

# 1 Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, “Holy War” and Colonial Concerns

Léon Buskens<sup>1</sup>

*In memory of Christien Lieftrinck-Snouck Hurgronje (1914–2014)*

## Introduction

In the January 1915 issue of the leading Dutch cultural journal *De Gids* Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936) published an article under the provocative title “Holy War made in Germany.” The article offered a mixture of cynically worded scholarly analysis of great acuity, which characterizes Snouck Hurgronje’s works, and vehement moral condemnation of the war craze. The author was by then one of the most respected scholars on Islam in the Western world, president of the board of the prestigious *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, and a professor at Leiden University. He had become famous through his monograph on *Mecca*, based on fieldwork in the Holy City, through his seminal studies on Islamic law and his work as an adviser for Islamic affairs in the Dutch East Indies. He held one of the oldest chairs in Arabic studies in Europe and assumed his authority on policy matters of Islam and colonialism with *gravitas*.

Snouck Hurgronje considered the declaration of Jihad, “holy war”, issued by the Ottoman government in November 1914 to be the work of Germany, guided by its famous orientalist scholars in the field. He condemned his friends’ and colleagues’ involvement in the war effort in the strongest moral terms. The war itself was already an act of the utmost barbarism, but the declaration of Jihad also sabotaged the colonial project of civilizing the Muslim world, to which Snouck Hurgronje had given his best forces. In his rejoinder to Becker in 1915 he explains his strong condemnation of the orientalists’ involvement in the Jihad proclamation by portraying himself as:

A Dutchman, who has intensively engaged himself during the best part of his life in a practical and theoretical manner with the Islam problem, and whose aim therein always has been the promotion of a friendly rapprochement between the world of Islam and our world.<sup>2</sup>

In the letters to his teacher and friend Theodor Nöldeke Snouck Hurgronje continuously expressed his abhorrence of the war in an even more personal way. He condemned it as an act of utter barbarism, comparing the feuding Bedouin favourably to the warring parties, in that they at least were more careful in shedding blood.<sup>3</sup> He gave his friend Nöldeke the happy news of his wife's pregnancy saying:

May the new male or female world citizen be a harbinger of peace!<sup>4</sup>

Snouck Hurgronje was referring to the birth of his daughter, named Christien after her father and a paternal aunt, which would take place on 17 December 1914, a few months after the war had erupted and when her father had turned almost 58 years old. Christien would be the only child born of the marriage of Snouck Hurgronje with a much younger Dutch lady, although much later in life she would be happy to discover that she had five half-brothers and half-sisters from her father's two Islamic marriages to women from West Java's elite during his stay in the Dutch East Indies between 1889 and 1906.

For Snouck Hurgronje the main culprit in the German fabrication of Ottoman Jihad was his colleague and friend Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933), at that time professor at the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Bonn. Becker felt utterly insulted by Snouck Hurgronje's "unfair" attack. He published a reply in *De Gids* and several other articles to defend himself and Germany.

Becker writes in a letter to his colleague Hartmann immediately after receiving an off-print of Snouck Hurgronje's article on 13 January 1915:

And that should still be supposed to be neutral. You might well have concluded that the insinuation against me that I would have sacrificed my scholarly conscience, exclusively rests on an insufficient knowledge of German and on a misunderstanding caused by this. I am very sad. And apart from that he is wrong; ...<sup>5</sup>

And a few weeks later, on 6 February 1915, again to Hartmann:

But the more I have thought about the matter, the more painful Snouck's behaviour becomes to me. As a human being he has lost much in my eyes.<sup>6</sup>

Before the war Becker was not only an esteemed colleague, but a friend, who stayed at Snouck Hurgronje's house while visiting Leiden. Their

complicity as founders of a scholarship of contemporary Islam which would be useful to society expressed itself in an extensive correspondence. Their friendship was severely damaged by the polemic about the Ottoman declaration of Jihad, as the break in their correspondence and the bitter remarks of both gentlemen about each other in letters to other colleagues show. The Great War not only destroyed an entire generation of young men and considerable parts of Europe and brought an end to the great Ottoman and Austrian empires and the brief German colonial episode, but also profoundly affected the republic of letters by wounding old friendships.

In this chapter I will explore this harsh polemic between colleagues and friends. They argue not only about a proper understanding of the rules of Islamic law on Jihad and the caliphate, and other scholarly facts, but much more on moral issues. They do not question whether an islamist should be involved in the use of his scholarship in policy-making. The application of Orientalist knowledge is self-evident, the issue for them is what is the proper, moral, way to use it. Snouck Hurgronje proclaims himself a defender of the pre-war academic internationalism, promoting civilization at large, while Becker stresses the need to be a good patriot first. In the end Snouck Hurgronje also claims his right as a good patriot to defend Dutch colonial interests in the Indies. As such the debate and their strong feelings reveal their convictions about the social use of scholarship and the different ethical values that they take into account, as well as the various interests to which they give primacy.

My study concentrates on Snouck Hurgronje's understanding of the facts and the way he constructed his ethical judgement. I will not try to establish whether he was right or wrong in his assessments and analyses, since I am not a specialist on the history of the Ottoman Empire or on the Great War. My concern is the history of Orientalist scholarship and its relations with colonial and nationalist policy-making; thus I focus on the role of scholars in the instrumentalization of Islam. Studying the scholars' involvement in the war effort enables me also to contribute to bigger issues in what has become known as the "Orientalism" debate due to Edward Said's famous book. It is striking to see how much has been written about the German involvement in the Ottoman Jihad declaration and about this very polemic. The analyses of, and ethical judgements on, these scholars by students of our time and their disagreements on this reveal profound shifts in the self-understanding of scholars and their role in society.

## Snouck Hurgronje's Defusing of Dangerous Intellectual Weapons Made in Germany<sup>7</sup>

Snouck Hurgronje opens his attack on the war craze with a report of a conversation he had with "a Turk of a highly intellectual type" more than ten years before. The gentleman severely condemned religious fanaticism and wars motivated by political or economic interests, their destructive powers worsened by technological progress. This ethnographic "view from afar", which immediately establishes the author's authority by autopsy, provides a strong critique of European culture on which Snouck Hurgronje builds his argument. Taking a detour should bring Europeans to reason, while the vignette at the same time proves that Snouck Hurgronje is right in his analysis that Muslims are capable of progress and that the violence of the erupting war is imposed on them from outside rather than being of their own making.

