

Mediterranean region but all those who want to know more about anthropological theories of marginality, ambiguity, and the interrelatedness between the global politics of “modernisation” and the local.

Michaela Schäuble

Gudermann, Rita, und Bernhard Wulff: Der Sarotti-Mohr. Die bewegte Geschichte einer Werbefigur. Berlin: Ch. Links Verlag, 2004. 174 pp. ISBN 3-86153-341-3. Preis: € 29,90

Wer kennt ihn nicht? Der Bekanntheitsgrad des Sarotti-Mohren ist sehr groß – 9 von 10 Deutschen wissen, wer er ist, aber kennen sie ihn wirklich? In menschlicher Gestalt war der Sarotti-Mohr in der Vergangenheit gelegentlich in der Öffentlichkeit zu Werbezwecken zu sehen. Heutzutage ist das nicht mehr passend. Die wechselvolle Geschichte des Sarotti-Mohren war bereits im Herbst 2004 in der Kulturbühne des bekannten Berliner Kulturkaufhauses als Ausstellung zum druckfrischen Bilderlesebuch zu sehen. Seit Frühjahr 2005 sind am historischen Ort in den Sarotti-Höfen erstmals ein Café und Hotel in Betrieb. Als Wirtschaftsjournalistin zeichnet Rita Gudermann die Entwicklung der Firma Sarotti nach und spitzt sie auf die prominente Figur des Mohren zu. Mit seiner reichhaltigen Sammlung von Sarotti-Artikeln steht ihr der Werbetechniker Bernhard Wulff zur Seite.

Worin liegt der Reiz von Schokolade? Feine französische Confiturware importierte der Firmengründer Heinrich Ludwig Neumann in die Berliner Friedrichstraße. Die aphrodisierende Wirkung von flüssig genossener Schokolade war bekannt. Der Rohstoff Kakao stammte aus den Tropen. Die kurze deutsche Kolonialzeit war bei Kriegsbeginn 1914 beendet. Zur massenhaften Verbreitung von Schokoladenwaren hat die mehrfache Verfeinerung in der Verarbeitung und im Vertrieb beigetragen. Produkte der Firma Sarotti sind Qualitätsprodukte. Zum 50. Firmenjubiläum 1918 schuf der Grafiker Julius Gipkens den Sarotti-Mohren, damals schon eine Erinnerung an die Zeiten, als es noch deutsche Kolonialwaren gab. Der kleine, blau und rot gewandete Sarotti-Mohr begleitete die deutsche Konsumgesellschaft durch die Jahrzehnte, wurde selbst aber nicht älter und größer. Afrikanische Kinderpagen in orientalischer Kleidung dienten in Europa seit dem 16. Jh. (19). Die Blickfangfunktion des exotischen Jungen ist wichtig, wenn kleine Darsteller Prominenten wie Romy Schneider (133) Pralinen überreichen.

Die wirtschaftlich goldenen Zeiten des Sarotti-Mohren lagen in seinen ersten zehn Lebensjahren, den Goldenen Zwanzigern. Mit seiner zu Goldfarbe übergangenen Hautfarbe erhielt er 2004 auch einen neuen Namen als “Magier der Sinne”, der mit Sternen jongliert statt Pralinen darzureichen. Die wirtschaftlich erfolgreichste Zeit wird erst noch erwartet. Ziel ist ein 100-Millionen-Euro-Umsatz (153), der noch nicht zur Hälfte erreicht ist. Zum Sarotti-Firmenjubiläum 1918 trat der Sarotti-Mohr zu dritt mit seinen zwei Brüdern erstmals auf, seit 1922 ist er allein Markenzeichen. Um

1952 paddelt er auch mit 4 identischen Brüdern auf der Pralinschachtel, die als Classic Edition No. 4 zur Jahrtausendwende wieder auftaucht.

Schokoladenzeit ist Mußezeit. Da passen Minigeschichten gut. War der Sarotti-Mohr früher in kleinen Geschichten (das Rendezvous; 128) zum Schmunzeln zu sehen, werden in der neuen Marketingzeit Kunden auf der Packung direkt angesprochen und um ihre eigenen Geschichten vom Sarotti-Mohren gebeten. Mit einer Sarotti-Tasse als Dankeschön (154) wird die Kundenbindung gestärkt. Das Genussmittel Schokolade eignet sich zum Verzehr vor und beim Wohlfühlen, als Leckerli bei Stimmungsschwankungen, als Belohnung und als Extra (Pralinen) in angenehmer Runde: “Für den plötzlichen Appetit auf etwas Süßes. (Mitten in der Arbeit – und auch sonst . . .)” (134).

