CHAPTER 1

The Making of Muslim Communities in Western Europe, 1914–1939

David Motadel

I. Introduction

Muslim presence in western Europe is not a recent phenomenon resulting from the postcolonial and worker migrations of the 1950s and 1960s. In most western European metropolises, Muslim life flourished and was institutionalized for the first time during the interwar period. In France, the *Grande Mosquée de Paris* was inaugurated in July 1926, immediately fuelling debates in London about launching a similar project in the British capital. In 1928, the first mosque opened in Berlin-Wilmersdorf. Muslims across western Europe began to organize themselves, setting up institutions varying from mosques and schools to cemeteries and publications.

Although there is a vast and rapidly growing body of literature on Muslims in contemporary Europe, this research usually lacks a historical perspective, generally containing little information about the history of Islam in western European societies.[1] This is surprising given the profound research in the field over the last decade.[2] The major historiographical problem is, however, that most of the research done so far is scattered, limited to local and regional studies, and has so far not been connected. Addressing this problem, this article is an attempt to provide the first comprehensive, though concise, account of the history of Muslim life in western Europe before World War II.

Most scholars perceive Muslim presence in western Europe as a result of the labor and postcolonial mass migrations of the postwar

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period. It is certainly true that Islam became more visible in the public sphere in western Europe as a result of Muslim mass immigration to major European industrial countries in the second half of the twentieth century. Another reason why only few studies have addressed the issue is because their research has focused on national or ethnic rather than religious categories, examining the histories of Turks, Persians, Indians, or Arabs in countries like Germany, France, and Great Britain.[3] The Muslim identities and Islamic practices of these communities have been considered to be of secondary importance, outpaced by language, color, or nationality, which were seen as the key signifiers of individual and collective difference. Looking through the lens of religion, the following pages focus on the founding of local Muslim communities in Germany, Great Britain, and France during and after World War I.

The making of these early Muslim communities was part of the much wider historical phenomenon of migration and the emergence of new minorities in the global age. Since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, small minority groups started to appear worldwide—Chinatowns in Hamburg or Chicago, Japanese communities in Hawaii or Sao Paolo, Russian groups in Shanghai or Helsinki or, say, Lebanese communities in Senegal. Some of these groups organized themselves not only on ethnic or national, but also on religious grounds—Sikh communities in Manchester, Buddhist groups in Berlin or Muslim minorities in South Shields or Paris, for instance. While much research has been done on ethnic diaspora communities in the global age, we know less about the birth of these faith communities. These groups formed new kinds of religious minorities, characterized by mobility and embedded in global religious networks.

Indeed, the history of Muslim minorities in interwar western Europe is, after all, a history of global interconnection and mobility. Most of the religious minorities that have been studied, such as Jews in Europe, Christians in the Middle East, or Muslims in Russia, India, or East Asia, have a long history within their majority societies. Accordingly, religious minority history has been written primarily as local (or national) history, addressing the relationship between minority and majority society. The presence of organized Muslim communities in western European countries is a relatively new phenomenon, however, forming part of the worldwide integration processes that began in the late nineteenth century. A history of Muslim communities in western Europe during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is, first of all, a history of migration and settlement, the

creation of Muslim space and the implementation of Muslim presence in a non-Muslim environment. The making of these communities involved a transfer of cultural practices, lifestyles, codes, meanings, and organizing principles from one place (Muslim countries) to another (western European cities). In the new setting, a unique and hybrid Muslim space was created that was shaped both by the new, non-Muslim environment and the wider Muslim world. Even in the period following the actual settlement, these minorities maintained international links.[4] In fact, Muslim minorities in interwar Europe were characterized by a continuous flow of people and information. Consequently, they cannot be studied as a local phenomenon, shaped by their relationship with the majority society alone. Rather, their study needs also to take into account influences from the wider Islamic world. Furthermore, the few Muslim communities that did take root in interwar Europe were also entangled with one another.

The following pages address the actual processes of formal organization and institutionalization of Muslim life in western Europe, as it was shaped by both the majority society and the wider Islamic world. The institutionalization of Muslim life, as reflected in the formal organization of Muslim communities, is a classic characteristic of Islamic diaspora communities. In Islamic societies, the creation of distinctive Muslim spaces was essentially unnecessary. In the diaspora, however, the physical and legal place of minorities within the majority society and state as well as the organization of religious life became crucial issues. An institutional framework provided a safe space for religious practices and rituals like feasts, marriages, and funerals.

The "making of Muslim space" will be discussed in three parts.[5] First, the emergence of mosques as *physical religious spaces*; second, the development of associations and organizations as *legal spaces*; and finally, the construction of *communicative and intellectual spaces*, expressed in Islamic newspapers and journals.

The scope of this chapter has limitations. First, it concerns only those individuals who identified themselves as "Muslims." Thus, it draws on a cultural rather than a theological definition of "Muslim." Second, it concentrates primarily on Muslims who organized themselves in Islamic organizations and formed groups identifiably organized by religion within the majority society. "Muslim community" is defined as a network of these individuals (often of diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds) based on their common faith.[6] The following pages will not concentrate on the many Muslims who had not organized themselves in religious groups, or who were not affiliated with any official organization. To be sure, many Muslims were neither organized

in a formal religious community nor were they affiliated with any official organization. Finally, the expression "Muslim diaspora" will be used with reservation since the traditional and perhaps defining characteristic of "diaspora" is a common *geographic* origin. Instead of a common home country, Muslims of interwar western Europe shared a more or less similar *religious* background, at best forming what could be called a "religious diaspora."

II. Origins

Although in the *long durée* Islamic globalization began as early as in the late Middle Ages, in Europe Muslim presence occurred only on the fringes of the continent.[7] In the early eighth century, Muslim soldiers and settlers landed on the Iberian Peninsula and, soon after, along the Mediterranean shores of other parts of Southern Europe. In the early modern period, parts of the Ottoman-ruled Balkans became Muslim. Tatar settlers brought Islam to the Baltic region. In the heartlands of western Europe, though, there was no permanent Muslim presence until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[8] The settlement of Muslim migrants at this time was the result both of structural changes and events. Structurally, Muslim immigration resulted from increasing globalization, especially of the labor market, mobility, and European imperialism. Eventually, major events—most notably World War I and, to a lesser extent, the Russian Revolution and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire—caused increasing migration and led to a period of formal organization of Muslim life in western Europe.

In the late nineteenth century, Muslim migration to western Europe was in large part connected with the empires. Colonial migration brought Muslims to French and British seaports and capitals, whereas Germany experienced relatively insignificant levels of Muslim immigration. Still, the Muslim presence in all three countries was highly atomized. First clusters and networks of individuals emerged only after 1918. In fact, the institutionalization of Islam was an immediate result of the war, which brought thousands of Muslims to Europe. By the early 1920s, more than 10,000 Muslims were living in Britain, especially in Manchester, Liverpool, South Shields, Cardiff, and London.[9] Most of them had South Asian backgrounds, but many also came from the Arab world and Africa. They included industrial workers and seafarers, like the legendary Yemeni and Somali sailors of Cardiff and South Shields, as well as students and merchants. At the same time, more than 100,000 Muslims,

mostly from North Africa, now lived in France, particularly in Marseilles and Paris, and their numbers were growing rapidly.[10] In Germany, a Muslim community emerged prisoner of war camps at Wünsdorf and Zossen, towns close to Berlin, where more than 4,000 Muslim soldiers, who had fought in the Entente armies, were detained.[11] Some of them, especially Tatars from Eastern Europe, stayed after the war. In the interwar period, the numbers of Muslims in Berlin, the centre of Muslim life in Germany, were highly fluid, varying between 1,800 and 3,000.[12] Most were students, merchants, diplomats, refugees, and political activists, coming from all parts of the Muslim world. Even Islamic missionaries—mainly members of the *Ahmadiyya* movement, an Indian Muslim sect—arrived in the German capital, and also in other metropolises of western Europe, during that time. In all three countries, the interwar years became a formative period in regard to the formal organization and institutionalization of Islamic life.

