in social history but drawing on social scientific methods and, in some sense, social psychology, the book, written in workmanlike prose, draws on a vast array of sources in many languages, including hundreds of documents from Lithuanian archives as well as Russian, Polish, Israeli, and American archives. Staliūnas seeks to understand why there were relatively few incidents of anti-Jewish violence in Lithuania in the long nineteenth century; the clear comparator are the southern provinces of the Pale of Settlement, where there were several "waves" of pogroms in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (Another point of contrast, one that goes unmentioned by Staliūnas but which many readers will be aware of, is the genocidal violence committed by members of Lithuanian ultra-nationalist organizations during the Nazi occupation.) In some ways the author's approach is akin to "the argument from silence," since there were relatively few pogroms in Lithuania. In fact, this makes the author's task even more arduous: he must identify circumstances of interethnic and/or religious tension, and then attempt to explain why large-scale violence did *not* break out.

The fundamental building block of *Enemies for a Day*, and where Staliūnas truly excels, is the microhistorical analysis: a blow-by-blow unpacking of all the steps involved in the development—sometimes gradual, other times lightning-quick—of an incident of interethnic strife. The wealth of such cases that he has unearthed in the archives and the press allows him to understand the various phases of such an incident from the initial interaction to subsequent accusations and rumors to the intervention of the authorities. One recurring conclusion is that religious feelings (and clerical incitement) consistently played a central role in anti-Jewish violence; another is the idea of pogrom as "self-help": a response to putative Jewish offenses against Christians which the latter perceived the authorities would not rectify. But the microhistorical approach also has its disadvantages. At times the reader may feel lost in the many details, grasping for a larger pattern to provide clarity. If such patterns are lacking, it is not necessarily the author's fault: there are so many intersecting forces and motivations at work that it can be maddeningly difficult to make sense of them all.

The first two chapters of the book take a general approach to assessing the place and role of anti-Judaism and antisemitism in Lithuania. Staliūnas devotes an entire chapter (Chapter 1) to the blood libel, which played a key role in Lithuanian Judeophobia, and another to modern Lithuanian nationalism's perception of Jews. An important conclusion of the first chapter is the pattern that emerges through the nineteenth century of local authorities' supporting the blood libel accusation; when, in the regime's last decades, they did not do so in several key cases, mob violence broke out. Chapter 2 argues that Lithuanian antisemitism was not, for the most part, political or racial, and that Lithuanian nationalism was too focused on Russians and Poles as political enemies to set its sights on the Jews (who were even seen as potential allies).

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 investigate, respectively, specific outbreaks of violence: possible parallels to the pogroms of the early 1880s; a rash of religiously motivated clashes in 1900; and pogroms around 1905 and in 1915. Much of Chapter 3 is devoted to Judeophobic agitation that was inspired by events taking place elsewhere in the empire, since there was little actual violence. (It includes a fascinating analysis of a Lithuanian-language song that, while making no reference to violence against Jews, could have been interpreted by Jews as such.) If Staliūnas never provides a clear answer to the underlying question here—why don't we see the deadly ethnic violence in Lithuania that we expect to?—it is because, as he freely admits, the evidence yields no clear conclusion. Chapter 4 examines "brawls" that were very different from the deadly pogrom that occurred elsewhere; this was violence as a response to perceived economic and religious offenses against Christians, meant to remind Jews of their

rightful place in the social hierarchy. In Chapter 5, Staliūnas measures an elevated level of ethnic tension but, again, the plethora of detail does not yield any clear conclusion about why that tension did not give rise to more violence. Staliūnas saves the best for last: a chapter on comparative perspectives that provides more satisfying answers than anything preceding it. His inquiry into pogroms in Belarus concludes that Russian nationalism and imperial loyalty, neither of which was present among most ethnic Lithuanians, played a crucial role in facilitating the move to mob violence. Contrarily, Habsburg Galicia, like Lithuania, featured a hierarchy of ethnopolitical rivals as well as “an agrarian economy and slow modernization which . . . created fewer preconditions for anti-Jewish violence” (240).

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Störbilder einer Diktatur. Zur subversive fotografischen Praxis Ivan Kyncl im Kontext der tschechoslowakischen Bürgerrechtsbewegung der 1970er Jahre.

By Heidrun Hamersky. Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des ostlichen Mitteleuropa, no. 49. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2015. 284 pp. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Illustrations. Photographs. €34.00, hard bound.

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A 1979 photo shows Kamila Bendová sitting on an easy chair in a Prague apartment. Her five young children are draped over the chair and surrounding furniture, mugging for the camera; their mother is hunched down, hugging her youngest. Her pensive, tired gaze is cast downward, and she is almost concealed by her adorable children. This dissident family portrait (the paterfamilias Václav Benda was a political prisoner at the time) is just one of many images brought to light and sensitively analyzed by Heidrun Hamersky in *Störbilder einer Diktatur*, her wide-ranging, deeply researched monograph on Czech photographer Ivan Kyncl.

Hamersky's work draws on an archive of some 17,000 of Kyncl's negatives, obtained in 2010 by the Forschungsstelle Osteuropa at Universität Bremen; she has classified a subset dealing with surveillance, imprisonment, and other “dissident themes,” and these are the main subject of her book. Some of these images will be well-known to scholars of east central European dissent; if you are familiar with any portraits of Czech dissidents from the 1970s, you have probably seen the work of Kyncl, who was known as “the photographer of Charter 77.” Other images are completely new.

As Kyncl left few interviews or other records of his thought processes, Hamersky is thrown back on other sources; she draws widely on Czech and German scholarship, and makes skillful, effective, and hearteningly judicious use of secret police archives. An enormous strength of the book is some thirty interviews she conducted with Kyncl's friends and family, including former dissidents and exile publishers. Uncovering a wealth of detail and perspective, she constructs a composite portrait of Kyncl that is perhaps a bit thin on psychology—in the absence of his own testimony, for example, it's difficult to say why he signed the Charter—but nevertheless gives a nuanced view of his life. Above all she lets the photographic record speak for itself, composing its own portrait of an artist who was crafty, resourceful, risk-loving—and devoted to taking pictures.

At the heart of Hamersky's account is a conception of “subversive fotografische Praxis” (111), which is said to go beyond the creation of an alternative culture to reject the existing order as such. The weak point of this interpretation is that it's difficult to tell what subversive effect any of these photos actually had—and, as Hamersky