

THE
MODERN
MUSLIM
WORLD

**TRANSNATIONAL
ISLAM IN
INTERWAR EUROPE**
Muslim Activists and Thinkers



Edited by
Götz Nordbruch & Umar Ryad

**TRANSNATIONAL ISLAM IN
INTERWAR EUROPE**

THE MODERN MUSLIM WORLD

Series Editor: Dietrich Jung of the Center for Contemporary Middle East Studies, University of Southern Denmark

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study with a special focus on his cross-national and cross-cultural role in Nazi Germany before and during World War II. It was the peak time, when many Arab Christian and Muslim nationalists assumed leftist, Fascist, and Nazi coalitions as natural allies in their struggle against Western imperialism and the domination of the post-World War I international order by France and Great Britain.⁷

After Hilali's arrival in interwar Germany, the country had already witnessed a lengthy history of Muslim *émigré* activism, boasting numerous Muslim publications and institutions.⁸ The study of his engagement in Nazi Germany presents a unique figure between two different worlds, his being a subject under National Socialism who was also strongly involved in making anticolonial and populist *Salafī* propaganda in the Muslim world. Particularly, Hilali belonged to the network of the Druze prince Shakib Arslan (d. 1946) and Hajj Amin al-Husayni (1897–1974) in interwar Europe. His place in the Arab-German encounters of that time should be seen within the broader context that Peter Wien has called “culpability of exile,” which is “a moral dilemma that affects foreigners who take up residence in a villainous country such as Nazi Germany.”⁹

At first sight we might assume that Hilali's collaboration with the Nazis was based entirely on ideological considerations while our rereading of the context of his activities reveals other paradoxical factors. As far as we can observe and analyze the problem on the basis of his writings and remaining documents, we can define a clear dichotomy between both strands of action. First of all, we sketch here a remarkable story of collaboration between a *Salafī* Muslim student and lecturer and his German mentor, the well-known German Orientalist Paul Kahle (1875–1964) at the Oriental Seminar at the University of Bonn. As World War II was approaching, Kahle and his wife fled Germany because of their opposition to the Nazi oppression and their support to the Jews. This chapter emphasizes the seeming contradiction of Hilali's close cooperation and friendship with Kahle before the war, and Hilali's later collaboration with the Nazis.

We shall also witness many paradoxes in Hilali's German period and afterward. On many levels, his experience in Germany expressed a certain intellectual interaction between purist-minded *Salafism* and the West.¹⁰ His thoughts in the Nazi period were inherently connected to an increasingly growing movement of “*Salafī* populism,” which sternly aspired for creating a nostalgic early Islamic history. This populist discourse claimed to participate in recovering the deteriorating state of the Muslim world, and in combating what they perceived as non-Muslim “enemies” of Islam. It moreover intended to

CHAPTER 5

A *Salafī* Student, Orientalist Scholarship, and Radio Berlin in Nazi Germany: Taqi al-Din al-Hilali and His Experiences in the West

Umar Ryad

In recent years, two methods of research have been developed for the study of Arab-Nazi encounters.¹ A group of historians try to “contextualize authoritarian and totalitarian trends in the Arab world within a broad political spectrum, choosing subaltern perspectives and privileging the analysis of local voices in the press over colonial archives and the voices of grand theoreticians.”² Such relations should be seen within the scope of the interaction between memory, politics, and the history of Arab-Nazi encounters and experiences.³ On the other side, some people argue for an inherent and structural affinity between Arab nationalism and Pan-Islamism on the one hand, and Nazi racist ideologies and anti-Semitism against the Jews on the other.⁴

In the Nazi period, Germany hosted a significant number of foreign students, including many Arabs. Arab students were exposed to implications of the incentives and pressures of their exile in Germany before and during World War II.⁵ In general, many Arab and Muslim students in interwar Europe joined a great Muslim transnational reformist network that called for the unity of Islam against the colonial encroachment in the Muslim world.⁶

The present chapter argues that Muslim actors within these networks played their transnational role as part of European transnational history. In what follows, we shall focus on the figure of the Moroccan prominent *Salafī* scholar Taqi al-Din al-Hilali (1894–1987) as a case

raise the awareness of Muslim masses of the significance of action in various religious, political, and social matters.

