Antisemitism and colonial racisms

Genealogical perspectives

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European racism since the eighteenth century has often been seen as taking two paradigmatic forms: that of colonial racism, which in the broadest sense can be traced back to the history of slavery and imperial expansion, and that of antisemitism and anti-Judaism, the roots of which are localized in the Christian Middle Ages. Colonial racism seemed to concentrate in western European imperial and maritime powers with a long history of slavery and colonialism, while central and eastern Europe were understood as the 'heartland' of antisemitism.[1] Although influential theorists of racism and antisemitism (e.g. W. E. B. Du Bois, Frantz Fanon, Hannah Arendt) pointed to relevant connections between the two fields of research, these different forms of racism have rarely been analysed in the same perspective since then.[2] Bryan Cheyette provides us with a key reason for this absence: 'disciplinary thinking of all kinds – from nationalism to identity politics to academic specialization' in the aftermath of the Second World War – has 'increasingly separated out these analogous histories' and provoked 'different narratives of cosmopolitanism'.[3] The separate development of Holocaust and postcolonial studies increased this split.[4]

However, if one takes into account that the emergence of modern racism was interwoven with the development of colonial power structures as well as with the long history of anti-Jewish resentment, then the different racisms cannot be regarded as separate phenomena.[5] Rather – beyond a mere comparison, and while affirming the distinctive characteristics of anti-Black, anti-Muslim and anti-Jewish racisms – structural entanglements, interrelationships and processes of translation between them have the potential to enrich our insights into the historical complexity of racisms.

In Germany, the question of the links between antisemitism and colonial racism initially focused on the interpretative framework of the Holocaust.[6] According to Jürgen Zimmerer, the colonial genocide was an 'important source of ideas' for the National Socialists' mass murder of European Jews, contributing significantly to such an 'ultimate breach of taboo'.[7] For Jeffrey Herf, on the other hand, 'radical antisemitism' should not be compared with the anti-Black racism of slavery, because the aims, the intentions and the structures in which perpetrators operated were completely different in each case: 'paranoid' will to destroy on the one hand, 'mere' will to exploit on the other.[8] From a postcolonial perspective, such a privileging of certain motives and state organizational structures was less convincing.[9] Not least those who saw themselves still affected by the consequences of imperial violence demanded that research on colonial racism should be better integrated into comparative genocide research.[10] Holocaust researchers, however, warned that the 'singularity' of National Socialist crimes should not be relativized.[11] The view that antisemitism is interconnected with other forms of racism is still highly disputed in the German public sphere.[12]

This contribution aims to broaden the historical perspective and to strengthen the finding that the development of different forms of colonial racisms was closely related to the anti-Jewish 'proto-racisms'[13] of the Middle Ages. A process of mutual layering and citation of various proto-racisms began even before colonial expansion into the 'New World'. Anti-Judaism, for example, was interwoven from the beginning with proto-racist stereotypes of other groups, such as 'Mongols', 'Goths', 'Huns', 'Saracens' or 'Turks'.

Including premodern forms of racialization in the analysis of the complex history of discursive entanglements between different racisms does not mean to deny significant historical chances, to argue teleologically, or to be unaware of different epistemic frameworks at work in different periods of time.[14] Indeed, the 'alterity' of the Middle Ages and the early modern period is highly significant when it comes to understanding premodern forms of racialization properly. Nevertheless, religion – the most important source of authority in the Middle Ages – not only functioned as an important marker of cultural difference but also produced ascriptions of psychophysical difference, which were essentialized into 'absolute difference' in a cluster of interconnected ways at particular moments in history. Which of these differences were selected for essentialization varied over the *longue durée* – they were sometimes projected onto bodies, physiognomy and somatic attributes in one place; onto cultural practices in another; and onto a 'multiplicity of interlocking discourses elsewhere'.[15] Nonetheless, premodern images and practices of essentialized difference had an enormous impact on the

long 'history of race-ing' and should therefore be integrated into our current understanding of how closely interconnected anti-Judaism, antisemitism and colonial racisms really are. Keeping this in mind, we might wish to change our view of history from that of a linear temporality to that of 'a field of dynamic oscillations between ruptures and reinscriptions' and 'of multiple temporalities that are . . . coextant within a particular historical moment'.[16]

Nevertheless, colonial conquest and Christian missionary practices in the early modern period considerably increased the discursive entanglements between (proto-)racisms and significantly contributed to the transfer of elements of religiously based anti-Judaism into colonial racist discourses.[17] The reverse is also true, as I will argue in this chapter: colonial racism – especially in its anti-Black variant, but also in its Orientalizing as well as its primitivist forms – also introduced new logics of justification in the nineteenth century, which would become relevant for the transition from anti-Judaism to antisemitism. Of course, this article cannot address the multiplicity of different levels of racial interrelations at stake, but – by analysing selected iconic artefacts, events and texts – it aims to hint at some crucial (turning) points in the long history of interrelations between anti-Judaism, antisemitism and colonial racisms. In doing this, it concentrates on Christian perspectives on Jews, Muslims and other Others, and therefore also mainly analyses Christian sources, discourses and readings of theological historical texts.

Transforming medieval Jews into 'monstrous others'

People in the Middle Ages had three terms at their disposal to describe the stranger – barbarian, heathen (*paganus*) and monster (*monstra*) – each of which drew different social boundaries. The term 'barbarian' referred to the linguistic foreigner, 'pagan' referred to the religious other and 'monster' primarily referred to a level of physical difference, but also to sexually and religiously deviant practices.[18] A certain combination of physical and cultural markers of deviance, which developed in the discourse around the 'monster', supposedly condensed into a proto-racist discursive pattern that was incorporated into anti-Judaism. As I would like to show, certain proto-racisms circulated back and forth between those others identified as 'monstrous', who were sometimes called Mongols; sometimes Huns, Goths or Saracens; but gradually – and above all – Jews.

Medieval maps of the world, the *mappae mundi* (see Figure 2.1), provide a particularly striking source in which to observe the processes by which

Figure 2.1 Ebstorf world map, 1290–1300. Facsimile of the original, which was destroyed in 1943. © Public Domain.

proto-racist patterns were superimposed and condensed, because such maps were used by Christian monks not so much to convey geographical orientation as to capture the entirety of their global knowledge in a structure of symbolic ordering.

The stranger the figure, the further away from the one's own (Christian) society it was placed on the map.[19] Thus in the *mappae mundi*, one frequently sees physically deformed, monstrous creatures located in border regions, locked in boxes (see the right-hand margin of Figure 2.1). Monsters were considered to be extreme creatures, those that deviated from the ideal of temperance and moderation, which was considered virtuous. They gave rise to theological questions, such as how they could be integrated into one's own *ordo* according to the rules of hermeneutics, whether they belonged to the *genus humanum* at all and whether or to what extent they were 'redeemable'.[20] These questions

were later discussed in a similar way in relation to the inhabitants of the 'New World'. The existence of monstrous beings could either be read as a cautionary counter-image to the well-ordered creation, or it could indicate God's freedom to create whatever he wants.[21] Creation theology had a hard time simply excluding peripheral peoples. For Augustine, the *monstra* were part of the incomprehensible beauty of the universe and should therefore by no means be called 'ugly'.[22] He thus rejected Gnostic Manichaeism's dualistic image of God.[23] These theological controversies surrounding the status of the *monstra* are also reflected in their ambivalent depictions on world maps.

