



of the idea of 'conflict' or 'instinct' in modern social and psychological thought. It would have also helped with sharpening the focus of the book had the author narrowed the scope of its arguments down and had limited the boundaries of its investigation to a specific historical period. Most of these problems would have not arisen had the book been a little longer (about 50 pages). Overall, however, this is an engrossing book that at the end makes the case for the arguments that it puts forward. It is cohesive, comprehensive and refreshing. Reading it, however, requires more than just a general knowledge of social thought. It requires at least a graduate-level (maybe even higher) familiarity with sociopolitical thought.

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Jewish Memory and the Cosmopolitan Order

Natan Sznajder, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2011, £50.00 (hbk), £15.99 (pbk), 200pp.

The title captures the main argument of this fine piece of writing: Jewish *particularity* and *memory* nonetheless reaching out for a global and *universal vision*, here 'cosmopolitan order'. Jews inhabit a particular space of situatedness. Accordingly, we have to face up to the ways ethnicity or, in the case of Jewish identity, the entanglement of religion and ethnicity, inevitably relate to distinctive memories of the Shoa in Europe. Taking into account this different positioning, any attempt to claim the Holocaust as a founding moment to a *mutually shared* European collective identity is absurd: the past reaches out into our present, and contextualizes our visions of any non-nationalistic and more just global social order. Sznajder confronts us here directly with a paradox of current imaginations of new cosmopolitanism in Europe.

As he writes, 'It is particularly important to emphasize the paradoxical results of a European cosmopolitanism model based (for instance) on universalized memories of the Holocaust that leave out the particular experiences of its Jewish victims. By excluding the memories of Jews, Europeans inevitably fall back on a Kantian conception of cosmopolitanism rooted in a universalism that has no conceptual or actual space for the persistence of particular attachments' (p. 17).

Yet in 2008 in a German publication, he had argued similarly that there is a need to anchor debates on cosmopolitanism in Europe historically. Ignoring the specific and dividing historical context might turn a cosmopolitan Europe into an illusion like the *Kafkaesque Schloss* (2008: 83–4). In his new book, Sznajder takes up this challenge to make clear the historical burden and boundary conveyed in Jewish particularity; given that mainstream debates on new cosmopolitanism rather aim to overcome any ethnic *particularity*, this is a much-needed and daring task.

As a lens to illustrate differently rooted Jewish memory he turns to some of Hannah Arendt's central biographical stages. While capturing her *vita activa* in places that mattered to her personally and politically, he narrates a remarkable Jewish life in seven chapters. Starting with Arendt's birthplace, *Königsberg*, in the first chapter and grouped together with a number of international cities, for example Jerusalem (Chapters 1, 3 and 5), Paris (Chapters 1 and 2), Nuremberg (Chapters 5 and 6), and again and again, New York (Chapters 1, 3, 4, 6 and 7), these metropolitan places epitomize important junctures of Arendt's life journey as well as crucial moments of European Jewish experiences and history (eg Warsaw and Vilna, Chapters 4 and 5). It is this biographical wrapping up of collective trauma, resistance and cosmopolitan consciousness that convey collectively significant memory. Drawn from a wide range of sources, and informatively as well as brilliantly written, Sznajder takes Arendt's passionate intellectual and political struggles as a starting point to witness the turning pages of 20th-century European 'civilization'. Further, Arendt's critical engagement with Israel and Zionist politics, her love for America as well as her practical involvement with the rescue of Jewish cultural artefacts, for example, provide insights into a range of themes that underline Jewish roots of identity and routes of conflicts.

Sznajder does a great job, especially, in narrating the role of Israel and the US as state advocates and stakeholders of Jewish identity post-Holocaust. The mass murder and annihilation of European Jews in Continental Europe puts an end to cosmopolitan Europe as a meaningful cultural reference for diasporic Jews. Reflecting on the symbolic implications of the cosmopolitan and multilingual list put together by Jewish cultural institutions in Eastern Europe, which Arendt came across in her work for the JCR (Jewish Cultural Reconstruction), Sznajder explains: 'The authors of the lists were aware that what remained of Jewish material culture in Europe had to be redistributed. Millions of books and manuscripts . . . found their way onto this list through listings from Jewish congregations, institutions, libraries, schools, publishing houses, newspapers, and in all the European languages Jews employed . . . the lists also connoted death, especially the death of European Jewry and with it the death of the European-Jewish Diaspora' (pp. 56–7).

Reading Arendt's work since the 1980s, and thus being familiar with her ambivalent stance towards Israel, too, I found plenty of new and enriching information, in particular, regarding the East European links of her communal Jewish activities. As the 21st-century debate on new cosmopolitanism tends to overstretch notions of post-national and post-ethnic identities this book is a passionate reminder of the hidden and distinctive ethno-national shrines and undeniable legacies that encompass contemporary European identities. Here, I completely agree with Sznajder. However, I find the terminology of a cosmopolitan 'order' in the book title somehow reductive. Does the 'cosmopolitan order' refer to the continuity of pre-Holocaust cosmopolitan Jewish subjects living their actual *kosmopolitisch/Weltbürger* lives, first, against anti-Semitic nationalistic Europe, and now, against claims of new cosmopolitan

identities in the European Union? If so, then in my view it is necessary to think of Jewish memory and cosmopolitanism as a subaltern utopia of resistance and bonding that keeps the persisting global Jewish Diaspora beyond a Germanic-Israeli shadow of Europeanization.

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Ancestors and Relatives: Genealogy, Identity and Community

Eviatar Zerubavel, Oxford University Press, New York, 2012, £15.99, 226pp.

Eviatar Zerubavel is a master of the extended essay, and he has been writing about aspects of time for many years. Indeed, he is to be counted among the pioneers of time studies. His early classic, *Patterns of Time in Hospital Life*, demonstrated precisely how one can learn a lot about organizations through an analysis of their temporal rhythms. Cycles, timetables and rosters all enshrine major features of collective activity, the division of labour, the distribution of responsibility and hierarchical arrangements. His intellectual forebears include Simmel and Goffman – two authors who more than any others deployed a formal mode of analysis. Zerubavel has continued to work on time as well as other forms of collective representation, and he has also continued to explore their formal properties. His more recent works include a short monograph on the intersections of historical and spatial representations, examining how maps inscribe particular versions of the past.

This new work continues the theme of time and collective memory. It deals with lineages, genealogies, family trees and similar representations of relatedness. This theme has, of course, a particular contemporary resonance. As Zerubavel himself notes, such representations are pervasive, not least in the conjunctures of biological science, medical practice, and everyday thought. So while genealogies are as old as any other cultural form, and are a part of our common cultural heritage, from Hesiod or the Bible, to the family trees of royal dynasties and noble houses, to the family pedigrees of medical genetics, they have taken on special significance.

Genetic science and medicine have given kinship studies a shot in the arm. Having been for a while a somewhat esoteric branch of social anthropology, the study of kinship and descent has in recent years become a much more