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# Re-articulations of German-Jewish Identity in Adriana Altaras's *titos brille* and Dmitrij Kapitelman's *Das Lächeln meines unsichtbaren Vaters*<sup>1</sup>

## ABSTRACT

This article examines the emergence of new forms of German-Jewish identity after unification, the arrival of over 200 000 Jews from the former Soviet Union, and the fading of the generation of Holocaust survivors. It is argued that Adriana Altaras's *titos brille* (2015) and Dmitrij Kapitelman's *Das Lächeln meines unsichtbaren Vaters* (2016) suggest a spectrum of potential actualizations of German-Jewish identity along three related axes: continuity↔innovation; apartness↔normalization; and particularity↔cosmopolitanism. More generally, the article proposes that these axes might structure a comprehensive examination of the growing corpus of fiction by authors with a Jewish background to which the two novels belong.

In his survey of Jewish writing in German since the early 1990s, Jakob Hessing reiterates the significance of the fall of the Berlin Wall and unification as a “historisch-soziologischen Paradigmenwechsel” in Jewish life in post-Holocaust Germany.<sup>2</sup> Most immediately, as Hartmut Steinecke describes, for Jews in the Federal Republic (and indeed for Jews around the world)<sup>3</sup> unification provoked not so much spontaneous joy as “Skepsis, Misstrauen, Angst”<sup>4</sup>—the fear of a rapid reversion to extreme nationalism and rabid anti-Semitism. Over the longer term, however, the geo-political convulsions of 1989/90 would combine with generational and demographic shifts—the passing of the last Holocaust survivors and the demographic transformation of the community following the mass immigration of so-called “jüdische Kontingentflüchtlinge” (Jewish “quota refugees”) from the former Soviet Union<sup>5</sup>—to prompt what Y. Michal Bodemann, already in 1994, had prognosed as a “neue Verortung,”

or localization, of Jewish self-understanding in Germany.<sup>6</sup> In 1998, Micha Brumlik confirmed that for younger Jews, and especially for recently arrived post-Soviet migrants, the Holocaust was becoming less centrally defining and that family, religion and social, political, cultural and economic integration within their German context were increasingly salient.<sup>7</sup>

This doesn't mean that the Holocaust is now consigned to history, or even that Jews from the former Soviet Union have sustained the "indifference to German-Jewish traditions and [...] distanced attitude towards the Holocaust" that Oliver Lubrich, building on studies by the Moses Mendelssohn Institute in the 1990s,<sup>8</sup> described in his 2003 article "Are Russian Jews Postcolonial?"<sup>9</sup> Karen Körber argues that as post-Soviet Jews become "settled" "we can observe a process of reevaluation, deferral or overlapping of different memories," not least because "the experience of the present includes the encounter with Germany's writing of history and the identity of the Jewish communities in which the Holocaust has become an elementary part of the collective memory."<sup>10</sup> Older post-Soviet Jews may well celebrate the Red Army's victory rather than commemorate the Holocaust,<sup>11</sup> but Judith Kessler posits that their children and grandchildren have a "more dualistic orientation, that is, younger individuals are oriented both towards the culture of their country of origin and country of residence, acquiring the competence and cultural savvy to be successful within the new environment."<sup>12</sup> Abundant references to German memory culture and German-Jewish commemorative practices in the work of younger post-Soviet writers evidence this process of acculturation—for example, Lena Gorelik, Olga Grjasnowa, and Dmitrij Kapitelman—even as their literary texts also communicate their unique contribution to the evolution of both.

This article starts from the observation that the Holocaust continues to be an essential point of reference for *all* sections of today's greatly enlarged and diverse Jewish population, ranging from the secular to the ultra-orthodox, and including the established community largely descended from Eastern European Holocaust survivors, Soviet Jews who arrived in

waves from the 1970s, the post-1990 influx of around 200 000 “jüdische Kontingentflüchtlinge,” and a much smaller number of American, Israeli<sup>13</sup> and other immigrants. More centrally, however, the discussion that follows focuses on the various ways the Holocaust is now invoked by these different elements to reflect on what new expressions of *German-Jewish* identity they might shape from their disparate backgrounds and experiences.<sup>14</sup> This may be a contrast to the 1980s when the Holocaust was primarily cited by the “second generation” as a means of marking their distance from the perceived quietism of their parents and from their interpellation as “German Jews” expected to perform the “ideological labor” (Bodemann)<sup>15</sup> of reconciliation.<sup>16</sup>

Literary fiction offers a productive means to explore the emergence of new German-Jewish identities—there is now a large and diverse corpus where comparative analysis allows for a more differentiated understanding of contemporary modes of identity construction than earlier studies on a few high-profile authors, e.g. Maxim Biller, Barbara Honigmann, or Wladimir Kaminer.<sup>17</sup> To illustrate this potential, this article considers two novels by two relatively unfamiliar authors from contrasting backgrounds—Adriana Altaras, whose parents fled Yugoslavia in the early 1960s and became leading figures in the Jewish community in Giessen, and Dmitrij Kapitelman, who arrived with his family in the early 1990s as a “Kontingentflüchtling” aged eight. In Altaras’s *titos brille* (2015; lower-case on the book cover), we find a riveting account of her parents’ wartime experiences and flight from Yugoslavia, but also of the Jewish community in Germany from the 1960s, its dramatic demographic transformation after 1990, the author’s growing interest in her parents’ connections to the Holocaust and Jewish ritual, and of how for her these define a German-Jewish identity against the “amnesia” of recently arrived Soviet immigrants. In Kapitelman’s *Das Lächeln meines unsichtbaren Vaters* (2016), in contrast, the thematic focus is on his father’s loathing for/enduring attachment to his Soviet upbringing and his struggle to make a

success of his new life in Germany—including his various money-making schemes—and on Dmitrij’s efforts to engage his pork-eating Papa with his Jewish heritage by traveling with him to Israel for an extended visit to old Russian friends now settled there. For the son, Holocaust memory enables forms of solidarity with others, notably Palestinians—also a motif in Olga Grjasnowa’s *Der Russe ist einer, der Birken liebt* (2012)<sup>18</sup>—and the elaboration of a truly post-Soviet, now *German-Jewish* identity rooted in a capacious cosmopolitanism.

In essence, this article argues that *titos brille* and *Das Lächeln* suggest a spectrum of potential actualizations of contemporary German-Jewish identity along three related axes—continuity↔innovation; apartness↔normalization; and particularity↔cosmopolitanism. More concretely, the close readings that follow examine how the two novels mobilize common topoi from recent Jewish writing—“family Holocaust histories”; “explaining for the German reader”; “living in the shadow of the older generation”; “resentment”; “resurgent anti-Semitism”; “Israel”—but each differently, in order to reaffirm or re-imagine the “vocation” of the Jewish community to be a repository of memory (continuity↔innovation); to express degrees of identification with a now more diverse but still “majority German” society (apartness↔normalization); or to explore a continuum of philosophical orientations from a “self-sufficient Jewishness” to a “worldly Jewishness” (particularity↔cosmopolitanism).