Treue Fans sind nicht begeistert von der Kritik am erneuten Lancieren des Mohren als “Magier der Sinne” und fragen, “welche Gefahr schon von einer bunten Werbefigur mit großen Kulleraugen ausgehen solle” (8). So sehr unterscheiden sich die Sichtweisen – einem Fan kommt gar nicht der Gedanke, dass sich schwarze Menschen in Deutschland durch die massenhafte Verbreitung der Marke Sarotti-Mohr (Kind) im kollektiven deutschen Gedächtnis in ihrer Würde herabgesetzt sehen können. Tatsächlich kann man heutzutage nicht nur über eine Wohltätigkeitsorganisation Post von einem schwarzen Patenkind erhalten, sondern auch vom Sarotti-Mohren, “Ihrem Freund” (152). Der große Unterschied liegt darin, dass ein afrikanisches Patenkind gern nimmt, weil es wenig hat, und der Sarotti-Mohr gibt. So scheint es nur auf den ersten Blick, denn der Mohr überreicht, was ihm selbst nicht gehört.

Das flüssig geschriebene Bilderlesebuch enthält viele farbige Abbildungen, und es eignet sich auch als Gesprächseinstieg über Bilder fremder Menschen mit NichtethnologInnen. Der zeithistorische Kontext läuft als roter Faden mit. Die Autorin und der Autor gehen auch auf Kult und Kritik ein. Durch dieses Buch wurde eine Forschungslücke in Form von unbearbeiteten Archivmaterialien geschlossen. Ein schönes Buch zur materiellen Kultur der Schokoladenwelt und ihrem bekanntesten imaginären Helden, dem Sarotti-Mohren.

Elisabeth Schwarzer

Gutwirth, Jacques: The Rebirth of Hasidism. 1945 to the Present Day. London: Free Association Books, 2005. 198 pp. ISBN 1-85343-774-3. Price: £ 19.95

Hasidut, or Hasidism, is a traditional Jewish religious movement with three distinguishing charismatic elements. Firstly, adherents place themselves in a close-knit community bound by personal allegiance to a specific rebbe, believed to have special charismatic connections to the Divine, often manifested in healing, clairvoyance, and other miraculous powers. Secondly, this charisma is intergenerationally and dynastically transmitted to consanguineal or affinal kin; a son or son-in-law of the rebbe typically receives the mantle. Thirdly, prayer traditions emphasize *kavanah* (concentration), *devekut* (attachment

to God), and *simhah* (joyfulness, often overflowing into dance). Numerous additional customs (dress, pronunciations of Hebrew, etc.) distinguish Hasidim from other Jews and from each other. But these three charismatic elements constitute a stable, unifying, and distinctive anthropological core of the Hasidic movement.

Anthropologist Jacques Gutwirth has given us a masterful overview of the origin and recent (post-World-War-II) evolution of Hasidism, which now may have 400,000 adherents, perhaps half of them now in Israel, attached to dozens of distinct rebbes. After a chapter on East-European origins, Gutwirth takes us on a city-by-city journey through today's Hasidic world: Antwerp, Brooklyn (with its neighborhoods Williamsburg, Borough Park, and Crown Heights), Jerusalem, Bnei-Brak, and Paris, the post-Holocaust centers of the movement. In each locale he discusses the dominant Hasidic group: its rebbes, its customs, its current economic and demographic base, its inner squabbles, and its external relations with the American, Israeli, or French State. The book is a rich treasure of information, some of it statistical, most of it descriptive and historical. A concluding chapter discusses common themes.

The book will be useful to those already interested in and familiar with Hasidism who desire a broader historical and geographical panorama. Even Hasidim could learn from Gutwirth about other Hasidim. The book may be less exciting for anthropologists of religion, except as a data-rich sourcebook, since there is no systematic exposition of the shared beliefs and rituals that distinguish Hasidism from other varieties of orthodoxy, or that distinguish different Hasidic groups from each other. Insights are present, but they surface sporadically. And though Gutwirth did fieldwork in Antwerp in the 1960s for his first book, here he is principally a reviewer of a 9-page bibliography, less an anthropological fieldworker as an appendix explains. The reader is unsure how much time he spent in places like Bnei-Brak or Williamsburg, or what he did while there. In short, the book is a reliable, informative compendium of scholarly information written by a knowledgeable anthropologist, but not an "anthropological study." It is valuable for what it is and should not be critiqued for what it is not.

