

- <sup>1</sup> Association pour la Promotion de l'Elevage au Sahel et en Savane
- <sup>2</sup> Diese Situation wurde von Mirjam de Bruijn (1999) bereits sehr eindringlich für die Fulbe im Hayre (Mali) geschildert.
- <sup>3</sup> Im westafrikanischen Kontext ist „Marabut“ die im Französischen gebräuchliche Bezeichnung für Koranglehrte. Siehe dazu Robinson u. Triaud (1997). Vergleiche jedoch zu Marokko Eickelmann (1981:222) und Kraus (2004:201).
- <sup>4</sup> Hier sei die Bemerkung erlaubt, daß die Art der Nutzbarmachung des symbolischen Wissens durch die APESS mehr als einen Hinweis in einer Fußnote verdient hätte (203, Fn. 1).
- <sup>5</sup> Vergleiche etwa Breedveld und de Bruijn (1999) und van Dijk (2005).

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2005 *Fulbe elites, anthropologists and the Fulbe way of life*. Unveröffentlichter Vortrag, Max-Planck-Institut für Ethnologie, Halle, Oktober 2005

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Jacques Gutwirth: *La Renaissance du hassidisme. De 1945 à nos jours*. Paris: Odile Jacob 2004. 271 pp.

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Jacques Gutwirth enjoys a major reputation among urban anthropologists, especially among those focusing on religious communities. 'La Renaissance du hassidisme' grows out of his earlier work on the lives of members of the Belz Hasidim in Antwerp (Gutwirth 1970). After giving a brief historical overview of the Hasidic movement, from its origins in the eighteenth century to its rebirth after the Second World War, Gutwirth devotes individual chapters to different Hasidic communities that have established themselves in Europe, the US and Israel since 1945. In Europe he takes us to Belgium (Antwerp), where several groups live together, the most populous among them being the members of the Belz dynasty, and to France (mostly Paris) where the Lubavitch movement prevails. In the US we visit Brooklyn, New York, where different groups dominate individual neighbourhoods across the borough: the Satmar in Williamsburg, the Bobov in Borough Park, and the Lubavitch in Crown Heights. In Israel we go to Jerusalem and Bne Brak, where the Vishnitz sect has the most members.

We learn that 20 000–30 000 Hasidim survived the Holocaust. Today there are 400 000 Hasidim around the world, most of whom live

in Israel (200 000) and the US (150 000). Not surprisingly, the groups that are thriving best today owe their renaissance to spiritual leaders, known as *rebbes*, who survived the war. As Gutwirth tells it, '[d]ans les camps de personnes déplacés en Allemagne, ces leaders furent les catalyseurs de cette renaissance' (192). But the *rebbes*, Gutwirth hastens to add, did not do it alone, but had considerable assistance from Jewish organizations seeking to rebuild the Jewish community around the world. In assisting the Hasidim, the Jewish establishment has helped stem the dramatic demographic decline of the Jewish population, which has not bounced back the way other decimated groups have done since 1945. But in doing so, they have also tipped the scales within the Jewish community towards religious orthodoxy and away from more assimilated forms of Judaism, though not necessarily away from modernity.

Gutwirth carefully shows how members of the various Hasidic sects participate actively, and in some cases quite successfully, in the economy of the countries in which they live. In Israel and the US they have also inserted themselves into politics – Hasidim, for example, live in the occupied territories in considerable numbers (except for the Toldot Aronot and the Satmar, who have taken a firm stand against this kind of expansion). In other words, the Hasidim are not like the Amish, who have remained firmly attached to a rural way of life that has largely disappeared. On the contrary, Hasidim have consciously chosen to adjust to change, but in ways that do not compromise their religious beliefs and traditions. Gutwirth goes so far as to show how Hasidim embrace aspects of feminism, at least among members of the Lubavitch movement (204). That said, the participation of Hasidim in the modern world is severely limited by the constraints imposed on them by their religious calendar and the restricted education they provide their children.

The book offers an excellent survey of the state of the Hasidic movement in different

parts of the world and is a very good introduction to the various sects and to the movement as a whole. However, we do not learn as much as we might about what makes the sects different from one another. For example, although Gutwirth does describe the unique form of education of the Toldot Aronot – 'plutôt un mode de ferveur liturgique qu'une quête d'érudition' (126) – he provides no ethnographic texture. His work also lacks historical detail. Given his interest in the ongoing controversies among the followers of Lubavitch about whether their *rebbe* Manachem Mendel Schneerson, who died in 1994, was the Messiah, I would have expected to see something about the conflict in Paris at the end of the war about whether this Schneerson was the rightful heir to the Lubavitch dynasty in the first place – something that people in Paris were still talking about in the late 1980s, when I was doing research there (Friedlander 1990).