At the close of the article, it is suggested that the analytical framework applied to the two texts under consideration might offer a productive way to approach the larger corpus to which they belong. By reading contemporary German-Jewish writing along the axes described above, across the intersections of these axes, and with respect also to how their underpinning suppositions are simultaneously challenged, it may be possible to derive a more nuanced understanding of the ways in the diverse histories and experiences of numerous real individuals are colliding, combining and shaping new identities.

### **Adriana Altaras's *titos brille***

Adriana Altaras was born in 1960 in Zagreb. In 1964, her father Jakob—a leading figure in the ruling Communist Party who had fought with Tito's partisans—was forced to flee Yugoslavia on account of anti-Semitic persecution; Adriana was smuggled to Italy where she remained with her aunt and uncle until 1967 when she joined Jakob in Germany, along with her mother Thea, a former inmate of the Rab concentration camp established by the Italians in (now) Croatia, and a passionate communist and architect who had been prevented from leaving at the same time as her husband. In Germany, the family settled in Giessen, where Jakob had become a senior physician and Professor at the University Hospital. Over the following decades, Jakob re-founded the local Jewish community (but failed to be elected as Chair of the *Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland*), Thea became known for her research on destroyed synagogues across the state of Hesse, and Adriana established herself as an actress and theatre director—only in recent years has she begun to publish autobiographically inspired fiction, including *titos brille* (2011), *Doitscha. Eine jüdische Mutter packt aus* (2014), *Das Meer und ich waren im besten Alter* (2017) and *Die jüdische Souffleuse* (2018).

*Titos brille* is an episodic novel encompassing loosely connected reflections on family history, Jews in Germany since 1945, Holocaust memory, and the author's experiences of marginalization as a Jew and as a migrant. The impetus for its first-person narrator to begin to write is ostensibly the deaths of her parents, first Jakob in 2001 and then Thea in 2004, and what the passing of this generation means for the disappearance of the "old" Europe of intermingled ethnicities and cultures: "so sterben sie langsam, die letzten Überlebenden, nehmen das alte Europa mit und fürs Erste gibt es keinen Ersatz."<sup>19</sup> But it is evident that the abrupt transformation of the Jewish community in Germany is also a significant factor—Adriana repeatedly registers newly arrived post-Soviet Jews: "Als ich zum ersten Elternabend

in Sammys Klasse kam, war ich wie vor den Kopf gestoßen: Von vierundzwanzig Kindern waren zweiundzwanzig russischer Abstammung” (*tb*, 211). In essence, the various papers that Adriana discovers amongst her deceased parents’ effects—including her father’s letters to a brother in New York discussing a possible emigration in the early 1960s, her mother’s restitution claims for property in Croatia, and her attempts to be naturalized as a German citizen—document the emergence of a “new” postwar community peopled by Holocaust survivors and refugees from Soviet anti-Semitism (or often both), and make it possible for Adriana to sustain something of that history even as she mourns the end of an era. By the close of the novel, Adriana can reconcile herself with the transformation of her community by restating the continuing indispensability of Holocaust memory, and of Jewish culture and practices, *and* by beginning to frame a new articulation of German-Jewish identity.

This reassertion of *German-Jewish* identity is directed not at post-Soviet Jews, however, but at the non-Jewish majority Germans who are most likely its intended, or at least expected readers. Quite unexpectedly, but also typical of recent Jewish writing, the non-Jewish reader is asked to endorse, as it were, the novel’s detailed elaboration of the historical and anthropological involvedness of German-Jewish identity, and of the lived experience of “real” Jews in the present day. What this means in concrete terms is that Altaras goes beyond the platitudes and conventional scope of Germany’s “coming-to-terms with the past” and its focus on murdered victims, to better acquaint her readers with the Jews who—now and still—live amongst them following histories of persecution, displacement and relocation. It falls to the putative non-Jewish German reader, in effect, to recognize Jewish life in postwar Germany as a thing of substance, with complex cultural manifestations, diverse legacies and attachments, and deep reservoirs of emotion.

Altaras is not content to limit her text to a simple exposition of Jewish customs, therefore, for example the meaning of the different foods at Passach (*tb*, 222). Instead, her

detailed account of family history on her father's and her mother's side distils a more comprehensive understanding of the various Jewish traditions in Europe than non-Jewish Germans could normally be expected to possess. Jakob, the reader learns, is from a Sephardic background, the descendants of Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century who migrated across France, Holland, England, Italy and into the Ottoman Empire, including the Balkans (*tb*, 22). Adriana recalls visitors to their house speaking their Spanish-Jewish language (Spaniolish) with her father (*tb*, 206); parenthetically, but significantly, she also tells of a cantor she knows in Berlin, who escaped Thessaloníki just before the Nazis exterminated its Sephardic community in 1942 (*tb*, 93). Adriana's mother Thea, on the other hand, came from a long line of *jekkes*, Jews from Germany or Austria, or the many Jews across Eastern Europe who before the Holocaust identified with German culture, like her grandfather from Budapest. Thea spoke German at home, was raised "im deutschen Geist," and went with her father to Vienna each year to experience the classics of German theatre (*tb*, 162-66). None of this prevented Thea, her mother and her mother's sister Jelka from being driven from their home by German soldiers (Thea's father had died of a heart attack following the invasion), from being captured by the Croatian fascists (the Ustaše), or from being interned in the Rab concentration camp by the Italians, although this for a while actually protected them from the Nazis (*tb*, 67-9). Nor did it make it any easier once Thea had moved to the Federal Republic, where the authorities appeared confused that there had been German-speaking Jews in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, or that Thea, as a so-called *Volksdeutsche*, was seeking to claim asylum (*tb*, 162-66). Decades later, nevertheless, Thea still looked down on the "Polish Jews," that is, Eastern European Jews or *Ostjuden*, whom she considered to be ill-educated and beholden to atavistic Jewish rituals (*tb*, 37). Her sister Jelka, similarly, remained until the end of her life the "Personifizierung der k.u.k.-



Monarchie” (*tb*, 94), an anachronism embodying the Central European charm, elegance and composure of the late nineteenth-century Austro-Hungarian empire.

For the German reader, these details most likely open up an unexpected vista onto the rich heterogeneity of Jewish life in Europe before the Holocaust—and an uncanny reminder of the intimacy of German and Jewish culture. At the same time, they also provide a framework for apprehending the German-Jewish community of which Jakob, Thea and Adriana are active members, as a “rebirth” of the mutual imbrication of Germans and Jews that their Balkan family history embodies (notwithstanding the fact that the Holocaust survivors who reestablished the community after 1945 were largely Eastern European in origin).<sup>20</sup> The pathos of Thea’s struggle in the 1960s to persuade the authorities that she—a Jewish woman steeped in German culture—“belongs” can hardly fail to move the present-day reader, but even her father’s on the face of it more “exotic” Sephardic background will most likely feel at least intuitively familiar. Surviving synagogues in Germany today generally exhibit the neo-Moorish style adopted by German Jews in the nineteenth century to express their worldliness, intellectual superiority over the *Ostjuden*, and successful integration into a society in which they were a religious minority (like the Jews of Islamic Iberia).<sup>21</sup> More obviously, the narrator alludes to Elias Canetti, a writer of Balkan Sephardic background, to substantiate her description of her father’s family history (*tb*, 22). A prolific author raised in the German language (along with Ladino) by his mother, Canetti will be recognized by some readers at least as a documenter of the rise of fascism and the fanaticism of the masses.<sup>22</sup>

