

# Notes

## Introduction

1. Seyla Benhabib, *The Reluctant Modernism of Hannah Arendt*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1996, p. xxv.
2. Margaret Canovan, *Hannah Arendt: A Reinterpretation of Her Political Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 109.
3. Dana Villa, *Arendt and Heidegger: The Fate of the Political*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996, p. 8.
4. Benhabib, *The Reluctant Modernism*, p. 197.
5. see, for example, Dana Villa, *Arendt and Heidegger*, p. 9.
6. Amos Elon, *The Pity of it All: A History of Jews in Germany, 1743–1933*, New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002, p. 353.
7. There is, of course, a significant literature that picks up this theme; to develop this in more detail here would take us too far from the task at hand.
8. Peter Wagner, *A Sociology of Modernity: Liberty and Discipline*, London: Routledge, 1994, p. xii.
9. Stephen Eric Bronner, *Reclaiming the Enlightenment: Toward a Politics of Radical Engagement*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2004, pp. 97–98.
10. Canovan, *Hannah Arendt: A Reinterpretation*, p. 25.
11. Dana Villa, *Public Freedom*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008, pp. 215–16.
12. Margaret Canovan, *The Political Thought of Hannah Arendt*, New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974, p. 125.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
14. Dana R. Villa, “Thinking and Judging,” in *The Judge and the Spectator: Hannah Arendt’s Political Philosophy*, ed. Joke J. Hermsen and Dana R. Villa, Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 1999, p. 13.

15. Stan Spyros Draenos, "Thinking Without a Ground: Hannah Arendt and the Contemporary Situation of Understanding" in *Hannah Arendt: The Recovery of the Public World*, ed. Melvyn A. Hill, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979, p. 212.
16. George Kateb, *Hannah Arendt: Politics, Conscience, Evil*, Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983, p. 158.
17. Canovan, *The Political Thought of Hannah Arendt*, p. 125.
18. Kateb, *Hannah Arendt: Politics, Conscience, Evil*, p. 29.
19. Stephen Eric Bronner, personal conversation.
20. Bronner, *Reclaiming the Enlightenment*, p. xi.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 59 "The radical democratic alternative is usually seen in terms of atavistic organizational forms like the town meeting or the workers council. It also usually forgotten that these movements have always presupposed the existence of a state with liberal norms and that their success has been largely dependent in their ability to use the courts and pressure for legislation. The liberal state remains the point of reference for movements committed to social change and for those interested in the protection of civil liberties."

## 1 *Love and Saint Augustine: The Abstracted Neighbor*

1. Joanna Vecchiarelli Scott and Judith Chelius Stark, "Rediscovering Hannah Arendt," in Hannah Arendt, *Love and St. Augustine*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1996, p. 172.
2. George Kateb, *Hannah Arendt: Politics, Conscience, Evil*, Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983, p. 158.
3. Hannah Arendt, "What is Existential Philosophy?" (1946), in *Essays in Understanding, 1930–1954: Formation, Exile, and Totalitarianism*, ed. Jerome Kohn, New York: Schocken Books, 1994, p. 173.
4. Joanna Vecchiarelli Scott and Judith Chelius Stark, "Rediscovering Hannah Arendt," p. 151.
5. Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Augustine and the Limits of Politics*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995, p. 91.
6. Joanna Vecchiarelli Scott and Judith Chelius Stark, "Rediscovering Hannah Arendt," p. 122.
7. Peter Dennis Bathory, *Political Theory as Public Confession: The Social and Political Thought of St. Augustine of Hippo*, New Brunswick, NJ and London: Transaction Books, 1981, p. 139.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
10. Eugene TeSelle, *Living in Two Cities: Augustinian Trajectories in Political Thought*, Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 1998, p. 106.