III. Physical Spaces: Building Mosques

The making of physical Muslim places, brick-and-mortar buildings, which were clearly visible to the majority society, began during World War I. In Britain, France, and Germany, the government authorities mostly supported the creation of these Muslim spaces in order to show their gratitude for Muslim support during the war.

In France, the first functional mosque was built by the military government in Nogent-sur-Marne, a small town near Paris, during World War I.[13] Inaugurated by a military imam in April 1916, it was to serve Muslim colonial soldiers who fought in the French army. Around the same time, another centre of Muslim soldiers from northern Africa emerged in the Mediterranean town of Fréjus in Southeast France.[14] The so-called *Camp de Caïs* was not closed after the war, and thousands of Muslims remained there, and in 1928, on the initiative of the Muslim officer Abd al-Qadir Madenba, they built the *Mosquée "Missiri" de Fréjus*. The centre of Muslim life in interwar France, however, became Paris. On July 15, 1926, the French president Gaston Doumergue opened the *Grande Mosquée de Paris*, situated on the Left Bank in the fifth *arrondisement* facing the *Jardin des Plantes*.[15] Again, the mosque was built as a sign of gratitude to Muslims soldiers for their loyalty in the war. It included a library, a *hamam*, study and conference rooms, and a restaurant. The prayer hall of the mosque was only to be used by Muslims, creating an exclusive Islamic space in the French capital. Headed by the charismatic French-Algerian religious

leader and civil servant Si Kaddour Benghabrit, the mosque quickly became a religious and cultural centre of Muslims in Paris. The massive support the project received from the secular French republic, particularly the *Quai d'Orsay*, provoked jokes that Muslims were treated better by the authorities than Christians. Unsurprisingly, the mosque evoked bitter protest from Catholic and right-wing nationalists of the *Action Française*.[16] In the 1930s, finally, a fourth mosque was planned for Marseilles, a town hosting the second largest Muslim population in France at that time.[17] Due to various political struggles, however, the project was not realized before the outbreak of World War II. Only in 1942, for strategic and political reasons, Vichy authorities started a new initiative to build the mosque, but before these plans could become more concrete, Anglo-American troops invaded southern France.

In Germany, the first mosque was opened in the prisoner of war camp in Wünsdorf in July 1915.[18] The imperial government was at pains to provide good conditions and to ensure that the prisoners could follow their religious customs, as German officials hoped to recruit them into their own armies. As in Fréjus, some prisoners, especially Tatars, sometimes joined by their families, remained in the "Muslim village" of the camp after the war. The Wünsdorf mosque served the growing Muslim community in Berlin as a prayer room until it became dilapidated and was closed down in 1924. Afterwards, Muslims used a number of provisional places for worship, as described by the German convert Chalid Albert Seiler-Chan:

> After the closure of the Wünsdorf Mosque, celebratory services were held at various locations in greater Berlin, including Schloß Wannsee, the Humboldthaus, the Orientalische Club, the Hindustanhaus, the Tiergartenhof, as well as on the rooftop of the observatory in Treptow. Spread out before the pious Muslims at this naturally beautiful place lay the world city of Berlin, framed by Treptow Park and by the green squares of fields, bordered by meadows and forests. Nature's book of revelation was opened before the eyes of the praying men and women, and shimmered green in the holy colour of Islam, a carpet of Allah.[19]

Finally, in April 1925, the prayer hall of a new mosque on the *Fehrbelliner Platz* in Berlin's Wilmersdorf district was inaugurated.[20] The mosque was opened in March 1928. Proposed and financed by the Lahori branch of the *Ahmadiyya*, it soon became the centre for all Muslims living in Berlin during the interwar period. In fact, the founders of the mosque tried hard to make sure that the building provided an ecumenical centre for all Muslims in Berlin. Sticking

out in the neighborhood of Wilmersdorf, the German press showed immense interest in the building and its worshippers.[21]

The initial purpose of the Berlin mosque was to support the missionary work of the *Ahmadiyya* in Germany. In the eyes of many who wished to promote Islam in western Europe, Germany seemed to provide the most fertile soil. In May 1922, the *Mohammadan*, a major English-language newspaper in British India, underlined this view in an article entitled "The Need for the Propagation of Islam in Germany":

> Among all the countries of Europe, there does not appear to be as much scope for the propagation of Islam as there is in Germany. She suffered defeat in the War, and now she is seriously thinking of re-building her future course in order to usher in a new era of peace and prosperity. Everyone here is convinced that rebirth is not possible without following true religion. Christianity has met with complete failure. Germany is in a much better position to reach to the core of the veritable reality underlying false and baseless propaganda . . . Germany is the centre of Europe and to achieve success here will have very healthy influence on the neighbouring countries . . . I am writing my observations after studying current events in Germany. And thus I feel that I would be disloyal to Islam if I did not inform the Indian Muslims of this great opportunity for propagating Islam in this country.[22]

The author of the article was the Indian political activist and Islamic scholar Abdus Sattar Kheiri who, together with his older brother, Abdul Jabbar Kheiri, played a leading role in the organization of Muslims in the German capital in the early 1920s. Not members of the *Ahmadiyya*, however, they soon fiercely opposed the foundation of the Wilmersdorf mosque—though without success. Next to the mosque were built a community hall and a residential building for the imam. The first imam became the Indian Maulana Sadr ud-Din, who, prior to his stay in Germany, had worked at the mosque in Woking, near London.[23] In fact, the Woking mosque had served as an example for the Berlin mission.

In Britain, the organization of community life around mosques also began after World War I. The only serious attempt to establish an organized Muslim congregation before the war had been made in Liverpool, where the eccentric British convert, Henry William (Abdullah) Quilliam, had founded a mosque as early as 1891.[24] Dependent on its founder's funding, the Liverpool congregation fell into decline when Quilliam left Britain in 1908. Following World War I, attempts to build mosque communities were more successful.

The most important mosque in interwar Britain became the Shah Jahan Mosque in Woking.[25] The picturesque building on 149 Oriental Road had been constructed in the late nineteenth century by the famous Orientalist and convert Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner, who had run it like a private club. Then, in 1913, the Lahori branch of the *Ahmadiyya* movement, represented by the Indian barrister Khwaja Kamal ud-Din, bought the building and, after the war, built an additional prayer house, and successfully turned the mosque into a centre of religious practice in Britain. In October 1926, the Qadiani branch of the *Ahmadiyya* opened a small prayer house in London—the so-called *Fazl Mosque*. As in Berlin, the congregation of Woking too was at pains to strengthen the nonsectarian character of their mosque. Their vision was to build an organized Muslim community in Britain. Yet, London itself still lacked a major mosque comparable to the Paris mosque. In the British capital, Muslims had to meet for prayer in provisional prayer rooms, like the so-called London Muslim Prayer House on Campden Hill Road. The opening of the *Grande Mosquée de Paris* in 1926, though, encouraged Muslim dignitaries in Britain to promote a similar project in London.[26] Initially, the petitioners were successful. In the same year, as a temporary measure, three houses in the Stepney district were converted into a mosque, fundraising was intensified and, in 1928, even a site in Kensington was purchased. In the end, however, the plans to set up a Kensington mosque never materialized. During World War II, finally, with the support of the Churchill war cabinet, the East London Mosque was inaugurated.[27] Moreover, in 1944, the British government granted land and money for the building of the London Central Mosque in Regent's Park.[28] Both projects were heavily instrumentalized by British war propaganda in the Muslim world. In contrast to Germany and France, no mosques were built in the provinces, although in the port cities of Cardiff and South Shields prayer rooms were established in Arab boarding houses.[29] Here, the Yemeni and Somali sailors were organized under the auspices of the Yemeni religious scholar Shaykh ‘Abd Allah Ali al-Hakimi of the *Alawiyya* Sufi order, who had gained experience in organizing Muslim exile communities in Marseilles and Rotterdam before arriving in Britain in 1936. Al-Hakimi set up *zawiya*s with prayer rooms and bathrooms for ablutions, providing the first properly institutionalized spaces of worship in these port cities.