This is not a simple reconstitution of an in any event largely mythical “German-Jewish symbiosis.”<sup>23</sup> Yet there is some succor for the German reader—Adriana’s extensive citation from her parents’ papers frames the Holocaust as a *European* crime, in which Germans were the principal but by no means the sole perpetrators. What’s more, and again in keeping with

recent shifts in German, European and indeed global memory culture,<sup>24</sup> National Socialism is portrayed as the most egregious but certainly not only instance of anti-Semitic persecution in twentieth-century Europe. In Adriana's retelling, accordingly, what emerges is a powerful indictment of the fanaticism of Hitler's Ustaše collaborators, (*tb*, 115), show trials in Communist Yugoslavia in the 1960s, and—reflecting her anger at Croatia's ongoing refusal to return her family's expropriated property—what she sees as only thinly veiled anti-Semitism in the present day: “Was ist mit dem noch munter lodernden Hass der Kroaten gegen die Juden?” (*tb*, 150). These references, along with an aside on Vichy collaboration and rising anti-Semitism in France (*tb*, 174), in no way exonerate Germans, but they emphasize that the responsibility to nurture a vibrant Jewish community is one that Germans shoulder not only for their own sake but also on behalf of Europe as a whole.

At the same time, Adriana's more expansive exposition of the transnational nature of the Holocaust and anti-Semitism as a European phenomenon facilitates a surprisingly candid depiction of her own community and a willingness to upend the “identity trope” that for better *and* worse has long been associated with it, namely “the virtuous Jewish victim.” Her allusion to anti-Semitism in France is followed, therefore, by an unexpected acknowledgment of the progress that Germany has made: “Da lob ich mir mein unerotisches Deutschland: Es hat—zunächst verordnet, dann nach 68 geradezu in einem Aufarbeitungswahn—verhältnismäßig viel seiner dreckigen Geschichte thematisiert.” (*tb*, 175). This positive appraisal of *her* Germany—even as the possessive pronoun is qualified with obvious irony—contrasts with an earlier comment that her father had been right to accuse senior figures in his community of corruption in relation to “Wiedergutmachungsgeldern” (*tb*, 28); this surely refers to Werner Nachmann, President of the *Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland* from 1969 to 1988, who in 1987 was found to have embezzled 30 Million DM.<sup>25</sup> In present-day Berlin, less spectacularly, Adriana's rabbi is dismissed for profiteering from the sale of licenses to

certify kosher food (*tb*, 230). And nor was Adriana's father entirely without blemishes. He was the hero who fought with Tito and rescued 24 Jewish infants (*tb*, 12-4). Yet he was also a womanizer whose several current mistresses Adriana must confront after his death (*tb*, 30), cruel to his first wife and Adriana's half-sister Rosa (19-20), the father of a half-brother she has never met (*tb*, 55), and unreliable in his retelling of his exploits, possibly including the saving of the children (*tb*, 24).<sup>26</sup>

Adriana similarly distances herself from a second conventional expression of postwar German-Jewish identity—the resentment, or *Ressentiment* (Jean Améry),<sup>27</sup> that pushes the German-Jewish intellectual to force Germans to confront their crimes even as this suggests self-loathing as much as a principled refusal to “integrate.” Here, her friend Raffi stands in for established writers such as Henryk Broder<sup>28</sup> and Maxim Biller,<sup>29</sup> known for their acerbic deconstruction of German hypocrisy, not least on account of Raffi's media success: “Die deutschen Fernsehzuschauer hängen nach wie vor an seinen Lippen und lassen sich in Sachen Deutsche und Juden, Liebe und Depression, jüdische Befindlichkeiten und deutsche Animositäten informieren” (*tb*, 221). Raffi is even cited with “Henryk” and “Maxim” in the text (*tb*, 156), and like Biller he immigrated with his parents from Prague (*tb*, 38). Yet just as important is the fact that Adriana also differentiates herself from other potential articulations of Jewish identity outside of Germany, namely the United States and Israel. She is repulsed by her American relatives, “eine amerikanisch-jüdische Variante aus ‘Baywatch’ oder ‘Dallas’” (*tb*, 217) who are all grossly overweight and who seem to view her and her children “als seien wir geradewegs aus dem Stetl geflohen” (*tb*, 218). But her relationship with Israel too has always been “gelinde gesagt—schwierig” (*tb*, 201). A disappointing “gap year” in a kibbutz and then, in more recent years, the constant requirement to justify her decision to live in Germany and her discomfort with militarization of Israeli society mean that she is always more than pleased to return to Berlin (*tb*, 201-8). Significantly, when violence breaks out in

the West Bank between Israeli settlers and Palestinians, her first instinct is to worry about the increased security around Berlin's Jewish institutions, including her sons' school, and not to ponder the potential rights and wrongs of the situation in the Middle East (*tb*, 209).

Through defining what she is not, Adriana comes to articulate what she *is*. She is not an American Jew—too materialistic; but she is not an Israeli Jew either—too self-satisfied, and armed to the teeth. And she is certainly not a Soviet Jew—too much vodka, and the Mafia-like tactics in seizing control of local *Gemeinden*... (*tb*, 211-2; 110-1)—and nor can she identify with the orthodox and ultra-orthodox Jews whose numbers are increasing (*tb*, 211).<sup>30</sup> She can't tolerate their "medieval" attitude towards women and their halakhic literalism (*tb*, 243-4). But she is also not a German Jew in quite the same way as her parents, the exiles from Yugoslavia who survived the Nazis and their Croatian collaborators as well as the Communist regime, or even members of her own generation such as Raffi, whose lives are overdetermined by the past and the need to be on guard against a resurgent anti-Semitism. Instead, her articulation of German-Jewish identity is an innovation that is a continuity, or rather—noting the paradox—a resumption of a continuity. Adriana, implicitly but surely not unwittingly, revives the Reform Judaism that, by end of the nineteenth century, had largely come to define the community: modern, enlightened, and perceiving no contradiction between Jewish custom and integration, and even German patriotism.<sup>31</sup> Most obviously, this is suggested through her frustration at the rabbi who refuses to recognize her father's *teffilin* (small black leather boxes containing Torah verses, worn by men during prayers) as kosher, which directly recalls the nineteenth-century and ongoing orthodox/Reform split on ritual, reason and modernity: "Was ist schlecht an Reformen? An Veränderung? An Frauen? Wir leben schließlich nicht mehr im Mittelalter" (*tb*, 245). But it is also implied through her son's Bar Mitzvah, which recalls family traditions but has little religious significance for her (*tb*, 251; 255), and of course, through her marriage to Georg, a non-Jew whose appearance is as

stereotypically “German” as all of her prior lovers (*tb*, 42). Indeed, her affable and intelligent husband—“ein etwas autistischer Westfale” (*tb*, 53)—exemplifies *why* she is now able to feel affection for Germany, as does the University rector who writes her a moving letter following her mother’s death, and as do the local officials who intervene so that Thea can be buried on a bank holiday, on the “Tag der deutschen Einheit” (*tb*, 80), no less.

