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ABSTRACT

Since the 1990s, Turkish German and German Jewish literatures have presented Turks and Jews as forming a united minority front. The interminority goodwill by authors including Zafer Şenocak and Maxim Biller comes into relief with the webcomic *Moishe Hundesohn* (2006–2012), the only serialized Jewish-themed cartoon in postwar Germany. The comic strip by the Hamburg Jewish artist Daniel Haw was highly critical of Islam and ran at the border of political satire. This article outlines how a consideration of recent political debates and cultural productions upset the ascribed affinities between the Turkish German and German Jewish communities.

Minority groups in Germany's multicultural society often negotiate their marginalized identities vis-à-vis other minorities. The Turkish German essayist and author Zafer Şenocak has long considered whether Turks are the new Jews in Germany, most pointedly in his creation of a hybrid Turkish-German-Jewish character in the 1998 novel *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft* (*Perilous Kinship*).¹ The German Jewish author Maxim Biller wrote a fantastic tale about a similar hybrid Turkish German woman of secret Jewish heritage in his 2003 novel *Esra*.² Leslie Adelson conceives of such texts as reflections on the "Turkish-German-Jewish triangle."³ The ubiquity of these interminority sentiments that suggest unity of cause comes into relief when juxtaposed to recent events in Germany like the antimigrant PEGIDA demonstrations, protests against Israel during the Gazan wars, and incidents on the European continent such as the Paris attack on a kosher supermarket. However, there has been little analysis of the ethnic tensions between Jews and Muslims in Germany. One is especially

hard-pressed to find scholarly inquiries into anti-Muslim cultural products by Jews or anti-Jewish works by Muslims in Germany. The webcomic *Moishe Hundesohn* is an example of the former to be analyzed here in the context of the broader societal ethnic tensions that run counter to the sanguine literary portrayals. Drawn weekly between 2006 and 2012 by the Hamburg Jewish artist Daniel Haw, *Moishe Hundesohn* is the only serialized Jewish-themed cartoon in postwar Germany.⁴ The comic's main characters, Moishe the dog and Ruthi the wooden toy duck, are cast from more familiar cartoon characters like the American Snoopy and the German Tigerente, but comment on German politics from an ostensible Jewish, minority perspective. With its drawings of Orthodox Jews and observant Muslims, the comic strip is highly critical of Islam and runs at the border of political satire. This article first explores the optimism present within the literature since the 1990s before contrasting this with recent political and legal turns in Germany that upset the ascribed affinities between the German Turkish and Jewish communities. The second half of the article positions the visual rhetoric of *Moishe Hundesohn* within this artistic and political framework to enable a more nuanced understanding of the triangular relationship at stake in contemporary Germany.

The histories of Turks and Jews in Germany raises questions about the intersectionality of race, religion, and citizenship. The anti-Turkish pogroms in Mölln and Solingen in the early 1990s prefigured the burning of asylum shelters in 2015–2016 and, at that time, placed minority relations at the forefront of German discourse, tamping down postunification euphoria. For many, these events evoked images of the Holocaust.⁵ At the same time, Jews from the former Soviet republics began immigrating to Germany en masse. Since the publication of Wladimir Kaminer's *Russendisko* (*Russian Disco*) in 2000 and the subsequent blossoming of German-language cultural production by immigrant Russian Jews, Jews in Germany are no longer historical entities as much of postwar literature imagined them. Jews as a real presence in twenty-first-century Germany have led to a contestation of privileged German minority status: the increasing visibility of Jews counters the perception that the Turks are Germany's new Jews.⁶ Contributing to the conflict is that the national referent of "Turks" has simultaneously yielded to the ethnoreligious moniker of "Muslims" in Germany since the global war on terror in 2001.⁷ Friction between Turks and Jews might point to a generational shift, the result of a more robust Jewish community living alongside a sizeable Turkish one, particularly in Berlin. Seen in this light, hostility may be the outcome of growth between living communities. There are at least fifteen times as many Turks as Jews in Germany, with 2.96 million people of Turkish heritage (3.7% of the population) and at most two hundred thousand Jews (0.2% of the population).⁸ The metaphor of the Turkish-German-Jewish triangle imagines a figure composed of the three ethnicities at the vertices with dialogic sides connecting them. Much of the academic scholarship on this topic has interrogated only two sides

of this triangle, either the relationship between Germans and Jews, or Germans and Turks. This article will focus on the third side relating Turks and Jews, which, when discussed, has been portrayed as relatively amicable. The recent political landscape calls into question this ethnic harmony.

Optimism within the Turkish-German-Jewish Triangle

A field of scholarship on Turks and Jews has opened up since 2000. Historians Rita Chin and Jeffrey Peck have researched Turks in Germany within the larger historical context of minority relations, namely studies of pre-Holocaust German Jewry. Chin writes that Turks walk “in the footprints of the Jews of the past.”⁹ Germanists Elizabeth Loentz, Yasemin Yildiz, and Leslie Adelson also have pushed this association in their respective works on Turks and Jews.¹⁰ Loentz suggests in her article “Yiddish, *Kanak Sprak*, Klezmer, and HipHop” a linkage between the rise of Turkish German hip-hop and the rise in popularity of klezmer music in Europe today.¹¹ One effect, however, of these, at times blunt, historical comparisons is the creation of a superficial interethnic bond between contemporary Turkish and Jewish populations. For this reason, Adelson is careful in her formulation that the histories of Jews and Turks in Germany, while not equatable, do present at least “touching tales.”¹²

To be sure, this portrayal of ethnic affinities in the secondary literature stems from the writings of Turkish Germans and German Jews themselves. Turkish German authors have understood pre-Holocaust Jewish authors as their intellectual forbearers. Şenocak has been one of the main proponents of this comparison with a 1995 interview “Darf man Türken und Juden vergleichen, Herr Şenocak?” (“May one compare Turks and Jews, Mr. Şenocak?”), his 1998 novel *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft* (*Perilous Kinship*), and his 2011 *Deutschsein* (*Being German*).¹³ He repeatedly references the Jewish authors Paul Celan (1920–1970) and Franz Kafka (1883–1924) in his writings. Similarly, the title of the 2003 *Seltsame Sterne starren zur Erde* (*Strange stars stare toward earth*) by the Turkish German author Emine Sevgi Özdamar is taken from a line of poetry written by the German Jewish author Else Lasker-Schüler (1896–1945).¹⁴