The Ebstorf world map, which was created in northern Germany around 1300, shows the apocalyptic peoples 'Gog and Magog' in the far north-east (*mappae mundi* were oriented to the east, therefore the north-east is located in the upper-left corner). The names 'Gog' and 'Magog' (Gog was initially said to stem 'from the land of Magog' and was later supplemented with a second people called 'Magog') are found in the Tanakh, in the Old Testament, in the Pseudepigrapha and the Qumran writings, in the targums and in other Jewish texts, in the New Testament, in the writings of the Church Fathers and in the Qur'an. In increasingly different but entangled ways, Gog and Magog constitute important figures in the eschatological settings and apocalyptic traditions of all three monotheistic religions.[24]

According to the prophecy of the Book of Ezekiel, God promises to bring back the scattered people of Israel to the land of their forefathers and unite them under the rule of King David. But, on a 'distant day', Gog, coming from the north and accompanied by various allies, will attack and plunder the land of Israel. This fierce invasion arouses the anger of God (or of the Messiah) who, finally, destroys the invader's armies and executes his judgments on them 'with plague and bloodshed'. Fire and brimstone fall from the sky, and the earth shakes (Ezek. 38-39). These 'wars of Gog and Magog', as the prophecy was called in later sources, are part of the assumption that the messianic age will be preceded by a period of great turmoil and suffering.[25] The belief in the messianic future was not a major issue in ancient rabbinic sources. Nevertheless, medieval and early modern Jewish writers developed the character of Gog and Magog 'in various nuanced ways' to represent antagonistic political entities that will play a leading role in the eschatological battles.[26]

Latin Christianity's hermeneutics of these eschatological events, although based on the Jewish tradition, became more starkly apocalyptic. They made Gog and Magog allies of 'Satan', the Antichrist, coming from the 'four corners of the earth' to fight against God in a gruesome final battle at the end of the millennium. This is described in the *Book of Revelation* (Rev. 20:7-8) – the so-called *Apocalypse*

of John, the final book of the New Testament, which strongly stimulated the Christian eschatological imagination and can be understood as an allegory of the spiritual path and the struggle between good and evil. God would ultimately win this combat against the Antichrist, and the kingdom of God would dawn. Thus, the appearance of Gog and Magog was both feared and longed for because it was seen as a necessary part of humanity's final redemption.

This Christian version of the legend of Gog and Magog was further popularized when it was combined (at the latest around 700 CE, with the influential Revelations of Pseudo-Methodius) with the cycle of legends in the Epic of Alexander the Great, who is said to have locked up horrific peoples behind thick walls and depicted them as cannibals.[27] The Ebstorf map accordingly depicted Gog and Magog as man-eating *monstra* (see Figure 2.2): two of them sitting next to each other, naked, gleefully eating the limbs of a third person with light hair, who lies bleeding between them (see Figure 2.2).

As *monstra*, Gog and Magog were 'not only located on the border of the *ordo orbis*', as Marina Münkler points out, but temporally 'they constituted the border between the expulsion of the human race from earthly paradise to *eschaton*; spatially they marked the border of ecumenism in the north (as well as south and east); morally-theologically they constituted the boundary between the
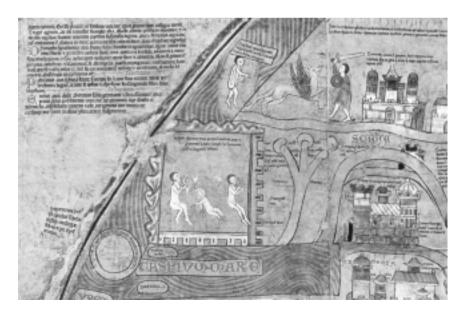

Figure 2.2 The apocalyptic peoples 'Gog and Magog' in North-East Asia. Detail of the Ebstorf world map, 1290–1300. Facsimile of the original. © Public Domain.

redeemable and the damnable; and anthropologically they designated the limits of the *genus humanum*'.[28]

Although some influential theologians such as Augustine (354–430) refused to see the prophetical passages as a mirror of history and emphasized the symbolic significance of Gog and Magog as people 'led by the Devil', apocalyptic peoples soon served as a psychological projection for all those groups that were perceived as threatening and as not belonging to one's own group.[29] Early Christian scholars such as Eusebius (260/264–339/340) identified them with the Romans. Ambrose, the Bishop of Milan (339–397), linked Gog to the 'barbaric' peoples within Europe, such as the Goths, an association that can also be found in rabbinic texts.[30] Hieronymus (340–420) associated Gog and Magog historically with the Huns or Scythians (and eschatologically with the Antichrist).[31] Jews in the fourth century thought of Magog as the land of the ancient Teutons, the fierce enemies of Rome.

In the Middle Ages, the famous French exegete Rashi (Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki, 1040–1105), paradigmatic master of medieval rabbinic commentary, identified 'Christians (whom he designates "Esau," per established rabbinic tradition) as allies of Gog and Magog in the final eschatological battle against Israel'.[32] Rabbi David Kimchi (1160–1235) claimed that the names Gog and Magog referred to the Christians and the Turks, who at that time were perceived as the major threats to Jewish life and religion.[33] Even in the Tartar-Mongols, who unexpectedly invaded Europe around 1240, both Jews and Christians believed they recognized the peoples of 'Gog and Magog'.[34] After all, Christians and Jews had expected the arrival of the end times in that year and had been partly tormented and partly consoled by these apocalyptic expectations.[35] Christians soon began to assume that Jews were either in league with the Tartar-Mongols or were themselves behind the raids. Thus, the rumour circulated that Jews had secretly supported the invaders with armaments and wine.[36]

For their part, Jews assumed that the invading Mongols constituted the 'lost Tribes of Israel', who had come to 'liberate' the 'children of Israel from captivity' and Christian oppression.[37] Legend has it that those were the Ten of the Twelve Tribes of Israel that had been exiled from the Kingdom of Israel after its conquest by the Neo-Assyrian Empire *c.* 722 BCE.[38] The Ten Tribes traditionally played a role in Jewish apocalyptic thought, one that was 'almost identical to their function in the medieval Christian version of the dramatic events of the Last Days'.[39] The rabbinical sources that emerged after the destruction of the Second Temple were already expecting these strong warriors, led by the Messiah ben Joseph (Ephraim), to free Israel from the yoke of Edom – that is, Rome, which was later equated with Christianity.[40]

This connection between the apocalyptic peoples and the 'lost Jews', however, was also adopted by Christians (especially in Germany) and loaded with negative connotations – first and foremost in Petrus Comestor's (1100–78) influential *Historia scholastica*. The *Saxon chronicle* of Eike von Repgow from the early thirteenth century and the popular fictional travel account by John Mandeville also prove that the 'Ten lost Tribes of Israel' were identified with the 'enclosed peoples' of Gog and Magog as threatening Others.[41] In German literature, where the legend was more intensely anti-Jewish than elsewhere in medieval Christian Europe, the Ten Tribes were given a distinctive colouring.[42] Here the gradual fusion of the three legends – the stories of Gog and Magog, Alexander the Great and the Ten Tribes – gave rise to the powerful myth of the 'Red Jews': supposedly evil, savage, physically repulsive, 'unclean' pillagers who were waiting in the east for the Last Judgment and the arrival of the Antichrist to break out of their prisons and set out against Christianity.[43] Thus 'Gog and Magog' became ever more clearly associated with Judaism, which became the 'negatively charged antonym' of *christianitas*.[44] Some evidence from sources written by those who converted to Christianity in the sixteenth century indicates that Jews, for their part, later began to identify with the 'mighty Red Jews' and believed in the existence of a 'Jewish kingdom in the Caspian Mountains'. According to Rebekka Voß, the name 'Red Jews' even became a 'common expression for the Ten Tribes among the Jews of Central Europe', which also indicates that Jews were interacting dynamically with neighbouring cultures.[45]

Nonetheless, Latin Christendom's identification of Jews with the cannibalistic practices of end-times peoples also reflected the gradually deteriorating position of Jews in Christian-majority society. Every new wave of crusades to Palestine was accompanied by violent riots against Jews. But it was not until the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) that the church introduced momentous demarcations between Jews and Christians; from then on, Jews (and Muslims) were officially required to dress differently and to identify themselves by wearing badges, although this law was not enforced everywhere in the same way and actual practices varied. In the long run, the exclusion of Jews from guilds and from many professions was extraordinarily consequential for Jewish-Christian relations and led to numerous tensions. Around 1300, Jews were expelled from England and France. In 1348 and 1350, when the plague broke out in Europe, the Jewish populations in over two hundred German towns were murdered, often for poorly concealed economic or political reasons, in the wake of the widespread fear of the plague.[46] The pretexts for this were accusations of poisoning wells, desecrating the Host

or 'Blood Libel' charges. Such charges asserted that Jews sought to obtain 'Christian blood' for religious or medical purposes, or even ate the hearts of murdered children on Passover.[47] In addition, stimulated by crusaders' reports on the 'secret rituals of the (Muslim) infidels', ritual cannibalism had become an integral part of anti-Jewish accusations since the 'Fulda case' in 1235.[48] It was in the aftermath of these developments that the Ebstorf world map was created, depicting the end-times peoples of Gog and Magog as anthropophagic – the same peoples whom legends and popular exegesis identified with the horrific 'enclosed Jews' (*iudei inclusi*). Even on Martin Waldseemüller's maps of America in 1507, 'enclosed Jews' can still be found behind high mountains in the far north-east. It was not until the 1580s that they disappeared from cartographic representations, together with Gog and Magog.

