

tional understanding of his ‘total social fact’, as exemplified by Claude Lévi-Strauss, and shows how Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault read Mauss in a more complex and dynamic way. Like many others in this volume, he shows how the *Année Sociologique* group considered the making of categories as a complex process that overcomes conventional dichotomies such as structure and practice, individual and society, or perception and concept.

The volume will inspire readers to go back to classical texts with a new attentiveness to their complexity and relevance. As often in such minute inquiries, a small number of contributions straddle the boundary between dense insight and crankiness. Nevertheless, this is an excellent contribution to understanding one of anthropology’s most sustained and most momentous theoretical endeavours.

Guido Sprenger  
Heidelberg University

**Berger, Stefan and Philipp Müller (eds.): Dynamics of Emigration: Émigré Scholars and the Production of Historical Knowledge in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.**

261 pp. New York, Berghahn Books, 2022. ISBN 978-1-80073-609-2

In April 1935, the exasperation of Richard Thurnwald (1869–1954), the Austro-German anthropologist renowned for his pioneering functionalist work in New Guinea (1906–1909, 1913–1915), was palpable in a letter he wrote to his American patron Franz Boas (1858–1942). Boas, the ‘father’ of American cultural anthropology, spent decades from the outbreak of World War One raising funds and finding placements for Austro-German scholars fleeing war, the postwar economic collapse and, most recently, the political and antisemitic repression of the new National Socialist regime. Thurnwald had long benefited from his association and assimilation with what I term ‘sib Boas’<sup>1</sup>, a highly influential kinship unit consisting of a constellation of anthropology scholars aligned by methodological approach, philosophical outlook and personal connections.<sup>2</sup> It was from Yale that Thurnwald’s apprehensions about the decline in funding from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Nazification of the German university system emerged as significant. As Thurnwald wrote to Boas,

---

1 Viktor M. Stoll, ‘Gens Bastian – Sib Boas: Austro-German Diasporic Kinship Networks and the Dynamics of Patronage and Reciprocity in the Interbellum Internationalization of Anthropology’, (paper presentation, L’ethnologie de Hilde et Richard Thurnwald Conference, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris, France, July 9, 2021).

2 For more on the biography of Richard Thurnwald, see: Viktor Stoll, ‘Social Scientist Par Excellence’: The Life and Work of Richard Thurnwald’, in *Bérose - Encyclopédie internationale des histoires de l’anthropologie* (Paris, 2020), accessed from: <https://www.berose.fr/article1947.html?lang=fr>.

‘I must not mention the inhibitions I feel in regard to crossing the Atlantic in an eastward direction. It seems to me that cultural anthropology and sociology are not perspective sciences in present-day Germany. ... It is repugnant to me to go into slavery. You will, therefore, understand my reasons for trying to remain in this country, if possible.’<sup>3</sup>

While Thurnwald’s displacement is no doubt of interest to the readership of the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, it was not unique to scores of scholars from all disciplines who fled Fascist or Bolshevik totalitarianism throughout the twentieth century. Fleeing religious, ethnic and political persecution, these scholars often found themselves going ‘out of the frying pan and into the fire’, as they struggled against antisemitism and ethnic discrimination, political suspicions and nativism. Theirs is a story about the emigration and acculturation of the ‘Other’, though an ‘Other’ principally from a highly educated bourgeois background.

It is the experiences of these twentieth-century émigrés, particularly those of displaced historians, that *Dynamics of Emigration: Émigré Scholars and the Production of Historical Knowledge in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* examines in detail. The editors Stefan Berger and Philipp Müller, along with thirteen additional contributors, expertly explore ‘the question of the dynamics of emigration and its repercussions for scholarship’, as the shifting professional lives of displaced scholars ‘revolve around exile and return, loss and recovery’ (p. 1; p. 25). The acculturation of these scholarly ‘Others’ created an ‘insider/outsider dichotomy’ which allowed émigrés like Eric Hobsbawm and Peter Gay (originally Fröhlich) to carve out a trans-liminal identity between countries, institutions, theoretical alignments and methodological approaches. (p. 27)

Yet this does not presuppose that émigré scholars formed a distinct ‘scholarly personae’ like that of the archetypal ‘Rankean’ historian. As Herman Paul argues, ‘hybridity and cultural in-between-ness should not be reified into distinct identities’ (p. 54). Indeed, while the authors feel it appropriate to distinguish those émigré scholars of the ‘first generation’ from those of the second, or those who were displaced during their careers versus those that were displaced before entering the academy, even these categories are problematic. Many variables weighed on émigré adaptation, acculturation and assimilation, which the contributors readily acknowledge.

The ways that losing states sought to compel émigrés from afar and the way that ‘petty professional jealousies and resentments [in the receiving country] could very easily morph into feelings of provincialism, nativism and even antisemitism’ forced a myriad of coping and survival strategies from these scholars (p. 74). In their turn, these strategies influenced their approaches to their discipline and shaped their theoretical horizons. It is these processes that the work so expertly elucidates, as we learn ‘how émigré scholars were at the mercy of diverse institutional policies...how these scholars helped to shape and change such institutional policies...[and] the various scholarly

---

3 Richard Thurnwald to Franz Boas, 15 April 1935, *American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia, USA).

personae with which emigrants were confronted, and how these encounters shaped the active self-fashioning of the émigrés themselves (p. 237).

*Dynamics of Emigration* focuses heavily on the processes of scholarly acculturation during the social upheavals of the interwar and postwar periods (ca. 1920–1970) and the trans-liminal lives of decidedly male ‘*bildungsbürgerliche*’ historians from (primarily) central, eastern and southeastern Europe. While émigrés of Jewish descent fleeing Nazism or conservative historians fleeing Communism form the core of the work, notable exceptions include Iberian scholars like António Sérgio, José Ortega y Gasset and Miriam Halpern Pereira, displaced by the dictatorships of the *Estado Novo* in Portugal or Franco’s Spain. Moreover, the work is of note for social scientists studying the nexus between persecution, exile, emigration, acculturation, assimilation and historical memory in the production of knowledge during the early-to-mid twentieth century. In particular, the difficulties émigrés found in integrating into their new scholarly homelands, given the prevalence of antisemitism, the Red Scare and ethnic biases, are especially relevant in today’s increasingly nativist backlash against immigration in Europe and the United States.

Viktor Stoll  
University of Cambridge

**Dasgupta, Sangeeta: Reordering Adivasi Worlds: Representation, Resistance, Memory.**

368 pp. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2022. ISBN 978-0-19-012791-6

This book is about an Indian population category referred to as Adivasis (‘original inhabitants’). Other terms used to describe them are ‘tribes’ or ‘Scheduled Tribes’, the former a socio-cultural and the latter a constitutional and administrative category in India. Sangeeta Dasgupta’s historical study concerns the ‘Oraons’, one such Adivasi community inhabiting the territory of what today forms the states of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh. The study is more specifically about a movement among the Oraons called Tana Bhagat that erupted at the outbreak of the First World War. The movement began as a religious reform, but resistance to landlords and the British assumed an ingrained feature. The presence of the Tana Bhagats resonates even today in the articulation of their demands through memoranda and mobilization. Demands have of course shifted following the changing social and political context. The movement aimed at reordering Adivasi social and religious worlds participated significantly in the non-cooperation and civil disobedience movements against British rule launched by the Indian National Congress under the stewardship of Mahatma Gandhi.

The introductory chapter introduces the readers to the layers of social differentiation and contending narratives and politics among the Oraons. This is followed by an