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Pious Practices and Secular Constraints: Women in the Islamic Revival in Europe. *By Jeanette S. Jouili*

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to Klaus Scholtissek's contextualization of the story of the foot washing in John 13:15 with Greco-Roman sources in order to determine that ritual's significance.

The discussion continues along the same useful and informative lines in "Part 3, Imperial Ideology and Other Christian Texts." In connection with his analysis of "*The Shepard of Hermas* and the Roman Empire," Mark Grundeken comes up with a discerning formulation that applies more widely: "*Hermas* does not envision active resistance but passive dissidence" (p. 200); Grundeken dates *Hermas* between the end of the first and the middle of the second centuries and argues that the author lived close to Rome—hence the strong orientation towards pragmatism and realism. When the latter were not the guiding attitudes and martyrdom was sought, such a choice elicited not admiration from pagan contemporaries as in the case of the death of Socrates and others, but rather contempt as is meticulously documented by Paul Middleton in his "Noble Death or Death Cult? Pagan Criticism of Early Christian Martyrdom." The volume concludes with another well-focused and concisely-written essay by Marco Frenschkowski on "*Nero Redivivus* as a Subject of Early Christian Arcane Teaching." Besides shedding new light on the relations of Nero's and Pseudo-Nero to the Antichrist, Frenschkowski foregrounds an aspect of early Christianity that is often underemphasized, i. e., a hankering after secrecy: "not everything in ancient Christianity was public" (p. 245).

In sum, this is a very judicious and well-researched volume. It quietly demonstrates that the previous anti-imperial turn is largely an emperor without clothes.

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Pious Practices and Secular Constraints: Women in the Islamic Revival in Europe. By *Jeanette S. Jouili*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015. 258pp. \$90.00 cloth; \$19.57 paper; \$27.95 e-book.

Pious Practices and Secular Constraints is premised on the image of a secular state under siege by Muslims who persist in religious practices that challenge Europe's identity, including the highly public

wearing of headscarves. Jeanette Jouili integrates relevant post-structuralist accounts of the anthropology of ethics with her original ethnographic work to illustrate the porous yet regulated boundary between the secular and religious worlds as well as a range of ways in which Muslim women in Germany and France deal differently with the opportunities, demands, and restrictions associated with secular modes of life. How do “pious” Muslim women cope with the everyday difficulties of living an ethical life, as defined by the Islamic tradition, in societies that are increasingly hostile to visible forms of Islamic piety? Based on fieldwork done in the early-to-middle 2000s in and around Cologne and Paris, this book illustrates how certain Muslim women—namely, those associated with “revival circles”—inhabit restrictive secular spaces in two different national contexts and engage in moral struggles in the public sphere.

Chapter 1 is an introduction to the theoretical literature. Chapter 2 addresses the concept of self-education. The women experience a variety of incidents that trigger their motivations for a more formal religious knowledge than they had learned in mosque classes at an early age. Jouili’s first example, the case of Gulden’s quest for Islamic knowledge, presents a complicated situation in which Gulden had felt pressed upon as a child in German public schools to serve as her classroom’s “expert on Islam” simply by dint of her Turkish background. Those schools’ essentializing of Gulden later stimulated her interest to educate herself and, in a non-linear fashion, motivated her to become more moral. Moreover, in Gulden’s story, as in many others, the kind of “authentic” religious knowledge these women sought had to be freely accepted rather than imposed by others, most notably parents. This experience demonstrates the importance of learning how to talk about Islam and how learning this skill contributed not only to the self-cultivation of these women, but also, importantly, to combating the public’s negative image of Islam.

Chapter 3 examines the difficulties many women encounter in their efforts to follow a certain code of ethics in a secular society and the pedagogy employed in the centers these women attended. It is about how and why women pray, fast, dress modestly, and otherwise cultivate virtuous habits.

Chapter 4 delves into the thicket of debates all over Europe about Islam, gender, and sexuality. The image of the pious Muslim woman as oppressed and inexorably removed from the possibility of “emancipation offered by her liberal ‘host’ society” (p. 93) is far from the reality of the interlocutors of this study, who were on the contrary empowered by their acquired knowledge of Islam. Many of the women claim their space or demand to be heard in male-

dominated associations. Yet at the same time, they often defend a gendered division of labor and understand various rights and responsibilities to be gender specific. In the larger discursive context of European debates about headscarves and women's status in Islam, some of these revivalist women effectively bracket the gender issue and accept Islam in spite of what they see as its shortcomings, while others adhere to a vision of rights and duties that arguably cannot be disconnected from a religious-moral framework and refuse to justify themselves before "feminists" or "the enemies of Islam" (p. 115).

The rest of the book defines a cultural geography of everyday lived spaces, where the co-existence of secular and religious frameworks forms a set of political and social relations and practices in specific locations. For instance, the regular and punctual performance of *salat*, or ritual prayer, becomes an intrusion in secular spaces, such as workplaces and universities. Questions about whether to pray and to veil, combining child-rearing and professional careers, and modest conduct in public spaces demand much attention. In the navigation of this geography, these Muslim women not only cultivate a virtuous self, they also re-signify what the female Muslim body appears to be in the "new Europe" that increasingly pressures them to secularize. Jouili writes of resignification as a form of ethical labor that occurs through individualized moral reasoning within the well-defined norms of tradition and institutions. She argues it is a creative employment of body, time, and space to subvert "the constraints of the secular public spheres that seem to render impossible the public exercise of 'illegitimate' religious practices" (p. 176) while at the same time revising or resisting the most unwieldy confinements of one's religious tradition in a complex social world.

This book is a welcome contribution to the anthropology of ethics, diasporic Islam, and feminist studies. Jouili takes her place alongside the likes of Saba Mahmood, Nadia Fadil, and Mayanthi Fernando. As a fascinating source of ethnographic and theoretical material, *Pious Practices and Secular Constraints* can be useful in many disciplines.

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