While *monstra* could initially be assigned a meaningful function in the Christian cosmos, the identification of the apocalyptic nations with Jews developed in parallel with their increasing repudiation and condemnation. Religious otherness was combined with an essential otherness and linked to spatial and social segregation. At the same time, the rather fluid chain of 'deviants', all of whom were fixed in a similar pattern of difference, formed a discursive fabric that was mutually authenticating and reinforcing.[49]

Transferring anti-Jewish stereotypes into the missionary-colonial context

The identification of Gog and Magog with the Jews at the edge of the world lived on in the minds of North American settlers for a long time and called up ideas of the Hebrew descendants of the First Nations.[50] The Scottish theologian John Major, who taught in Paris, wrote in 1510 that depictions of wild animals and *monstra* seen on Ptolemaic maps had now been proven by 'experience'. Even on a very practical level of colonial conquest, Columbus considered his overseas military operation a direct continuation of the violent expulsion of Jews from the Iberian Peninsula.[51] European Christian demonology, as Ella Shohat has noted, prefigured colonial racism and similar *conquista* practices across the Atlantic.[52]

Judaism soon served 'as a template to describe foreigners and define the nature of non-Christians' not only in medieval Europe but also in the colonies. This is amply illustrated by the Protestant missionary literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[53] Although the Puritan settlers of New England identified strongly with 'Old Israel', they saw themselves simultaneously 'as the better Jews

and the only true Christians'.[54] By traversing the 'condition of wilderness', they sought to attain spiritual purity and to create a 'second Eden'.[55] For them, First Nations peoples constituted a kind of mirror image: supposedly without religion of their own, they nevertheless stemmed from 'ancient Israel' and, as was often assumed, the 'Ten lost Tribes'.[56] In the settlers' millenarian theology, Native Americans consequently played an important role for the renewed dawning of the kingdom of God.

According to the legend of the Ten lost Tribes, Jews were supposed to appear in every corner of the world before the Messiah's second coming, and so Christians tended to see them everywhere and even invented them in the most remote regions in order to hasten the 'second coming'. Thus the French missionary Josef Lafitous Moeurs, for example, drew parallels between Jewish and ancient Greek religion and the religious system of the Iroquois. Even the colonization of the Pacific was accompanied by speculations about the 'long-lost Jewish tribes'. And as late as 1800, missionaries in China and India were still 'discovering' people with Israelite roots.[57] When the Puritans first began to settle in New England, they predominantly viewed Native Americans as 'noble savages' who needed to be led to the 'right path' of Christian faith. In their eyes, these Jewish tribes, 'lost in the wilderness', initially remained relatively innocent compared to contemporary European Jewry, since they had never known Christ and therefore could not be accused of having killed him.[58]

Nevertheless, this identification with the Ten lost Tribes had ambivalent implications for the 'American Indians'. Their philosemitic idealization could easily turn into fierce rejection, which again referred back to older anti-Jewish stereotypes. It was the Pequot War (1636–8) which ended the relatively peaceful coexistence between the Pequot people and the New England settlers.[59] As the expanded 'mission to the Indians' did not meet the Puritans' high expectations and social tensions within the settler community came to the fore, King Philip's War – also known as the Great Indian War – in 1675 led to the rise of the older proto-racist notion of the 'wild' and 'primitive' origins of the 'American Indians'.[60] Anti-Jewish stereotypes were increasingly projected onto the 'Indians', who from then on were more clearly identified with Gog and Magog as cruel, threatening, apocalyptic destroyers.[61] Thus the demonizing variant of the Ten lost Tribes theory rose to the surface once again.[62]

Similar lines of reasoning can be discerned in other colonized parts of the world, as Tudor Parfitt has demonstrated. For example, the supposedly negative characteristics of the Khoi Khoi (the so-called 'Hottentots'), whose status as members of the *genus humanum* was called into question, were also attributed

to their alleged Jewish heritage.[63] In 1612, Patrick Copland claimed to have observed similarities between Khoi Khoi and Jewish rites,[64] an observation which the German South African scholar Peter Kolb (1675–1726) confirmed as late as 1700.[65] And the threatening military successes of the Maori in New Zealand were explained with reference to their supposedly Jewish ancestry and some striking similarities in trade practices and language, as Parfitt has shown.[66] The British missionaries, who mainly came from the lower middle class, were familiar with few texts apart from the Holy Scriptures or the ancient classics, which they used to decipher unknown territories and their inhabitants.[67] Accordingly, the biblical image of the Jew, however ambivalently interpreted, was often used to explain the appearance or behaviour of foreign or unfamiliar groups.[68] The 'invented identity of a *known* other' was imposed on unknown (colonized) peoples.[69] This way of seeing colonized people as 'Jewish' transferred deeply ambivalent character attributions from medieval and early modern religious contexts into the modern era, thus becoming an integral part of the colonial racialization process.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, certain allegedly Jewish racial characteristics were still being derived from an assumed similarity between Jewish and colonized groups. The English schoolmaster and historian John Bigland (1750–1832), who summarized the common philosophical positions on the category of 'race' for a wider readership, described the case of an Englishman who, in his first contact with the Indian Kashmiris, was extremely surprised because to them they looked so similar to the Jews – so much so that he immediately believed he had been transferred to a 'nation of Jews'.[70] For Bigland, this case served as evidence that Jews could maintain their appearance (especially their fair skin) over long periods of time and despite reproductive links with native peoples. References to the colonial context therefore played an important role in the racialization of European Jews.

Conversely, anti-Jewish stereotypes in European Enlightenment circles were legitimized by resorting not only to religious arguments but also to colonial discourse. As the philosopher Voltaire informed his educated French readership in a 1764 encyclopaedia article, Jews had not only made 'human sacrifices' but had themselves been 'cannibals', similar to the 'Tentirytes' in Egypt, the 'Gascons', the 'Saguntines' and so-called 'savages' from the Mississippi region. But Jews were inferior even to these 'savages', because they offered 'human sacrifices (especially young women) without economic necessity'.[71]

The equation of Jews with 'savages' was associated with a division into 'good' past Jews and 'bad' present Jews.[72] In the eighteenth century, the colonized were

located not only in other places but also in other eras. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, German colonialists such as Carl Peters, Karl Mauch and Leo Frobenius were able to use the idea of the 'noble Jew' of the past to valorize certain indigenous groups (who were to be won as allies), and at the same time to propagate the antisemitic version of the 'dirty, money-greedy Jew' of the present. Carl Peters wrote the following about a people group adjacent to Rhodesia:

> How absolutely Jewish is the type of this people! They have faces cut exactly like those of ancient Jews who live around Eden. And the way they wear their hair, the curls behind the ears, and the beard drawn out in single curls, gives them the appearance of Aden – or of Polish – Jews of the good old type.[73]

The description of Jews as 'noble savages' from a submerged, historic age correlated with the trend towards the valorization of 'young nations' and a 'cult of the primitive' within Europe.[74] Whereas the philosopher David Hume had placed the Barbarian Germanic tribes on the lowest level of the inner-European 'racial hierarchy', following Christoph Meiner's publications, Germans could regard themselves as the 'epitome of European civilization' precisely because of their 'primitive' powers.[75]

Intersections between anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim discourses

Similarly to the development of primitivist-colonial racism, the differentiation between Christians and Muslims in the Saracen period, which extended into the fourteenth century, developed from the outset on the basis of Christian perceptions of Jews.[76] First and foremost, the Byzantines, who were under pressure from Islamic invasions, contributed to the negative stereotyping of Muslims by spreading horror stories about them – not least because they expected this would improve their chances of receiving military support from Latin Christendom. Among these were a number of stereotypes borrowed from anti-Jewish ideas: from Muslims allegedly denying Christians access to the holy sites to reports of church desecration, rape and accusations of ritual infanticide and cannibalistic practices. Also in religious terms, there seemed to be some similarity to Judaism. For instance, some Crusade literature interpreted Muhammad's laws as a resurrection of the old Mosaic laws, and the Muslim reconquest of Jerusalem was perceived as a return to the 'old law' of the Jews.[77] Moreover, Christians assumed that the land of the Saracens had been settled by descendants of the Jewish Shem (one of Noah's sons) and that Muhammad

had a Jewish mother. On the whole, therefore, one might say that Christian perceptions of Muslims were shaped not only by biblical concepts of Judaism but also by elements of Christian anti-Judaism.