Snouck Hurgronje continues by expressing his own horror of the war in strong terms. He and the "Turk" share the same ideals of "general religious peace and freedom of thought", which sets them apart from both the supporters of the war and the traditional scholars of Islam, the *'ulama*. Then follows an analysis of the doctrine of Jihad, a war against unbelievers, the institution of the caliphate, and Ottoman rule which demonstrate the author's credentials as a first rank scholar of Islam and a master of its languages. For Snouck Hurgronje the mixture of religion and politics which rules the relations between Muslim and unbelievers in classical Islamic law is a "mediaeval" phenomenon. More "developed" Muslims, partly as a result of the beneficial influence of colonialism, have started to question this medieval mixture of religion and politics.<sup>8</sup> He continues to show his understanding of Islamic history and Arabic in his analysis of the Ottomans' claim to the caliphate, which he considers not well founded, but rather a "usurpation," and which does not mean much in practice.<sup>9</sup> However, new means of communication have created the opportunity to abuse the institution for "panislamic" propaganda, which constitutes a menace to colonialism. The revolution of the Young Turks of 1908 was a blessing in that it brought an end to this medieval mixture of religion and politics, and they did not want to interfere with Muslims living under non-Muslim rule.<sup>10</sup> Due to European pressure the Ottoman Empire was however forced to revive "the fetish of the Caliphate" and Jihad.<sup>11</sup> Snouck Hurgronje continues to argue that presenting any war of the Ottoman Empire as a holy war can only be the product of foreign interference, since every war in which the Ottomans were involved would be by definition a holy war.<sup>12</sup>

This observation leads Snouck Hurgronje to turn his critical eye to recent German pamphlets which offer interpretations of Turkey's involvement in the war. He first discusses a brochure written by Hugo Grothe, who is a specialist in economics and a scientific traveller, but clearly lacks the philological credentials properly to understand what is going on in the Ottoman Empire, as his limited knowledge of the Turkish languages shows.<sup>13</sup> Grothe contends that Germany can help Turkey in rebuilding the country, but that it should support Germany in its turn by proclaiming Jihad. Snouck Hurgronje claims that the proclamation of a holy war against the enemies of Islam who occupy the lands of the Muslims as has recently taken place in Istanbul, and which characterizes the fighting of colonized Muslims at the sides of their English, French and Russian masters against Germany and Austria as "a great sin" has been "suggested by Grothe and his intellectual kin."<sup>14</sup>

Snouck Hurgronje describes the contents of this proclamation and the following demonstration in a mixture of critical scholarly analysis and caustic prose. For him this is only a theatre piece that the cynical elite organized to harness the credulous common people to their own goals. Then he turns his criticism to his "esteemed colleague" Carl Heinrich Becker, who shares Grothe's views on the relations between Germany and Turkey and has also "been swept away by the incredible jihad-craze, which at present seems to possess German statesmen."<sup>15</sup> In a number of recent publications, especially in the pamphlet *Deutschland und der Islam* published in the series *Der Deutsche Krieg* (1914), Becker advocated Germany's involvement with Turkey in modernizing the country. These utterances are in stark contrast to the opinions of other German scholars, notably the other founder of contemporary Islam studies, Martin Hartmann, professor in Berlin. Hartmann showed himself highly critical of Ottoman rule, their "usurpation" of the caliphate, and the extremely dangerous threat of a holy war, as many quotations chosen by Snouck Hurgronje prove (277–279).

Becker's recent opinions endorsing the caliph and Jihad are also in contrast to his earlier analyses of Turkey, "expressed by him in former times of quiet scientific work", as Snouck Hurgronje documents amply.<sup>16</sup> Snouck Hurgronje shows himself surprised and disgusted by the fact that "... her best friend [Germany, LB] is exciting her [Turkey, LB] to universal religious war, and presently turns over to her the Mohammedan prisoners who fought against Germany, in order to submit them to a politico-religious conversion cure."<sup>17</sup> He goes on to offer an explanation for this astonishing error in sound judgment:

We can only attribute all this to the lamentable upsetting of the balance, even in the intellectual atmosphere, of what we used to call the civilized world. For in normal times we know that the Germans are far too sensible and logical to digest the enormous nonsense that a thing which in general would be considered as a shame for mankind and a catastrophe for Turkey can become good and commendable as soon as Germany places herself behind or beside the Crescent.<sup>18</sup>

Snouck Hurgronje expects that German scholars will soon start to condemn this “despicable game that is being played with the Caliphate and the holy war.” He does not dare to foretell to what extent the call to war will be successful among Muslims, but is not too worried for the Dutch East Indies. The elite has been immunized “against this politico-religious mixture of deceit and nonsense” by a “conscious educational policy towards the native population which history has entrusted to our care” in combination with “our centuries-old guarantee of complete religious liberty for our Mohammedans.”<sup>19</sup> The Dutch do not have to worry too much about

... the peculiar sort of ‘intellectual weapons’ which now for the first time are put into circulation with the trademark ‘made in Germany’. Still, we keep hoping in the interest of humanity that Germany will before long withdraw the new product from the market.<sup>20</sup>

Snouck Hurgronje concludes his article in an authoritative style with a paragraph of cultural critique which echoes the ethnographic opening in which he presented his educated Turkish interlocutor criticizing religious fanaticism. Snouck Hurgronje discusses once again the doctrine of Jihad, a “mediaeval” institution, which however forbids war against fellow Muslims. This view offers an important lesson for his times:

... the consideration of strife within the sphere of the community as impious, provides an excellent foundation for the highest social civilization and is rather humiliating for the modern world.<sup>21</sup>

He refers to Martin Hartmann as sharing his point of view, severely condemning Christians who out of patriotism sin against God’s commandments not to kill, but rather to love one’s neighbour. Snouck Hurgronje sees it as the task of the colonizers to teach their Muslim subjects to expand their view of community to all mankind and to teach them how to live in peace with all mankind.

To modern states which have Mohammedans as subjects, protégés, or allies, the beautiful task is reserved of educating these and themselves at the same time [emphasis added LB] to this high conception of human society; rather than leading them back, for their own selfish interests into the way of mediaeval religious hatred which they just were about to leave.<sup>22</sup>

## Exchanges between Becker and Snouck Hurgronje

Snouck Hurgronje's article made Becker very upset, as can be reconstructed from the abundant exchange of letters between Snouck Hurgronje, Becker, Hartmann, Nöldeke and Goldziher. This correspondence, and the ideal of scholarship and ethics that it translates, has been analysed by Christiaan Engberts.<sup>23</sup> Becker felt insulted by this attack on his scholarly integrity and his ethics and betrayed by somebody whom he considered to be a friend. He stopped writing to Snouck Hurgronje for several months, but they communicated indirectly via their colleagues Nöldeke and Hartmann. Hartmann initially reacted favourably to Snouck Hurgronje in a letter, but soon took sides with Becker. Maybe his change of opinion was also motivated by personal concerns, as he kept hoping to improve his rather difficult situation at the Seminar für orientalische Sprachen in Berlin.