11. R. A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St Augustine*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970, pp. 168–69.
12. Eugene TeSelle, *Living in Two Cities*, pp. 159–60.
13. Peter Dennis Bathory, *Political Theory as Public Confession*, p. 7.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
15. R. A. Markus, *Saeculum*, p. 170.
16. Karl Jaspers, *Plato and Augustine*, New York and London: Harcourt, Brace, 1962, p. 95.
17. Hannah Arendt, *Love and St. Augustine*, p. 17.
18. See, for example, “The Augustinian Putsch in Africa,” in James J. O’Donnell, *Augustine: A New Biography*, New York: Harper Collins, 2005, pp. 209–43.
19. Peter Dennis Bathory, *Political Theory as Public Confession*, p. 82.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
22. Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Augustine and the Limits of Politics*, p. 36.
23. Peter Dennis Bathory, *Political Theory as Public Confession*, p. 82.
24. Saint Augustine, *City of God*, trans. Henry Bettenson, London and New York: Penguin Books, 1972, Book XIX, p. 25.
25. Oliver O’Donovan, *The Problem of Self-Love in St. Augustine*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980, pp. 31–32.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
27. Peter Dennis Bathory, *Political Theory as Public Confession*, p. 28.
28. Saint Augustine, *City of God*, Book XIX, p. 24.
29. Arendt, *Love and St. Augustine*, p. 101.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 94, emphasis mine.
32. R. A. Markus, *Saeculum*, p. 171.
33. Arendt, *Love and St. Augustine*, pp. 96–97.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
35. Dana Villa, *Arendt and Heidegger: The Fate of the Political*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996, p. 11.
36. Hannah Arendt, “Augustine and Protestantism,” (1930), in *Essays in Understanding, 1930–1954: Formation, Exile, and Totalitarianism*, ed. Jerome Kohn, New York: Schocken Books, 1994, p. 26.
37. Arendt, *Love and St. Augustine*, pp. 110–11.

## 2 Rahel Varnhagen: The Strangeness of Me

1. Following Arendt’s usage, I shall refer to Rahel Varnhagen by her first name.

2. Jeffrey C. Isaac, *Arendt, Camus, and Modern Rebellion*, Hew Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1992. p. 217.
3. Jeffrey C. Isaac, *Arendt, Camus, and Modern Rebellion*, Hew Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1992. p. 217.
4. In this discussion, we should be wary of arguments concerning Arendt's "identity" with Rahel. The question is less one of Arendt's own Jewish background than that of how the Jew is seen and constructed by society. To reduce Arendt's interest in Rahel to one of identity is perhaps even at counterpurpose to Arendt's intent in writing this biography. For Jewishness here—and elsewhere in the Arendt opus—is the test of Enlightenment universalism. For example: "Thus the auto-biographical element in Arendt's questioning, as she looked back at Rahel Varnhagen's life, could be: As a German Jew, where do I come from? What were the conditions in which my great-grandparents were admitted into German history How did they interpret such an historical novelty?" (Martine Leibovici, "Arendt's Rahel Varnhagen: A New Kind of Narration in the impasses of German-Jewish Assimilation and Existenzphilosophie," *Social Research* 74:3, Fall 2007, 903–22, p. 909) Discourse of this type appears time and again in the Arendtian literature. Granted, Arendt was a Jew and did write significantly on Jewish concerns. But this, I believe, has less to do with issues of identity than with the argument I make in this chapter.
5. Seyla Benhabib, *The Reluctant Modernism of Hannah Arendt*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1996, p. 29.
6. Hannah Arendt, *Rahel Varnhagen: The Life of a Jewess*, ed. Liliane Weissberg, trans. Richard and Clara Winston, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997, p. 258.
7. Stephen Eric Bronner, *Reclaiming the Enlightenment: Toward a Politics of Radical Engagement*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004, pp. 19–20.
8. Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, *The Attack of the Blob: Hannah Arendt's Concept of the Social*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998, p. 73.
9. George Kateb, *Hannah Arendt: Politics, Conscience, Evil*, Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983, p. 6.
10. Arendt, *Rahel Varnhagen: The Life of a Jewess*, p. 220.
11. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York, London, and San Diego: Harcourt, 1968, p. 14.
12. Arendt, *Rahel Varnhagen*, p. 88.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 256.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

16. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, pp. 59–60.
17. Liliane Weissberg, “Introduction: Hannah Arendt, Rahel Varnhagen, and the Writing of (Auto)biography,” in Hannah Arendt, *Rahel Varnhagen*, p. 11.
18. Hannah Arendt, *Rahel Varnhagen*, p. 153.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 81–82.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 248.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 176–77.
28. “Freedom and equality were not going to be conjured into existence by individuals’ capturing them by fraud as privileges for themselves.” Arendt, *Rahel Varnhagen*, p. 258.
29. Bronner, *Reclaiming the Enlightenment*, p. 30.
30. “In political terms, therefore, the problem is less the lack of intensity in the lived life of the individual than the increasing attempts by individuals and groups to insist that their own, particular, deeply felt existential or religious or aesthetic experience should be privileged in the public realm,” *ibid.*, p. 129.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
32. Melvyn A. Hill, “The Fictions of Mankind and the Stories of Men,” in *Hannah Arendt: The Recovery of the Public World*, ed. Melvyn A. Hill, New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1979, pp. 288–89.
33. Margaret Canovan, *Hannah Arendt: A Reinterpretation of Her Political Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 233.
34. Arendt, *Rahel Varnhagen*, pp. 90–91.
35. George Kateb, *Hannah Arendt: Politics, Conscience, Evil*, Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983, p. 94.
36. Molière, *The Misanthrope*, trans. Richard Wilbur, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1954/1666, Act 5, Scene 8, p. 152.
37. Arendt, *Rahel Varnhagen*, pp. 90–91.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
39. Hannah Arendt, “On Humanity in Dark Times: Thoughts about Lessing,” in *Men in Dark Times*, San Diego, New York, and London: Harcourt, Brace, 1968, p. 25.
40. Pitkin, *The Attack of the Blob*, p. 27.
41. Arendt, “On Humanity in Dark Times,” p. 25.

42. Hannah Arendt, "Karl Jaspers: Citizen of the World?" in *Men In Dark Times*. San Diego, New York, and London: Harcourt, Brace, 1995, p. 90.
43. Arendt, *Rahel Varnhagen*, p. 120.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
45. Arendt, "Karl Jaspers," p. 85.
46. Arendt, *Rahel Varnhagen*, p. 174.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
48. Arendt, "Karl Jaspers" p. 84.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 84
50. Arendt, "On Humanity in Dark Times," pp. 24–25.
51. Kateb, *Hannah Arendt*, p. 8.
52. Hannah Arendt, "Reflections on Little Rock," in *Responsibility and Judgment*, New York: Schocken Books, 1983, pp. 207–8.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 208

### **3 The Origins of Totalitarianism: A Surfeit of Superfluosity**

1. Margaret Canovan, *Hannah Arendt: A Reinterpretation of Her Political Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 68.
2. Dana Villa, *Public Freedom*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008, p. 251.
3. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York, London, and San Diego: Harcourt, 1968, pp. 478–79.
4. Lisa Jane Disch, *Hannah Arendt and the Limits of Philosophy*, Ithaca and Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1994, p. 29.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
6. Stan Spyros Draenos, "Thinking Without a Ground: Hannah Arendt and the Contemporary Situation of Understanding," in *Hannah Arendt: The Recovery of the Public World*, ed. Melvyn A. Hill, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979, p. 212.
7. Dana Villa, *Arendt and Heidegger: The Fate of the Political*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996, p. 10.
8. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, p. 447.
9. Arendt's specific reasons for tracing the postwar condition in this way will be examined in more detail in the chapter devoted to *On Revolution*.
10. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, p. 455.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 456–57.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 458.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 315.

14. Ibid., p. 14.
15. Ibid., p. 97.
16. Ibid., pp. 230–31.
17. Ibid., p. 315.
18. Ibid., p. 54.
19. Ibid., p. 155.
20. Ibid., p. 291, italics mine.
21. Ibid., p. 138.
22. Ibid., p. 126.
23. Ibid., p. 138.
24. Ibid., p. 125. “Expansion as a permanent and supreme aim of politics is the central idea of imperialism...it is an entirely new concept...The reason for this surprising originality—surprising because entirely new concepts are very rare in politics—is simply *that this concept is not really political at all, but has its origin in the realm of business speculation.*” (italics mine).
25. Ibid., p. 137.
26. Ibid., p. 137.
27. Ibid., p. 138.
28. Ibid., p. 137.
29. Ibid., p. 227.
30. Ibid., p. 234.
31. Ibid., p. 226.
32. Ibid., p. 254.
33. Ibid., p. 336.
34. Ibid., p. 66.
35. This shall be taken up in more detail in chapter 6, “*On Revolution: The Crisis of Conscience.*”
36. Of course, Arendt places both fascism and communism together under the heading of “totalitarianism.” From the perspective of superfluosity, this placement is perhaps accurate enough, insofar that people were treated as means to an (absolute) end. But that we can categorize them together is perhaps symptomatic of Arendt’s flawed thought. For if we take “superfluosity” as the marker of the crisis of civilization, then, indeed, much of civilization becomes “totalitarian,” and the distinctiveness of modernity is lost.
37. Stephen Eric Bronner, *Reclaiming the Enlightenment: Toward a Politics of Radical Engagement*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2004, p. 113.
38. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, p. 468.
39. Ibid., p. 464.
40. Ibid., p. 159.
41. Ibid., pp. 470–71.