It was during the Crusades that the Christian world first developed a greater interest in the independent study of Islam, knowledge of which had long been rather vague. While followers of the Muslim faith were initially still perceived as 'heretics', and thus as apostates in their own religious community, in the course of the armed conflicts they were increasingly labelled as 'infidels' and 'pagans', and thus further distanced from the faith. It was not until 1143 that Abbot Peter Venerabilis of Cluny made an effort to translate the Qur'an into Latin – a project which he commissioned in Toledo, Spain – though less with the aim of better understanding Islam than to be able to fight Islam more effectively. Nevertheless, the clearly defined boundaries between Christianity and Judaism remained the central issue for him: he described the 'licentious and blasphemous Jews' as 'far worse than the Saracens'.[78] Muslims were sometimes seen as being closer to recognizing the 'truth about Jesus' than the Jews were, since the Qur'an mentions Jesus respectfully several times; this led to the assumption, which was intensively discussed during the second half of the fifteenth century, that Muslims might more easily convert to Christianity than members of other faiths, especially Jews.[79] Nonetheless, in the early seventeenth century, Calvinist millenarianism professed the opposite assumption: that the Christian Book of Revelation included the Jews' conversion to Christianity, after which the Jews would fight against the Ottoman Empire in the Battle of Armageddon.[80] In 1146, however, when a special tax to finance the Second Crusade was under discussion, the French clergymen Rudolphe even said it was 'not possible to go to war against the Saracens as long as the Jews, the real enemies of Christ, are spared in our midst'. He demanded that one should 'first avenge he who was crucified against his enemies who live here in the midst of us' and only then 'fight the Turks'.[81]

In fact, Jews living in the Rhineland were attacked by marauding crusaders and farmers in the run up to the First Crusade in the spring of 1096. Subsequently, Muslims and Jews were jointly attacked not only in Palestine but also within Europe (from the Crusades to the expulsions from Iberia), which in its own way contributed to the formation of a similar, overlapping image of the 'Other' – even if this was not completely congruent.[82]

Canon law tended to lump Muslims together with Jews and put them under similar legal restrictions. While to some extent this led to a *modus vivendi* for those Muslims who lived within Christian societies, Christian culture also developed a very negative image of Muslims, which drew on the same apocalyptic biblical

theology that described Jews as a nation of destroyers.[83] Pseudo-Methodius's *Apocalypse* – written in Syriac in the second half of the seventh century and translated into Latin in eighth-century France – which was widely distributed in western Europe, transformed the wild 'pagan hordes' who were assailing Christianity into the 'sons of Ishmael', by which he meant Muslim Arabs.[84] He described how they would conquer all Christian territories, massacring most of their inhabitants and reducing the rest to slavery. The influential Protestant reformer Martin Luther later also identified the apocalyptic people Gog and Magog with the Turks of his own day.[85] In a comment on his *Table-Talk* he relegated Muslims and Jews to the same level as Catholics.[86] Thus, it was not only 'colonialism that brought anti-Semitism and Islamophobia to the fore and linked the two', as Ethan B. Katz has claimed, drawing on the observations of Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler.[87]

Even before colonialism, proto-racist images of both Jews and Muslims circulated back and forth between Christian representations of the two groups. Christian perceptions of Muslims were not only shaped within a Jewish framework but also vice versa – characterizations of Muslims served to describe Jewish identity.[88] By the eighteenth century at the latest, anti-Muslim, orientalizing stereotypes were applied to the Jewish populations of Europe, whereas anti-Jewish stereotypes had previously been incorporated into Orientalisms.[89] Accordingly, in antisemitic discourses of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, European Jews – perceived as 'oriental' – were often considered sexually lascivious, incapable of forming a state, corrupt as well as tyrannical and oppressive of women. Such stereotypes were linked back to older Hellenistic images of the Persians, formed in the aftermath of the Persian Wars, and Enlightenment philosophers' images of the Ottoman Turks. Moreover, anti-Turkish discourse developed ethnographic topoi and patterns of classification which initially served to describe the Ottomans, but which – similarly to anti-Jewish topoi – were later transferred to the colonized population in the Americas as well.[90]

The formation of proto-racist differences between Noah's sons

Anti-Judaism developed not only in close relation to primitivist and anti-Muslim but also to emerging anti-Black racism. In this context, the story of the Old Testament patriarch Noah's three sons – Shem, Ham and Japheth – is revealing. According to biblical legend, Ham surprised his father when he fell asleep drunk

and naked in his tent. Ham not only committed the sacrilege of not turning his gaze away from his father's exposed genitals but he also told his brothers about the embarrassing incident. As a result of this shameful act, Noah cursed Ham's descendants to be servants of the other two, who would have turned their eyes away from their father and covered his nakedness. This scene, which is described briefly and soberly in the Bible, took on heightened significance because Noah's three sons became the vectors through which moral qualities were linked with different religions, territorial configurations and ultimately also skin colours.[91] In the version that would eventually prevail, the eldest son Shem was associated with Judaism, the Orient or Asia; the middle son Japheth with Christianity as well as Europe; and the youngest son Ham with Islam, Africa or the south.

In this depiction in the 1493 *Nürnberger Weltchronik*, the theologically legitimized hierarchy among the sons is clearly shown (see Figure 2.3). The only good son is Japheth, on the right-hand side of the image, who turns away and covers his eyes so as not to see his father's nakedness. Ham wants to spread the embarrassing story and is portrayed with a gaunt face, a long beard and a sharp nose, which marked him not only as an unbeliever but potentially also as 'Jewish'.[92] While Ham's Blackness initially stood for his sinfulness, the symbolic meaning gradually became a physical one. But it was not until the early modern period that Ham's descendants were more explicitly identified as

Figure 2.3 The sons of Noah, in the Nuremberg Chronicle (Liber Chronicarum) by Hartmann Schedel. Print manuscript of the German edition (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493), Folio XVI. © Public Domain.

people with Black skin, condemned to slavery by the weight of 'Noah's curse' – as it was called from the seventeenth century onward – thus providing biblical justification for the enslavement of millions of Africans. In opposition to Ham's increasing Blackness, the figure of Japheth became more and more explicitly white. At the same time, the Jewish Shem moved into a closer relationship with the Black Ham.[93]

To demonstrate these striking shifts, I would like to compare the depictions of Noah's sons in two late medieval maps. The colourful world map of 1460, attributed to Simon Marmion, shows Noah's sons in striking resemblance to each other – a similarity which is even reflected in the continental landscapes, which are amazingly similar in all three parts of the world (see Figure 2.4). Only Shem, who personifies Asia, is highlighted, his right hand raised and pointing upward, indicating the way to paradise or to God.

Noah's Ark can be seen on Mount Ararat behind him, symbolizing humankind's salvation after the flood. Japheth returns his gaze, looking up to him, indicating a special connection between the two in which Ham has no part, as he looks directly at the viewer. Ham represents the African continent and points with his left hand to a large city, which is supposed to represent Athens.[94]

On the world map in the illustrated *Nürnberger Weltchronik* by the physician and humanist Hartmann Schedel (1493), about thirty years later, we can see clear shifts (Figure 2.5). Marmion's map placed Japheth with Ham on the underside of the inhabited world, but in the course of the new convention of orientating maps towards the north, Japheth has been moved up and thus significantly upgraded. He stands on the same level as his older (also in the religious sense) brother Shem, whose covenant with God he has taken over. Japheth's special closeness to God is further emphasized by the fact that Jerusalem, placed in the middle of the world, is directly accessible to him (along a virtual line), while 'the way to salvation' is blocked for the other two brothers by several mountain ranges.