Becker was outspoken in letters to Hartmann: Snouck Hurgronje misunderstood him because of an inadequate knowledge of German. But they themselves also made a mistake: they thought that Snouck Hurgronje was "one of them", but he turned out to betray them. Despite his claims he is far from neutral. Becker decided to reply to Snouck Hurgronje with an extensive article in a German periodical in February 1915. Snouck Hurgronje obtained the right to reply with an article in the issue of 1 May 1915, to which a *Schlusswort* by Becker is added. Finally Becker is also granted a rejoinder in *De Gids*, the Dutch cultural journal which had published Snouck Hurgronje's first article.

In his public reply Becker took up the issues that had already come up in the private correspondence with his colleagues.<sup>24</sup> He presented Snouck Hurgronje's article as a *Schmähschrift*, "slander", uncritically reproducing the false allegations of Germany's enemies England and France, in which *Bosheit*, "malice" is his guiding principle. This already starts with the title, which echoes the accusations on the issue published earlier, with the same pun "made in Germany", in *The Times*. Becker expresses his surprise about this attack since he considers Snouck Hurgronje to be an outstanding scholar, a "Master", and somebody close to Germany

through professional and personal ties. Despite the intense feeling of hurt and disappointment Becker intends to reply in a scholarly way to all the allegations.

In the first part of his article Becker summarizes Snouk Hurgronje's argument, stressing his malice in the selection of quotations from German publications. He also demonstrates that Snouck Hurgronje's allegation that Becker has converted himself to a new view on the caliphate of the Ottomans out of patriotism rests on a misunderstanding of German syntax, implying a rather grave error on the part of the great Master who was thought to be infallible until then.<sup>25</sup>

In the second part Becker contrasts his realism with the pacifist Utopia which Snouck Hurgronje defends in his study, while holding on to the theoretical views expounded in the medieval treatises on Islamic law instead of accepting the realities of new ideas and practices as observed in contemporary Muslim societies. Becker fully admits that Jihad in its World War I version is a new phenomenon, reflected also in the neologism *jihad akbar* used as a title in the Ottoman publication of the five *fatwas* which, like the theatrical proclamation, stresses the individual obligation of the war,<sup>26</sup> but he does not see why Snouck Hurgronje wants to limit the use of the term to the medieval understandings of the *fiqh* books.<sup>27</sup> The new understanding is a form of "Europeanisation" of the war, in line with that of Turkey itself.<sup>28</sup> In this struggle for survival, *Existenzkampf*, which Germany and Turkey share, all means are permitted, a view that structures his entire reply. Besides this scholarly criticism of Snouck Hurgronje's limited understanding of new developments in Islam, and a political defence of the use of this weapon in the war, he also exposes Snouck Hurgronje's serious lack of critical sense. In Becker's view Snouck Hurgronje uncritically accepts the allied slander on the German-Turkish war effort.<sup>29</sup> In the third and final part Becker explains and defends Germany's policy in matters Islam and the Ottoman Empire. He discusses the different views of the Ottomans' claim to the caliphate, which the British supported as long as it served their interests in maintaining order in India. He contrasts his realism in accepting a political usage of the caliphate and pan-islamism with Snouck Hurgronje's critique of the Ottoman claims to the caliphate, which Snouck Hurgronje grounds in the "authentic" meaning of the institution as in the legal treatises of medieval scholars.<sup>30</sup> Becker repeatedly explains why Holland does not need to worry about possible damage to its interests in the Dutch East Indies, while he subtly criticizes the earlier Dutch educational policy in the colony in a footnote.<sup>31</sup> Then he argues that the holy war was not made in Germany, if only out of respect for its neighbours' colonial interests. Snouck Hurgronje underestimates the agency of the Turkish

elite. Germany does not want to colonize Turkey either, but is a true friend. Turkey has a future as an Islamic state, but in European style.<sup>32</sup>

Becker demonstrates that he is also capable of formulating a strong rhetorical ending in his last paragraph. He stresses the respect that all Islam scholars, and especially those from Germany, feel for Snouck Hurgronje, but argues that the latter's article shows him to be a victim of fanaticism, in the form of pacifism and do-goodism. Holland prides itself on being in a position to repair the bonds of scholarly internationalism through its neutrality. Unfortunately, the derailing of Snouck Hurgronje has made the performance of this ideal and very real pacifism immensely more difficult.<sup>33</sup>

Snouck Hurgronje replied to Becker in the same periodical in May 1915.<sup>34</sup> His rejoinder is characterized by a surprisingly mild tone, and he explicitly stresses the importance of friendship. He admits his mistake in the understanding of Becker's phrasing in German. But he maintains his contention that Becker has changed his scholarly views for political reasons, and continues to object to the primacy that Becker gives to patriotism in his analysis of Ottoman institutions and policies. Snouck Hurgronje contrasts this view with his own constancy of opinion and his lifelong involvement in furthering peaceful relations, grounded in 30 years of personal relations with Muslims (290). He feels insulted by the suggestion that he is uncritically following the propaganda of the Allies (289), and stresses his deep academic knowledge (290). The instrumentalization of the Jihad weapon is the undoing of his life's work aimed at creating peaceful relations between the world of Islam and the West (291). He also maintains his conviction that Germany is not a good ally for Turkey, and sticks to his criticism of Germany's Islam policy and its involvement in the Jihad proclamation. He concludes that as a patriot he should also defend Dutch colonial interests in the East Indies. He considers the use of the Jihad weapon to be a crime: it is an invitation to murder for ill-willing fanatics and may cause considerable harm.

He ends his rejoinder in his well-known rhetorical style, by proclaiming the *jihad akbar*. Not according to the Ottoman understanding, but to its authentic meaning, in the way that the prophet Muhammad understood it, being a return to the virtues of self-control.