42. George Kateb, "Fiction as Poison," in *Thinking in Dark Times: Hannah Arendt on Ethics and Politics*, ed. Roger Berkowitz et al., New York: Fordham University Press, 2010, p. 30.
43. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, p. 473.
44. Kateb, "Fiction as Poison," p. 32.
45. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, p. 249.

#### 4 *Eichmann in Jerusalem: The Crisis of Conscience*

1. Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. New York and London: Penguin Books, 1994, p. 54.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 276.
3. Hannah Arendt, "Collective Responsibility," (1968), in *Responsibility and Judgment*, New York: Schocken Books, 1983, p. 158.
4. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, p. 269, emphasis mine.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
6. Michael R. Marrus, "Eichmann in Jerusalem: Justice and History," in *Hannah Arendt in Jerusalem*, ed. Steve E. Aschheim, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, p. 208.
7. Hannah Arendt, "Personal Responsibility Under Dictatorship," (1964), in *Responsibility and Judgment*, New York: Schocken Books, 1983, pp. 19–20.
8. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, p. 287.
9. Hannah Arendt, "Organized Guilt and Universal Responsibility," (1945), in *Essays in Understanding, 1930–1954: Formation, Exile, and Totalitarianism*, ed. Jerome Kohn, New York: Schocken Books, 1994, p. 130.
10. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, p. 53.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
14. Hannah Arendt, "Thinking and Moral Considerations," (1971), in *Responsibility and Judgment*, New York: Schocken Books, 1983, p. 160.
15. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, p. 49.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
18. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, p. 247.
19. George Kateb, "Existential Values in Arendt's Treatment of Evil and Morality," *Social Research* 74:3, Fall 2007: 811–54, p. 829.
20. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, p. 106.
21. Margaret Canovan, *Hannah Arendt: A Reinterpretation of Her Political Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 269.



22. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew: An Exploration of the Etiology of Hate*, New York: Schocken Books, 1948, p. 53.
23. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, p. 150.
24. Michael Denny, "The Privilege of Ourselves: Hannah Arendt on Judgment," in *Hannah Arendt: The Recovery of the Public World*, ed. Melvyn A. Hill, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979, p. 255.
25. Hannah Arendt, "Civil Disobedience," in *Crises of the Republic*, New York and London: Harcourt, Brace, 1972, p. 62.
26. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, p. 252.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 260–61.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 221.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 272.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 277.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 295.
36. Hannah Arendt, "Organized Guilt and Universal Responsibility," pp. 126–27.
37. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, p. 254.
38. Michael Halberstram, "Hannah Arendt on the Totalitarian Sublime and its Promise of Freedom," in *Hannah Arendt in Jerusalem*, Ed. Steve E. Aschheim, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, p. 118.
39. Arendt, "Civil Disobedience," p. 64.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
41. Margaret Canovan, *The Political Thought of Hannah Arendt*, New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974, p. 109.
42. Agnes Heller "Hannah Arendt on Tradition and New Beginnings," in *Hannah Arendt in Jerusalem*, ed. Steve E. Aschheim, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, p. 24.
43. Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, *The Attack of the Blob: Hannah Arendt's Concept of the Social*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998, p. 92.
44. Margaret Canovan, *Hannah Arendt: A Reinterpretation of Her Political Thought*, p. 194.