In western Europe, the newly built mosques and prayer houses became the lynchpins of the new Muslim communities. Their cultural function went far beyond functioning as mere places of worship. They

became cultural centers, connecting Muslim individuals within the European metropolises and port cities. Scholars of Islam in contemporary western European societies have described this diaspora phenomenon as "mosque culture."[30] Whereas the communities in France were religiously (and ethnically) fairly homogenous, the mosques of London and Berlin united Muslims from various religious backgrounds in a kind of ecumenical union.

The building of mosques in western Europe involved a transfer of architectural style, cultural meaning, and iconography.[31] In their urban environment, the buildings clearly stuck out. The Wünsdorf mosque, for instance, was modeled after the famous *Dome of the Rock* in Jerusalem, an Islamic shrine built in the Umayyad style in the centre of the *Al-Aqsa Mosque*, whereas the mosque of Berlin-Wilmersdorf, with its two 32-metre minarets, was clearly influenced by its Indian creators.[32] Designed by a German architect, it was constructed in the style of *Mughal* burial buildings. According to the German convert Albert Seiler-Chan, its architecture was influenced by the *Taj Mahal* of Agra. To ordinary Berlin citizens it soon became known as the "Jewel Box" ("Schmuckkästchen"). The same label would certainly be appropriate to describe the Woking mosque, which was built by the Victorian architect William Isaac Chambers in the style of Indian *koubbas*.[33] The French mosques differed entirely from those in Berlin and London, reflecting the different backgrounds of Muslims in France. The mosque of Fréjus was more or less a replica of the *Great Mosque of Djenné* in Mali, which had been built after the turn of the twentieth century and remains the world's largest mud brick building.[34] Like its African model, the Fréjus mosque had an open interior and was made entirely of red mud brick and mud mortar. Similarly, the Paris mosque was heavily influenced by north African architecture. Again, the mosque was planned and constructed by European architects.[35] It was patterned after the *madrasa*s of Fez, particularly the famous *Bou Inania Madrasa*, built in the fourteenth century. Finally, also the architecture of the planned mosque in Marseilles was intended to reflect the culture of north African Islam.[36]

The mosques became the clearest markers of physical Muslim space in western Europe. Often, their territory was also marked by other Islamic symbols such as flags or banners. In 1934, for instance, on the occasion of the death of the German president Paul von Hindenburg, the local Berlin papers reported that "the green banner of the prophet" with "mourning bands" was flown "at half-mast" on the mosque at the *Fehrbelliner Platz*.[37] In fact, this episode also hints at another dimension of the mosques—their political significance.

The newly founded mosques were frequently transformed into diplomatic places. From the European perspective, they were a symbol of the worldwide Muslim community, representing Islam in Germany, Britain, and France. As imaginative cultural bridges to the Muslim world, European governments were eager to make political use of the buildings. Diplomats, heads of state, and religious dignitaries from across the Muslim world all made a point of attending the mosques during their visits to the West. During the interwar period, the visitors to the Berlin mosque included the princes of Hyderabad, the Amir of Afghanistan, the Lebanese Druze prince Shakib Arslan, and the Aga Khan who visited Berlin in his role as the president of the League of Nations in 1937.[38] A year earlier, in 1936, the Nazi regime had made extensive use of the Wilmersdorf mosque during the Olympic Games, when the building was used to welcome Muslim athletes. And when the Grande Mosquée opened in Paris, the French president received Sultan Yusef of Morocco.[39] Delegations from the sultan of Morocco, the maharaja of Kapurthala, Istanbul, and Angora were among the guests present during the festivities that surrounded the laying of the foundation stone in 1922.[40] In 1930, the Albanian ambassador Ilyas Vrioni used the Paris Mosque as a stage to proclaim the secularist Zogist state as "a fortress of the Islamic traditions in Europe."[41] In Woking, the Aga Khan, Amir Faisal of Saudi Arabia, King Faruq of Egypt, and chiefs from northern Nigeria attended services at the mosque.[42] The mosques became part of the international diplomatic stage. They became political buildings, buildings that were ultimately used in propaganda efforts during World War II by both Axis and Allies.[43]

Although they were the most important physical markers of Islam, mosques were not the only Muslim buildings constructed in interwar western Europe. In March 1935, sponsored by the state, a Muslim hospital, *L'Hôpital Franco-Musulman* (since 1978, *Hôpital Avicenne*) opened in Bobigny, near Paris.[44] It included a prayer room and, from 1937, an adjoining Islamic cemetery. Burial places, in fact, became another major physical sign of Muslim presence in interwar western Europe. Like mosques, Islamic graveyards were highly symbolic places.[45] Characterized by distinctively shaped and decorated gravestones, which were directed towards Mecca, they provided not only a territory for burial, but also for funerary rites and rituals of remembrance. Prior to World War I, Muslims who died in France, Germany, or Britain were usually buried in Christian graveyards. Between 1914 and 1918, Islamic cemeteries for Muslim soldiers were laid out in all three countries. In France, a number of Muslim graveyards were founded in the Parisian area, in Bagneux, Pantin, Ivry, and one close to the newly

constructed mosque in Nogent-sur-Marne.[46] On the burial place site in Nogent-sur-Marne a *koubba*, inscribed with two verses from the Qur'an (sura 3, verse 169 and 170), was built in 1919.[47] The founding of the Islamic site in Nogent-sur-Marne was a direct response to the construction of the German mosque in the Wünsdorf prisoner camp. The camps in Wünsdorf and Zossen, in fact, also included a Muslim cemetery.[48] Germany's first Muslim graveyard, though, had already opened in 1866 in Berlin's Neukölln district, as a gesture from the German emperor to Constantinople, allowing the Ottoman sultan to bury his diplomats in Prussia.[49] Yet, it was not until the interwar period that the graveyard became more widely used by Muslims, and, between 1921 and 1922, a German architect, assigned by the Turkish embassy in Berlin, even constructed a small prayerhouse on the site. As in France and Germany, British authorities also established an Islamic cemetery during World War I.[50] Intended for the burial of colonial soldiers, it was laid out in close proximity to the Woking mosque. In 1937, finally, a year after his arrival in Britain, al-Hakimi managed to convince the local authorities to create a Muslim section in Harton cemetery in South Shields.[51]