Becker has the last word in the same issue.<sup>35</sup> He appreciates the desire for conciliation and goodwill expressed by Snouck Hurgronje. The debate is not about scholarly issues, but rather about political views, aimed at Germany's Islam policy. Since they will not convince each other, there is no need to continue. Becker keeps coming back to Snouck Hurgronje's cynical wording and sense of ridicule, which shows how deeply he has been hurt by a man whom he respects greatly. He protests against the

tarnishing of the emperor, and points out how much Snouck Hurgronje shares with the press of the enemies because of his choice of language. He also objects again to the fact that Snouck Hurgronje keeps insisting on Becker's "conversion" in scholarly interpretations.<sup>36</sup>

The last part serves to demonstrate how much Snouck Hurgronje himself has been motivated by national and personal concerns in his condemnation of the use of the Jihad weapon. Snouck Hurgronje in his rejoinder refers to his defence of Dutch interests in the East Indies, but Becker turns this into the main motive that has structured his condemnation of the war effort from the beginning.<sup>37</sup> He explains to German readers Snouck Hurgronje's beneficial influence in transforming the harsh Dutch Islam policy into a humane and liberal one. However, Snouck Hurgronje has been under constant attack for this from Christian politicians. Claims to Jihad and pan-Islamism are a direct menace to this ethical policy and to his own reputation. However, for Germany and its ally Turkey the use of Jihad is entirely justified, which explains their controversy.

Becker ends by seeking a consensus. He expresses the hope that the revolt by Muslims against their colonial oppressors will in the long run result in a more humane policy towards them being instigated by England and France. In this way the war may contribute to the achievement of a colonial Islam policy that Snouck Hurgronje has been advocating all his life. Becker concludes that their disagreement is about method only. He and Snouck Hurgronje ultimately strive towards the same goals: to further the well-being of their countries and of the Asian peoples.<sup>38</sup>

Contrary to their usual policy, but because of "international courtesy", the editors of *De Gids*, the Dutch periodical which published Snouck Hurgronje's initial article, offered Becker the opportunity to reply in its second issue of 1915. Becker again stressed the political nature of their disagreement, and the legitimacy of Germany and the Ottoman Empire in using Jihad and pan-Islamism as weapons in the war. Germany and Turkey share many interests and therefore fight together, not for sentimental reasons. The holy war is, however, not of German making. The article does not contain anything new compared to the contributions discussed earlier. The editors explicitly mention that Snouck Hurgronje declined the offer to publish a rejoinder. He only asked for a mention of his disagreement with Becker's view that the Dutch government had profoundly changed its Islam policy in the East Indies in recent years. He underlined its consistency for centuries, to which religious political parties started to protest, however, during the nineteenth century, pretending that the government took too lenient an attitude towards Islam.

## Further Development of the Polemic

Snouck Hurgronje apparently considered his criticism of the holy war made in Germany so important that in January 1915 he had the article included in the second edition of his essays on Dutch Islam policy aimed at an audience of colonial administrators, *Nederland en de Islâm*.<sup>39</sup> In the preface he corrects his misunderstanding of German syntax in his critique of Becker's views. He stresses his neutrality, but he also repeats his anger and concern about the dangerous use of Islam in the war effort in strong personal words.

Later in 1915 Richard Gottheil, a famous semiticist and Zionist activist, had an English translation published in New York without the author's permission. During that same year Snouck Hurgronje would publish two more articles on the holy war in a Dutch newspaper, explaining his views to a general audience. In the years to come he would follow with great interest the revolt in Arabia and the demise of the caliphate, expressing his analyses in a series of articles in popular and scholarly publications. In 1917 he drew attention to a semi-official explanation by the Committee of National Defence of the Jihad declaration aimed at Muslims, and an official correction issued by the Ottoman government limiting Jihad to states with which Turkey was at war.<sup>40</sup>

Becker also continued his scholarly involvement in the war by publishing about Turkey and Islamic policy during and after the war. He also contributed a series of necrologies of former students who fell victim to the war effort. One of them was Erich Graefe, killed at the Marne in 1914, who had published a scholarly analysis of the call to Jihad of the Sanusiyya against the Italian colonizers of Tripolitania in Becker's journal *Der Islam* in 1912, which offers further context to the present analysis. Becker had cherished high expectations of this lamneted martyr for the Nation. In 1916 Becker was appointed to the Ministry of Culture and designed a new policy to further the academic study of foreign cultures and countries. After the war he would obtain even more important political positions, culminating in two appointments as a Minister of Culture. All this would keep him from seriously continuing his scholarly work until his early death in 1933.

Snouck Hurgronje included the English translation, with minor revisions, in 1923 in volume III of his collected studies, published in Germany, together with his other essays about the war and its aftermath. It seems that Becker would have preferred to forget about the painful polemic, but that he felt forced by Snouck Hurgronje's decision to reprint his articles to select his own publications on the issue for the second

volume of his collected studies published in 1932, which was dedicated to his teachers, among them Snouck Hurgronje.

## Main Themes in the Debate

A number of themes dominate in Snouck Hurgronje's analysis of Germany's involvement in the Ottoman proclamation of holy war. Underlying his understanding of Germany prompting the Ottoman government to proclaim Jihad is a general view of the evolution of human societies. He constantly contrasts a medieval Muslim society, in which religion and politics are fused and in which unbelievers are excluded from the community on the basis of their non-adherence to Islam, with a modern civilization characterized by a separation between religion and politics and an inclusive view of humanity. The categories have not only an analytical, but also a moral dimension: modern civilization is superior to medieval barbarism. Snouck Hurgronje understands colonialism not only as an economic phenomenon serving the interests of the colonizers, but also as a civilizing project which will benefit the colonized by introducing them to modernity. His thinking is elitist, in that he stresses the gap between the educated elite and the credulous common people, who are liable to fanaticism. Education is the main tool to bring modernity to the elite, who will understand the virtues of separating religion and politics. Snouck Hurgronje criticizes the traditional Islamic scholars, the *'ulama*, who want to stick to the medieval mixture of religion and politics, embodied by the teachings of Islamic law. A modern educated elite will replace them, and this will be a faithful collaborator in the colonial project.

Snouck Hurgronje shares this contempt for political Islam with many of his fellow scholars, notably Martin Hartmann. His view of the place of Islamic law in a modern colonial society is linked to this judgement. Islamic law should be limited to the sphere of private life. The colonial authorities should guarantee freedom of religion to Muslims, allowing them to practise rituals that do not conflict with public order, such as the pilgrimage to Mekka. However, Islamic law does not have a place in the ordering of public life. This stress on religious freedom and limiting Islam to the private sphere entails a particular understanding of secularism rooted in Dutch history.

This particular understanding of the history of human society and the role of religion has strong implications for the ethics of scholarship. A proper understanding of the way societies develop and the merits of separating religion and politics prompts scholars to work for the common

good by promoting world peace, education and progress. Scholars can contribute to progress by endorsing the colonial project which brings education, progress and peace to people still living in the Middle Ages, such as Muslims fusing politics and religion. Snouck Hurgronje rejects and despises the racism of many of the advocates of colonialism: all people are capable of progress thanks to education. Scholars should advocate such a humanistic approach to colonialism.

