

schehene verstehen und beurteilen zu wollen. Sie stellte neue Fragen und bildete neue Begriffe, um verstehen zu können. Richard J. Bernstein würdigt die Haltung Arendts, wenn er schreibt: “Die Relevanz dessen für den Prozeß in Jerusalem sollte klar sein. Eichmann stellte einen neuen Typus von Verbrecher dar, und die Art des von ihm begangenen Verbrechens war beispiellos. Eichmann zu verstehen erfordert deshalb neue Wege des Denkens über Verantwortung, Urteilen und das Böse” (129).

Der Jerusalemer Eichmann-Prozess war ein Wendepunkt für Arendts philosophisches Denken. Das Urteilsvermögen des Menschen stellte sie fortan in den Vordergrund und sah in dessen Mangel die Ursachen des Verbrechens. Sie schreibt: “Dieser Mangel wirkt sich fatal in der Gesellschaft aus, die nicht mehr auf tradierte Regeln, Werte und Normen zurückgreifen kann. In Zeiten des Traditionsverlustes ist man nur auf sein eigenes Urteil angewiesen. Menschen ohne Urteilsvermögen fühlen sich in solchen Zeiten bedroht und sind bereit, jede ihnen angebotene Doktrin ohne Beurteilung und Kritik anzunehmen. Menschen, die kein Urteilsvermögen ausgebildet haben, tauschen ihre Individualität und ihr eigenes Denkvermögen gegen vermeintliche äußere Sicherheiten ein und werden auf diese Weise zu Handlangern der Demagogen” (245 f.). Die Geschichte wiederholt sich nicht, aber die Verhaltensweisen der Menschen verfallen immer wieder in dieselben Denk- und Handlungsmuster.

Als Fazit schreibt der Autor dieser Abhandlung über Hannah Arendt: “In diesem Zusammenhang ist es immer relevant und zu jeder Zeit aktuell, von Hannah Arendt zu lernen, mutig Querdenker bzw. ‘Denker ohne Geländer’ zu sein. Das unerschütterliche dauerhafte Erbe, das Hannah Arendt uns hinterlassen hat, ist das unabhängige Denken und Urteilen. Für sie ist ein Leben ohne Denken, Handeln und Urteilen nicht menschlich” (268). Es lohnt sich, diese Abhandlung zu lesen, nicht nur um ein besseres Verständnis der deutschen Vergangenheit zu erwerben, sondern um auf dem Hintergrund aktueller Tendenzen demagogischer Verführung der Massen die eigene Urteilskraft und Freiheit zu bewahren.

Joachim G. Piepke

Rosen, Lawrence: *Two Arabs, a Berber, and a Jew. Entangled Lives in Morocco.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016. 363 pp. ISBN 978-0-226-31748-9. Price: \$ 27.50

There is a particular pleasure that comes from reading the work of a scholar whose ideas are at their peak of ripeness. In the humanities and social sciences, this often comes at the tail end of a successful career, when academic worth has already been proven several times over and creative impulses can be given freer rein; footnotes may be eschewed, rules of evidence suspended, scholarly minutiae trumped by broader erudition. Among anthropologists specifically, one thinks of James Scott’s cheering (twice) for anarchism, Laura Nader’s holding forth on what the rest think of the West, or Michael Herzfeld’s gamboling ethnography of Roman gentrification. Infused with a confidence, that can only be accumulated over de-

acades of ethnographic research, the anthropologist can finally tell the story in exactly the way they, she, or he sees fit.

Lawrence Rosen has clearly attained this level of expertise in Moroccan anthropology, a field he himself helped found in the 1970s, when he joined Clifford and Hildred Geertz to undertake groundbreaking research on the people and placehood of Sefrou, a town in Morocco’s middle atlas. (This cohort of American anthropologists also includes Paul Rabinow, whose “Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco” is in some ways the youthful mirror to Rosen’s more mature work considered here.) Their collective body of work occupies a pivotal place in North African studies, marking the transition away from the French Orientalist approaches that dominated the field for decades and toward more rigorous, locally informed treatments unburdened by any colonial baggage. Rosen is now a full professor with an endowed chair at Princeton University and a recipient of the MacArthur “genius” grants; one would be hard pressed to find another person as knowledgeable about Sefrou, or Moroccan culture in general, working in the American academy today.

“Two Arabs, a Berber, and a Jew” is the culmination of Rosen’s many decades conducting research in Morocco. It relates the life stories of four Moroccan men, Haj Hamed Britel, Yaghnik Driss, Hussein Qadir, and Shimon Benizri, whom Rosen had countless conversations with and knows well. The ease of the conversations is noteworthy; it is really the story of five men if you count Rosen himself – and indeed one should, since his visits, questions, ideas, and experiences inform the course of the four narratives. Sefrou itself is perhaps a sixth character. The changes the town, and by extension Morocco as a whole, has undergone during the period stretching from the late protectorate period through independence and into the current post-colonial period – Rosen’s last visit recorded in the book was in 2008 – provide the context for the development of the four men’s cosmologies. Their ideas about “the nature of creation, the cosmos, and the ultimate destiny of mankind” are not easy things to get at, and Rosen does an amazing job of tracing such subtle trajectories. The men must have been chosen at least partly for their thoughtfulness. Each chapter presents an individual biography through conversations which sometimes took place many years apart. The fact that the discussion is often picked up right where it was left off despite long interims may be surprising to the reader, and to Rosen, but not to the Moroccan interlocutor, telling us a great deal about local conceptions of time and its passage in Morocco.

Despite their many similarities (gender, age, region, nationality), what separates the four men, as implied by the book’s title and structure, is religio-ethnic identity: Arab, Berber, or Jewish. This taxonomy raises some interesting questions. Can’t these categories overlap? Indeed, in Morocco, don’t they *necessarily* overlap? Rosen suggests they are “entangled,” but such an arrangement implies an inherent separateness that is open to debate. A larger question is whether this tripartite division reflects the men’s own primary identifications, or whether it has been imposed by the author. For that matter, why *two* Ar-

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