IV. Legal Spaces: Establishing Associations and Organizations

Muslim life in interwar Europe was not only characterized by mosque-building projects, but also by the emergence of associations, clubs, and unions that organized Muslims according to membership, statutes, rules, and hierarchies. This was a new phenomenon, one that had not existed before 1914. The creation of these legal spaces within the majority society had at least two functions. First, formal organizations were used to represent Muslims and to defend their causes in the non-Muslim state. Moreover, the organizational framework held the community together, generating a cultural island, a space for Muslim religious practice, debate, and sociability. Generally, Muslims in non-Muslim societies tended to be more organized than in Muslim countries. We can therefore hardly describe the making of Islamic legal spaces in simple terms of cultural transfer. Islamic organizations were hybrid constructs, combining Islamic purposes with European forms of organization. This phenomenon was most prevalent in Germany, where German *Vereinskultur* fused with Islam. Most Muslim groups there were registered as "eingetragener Verein," a standard designation in the German legal framework. Even a Berlin Sufi group became registered as *Sufi Order e.V.*

In the German capital, the "Islamic Community of Berlin" (*Islamische Gemeinde zu Berlin e.V.*), founded by Abdul Jabbar Kheiri in April 1922, became an early centre of organized Muslim life.[52] In 1927, the community opened the "Islam Institute of Berlin" (*Islam Institut zu Berlin*).[53] Attempts by diplomats of the embassies from several Muslim countries to organize Berlin's Muslims within a "Society for Islamic Worship" (*Verein für Islamische Gottesverehrung*), led by the former Ottoman officer Zeki Kiram, were unsuccessful.[54] In the mid-1920s, the *Ahmadiyya* mission established the "Muslim Community" (*Moslemische Gemeinschaft*), later renamed "German-Muslim Society" (*Deutsch-Moslemische Gesellschaft*), which was the official organization of the Wilmersdorf mosque.[55] Although it was met with suspicion by some of Berlin's Muslims, especially the group around the Kheiri brothers, the "German-Muslim Society" largely succeeded in uniting Muslims from various backgrounds in an ecumenical union. Nevertheless, tensions between the "Islamic Community of Berlin" and the "German-Muslim Society" remained unresolved. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, various smaller Muslim groups also founded organizations and associations, which, however, often did not comprise more than a dozen members, such as the Berlin Sufi group (*Sufi Orden e.V.*), the "Society for the Support of Muslim Students from Russia" (*Verein zur Unterstützung der muslimischen Studenten aus Rußland*) and the Islamic student union *Islamia Studentenvereinigung* of the Frederick William University (today Humboldt University).[56] Given that the Muslim community in Germany was smaller by far than that in France or Britain, the extent of the formal organization of Islam in Germany is remarkable. The year 1933 had no significant effect on the Islamic associations. Although they were now closely monitored by the Nazi regime, the organizations were not restricted.[57] In France, by comparison, Muslims organized themselves into fewer associations, most notably the "Islamic Institute" (*Institut Musulman*), which was opened by Benghabrit in a Paris apartment close to the Place de la Concorde during World War I, and a number of smaller societies that had emerged since the beginning of the century, such as the Paris-based *Fraternité Musulmane*.[58] In the 1930s, French authorities anxiously observed the members of the Islamic reformist *Association des Oulémas Musulmans Algériens*, who had founded educational and discussion groups.[59] In Britain, too, there was no all-encompassing association like the "German-Muslim Society."[60] Shortly after the outbreak of World War I, the "British Muslim Society" was set up under the patronage of Lord Headley, an influential British convert. Headley cooperated closely with the Woking mission, conferring

a great deal of prestige on the *Ahmadiyya* institution. After World War I, other influential associations emerged: the "Islamic Society," led by the Cambridge-educated barrister Maulvi Abdul Majid, and the "Western Islamic Association," headed by the British convert Khalid Sheldrake. Both had links to the Woking mosque, but also branched out to the British seaports. Moreover, smaller groups, such as the "Muslim Literary Society" were established. In the 1930s, Shaykh 'Abd Allah Ali al-Hakimi institutionalized his *Alawiyya* Sufi *zawiya*s as "Zaouia Islamia Allawouia Religious Society of the United Kingdom."

It is remarkable that for so many exile groups, religion remained a key notion of identification. Some, of course, joined or grouped themselves into nonreligious organizations, which were often nationalist or organized along ethnic lines and at times even openly dismissed religion. In Britain, for instance, national associations such as the Somali Club, the Arab Club, the Indian Workers Association or the All-India Union of Seamen included Muslim members, who were not necessarily organized in religious organizations. On the occasion of the inauguration of the Wilmersdorf mosque in Berlin, a group of Egyptian nationalists distributed pamphlets denouncing the mosque as a "nest of spies" before they were arrested by the Berlin police.[61] Kemalist groups in the German capital clashed with Muslims of the "Islamic Community of Berlin" following the abolishment of the caliphate in March 1924.[62] In Paris, the nationalist Algerian *L'Étoile Nord-Africaine* vehemently criticized the foundation of the Grand Mosquée as an act of French colonial propaganda, and denounced the lavish inauguration as "mosquée-réclame."[63] Still, compared with national organizations, the number of religious associations that were founded in interwar western Europe is striking.

Eventually, several of these local Muslim organizations became translocally connected. Moreover, French, British, and German Muslim associations were often well-embedded within transnational Islamic organizations that had been emerging since the late nineteenth century. The *Ahmadiyya* branches in India, for example, influenced the activities of the missions in both Woking and Berlin-Wilmersdorf. In 1932, a Berlin section of the Islamic World Congress was opened.[64] Around the same time, a vehement controversy erupted among German and Italian Muslim students over the question whether the centre of the European Muslim Student League should be located in Berlin or in Rome. The most important transnational event for European Muslims during that period was certainly the *European Muslim Congress*, held in Geneva in August 1935, where Muslim

activists from various western European countries promoted a cosmopolitan sense of Muslim solidarity.[65] Organized by the Geneva-based Muslim émigré circle around Shakib Arslan, the congress was the first attempt to gather under one roof these local activists from across the continent.

Overall, German, French, and British authorities dealt quite benevolently with Muslim attempts to organize themselves in associations. In the eyes of many European officials, dealing with the Muslim minority could have direct influence on their country's relationship with the wider Muslim world. European governments regularly took foreign policy implications into consideration when dealing with their Muslim minorities. Consequently, policies toward the Muslim minorities were made not only at the municipal, but often even at a national level, at the foreign ministries and colonial offices. It was the *Quai d'Orsay*, the *Auswärtiges Amt*, the Colonial Office and the India Office, rather than the offices of the interiors, which were involved in issues regarding the Muslim organizations. The files on the "Islamic world" of the German Foreign Office, for instance, contain significant numbers of documents on the Muslim community in Berlin.[66] Overall, the state played a major role in shaping Muslim communities in interwar western Europe, granting permission for buildings and associations, and at times even supporting them financially.

V. Communicative and Intellectual Spaces: Creating Journals and a Muslim Public

Finally, the interwar period witnessed the spread of Islamic newspapers and journals throughout western Europe. Through them, Muslims attempted to create an Islamic public within their majority societies and connect Muslim individuals within imagined and now fomenting Muslim exile communities. In fact, journals were perceived to be crucial instruments of community building by their publishers.

