

abs, but just one Berber and one Jew? Rosen does not tell us, though the work as a whole makes an implicit argument for how Arabness, Berberness, and Jewishness are foundational to Moroccan culture. Might they not also be mutually contingent, or even mutually constitutive? How Rosen's own identity colors the course of these discussions also remains somewhat muted throughout the book despite its deep sensitivity. As anyone who conducts research in Morocco knows, the question of religion comes up early and often in relationships with Moroccans, and Jewishness is especially redolent with meaning there. One wonders what effect it had on the relationships Rosen cultivated with such care, what questions it elicited of him.

This is an intriguing and original volume. Though very detailed, it is more literary than Rosen's earlier work, and quite a bit less technical. However, it is still too dense, and probably too long, for the popular audiences it seems to be seeking. Along similar lines, its copious use of quotations surely testifies to the author's learnedness, but are sometime diverting. (Norman Mailer's musings, for example, feel like a distraction in this context.) We are left with a volume that is too scholarly for a lay audience, but too popular for a scholar. Nor is this simply a finicky complaint: Rosen makes some truly captivating observations that the reader wants to follow up. For example, a hyper-stylized image of Muhammad as a youth that appears on page 104 is identified simply as being popular in Iran, yet no source is given for it. Some googling brought me to a colorized version of a 1905-photograph, originally taken by the Orientalist photographers Lehnert and Landrock of their Egyptian servant in Tunisia, an etiology I for one find fascinating. Similarly, a linguistic argument that the Qur'anic term used to describe the virgins promised to martyrs in heaven really should be read as "white raisins" is attributed only to an unnamed linguist. Metaphor or not, I would like to know more! But the book is entirely without footnotes, and I can almost visualize the University of Chicago press making fun of literally outmoded readers like this one as they made that decision.

"Two Arabs, a Berber, and a Jew" reads a little like a swansong, with all the benefits and few of the pitfalls that accrue to the genre. Yet one hopes that this is not in fact Rosen's *grande finale*, and that we will have the opportunity to continue to learn from his vast experience, so sensitively rendered. Emily Benichou Gottreich

Rountree, Kathryn (ed.): *Contemporary Pagan and Native Faith Movements in Europe. Colonialist and Nationalist Impulses*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2015. 315 pp. ISBN 978-1-78238-646-9. (EASA Series, 26) Price: £ 60.00

Fragments of pre-Christian pagan religions have endured around the world, woven into local customs, fairy tales, and folk wisdom. They began circulating around the globe as a modern movement in the last quarter century. In the United States, contemporary paganisms were influenced by the Civil Rights triumphs of the 1960s and counter-cultural revolution of the 1970s. The export of these American movements and varieties of British traditional

witchcraft influenced global pagan beliefs and practices. After the collapse of the USSR in the 1980s, these religio-cultural exports informed the growth of Eastern European paganisms during the post-Soviet religious and ethnic revival. From the 1970s into the 1990s, Scandinavian paganisms also evolved due to cross-cultural exchange with Anglo-American paganisms. This history is central to understanding how paganisms overlapped, traded, borrowed, colonized (or were colonized), and adapted. In this volume, Rountree defines modern pagan movements as sharing some important characteristics, such as the "valorization of human relationships with the rest of nature and polytheistic cosmologies" (1). In terms of beliefs, politics, and practices, pagan movements are decidedly diverse, even in their local contexts. Although contemporary pagans, which many scholars call "neopagan," believe their faith to be connected to an unbroken, hidden, or inherited lineage of pagans stretching back to pre-Christian times, their reconstructions and interpretations are more recent.

Many neopaganisms spring from similar origins and mythologies, sharing elements of modern practice adapted to local considerations. They are each intimately impacted by their socio-historical, political, economic, and cultural contexts. Paganisms struggle with the legacies of colonialism, both reacting against it and, in the case of Anglo traditions, simultaneously navigating their own practices of imperialism and cultural appropriation. Paganisms are a global effort, "asserting the primacy of the local while enjoying connections with, and often borrowing from, their counterparts in other places" (1). Although the chapters differ in quality and methodological vigor, Rountree's work is a welcome and timely contribution to the social scientific study of new religious movements and the growing interdisciplinary and international pagan studies concentration. Most importantly, perhaps, this volume contributes to the critical effort of sociologically contextualizing Western paganisms as products of globalization – an interplay between the effects of globalization and local concerns.

With theoretical richness, the chapters in this volume illustrate the tensions, collisions and identity-negotiations among those movements motivated by ethnonationalism, those attempting to resist the impact of colonialism and those embracing (or resisting) imported traditions. The first four chapters in the volume reveal how pagan practitioners in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the Czech Republic have adapted *Ásatrú* (Germanic Paganism) to their own cultural and political currents – as the Sami incorporate the reconstruction of neo-shamanism, influenced by the core shamanism out of California, into constructions of indigenous identity and efforts at Sami nation building. In Sweden, pagans construct a uniquely Swedish Heathenry in line with Swedish secular values of democracy, ecology, and equality. Present in each of these chapters are practitioners' struggles navigating multiculturalism, ethnicity, and accusations of racism – a problem faced by all Heathens and reconstructionist/ethnic paganisms, albeit guided by particular political sensibilities. Heathenry, a paganism of northern European origin, was most thoroughly developed in the 1970s in the United