Jewish authors today also align themselves with Turks, contributing to this discourse that eschews differences between their experiences. Like Şenocak, Esther Dischereit has made the comparison for close to thirty years. Vignettes in *Joëmis Tisch* (*Joëmi's Table*) from 1988 center on Turkish figures entwined within Jewish stories.¹⁵ Her 2014 “libretto” *Blumen für Otello* (*Flowers for Otello*) is dedicated to the mostly Turkish victims of the National Socialist Underground murders and follows her previous book, a monument to Jewish victims of the Holocaust.¹⁶ Making the connection even more explicit, Dischereit has reflected on the reasons for writing about the National Socialist Underground murders and said that as a Jew, she is able to provide a voice for the Turkish victims.¹⁷ A wellspring of other recent

works that advance these direct parallels include Maxim Biller's *Esra*, Oliver Polak's comedy, Marianne Salzmann's play *Weißbrotmusik* (White bread music), and Olga Grjasnowa's bestseller *Der Russe ist einer, der Birken liebt* (*All Russians Love Birch Trees*).¹⁸ Biller's novel centers on the sexual relationship between a Turkish woman Esra and a Jewish man Adam.¹⁹ Polak, Salzmann, and Grjasnowa all thematize a friendship between Turks (Achmed, Sedat, and Cem) and Jews (Oli, Aron, and Masha), all of whom position their identities counter to ethnic Germans (the "white bread" in Salzmann's formulation).

The media also reinforces the impression of a Turkish-Jewish alliance. The journalist Dilek Zaptçioğlu cites Jakob Wassermann's 1921 *Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude* (*My Life as German and Jew*) in her assertion that the German process of minority assimilation for Turks is "a pattern that repeats itself."²⁰ Zaptçioğlu draws further parallels between the psychological phenomena of Jewish self-hatred and a "Turkish self-hatred."²¹ Pre-Holocaust Jewish self-hatred informs her understanding of the mental anguish individual Turks experience in their failed integration efforts into German society today. Two other journalists, one Jewish and the other Egyptian, appeared as a duo on three seasons of the TV show *Entweder Broder*. Henryk Broder and Hamed Abdel-Samad drive around Germany, and Europe in the final season, providing their perspective on minority issues. Their Jewish-Muslim bond is the vehicle for much of the show's humor. Events reported in the mainstream German media have also fed into the Jewish-Turkish or Jewish-Muslim bond. Pictures of Holocaust remembrance activities in Germany regularly feature young schoolgirls wearing hijabs holding hands at ceremonies, cleaning stumbling blocks (*Stolpersteine*), and standing among the steles of the Berlin Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe.²²

"Muslim" comes in these media representations as an ethnic identifier, a category broader than "Turks." That Hamed Abdel-Samad is the Egyptian, and not Turkish, foil to the Jewish Henryk Broder gestures to the extension of the label "Turkish" post-2001 to mean "of Muslim-background." As Esra Özyürek writes in her book *Being German, Becoming Muslim*, "Germany has a long history of racializing religion, especially Judaism."²³ Olga Grjasnowa's *All Russians Love Birch Trees* is another literary example of friendships between Jews and Turks, in which "Turkish" yields to the construct of "Muslim." Masha, a Jewish woman from the former Soviet republic of Azerbaijan, shares a special bond with her Turkish friend Cem through Azerbaijani's and Turkish's linguistic proximity. Yet Masha has two Muslim friends and is romantically interested in her Lebanese friend Sami. Religion as ethnicity may define both groups of Jews and Muslims, yet slippages in such comparisons are evident in statements such as that written by Şenocak in 1989: "In Germany a triologue is now emerging between Germans, Jews, and Turks, between Christians, Jews, and Muslims."²⁴ In his formulation, Germans are Germans/Christians, Turks are Turks/Muslims, but Jews are simply Jews/Jews. The "trialogue" ensues among figures on uneven standing with

regard to the alignment of the ethnic, religious, and national. This is the backdrop for twenty-first-century ethnic and religious violence.

The international arena therefore plays an active role in shaping events in Germany for Muslims and Jews as transnational subjects. Just as Germany's localized "problem" with Turks was reframed as part of a global issue of Muslim immigration after the 2001 attack on New York's World Trade Center, Jews in Germany have been subsumed under international Jewry in light of events in Israel.²⁵ There have been a number of physical attacks on yarmulke-wearing Jewish men at the hands of Muslims. Sajed Aziz, of Afghani background, was sentenced to prison in 2008 for stabbing Rabbi Zalman Gurevitch in Frankfurt. In 2012 four "youths of Arabic descent" attacked Rabbi Daniel Alter in Berlin. The assailants said they would kill Alter's seven-year-old daughter, who accompanied him at the time and witnessed the attack. The 2010 incident in which Israelis killed nine Turks on the Gaza blockade-running ship *Mavi Marmara* brought the Muslim-Jewish tensions in Germany back to a specifically Turkish-Jewish framework. In February 2015, a German court in Wuppertal ruled that the throwing of Molotov cocktails at a synagogue by three Palestinians was "not for antisemitic reasons per se," but a form of Israel criticism.²⁶ The historical backdrop is important because the same synagogue was burned down on Kristallnacht 1938. An appellate decision in January 2017 upheld the ruling that attempting to burn a synagogue could be something other than antisemitic. In the rise of Syrian and Middle Eastern refugees, the Jewish community in May 2015 expressed its concerns about "imported antisemitism."²⁷ These events on the streets of Germany contrast radically with the aforementioned artistic portrayals of romantic liaisons and friendships constituting Muslim and Jewish life. The media has thus become filled with conflicting images of Muslims and Jews in a seesaw relationship that belies the smooth characterization common in literary portrayals.

Circumcision on Trial

Recent political turns at the national level have shown true tension in the Turkish-Jewish relationship. On May 7, 2012, a Cologne court challenged the constitutionality of male circumcision after the state prosecuted a "Doctor K.," who was accused of performing an unnecessary operation (i.e., circumcision) that required a post-op emergency room visit for excessive bleeding.²⁸ Judge Thomas Beenken's challenge to circumcision created hefty public discussion at the national level on the parents' religious rights versus the child's rights to bodily integrity. Though the child's parents were Muslim, and the majority of circumcisions in Germany are performed for Muslims, the implications of a ban on circumcision for Jews quickly became apparent. A potential ban on circumcision would have affected Muslims and Jews, Germany's two most politically significant minorities. Photographs showing the Jewish and Muslim communities as a united front circulated in the media during this 2012 national debate



Figure 1. Kenan Kolat and Rabbi Yitshak Ehrenberg. Berlin, September 9, 2012. © Reuters/Pawel Koczynski

on circumcision. A picture from a demonstration sponsored by both groups shows the Berlin Rabbi Yitshak Ehrenberg symbolically placing his black velvet yarmulke on the head of Kenan Kolat, the leader of the Turkish Community in Germany (Fig. 1). Kolat then gave his speech, protesting for the religious freedom to practice circumcision, while wearing Ehrenberg's yarmulke. The photographed meeting between the leaders of Berlin's Jewish and Turkish constituencies furthered the "touching tale" between the two German minorities.