Translation was doubly challenging: Gutwirth first had to choose French equivalents for Yiddish/Hebrew terms, then Leighton had to retranslate the terms to English. Both made some curious decisions that marred an otherwise excellent translation. Hasidim often pray not in large synagogues with forward-facing pews but in smaller intimate rooms with chairs or benches around tables, where prayer is charismatic and occasionally raucous, each person praying at his own pace with occasional spontaneous outbursts. Such a locale, somewhat unique to Hasidism, is called a *shtiebl* (from Germanic "little room"). Gutwirth puzzlingly called them *oratoires*, "oratories" in the English translation. An oratory is either a generic name for any place of prayer, including churches and mosques, or more often a small, private chapel, usually Catholic. (When in doubt, get thee to Google. "Oratory" yields nearly seven million

hits. "Catholic oratory" in quotes yields 7,800. "Hasidic oratory" yields zero.) Hasidim don't pray in oratories (sounds like a Jesuit chapel). They *daven* in *shul* or in the *shtiebl*. Some words are best explained to readers and left as is.

Even more aggravating are those mysterious Jewish "penitents" that pop up page after page. Gutwirth had to devise a French term for *baale teshuvah*, nonobservant Jews who "return" to religion. He chose French *repenti*, translated into English as "penitent." That word in English evokes a Catholic sinner who has taken on special punishments – self-flagellation, ascending cathedral stairs on bended knees, saying five Hail Mary's after confession. Such privatized penances are rare in Judaism. If you are a pork-eating Jewish Sabbath-desecrator ashamed of your ways, you don't "do penance." You simply forget the past, eat kosher food, walk to a synagogue on Sabbath, etc. No extra penances – no whips, no fasting, no five *shma-Israels* – are required for past pork orgies. To translate *baal teshuvah*, "newly religious" would be better than the *goyische* term "penitent," which occurs not once or twice but all over the book.

Unlike these minor points, a generic negative tone is created by Gutwirth's puzzling insistence on labeling Hasidim as ultra-this or ultra-that. (They are ultra-religious, ultra-orthodox, and ultra-traditional. Even the knife they use to slaughter animals is ultra-sharp.) An English-speaking reader wonders why Gutwirth spent time writing about people that he so strongly disapproves of. But this may be a linguistic illusion. In French *ultra* simply means "very" with no built-in judgment. In French you can be *ultra-fatigué* (dead tired). French knives can be "ultra-sharp", clothing "ultra-chic," and people *ultra-sympa* (super-nice). The prefix indicates quantity or degree, not negativity.

Not so in English. Except in physics ("ultra-violet"), the prefix "ultra" in English means not only "very," but also "excessive," or "fanatic." It is negative even with positive adjectives. (Super-polite is fine. But "he's ultra-polite" means something's wrong with his politeness.) When the book repeatedly calls Hasidim "ultra-religious" or "ultra-orthodox", their religiosity or orthodoxy comes across as fanatical or exaggerated. Since French *ultra* lacks this built-in negativity, Gutwirth's frequent *ultra-religieux* and *ultra-orthodoxe* should have been rendered in English as "deeply religious" or "highly orthodox," or something similar. Perhaps Gutwirth should have toned down his ultra-attachment to the prefix "ultra" even in French. It should emphatically not have been there in the English translation. It peppered his entire book with negative connotations against the Hasidim, which were (presumably and hopefully) not intended in the original French.

Beyond language, there are deeper issues of anthropological explanation. The cover hinted that Gutwirth would go beyond mere demography to help "explain" the "population explosion" of Hasidim. He deserves a second chance. He valiantly invokes political, economic, and social factors as explanatory factors for the rebirth of

Hasidism: the diamond industry in Antwerp, favorable U.S. immigration laws, democracy, and freedom from anti-Semitism. It sounds good – until one scratches the surface. Those same sociopolitical variables “permitted a flight from religiosity” among other sectors of world Jewry. Why, in the same democratic Jew-friendly American context, do some Jews become fervent Hasidim, others become militant atheists, and yet others settle for bland ethnic dabbling, just enough low-keyed assimilated *yiddishkeit* so that son Jason or daughter Tiffany can get through their *bar-* or *bat-mitzvah* in a synagogue they’re unlikely to revisit.