## 5 *On Revolution: The Fragility of Rights*

1. I should note that I have no intent in dealing with the historical accuracy of her critique of the course of the revolutionary movements she

examines. While I will note that she does seem to make some rather glaring oversights in her analysis, to engage my discussion on such critiques would take us far afield from the task at hand. Perhaps what we lose here in terms of historical accuracy, we gain in insight into practical issues of the linkage between rights, dissent, and the maintenance of political space. I shall take her interpretation for what it is, and leave these questions of interpretative accuracy aside.

2. Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution*, London and New York: Penguin Books, 1963, p. 218.
3. Hannah Arendt, "What is Existential Philosophy?" (1946), in *Essays in Understanding, 1930–1954: Formation, Exile, and Totalitarianism*, ed. Jerome Kohn, New York: Schocken Books, 1994, p. 186.
4. George Kateb, "Existential Values in Arendt's Treatment of Evil and Morality," *Social Research* 74:3, Fall 2007, 811–54, p. 825.
5. Lewis P. Hinchman and Sandra K. Hinchman, "Existentialism Politicized: Arendt's Debt to Jaspers," in *Hannah Arendt: Critical Essays*, ed. Lewis P. Hinchman and Sandra K. Hinchman, Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1994, p. 163.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
7. Seyla Benhabib, *The Reluctant Modernism of Hannah Arendt*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1996, p. 23.
8. Quoted in Arendt, "What is Existential Philosophy?" p. 169.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
13. Margaret Canovan, *The Political Thought of Hannah Arendt*, New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974, p. 2.
14. Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, *The Attack of the Blob: Hannah Arendt's Concept of the Social*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998, p. 192.
15. Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution*, p. 56.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
17. Kateb, "Existential Values in Arendt's Treatment of Evil and Morality," p. 850.
18. Hannah Arendt, "Reflections on Little Rock," in *Responsibility and Judgment*, New York: Schocken Books, 1983, p. 205.
19. Pitkin, *The Attack of the Blob*, p. 4.
20. Hannah Arendt, "On Humanity in Dark Times: Thoughts about Lessing," in *Men in Dark Times*, San Diego, New York, and London: Harcourt, Brace, 1968, p. 14.

21. Arendt, *On Revolution*, p. 61.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
26. Hannah Arendt, "Thoughts on Politics and Revolution: A Commentary," in *Crises of the Republic*, New York and London: Harcourt, Brace, 1972, p. 203.
27. Arendt, *On Revolution*, p. 69.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
32. Sheldon S. Wolin, "Hannah Arendt: Democracy and the Political," in *Hannah Arendt: Critical Essays*, ed. Lewis P. Hinchman and Sandra K. Hinchman, Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1994, p. 290.
33. Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, "Justice: On Relating Private and Public," in *Hannah Arendt: Critical Essays* ed. Lewis P. Hinchman and Sandra K. Hinchman, Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1994, p. 276.
34. Seyla Benhabib, *The Reluctant Modernism of Hannah Arendt*, p. 140.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
36. Margaret Canovan, "Politics as Culture: Hannah Arendt and the Public Realm," in *Hannah Arendt: Critical Essays*, ed. Lewis P. Hinchman and Sandra K. Hinchman, Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1994, p. 187.
37. Margaret Canovan, *The Political Thought of Hannah Arendt*, p. 2.
38. Arendt, "Reflections on Little Rock," p. 200.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 206.
42. Margaret Canovan, *Hannah Arendt: A Reinterpretation of Her Political Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 242.
43. Lisa Jane Disch, *Hannah Arendt and the Limits of Philosophy*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994, p. 58.
44. Arendt, *On Revolution*, pp. 280–81.
45. Garrath, Williams, "Love and Responsibility: A Political Ethic for Hannah Arendt," *Political Studies*. 46:5, December 1998, 937–50. p. 945.
46. Arendt, "What is Existential Philosophy?" p. 181.
47. Arendt, *On Revolution*, p. 108.
48. Canovan, "Politics as Culture: Hannah Arendt and the Public Realm," p. 199.