Members of the ruling coalition in the German Bundestag drafted a resolution on July 19, 2012 that called on the German government in the upcoming session to codify the legality of male circumcision. Though the images of Kolat and Ehrenberg captured a spectacle of ethnic unity, the politics of legislating circumcision revealed the fault lines below the surface. The resolution, signed by Chancellor Merkel, is notable for the reasons it lists justifying the law: "Jewish and Muslim religious life must be allowed to persist in Germany. Male circumcision is of central religious importance for Jews and Muslims. It counts among the constitutive elements in the Jewish faith. Also in Islam, circumcision is generally accepted as essential."²⁹ The language in the resolution is striking in that it foregrounds Jewish circumcision before Muslim circumcision in three consecutive sentences even though the specific court

case in Cologne that prompted this involved a Muslim family. Furthermore, the vast majority of circumcision procedures in Germany are performed for Muslims. One could suppose the legislators wanted to be inclusive, but then why are Americans not mentioned? Americans are noted in the source material for the larger bill that came later as representing another group within German society that circumcises boys. The number of Americans in Germany is about the same as the number of Jews—two hundred thousand.³⁰ Why did these lawmakers in this initial one-page resolution privilege Jews over Americans or even Muslims, who outnumber Jews at least fifteenfold? In the debate, supporters of the bill protecting circumcision attempted to shift the discussion away from this specific court case with a Muslim family to focus on the more politically palatable example of circumcision as a Jewish practice. The politicians who drafted this resolution signaled that Jews are politically more important to this debate than Muslims, and indeed more than any other group that might circumcise. Despite some opposition,³¹ on December 12, 2012 the subsequent “Law Concerning the Extent of Child Protection in the Case of Male Circumcision” was passed.³²

This example in biopolitics affords us the opportunity to see the cracks in the veneer of minority unity. Despite the ostensible Turkish-Jewish partnership formed as a result of this national debate, the language of the legislation makes clear the uneven relationship of the German national body to Turks and Jews. What has also been cited in this regard has been the disproportionate public funding of Jewish versus Turkish cultural organizations.³³ Citizenship laws have served as yet another point of contestation and strain as well. Jews and Muslims immigrated to Germany by and large for the same economic reasons. Germany, specifically East Germany in its last year, actively sought out Jews as a form of delayed compensation for the Holocaust (*verspätete Vergangenheitsbewältigung*).³⁴ Even though West Germany also actively sought out Turks, they were recruited for labor, not *as citizens*. Jews from the former Soviet Union were granted citizenship immediately upon arrival in 1990, whereas Turks who had arrived in the 1960s had significant roadblocks put in their way on the path to citizenship until 2000.³⁵ Comments made by President Christian Wulff in 2010, on the twentieth anniversary of German unity, speak to this alignment of Christians and Jews vis-à-vis Muslims: “Christianity belongs to Germany without a doubt. Judaism belongs to Germany without a doubt. That is our Christian-Jewish history.” He only then adds, “But Islam has also come to belong to Germany.”³⁶ Academic, literary, journalistic, and politically driven images of minorities living in harmony skirt the tension between the two groups hinted at in these legal examples.

Daniel Haw’s Webcomic *Moishe Hundesohn*

The tense relationship between the Muslim and Jewish communities has generated new media cultural objects like the webcomic *Moishe Hundesohn*. The significance of the cartoon lies in the fact that for years it adorned the front page of one of Germany’s

main online Jewish news sources *Hagalil.de*, which is committed to German Jewish culture and Israeli politics. The cartoon's visual medium and consumable size made it unique in terms of twenty-first-century Jewish cultural production, cited and reproduced on other German Jewish websites. Daniel Haw's weekly cartoon provided topical commentary on contemporary events affecting German Jews between 2006 and 2012. The main character Moishe is a dog with the appearance of an Orthodox Jew who speaks a Yiddish-inflected German. He wears the Jewish garment *tzitzit* (fringes) that peek out from underneath his shirt, and his wavy black ears hang down from a wide-brimmed hat to resemble the side locks and fedora worn by Orthodox Jewish men. He is accompanied by a wooden toy duck on wheels named Ruthi, who has the word "kosher" written in Hebrew around one of her wheels. The dog's name parodies the name of the German Jewish Enlightenment philosopher Moses Mendelssohn. The German name *Moses* is equivalent to the Yiddish name *Moishe*, and the philosopher's last name *Mendelssohn* (meaning "son of Mendel") is evoked by the name *Hundesohn* ("son of a dog").

The comic strip's digital illustration developed more sophistication over six years, though it maintained a conservative presentation style for a webcomic. The strips use distinct, consistent paneling without splash pages nor title panels and featured no more than eight panels. Haw's characters are clearly ethnically identifiable on a visual level—ethnic icons, if you will. The Jews wear religious garb, Muslims have darker skin color, and Germans have blond hair. At a textual level, the language of the characters are also ethnically marked with the rabbi and Moishe speaking Yiddish-inflected German and the Turkish characters speaking German in stereotypical fashion, like the use of "sch" for "ch" sounds. The names of the two characters Moishe and Ruthi both point to their Jewishness, while the visual juxtaposition of a dog and toy duck references the comic characters Snoopy and Tigerente, who both emerge out of a non-Jewish context. Haw thus positions himself within a historic continuum of comic artists by gesturing in his work toward the German and American cartoonists Wilhelm Busch (the pranksters Max and Moritz), Janosch (Tigerente), and Charles Schulz (Snoopy).

Moishe Hundesohn has consistently engaged in politically charged topics since its inception, including the release of Dani Levy's 2007 Hitler comedy film, street attacks on Jews wearing religious garb, and the 2012 circumcision debate.³⁷ In two cartoon strips from 2006 and 2008, Haw critically engages with the stumbling block project by the artist Gunter Demnig.³⁸ This popular memorial project commemorates individual victims of the Holocaust by placing brass-covered cobblestones with their names in front of their former residences. The intent of the commemoration effort is to make passersby in their daily routine aware of the local vicinity's relation to the Holocaust. The installation has expanded from Germany throughout Europe, and the miniceremony that surrounds the laying of the plaque is met with local press crews.