Shem and Japheth represent a kind of mirror for each other. Their gestures correspond, they look at each other – a relationship from which the third brother is excluded. Moreover, it is striking that the geographical space in which the end-times peoples of 'Gog and Magog' were traditionally shown enclosed behind high walls is on this map also separated from the rest of the world, contains no monsters, but is placed near Shem. It would not have been difficult for contemporaries to establish a connection between Shem and the *iudei inclusi*, as mediated by the symbolic order of the now 'natural' mountain borders. Moreover, Shem's physiognomy depicts very dark features. In this respect, not only is Ham devalued by his spatial placement at the lower edge of the image, but Shem is

Figure 2.4 Simon Marmion, *Mappa mundi* (1460). Jean Mansel, *La Fleur des Histoires: Valenciennes, manoscritto, penna, inchiostro e colori su pergamena* (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 1459–63), Ms. 9231, fol. 281v. © Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique.
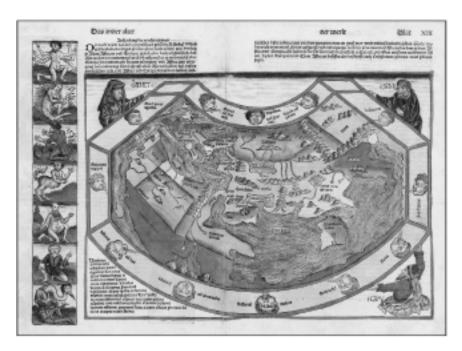
Figure 2.5 Hartmann Schedel, Liber Chronicarum. Facsimile of the German edition (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493, repr. Puchheim, 1970). Original format: 33 × 44 cm, 636 pages, with *c.* 1,800 woodcuts by Michael Wolgemut (1434–1519) and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff. Facsimile of the originals from the Melk and Metten monasteries. Austria: Melk Monastery Library. Folio XIII. © Melk Monastery Library.

also loaded with negative connotations and stylized as Japheth's apocalyptic, evil mirror. Moreover, Shem has moved to the same side as the sinful Ham; the latter is still below him but forms a vertical line with him, which can be read as a connecting line, if not a line of descent. This closer relationship between Shem and Ham is also depicted in Schedel's genealogical table of Noah's three sons, in which Shem's and Ham's descendants were interchangeable. Sometimes Ham and sometimes Shem was depicted with the stereotypical features of a 'Moor', as Benjamin Braude has shown.[95]

It was not until the period between 1400 and 1800 that a clear classification and hierarchy between the two was established. While Ham gradually descended into enslavement, the sons of Shem (and with him, Muslims and Turks) adopted the attributes of the monstrous ruler Nimrod, another of Ham's descendants. In addition, the three sons were now assigned different skin colours. In 1666, Georgius Hornius (1620–70) – a Palatine geographer, theologian and professor of history in Leiden, the Netherlands – declared that Ham's descendants were Black, Shem's yellow and Japheth's white, and that humanity should be divided

into 'Japhetites', 'Semites' and 'Hamites'.[96] Shem's assumed proximity to or even identification with the Black Ham served to further degrade him.[97]

Interrelations between anti-Black racism and modern antisemitism

In the mid-eighteenth century, philosophers such as Voltaire took up the motif of the special closeness between 'Hamites' and 'Semites'. In his 1764 *Essai sur les Mœurs*, he claims that Jews are just as 'inferior' as Blacks.[98] According to Voltaire, they resemble each other in terms of their common sexual perversions; their unoriginal, plagiarized language; as well as in their particularly high capacity to transmit diseases.[99] In order to legitimize colonialism and slavery, anti-Black racism had consolidated to such an extent that it could now, in turn, serve as a model for a racializing anti-Judaism in Europe. Thus the figure of the Black in Voltaire's text becomes the model (*'comme nous voyons le Nègres'*) from which he derives his constructions of what is Jewish.

Shortly thereafter, by transferring ideas from anti-Black racism, Prussian Jews could be imagined as 'colonial subjects' who had to prove their right to exist and their 'usefulness' to the state through slave-like labour in (soon to be colonized) eastern Prussia or outside Europe. As Jonathan Hess worked out, between 1774 and 1819 alone, there were about forty proposals to exile the Jews overseas, on sugarcane plantations and in various colonial territories.[100]

In the mid-nineteenth century, European travellers still noted particular physiognomic similarities between Jews and people of colour, on the basis of which they speculated about a long-ago kinship. For example, the Polish liberal aristocrat and revolutionary Adam G. de Gurowski (1805–66), who took refuge in the United States in 1849, wrote that upon arrival in the United States, he considered 'every fair-skinned mulatto a Jew' because he was sufficiently familiar with 'their facial features' from Poland. Both had 'pale, clove-colored skin, thick lips, frizzy hair'. He therefore wondered whether these similarities had perhaps emerged from an early connection between Jews and Egyptians.[101] Certain patterns of observation, which this Polish liberal had brought from Europe to the United States, and which assigned Jews a certain physiognomy, allowed him to establish a connection between Blacks and Jews.

For their part, colonial racist stereotypes could also alter perceptions of German Jews. This process is illustrated by the example of Wilhelm Marr, a disappointed German liberal of the 1848 movement and the 'founding father'

of German racial antisemitism, who underwent a kind of training in racism during his stay in America and, back in Bremen, transferred his newly gained insights from anti-Black racism to the Jewish minority in Germany.[102] Colonial and anti-Black racism played a prominent role in the transition from anti-Judaic arguments to antisemitic ones, which he was instrumental in promoting.[103] Over the course of the nineteenth century, anti-Black racist stereotypes were projected more and more explicitly onto the Jewish body and eventually attached to 'Jewish blood'.

This also led to discursive entanglements of anti-Black and primitivist racism, which had the effect of mutual authentication and reinforcement. According to the elitist French novelist Arthur de Gobineau's (1816–82) essay on the *Inequality of the Human Races*, Jews in prehistoric times were 'as stained by mixing with Black blood . . . as the Hamites'.[104] Therefore, 'the Israelites, . . . who were all . . . fashioned after a Black pattern . . ., consistently remained at the lowest level of civilization typical of the race'. Israelites, as a Black branch of the Jewish family tree, would have had a Black 'ancestral mother', lived in caves, been substantially weakened by mixing with Blacks and would have sunk to a 'more primitive level of culture', namely that of 'Bushmen' or Aboriginals (he tellingly referred to them as 'Australian Negroes'). They are therefore incapable of creative cultural achievement.[105] All people with 'Black blood', including certain Jewish groups, such as the 'Chorreans', would have to 'perish in the face of civilization', 'as many of the Natives of North America do today'.[106] Gobineau thus drew not only on elements of anti-Black racism but also on the primitivist-colonial topos of the 'dying races' in order to make a statement about Jews or to racialize them.[107] The idea of the 'dying races' already includes the 'extermination' of Jews, insofar as they were declared colonial subjects or 'savages' subject to annihilation.

In close association with Gobineau, it was left up to the antisemitic writer Houston Steward Chamberlain (1855–1927), whose ideas had an important influence on National Socialist ideology, to sum up the 'prevailing view' around 1900, according to which the 'Semite' was the 'most complete half-breed' one could imagine, namely as the 'fruit of a cross between Negroes and whites!'[108] What Gobineau had 'preached' fifty years ago, according to Chamberlain, became the orthodox opinion around 1900, as allegedly even the famous German historian Leopold von Ranke represented in his 'ethnology': 'The Semites belong among the half-mulatto intermediaries between whites and Blacks.'[109] Moreover, Chamberlain explicitly speculates whether this 'mixing' between Jews and Blacks might have had its origin in a liaison by which the biblical patriarch Noah fathered his son Shem – a view which easily carried older religious ideas

over into modernity. In the turn from anti-Judaism to modern antisemitism, however, recourses to more recent colonial and anti-Black racisms are also clearly evident. The deepening of this identification of Jewishness with Blackness may be due not least to Germany's entry into the ranks of the colonial states. After all, sympathy for formerly enslaved Blacks in the United States during the Wilhelmine era of the German Empire diminished to the extent that Germans themselves were involved in colonial wars, slavery and exploitation.[110]

The assumed proximity of Jews to Blacks seemed to allow for the naturalization of invisible difference, a perspective which greatly benefited from the persuasive power and daily reproduced reality of the colonial project. According to Neil MacMaster, the figure of the 'Black' even served as the basic model of the inferior 'racial other', which was cited in anti-Jewish discourses for the purpose of racializing Jews.[111] The earlier historical cases we have discussed, however, also make it clear how important anti-Jewish stereotypes were for the development of colonial racist discourses.

Concluding reflections

In order to address the complex history of discursive entanglements between different racisms, it turned out to be helpful to take a genealogical view that transcends the horizon of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as well as national borders. However, taking a historical and transnational perspective on these issues in no way entails relativizing specifically localizable responsibilities for the deadly consequences of racist discourses. On the contrary: in this expanded perspective, colonial racism and antisemitism cannot be played off against each other, but rather, in their relationship to one another, they prove to be varieties of a common, basic racist framework that has circulated between different places and spaces; has integrated certain topoi (such as *cannibalism*) but also abandoned them in favour of other powerful symbols (such as *Black blood*); and, despite all these changes, has continuously produced mutually reinforcing effects.