In Britain, two Muslim journals had already been in circulation in the 1890s—the weekly *The Crescent* (*1893) and the monthly *The Islamic World* (*1893), both founded by William Quilliam's Liverpool congregation.[67] During the interwar period, a number of new papers appeared, among them the widely read *Islamic Review* (*1913), published by the Woking mission, and smaller publications like the so-called *Sufi Magazine* (*1915).[68] The Islamic press also flourished in the French capital, exemplified, for instance, by the journals *France-Islam: Revue Mensuelle Illustrée des Pays de l'Orient et de l'Islam* (*1923), *Al-Islam: Journal d'Information et d'Éducation*

(*1930) and *Chroniques Brèves: Informations Mensuelles de la Revue en Terre d'Islam* (*1938). During World War I, the French government had authorized a French Muslim paper, as had the Germans, who distributed the journals *Al-Jihad* (Holy War) (*1915) and *Jaridat al-Asara Mata Halbmondlager* (Camp Paper of the Halbmondlager) (*1916) among its Muslim prisoners of war.[69] Most Muslim papers in the 1920s and 1930s were published in Berlin, an intellectual hub of European Islam.[70] In fact, more than a dozen periodicals explicitly labeled "Islamic" were created during that time, although most of them were relatively short-lived. They included not only *Islam: Ein Wegweiser zur Rettung und zum Wiederaufbau* (*1922) of Kheiri's "Islamic Community of Berlin" and the famous *Die Moslemische Revue* (*1924) of the *Ahmadiyya* mission, but also titles like *Liwa al-Islam* (Banner of Islam) (*1921), *Azadi Sharq* (Freedom of the East) (*1921), *Die Islamische Gegenwart: Monatszeitschrift für die Zeitgeschichte des Islam* (*1927), *Islam-Echo* (*1927), and the Muslim student journal *Der Islamische Student* (*1927). For a short period of time, Muslims in Berlin even published the English-language papers *The Crescent: The Only Muslim Organ in Europe* (*1923) and *The Muslim Standard* (*1924), which distinctly targeted a European Muslim audience.

According to the pretensions and conceptions of their makers, the journals were intended to reach a readership beyond the orbit of local communities, connecting Muslims from all over western Europe and linking them to the heartlands of the Islamic world. In many respects, the journals reflected an emerging Islamic internationalism, which was particularly promoted by Muslims in Europe. Indeed, among diaspora groups, the imagined global *umma* seemed to be more important as a reference point than it was in the Islamic world itself. This is reflected in the journals' languages, their subjects, their contributors, and their distribution. Most of them were published in European—some in non-European—languages. A number of papers contained articles in different languages. They frequently discussed global Muslim issues, such as the caliphate question, pan-Islamic anti-imperialism, or the Palestine conflict. Writers from all parts of the world contributed. For instance, authors of *Die Moslemische Revue* included international religious figures like Muhammad Ali of Lahore; similarly, the imam of the Berlin mosque, Maulana Sadr-ud-Din, also wrote in London's *Islamic Review*. Both publications advertised in each other. Finally, many of these journals were available in various European metropolises and beyond. The German publications *Liwa al-Islam* and *Azadi Sharq* were distributed in India, Iran, Egypt, Dubai, Qatar, Oman, and the Najd.[71]

Already, at the turn of the century, the first British-Islamic paper *The Crescent* had subscribers in India, Turkey, China, the United States, Egypt, Switzerland, Morocco, West Africa, Germany, New Zealand, Afghanistan, Iran, Australia, Syria, and Canada.[72] Clearly, the history of these new local religious minorities was also a global history.

Conclusion

The emergence of Muslim minority communities in western Europe in the interwar years continues to be a fruitful field of historical inquiry. Although the previous pages have focused on the minorities of France, German, and Britain, future research may examine the history of Muslim communities in other parts of interwar western Europe. Although in countries like Italy, Belgium, or the Netherlands the first mosques were only built after World War II, they were still home to considerable Muslim minorities before the war.[73] In the successor states of the Danube Monarchy, Islam had already been institutionalized long before World War I. Ultimately, the further study of the history of these Muslim minorities will contribute more generally to our understanding of diaspora communities, cross-cultural migration, and religious minorities in the global age.

Notes

1. The body of literature on Muslim minorities in contemporary Europe is vast. A comprehensive overview is given by Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, "The Globalisation of Islam: The Return of Muslims to the West," in *The Oxford History of Islam,* ed. John L. Esposito (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 601–641. One of the first comparative introductions is Jørgen S. Nielsen, *Muslims in Western Europe* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992); see also Jørgen S. Nielsen, *Towards a European Islam* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999); Bernard Lewis and Dominique Schnapper, *Muslims in Europe* (London and New York: Pinter, 1994); Jan Rath, et al., *Western Europe and its Islam* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2001); Iftikhar H. Malik, *Islam and Modernity: Muslims in Europe and the United States* (London: Pluto, 2004); and Joel S. Fetzer and J. Christopher Soper, *Muslims and the State in Britain, France and Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Notable studies on Britain are Mohammad S. Reza, *Islam in Britain: Past, Present and the Future* (Leicester: Volcano, 1991); Philip Lewis, *Islamic Britain: Religion, Politics and Identity among British Muslims* (London: IB Tauris, 1994); Daniele Joly, *Britannia's Crescent: Making a Place*

for Muslims in British Society (Aldershot, UK: Avebury, 1995); Peter E. Hopkins, *Muslims in Britain: Race, Place and Identities* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009); and Sophie Gilliat-Ray, *Muslims in Britain: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); on France, see Annie Krieger-Krynicki, *Les Musulmans en France: Religion et Culture* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1985); Gilles Kepel, *Le Banlieues de l'Islam* (Paris: Seuil, 1987); Jocelyne Cesari, *Être Musulman en France: Associations, Militants et Mosquées* (Paris: Karthala, 1994); on Germany, see Ursula Spuler-Stegemann, *Muslime in Deutschland: Nebeneinander oder Miteinander?* (Freiburg: Herder, 1998); Alacacioglu Hasan, *Deutsche Heimat Islam* (Munich: Waxmann, 2000); and Faruk Şen and Hayrettin Aydin, *Islam in Deutschland* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2002). For the early literature in the field, see also Felice Dassetto and Yves Conrad, *Muslims in Western Europe: An Annotated Bibliography* (Paris: Harmattan, 1996).

2. The literature on the history of Muslim minorities in western Europe includes, on Britain: Humayun Ansari, *The Infidel Within: Muslims in Britain since 1800* (London: Hurst, 2004); Humayun Ansari, ed., *The Making of the East London Mosque, 1910–1951* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Humayun Ansari, "The Woking Mosque: A Case Study of Muslim Engagement with British Society since 1889," *Immigrants and Minorities* 21.3 (2002), 1–24; Humayun Ansari, "Processes of Institutionalization of Islam in England and Wales, 1830s–1930s," in *Muslims in Europe: From Margin to the Centre*, ed. Jamal Malik (Münster: Lit, 2004), 35–48; Humayun Ansari, "'Burying the Dead': Making Muslim Space in Britain," *Historical Research* 80 (2007), 545–566; Richard Lawless, "Religion and Politics among Arab Seafarers in Britain in the Early Twentieth Century," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 5.1 (1994), 35–56; A. L. Tibawi, "History of the London Central Mosque and of the Islamic Cultural Centre 1910–1980," *Die Welt des Islams* 21.1–4 (1981), 192–208; Ron Geaves, *Islam in Victorian Britain: The Life and Times of Abdullah Quilliam* (Leicester: Kube, 2010); Muhammad Mumtaz Ali, *The Muslim Community in Britain: An Historical Account* (Kelana Jaya, Malaysia: Pelanduk, 1996); and M. M. Ally, *History of Muslims in Britain 1850–1980* (MA dissertation, Birmingham, 1981). On Germany, see Bernd Bauknecht, *Muslime in Deutschland von 1920 bis 1945* (Cologne, Germany: Teiresias, 2001); M. Salim Abdullah, *Die Geschichte des Islams in Deutschland* (Graz: Styria, 1981); M. Salim Abdullah, *Und gab ihnen sein Königswort: Berlin-Preußen-Bundesrepublik: Ein Abriß der Geschichte der islamischen Minderheit in Deutschland* (Altenberge, Germany: Cis, 1987); Gerhard Höpp, *Muslime in der Mark: Als Kriegsgefangene und Internierte in Wünsdorf und Zossen, 1914–1924* (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 1997); Gerhard Höpp, "Muslime in Märkischer Heide: Die Wünsdorfer Moschee,