Moishe complains in the 2006 cartoon “Moishe Hundesohn and the Stumbling Block” that the stones are fundamentally flawed since they are laid flush along the ground and do not actually cause the passerby to trip. In a second 2008 cartoon “Based on Wilhelm Busch,” Moishe and Ruthi are seen as two pranksters, à la Busch’s classic characters Max and Moritz, sneaking up on the artist Demnig. Using a crowbar, they slightly elevate the stones so that the pedestrian will indeed trip (Fig. 2). Haw’s critique of complacency in the national politics of remembrance situates him within a constellation of German Jewish figures who question Holocaust memorialization, including Henryk Broder, Esther Dischereit, and Oliver Polak.³⁹

Two German-language websites hosted the comic as a weekly feature, the Jewish news site *HaGalil* and later the extreme right-wing site *Politically Incorrect*. Islam has featured prominently in *Moishe Hundesohn* since the beginning, and its critical position on Islam made the comic a welcome contribution on *Politically Incorrect*.⁴⁰ One of this website’s logos—not drawn by Haw—is a blond woman standing over Europe kicking out a pig in Muslim garb.⁴¹ The sword- and shield-wielding female powerfully kicks a dark-bearded, turban-wearing, Quran-reading pig. The globe beneath the two figures shows the woman with “Europa” written on her shield standing on the European continent while the pig flies through the air over the European/Asian border with the Turkish flag below. This provocative image stresses the overlapping spheres of religion, race, and nationality.



Figure 2. Daniel Haw’s critique of the stumbling block project by Gunter Demnig. Panel excerpt from “Based on Wilhelm Busch,” 2008. © Daniel Haw

From Haw's cartoon presentation of Muslims in Germany, the reader is led to believe that Muslim youth are violent⁴² and antisemitic,⁴³ Muslim women are oppressed by their husbands,⁴⁴ and Islam is a militaristic religion.⁴⁵ All of these invectives are couched in an only slightly indirect fashion. The intended humor of the piece comes in the conversations between the childlike Moishe who poses his supposedly innocent questions to his liberal foil, the politically correct Rabbi Birnbaum. Although Rabbi Birnbaum speaks in Yiddish-accented German and wears Orthodox Jewish garb, he and other "grown-ups," such as the non-Jewish teacher and the psychiatrist, are portrayed as liberal fools who try to silence Moishe for asking unfiltered, anti-Muslim questions. For example, Moishe goes to a police station during a protest against the first Gazan war in 2009 to ask the following: "Hello, Officer, I have a question: when the peaceful anti-Israel demonstrations are over, am I allowed to put my Tel Aviv T-shirt back on or is that going to remain inflammatory?—Apropos: do I have to sandpaper the kosher stamp off my duck's rear end now?"⁴⁶ Haw critiques the anti-Israel position of Christian and Muslim Germans for its commensurate antisemitism by putting the question in the mouth of a childlike character innocently looking for answers to best navigate German society.

In "On the Forbidden Comparison," Moishe has set up a poster presentation for Rabbi Birnbaum to clarify Moishe's position on "the head scarf problematic" (Fig. 3).⁴⁷ The takeaway from the strip is that Muslim women cannot be believed when they say that the headscarf is an expression of their free will because their husbands will beat

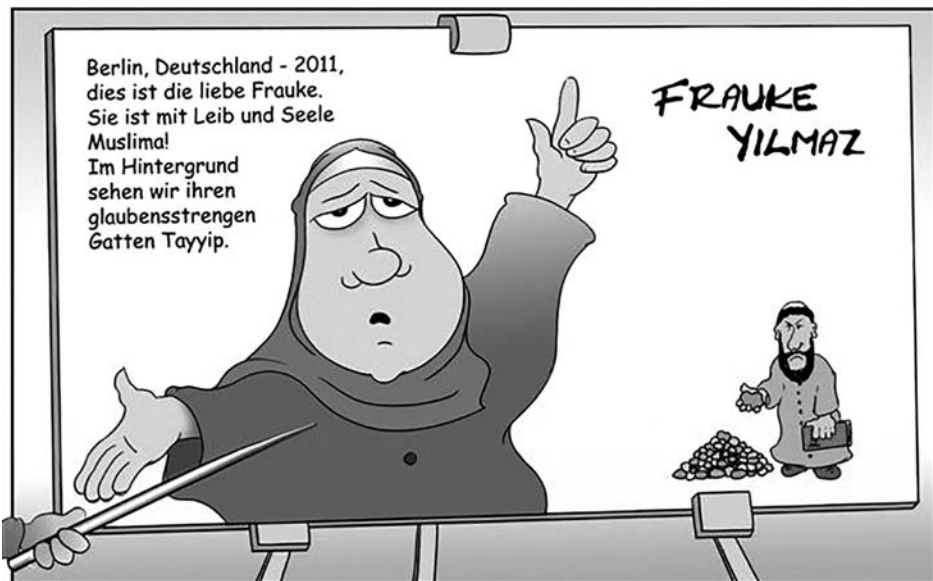


Figure 3. Daniel Haw's critique of Islam and the headscarf. Panel excerpt from "On the Forbidden Comparison," 2011. © Daniel Haw

them otherwise. The presentation goes on to liken such a woman to a nineteenth-century American slave who says that he does not want slavery to end and would actually rather stay with his abusive master.

An analysis of the specific medium of the comic demonstrates how Haw intensifies the critique. Haw identifies the Muslim woman in the cartoon as a German convert to Islam, whose name is Frauke Yilmaz. The German name Frauke is paired with the Turkish name Yilmaz. Her “fervently religious” husband Tayyip Yilmaz stands in the background with rock in hand, ready to stone his wife if she takes off her headscarf. The name Tayyip itself might have resonated with a German readership for its ultra-Turkish association as the middle name of the then Turkish prime minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. A tension, or possible discrepancy, between the image and the text of this panel makes it seem as if the choice to make this female figure into a German convert came later in the development of the cartoon. The comics theorist Thierry Groensteen emphasizes the semiotics of comics, one that considers how they are made and “held together.”⁴⁸ Within the logic of this strip’s system of ethnic icons, the valence of the woman with olive skin color is radically changed when identified in the text of the next panel, not shown here, as “the convert Frauke.” The addition of the text changes how the reader receives the figure’s ethnicity. The critique of the cartoon now becomes twofold: 1) Islamic culture is responsible for violence toward women and their subjugation, and 2) Islamic culture is infiltrating German society and brainwashing German women. Esra Özyürek writes, white German converts to Islam are perceived as “a threat to the New Germany.”⁴⁹