As a matter of fact, Hilali was a "globetrotter."¹¹ His life is multifaceted and a full biography of all his trips and contacts in the Muslim world and Europe fall beyond the scope of the present chapter. As we shall see, Hilali insisted that his agenda in Germany was to defend Islam. Nevertheless, he sometimes pursued his ultimate goal by accepting the methods and approaches of the Orientalist prevalent scholarship of his time, which he tried to reconcile with his *Salafī* frame of thinking. Hilali's stay in Nazi Germany molded his ideas on such various topics as race, Jews, Western society and women, religiosity, imperialism, and colonialism. This chapter specifically deals with his academic, cultural, religious, and political encounters in Nazi Germany. How did Hilali, a staunchly conservative Muslim scholar, experience his tutelage with German Orientalists? How did he interact with the German people and culture in the Nazi period? How did an Arab student and activist writer act inside Europe when the war was ravaging Germany and Europe?

Hilali's work in Bonn reveals that the interaction between Orientalists and Arab intellectuals was not confined to students who later became well-known for their modernist, secularist, and sometimes liberal affiliations, but included students who later developed reformist and traditionalist conservative viewpoints of Islam as well. At another level, many decisive factors shaped the course of his nationalist action in Nazi Germany. As we shall see, his sojourn in Nazi Germany best exemplifies that his sense of transnationalism as a Muslim activist was not detached from the spirit of nationalism widespread in that period. Thus, the study tries to reconstruct a story of a significant *Salafī*-oriented scholar, who, like many other Muslim nationalists, established a view of European supremacy as the "ugly colonizer," while he took Europe itself as his basis of settlement. Besides his position in the Oriental Seminar in Bonn and cooperation with German Orientalists, Hilali played later a role in the Arabic propaganda for the Nazi regime through Radio Berlin—Zeeseen. We shall also see that even before his joining the Arab staff in Berlin, Hilali was impressed by the radio as a significant instrument in the dissemination of religious reform and anti-imperialism. This might support Götz Nordbruch's argument that the German Radio Berlin—Zeeseen "was just one foreign station touting for attention. British, Italian and French stations were others engaged in this 'guerre des ondes' during World War II, with Soviet print propaganda adding to the mix of foreign sources available to the broad public in Cairo, Jerusalem and Damascus."¹²

Hilali was born in 1894 in Sijilmassa (in the Tafilalet region of south-east Morocco). He arrived in Germany at the age of 42 after more than 20 years of living in various regions in the Muslim world. He received his religious education from his father, who was a jurist and a deputy judge in their village.¹³ In 1915, he left for Algeria to make a living, where he became a follower of the Sufi Tijani brotherhood. By 1921, Hilali converted to the *Salafīyya* trend in Fez after a debate with the well-known Moroccan reformist Muhammad Ibn al-'Arabi al-'Alawi (d. 1964) on the core elements of the Tijani mystical knowledge and superiority as *Khatam al-'Arabīyya* (Seal of Sainthood) within this order. Following his conversion to the *Salafīyya*, Hilali arrived in Egypt in 1922, where he became a close student of the famous Muslim reformist Muhammad Rashid Rida (1865–1935), the founder of *Al-Manār* magazine in Cairo. During his years in Egypt, Hilali traveled throughout the country in order to propagate *Salafī* ideas, and had several debates and confrontations with mystical scholars in southern Egypt and Alexandria. His close contact with Rida enabled him to take up a prominent role in a huge transnational Pan-Islamic reformist network of that time. In the interwar period, he traveled, lived, and taught in several countries, such as Saudi Arabia, India, Afghanistan, Iraq, and finally Europe. His popularity remarkably increased in the Muslim world due to his numerous articles in the Islamic press in various countries about his travels and thoughts on many Islamic topics, especially in the *Salafīyya*-oriented magazine *Al-Fath*, founded by the Syro-Egyptian publicist Muhibb al-Din al-Khatib (1886–1969).