Despite this discursive entanglement, the various 'racial discourses' did not function in the same way in every respect or in every historical context. In the German Empire prior to 1900 (especially before the outbreak of the Herero and Nama uprisings in the colonies), for example, Black men were represented as childish servants and were thus portrayed as less threatening than male Jews, who played the role of dominant world rulers in the showcase of antisemitic

conspiracy theories. The stereotype of deviant sexuality common to both racisms was also understood differently for Black than for Jewish men: Blacks were considered hyper-sexual and physically strong but not very intelligent; in contrast, Jews were hyper-intellectual but impotent, perverse and sickly. Yet these various racist discourses merged, inspired each other and introduced a racist pattern of perception in almost every part of the world. On the other hand, racism could also be mobilized to legitimize counter-discourses or alternative self-images – for example, in the figure of the 'Indian Jew' as the embodiment of a threatened but 'noble (wild) people' in legitimate need of protection or in the hope of redemption linked to the legend of the 'Ten lost Tribes of Israel'.

It is possible to identify alternating relationships between antisemitism and colonial racisms right down to the level of the politics of remembrance. For example, the American ABC series *Roots* (1977), which shattered all viewer records in the United States in the 1970s, depicted the history of enslavement through a Black family saga, which in turn provided the decisive impetus for the production of the American NBC series *Holocaust* (1978, first broadcast in 1979). The latter told the story of National Socialist persecution through the history of a European Jewish family and would become essential to Germany's confrontation of the Shoah.[112] The fact that this Jewish family was called 'Weiss' (*White*) of all things impressively shows that their story was told as a mirror image of the Black protagonists in *Roots*, while at the same time symbolically remaining within the racist Black-and-white colour scheme – although presumably in this case with the intention of attributing the privileged status of 'whiteness' to Jews.

How topical and necessary it is to reflect on such discursive entanglements between different racisms is further demonstrated by the virulent dispute over the structural similarities between anti-Muslim and antisemitic racisms in the present.[113] Whereas Jews were perceived as threatening 'Others' of the nation, Muslims, according to Matti Bunzl, today move into the position of the 'Others' of Europe.[114] Analogies between anti-Islamic and anti-Jewish discourses are also evident in the accusation that both religious communities are primarily loyal to their own religious duties and tend to mislead the (Christian) milieu.[115] Whereas Jews were perceived as representatives of modernity in the nineteenth century, Muslims today are considered backward and premodern, especially with regard to women's rights. Similarly to anti-Black and primitivist discourses, anti-Muslim racism is dominated by a pejorative view of Islam as the inferior representative of 'the Orient', which 'the West' has to 'civilize', while anti-Jewish hostility is fed by projections of 'too much rationality, wealth, and power'.[116] Yet similar infiltration fantasies as those we know from the history of antisemitism

culminate today in the distorted image of an existentially threatening 'Islamization of Europe', which updates medieval and early modern apocalyptic images of the enemy developed in anti-Judaism as well as in propagandistic Crusade and Turkish war literature.[117] However, the complexity and long history of the interrelationships between different racisms only become apparent when, beyond mere comparison, the processes of mutual intertwining and transfer between them are brought into sharper focus. Such an 'entangled history of Othering'[118] might also serve as a starting point for cross-cultural alliances, a 'politics of recognition'[119] able to associate different forms of racism as closely connected.[120]

Translated by Alissa Jones Nelson.

Notes

1 Neil MacMaster, *Racism in Europe 1870–2000* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 5; George L. Mosse, *Towards the Final Solution* (London: dent, 1978), 56, 70.

2 See Glynis Cousin and Robert Fine, 'A Common Cause: Reconnecting the Study of Racism and Antisemitism', *European Societies* 14 (2012): 166–85; Ethan B. Katz, 'An Imperial Entanglement: Anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and Colonialism', *American Historical Review* 123 (2018): 1190.

3 Bryan Cheyette, *Diasporas of the Mind: Jewish and Postcolonial Writing and the Nightmare of History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), viii.

4 Cousin and Fine, 'A Common Cause', 175.

5 The interrelationships between different racisms currently constitute an emerging field of research. See, among others, Tudor Parfitt, *Hybrid Hate: Jews, Blacks, and the Question of Race* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), which appeared after this manuscript was completed; *Wissen – Transfer – Differenz. Transnationale und interdiskursive Verflechtungen von Rassismen ab 1700*, ed. Claudia Bruns and M. Michaela Hampf (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2018); *Antisemitism and Racism: Current Connections and Disconnections*, ed. Christine Achinger and Robert Fine (New York: Routledge, 2017).

6 Jürgen Zimmerer, 'Holocaust und Kolonialismus: Beitrag zur Archäologie des genozidalen Gedankens', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 51 (2003): 1118.

7 Ibid., 1119.

8 Jeffrey Herf, 'Comparative Perspectives on Anti-Semitism: Radical Anti-Semitism in the Holocaust and American White Racism', *Journal of Genocide Research* 9 (2007): 575–600.

9 See Dirk Moses, 'Conceptual Blockages and Definitional Dilemmas in the Racial Century: Genocide of Indigenous Peoples and the Holocaust', *Patterns of Prejudice* 36 (2002): 19.

10 See i.a. Dirk Moses, 'The Fate of Blacks and Jews: A Response to Jeffrey Herf', *Journal of Genocide Research* 10 (2008): 269–87. For an (ambivalent) assessment of the explanatory potential of the colonial paradigm, see the review article by Thomas Kühne, 'Colonialism and the Holocaust: Continuities, Causations, and Complexities', *Journal of Genocide Research* 15 (2013): 339–62.

11 See Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider, *Erinnerungen im globalen Zeitalter: Der Holocaust* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2001), 149; Steven Katz, *The Holocaust and Comparative History* (New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 1993); Kühne, 'Colonialism and the Holocaust'.

12 This can be seen, for example, in the controversy regarding the cancellation of Achille Mbembe's invitation to give a keynote lecture at the Ruhrtriennale art and music festival in 2020, which prompted a fierce discussion of antisemitism in the German media. See Irit Dekel and Esra Özyürek, 'What Do We Talk About When We Talk about Antisemitism in Germany?' *Journal of Genocide Research*, published online 4 December 2020, available online: https://doi.org/10.1080/14623528.2020.1847859 (accessed 3 March 2021). As Glynis Cousin and Robert Fine put it, the 'ghost of the Israel-Palestine' conflict also 'haunts the current separatism between racism and antisemitism'. Cousin and Fine, 'A Common Cause', 176.

13 Following Wulf D. Hund, Benjamin Isaac and Roxann Wheeler, one can speak of 'proto-racist constellations' in which certain physical features were tied to a set of fixed character traits among certain groups, which were thought to be unchangeable – this was already the case in antiquity. See Wulf D. Hund, *Rassismus* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2007), 13. The term 'proto-racism' thus refers not to a 'weaker form' of racism but rather to an older type of racism that existed before the anthropological concept of race was introduced as a result of European colonialism.

14 For a substantial criticism of efforts to trace the concept of racism back to premodern times, see Vanita Seht, 'The Origins of Racism: A Critique of the History of Ideas', *History and Theory* 59 (2020): 343–68.

15 See Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 27.

16 Ibid., 21.

17 See Claudia Bruns and M. Michaela Hampf, eds., 'Transnationale Verflechtungen von Rassismen ab 1700: Versuch der Systematisierung eines Forschungsfelds', *Wissen – Transfer – Differenz*, 9–63.

18 Marina Münkler, *Erfahrung des Fremden: Die Beschreibung Ostasiens in den Augenzeugenberichten des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000), 206, 212.

19 Klaus E. Müller, *Der Krüppel: Ethnologia passionis humanae* (München: Beck, 1996), 148–84.

20 Around 1310, Pietro Abano established the head as the decisive criterion for determining the humanity of monsters. Marina Münkler, 'Monstra und mappae mundi: Die monströsen Völker des Erdrands auf mittelalterlichen Weltkarten', in *Text – Bild – Karte: Kartographien der Vormoderne*, ed. Jürg Glauser and Christian Kiening (Freiburg: Rombach, 2007), 149–74, here 166; see also Marina Münkler and Werner Röcke, 'Der ordo-Gedanke und die Hermeneutik des Fremden im Mittelalter: Die Auseinandersetzung mit den monströsen Völkern des Erdrandes', in *Die Herausforderung durch das Fremde*, ed. Herfried Münkler (Berlin: Akademie, 1998), 722.