Snouck Hurgronje was, together with Becker and Hartmann, one of the founders of the study of contemporary Muslim societies.<sup>41</sup> These scholars had all earned their credentials as serious philologists and historians, demonstrating the required linguistic and analytical skills. Unlike many of their colleagues they did not consider the study of contemporary Islam beneath them. They consciously wanted to serve their countries and the cause of the colonized and of world peace by making their scholarly expertise available to the colonial administration. This project of applied Islamic studies, shared with eminent orientalist in other European countries and promoted in international congresses of Orientalism and colonial sciences, became endangered by the German war policy towards the Ottoman Empire which traded progress, secularism and internationalism for narrow minded patriotism, ushering Muslims back into the Middle Ages where religion and politics were fused.

For Snouck Hurgronje proper scholarship was epitomized by soundness of knowledge and sharp analysis, combined with a moral sense of engagement in society. His harsh judgement of Becker demonstrates his belief in objective criteria for scholarship. Becker was both wrong in his analysis, as implied by his sudden, entirely politically motivated change of views on Turkey, and in his moral position-taking. His colleague and friend had sacrificed scholarly truth to nationalist politics, thereby endangering world peace, progress and the interests of both colonizing and colonized people.

Although Snouck Hurgronje also sharply criticized other authors, especially Grothe, Becker had to bear the brunt of his attack. I think we may understand this as a compliment: of all the Germans involved in the war effort he deemed only Becker to be *satisfaktionsfähig*, being at the same intellectual level. Grothe was a mere economist and traveller, whom he could not take too seriously given his lack of a good command of the Turkish language, criticized in a footnote.<sup>42</sup> Snouck Hurgronje clearly expressed his hope that his German colleagues would understand their error and repent, revoking the dangerous policy that they helped to invent.<sup>43</sup> He counted on the support of Martin Hartmann, who shared his opinion on the Ottoman empire and whom he considered to be the foremost specialist on Turkey in Germany. Unfortunately Hartmann had,

unlike the gentleman Becker, “an exceedingly lively temperament” which led him to too exaggerated analyses and kept him from convincing his colleagues.<sup>44</sup> It is amusing to see that his German colleagues in their letters vented a similar opinion about the character of Snouck Hurgronje,<sup>45</sup> who was, like Hartmann, also the son of a protestant minister, but socially and financially much more successful.

In order to understand these themes properly it is useful to relate them briefly to Snouck Hurgronje's life and work.

### Echoes of Snouck Hurgronje's Personal Experiences<sup>46</sup>

Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje seems to many to be an arch orientalist because of his mixing of scholarship, political activism and personal interest, although Edward Said does not pay much attention to him in *Orientalism*, perhaps also because he did not read German or Dutch. This mixing is exactly what Snouck Hurgronje reproached his German colleagues for in the essay under discussion. The stately mansion on the Rapenburg, which he acquired in 1919 also to give lodgings to foreign colleagues at a time when Leiden did not yet have proper hotels, showed that his scholarly action did not leave him poor.<sup>47</sup>

Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje was the first legitimate child of the second marriage of his father, a protestant minister who had left his first wife for the much younger daughter of a fellow minister. His first name Christiaan suggests that he had to make up for his father's sin, as perhaps did an elder sister with a similar first name who was born before the father's divorce had become official through the death of the first spouse. After their father's death he went to study theology at Leiden University, while living with his widowed mother and sickly sisters. His faith faltered and he showed more interest in a historical critical approach to the origins of Islam, resulting in a doctoral thesis on the origins of the pilgrimage ritual in Mecca. Thanks to his gift for languages and sharp wit he soon became an outstanding specialist on Islamic law.

His lust for knowledge and adventure was such that he managed to convince the Dutch government to send him on a mission to Arabia in 1884–1885 to gather information about the Indonesian pilgrims in Mekka. The government was worried about dangerous ideas they might pick up on pan-Islamic ideals, which might lead to unrest in the colony. Snouck Hurgronje was not satisfied with remaining in Jedda at the Dutch consulate. He had himself circumcised, converted to Islam, adopting the name 'Abd al-Ghaffar, and moved to Mekka to stay with Indonesian friends. There he gathered extensive information about history, Islamic

scholarship, the Indonesian colony, but also mundane aspects of daily life, partly thanks to his liaison with an Abyssinian slave woman whom he had acquired. Snouck Hurgronje was a friend of the German scholar Julius Euting, who had travelled earlier in Arabia with the Frenchman Charles Huber, where they had discovered an important stela with inscriptions from the pre-Islamic period, the so called "Teyma stela." His endeavours to recover the stela, which the earlier travellers had had to leave behind as Huber had been murdered by a Bedouin, made him suspect in the eyes of the French consul in Jedda, De Lostalot, who was trying to obtain the stela for France. These suspicions were strengthened by the Algerian exile Si Aziz who had offered his help both to the French consul to recover the stela, and to Snouck Hurgronje to introduce him in Mekka. De Lostalot circulated rumours about the presence of an unbeliever in Mekka, which made the Ottoman governor order Snouck Hurgronje to leave the holy city without delay.

Snouck Hurgronje was very close to his German colleagues from the beginning of his scholarly career. He went to study with Theodor Nöldeke in Strassburg in 1880–1881 after obtaining his doctorate at Leiden University, and maintained a lifelong correspondence with him, Snouck Hurgronje writing in Dutch while Nöldeke replied in German.<sup>48</sup> In the second half of the nineteenth century Germany was the main model for *Bildung* in the Netherlands, and German an important scholarly language. Snouck Hurgronje published mainly in Dutch and in German, for example his two volume monograph on Mekka appeared in German, and only the second volume on ethnography was translated much later into English. Snouck Hurgronje's network of colleagues was extensive, covering the entire world, and he maintained it, like many of his contemporaries, by writing letters and attending the international Orientalists' congresses. In this network German colleagues occupied a privileged place.

His monograph on Mekka and the two accompanying volumes of photographs brought him scholarly fame. He was not content with his teaching positions at the University of Leiden and the Delft Institute for Colonial Administrators and in 1889 eagerly accepted a position in the Dutch East Indies as an adviser for Islamic affairs, where he would stay until 1906. Snouck Hurgronje did extensive research on lived Islam and collected many materials. He played a vital role in the "pacification" of Aceh, advising the Dutch army on how to deal with the resistance stirred up by Muslims scholars. His intelligence work led again to the publication of several important scholarly monographs and numerous articles. Towards the end of his stay he felt that his pleas for the promotion of the interests of the native population were not always respected.