I. HILALI'S LIFE IN GERMANY IN PREVIOUS STUDIES

In his published autobiography, Hilali did not record his life in chronological order. There is no special section directly dealing with his stay in Germany, but succinct information can be found in different places throughout the book.¹⁴ In his study on the reception of National-Socialist ideologies in the Arab Near East, Stefan Wild briefly mentioned the name of Hilali by referring to an anticommunist article by Hilali in the above-mentioned *Al-Fath* during his stay in Bonn.¹⁵ In a biography of al-Hilali, Henri Lauzière studied him as part of the evolution of *Salafīsm* and its epistemological underpinnings over the course of the twentieth century. In a separate chapter, the author saw Hilali's Nazi period as continuation of the struggle of Islamic nationalism for cohesion and standardization. He argued that in a period marked by the celebration of strong nationalist ideologies in Europe,

Muslim *Salafi* thinkers tried to standardize Islamic tenets under a unifying process by looking for analogies to the concept of the *ummah* as a nation rather than an aggregate of various Muslim subgroups with their own cultures and histories.¹⁶ Lauzière pinpointed many aspects of Hilali's assumed position within the interwar Pan-Islamic network established by the above-mentioned Shakib Arslan from his exile in Switzerland. However, due to the lack of direct contemporaneous sources on Hilali's thoughts and activities, Lauzière indirectly repeated the history of Arslan instead of highlighting a new history of Hilali's role within that network.¹⁷

It is true that Hilali was impressed by the Druze prince to the extent that he named his eldest son Shakib after him.¹⁸ But one might get the impression that Lauzière in that work lacked data regarding Hilali's close contacts with Arslan before the former's trip to Europe. He maintained that although Hilali was 25 years younger than Arslan, he nevertheless espoused the same anticolonial cause. However, they came from different generations and were not exactly of equal standing.¹⁹ He moreover assumed that Hilali's "close personal association with Arslan had intellectual repercussions that are attested by much textual evidence."²⁰ As a matter of fact, the sources at hand stressed Hilali's direct contacts with Arslan, and the fact that both were most prolific writers in common Muslim journals. A difference of opinion regarding the Arabic grammar between Arslan and the above-mentioned Rashid Rida, for example, was sometimes solved by the young scholar al-Hilali.²¹

Another critical remark to Lauzière's chapter on Hilali's Nazi period is that the author reached specific conclusions on the basis of biographical information and anecdotes, which Hilali himself gave in his later works. Yet the reader gets only a scanty image of Hilali's religious, intellectual, and political thinking in a period of turmoil in world politics during his stay on German soil. On the basis of Hilali's writings from this period and the collection of his remaining private papers in the possession of his grandson in Morocco, the present study highlights his interaction with German Orientalists against the background of his transnational activities and later collaboration with the Nazis.

II. IN GERMANY FOR A "SCHOLARLY PASSPORT": EXPERIENCE WITH ORIENTALISM

Hilali's encounter with Western Orientalists was, like that of many Arab students in the first half of the twentieth century, not an

ahistorical phenomenon and not without mutual experiences. The historical treatment of such students as part of the structure of Western Orientalism is useful to understand what Edward Said had called "overlapping experience."²² While European scholars traveled to the Near East and taught in Arab/Muslim universities, the coming of those students to study their own culture in the West shows the significance of the meeting of "foreign knowledge" and "self-knowledge" in the history of ideas.²³

Hilali's studentship in German scholarship of Oriental Studies in the late 1930s should be also seen as part of the encounter of Islamic reformism with Orientalism in the interwar period, especially within the circle of Rashid Rida and his journal *Al-Manar*. Muslim writers were aware of the Orientalist challenges that touched on specific sensitivities in Islam. In addition, they opposed westernized intellectuals and rejected many of their perspectives.²⁴ This period also witnessed growing influence of Orientalism on local ideas, and an increasing public debate among different groups about Orientalists, their intentions, and the quality of their scholarship.²⁵

Since his youth in Morocco, Hilali always dreamt of earning an internationally recognized diploma from a Western university and of studying foreign languages. By such a "scholarly passport," he would gain authority in the Muslim world.²⁶ After learning English in India, he wanted to travel to England to finish his studies, but, as he claimed, he could not afford the study costs there.²⁷ Hilali finally decided to travel to Germany, which was cheaper and an attractive destination for many Arab students, especially in engineering and exact sciences.