21 Augustine, *The City of God*, Books 1–10, translated and with an introduction by William Babcock, ed. Boniface Ramsey (Hyde Park: New City Press, 2012), 8, 2.

22 Ibid.

23 Münkler and Röcke, 'Der ordo-Gedanke', 733, 735.

24 Andrew Gow, 'Gog and Magog on *Mappae mundi* and Early Printed World Maps: Orientalizing Ethnography in the Apocalyptic Tradition', *Journal of Early Modern History* 2 (1998): 61–88.

25 Meghan Beddingfield, 'Gog and Magog', in *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*, ed. Constance M. Furey et al., vol. 10 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 504–18, here 506.

26 Ibid., 507. For the early modern period, see Rebekka Voß, *Disputed Messiahs: Jewish and Christian Messianism in the Ashkenazic World during the Reformation* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2021).

27 Andrew R. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Enclosed Nations* (Cambridge: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1932), chap. 2, esp. 49–50.

28 Münkler, 'Monstra und mappae mundi', 173.

29 Nicholas M. Railton, 'Gog and Magog: The History of a Symbol', *Evangelical Quarterly* 75 (2003): 23–43, here 34.

30 Beddingfield, 'Gog and Magog', 506.

31 Railton, 'Gog and Magog', 34.

32 Beddingfield, 'Gog and Magog', 509. Avraham Grossman, 'The Commentary of Rashi on Isaiah and the Jewish-Christian Debate', in *Studies in Medieval Jewish Intellectual and Social History*, ed. Elliot R. Wolfson, Lawrence H. Schiffman and David Engel (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 47–63, here 54.

33 Railton, 'Gog and Magog', 29.

34 Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, 'Gog und Magog', in *Die Mongolen: Ein Volk sucht seine Geschichte. Begleitband zur Ausstellung 'Die Mongolen', Haus der Kunst München, 2. März bis 28. Mai 1989*, ed. Walther Heissig and Claudius C. Müller (Innsbruck: Pinguin, 1989), 28.

35 Israel Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Jonathan Chipman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 288–91.

36 Andrew Colin Gow, *The Red Jews. Antisemitism in an Apocalyptic Age, 1200–1600* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 54, note 71. See the source in Sophia Menache, 'Tartars, Jews, Saracens and the Jewish-Mongol "Plot" of 1241', *History. The Journal of the Historical Association* 81 (1996): 319–42; Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb*, 284–5.

37 The Marbach Chronicle of 1222 attests that some Jews saw Genghis Khan as the Davidic Messiah who promised them deliverance from Christian enslavement. (Some also saw the Mongols as kin to the biblical magi).

38 See Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, *The Ten Lost Tribes: A World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

39 Rebekka Voß, 'Entangled Stories: The *Red Jews* in Premodern Yiddish and German Apocalyptic Lore', *AJS Review* 36 (2012): 1–41, here 7.

40 Ibid.

41 *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, translated and introduced by Charles William Reuben Dutton Moseley (London: Penguin Books, 2005), 165–6; *Das Zeitbuch des Eike von Repgow in ursprünglich niederdeutscher Sprache und in früher lateinischer Übersetzung*, ed. Hans F. Massmann (Stuttgart: Litterarischer Verein, 1857), 68–9; Gow, *The Red Jews*, 50–1.

42 'Only here was a specific name given to the imaginary Jewish people of the apocalypse that has no parallel in other European languages.' Voß, 'Entangled Stories', 5.

43 Andrew Colin Gow, 'Kartenrand, Gesellschaftsrand, Geschichtsrand: Die legendären *judei clausi/inclusi* auf mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Weltkarten', in *Fördern und Bewahren: Studien zur europäischen Kulturgeschichte der frühen Neuzeit. Festschrift anlässlich des zehnjährigen Bestehens der Dr. Günther Findel-Stiftung zur Förderung der Wissenschaften*, ed. Hedwig Schmidt-Glintzer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 141. For further details on the 'Red Jews', see Gow, *The Red Jews*.

44 Münkler, *Erfahrung des Fremden*, 212.

45 Voß, 'Entangled Stories', 6.

46 See the discussion of the different motivations for the massacres in Iris Ritzmann, 'Judenmord als Folge des "Schwarzen Todes": Ein medizinhistorischer Mythos?' *Medizin, Gesellschaft und Geschichte* 17 (1998): 123.

47 See Pope Innocent IV's 1247 papal bull to the bishops of France and Germany; repr. in Josef Kastein, *Eine Geschichte der Juden* (Wien: Löwith, 1935), 360.

48 While the Jews were occasionally accused of cannibalism in antiquity as well, Gavin Langmuir asserts that such accusations did not re-emerge until 1235. See

Gavin I. Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 263–81.

49 Martin Przybilski, 'Jüdische Körper als Subjekte und Objekte des kulturellen Transfers in der Vormoderne', in *'Rasse' und Raum: Topologien zwischen Kolonial-, Geo- und Biopolitik: Geschichte, Kunst, Erinnerung*, ed. Claudia Bruns (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2017), 62–3.

50 Ulrike Brunotte, '"The Jewes did Indianize; or the Indians doe Judaize": Philosemitismus und Antijudaismus als Medien kolonialen Transfers im Neuengland des 17. Jahrhunderts', in *Wissen – Transfer – Differenz*, ed. Bruns and Hampf, 235–7.

51 As Columbus noted in his *Journal*, written for the king of Spain: 'So after expelling the Jews from your dominions, your Highnesses, in the same month of January, ordered me to proceed [*sic*] with a sufficient armament to the said regions of India.' Cited in Cousin and Fine, 'A Common Cause', 167.

52 Ella Shohat, 'Taboo Memories and Diasporic Visions: Columbus, Palestine and the Arab-Jews', in *Performing Hybridity*, ed. May Joseph and Jennifer Natalya Fink (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1999), 136–7.

53 Ulrike Brunotte, 'From *Nehemia Americanus* to Indianized Jews: Pro- and Anti-Judaic Rhetoric in Seventeenth-Century New England', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 15 (2016): 188–207, here 188.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid., 192.

56 Ibid., 199.

57 To cite one example, C. T. E. Rhenius, who came to southern India with the English Church Missionary Society in 1813, noted that 'the Vishnu and Shiva sects and religious worship exhibit a strong likeness to the Jewish dispensation'. Quoted according to Tudor Parfitt, 'The Use of the Jew in Colonial Discourse', in *Orientalism and the Jews*, ed. Ivan Davidson Kalmar and Derek J. Penslar (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 2005), 53.

58 Brunotte, 'From *Nehemia Americanus*', 199.

59 Ibid., 201.

60 Ibid.

61 Brunotte, 'The Jewes did Indianize', 245.

62 Brunotte, 'From *Nehemia Americanus*', 201.

63 See Parfitt, 'The Use of the Jew', 61.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid., 67.

66 Ibid., 61.

67 Ibid., 55.

68 Ibid., 51.

69 Ibid., 67.

70 John Bigland, *An Historical Display of the Effects of Physical and Moral Causes on the Character and Circumstances of Nations: Including a Comparison of the Ancients and Moderns in Regard to Their Intellectual and Social State* (London: Longman & Company, 1996 [1816]), 72–3.

71 Francois Marie Arouet (de) Voltaire, 'Cannibals', in *The Works of Voltaire. A Contemporary Version*, trans. William F. Fleming, vol. IV (New York: E. R. DuMont, 1901), 5.

72 Parfitt, 'The Use of the Jew', 67.

73 Carl Peters, *The Eldorado of the Ancients* (New York: Negro University Press, 1969 [1902]), 72.

74 Claudia Bruns, 'Wilhelminische Bürger und "germanische Arier" im Spiegel des "Primitiven": Ambivalenzen einer Mimikry an die kolonialen "Anderen"', *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 9, no. 5 (2009): 15–33, here 27–9.

75 Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770–1870* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 81–90.

76 Suzanne Conklin Akbari, 'Placing the Jews in Late Medieval English Literature', in *Orientalism and the Jews*, ed. Kalmar and Penslar, 34.

77 More rarely, characterizations of Muslims also served to describe Jewish identity. See ibid., 36.

78 Quoted in Karl Heinrich Rengstorf and Siegfried v. Kortzfleisch, *Kirche und Synagoge. Handbuch zur Geschichte von Christen und Juden*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Klett-Kotta, 1968), 120–1.