1915 bis 1924," *Moslemische Revue* 1 (1989), 21–28; Gerhard Höpp, "Die Wünsdorfer Moschee: Eine Episode Islamischen Lebens in Deutschland, 1915–1930," *Die Welt des Islams* 36.2 (1996), 204–218; Gerhard Höpp, "Zwischen Moschee und Demonstration: Muslime in Berlin, 1920–1930," *Moslemische Revue* 3 (1990), 135–146; 4 (1990), 230–238; and 1 (1991), 13–19; Gerhard Höpp, "Muslime unterm Hakenkreuz: Zur Entstehung des Islamischen Zentralinstituts zu Berlin e.V.," *Moslemische Revue* 1 (1994), 16–27; and Britta Richter, "Islam im Deutschland der Zwischenkriegsjahre," *Zeitschrift für Türkeistudien* 2 (1996), 257–266. On France: Alain Boyer, *L'Institut Musulman de la Mosquée de Paris* (Paris: Cheam, 1992); Michel Renard, "Aperçu sur l'Histoire de l'Islam à Marseille, 1813–1962: Pratiques Religieuses et Encadrement des Nord-Africains," *Outre-Mers* 90.340–341 (2003): 269–296; Michel Renard, "Gratitude, Contrôle, Accompagnement: Le Traitement du Religieux Islamique en Métropole (1914–1950)," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent* 83 (2004): 54–69; Michel Renard, "Les Débuts de la Présence Musulmane en France et son Encadrement," in *Histoire de l'Islam et des Musulmans en France du Moyen Age à Nos Jours*, ed. Mohammed Arkoun (Paris: Albin Michel, 2006), 712–740; Pascal le Pautremat, *La Politique Musulmane de la France au XXe Siècle: De l'Hexagone aux Terres d'Islam* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2003), 277–308 and 327–342; Sadek Sellam, *La France et Ses Musulmans: Un Siècle de Politique Musulmane (1895–2005)* (Paris: Fayard, 2006), esp. 177–184; and Naomi Davidson, *Only Muslim: Embodying Islam in Twentieth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012), 36–85. A landmark volume is Nathalie Clayer and Eric Germain, eds., *Islam in Inter-War Europe* (London: Hurst, 2008), especially the introduction and the articles on Muslim minorities in western Europe by Eric Germain, Sebastian Cwiklinski, Humayun Ansari, and Richard Lawless.

3. Among the most notable historical studies of ethnic and national minorities are Neil MacMaster, *Colonial Migrants and Racism: Algerians in France, 1900–62* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997); Paul A. Silverstein, *Algeria in France: Transpolitics, Race, and Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004); Fred Halliday, *Arabs in Exile: Yemeni Migrants in Urban Britain* (London: IB Tauris, 1992) (republished in 2010 as *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community*); Idem, "The *Millet* of Manchester: Arab Merchants and Cotton Trade," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 19.2 (1992), 159–176; Richard I. Lawless, *From Ta'izz to Tyneside: An Arab Community in the North-East of England during the Early Twentieth Century* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1995); David Byrne, "Class, Race and Nation: The Politics of the 'Arab Issue' in South Shields 1919–39," in *Ethnic Labour and British Imperial Trade: A History of Ethnic Seafarers*

in the UK, ed. Diane Frost (London: Routledge, 1995), 89–103; Kathleen Hunter, *History of Pakistanis in Britain* (Norwich: Page Bros, 1963); Rozina Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes: Indians in Britain, 1700–1947* (London: Pluto, 1986); Rozina Visram, *Asians in Britain: 400 Years of History* (London: Pluto, 2002); Shompa Lahiri, *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian Encounters, Race and Identity, 1880–1930* (London: Routledge, 2000); Denis Wright, *The Persians amongst the English: Episodes in Anglo-Persian History* (London: IB Tauris, 1985); Kris Manjapra, *The Mirrored World: Cosmopolitan Encounter between Indian Anti-Colonial Intellectuals and German Radicals, 1905–1939* (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2007); Gerhard Höpp, "Arabs in Berlin: The Political and Journalistic Activities of Arab Anti-Colonialists in the Capital of the Reich, 1918–1928," *Asia, Africa, Latin America*, Special Issue 18 (1986), 94–110; Iskander Gilyazov, "Die Wolgatataren und Deutschland im ersten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts," in *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, eds. Michael Kemper et al. (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1996–1998), vol. 2, 335–353; and Ingeborg Böer, Ruth Haerkötter, and Petra Kappert, eds., *Türken in Berlin, 1871–1945: Eine Metropole in den Erinnerungen osmanischer und türkischer Zeitzeugen* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002).

4. On Islamic networks in contemporary Europe, see articles in Stefano Allievi and Jørgen S. Nielsen, eds., *Muslim Networks and Transnational Communities in and across Europe* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2003); on transnational and global interrelations of religious communities in general, see articles in Susanne Hoeber Rudolph and James P. Piscatori, eds., *Transnational Religion and Fading States* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1997).
5. Barbara Daly Metcalf, ed., *Making Muslim Space in North America and Europe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).
6. Although a problematic concept, the following pages will refer to "community." Amitai Etzioni, "Creating Good Communities and Good Societies," *Contemporary Sociology* 29.1 (2000), 188–195; and Steven Brint, "Gemeinschaft Revisited: A Critique and Reconstruction of the Community Concept," *Sociological Theory* 19.1 (2001), 1–23 provide critical examinations of the concept. E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1963) remains the seminal historical study of the cultural construction of community.
7. Amira K. Bennison, "Muslim Universalism and Western globalisation," in *Globalization in World History,* ed. A. G. Hopkins (London: W. W. Norton, 2002), 74–97; and Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam, and World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 97–243; see also Everett Jenkins Jr., *The Muslim Diaspora: A Comprehensive*

Reference to the Spread of Islam in Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas 1500–1799 (New York: Mcfarland, 2000).