Hilali's central position in the Rida-Arslan transnational Muslim network and enormous articles in the Muslim press enabled him to realize his ambitions. In an unpublished diary, Hilali described his trip from Iraq to Europe via Syria and Egypt. In Syria, he became a guest of the well-known reformist scholar Muḥammad Bahjat al-Baitar (d. 1976), one of Rida's associates. Some Syrian Muslim newspapers welcomed Hilali's coming to the country as a renowned writer; and many notables and Arab diplomats in Damascus came to meet him. In Baitar's house, he met the Palestinian journalist Ihsan Sami Haqqi, one of the main organizers, and the assistant secretary general, of the Muslim European Congress held in Geneva in 1935 under Arslan's supervision.²⁸ On his part, Haqqi wrote a recommendation letter to the Swiss ambassador in Damascus regarding Hilali's plan to visit Switzerland, and helped him in his preparations for his European trip. In the meantime, Hilali approached the Italian embassy in order to get a permit to enter Italy, which was also easily arranged.²⁹

From Alexandria he left for Italy on an Italian ship and from there he arrived in Switzerland. In the fall of 1936, Hilali had finally arrived in Geneva, where he became the guest of Arslan for one month looking for a suitable opportunity to undertake his graduate studies in Europe.³⁰

In the same year, he left for Bonn, where he first obtained a diploma of proficiency in the German language. In the winter of 1936–1937, he became a lecturer of Arabic at the University of Bonn. Consequently he embarked upon his academic research under the supervision of Paul Kahle, the head of the Oriental Seminar at the University of Bonn.³¹ In that period, Oriental studies at German universities underwent many changes and became overdriven by the new political Nazi force. Many students and teachers were dismissed from the university on the grounds of “race,” religion, or/and political convictions.³²

As Arslan had a very high opinion of the abilities of Hilali, he wrote to the German Arabist and diplomat Curt Prüfer (1881–1959), then director of the ministry’s personnel division in the German Foreign Office,³³ to inquire whether it was possible to send a qualified and prominent Arab scholar to Germany for a few years to get acquainted with Western scholarship. This Arabic scholar was Hilali. Prüfer passed the letter on to Kahle in case he wished to make particular use of his knowledge. Kahle welcomed Hilali to join the seminar in Bonn where other Orientals had been already studying and teaching.³⁴ Hilali himself felt the need to get in touch with European colleagues.³⁵ After his arrival in Bonn, Kahle convinced Hilali to commence a doctoral thesis on *al-Jamahir fi al-Jamahir* by the encyclopedic Persian scholar and philosopher Abu al-Rayhan Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Biruni (973–1048).

Collaboration with Paul Kahle

Hilali’s scientific cooperation with Paul Kahle was a remarkable experience in which Orientalism and *Salafism* successfully complemented each other. The reason behind this successful cooperation was surely the philological and historical character of the work itself. Lauzière argues that Hilali had intentionally chosen al-Biruni as a research subject instead of another medieval puritan scholar such as Ibn Taymiyya because it was compatible with Arslan’s understanding of Islamic modernism at this time. Hilali might have intended to present Islam in the most positive light possible in the realm of natural sciences.³⁶ Yet, Hilali presented a rather different picture; the reason for his research choice was that such a highly esteemed Muslim scholar was

unfortunately unknown among Muslims. His interest in the work of this great philosopher was originally suggested by Kahle, who stressed the importance of producing a German edition of Biruni’s book or parts of it. During Hilali’s initial preparation for a German translation of Biruni’s introduction, the German Orientalist F. Krenkow (1872–1953), a convert to Islam under the Muslim name Salim al-Krīnawki, had already edited Biruni’s *Jamahir* in Haydarabad.³⁷

Hilali had always a high esteem for Paul Kahle as a scholar and Orientalist. However, his active role in the German scholarship in Bonn did not inhibit him from severely attacking other German Orientalists such as Eduard Sachau (1845–1930), another German Orientalist who showed great interest in Biruni’s works as well.³⁸ In *Al-Farāh*, Hilali openly accused Sachau of “inventing lies” about Biruni. He argued that Sachau ascribed unsound accounts to Biruni in order to prove the latter’s aversion to the Arabs because of their destruction of the civilization of his Sasanian ancestors. In his violent apologies, Hilali was also upset about the prominent German scholar Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956) who followed Sachau’s view in this regard and “blackened his pages of his works with similar allegations.”³⁹ Hilali studied Biruni in order to defend the Persian scholar’s sincere religiosity and love toward the Arabs. He was also worried that many “charlatans” in the Muslim world were keen on collaborating with the “enemies of Islam” among influential European “devils” living in the East and propagating “lies” about Islam. Their views consequently caused great damage, which Muslim scholars might find hard to correct and remove from the minds of ignorant people.⁴⁰