Gutwirth describes in interesting detail the popularity of the Lubavitch movement among 'born-again' Jews. Known as *baalei tchuwah*, these Jews broke with their assimilated families and 'returned' to traditional Judaism. There is, however, a new chapter to this story that I hope Gutwirth will examine if he continues to write about the subject, one concerning the children of these *baalei tchuwah*, who are choosing to return to the secular world.

Let me end with the story of one of these rebels, Malkie Schwartz, the daughter of *baalei tchuwah*. When she graduated from high school, she left Crown Heights and moved in with her grandmother, an assimilated Jew. Malkie wanted to get away because she had trouble believing that deceased *rebbe* Schneerson was the Messiah, something her parents firmly asserted. She also wanted to go to college. Malkie's grandmother gave her a home in Manhattan and sent her to Hunter College, where she graduated with Honours in 2005. While studying at Hunter, Malkie created a not-for-profit organization to help the children of Hasidim leave the closed community of religious or-

thodoxy and enter the wider world. Malkie's work attracted the attention of a reporter for the New York Times (Mahler 2003) and the author of a book on Hasidic rebels (Winston 2005). The experiences of refugees from Hasidic communities like Malkie Schwartz are worthy of further study.

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Karsten Kumoll: „From the Native's Point of View“? Kulturelle Globalisierung nach Clifford Geertz und Pierre Bourdieu. Bielefeld: transcript 2005. 163 S.

Der Ansatz scheint vielversprechend: Zwei prominente Grenzgänger ihrer jeweiligen Disziplin werden von einem Autor in Beziehung zueinander gesetzt, der selbst an der Grenze zwischen Ethnologie und Soziologie angesiedelt ist. Damit scheinen gute Voraussetzungen

gegeben, die Ansätze von Clifford Geertz und Pierre Bourdieu hinsichtlich ihrer Relevanz für die aktuelle Globalisierungsdebatte einer eingehenden Analyse zu unterziehen. Doch der Autor vermag diese Erwartungen nicht so recht einzulösen: Statt neuere globalisierungskritische Publikationen von Geertz und Bourdieu ins Zentrum der Untersuchung zu rücken, reduziert er die beiden Meisterdenker weitgehend auf frühe Schriften und weist sie – zwangsläufig – als Vertreter defizitärer Kulturtheorien aus.

Die zentrale These von Karsten Kumoll, der Ethnologie an der London School of Economics studiert hat und nunmehr Soziologie in Freiburg lehrt, ist schnell ausgemacht: Die fortschreitende Globalisierung läßt nicht nur die klassischen Kulturkonzepte fragwürdig erscheinen, sondern erzwingt auch eine umfassende Transformation der Sozialwissenschaften. Diese These versucht der Autor anhand der Arbeiten von Clifford Geertz und Pierre Bourdieu plausibel zu machen, indem er sie hinsichtlich ihres Vermögens befragt, die aktuell zu beobachtenden Prozesse „kultureller Heterogenisierung, Entgrenzung und Globalisierung“ aufzuklären (15). In der Auseinandersetzung mit dieser Fragestellung ist Kumoll zufolge eine Arbeit entstanden, die erstmals „die symbolische Ethnologie und die Theorie der Praxis zueinander in Beziehung setzt und für eine Analyse kultureller Globalisierung fruchtbar zu machen sucht“ (16).

Doch zunächst stellt der Autor klar, daß seine Überlegungen nicht auf das erkenntnistheoretische Problem zielen, wie fremde Kulturen „from the native's point of view“ zu verstehen sind, sondern lediglich auf die folgende – wie es bei ihm heißt – „gegenstandstheoretische“ Frage abheben: Welchen Stellenwert räumen Geertz und Bourdieu der Perspektive der Einheimischen für die Konstitution der sozialen Realität ein (15)? Diese Frage hat immerhin Eingang in den Titel des Buches gefunden, doch beantwortet – soviel sei vorweggeschickt – wird sie vom Autor nicht.