8. On the early presence of individuals and small groups, see Ian Coller, *Arab France: Islam and the Making of Modern Europe, 1798–1831* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Nabil Matar and Gerald MacLean, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558–1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); and, more generally on Europe's early encounters with Islam, Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Franco Cardini, *Europe and Islam* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 2001); and Jack Goody, *Islam in Europe* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 2004).
9. Ansari, *Infidel Within*, 24–51; on Muslims in Liverpool, Manchester, Cardiff, and South Shields, see also Geaves, *Islam in Victorian Britain*; Halliday, *Britain's First Muslims*; Halliday, "The *Millet* of Manchester"; Lawless, *From Ta'izz to Tyneside*; Lawless, "Religion and Politics"; Lawless, "Islam in the Service of Social Control: The Case of Arab Seamen in Britain during the Inter-War Years," in *Islam*, eds. Clayer and Germain, 229–252; and Byrne, "Class, Race and Nation."
10. It is estimated that more than 100,000 Algerians were living in France by 1930, in addition to the many thousands of Tunisians, Moroccans, and Muslims from other parts of the French Empire, see Gérard Noiriel, *Immigration, Antisémitisme et Racisme en France (XIXe-XXe Siècle): Discours Publics, Humiliations Privées* (Paris: Fayard, 2009), 313.
11. Höpp, *Muslime in der Mark*, on the numbers, see 44–45; see also articles in Gerhard Höpp, ed., *Fremde Erfahrungen: Asiaten und Afrikaner in Deutschland, Österreich und in der Schweiz bis 1945* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1996); and Gerhard Höpp and Brigitte Reinwald, eds., *Fremdeinsätze: Afrikaner und Asiaten in Europäischen Kriegen 1914–1945* (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 2000); for a summary, see Höpp, "*Muslime* in *Märkischer Heide*"; Höpp, "Die Wünsdorfer Moschee"; and Abdullah, *Geschichte des Islams*, 23–27.
12. For the 1920s, see Höpp, "Zwischen Moschee und Demonstration" I, 136; for the 1930s, see M. Salim Abdullah, "Zwischen Anbiederung und Friedenspredigt," *Moslemische Revue* 3 (1999): 129–138, 137.
13. Renard, "Présence Musulmane," 716–717; see also Belkacem Recham, *Les Musulmans Algériens dans l'Armée Française (1919–1945)* (Paris: Harmattan, 1996); and Belkacem Recham, "Les Musulmans dans l'Armée Française, 1900–1945," in *Histoire de l'Islam*, ed. Arkoun, 742–761.
14. Renard, "Présence Musulmane," 730–731.
15. Renard, "Présence Musulmane," 718–730; Michel Renard, "Gratitude, Contrôle, Accompagnement"; Boyer, *L'Institut Musulman de la Mosquée de Paris*, 19–33; Pautremat, *La Politique Musulmane de la France au XXe Siècle*, 333–342; Sellam, *La France et Ses Musulmans*,

178–184; and Davidson, *Only Muslim*, 36–61; for a contemporary account, see René Weiss, *Réception à l'Hôtel de Ville de Sa Majesté Moulay Youssef, Sultan du Maroc: Inauguration de l'Institut Musulman et de la Mosquée* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1927). Hamza Ben Driss Ottmani, *Kaddour Benghabrit: Un Maghrébin hors du Commun* (Rabat: Marsam, 2010) provides a sympathetic account of the mosque's rector.

16. Renard, "Présence Musulmane," 727–728.
17. Renard, "Présence Musulmane," 732–734; and Renard, "Aperçu sur l'Histoire de l'Islam à Marseille," 281–286.
18. Höpp, *Muslime in der Mark*, esp. 113–129; and the literature in note 11.
19. Chalid-Albert Seiler-Chan, "Der Islam in Berlin und Anderwärts im Deutschen Reiche," *Moslemische Revue* 2–3 (1934): 47–56; and 4 (1934), 112–119, quote from part II, 114–115.
20. Bauknecht, *Muslime in Deutschland*, 59–65; Höpp, "Zwischen Moschee und Demonstration," I, 141–146; II, 230–232; and Abdullah, *Geschichte des Islams*, 28–34; on the wider context of the *Ahmadiyya Lahore* in Europe, see Eric Germain, "The First Muslim Missions on a European Scale: Ahmadi-Lahori Networks in the Inter-War Period," in *Islam*, eds. Clayer and Germain, 89–118.
21. An overview of German press articles on Islam can be gained in the collections of the *Reichslandbund Pressearchiv*, stored in the German Federal National Archives in Berlin-Lichterfelde (BA), R8034 II/2787 (Kirchen und Sekten, 1915–1919); R8034 II/2788 (Kirchen und Sekten, 1919–1931); R8034 II/2789 (Kirchen und Sekten, 1931–1935); and R8034 II/2790 (Kirchen und Sekten, 1935–1944).
22. Quoted in Manfred Backhausen, *Die Lahore-Ahmadiyya-Bewegung in Europa: Geschichte, Gegenwart und Zukunft der als 'Lahore-Ahmadiyya-Bewegung zur Verbreitung islamischen Wissens' bekannten internationalen islamischen Gemeinschaft* (Lahore and Wembley, UK: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Lahore Publication, 2008), 51–52; see also Nasir Ahmad, *A Brief History of the Berlin Muslim Mission (Germany) (1922–1988)* (n.p., 2004); on the Kheiri brothers, see Heike Liebau, "The Kheiri Brothers and the Question of World Order after World War I," *Orient Bulletin: History and Cultures in Asia, the Middle East and Africa* (December 13, 2007): 3–4; and Majid Hayat Siddiqi, "Bluff, Doubt and Fear: The Kheiri Brothers and the Colonial State, 1904–1945," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 24.3 (1987): 233–263.
23. Bauknecht, *Muslime in Deutschland*, 64.
24. Ansari, *Infidel Within*, 82–84, 121–126; and Geaves, *Islam in Victorian Britain*, esp. 59–130.
25. Ansari, *Infidel Within*, 126–134; and Ansari, "The Woking Mosque," 6–13; H. Ansari, "Making Transnational Connections: Muslim Networks in Early Twentieth-Century Britain," in *Islam*, eds. Clayer

and Germain, 31–63; and, on the wider context, Germain, "The First Muslim Missions."

26. Ansari, *Infidel Within*, 134; Ansari, "Introduction," in Ansari, *East London Mosque*, 1–80; and Tibawi, "London Central Mosque."
27. Ansari, ed., *East London Mosque*.
28. Tibawi, "London Central Mosque."
29. Ansari, *Infidel Within*, 135–143; Lawless, *From Ta'izz to Tyneside*, esp. 207–244; Lawless, "Religion and Politics"; Lawless, "Islam in the Service of Social Control"; and Halliday, *Britain's First Muslims*, 27–39, 137–139.
30. Haddad, "The Globalisation of Islam," 615–620.
31. Christian Welzbacher, *Euroislam-Architektur: Neue Moscheen des Abendlandes* (Amsterdam: Sun Architecture, 2008).
32. On the Wünsdorf mosque, see Martin Gussone, "Die Moschee im Wünsdorfer Halbmondlager: Die symbolische Inbesitznahme einer Architektonischen Ikone" (Paper, 3rd Colloquium of the Ernst-Herzfeld-Gesellschaft, Vienna, 2007); on the Wilmersdorf mosque, see Seiler-Chan, "Der Islam in Berlin," II, 115–116.
33. Mark Crinson, "The Mosque and the Metropolis," in *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography*, eds. Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 79–102, 81–82; and S. Brown, "The Shah Jahan Mosque, Woking: An Unexpected Gem," *Conservation Bulletin* 46 (2004), 32–34.
34. Renard, "Présence Musulmane," 731.
35. Renard, "Présence Musulmane," 723.
36. Renard, "Présence Musulmane," 734.
37. Quoted in Bauknecht, *Muslime in Deutschland*, 87.
38. Bauknecht, *Muslime in Deutschland,* 69.
39. Renard, "Présence Musulmane," 724.
40. Renard, "Présence Musulmane," 723–724.
41. Quoted in Nathalie Clayer, "Behind the Veil: The Reform of Islam in Inter-War Albania or the Search for a 'Modern' and 'European' Islam," in *Islam,* eds. Clayer and Germain, 128–155, 151.
42. Ansari, *Infidel Within*, 133.
43. David Motadel, "Germany's Policy towards Islam, 1941–1945" (PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2010).
44. Jalila Sbai, "L'Hôpital Franco-Musulman," in *Histoire de l'Islam*, ed. Arkoun, 741; see also Katia Kukawka and Sophie Daynes, eds., *L'Hôpital Avicenne, 1935–2005: Une Histoire sans Frontières* (Paris: Musée de l'Assistance Publique-Hôpitaux de Paris, 2005); Josiane Chevillard-Vabre, "Histoire de l'Hôpital Franco-Musulman" (MA dissertation, Paris VI, 1982); and Marie-Ange d'Adler, *Le Cimetière Musulman de Bobigny: Lieu de Mémoire d'un Siècle d'Immigration* (Paris: Autrement, 2005).
45. G. Jonker, "The Knife's Edge: Muslim Burial in the Diaspora," *Mortality* 1.1 (1996), 27–43.