Hilali was not the only Oriental student in Kahle’s seminar in Bonn. Kahle also supported the well-known Coptic scholar Aziz Suryal Atiyya (1898–1988) for the position of honorary professor in medieval history in Bonn. The prominent Bashkir nationalist activist Ahmed Zeki Validov (sometimes Validi or Waidi) Togan (1890–1970) was also a staff member and colleague of Hilali.⁴¹ It might be relevant to note that Validi himself described his experience and the dialogue with Orientalists as “a self-conscious activity for Arab and other Eastern intellectuals and for their Orientalist interlocutor.”⁴²

Kahle described the academic sphere of his seminar: “Every member of the staff, every assistant and research student had his special working place. If a book was not in the seminar, it was borrowed from the University Library or ordered from another library. . . . Manuscripts sent to the seminar from other Libraries were carefully kept in one of the three safes.”⁴³ Before the Nazification of the university, differences of political, confessional, and racial character did not play

any role in Kahle's seminar. "Germans and foreigners, Christians and Muhammadans, Jews and non-Jews, Protestants and Catholics, Chinese and Japanese, worked peacefully together: whoever intended to work was welcome."⁴⁴

Despite Hilali's harsh critique of several German Orientalists, it seems that he was integrated in Kahle's seminar. In his later memoirs about the Nazification of the University of Bonn, Kahle did not mention Hilali by name, but alluded to him by saying: "There were, however, several prominent Orientals as scholars in Bonn besides these two; for instance, an excellent expert in the Arabic language and literature."⁴⁵ Elsewhere, Kahle praised Hilali by name, saying that he had "fitted well into such company."⁴⁶ Kahle was impressed by Hilali's knowledge of Arabic literature, and expressed gratitude for his assistance in Bonn. They used to come together for some hours almost every day in order to work on the edition of difficult Arabic texts, such as *Kitāb al-Futuwwa* by Muhammad Ibn al-'Ammar al-Baghdadi and *Tayf al-Khwayl (Shadow Plays)* by the fourteenth-century Mosul-born Egyptian oculist and poet Muhammad Ibn Daniyal.⁴⁷ As for the first text, Kahle wrote that:

It was also possible to discuss through this text with Taqiciddin al-Hilali, the old friend from the Bonn period. A [certain] *Futuwwa* text had been the first Arabic text with which we were occupied, when Hilali came to Bonn in the spring of 1936, namely the *Futuwwa* chapter from the introduction to Biruni's Book of Stone.⁴⁸

Kahle described their 14-day work together on *Kitāb al-Futuwwa* as "unforgettable."⁴⁹ He also maintained that their cooperation was also significant for Hilali, as it finally resulted in a PhD thesis in Berlin, which he described as "an outstanding academic achievement."⁵⁰

As for the second text *Tayf al-Khwayl*, Kahle embarked on translating it after the death of his friend Georg Jacob (d. 1937), who had already made a start in editing this work. However, Kahle believed that he was more fortunate than Jacob, who had tried to understand these texts with the occasional assistance of eminent Orientalists such as Noeldeke, Goldziher, de Goeje, Snouck Hurgronje, and others, whose comments were carefully noted in the translation. Kahle's work with Hilali on that text was finished in spring 1939 by when Kahle had to leave Germany. Writing from England in 1940, Kahle commented:

I, on the other hand, was able to enjoy the co-operation of an outstanding Arab scholar, professor Taqiciddin al-Hilali, who was born in Morocco, studied in Fez, lived for some time in Egypt, and for

several years in al-Hijaz.... He is a truly critical scholar, particularly conversant with Arabic literature, and I think that with his help I have come to a considerably better understanding of these difficult texts than Jacob.⁵¹