As stated earlier, Haw makes intertextual gestures to the German and American cartoonists Wilhelm Busch, Janosch, and Charles Schulz in order to place his digital art form within a longer, classical historical framework. His “critique” of Islam causes one to question the history with which he wishes to associate. Indeed, other Jewish artists in the early twentieth century who pioneered the American comics industry have been hailed as salient examples of minority acceptance into mainstream pop culture.⁵⁰ Kathrin Bower has however noted the function of ethnocomedy in Germany, specifically “the playful engagement of ethnic categories” and “destabilizing categories of ethnicity and national identity” as key features in Turkish comedy acts.⁵¹ Muhsin Omurca, a comparable figure to Daniel Haw with his often single-paneled webcomics that thematize Turkish German issues, does critique integration efforts as Bower indicates through destabilization. The tone in *Moishe Hundesohn* is distinct in the reification of ethnic categories and divisions (e.g., focus on violence) that lie at the center of its intended humor. *Moishe Hundesohn* certainly eschews notions of minority acceptance or a comfortable relationship between Muslims and Jews. Rather than aligning with that strain within the comics tradition that functioned as an avenue for tolerance, Haw’s work follows the more conservative visual tradition within caricature and satire. He stakes a claim to a German and German Jewish identity through

his attack on Islam specifically in a comic strip. In this zero-sum game, he claims Germanness and the right to determine whether Muslims are legitimate Germans.⁵²

Moishe's Move to the Right

The cartoon *Moishe Hundesohn* stopped appearing as a weekly installment on the Jewish news site *HaGalil* in January 2009. According to the site's editor Andrea Livnat, Haw had approached them in 2006 to have his cartoon featured unpaid, but pulled the cartoon in 2009 after objecting to other items on *HaGalil*.⁵³ Haw then started to publish his cartoons with the far-right organ *Politically Incorrect*, which Livnat described as a surprise. When reading the Jewish reception of *Moishe Hundesohn* in its inaugural year, one senses a feeling of hope for the first postwar German Jewish cartoon. One author for the Jewish journal *Tribüne* in 2007 pointed not to the webcomic's critique of Islam, but rather to the "affectionate and at times tender relationship between Moishe and Ruthi" and to Haw as "an exacting observer of German society."⁵⁴

Politically Incorrect used *Moishe Hundesohn* as a marketing tool following the webcomic's move to its site. Even at the time of writing this article some years after the comic strip ended in 2012, the dog's image is found throughout the website. One can even purchase a *Politically Incorrect* T-shirt with Moishe for twenty euros. The image yields Moishe himself wearing a T-shirt with the website's initials *PI*. He stands with a picket sign that reads "Für Freiheit im Denken" (For freedom of thought), one of the various formulations by those on the right who appeal to liberal principles to argue that the laws in the post-Nazi era prevent open discussion. Thus a *tzitzit*-wearing Jewish dog protests for the rights of a far-right German organization.⁵⁵

Marianne Hicks, in an article on new media studies, argues for the dialogic, participatory nature of the webcomic.⁵⁶ This genre choice affords Haw feedback from his readers in the online comments, and the webcomic thus needs to be examined within its immediate environment on a webpage with the readers' comments below. To provide the context for one comment from *Politically Incorrect*'s website, an article was posted on October 20, 2009 in celebration of fifty thousand visitors to the site in one day. In a congratulatory post, one reader writes, "Auf unsere schöne Muselfrei heimat [*sic*]" (To our beautiful Muslim-free homeland).⁵⁷ Reminiscent of the Nazi desire for the German fatherland to be *Judenrein* (free of Jews), this comment is found only a few lines down from the one image adorning the article, the picture of Moishe Hundesohn on the T-Shirt picketing for "freedom of thought." Readers' comments as paratextual elements on the webpage inform future readings of this seemingly innocuous slogan.

Like other webcomics, *Moishe Hundesohn* has broken into the analog world through the sale of comic books in print and merchandise. Haw transformed *Moishe Hundesohn* from a webcomic into physical form by self-publishing three slim volumes



Figure 4. Moishe Hundesohn in front of speaker's podium at the *Pro Köln* "Anti-Islamization Congress" in Cologne, May 2009.

of select cartoons. *Moishe Hundesohn* differs from many other webcomics, and comic strips in general, in that the main character has made appearances at public events. On May 9, 2009 the group *Pro Köln* held one of several public "anti-Islamization congresses." Under supervision by the governmental watchdog agency for anticonstitutional organizations, police presence, and counterdemonstration, the group nevertheless continued that day with their many German flags and signs of mosques behind red "no" symbols. Front and center at the speaker's podium was a life-sized banner of Moishe Hundesohn holding his picket sign for *Politically Incorrect* with the slogan "For Freedom of Thought" (Fig. 4).⁵⁸ Moishe, the Jewish dog, stands in front of a German flag running the length of the stage. He seemingly protects the speaker behind him from the German courts. The suggestion of this image is that neither the spokesman nor his organization can be extremist if a Jewish cartoonist supports him.

The prominence of Haw's cartoon character at this protest demonstrates his fear of an Islam-run European future. Haw has since invested his time in self-publishing a fantastic, dystopic novel about a future "Christian-Islamic" (*christoislamisch*), pan-European state. Again, a Jewish dog is the main character. The Islamo-Christian society has replaced the traditional "Judeo-Christian" roots of Europe.⁵⁹ This exterminationist warning is seen in his webcomic as well. The 2008 cartoon "We Jews" references a news story about Faruk Şen, who resigned his position as director of the German government-sponsored Center for Turkey Studies and Integration Research after having written an article comparing prejudices against Muslims with the Nazi persecution of Jews. The title of Şen's article "The New Jews of Europe,"

which suggested that Muslims are today's persecuted minority, was splashed across the German headlines.⁶⁰ Even though Zaptçioğlu, Şenocak, and others had gingerly made comparisons between German Turks and historical German Jews before, Şen's article comparing prejudices in historical periods struck a nerve. This had gone too far. In the corresponding cartoon by Haw, "We Jews," Moishe Hundesohn quotes Şen and another politician who had recently referred to Muslims as "the new Jews." In the last panel, Moishe turns to the likewise Jewish-inflected Ruthi and asks, "But then who are we?"⁶¹ Haw's fear of an Islam-run European future is tied together with a fear that Muslims will leave no place for Jews.⁶²