In 1906 Snouck Hurgronje accepted the chair of Arabic and Islamic studies at Leiden University, while keeping his position as an adviser to the colonial government. As a professor in Leiden he was strongly interested in educating members of the Indonesian elite in accordance with his ideals about their vital role in the development of their country. The first Indonesian to obtain a doctorate at Leiden University in 1913, under Snouck Hurgronje's guidance, was Hoesein Djajadiningrat, the nephew of his faithful friend Raden Aboe Bakar with whom he had shared a house in Mekka and who took care of his pregnant slave after he had to leave in a hurry. In his insistence on the possibility of educating a secular elite to bring the Muslim world to modernity we may hear echoes of this recent success. Likewise his insistence on separating religion and politics might refer to his personal convictions, which seem to be related to an agnostic position. His negative views of the *‘ulama* and Jihad may partly be rooted in his experiences in the field during the Aceh war. This extremely violent war, which Snouck Hurgronje witnessed from nearby, may have fed his strongly articulated disgust of the war craze.

The ideal of scholarship that permeates Snouck Hurgronje's condemnation of Becker is clearly related to the few biographical elements offered so far. Snouck Hurgronje was an outstanding scholar, who played a decisive role in the creation of the study of Islam in Western academia. In his scholarship he was cosmopolitan. He was an excellent fieldworker, gifted in gathering information in the field with the help of faithful informants and assistants, with whom he maintained correspondences over decades. He also developed an extensive network of colleagues and friends in Western academia, and was one of the leading figures in the congresses of Orientalist scholars and in the creation of the orientalist overview of Islam *par excellence*, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.<sup>49</sup> For him this scholarship was an international activity, with which biases on race or nationalism should not interfere. It was also knowledge that should be applied, in the interests of both the colonizers and the colonized.

Snouck Hurgronje served his country, but he also wanted to emancipate the Muslims and improve their lives. Together with his Leiden neighbour, the legal scholar Cornelis van Vollenhoven, he was one of the advocates of the so-called "ethical policy" that the Dutch government should follow in the East Indies. This same ethical position led to a strong condemnation of his German colleagues' faulty scholarship and wrong political choices during World War I.

## Scholarly War Efforts

Orientalist scholars were involved in the war effort on both sides in various ways. They advised on policy towards Muslims in the colonies and on the possible instrumentalization of Islam, as Snouck Hurgronje and Becker did, worked in intelligence (as in the *Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient* in Berlin), in producing propaganda (as the journal *Der Dschihad* published for the Muslim prisoners of war in Berlin), in scholarly research in the field or in the study, or directly participated in action on the battlefield with their specialist skills (as translators, such as Hellmut Ritter). So far I have found hardly any questioning of this involvement as such. On the contrary, both Snouck Hurgronje and Becker, like many of their contemporaries, considered the use of scholarship and the action of scholars in the administration of Muslims to be one of the aims of their work. Snouck Hurgronje and Carl Heinrich Becker were, together with colleagues like Martin Hartmann and Alfred Le Chatelier, among the founding fathers of the study of contemporary Islam which understood itself as an applied science and actively sought to address the problems of policy-making in colonialism and international relations. They justified their scholarly work by its immediate relevance for society.

This wish to serve the nation by scholarship was strengthened by feelings of patriotism which were quite strong on all sides during the war. Snouck Hurgronje seems to have been among the rare exceptions to prefer peace to action and to defend internationalism. Becker clearly disapproves of his utopian pacifism, and attacks it as unworldly, and later on presents it as serving his national and personal interests in colonial policy in disguise. The scholarly *Einsatz* resulted in the massacre of many promising scholars, such as the already mentioned Erich Graefe, about whose fate Snouck Hurgronje enquires at Becker's request in England and France.<sup>50</sup> Hellmut Ritter was also among Becker's young *promoti* in action. In 1916 he sent out copies of his doctoral thesis to his colleagues with the mention that he was "on campaign", z.z. *im Felde*, and gave as his address the Navy post office in Berlin, since he was serving as an interpreter with the VI. Ottoman army in Baghdad. Fortunately he survived the war. Perhaps he gathered something more than the texts of war poetry that he published afterwards in his *Mesopotamische Studien* (1919–1923). Well before World War II he went to Istanbul and remained there until 1949 (and returned there again from 1956 until 1969).

The proclamation of Jihad seems not to have had much success. It hardly stirred any uprisings against the colonial masters, nor did it help much to rally Muslims to the Ottoman cause. The Germans gave privileged treatment to Muslim prisoners of war, also by offering them

a mosque and periodicals full of propaganda about Jihad in the hope that they would be willing to join forces with them, as has been amply documented in recent studies. The few who were eventually sent to Turkey were very badly treated there. German scholars were not only involved in providing them with reading materials, but also used the soldiers from the French, British and Russian colonial empires as informants for their linguistic, ethnomusicological and ethnographic studies. It is unclear to what extent this served the war effort, but it led to detailed ethnographic monographs afterwards, such as *Sitte und Recht in Nordafrika* by Ernst Ubach and Ernst Rackow (and others), published in 1923.<sup>51</sup>

The intelligence office in Berlin created during the war, *Nachricht-enstelle für den Orient*, seemed to be the place where the real brains behind the German Islam policy were working, especially Max Freiherr von Oppenheim and Karl-Emil Schabinger Freiherr von Schowingen.<sup>52</sup> The first had as a confidant the Tunisian mufti Shaykh Salih al-Sharif al-Tunisi who stayed in Berlin; the latter translated his pamphlet *Haqiqat al-jihad* into German, while Martin Hartmann provided a preface to that text which presented the Jihad against the colonizers as an individual obligation, *fard al-'ayn*, for every Muslim.<sup>53</sup> Snouck Hurgronje ought rather to have directed his wrath at Von Oppenheim and Schabinger, but again he might not have deemed these men to be worthy of his scholarly attention.