In “The Rebirth of Hasidism” Gutwirth has given us a statistically and descriptively rich overview of the Hasidic world. The book is a major contribution. Hopefully he will give us a sequel that probes the deeper causal forces that lead some Jews to embrace, and others to reject, the rebbes and their Hasidim.

Gerald F. Murray

Handelman, Don, and Galina Lindquist (eds.): *Ritual in Its Own Right. Exploring the Dynamics of Transformation*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2005. 232 pp. ISBN 1-84545-051-5. Price: £ 15.00

Naturally, the interpretation of ritual follows ways of interpreting religion. The main question concerns the possibility of an approach, which does not reduce ritual to social, cultural, psychological, etc. phenomena. “Ritual in Its Own Right,” as a title, is a promising thesis, which argues for the originality of the ritual phenomenon. The authors of this collective work intend to understand ritual by analyzing its core structure. It involves to some extent the employing of the phenomenological method consisting of the separation of the studied event from its social context (bracketing), analyzing it (using different methods, also empathy), and putting it back to its context with larger knowledge about it. The contributing authors follow this procedure to varying degrees.

The first essay written by Bruce Kapferer, “Ritual Dynamics and Virtual Practice. Beyond Representation and Meaning,” focuses on the inner dynamics of ritual. The main function of ritual is not to represent something but to create, generate, and produce some effects. According to the author, although the representational, meaning-driven, symbolic perspective is still important, a shift needs to be made to viewing “ritual as a dynamic for the production of meaning” (50). Following the ideas of S. Langer, V. Turner, and G. Deleuze, the author treats ritual as virtuality, “a dynamic process in and of itself with no essential representational symbolic relation to external realities” (46). The virtuality of ritual is dynamic and allows rituals to take shape in all kinds of the potentiality of human experience. In that construction the participants can detach themselves from the constraints of everyday life and create something new, at least imaginatively. The second characteristic of ritual’s virtuality is its capacity to enter the concrete dynamics of life and to regulate life-processes. “By means of the

virtuality of ritual, ritualists engage with positioning and structuring processes that are otherwise impossible to address in the tempo and dynamics of ordinary lived processes as these are lived at the surface” (48). Ritual performance can be imagined as a field of forces in whose virtual space human realities are recreated and the participants are reoriented and reinforced in their everyday capacities.

The second essay, “Otherwise than Meaning. On the Generosity of Ritual” by Don Seeman, adds a further theoretical consideration. The essay is an anthropological reflection about suffering, referring to thoughts of E. Levinas and C. Geertz. Suffering is both present in the consciousness of the sufferer and yet resistant to consciousness as such. Producing meaning of suffering does not answer the question of the efficacy of ritual. The practice of the healer tries also to alleviate some real pain. Pain invokes alterity, an experience of otherness. The suffering person feels different to himself. The ritual creates the possibility to present suffering in a meaningful way, enabling its justification and endurance. It brings rather an opportunity than a readiness to respond.

After these two theoretical contributions follow seven, more aspectual, essays. In “The Red and the Black. A Practical Experiment for Thinking about Ritual” M. Housemen presents his experience with ritual showing that the efficacy of ritual depends neither on the substantial symbolism of ritual, nor on its pragmatic consequences, nor on its performative qualities, but on the enactment of the special relationships its performance implies. He argues that the “successful ritual performance seems to rely less upon a convergence of the participants’ dispositions and motivations than upon the systemic coordination of their overt actions in accordance with these outward relational patterns” (91). In “Partial Discontinuity. The Mark of Ritual” A. Iteanu raises the question of how ritual can be distinguished from other activities. He states that in some societies every activity is a ritual to a certain extent. Taking two examples from Melanesia, the Maori *hau* and the exchange by Orokaiva, he shows the partial discontinuity that transforms horizontal equivalence in relationships among persons into vertical relationships between spirits and humans. “Religious Weeping as Ritual in the Medieval West” by P. Nagy considers the intimacy of ritual, analyzing a particular form of an inner self-transformative process, medieval religious weeping, which was a visible, bodily sign of sanctity, but functioned as a ritual outside of any social control. She argues that such a transformation process depended on the way medieval people perceived their relation to God, on the conception of the place of man in the world, and on historical conditions including specific relations of institutions and persons. “Enjoying an Emerging Alternative World. Ritual in Its Own Ludic Right” by A. Droogers analyzes the initiation ritual for boys among the Wagania (Congo). The author shows the emergence of ludic behavior in the practice of the rite has a positive effect generating an alternative,