46. Renard, "Présence Musulmane," 715–716.
47. Renard, "Présence Musulmane," 716–717.
48. Höpp, *Muslime in der Mark*, 131–137.
49. Gerhard Höpp and Gerdien Jonker, eds., *In fremder Erde: Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart der Islamischen Bestattung in Deutschland* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1996); and Karl-Robert Schütze, *Von den Befreiungskriegen bis zum Ende der Wehrmacht: Die Geschichte des Garnisonfriedhofs am Rande der Hasenheide in Berlin-Neukölln* (Berlin: Bezirksamt Neukölln, 1986).
50. Ansari, *Infidel Within*, 128; and Ansari, "Burying the Dead", 559–561.
51. Ansari, *Infidel Within*, 141; Ansari, '"Burying the Dead", 557–558; and Lawless, *From Ta'izz to Tyneside*, 209–212.
52. On the Muslim Community in Berlin, see Municipal Archive (Landesarchiv) Berlin (LArchB), B Rep. 042 (Amtsgericht Charlottenburg), No. 26590 (Islamische Gemeinde zu Berlin, 1922–1955); and A Pr. Br. Rep 030–04 (Polizeipräsidium Berlin, Vereine), No. 513 (Islamische Gemeinde zu Berlin, 1936); see also Bauknecht, *Muslime in Deutschland*, 58–59, 107–117.
53. On the Islam Institute, see LArchB, A Pr. Br. Rep 030–04 (Polizeipräsidium Berlin, Vereine), No. 2314 (Islam-Institut, 1939–1940); and LArchB, A Pr. Br. Rep. 030–04 (Polizeipräsidium Berlin, Vereine), No. 2840 (Islamisches Zentral-Institut zu Berlin).
54. Höpp, "Zwischen Moschee und Demonstration," I.140; on Zeki Kiram, see also Umar Ryad, "From an Officer in the Ottoman Army to a Muslim Publicist and Armament Agent in Berlin: Zekî Hishmat Kirâm (1886–1946)," *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 63.3–4 (2006), 235–268.
55. On the German-Muslim Society, see LArchB, A Pr. Br. Rep. 030–04 (Polizeipräsidium Berlin, Vereine), No. 1350 (Deutsch-Muslimische Gesellschaft zur Förderung des Islam durch Aufklärungsarbeiten, 1936–1939); see also the file of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishat-i-Islam, in the German Federal National Archives in Berlin-Lichterfelde (BA), R87/2080.
56. On the Sufi Society of Berlin, see LArchB, B Rep. 042 (Amtsgericht Charlottenburg), No. 9021 (Sufi-Bewegung Berlin, 1925–1935); see also Bauknecht, *Muslime in Deutschland*, 94–95; on the Islamic student union, see Höpp, "Zwischen Moschee und Demonstration," II, 234–235.
57. The monitoring reports of the SS are stored in BA, R58/5955 (SS Reichssicherheitshauptamt, Beobachtung der islamischen Gemeinde in Berlin, 1933–1937) and BA, R58/5633 (SS Reichssicherheitshauptamt, Beobachtungen der Tätigkeit nichtchristlicher Religionsgemeinschaften, 1939–1944).
58. Renard, "Présence Musulmane," 718–721.
59. Renard, "Présence Musulmane," 737–740.

60. Ansari, *Infidel Within*, 130–143; Ansari, "Making Transnational Connections", 49–50, 58–59; Lawless, *From Ta'izz to Tyneside*, 219; Lawless, "Religion and Politics"; Lawless, "Islam in the Service of Social Control," 237–250; and Halliday, *Britain's First Muslims*, 28.
61. Höpp, "Zwischen Moschee und Demonstration," I, 142–146.
62. Höpp, 139–140.
63. Renard, "Présence Musulmane," 727.
64. On the Berlin Section of the Muslim World Congress, see LArch, A Pr. Br. Rep 030–04 (Polizeipräsidium Berlin, Vereine), No. 1523 (Islamischer Weltkongress zu Berlin, 1933–1941).
65. Martin Kramer, *Islam Assembled: The Advent of the Muslim Congresses* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 142–153; Jacob M. Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islam: Ideology and Organization* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 242–245; Reinhard Schulze, *Islamischer Internationalismus im 20. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Islamischen Weltliga* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1990), 102–103; Raja Adal, "Shakib Arslan's Imagining of Europe: The Coloniser, the Inquisitor, the Islamic, the Virtuous, and the Friend," in *Islam*, eds. Clayer and Germain, 156–182, 171–174; and, for contemporary accounts, Anonymous, "Der Muslimische Kongreß von Europa: Genf, September 1935", *Die Welt des Islams* 17.3–4 (1936), 99–104; and "Au Congrès Musulman d'Europe," *La Tribune d'Orient*, reprinted in *Die Welt des Islams* 17.3–4 (1936), 104–111.
66. On the case of the German Foreign Office involvement and monitoring of the Muslim community in Berlin and its international connections and networks, see Political Archives of the German Foreign Office (PA), R78240 (*Religions- und Kirchenwesen: Islam*, 1924–28); PA, R78241 (*Religions- und Kirchenwesen: Islam*, 1928–31); PA, R78242 (*Religions- und Kirchenwesen: Islam*, 1932–36); and PA, R104801 (*Religions- und Kirchenwesen: Islam*, 1936–39).
67. Ansari, *Infidel Within*, 83, 122.
68. Ansari, *Infidel Within*, 88, 129–130; and Ansari, "The Woking Mosque," 8–9; Ansari, "Making Transnational Connections," 48, 53.
69. Höpp, *Muslime in der Mark*, 101–112.
70. Gerhard Höpp, *Arabische und Islamische Periodika in Berlin und Brandenburg 1915–1945: Geschichtlicher Abriß und Bibliographie* (Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 1994); see also Höpp, *Texte aus der Fremde: Arabische politische Publizistik in Deutschland, 1896–1945: Eine Bibliographie* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2000); Höpp, "Arabische und Islamische Periodika in Deutschland: Initiatoren und Ziele (1915–1929)," *Moslemische Revue* 3 (1991), 150–155; 4 (1991), 224–232; and 1 (1992) 49–58; and Johannes Benzing, "Berliner politische Veröffentlichungen der Türken aus der Sowjetunion," *Die Welt des Islams* 18 (1936), 122–131.
71. Höpp, *Arabische und Islamische Periodika*, 29.

72. Ansari, *Infidel Within*, 123.
73. Ismail Hakki Bey Tevfik, "Der Islam in Belgien und Luxemburg," *Der Islam* 18.3–4 (1929), 319–320 provides insights into the small Muslim minorities, mostly miners and workers, in interwar Belgium and Luxemburg.

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