Approaching *Moishe Hundesohn* as a cultural product, I seek to offer something more than what Jeffrey Peck decries as an "urge to compare" Turks and Jews in Germany.⁶³ Daniel Haw's webcomic is a cultural entry point for research into the dissonance between Muslims and Jews that informs recent European events. Scratching the surface of this discord with *Moishe Hundesohn*, one finds in other media Germans of Jewish descent who have expressed viewpoints that have been taken as anti-Muslim, including the publicists Henryk Broder and the late Ralph Giordano.⁶⁴ Vladimir Vertlib's novel *Am Morgen des zwölften Tages* (On the morning of the twelfth day) is, at best, an unredemptive tale of sexual trauma, if not also an example of Muslim baiting.⁶⁵ An antisemitic corollary among Muslims can be found with the Tunisian German rapper Bushido, who has been embroiled in several controversies around anti-Jewish and anti-Israel lyrics. One of these controversies was the 2011 Bambi Prize for Integration he received, which some held was wildly inappropriate.⁶⁶ The Muslim-Jewish dis/connections in this award were amplified the following year when the prize was granted to the aforementioned Rabbi Daniel Alter, who was attacked with his young daughter. Indeed the award is named after the story *Bambi*, which the Austrian Zionist Felix Salten wrote in 1923 as a parable about antisemitism in his day.⁶⁷ It is not without some irony that the Bambi award itself becomes contested in modern cases of antisemitism. These moments of friction call into question some literature, in which Turkish minoritarian experiences are equated with Jewish ones. Scholars have focused on literati and societal elites (Şenocak et al.) for evidence of minority solidarity rather than focus on the actuality of tension in the everyday contact between Jews and Muslims. The aim of my study is not to sully the waters in which Jews and Turks find themselves, but to add texture to the 1990s/early 2000s narrative that Turks and Jews are bedfellows in their struggles against German bigotry. The increasing frequency of portraying interethnic friendships within Jewish-Muslim ventures like the postmigrant Ballhaus Theater might best be seen as aspirational.⁶⁸ These plays, TV shows, movies, and novels are performing a political function in pointing to a new Germany.

This research into the intersectionality of race, religion, and citizenship argues for a recognition of the ethnic discord between Jews and Turks in Germany and for

a more complex analysis of corresponding cultural products. The metaphor of the Turkish-German-Jewish triangle is still useful, but only when the three sides are understood to be dialectical in nature. My argument works along lines similar to the *La Convivencia* myth-busting of Iberian scholarship. *La Convivencia* refers to the long-imagined, glorified “coexistence” between Jews and Muslims in pre-Inquisition Spain. Evoking yet another strained triad, Jewish treatment by Christians, in contrast, was portrayed in terms of conflict. But upon reexamination, the treatment of Jews under Muslim rule had not been so positive. As the myth began to unravel, scholars questioned the motives of the originator of the myth, the nineteenth-century *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (Science of Judaism) historian Heinrich Graetz, and attributed such thinking to a desire to put blame on Prussian policy unfavorable to Jews. As Vivian Mann writes, Iberian historians have rejected the “view of intergroup relations as idealized, romanticized, and idyllic, presenting only the positive aspects of cultural contact and underrating the negative ones.”⁶⁹ Might the mythic unity between Turks and Jews be the creation of a contemporary Berlin Republic *Convivencia*?

Notes

1. All translations are my own unless cited otherwise. Zafer Şenocak, *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft* (Munich: Babel, 1998).
2. Maxim Biller, *Esra* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2003).
3. Leslie A. Adelson, “Touching Tales of Turks, Germans, and Jews: Cultural Alterity, Historical Narrative, and Literary Riddles for the 1990s,” *New German Critique*, no. 80 (2000): 124; Leslie A. Adelson, *The Turkish Turn in Contemporary German Literature: Towards a New Critical Grammar of Migration* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 121.
4. Elke Steiner has produced individual comic books in German on German Jewish historical figures. Other serialized Jewish comics have been translated into German, like the American comic *ShaBot 6000* by Ben Baruch and the Dutch *IdiJood!* (aka *Jewy Louis*) by Ben Gershon.
5. As Jeffrey Peck writes in reference to Jews and Turks, “The Holocaust grants Jews a higher status.” Jeffrey M. Peck, *Being Jewish in the New Germany* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 87, 105.
6. Wladimir Kaminer, *Russendisko*, 8th ed. (Munich: Manhattan, 2000).
7. Rita Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 29.
8. There are 2.96 million people of Turkish heritage in Germany (2011 BAMF migration report), including 1.51 million foreign Turks (2011 census) and 195,000 Germans with dual Turkish citizenship (2013 microcensus). As for Jews, the website for the Central Council of Jews in Germany slates the 2014 membership in Jewish communities at 100,500. Other estimates of all Jews in Germany, including the nonaffiliated and foreigners, commonly cite 200,000 (0.2% of the total population). According to the 2011 census, 2% of the population identified as Muslim. This contrasts with the government’s own estimates in the BAMF report of 2.96 million people of Turkish heritage, or 3.7% of the population. Where the census puts the number of Muslims at 2%, others estimate as high as 7%. The highest differential between Muslim and Jewish populations would in this case be fifty times as many Muslims as Jews.
9. Chin, *The Guest Worker Question*, 241; Peck, *Being Jewish*, 86–109.
10. Yasemin Yildiz, *Beyond the Mother Tongue: The Postmonolingual Condition* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012), 19, 167, 192.