This is not quite a “normalization” of German-Jewish identity, but it is a significant shift in emphasis. The Holocaust remains central to Adriana’s self-understanding—she is active in interviewing surviving Berlin Jews for the USC Shoah Foundation (*tb*, 236-42)—but it is no longer the inherited trauma that, as she describes at the start of her narrative, created her and her generation as the “exakten Kopien unserer Eltern und derer Geschichte” (*tb*, 62). And her accommodation with Germany will always be conditional on its continued commitment to tolerance. The *dybbuks*—dislocated souls of the dead—that accompany her throughout the text will no doubt continue to visit. But their stories will no longer determine hers.

### **Kapitelman’s *Das Lächeln meines unsichtbaren Vaters***

Where *titos brille* is contemplative, earnest and above all “literary,” Kapitelman’s *Das Lächeln* is wryly comical, playful and even mischievous. It indulges but simultaneously exposes the cliché of the *Kontigentflüchtling* who fakes his ‘Semit-Credibility’<sup>32</sup> for a better life in Germany; offers up tasteless Holocaust puns—“Ich bin also mit der Säuberung des Festtisches und der Deportation von allem Unorthodoxen und Unjüdischen befasst” (*L*, 56)—refers to his mother as “Chefin” and to his father Leonid with similarly trivializing affection as “Papa”; renames his family the Rothchilds; and mimics social media, e.g. “*meltdown*” (*L*, 164; italics in original). Yet this is also a serious book. Its repetitive, even tedious citation of stereotypes—the Jewish father who is forever fretting about his shady business enterprises—suggests just how ubiquitous negative images of “the Jew” remain. Conversely, allusions to

the father's self-serving and often bigoted actions undermine the equally problematic philo-Semitic trope of the "virtuous Jew." More generally, however, the novel signals its commitment to do more than simply inaugurate a new genre of *Vaterbeobachtung*, to use the term coined by Jens Jessen in *Die Zeit*.<sup>33</sup> In essence, *Das Lächeln* relates family history and modern Jewish identity to some of the defining challenges of our turbulent times, including nationalism, religious and ethnic hatred, and the mass movement of people displaced by conflict and political instability.

Similar to *titos brille*, *Das Lächeln* informs its likely non-Jewish reader about Jewish life in Germany today—with a specific focus on the vastly enlarged Russian-speaking community—and positions him or her as an interlocutor of sorts for the narrator's articulation of a new kind of German-Jewish identity. In the novel's opening chapters, then, Dmitriij provides a psycho-sociological account of his family's Russian-Jewish background, arrival in Germany, and as yet incomplete integration.<sup>34</sup> The reader learns how the collapse of the Soviet Union provided an opportunity for Germany to satisfy its "historischer Verantwortung" (*L*, 20-1) while the primary motive for what the narrator—mocking the hypocrisy of both sides—facetiously terms "Wiedergutmachungsjuden" (*L*, 8) was economic, and there are intermittent mentions of their time in an asylum hostel in Meerane near Chemnitz (*L*, 23), the prejudice Dmitriij encounters when he begins school (*L*, 25; 101), and, after they move into their own apartment in the Leipzig suburb of Grünau, of neo-Nazis (especially *L*, 118-9). Along the way, Dmitriij alludes to the haziness of Russian Jews' religious (and often ethnic) identity (*L*, 7; 73); the financial and psychological insecurity of displaced middle-class professionals (*L*, 27) now (in his father's case) running a "Russisch-Spezialitäten-Geschäft" (*L*, 9); and the emerging generational tensions between parents who regard themselves as Russian, including celebrating the heroic feats of the Red Army (*L*, 21) and speaking only Russian, and their children who communicate in German (*L*, 84) and adopt

German norms (*L*, 270). Finally, the reader grasps the cultural, intellectual and familial affiliations that bind Russian Jews into a transnational Russian diaspora across Germany, the United States and Israel. All this, moreover, is contextualized within broader references to the rise of the anti-Islam movement PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident) and the 2015 “refugee crisis” when—as Dmitrij is quick to note—hundreds of thousands of mainly Muslim refugees travelled far less comfortably than he and his parents in the early 1990s (*L*, 23). Even as it focuses on the peculiarities of Russian-Jewish *Kontigentflüchtlinge* in Germany, therefore, *Das Lächeln* avoids the temptations of introspection by gesturing beyond its potentially parochial concerns towards both the national and the global.

At the same time, *Das Lächeln* mobilizes manifestly “Jewish” motifs that are familiar from *titos brille*, and from across recent Jewish writing: family Holocaust histories, living in the shadow of the older generation, resentment, and Israel. *Eretz Yisrael* actually features particularly prominently—Dmitrij takes his father, the pragmatist who chose Germany over the Jewish homeland as an emigration destination,<sup>35</sup> to Israel in hope that he might discover his “Jewishness.” Bar the opening chapters, then, the narrative takes place in Israel as Dmitrij and his father look up old friends from Russia—including detailed descriptions of the “Russification” of whole districts, and of Russian-Israeli culture<sup>36</sup>—and visit tourist destinations such as the Dead Sea, sacred sites including the Western Wall, and Yad Vashem and the Museum of the Jewish People. Dmitrij even crosses into the Occupied Territories, much to Leonid’s chagrin. In relation to *all* the themes mentioned above, however, significant shifts in emphasis suggest an innovative articulation of identity. In what follows, we explore how Dmitrij’s re-interpretations of these standard tropes facilitate his transition from a migrant of mixed Russian-Moldavian background and dubious (non-halachic) Jewish

affiliation to become a German, a Jew and finally a *German Jew*—even as he simultaneously redefines this German-Jewish identity as emphatically secular and cosmopolitan.

In common with the narrators of other recent novels whose Jewish parents and grandparents survived the camps, postwar displacement, onward migration, and often new varieties of discrimination in their new environments—for example, Channah Trzebiner’s *Die Enkelin* (2013) and Mirna Funk’s *Winternähe* (2015)<sup>37</sup>—Dmitrij is full of self-doubt, often directionless and occasionally volatile. For Trzebiner’s and Funk’s protagonists, what would surely be diagnosed as a generalized anxiety disorder relates most obviously to the transmission of Holocaust trauma—a sense of guilt for their own privilege; a non-localizable sense of persecution; and resentment towards the “majority” Germans that neither fully acknowledge Jewish victimhood nor understand its legacy for the “third generation.”<sup>38</sup> Dmitrij too feels overwhelmed by the spectacularly eventful lives of his grandparents and parents, but for the descendent of Soviet Jews the Holocaust is much less central to family history—his ancestors did not endure the camps but fought with the Red Army (*L*, 103). Instead, Dmitrij’s feelings of psychological inadequacy have to do with the fact that he was born of a non-Jewish mother and is a “Falschjude” (*L*, 181)—although his incessant self-judgement (his “inneres Gericht,” throughout), pushing him to strive “nach etwas Höherem,” seems to him to confirm his essential “Jewishness” (*L*, 271-2). Whereas for Trzebiner’s and Funk’s narrators, therefore, the Holocaust has always been at the core of their self-understanding—for better or worse—for Dmitrij it *becomes* so as he seeks to define a Jewish identity that depends less on genealogy than on an act of “willed affiliation” (Hollinger).<sup>39</sup> What this means concretely is that Dmitrij elaborates a ‘secular’ relationship to the Holocaust that is underpinned by universal values rather than familial connection, Jewish *Ressentiment*, German guilt, or a political stance—for example unconditional support for Israel.