49. Arendt, *On Revolution*, p. 137.
50. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Anti-Semite and Jew: An Exploration of the Etiology of Hate*, New York: Schocken Books, 1995, p. 18.
51. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York, London, and San Diego: Harcourt, 1968, p. 301.
52. Arendt, *On Revolution*, p. 227.
53. Pitkin, "Justice: On Relating Private and Public," p. 271.

## 6 Arendt's Public Sphere: Locating a Political Existential

1. George Kateb, *Hannah Arendt: Politics, Conscience, Evil*, Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983, p. 173.
2. Dana Villa, *Public Freedom*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008, p. 309.
3. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York, London, and San Diego: Harcourt, 1968, p. 320.
4. Seyla Benhabib, *The Reluctant Modernism of Hannah Arendt*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1996, p. 146.
5. Dana Villa, *Arendt and Heidegger: The Fate of the Political*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996, p. 11.
6. Margaret Canovan, *Hannah Arendt: A Reinterpretation of Her Political Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 62.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
8. Hannah Arendt, "Karl Jaspers: A Laudatio," in *Men in Dark Times*, San Diego, New York, and London: Harcourt, Brace, 1995, P. 75.
9. Canovan, *Hannah Arendt*, p. 106.
10. Hannah Arendt, "Mankind and Terror," (1953), in *Essays in Understanding, 1930–1954: Formation, Exile, and Totalitarianism*, ed. Jerome Kohn, New York: Schocken Books, 1994, p. 304.
11. Canovan, *Hannah Arendt*, p. 275–76.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
13. Kateb, *Hannah Arendt*, p. 158.
14. Villa, *Arendt and Heidegger*, p. 43.
15. Hannah Arendt, "What is Existential Philosophy?" (1946), in *Essays in Understanding, 1930–1954: Formation, Exile, and Totalitarianism*, ed. Jerome Kohn, New York: Schocken Books, 1994, p. 186.
16. Lewis P. Hinchman and Sandra K. Hinchman, "Existentialism Politicized: Arendt's Debt to Jaspers," in *Hannah Arendt: Critical Essays*, ed. Lewis P. Hinchman and Sandra K. Hinchman, Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1994, pp. 154–55.

17. Hannah Arendt, "Thoughts on Politics and Revolution: A Commentary," in *Crises of the Republic*, New York and London: Harcourt, Brace, 1972, p. 203.
18. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, p. 478.
19. Hannah Arendt, "Reflections on Little Rock," in *Responsibility and Judgment*, New York: Schocken Books, 1983, p. 199.
20. Bernard J. Bergen, *The Banality of Evil: Hannah Arendt and "The Final Solution,"* Lanham, MD and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998, p. 129.
21. Margaret Canovan, *The Political Thought of Hannah Arendt*, New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974, p. 60.
22. Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, "Justice: On Relating Private and Public," in *Hannah Arendt: Critical Essays*, ed. Lewis P. Hinchman and Sandra K. Hinchman, Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1994, p. 281.
23. Hannah Arendt, "The Crisis in Culture: Its Social and Its Political Significance," in *Judgment, Imagination, and Politics: Themes from Kant and Arendt*, ed. Ronald Beiner and Jennifer Nedelsky, Lanham, MD and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001, p. 22, emphasis mine.
24. Hannah Arendt, "The Eggs Speak Up," (circa 1951), in *Essays in Understanding, 1930–1954: Formation, Exile, and Totalitarianism*, ed. Jerome Kohn, New York: Schocken Books, 1994, pp. 280–81.
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38. For a thorough discussion, see *ibid.*, Chapter 2, “*Working Class Politics and the Nazi Triumph*,” pp. 33–55.
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40. *Ibid.*, pp. 416–17.
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42. *Ibid.*, pp. 416–17.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 417.
44. George Kateb, “Existential Values in Arendt’s Treatment of Evil and Morality,” *Social Research* 74:3, Fall 2007, 811–854, p. 825.
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## 7 The Encumbrance of History

1. Or, as Saint Augustine states: “But because there is in man a rational soul . . . he may engage in deliberate thought and act in accordance with this thought, so that he may thus exhibit that ordered agreement of cognition and action which we called the peace of the rational soul.” Saint Augustine, *City of God*, trans. Henry Bettenson, London and New York: Penguin Books, 1972, Book XIX, Ch. 14, p. 873.
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