11. Loentz further compares Zaimoglu's *Kanak Sprak* to translation devices of Martin Buber, Bertha Pappenheim, and Karl Emil Franzos. Elizabeth Loentz, "Yiddish, *Kanak Sprak*, Klezmer, and HipHop: Ethnolect, Minority Culture, Multiculturalism, and Stereotype in Germany," *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 25, no. 1 (2006): 40.
12. Adelson, "Touching Tales."
13. "This is the Jewish experience that is passed on to us." Zafer Şenocak and Karin Yeşilada, "May One Compare Turks and Jews, Mr. Şenocak?," in *Atlas of a Tropical Germany: Essays on Politics and Culture, 1990–1998*, ed. Leslie A. Adelson, trans. Leslie A. Adelson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 55; Zafer Şenocak and Karin Yeşilada, "Darf man Türken und Juden vergleichen, Herr Şenocak?," in *Transit Deutschland. Debatten zu Nation und Migration*, trans. Leslie A. Adelson (Munich: Fink, 2011), 451; Şenocak, *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft*; Zafer Şenocak, *Deutschsein. Eine Aufklärungsschrift* (Hamburg: Edition Koerber-Stiftung, 2011).
14. Emine Sevgi Özdamar, *Seltsame Sterne starren zur Erde. Wedding-Pankow 1976/77* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2003).
15. Esther Dischereit, *Joëmis Tisch. Eine jüdische Geschichte* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1988).
16. Esther Dischereit, *Blumen für Otello—Über die Verbrechen von Jena. Klagelieder* (Zurich: Secession, 2014); Esther Dischereit, *Vor den Hohen Feiertagen gab es ein Flüstern und Rascheln im Haus* (Berlin: AvivA, 2009).
17. Dischereit stated this at the Transnational German Studies Conference in May 2013 in Berlin and has given similar statements in interviews, such as, "Dabei bin ich als Jüdin ohnehin betroffen." Dischereit, *Blumen für Otello*, 198.
18. Biller, *Esra*; Marianna Salzmann, *Weißbrotmusik, Satt* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag der Autoren, 2011); Oliver Polak, *Jud Süß Sauer—die Show* (Sony Music Entertainment Germany, 2010), CD; Olga Grjasnowa, *Der Russe ist einer, der Birken liebt* (Munich: Carl Hanser, 2012). See also Oliver Polak, *Ich darf das, ich bin Jude*, 5th ed. (Cologne: Kiepenhauer & Witsch, 2009), 85–92.
19. See Stuart Taberner, "Germans, Jews, and Turks in Maxim Biller's Novel 'Esra,'" *The German Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (Spring 2006): 234–248; Rachel Ramsay, "Eine Verwandtschaftliche Verbindung (A Connection of Kinship)? Jewish-Turkish Alliances in Contemporary Jewish Writing in German," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 57 (2012): 313–330.
20. "Es ist ein Muster, das sich wiederholt." Dilek Zaptçioğlu, *Türken und Deutsche. Nachdenken über eine Freundschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Brandes & Apsel, 2005), 65; Jakob Wassermann, *Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2005). But Zaptçioğlu does differentiate between Jewish and Turkish self-hatred somewhat: "The difference between Jakob Wasserman and, let us say, a Turkish Literati in Germany today lies in the degree of the Jewish identification with this county: ' . . . I felt a member of a nation; comparable as a person, equal as a citizen . . . ' The Turks are far away from this." Zaptçioğlu, "Wir und die Juden," 52.
21. Zaptçioğlu, "Wir und die Juden," 69–77; Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).
22. Wolf-Sören Treusch, "Stolpersteine und Videos," *Jüdische Allgemeine*, November 7, 2013, <http://www.juedische-allgemeine.de/article/view/id/17517>.
23. Esra Özyürek, *Being German, Becoming Muslim: Race, Religion, and Conversion in the New Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 13.
24. Adelson, "Touching Tales of Turks, Germans, and Jews," 124.
25. Chin, *The Guest Worker Question*, 29.
26. "Nach Ansicht von Richter Sturm handelten die Angeklagten nicht aus »antisemitischen Gründen per se.«." "Bewährungsstrafen verhängt," *Jüdische Allgemeine*, February 5, 2015, <http://www.juedische-allgemeine.de/article/view/id/21452>.
27. See comments by President of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, Dr. Josef Schuster. "Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland—Ist es gefährdet?," May 21, 2015, <http://www.zentralratjuden.de/de/article/5248.j%C3%BCdisches-leben-in-deutschland-ist-es-gef%C3%A4hrdet.html>; "Wir

- werden um Obergrenzen nicht herumkommen,” November 23, 2015, <http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article149136577/Wir-werden-um-Obergrenzen-nicht-herumkommen.html>.
28. Landgericht Cologne, May 7, 2012, Az 151 Ns 169/11.
 29. “Rechtliche Regelung der Beschneidung minderjähriger Jungen,” July 19, 2012, Bundestag Drucksache 17/10331, <http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/17/103/1710331.pdf>.
 30. 109,000 foreign Americans (2011 census) and 84,000 Germans with dual American citizenship (2013 microcensus) live in Germany. The legislation delineates the many groups in Germany that perform circumcision for religious, cultural, and social reasons. According to this, of the three options, Americans circumcise their boys for social reasons. See “Gründe für die Beschneidung,” art. 2 a II 2 in “Entwurf eines Gesetzes über den Umfang der Personensorge bei einer Beschneidung des männlichen Kindes,” October 11, 2012, Bundesrat Drucksache 597/12, <http://dipbt.bundestag.de/dip21/brd/2012/0597-12.pdf>.
 31. The Giordano Bruno Foundation at pro-kinderrechte.org plastered streets with slogans advocating children’s rights over religious rights. See also the caricature by Jacques Tilly of the Bundestag members bowing down before religious authorities: <http://www.giordano-bruno-stiftung.de/sites/default/files/download/beschneidung-bundestag-gr.jpg>.
 32. “Gesetz über den Umfang der Personensorge bei einer Beschneidung des männlichen Kindes,” December 20, 2012, §1631d Bundesgesetzblatt I, no. 61: 2749, http://www.bgbl.de/xaver/bgbl/start.xav?startbk=Bundesanzeiger_BGBl&jumpTo=bgbl112s2749.pdf. The law passed with a vote of 434–146. Deutscher Bundestag Stenografischer Bericht 213. Sitzung, December 12, 2012, Plenarprotokoll 17/213: 26110, <http://dipbt.bundestag.de/dip21/btp/17/17213.pdf#P.26107>.
 33. Jonathan Laurence, “(Re)constructing Community in Berlin: Of Jews, Turks, and German Responsibility,” (working paper, WZB Berlin Social Science Center, no. FS III 99–102, 1999), 8–9, <http://hdl.handle.net/10419/49820>.
 34. Judith Kessler, “Zeittafel zur russisch-jüdischen Zuwanderung nach Deutschland,” in *Ausgerechnet Deutschland! Jüdisch-russische Einwanderung in die Bundesrepublik*, ed. Dmitrij Belkin and Raphael Gross (Berlin: Nicolai and Jüdisches Museum Frankfurt, 2010), 176–177.
 35. Chin, *The Guest Worker Question*, 262.
 36. “Das Christentum gehört zweifelsfrei zu Deutschland. Das Judentum gehört zweifelsfrei zu Deutschland. Das ist unsere christlich-jüdische Geschichte. Aber der Islam gehört inzwischen auch zu Deutschland” (“Rede zum 20. Jahrestag der Deutschen Einheit,” Bremen, October 3, 2010, http://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Reden/DE/Christian-Wulff/Reden/2010/10/20101003_Rede.html).
 37. The comic strip *Moishe Hundesohn* is online, but for the sake of permanence, I have cited the print versions when possible. “Moishe Hundesohn und das deutsch-jüdische Kino,” <http://www.israeli-art.com/satire/kino.htm>; “In die Hose gesteckt” in Daniel Haw, *Moishe Hundesohn: Revolutio!*, vol. 3. (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2012), 72–73; “Moishe bewölkt” in Haw, *Revolutio!*, 3:62–63. Within the context of webcomics, an opposing cartoon to “Moishe bewölkt” and circumcision is the English-language webcomic *Foreskin Man*, <http://www.foreskinman.com>.
 38. “Moishe Hundesohn und der Stolperstein,” <http://www.moishe-hundesohn.com/moishe-2006/moishe-hundesohn-und-der-stolperstein/>; “Frei nach Wilhelm Busch,” <http://www.moishe-hundesohn.com/moishe-2008/frei-nach-wilhelm-busch/>.
 39. See Polak’s skit “Stolperstein” in *Jud Süß Sauer* and the “Happy Holocaust” sketch in the first episode of *Entweder Broder—Die Deutschland-Safari*, (Munich: Zorro Medien, 2011), DVD.
 40. Haw’s first cartoon was “Moishe Hundesohn und die Maishe vom total lieben Islam,” March 4, 2006, <http://www.moishe-hundesohn.com/moishe-2006/moishe-hundesohn-und-die-maishe-vom-total-lieben-islam/>. In the cartoon “Von den verbotenen Farben,” Moishe suggestively identifies as an opponent of Islam (*Islamegner*). Haw, *Revolutio!*, 48–49. The otherwise politically correct Rabbi Birnbaum does call Islam “a dangerous religion” at one point, suggesting a turn in the character’s development. Haw, *Revolutio!*, 54.