Most immediately, Dmitrij distances himself from the generalized antipathy that his father feels towards Germans: “Ich glaube, weil er diesem Land den Holocaust nicht verziehen hat” (*L*, 8). Notwithstanding the fact that none of his relatives were killed in the camps—something he obscures to gain entry as a *Kontigentflüchtling* and only later lets slip to his son (compare *L*, 21 and *L*, 103)—Leonid is plagued by the knowledge of the Shoah (*L*, 104) and remains unable to accept Germany as his “neue Heimat” (*L*, 8). Dmitrij, in contrast, does not share his father’s anxiety that the Holocaust could easily occur again on German soil and even *trusts* the sanctuary that Germany now offers Jews (*L*, 105). Moreover, he even acknowledges his German socialization: “Ich wurde in einer deutschen Gesellschaft sozialisiert, die sich größtenteils für ihren Nationalismus schämt” (*L*, 93). This, in fact, prompts his impatience with his father’s Russian superiority complex and occasional racism towards (black) Ethiopian Jews (*L*, 86; 195) and Arabs (*L*, 37; 113-4), as well as with Leonid’s Russian friends who embrace an extreme Israeli chauvinism (*L*, 91-3), including the well-known far-right Russian-Israeli politician Avigdor Lieberman, who advocates hacking off the heads of Israeli Arabs who refuse to pledge loyalty (*L*, 106). And it convinces him— notwithstanding Neo-Nazis, PEGIDA, and hostility towards refugees (*L*, 282)—that Germany has learnt from its past. Thus, Dmitrij also rejects the radical *anti*-nationalism of those he calls the “Antideutschen”—the leftist anti-fascists who demand the end of Germany, and whose “Erbschuldsolidarität” means that Israel can never be in the wrong (*L*, 106-7).

For Dmitrij, in fact, Holocaust memory secures his transition from his in any event always uncertain Russian identity (*L*, 84) into a distinctly mainstream *German* identity which embraces universal values such as tolerance, respect for difference, and women’s rights (*L*, 101). This German identity, moreover, is confirmed in Israel of all places, where he is briefly tempted to become an Israeli citizen (*L*, 137), prays at the Western Wall (*L*, 169), and even allows an orthodox Jew to give him a “Quick-Mizwa (*L*, 142-3)—but quickly realizes that his

“Israel-Migrationsporno” (*L*, 157) is a distraction and that he is truly at home in Germany. Even more important, however, is his emergence as a *German Jew*. This requires him first to resist the ideological and emotional potency of Israel’s founding myth—that Jewish existence dispersed around the world inevitably ends in the Holocaust—and, second, to elaborate a German-Jewish identity that respects but moves beyond Holocaust memory, fully engages with German society, *and* emphasizes the cosmopolitan potential of diasporic Judaism. By the end of the novel, therefore, the Russian Jewish migrant comes to characterize himself as a “deutscher Jude” (*L*, 270)—but with some significant innovation in what this means.

Despite or perhaps because of his “Quick-Mizwa,” Dmitrij quickly tires of playing at being a (rather hackneyed version of an) Israeli Jew: “Immerhin ist mein Freispruchfieber in der Zwischenzeit verflogen” (*L*, 157). In any event, he had already signaled his detachment through his response to the suggestion made by Leonid’s friend Borja that he and his father visit Yad Vashem, “Israels größtes Holocaustmuseum” and a touchstone of Israeli identity.<sup>40</sup> Once they realize that Jews who fought with the Red Army are not honored there, they lose interest (*L*, 103). It’s not clear that they bother to make trip at all—a startling omission for any Jewish (or indeed non-Jewish) visitor to Israel—and the anti-Arab jingoism displayed by Borja and his daughter Mascha was anyway always irritating “Der israelische Nationalismus scheint schnell ansteckend und endemisch zu sein” (*L*, 93). What’s more, Dmitrij most likely internalizes a different message during a later actual visit to The Museum of The Jewish People from the one intended by its exhibits and staff, including the ardent American Zionist who is its Head of Genealogy (*L*, 136-7). Dmitrij assumes that a documentary about Jews in Eastern Europe will inevitably conclude with images of the camps—after all, he is “in Deutschland KZ-konditioniert” (*L*, 132). The fact that the film does not end in this way comes as a surprise, and despite some initial enthusiasm for becoming an Israeli citizen, it

seems that what sticks is that it is possible for Jews to flourish outside Israel, and that outcomes other than the Holocaust were always—and still remain—possible in the diaspora.

There are clear echoes here of the enduring debate on Zionism as the “proper” aspiration for all Jews not yet returned to Israel and the “negation of the diaspora” (*shlilat ha”galut*) and dangerously mistaken notions of assimilation. More specifically, the novel alludes to the recent intensification of the divide between those Israeli Jews who are supportive of successive governments’ interventions in West Bank and Gaza and significant numbers of Jews in Europe and the United States who are troubled by the treatment of Palestinians, and by the expansion of settlements.<sup>41</sup> For the first group, the purpose of Israel can only be to provide a national home for the Jews—and to protect Jews against all mortal dangers. For the second group, what they perceive as the state’s institutionalization of ethno-nationalism is itself a threat to their understanding of the essential values of “Jewishness” nurtured in the diaspora over centuries, namely a cosmopolitan embrace of the diversity of cultures and the primacy of universal human rights. In the recent German context, Micha Brumlik’s *Kritik des Zionismus* (2007) looks back over German-Jewish intellectuals of the early and mid-twentieth century, including Hermann Cohen, Franz Rosenzweig, Hannah Arendt, Ernst Bloch, to offer a diagnosis of Israel’s “failure” to realize its utopian ideals, and to argue for the indispensability of the diaspora in preserving a “jüdische Ethik” against what he provocatively terms the Israeli state’s “oft übermäßige Selbstbehauptungspolitik.”<sup>42</sup>

Dmitrij finally has the courage of his convictions when—after much hesitation—he crosses into the occupied West Bank, against his father’s wishes. There he witnesses the indignities endured by Palestinians at endless checkpoints and in areas reserved for Jewish settlers (*L*, 203-6), although he also notes the knee-jerk hostility towards Jews that some of them express (*L*, 206-8). More concretely, he joins a group of students and travels with them to Ramallah, via a restaurant near Bethlehem where a former prisoner leads an impromptu

rally (*L*, 213-4), and then continues alone to Nablus, the epicenter of the most recent intifada (*L*, 232). Along the way he befriends Hasan and engages in a sustained flirtation with Dina, who, he suggests with conspicuous condescension, wears a little too much make-up along with a headscarf and a blouse that cannot quite disguise “ihren wahrscheinlich sehr schönen Busen” (*L*, 208). Initially, Dmitrij presents himself as German and conceals the fact that he has a Jewish background, that is, until he and Hasan spontaneously share memories of how their fathers were humiliated and beaten—Hasan’s by Israeli soldiers, Dmitrij’s by Neo-Nazis in Grünau (*L*, 224). Dmitrij finally “comes out,” therefore, but his Jewishness has a distinctly cosmopolitan flavor, as Dmitrij and Hasan reach across the Jewish-Arab divide and channel family histories of suffering into a personal bond and an assertion of shared humanity. The experience of displacement—and diaspora—underpins a form of solidarity that transcends national belonging, foundational myths, and certainly religion:

Es beruht nicht auf einem Pass, nicht auf einem Besuch im Diasporamuseum und ganz bestimmt nicht auf Gebeten an der Klagemauer. Sondern auf der Freundschaft zu Menschen, die angeblich meine Feinde sind. Es beruht auf Hasan, der als Kind an der Grenze Ostjerusalem genauso um seinen Vater bangen musste wie ich um meinen in einem ostdeutschen Fahrstuhl” (*L*, 255).

It is this insight that permits him—in Nablus amidst placards of “martyrs” who died killing Jews—to glimpse a different, *better* future expressed through the innocence of a seven-year-old girl (*L*, 237), notwithstanding his internalized fear of “Arabs” (*L*, 177) and the best efforts of his father—or PEGIDA—to demonize the unknown (*L*, 237). After three days in the West Bank, Dmitrij crosses back into Israel just as the results of the 2015 elections become known. In rejecting the version of Israel embodied by the ethno-nationalism of the winner Benjamin

Netanyahu, his father's Russian friends and the soldiers who beat Hasan's father, Dmitrij has finally become a Jew—a German Jew, but more importantly a Jewish citizen of the world (*L*, 271). Back in Leipzig, he registers how the world's conflicts had come to Germany, as refugees from the Middle East, North Africa and as far away as Afghanistan arrived in their hundreds of thousands.<sup>43</sup> The ecstatic welcome of the summer, he observes, would soon flip into the burning of asylum hostels and, following public outrage at the assaults perpetrated by foreign men on women in Cologne on New Year's Eve 2015, the hounding of Africans: "Der Nordafrikaner ist in diesen Tagen der neue Jude Deutschlands" (*L*, 285). Dmitrij's first thought is to belatedly grasp the protections of citizenship—"wie dekadent es von mir war, so lange nicht Deutscher werden zu wollen" (*L*, 282)—his second is to accept his responsibility *as a German Jew* to confront the racism and injustice that mars his adopted country as much as Israel and all other societies for that matter (*L*, 287), and his third is to take practical humanitarian steps to help the Syrian refugees who come into his father's shop (*L*, 287)

In *Das Lächeln*, therefore, Kapitelmann reworks stock motifs of recent Jewish writing to articulate a German-Jewish identity that can encompass the former Soviet citizens that now make up the majority of the community, rooted in *their* stories as well as Holocaust memory. What's more, Kapitelmann stresses a diasporic self-understanding that relates the particular to the universal, that is, an engagement with the world that derives from the Jewish narrative of persecution, displacement and minority existence an imperative to express solidarity with others. This is not new, of course. In *Jewish Memory and The Cosmopolitan Order* (2011), Natan Sznaider examines how Hannah Arendt, drawing on Kafka, Walter Benjamin and Gershom Scholem, was resolutely focused on how the Holocaust, "a crime against humanity perpetrated on the body of the Jewish people,"<sup>44</sup> underpins universal human rights.<sup>45</sup> But it is striking that this cosmopolitan orientation is currently being revived, by Kapitelmann but also

other post-Soviet writers—for example Olga Grjasnowa—to facilitate a transition from Soviet citizen into German Jew *and* to resituate and renew German-Jewish identity itself.

## Conclusion

Altaras's *titos brille* and Kapitelman's *Das Lächeln*—the first by a writer from the established postwar community, the second by a writer from amongst the post-1990 arrivals from the former Soviet Union—add color and tone to the descriptions provided by sociologists and anthropologists of today's diverse and rapidly evolving Jewish presence in Germany. More than this, however, they also offer evidence for how this diversity is provoking intense reflection amongst both settled and newly arrived elements on what it means to be a "German Jew"—not simply a "Jew in Germany," as many survivors and even their children saw themselves in the postwar decades, and no longer (just) the "homo sovieticus" labelled by social scientist and journalist Judith Kessler.<sup>46</sup> In both texts, there is an acknowledgment that a German-Jewish identity is now possible, even desirable and that Holocaust memory is essential to this identity but perhaps in a different way to previously. At the same time, different kinds of affiliation as a Jew, from ultra-orthodox to secular, and including innovations such as gay and lesbian congregations, may also imply degrees of alignment with a modern-day German self-understanding that—in the mainstream at least—includes broadly liberal values such as anti-racism, gender equality and individual rights. Beyond this, the two novels frame German-Jewish identity as more or less "worldly." In fact, Kapitelman's suggestion of a cosmopolitan diasporic Jewish orientation—again mirrored in fellow post-Soviet writer Olga Grjasnowa's work—points to an old but recently reinvigorated debate about the extent to which Jews are (or should be) "German patriots," or always "citizens of the world."<sup>47</sup> It may also remind of the discussion that (re-)emerged in the late 1990s of what Diana Pinto calls the "Jewish space" in Europe, and of how Jews'

conventional association with humanism and transnational circulation might be a model for a pluralistic Europe, or even for the integration of Muslims across a multicultural continent.<sup>48</sup>

This article has endeavored to show that *titos brille* and *Das Lächeln*—for all their differences in tone, thematic focus and setting—articulate, or re-articulate, a post-1990 German-Jewish identity along the axes of continuity↔innovation; apartness↔normalization, and particularity↔cosmopolitanism. None of the tensions that inhabit these and other efforts to (re-)define German-Jewish identity are new, of course—as already noted, there is a paradoxical continuity even within moments of apparent innovation—but there are important shifts in emphasis, relating to demographic change, temporal distance from the Holocaust, and contemporary “global” phenomena such as transnationalism, conflict and displacement, refugee crises, and so and so forth. Both novels allude, then, to the existential concern of the postwar community with the Holocaust, while resituating its significance in different ways. Both indicate greater integration—identifying, though to different degrees, *with* Germany—at the same time as they insist, more or less vehemently, on the limits of “normalization,” and especially the persistence of anti-Semitism. And finally—intersecting with these—both engage, while taking quite different positions, with Jewish particularity in relation to their German context, Israel as the “Jewish homeland” in the context of the intifadas and Israeli military interventions in the West Bank and Gaza, and the “purpose” of the diaspora.