States and exported back to Europe where practitioners edited and abridged rituals and practices to suit their own ethnic, political, and cultural values. In chap. 4, Kamila Velkoborská highlights the adaptation of *Ásatrú* by the “Brotherhood of Wolves” in the Czech Republic – a shift that she terms “From *Ásatrú* to Primitivism,” highlighting, as do chapters 5–7, the post-Soviet foundation on which various Eastern European paganisms have evolved into critical frameworks for identity politics, nationalist revivals, and cultural preservation. In this way, this volume is able to illustrate the “tensions in the relationships between universalism and particularism, indigeneity and nationalism, politics and religion, tradition and innovation, left- and right-wing, modernity and anti-modernity, pre-modern and postmodern” (2). Chapters 8–10, demonstrate how changing urban contexts and imagined identities impact the interplay between pan-European pagan practices and “local heritage.” In Berlin, for example, the “Moon-Women” seek publicity through public rituals in Berlin’s “ancient-cult-sites,” mixing the *völkisch* ideology of a religious practice bound by “blood and bones” with a cosmopolitan appreciation of the many international religious expressions imported into Berlin. These chapters provide us with further evidence about how practitioners of paganisms borrow, adapt, invent, and reinterpret folk customs and practices that they perceive as ancient and authentic, filtered through the literatures and zeitgeist of the Romantic era and each country’s awakening of national identity.

The resulting product is often a bricolage of cultural material, which many pagans frame as authentic ethnic cultural artifacts, an assertion constructed through interpretive liberties rooted in feeling rather than fact. Chapters 11–13 provide ethnographically rich illustrations of “the ways in which Pagans negotiate the tensions between local, cultural or national identities ..., and wider,” international and “increasingly globalized influences” (17), constructing Iberian, Milanese, or Maltese ethno-pagan identities. Iberian pagans invert Catholicism, reinterpreting, rather than rejecting, its symbols and rituals through a local Iberian pagan framework critical of imported traditions, organized religion, and the Anglo-imperialism within international paganism. This contrasts with the experiences of pagans in Malta, with its history of perpetual colonization, for whom Catholicism is not seen as an imported, imposed tradition but rather central to their cultural identities. In this case and in contrast to the reconstructionist paganisms of Eastern Europe and Scandinavia, religious syncretism and eclecticism is essential to the Maltese pagan project.

The subtitle of this volume, on the “Colonialist and Nationalist Impulses” of pagans around the world, captures two broad processes. The first involves forms of neo-colonialism, as Anglo-American and British beliefs and practices are exported, adopted, and adapted to local context, and as Rountree notes, in some ways “indigenized.” The second process involves both ethnonationalism, associated and entangled with racism and right wing politics, and romantic nationalism that may place an emphasis on an ethnic identity connected to nature, place, and space –

but is discomfited by racial extremism. Yet others, as seen in the Maltese context, indicate an appreciation for indigeneity and eclecticism simultaneously, but lack visible nationalist impulses. Throughout the volume, the authors capture the tensions and negotiations between reconstructionist and eclectic movements adapted to local considerations. The boundaries of these processes are blurry, fluid, and changing as pagans around the world react to globalization, modernity, local politics, and economic change.

Although studies of American and British paganisms have, for the last two decades, dominated the scholarship on pagan studies, research on paganisms in the rest of the European arena are decidedly sparse. Students and scholars of the sociology or anthropology of religion and pagan studies will no doubt find this book a useful tool, as it is one of the first complete volumes to explore paganisms in Europe and the complexities and influences of global and local politics, culture, and social change on these emerging movements.

Jennifer Snook

Saunders, Tanya L.: *Cuban Underground Hip Hop. Black Thoughts, Black Revolution, Black Modernity.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015, 356 pp. ISBN 978-1-4773-0770-0. Price: £ 20.99

In 1961, Fidel Castro declared racism in Cuba a thing of the past, a consequence of U.S. imperialism that had now been banished, and asserted that in just two years the Cuban Revolution had ended systemic racial discrimination on the island. Admittedly, individual prejudice would likely persist but would eventually fade away through education. But racial (and gender) inequalities at all levels continued and became more pronounced in the mid to late 1990s in the wake of the economic crisis that hit the island after the fall of the Soviet Union. It was during this Special Period that a group of young hip hop artists emerged and initiated a social movement – the Cuban Underground Hip Hop Movement (CUHHM) – to contest the legacies and realities of social inequalities in Cuba, which they closely linked to the island’s coloniality. Saunders argues that these mostly black and Afro-descended Cubans “worked to decolonize their own and their fellow citizens’ hearts and minds, as a means of contributing to the progress of revolutionary change in Cuba” (8f.). Through hip hop, these activists produced “a pro-Black, antiracist critique in a socialist country that has pronounced the elimination of racism within its borders” (10).

Saunders draws from ethnographic data gathered in Havana between 1998 and 2006, including over thirty interviews with hip hop artists living in and outside of Cuba and state officials affiliated with the CUHHM. Her role as a participant observer (attending concerts, for example) informs her analysis as do her everyday experiences during her time living in Cuba. She notes, for example, that “I passed as Cuban when moving through public space in Cuba” (3). This insiders’ perspective made her witness to the presence of racism, sexism, and homophobia on the island and the ways in which Cubans must navigate these realities and discourses. The experiences described and stories and perspectives shared from her interviews and