41. This image was the apparent winner of a contest run by PI-News to draw Mohammed. <http://www.pi-news.net/wp/uploads/2010/05/mohamed4.jpg>.
42. "Moishe—politisch korrekt," March 3, 2006, <http://www.israeli-art.com/satire/korrekt.htm>; "Moishes Bären dienst" in Haw, *Revolutio!*, 38–39.
43. "Moishes kleine Farbenlehre" in Haw, *Revolutio!*, 91–92.
44. "Vom verbotenen Vergleich" in Daniel Haw, *Moishe Hundesohn: Deutschland: Ein Trauermärchen*, vol. 2. (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2011), 74–77.
45. "Der Maulkorb" in Haw, *Revolutio!*, 24–25.
46. "Eine jüdische Provokation" in Daniel Haw, *Moishe Hundesohn: Ein Hundejahr*, vol. 1. (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2011), 7–8.
47. "Vom verbotenen Vergleich" in Haw, *Deutschland*, 74–77.
48. Thierry Groensteen, "A Few Words about *The System of Comics* and More . . ." *European Comic Art* 1, no. 1 (June 2008): 87–93.
49. Özyürek, *Being German, Becoming Muslim*, 134–136.
50. Derek Parker Royal, "Jewish Comics; Or, Visualizing Current Jewish Narrative," *Shofar* 29, no. 2 (Winter 2011): 1–12.
51. Bower, Kathrin, "Made in Germany: Integration as Inside Joke in the Ethno-comedy of Kaya Yanar and Bülent Ceylan," *German Studies Review* 37, no. 2 (May 2014): 357–376.
52. See "Moishe—typgerecht" in Haw, *Deutschland*, 48–50; "Von den verbotenen Farben" in Haw, *Revolutio!*, 48–49.
53. Andrea Livnat, e-mail message to author, May 21, 2015. Livnat was unable to recall to which item Haw objected.
54. Andreas Disselnkötter, "Randständiger Antiheld: Daniel Haws jüdische Comicfigur 'Moishe Hundesohn,'" *Tribüne. Zeitschrift zum Verständnis des Judentums* 183 (September 2007): 167, 165.
55. The shirt has been available for purchase since 2009, http://www.kerngesund.eu/product_info.php/info/p262_T-Shirt--Moishe-Hundesohn--wei-.html.
56. See Marianne Hicks, "'Teh futar': The Power of the Webcomic and the Potential of Web 2.0," in *Drawing the Line: Using Cartoons as Historical Evidence*, ed. Richard Scully and Marian Quartly (Clayton, AUS: Monash University ePress, 2009), 11.3–11.6.
57. Comment number four, "PI überspringt die 50.000er-Marke," October 20, 2009, <http://www.pi-news.net/2009/10/pi-ueberspringt-die-50-000er-marke/>.
58. Nogocologne, "Anti-Islamisierungskongress 2009: Eröffnungssegen 3," YouTube video, May 10, 2009, 2:33, http://youtu.be/h_zj28KKOU. See also the May 1, 2009 cartoon "Moishes Meinungsfreiheit" that references Moishe going to the rally. Haw, *Hundejahr*, 35–36.
59. Daniel Haw, *Saphir. Abenteuer eines Hofnarren in Abschweifungen* (Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2011), 84.
60. Faruk Şen, "Avrupa'nın yeni Yahudileri [The New Jews of Europe]," *Referans*, May 19, 2008, http://www.radikalreferansarsivi.com/haber.aspx?HBR_KOD=97254&YZR_KOD=143. "Türken—'die neuen Juden Europas?,'" *Die Welt*, June 28, 2008, <http://www.welt.de/debatte/kommentare/article6072387/Tuerken-die-neuen-Juden-Europas.html>.
61. "Wir Juden," November 6, 2008, <http://www.moishe-hundesohn.com/moishe-2008/wir-juden/>.
62. Fear is not too strong a word here. Moishe Hundesohn's business card states his profession as a "state-certified Islamophobe." See "Moishe und die großen 'K'" in Haw, *Deutschland*, 69–71.
63. Peck, *Being Jewish in the New Germany*, 91.
64. Esra Özyürek calls Broder a "harsh Muslim critic." Özyürek, *Being German, Becoming Muslim*, 134. Both Broder and Abdel-Samad from the TV show *Entweder Broder* are noted critics of Islam.
65. Vertlib, Vladimir, *Am Morgen des zwölften Tages* (Vienna: Deuticke, 2009).

66. Oliver Das Gupta, "Palästina-Karte ohne Israel: Roth nennt Bushido einen Antisemiten," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, January 15, 2013, <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/palaestina-karte-ohne-israel-roth-nennt-bushido-einen-antisemiten-1.1573855>. In the 2006 song "Fuck Bushido," the artist Bass Sultan Hengzt claimed that Bushido called DJ Ilan Schulz a "Jewish pig." ("Du hast gesagt DJ Ilan ist ein Judenschwein.")
67. Rahel Rosa Neubauer, "Felix Salten als Autor jüdischer Kinder- und Jugendliteratur," in *Felix Salten. Der unbekannte Bekannte*, ed. Ernst Seibert and Susanne Blumesberger (Vienna: Praesens, 2006), 131–141.
68. A list of performances on stage in Berlin alone from the past few years include "Adam und Esra" (based on Maxim Biller's *Esra*) at the Deutsches Theater in 2010, "Weißbrotmusik" by Marianna Salzman at the Theater Strahl in 2013, "Der Russe ist einer, der Birken liebt" by Olga Grjasnowa at the Maxim Gorki Theater in 2013, and "Vorhaut" by Necati Öziri at the Ballhaus Theater in 2014.
69. Vivian Mann, Jerrilynn Dodds, and Thomas Glick, *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York: Braziller, 1992), 2; Darío Fernández-Morera, "The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise," *The Intercollegiate Review* 41, no. 2 (2006): 23–31.