Further research will focus on two questions arising from this limited study of two novels. First, might reference to these three axes offer a framework for assembling a canon of post-1990 German-Jewish writing, for analyzing individual books, and for comparing and contrasting texts across the diversity of writers and backgrounds? Second—and pursuing the more abstract discussion only hinted at in this article—how do recent works of fiction interrogate the terms that define these axes and thereby structure (or constrain) articulations of German-Jewish identity? *Das Lächeln*, for example, proliferates but also undermines the

notion of a cosmopolitan Judaism in the diaspora: Dmitrij, always abbreviated as Dima, fetishizes the similarity/difference embodied by his near-namesake Dina, the Palestinian woman whom he exoticizes and reduces to an object of exchange with Hasan (*L*, 237)—his universalism is distinctly appropriating and indeed “male.” Likewise, Kapitemann’s focus on “Jewish difference” is not quite compatible with the “normalizing” or integrative impulse that his pop aesthetic seems to signal; the same is true of other younger writers such as Funk and Trzebiner. Equally, the “othering” of post-Soviet Jews such as Kapitemann to be found in Funk and Trzebiner—and Altaras—might disrupt the presumption of continuity and innovation across a rapidly changing but nevertheless relatively coherent community and point instead to parallel or even competing expressions of German-Jewish identity.

Some thirty years from the largescale immigration of post-Soviet Jews, and as the postwar community that rebuilt Jewish life in Germany after the Holocaust fades into history, a substantial new German-Jewish literature is now available for scholarly analysis. This article has sought to suggest one possible framing for an approach that can grasp the diversity of authors, genres and themes while analyzing individual texts as interventions in the debates on “Jewishness” in the twenty-first century—taking place in Germany, Israel, and across the wider diaspora, still and once again—that are also shaping new German-Jewish identities.

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful for feedback on this article from fellow panel members Katja Garloff, Agnes Mueller and Sebastian Wogenstein at GSA 2019.

<sup>2</sup> Jakob Hessing, “Aufbrüche. Zur deutsch-jüdischen Literatur seit 1989,” in *Handbuch der deutsch-jüdischen Literatur*, ed. Hans Otto Horch (Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 2016), 244-70; 244.

<sup>3</sup> See Sander Gilman, “German Reunification and the Jews,” *New German Critique*, 52 (1991), pp. 173-91.

<sup>4</sup> Hartmut Steinecke, ““Geht jetzt alles wieder von vorne los?” Deutsch-jüdische Literatur der “zweiten Generation” und die Wende,” in Sander L. Gilman and Hartmut Steinecke, eds., *Deutsch-jüdische Literatur der neunziger Jahre. Die Generation nach der Shoah* (Berlin: Schmidt, 2002), 162-73; 163.

<sup>5</sup> See Madaleine Tress, “Soviet Jews in the Federal Republic of Germany: The Rebuilding of a Community,” *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 37:1 (1995), 39-54; “Foreigners or Jews? The Soviet Jewish Refugee Populations in Germany and the United States,” *Eastern European Jewish Affairs*, 27:2 (1997), 21-38. Yfaat Weiss and Lena Gorelik



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offer a more discursive analysis in “The Russian Jewish Immigration,” in *A History of Jews in Germany since 1945*, ed. Michael Brenner (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018), 379-416. See also Karen Körber, *Jüdische Gegenwart in Deutschland. Die Migration russischsprachiger Juden seit 1989* (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2016).

<sup>6</sup> Y. Michal Bodemann, “A Reemergence of Jewish Life?” in *Reemerging Jewish Culture in Germany: Life and Literature since 1989*, ed. Sander L. Gilman and Karen Remmler (New York/London: NYU Press, 1994), 47-60; 48.

<sup>7</sup> Micha Brumlik, *Zuhause, keine Heimat. Junge Juden und ihre Zukunft in Deutschland* (Gerlingen: Bleicher, 1998), 18.

<sup>8</sup> See Julius H. Schoeps, Willi Jasper, Bernhard Vogt, eds., *Russische Juden in Deutschland. Integration und Selbstbehauptung in einem fremden Land* (Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum, 1996) and *Ein neues Judentum in Deutschland? Fremd- und Eigenbilder der russischen-jüdischen Einwanderer* (Potsdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 1999).

<sup>9</sup> Oliver Lubrich, “Are Russian Jews Postcolonial? Wladimir Kaminer and Identity Politics,” *East European Jewish Affairs*, 33:3 (2003), 35–53.

<sup>10</sup> Karen Körber, “Conflicting Memories, Conflicting Identities. The Russian-Jewish Immigration and the Image of a New German Jewry,” in *Migration, Memory and Diversity in Germany after 1945*, ed. Cornelia Wilhelm (Oxford/New York: Berghahn 2018), 276-96; 286.

<sup>11</sup> See David Shneer, “The Third Way: German–Russian–European Jewish Identity in a Global Jewish World,” *European Review of History—Revue européenne d’histoire*, 18:01 (2011), 111-121; 112-3.

<sup>12</sup> Judith Kessler, “Homo Sovieticus in Disneyland: The Jewish Communities in Germany Today,” *The New German Jewry and the European Context: The Return of the European Jewish Diaspora*, ed. in Y. Michal Bodemann (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008), 131–43; 140.

<sup>13</sup> See Hadas Cohen and Dani Kranz, “Israeli Jews in the New Berlin: From Shoah Memories to Middle Eastern Encounters,” in *Cultural Topographies of the New Berlin*, ed. Karin Bauer and Jennifer Ruth Hosek (New York: Berghahn Books, 2018), 322-46.

<sup>14</sup> Dani Kranz, “Forget Israel - The Future is in Berlin! Local Jews, Russian Immigrants, and Israeli Jews in Berlin and across Germany,” *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, 34:4 (2016), 5-28, h’ 19.

<sup>15</sup> See Y. Michal Bodemann, *Gedächtnistheater. Die jüdische Gemeinschaft und ihre deutsche Erfindung* (Hamburg, Rotbuch Verlag, 1996). See also Bodemann, *In den Wogen der Erinnerung. Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland* (München, DTV, 2002).

<sup>16</sup> See Constantin Goschler and Anthony Kauders, “Alignments,” in *A History of Jews in Germany since 1945*, ed. Michael Brenner, 287-376, especially 351-5.

<sup>17</sup> For instance, Lubrich’s article “Are Russian Jews Postcolonial? Wladimir Kaminer and Identity Politics” offers an inspired reading of Kaminer’s irreverent performances of Russian and Jewish stereotypes but a decade and a half later it is apparent that Kaminer is an outlier amongst post-Soviet Jewish writers, who are generally more concerned to fashion more permanent Russian-German-Jewish identities.

<sup>18</sup> See my “The Possibilities and Pitfalls of a Jewish Cosmopolitanism: Reading Natan Sznajder through Russian-Jewish Writer Olga Grjasnowa’s German-language Novel *Der Russe ist einer, der Birken liebt* (All Russians Love Birch Trees),” *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d’histoire*, 23:5/6 (2016), 1–19.

<sup>19</sup> Adriana Altaras, *titos brille* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch, 2015 [2011]), 82. Hereafter *tb*.

<sup>20</sup> See Michael Brenner, *In the Shadow of the Holocaust. The Changing Image of German Jewry after 1945* (Washington: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2010).

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<sup>21</sup> John M. Efron, *German Jewry and The Allure of The Sephardic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016).

<sup>22</sup> See Dagmar Lorenz, ed., *A Companion to the Works of Elias Canetti* (Rochester, N.Y.: Camden House, 2004).