79 Noel Malcom, *Useful Enemies: Islam and the Ottoman Empire in Western Political Thought, 1450–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2019), 42.

80 Ibid., 272.

81 Quoted in Béla Grunberger, Pierre Dessuant, and Max Looser, *Narzissmus, Christentum, Antisemitismus: Eine psychoanalytische Untersuchung* (Stuttgart: Klett-Kotta, 2000), 289.

82 Andrew Jotschky, 'Ethnic and Religious Categories in the Treatment of Jews and Muslims in the Crusader States', in *Antisemitism and Islamophobia in Europe*, ed. James Renton and Ben Gidley (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 25–49.

83 Ibid., 51.

84 Ibid.

85 Gow, *The Red Jews*, 6.

86 Luther portrayed Catholicism even as the greater of the two evils. Ibid., 91.

87 Katz, 'An Imperial Entanglement', 1192.

88 Conklin Akbari, 'Placing the Jews', 36.

89 Achim Rohde, 'Der Innere Orient: Orientalismus, Antisemitismus und Geschlecht im Deutschland des 18. bis 20. Jahrhunderts', *Die Welt des Islams* 45 (2005): 410;

see for different stages and forms of Orientalism: Lourens Minnema, 'Different Types of Orientalism and Corresponding Views of Jews and Judaism: A Historical Overview of Shifting perceptions and Stereotypes', *Antisemitism Studies* 4 (2020): 270–325.

90 See the summary in Almut Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben: 'Türkengefahr' und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450–1600* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2003), 313–21.

91 Benjamin Braude, 'The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997): 133.

92 See Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the late Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Robert Bartlett, 'Illustrating Ethnicity in the Middle Ages', in *The Origins of Racism in the West*, ed. Miriam Eliav-Feldon, Benjamin H. Isaac, and Joseph Ziegler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 137.

93 Augustine and Jerome even depicted Ham as representing Judaism, because Jews would have seen Christ naked on the cross. See Braude, 'The Sons of Noah', 133.

94 *Das Buch der Karten. Meilensteine der Kartographie aus drei Jahrtausenden*, ed. Peter Barber (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 2006), 72.

95 See the genealogical tables in Braude, 'The Sons of Noah', 122–4.

96 Michael J. Wintle, *The Image of Europe: Visualizing Europe in Cartography and Iconography throughout the Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 187; Martin W. Lewis and Kären Wigen, *The Myth of Continents. A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 30, 218, notes 63–4.

97 Braude, 'The Sons of Noah', 140. This old connection between Sem and Ham took on a devastating new actuality in the context of the Rwandan genocide, as old (missionary) assumptions about a close relationship between Jewish and Tutsi peoples were circulated. See William F. S. Miles, 'Hamites and Hebrews: Problems in "Judaizing" the Rwandan Genocide', *Journal of Genocide Research* 2 (2000): 107–15.

98 'On les regardait du meme œil que nous voyons le Nègres, comme une espèce d'homes inférieure'; Francois Marie Arouet (de) Voltaire, 'Essai sur les mœurs et l'ésprit des nations', *Œuvres Complètes de Voltaire*, nouvelle édition, vol. 11 (Paris: Éditions Garnier Frères, 1878 [1761]), 223.

99 Thus the claim that Jews were more likely to be infected with leprosy than other peoples from warm climates had previously been associated with Blacks. See Peter Martin, *Schwarze Teufel, edle Mohren* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2001), 292.

100 Jonathan M. Hess, 'Sugar Island Jews? Jewish Colonialism and the Rhetoric of "Civic Improvement" in Eighteenth-Century Germany', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32 (1998): 92–100; see also Jacob Toury, 'Emanzipation und Judenkolonien in der

öffentlichen Meinung Deutschlands 1775–1819', *Jahrbuch des Instituts für deutsche Geschichte* 11 (1982): 17–53.

101 'On my arrival in this country I took every light-colored mulatto for a Jew. Could not these Jewish mulattoes have descended from some crossing between the Jews and the Egyptians at a time previous to the Exodus?' Adam de Gurowski, *America and Europe* (New York: D. Appleton & Co, 1857), 177.

102 Claudia Bruns, 'Towards a Transnational History of Racism: Interrelationships between Colonial Racism and German Anti-Semitism? The Example of Wilhelm Marr', in *Racism in the Modern World: Historical Perspectives on Cultural Transfer and Adaptation*, ed. Manfred Berg and Simon Wendt (New York: Berghahn, 2011), 122–39; Moshe Zimmermann, *Wilhelm Marr: The Patriarch of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

103 See Bruns, 'Towards a Transnational History of Racism', 122–39; Sander Gilman, 'Einführung', in *Rasse, Sexualität und Seuche: Stereotype aus der Innenwelt der westlichen Kultur* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1992), 24–32.

104 Graf Arthur de Gobineau, *Die Ungleichheit der Menschenrassen* (Berlin: Kurt Wolff Verlag, 1935 [1853–1855]), 167.

105 Ibid., 205.

106 Ibid., 208.

107 See Norbert Finzsch, '"Der kupferfarbige Mensch [verträgt] die Verbreitung europäischer Civilisation nicht in seiner Nähe": Der Topos der *dyingrace* in den USA, Australien und Deutschland', in *Wissen – Transfer – Differenz*, ed. Bruns and Hampf, 67–90.

108 Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *Die Grundlagen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (München: F. Bruckmann, 1899), 355, note 1.

109 Ibid.

110 See Heike Paul, 'Africa in America? Colonial Constructions of African Americans in German Writings about the USA, 1870–1914', in *Wissen – Transfer – Differenz*, ed. Bruns and Hampf, 184–97.

111 Neil MacMaster, '"Black Jew–White Negro". Anti-Semitism and the Construction of Cross-Racial Stereotypes', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 6, no. 4 (2000): 66.

112 Christian Berndt, 'Auswirkungen der TV-Serie "Holocaust": Dieses Mitleid mit den Opfern war neu', *Deutschlandfunk Kultur* Zeitfragen, 23 January 2019, available online: https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/auswirkungen-der-tv-serie -holocaust-dieses-mitleid-mit-den.976.de.html?dram:article_id=439092 (accessed 19 September 2020); see Levy and Sznaider, *Erinnerungen im globalen Zeitalter*, 131–4.

113 For two contrary positions, see Matthias Küntzel, '"Islamophobia" or "Truthophobia"? Berlin's Anti-Semitism Center is Going Astray', 2008, available online: http://www.matthiaskuentzel.de/contents/islamophobia-or-truthophobia (accessed 14 October 2010); *Islamfeindschaft und ihr Kontext: Dokumentation*

der Konferenz 'Feindbild Muslim – Feindbild Jude', ed. Wolfgang Benz (Berlin: Metropol, 2009). See also Julia Edthofer, 'Gegenläufige Perspektiven auf Antisemitismus und antimuslimischen Rassismus im post-nationalsozialistischen und postkolonialen Forschungskontext', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 40 (2015): 189–207.

114 See, for example, Matti Bunzl, *Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia: Hatred Old and New in Europe* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2007). Ethan B. Katz described this position as the 'replacement theory': 'Muslims in contemporary Europe have become the "new Jews"', whereas he designates the longer-term historical relationship between antisemitism and Orientalism as the 'Orientalism school'. See Katz, 'An Imperial Entanglement', 1191.

115 Yasemin Shooman, 'Islamfeindlichkeit und Antisemitismus – Diskursive Analogien und Unterschiede', in *Antisemitismus: Ein gefährliches Erbe mit vielen Gesichtern*, ed. Milena Detzner and Ansgar Drücker (Düsseldorf: IDA, 2012), 25–7.

116 Birgit Rommelspacher, 'Was ist eigentlich Rassismus?' in *Rassismuskritik, vol. 1: Rassismustheorie und -forschung*, ed. Paul Mecherli and Claus Melter (Schwalbach: Wochenschau-Verlag, 2009), 26.

117 Almut Höfert, 'Das Gesetz des Teufels und Europas Spiegel: Das christlich-westeuropäische Islambild im Mittelalter und der Frühen Neuzeit', in *Orient- und Islambilder. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu Orientalismus und antimuslimischem Rassismus*, ed. Iman Attia (Münster: Unrast, 2007), 85–110.

118 Ari Joskowiez, *The Modernity of Others: Jewish Anti-Catholicism in Germany and France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 29.

119 Paul Berman, 'Reflections: The Other and the Almost the Same', *The New Yorker*, 28 February 1994, 61–6, here 66.

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