Even if the proclamation did not work out as planned, the colonizing nations thought it wise to request the explicit loyalty of their Muslim subjects. In London *The Times* published a series of declarations from Muslims in India on 12 November 1914, while the Aga Khan had already expressed his support on 4 November. The Russians had the mufti of the Caucasus issue a fatwa against the Ottoman proclamation.<sup>54</sup> However, *The Times* did not offer its readers the text of the five Ottoman *fatwas*, as Becker added “the censor knows why.”<sup>55</sup>

On the French side Louis Massignon volunteered on the Dardanelles battlefield and later joined the Sykes-Picot negotiations, where he met T.E. Lawrence. Becker praises Massignon's patriotism, and sends him his regards through his correspondence with Snouck Hurgronje.<sup>56</sup> The *Revue du monde musulman* published an impressive series of expressions of loyalty from Muslim leaders, both in facsimile and in translation, from North and West Africa under the title *Le salut au drapeau. Témoignages de loyalisme des musulmans français* (1916). Already in December 1914 the same journal published an issue under the title *Les musulmans français et la guerre. Adresses et témoignages de fidélité des chefs musulmans et des personnages religieux*. This issue opened with a reference to Snouck Hurgronje's highly critical article. It also contained a letter from the

sultan of Morocco encouraging his Muslim subjects fighting in Europe to defend France. For Becker the praise that Snouck Hurgronje obtained from the French in for example *Le Temps* of 20 January 1915 demonstrated once again that his scholarly analysis was in fact a support for the allied cause, which made his claim to neutrality questionable.<sup>57</sup>

## Nachleben

The involvement of orientalist scholars in the war effort and the Ottoman Jihad has become the subject of numerous historical studies from the 1980s onwards. The polemic between Snouck Hurgronje and Becker has aroused special attention, and led to new polemics, such as between Peter Heine (1984) and Ludmila Hanisch (1992). Recently (2014) Dietrich Jung published an overview article with extensive references offering a lesson for the area studies debate and for the understanding of the Arab spring. Wilfried Loth and Marc Hanisch collected a series of case studies on the German involvement in the Jihad (2014). Christiaan Engberts is preparing a study on the ideals about the scholarly *persona* that he is reconstructing from the correspondence that resulted from the clash between the two scholars. For me two of the most enlightening studies on the debate were the articles by Schwanitz (2003) and Hagen (2004).<sup>58</sup> In order to understand the German scholars' involvement in the war effort we also need a solid view of Germany's Oriental policy, which was an important part of her foreign policy.<sup>59</sup>

It would be interesting to review this abundant body of literature. Its sound historical research would clarify many of the issues raised by the two protagonists. It would also nicely contrast the concerns and ethics of scholars who thought they were serving their countries, the Muslims and humanity at large by their applied Islam studies, with those scholars of the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first who have been ushered into post-colonial thinking by Edward Said. However, all this falls outside the scope of this article, but remains a *desideratum* for another occasion.

## Conclusion: Orientalism as Cultural Critique

The clash between Snouck Hurgronje and Becker was not about their actual involvement in society and politics as such, but about bad scholarship, wrong decisions, dangerous policy and scholarly ethics. The main question was not whether or not to use scholarship for

policy matters, but *how* to use it properly. They disagreed about the values that should guide scholars in their involvement and analysis. For Becker, and for many of his German colleagues, as for their French and British counterparts, patriotism was a supreme value, especially in times of war. Snouck Hurgronje strongly condemned this choice. For him the international dimension of orientalism, expressed in the international congresses of orientalists in their publication projects such as the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, and in their networks of correspondence and friendships, came first. He combined his cosmopolitan vision with an endorsement of the colonial project aimed at civilizing Muslims and thereby bringing them from the Middle Ages to modernity. Education of an elite and the separation of religion and politics, implying religious freedom for Muslims to practise their rituals, were important tools for creating this modernity. This international project would contribute to world peace and progress, for which he considered some elements from the Islamic tradition more apt than Christianity. The war endangered both his scholarly project of the study of contemporary Islam and accompanying social aim of the modernization of Muslims, to which Snouck Hurgronje had devoted his life.

Understood in this manner Orientalism also offered a tool for criticism of Western culture. Snouck Hurgronje repeatedly contrasted the Islamic condemnation of war against co-religionists and of strife in general as impious with the war craze that dominated his times. His article was not only a defence of Dutch colonial interests, but much more an expression of utter concern about the destruction of civilization and a moral indignation about the barbarism of war, by a man who had seen sufficient action himself.

The practice of orientalism as a cultural critique, in the tradition of the *Lettres persanes* and the budding science of anthropology, did not yet lead to a radical self-critique, questioning the relationship between the production of knowledge and its social uses to exercise power. However, its relativism could go together rather well with advocating a policy of education and “ethical administration”, aimed at increasing the welfare of “the natives”, as the engagement of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje and Cornelis van Vollenhoven shows. A more radical epistemological critique would emerge only in the 1970s, through the work of scholars such as Foucault, Rodinson and Said. Since then the polemic between Snouck Hurgronje and Becker has served as a case for numerous analyses in the wake of the Orientalism debate. The case under review may serve as yet another reminder of the necessity of such constant self-criticism and self-questioning. We are living again in times full of rhetorics about the dangers of extremism, radicalization, pan-Islamism and Jihad, and

scholars are engaged in the war effort as much as ever, this time also dealing with "the enemy within." It is striking to see that now, as 100 years ago, the subject of Jihad is at the top of the research agenda. Perhaps the Master from Leiden could teach us a grain of caution in our commitments and opinions.

## Notes

- 1 I gracefully acknowledge the invitation of François Pouillon and Dominique Casajus to present an extended version of this research project in their seminar at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris, during a stay in Paris in March and April 2015 funded by the Institut d'études de l'Islam et des Sociétés du Monde Musulman. I am greatly indebted to François Pouillon for his constant interest in my research on Snouck Hurgronje. I thank Christiaan Engberts for allowing me to read a first draft of a yet unpublished paper that he presented in my seminar on the history of orientalism in spring 2014. I would also like to acknowledge the hospitality enjoyed at the Zentrum Moderner Orient in Berlin at the invitation of its director Ulrike Freitag, and the fruitful exchanges on the involvement of Muslim soldiers in World War I with Heike Liebau and Larissa Schmid. Many thanks to Erik-Jan Zürcher and to two anonymous reviewers for their comments on this chapter.
- 2 Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften III*, Bonn and Leipzig: Kurt Schröder Verlag; 1923; p. 291.
- 3 Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld (ed.), *Orientalism and Islam. The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke from the Tübingen University Library*, Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom; 1985; p. 194.
- 4 Van Koningsveld, *Letters Snouck Hurgronje to Nöldeke*, p. 192.
- 5 Ludmila Hanisch (ed.), *Islamkunde und Islamwissenschaft im Deutschen Kaiserreich. Der Briefwechsel zwischen Carl Heinrich Becker und Martin Hartmann (1900–1918)*, Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom; p. 82.
- 6 Hanisch, *Briefwechsel Becker und Hartmann*, p. 84.
- 7 All references are to the English translation reprinted in Snouck Hurgronje's collected studies volume III (Snouck Hurgronje 1923).
- 8 Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften III*, p. 263.
- 9 Ibid., p. 265.
- 10 Ibid., p. 267.
- 11 Ibid., p. 268.
- 12 Ibid., pp. 268–269.
- 13 Ibid., pp. 269–273.
- 14 Ibid., p. 272.
- 15 Ibid., p. 274.
- 16 Ibid., p. 279.
- 17 Ibid., p. 282. On Muslim prisoners in Germany see also Martin Gussone's contribution to this book.