<sup>23</sup> Wolfgang Benz, “The Legend of German-Jewish Symbiosis,” *The Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, 37:1 (1992), 95–102. See Enzo Traverso, *The Jews and Germany: From the Judeo-German Symbiosis to the Memory of Auschwitz* (Lincoln, Nebr., and London: University Of Nebraska Press, 1995).

<sup>24</sup> See Wendy Lower, “Decentring Berlin: Europeanization of Holocaust History,” *Journal of Modern European History*, 16:1 (2018), 32-9.

<sup>25</sup> See Constantin Goschler and Anthony Kauders, “1969-1989,” in *A History of Jews in Germany since 1945*, ed. Michael Brenner, 289-375, especially 330-3.

<sup>26</sup> The dismantling of the *Musterjude* stereotype is a common motif in fiction by recently emerged Jewish writers, and in the work of established authors such as Maxim Biller (e.g. *Die Tochter*, 2000) and Rafael Seligmann (e.g. *Rubinsteins Versteigerung*, 1988; *Der Musterjude*, 1997; and *Der Milchmann*, 1999).

<sup>27</sup> See Jean Amery, *At the Mind's Limits. Contemplations by a Survivor on Auschwitz and its Realities*, trans. Sidney Rosenfeld and Stella P. Rosenfeld (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), especially 70. See Helen Finch, “*Ressentiment* beyond Nietzsche and Amery: H. G. Adler between Literary *Ressentiment* and Divine Grace” in *Re-thinking Ressentiment. On the Limits of Criticism and the Limits of its Critics*, ed. Jeanne Riou and Mary Gallagher (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2016), 71-86

<sup>28</sup> See Richard Dollinger, “Anti-Semitism because of Auschwitz: An Introduction to the works of Henryk M. Broder” in Hillary Herzog, Todd Herzog, and Benjamin Lapp, eds., *Rebirth of a Culture: Jewish Writing and Identity in Austria and Germany* (New York and Oxford, 2008), 67-82.

<sup>29</sup> See Karen Remmler, “Maxim Biller. Das Schreiben als “Counter-Memory,” in *Shoah in der deutschsprachigen Literatur*, ed. Norbert O. Eke and Hartmut Steinecke (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2006), 311-20.

<sup>30</sup> See Eva-Maria Schrage, *Jüdische Religion in Deutschland – Säkularität, Traditionsbewahrung und Erneuerung* (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2019), especially 50-3.

<sup>31</sup> Michael A Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1988), especially 140-4.

<sup>32</sup> Dmitrij Kapitelman, *Das Lächeln meines unsichtbaren Vaters* (München: dtv, 2018 [2016]), 21. Hereafter *L*.

<sup>33</sup> Jens Jessen, “Die Kippa steht ihm schon mal gut,” *Die Zeit*, 8 December 2016, <https://www.zeit.de/2016/49/dmitrij-kapitelman-das-laecheln-meines-unsichtbaren-vaters>.

<sup>34</sup> See, for example, Shneer, “The Third Way: German–Russian–European Jewish Identity in a Global Jewish World”; Kessler, “Homo Sovieticus in Disneyland”; Julius H. Schoeps and Olaf Glöckner, “Fifteen Years of Russian-Jewish Immigration to Germany: Successes and Setbacks,” in *The New German Jewry and the European Context: The Return of the European Jewish Diaspora*, ed. Y. Michal Bodemann, 144-57; Barbara Dietz, “German and Jewish Migration from the Former Soviet Union to Germany: Background, Trends and Implications,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 26 (2000), 635–52; Yinon Cohen and Irena Kogan, “Jewish Immigration from the Former Soviet Union to Germany and Israel in the 1990s,” *Leo Baeck Year Book*, 50 (2005), 249–65; Jeroen Doomernik, *Going West. Soviet Jewish Immigrants in Berlin since 1990* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1997); Julius H. Schoeps, Willi Jasper and Bernhard Vogt, eds, *Russische Juden in*

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*Deutschland: Integration und Selbstbehauptung in einem fremden Land* (Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum, 1996).

<sup>35</sup> See Larissa Remennick, “‘Idealists Headed to Israel, Pragmatics Chose Europe’: Identity Dilemmas and Social Incorporation among Former Soviet Jews who Migrated to Germany,” *Immigrants & Minorities*, 23:1 (2005), 30-58.

<sup>36</sup> See Larissa Remennick, “Transnational Community in The Making: Russian-Jewish immigrants of The 1990s in Israel,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 28:3 (2002), 515-30.

<sup>37</sup> See Luisa Banki, “Actuality and Historicity in Mirna Funk’s *Winternähe*” in *German-Jewish Literature after 1990*, ed. Katja Garloff and Agnes Mueller (Rochester: Camden House, 2018), 169-86.

<sup>38</sup> See, for example, E Ullmann, et al., “Increased Rate of Depression and Psychosomatic Symptoms in Jewish Migrants from the Post-Soviet-Union to Germany in the 3rd generation after The Shoa,” *Translational Psychiatry*, 3:3 (2013), 12 March 2013, doi:10.1038/tp.2013.17.

<sup>39</sup> See David Hollinger, *Cosmopolitanism and Solidarity: Studies in Ethnoracial, Religious, and Professional Affiliation in the United States* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006).

<sup>40</sup> See Avril Alba, *The Holocaust Memorial Museum: Sacred Secular Space* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), especially 89-134.

<sup>41</sup> See David Landy, *Jewish Identity and Palestinian Rights: Diaspora Jewish Opposition to Israel*. London (Zed Books, 2011).

<sup>42</sup> Micha Brumlik, *Kritik des Zionismus* (Europäische Verlagsanstalt: Hamburg, 2007), 129. American political scientist Alan Wolfe makes similar arguments in *At Home in Exile: Why Diaspora Is Good for the Jews* [Beacon Press: Boston, 2014].

<sup>43</sup> FRONTEX recorded 1,802,267 border crossings for 2015, but that may include multiple attempts by the same people. See <https://frontex.europa.eu/along-eu-borders/migratory-map/>.

<sup>44</sup> Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: Viking, 1963), 261.

<sup>45</sup> Natan Sznaider, *Jewish Memory and The Cosmopolitan Order* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011). See also Seyla Benhabib, *Another Cosmopolitanism* (2006) and *Politics in Dark Times: Encounters with Hannah Arendt* (2010).

<sup>46</sup> Judith Kessler, “Homo Sovieticus in Disneyland.”

<sup>47</sup> See David Aberbach, *The European Jews, Patriotism and the Liberal State 1789-1939* (London: Routledge, 2013), especially 38-67.

<sup>48</sup> See Diana Pinto, “A New Jewish Identity for Post-1989 Europe,” JPR/Policy Paper 1 (London: Institute for Jewish Policy Research, June 1996); Dan Diner, “Residues of Empire: the Paradigmatic Meaning of Jewish Transterritorial Experience for an Integrated European History” in *The New German Jewry*, 33-49, ed. Y. Michal Bodemann; Sander Gilman, “Can the Experience of Diaspora Judaism Serve as a Model for Islam in Today’s Multicultural Europe?,” in *The New German Jewry*, 53-72.