- 18 Ibid., p. 282.
- 19 Ibid., p. 283.
- 20 Ibid., pp. 283–284.
- 21 Ibid., p. 284.
- 22 Ibid., p. 284.
- 23 Christiaan Engberts, *Orientalists at War*, Leiden: unpublished paper; 2014.
- 24 All references are to the version reprinted in Becker's collected studies: Carl Heinrich Becker, *Islamstudien II*, Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer; 1932; pp. 281–304.
- 25 Becker, *Islamstudien II*, pp. 286; 297.
- 26 See its reproduction in *Welt des Islams* 3(1915) no. 1, p. 5.
- 27 Becker, *Islamstudien II*, pp. 288; 293.
- 28 Ibid., p. 293.
- 29 Ibid., pp. 294–295.
- 30 Ibid., p. 298.
- 31 Ibid., pp. 287 and 287 n. 2; 301.
- 32 Ibid., p. 303.
- 33 Ibid., p. 303.
- 34 All references are to the version reprinted in Snouck Hurgronje's *Verspreide geschriften III*, pp. 285–292.
- 35 All references are to the version reprinted in Becker, *Islamstudien II*, pp. 304–309.
- 36 Ibid., p. 306.
- 37 Ibid., pp. 307–309.
- 38 Ibid., p. 309.
- 39 Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islâm*, Leiden: E.J. Brill; 1915; second enlarged edition; (orig. 1911).
- 40 Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften III*, pp. 327–354.
- 41 Jean-Jacques Waardenburg, *L'Islam dans le miroir de l'Occident. Comment quelques orientalistes occidentaux se sont penchés sur l'islam et se sont formé une image de cette religion*. I. Goldziher, C. Snouck Hurgronje, C.H. Becker, D.B. MacDonald, L. Massignon, Paris & La Haye: Mouton; 1963.
- 42 Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide geschriften III*, p. 270.
- 43 Ibid., p. 282.
- 44 Ibid., p. 279.
- 45 E.g. Hartmann to Becker, in Hanisch, *Briefwechsel Becker und Hartmann*, p. 83.
- 46 For information on Snouck Hurgronje see: Waardenburg, *L'Islam dans le miroir*; Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje en de Islam*, Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom; 1987; Jan Just Witkam, 2007, "Inleiding"; in: Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan; *Mekka*, Amsterdam: Atlas Contact; pp. 7–184; Arnoud Vrolijk and Richard van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands. A Short History in Portraits, 1580–1950*, Leiden: Brill 2014, pp. 117–150; Léon Buskens and Jan Just Witkam (eds.), *Scholarship in Action. Essays on the Life and Work of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje*, Leiden: Brill; forthcoming.
- 47 His daughter described daily life in the imposing house, which has carried his name since its sale to the Leiden University Fund shortly after his death, in an unpublished memoir: Christien Liefcrinck-Snouck Hurgronje, *Snouck Hurgronje Huis*, Den Haag: unpublished typescript; 1991.

- 48 Van Koningsveld, *Letters Snouck Hurgronje to Nöldeke*.
- 49 Proof of his reputation as a leading scholar of Islam is his inclusion in the special issue of the *Revue du monde musulman* 12(1910) no. 12, on "Trois maîtres des études musulmanes", together with Martin Hartmann and Edward G. Browne. I owe this reference to the generosity of Claude Lefébure.
- 50 Letter from Snouck Hurgronje to Nöldeke 23 December 1914 in Van Koningsveld, *Letters Snouck Hurgronje to Nöldeke*, p. 117.
- 51 Apart from the essay by Martin Gussone in this volume, see on the Muslim (and other colonial) prisoners of war in Germany for example Margot Kahleyss, *Muslime in Brandenburg. Kriegsgefangene im 1. Weltkrieg. Ansichten und Absichten*, Berlin: Museum für Völkerkunde; 1998; Franziska Roy, Heike Liebau and Ravi Ahuja (eds), *"When The War Began We Heard of Several Kings." South Asian Prisoners in World War I Germany*, New Delhi: Social Science Press; 2011; Benedikt Burkard and Céline Lebreton (eds), *Gefangene Bilder. Wissenschaft und Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag; 2014.
- 52 On the relations between applied Islam studies and German intelligence before, during and after World War I, see Larissa Schmid, "Competing Visions of Area Studies in the Interwar Period: The School of Oriental Languages in Berlin", *Middle East – Topics & Arguments* 4(2015), pp. 50–60.
- 53 Cf. Peter Heine, "Salih ash-Sharif at-Tunisi, A North African Nationalist in Berlin during the First World War", *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* no. 33 (1982), pp. 89–95.
- 54 Becker, *Islamstudien II*, p. 287, n. 1.
- 55 Ibid., p. 303, n. 1.
- 56 Engberts, *Orientalists at War*, pp. 5–6.
- 57 Becker, *Islamstudien II*, p. 304.
- 58 Peter Heine, "C. Snouck Hurgronje versus C.H. Becker. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der angewandten Orientalistik", *Die Welt des Islams* 32(1992) no. 1, pp. 378–387; Ludmila Hanisch, "Gelehrtenverständnis, wissenschaftliche Rationalität und politische 'Emotionen'. Ein Nachtrag", *Die Welt des Islams* 32(1992) no. 1, pp. 108–123; Dietrich Jung, "The 'Ottoman-German Jihad': Lessons for the Contemporary 'Area Studies' Controversy", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 41(2014) no. 3, pp. 247–265; Wilfried Loth and Marc Hanisch (eds), *Erster Weltkrieg und Dschihad. Die Deutschen und die Revolutionierung des Orients*, München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2014; Engberts, *Orientalists at War*; Wolfgang G. Schwanitz, "Djihad 'Made in Germany': Der Streit um den Heiligen Krieg 1914–1915", *Sozial. Geschichte* 18(2003) no. 2, pp. 7–34; Gottfried Hagen, "German Heralds of Holy War: Orientalists and Applied Oriental Studies", *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24(2004) no. 2, pp. 145–162.
- 59 The literature on this issue is extensive, with quite polemic views. See, for example, Jennifer Jenkins, "Fritz Fischer's 'Programme for Revolution': Implications for a Global History of Germany in the First World War", *Journal of Contemporary History* 48(2013) no. 2, pp. 397–417. I owe this reference and a meeting with the author to Larissa Schmid, with whom I had fruitful discussions during my stay at ZMO in Berlin.