Hilali had never heard of Ibn Daniyal and his poetry before coming to Bonn. Before starting the work, he took some time to get acquainted with the text through copies and photographs. Hilali grew enthusiastic over the text, stressing that he had never read an Arabic text so full of humor like the *Tayf*. Ibn Daniyal's *Shadow Plays* are a satiric portrayal of the social, moral, and political situation in Mamluk Cairo.⁵² At the end of 1937 they started to work systematically on the whole text, but much remained unclear for both of them on the first reading. The second time it was much better, since Ibn Daniyal repeated himself and that helped toward an understanding of his style. On the third reading, everything became quite clear, apart from the places where Ibn Daniyal used special argot, the so-called *lughat banī Sasan*. Over time, Hilali became very familiar with the work of Ibn Daniyal. Kahle was proud of their joint work that produced the commentary that Noeldeke missed in Ibn Daniyal's shadow texts.⁵³ Before the Congress of Orientalists in September 1938 in Brussels, Kahle presented his work on Ibn Daniyal by enthusiastically telling his Orientalist colleagues about his cooperation with his Moroccan student: "A distinguished Arab scholar, Prof. Taqiciddin al-Hilali, has enjoyed [the time] during the work on this important contribution. He hopes to publish the Arabic text together with a translation soon."⁵⁴

Kahle's Sympathy toward German Jews

Despite Hilali's later cooperation with those conducting Arabic propaganda on Radio Berlin, he was certainly aware of his mentor's sympathy toward German Jews, having been an eyewitness to the events in Berlin. In 1939, Kahle was obliged to escape Nazi Germany after his wife, Marie, had helped her Jewish neighbors clean up their shops after the *Kristallnacht*. When she was condemned by a Nazi court, Kahle lost his job and the couple and their children left for England in March 1939.⁵⁵ During this stressful time, Kahle was not able to go to his office. Nevertheless, Hilali and other students regularly visited him at home to assist him and discuss matters of research and study. In her memoirs, Marie Kahle wrote about Hilali's daily visit to their house: "Every morning Professor Taki Hilali, a famous Arab scholar, came to study with my husband."⁵⁶

Strangely, in April 1937, before the escalation of public Nazi violence against the Jews and the complete Nazification of the University of Bonn, Hilali wrote an article in *al-Faith* on the meaning of religious freedom at a time when Jewish merchants started to lose their business.⁵⁷ He did not believe any press report of prosecution against the Jews and Catholics in Germany. He himself had been already "deceived" by such reports before his arrival in Germany. He asserted that any case of harassment had nothing to do with the status of Jews, but was related to politics. Although many Jews were harmed in their business because of the German boycott on their goods, those who avoided politics were free and safe in their religious practices and rights. At this moment, Hilali believed that the German government did not intend to completely tighten its grips on the Jews. It was merely a policy of keeping an eye on the remaining Jews for fear of their collaboration with fellow Jews abroad who collaborated with the Allies and the United States against Germany's interests. Hilali maintained that there were three confessional Jewish students in the same seminar in Bonn, who were not ill-treated. Once he was surprised to see two Jewish students studying at the university during a Christian religious feast, while other students had left to be with their families on a holiday. Besides, he also noted that Jewish students regularly took pride in their faith, and nobody was harassing them.⁵⁸

Nevertheless, Kahle was obliged to leave for England after the harassment of him and his family by the German authorities. His departure had ironically immediate effects on Hilali's personal life. Wilhelm Heffening (1894–1944), Kahle's successor, decided to reject Hilali's dissertation because a scholar in Cambridge had finished his work on a similar topic. Hilali, on the other hand, stated that the real reason behind this refusal was Heffening's personal hostility toward him.⁵⁹

According to Hilali's memoirs, he left Bonn because of several conflicts with Heffening and a Jewish student under the name Jakobi. Hilali claimed that he had admitted Jakobi to his classes of Arabic and Islamic studies, but the latter regularly showed an unsympathetic attitude toward his Arab teacher. Hilali reported that Heffening too had a similar attitude toward him for two reasons: first, due to a conflict regarding the sharing of teaching staff rooms; and second because of his bias toward Jews as a German Catholic lecturer of Hebrew studies. Many years later, Hilali recalled that when he was studying at the university library, Jakobi put a copy of the Quran on a table and started to laugh by saying: "This is the word of God," but none of the

students paid him any attention. At the end, Hilali stood up and put a copy of the Bible beside the Quran harshly rebuked Jakobi:

You Jew! If this [Bible] were the word of God, the [Quran] should be as well. We are neither kids nor ignorant laymen, but university students learning the methods of research and investigation. These two scriptures [Torah and Gospel] were brought by two men as we know. Why these two [holy] scriptures should be considered as the word of God, while the other one [namely the Quran] should be a lie upon God?⁶⁰

Dissertation in Berlin

After Heffening's refusal of Hilali's thesis, the latter received an invitation to work in the Arabic program of the German shortwave radio station established by the Ministry of Propaganda in Berlin-Zeeseen (see below).⁶¹ In 1940 Hilali therefore moved to Berlin for his new job and to study at the Institut für Arabistik und Islamkunde at the University of Berlin. One year later he defended his doctoral thesis, which had previously been rejected by Heffening, under the supervision of Richard Hartmann (1881–1965).⁶² Shortly afterward, he published a short article on the caste-like aspects of tribalism in the Arabian Peninsula in the prominent German journal *Die Welt des Islams*.⁶³

Hilali's doctoral defense did not go without problems. The committee consisted of ten scholars, including Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956), who did not like Hilali's dissertation at all.⁶⁴ Brockelmann did not agree with Hilali's previous insistence that Biruni was a devout Muslim rather than a free thinker. He found Hilali's propositions inaccurate and defensive, as Biruni's knowledge of science and nature had made him too rational to believe in such a religion as Islam. Other members of the committee did not completely agree with Brockelmann, and Hilali passed the exam. In his comment on this event many years later, Hilali wrote: "Truth, reason and freedom of thought prevailed: the foreign Arab student triumphed over the greatest Orientalist of his time."⁶⁵ In contrast, Kahle praised Hilali and his dissertation as "a fine scholar who had obtained a real understanding of al-Biruni."⁶⁶

An Orientalist Vision of the Quran

Hilali had close contacts with other German Orientalists. Besides his appreciation of Kahle, he lauded his Berlin supervisor Richard

Hartmann for his support of academic freedom, intellectual standards, and lack of bias, unlike many other contemporary French, British, and Scandinavian Orientalists.⁶⁷

In the beginning, he believed that his study at the Oriental Seminar in Bonn could now enable him to refute Orientalist claims that specific Quranic passages were reshaped from the Bible.⁶⁸ However, his interaction with Orientalist works made slight temporary changes in his mind. In Berlin, for instance, Hilali had a chance to see the private collection of Arabic manuscripts brought from the Muslim world by the German Arabist Bernhard Moritz (1859–1939), then an employee at the German Foreign Office.⁶⁹ One of the manuscripts was a Greek translation of the opening chapter of the Quran, *al-Fatihah*, on a papyrus from Egypt. Discussing the contents of manuscript, Moritz was able to convince Hilali that some classical Muslim exegetes did not correctly explain the meanings of *al-Rahim* and *al-Rahman* (merciful)—in contrast to some of the early Muslims at the time of the revelation who understood these terms in different ways. In the traditional Muslim exegesis, *al-Rahim* refers to God's *khas*, that is, “specific” mercy, whereas *al-Rahman* points to His *amm* or “general” mercy. As Hilali was learning Syriac at this time, Moritz explained to him that the root of the two terms *r.h.m.*, in Syriac, means “love.” And since Arabic and Syriac were originally one language, this last meaning was forgotten in Arabic during the process of writing down lexicons in the classical period. Hilali enthusiastically defended Moritz's new interpretation on the pages of *al-Fatihah*.⁷⁰

Hilali's propagation of such views in the *Salafi* circles triggered a reaction from a traditional Muslim scholar in Cairo. Soon, in the same journal, 'Abd al-Latif Abu al-Samh, one of Hilali's old *Salafi* friends in Egypt, objected to Moritz's Orientalist interpretation and Hilali's defense of it.⁷¹ In his answer, Hilali argued that anybody who studied Syriac and Hebrew should be strongly convinced that they are two “full sisters” or “daughters” of Arabic. He was in no doubt that the three languages had the same origin. Hilali accepted Moritz's explanation as it better clarified the question of repetition in the Quran than the interpretation of Muslim traditional commentators that focused on the specific and general connotation of mercy. Understanding *al-Rahim* as “loving” was more convincing; and he felt that Muslim researchers should not reject it just because of their fear of opposing the early generations of *Salafi*. Hilali gave the example of the Prophet's companion Zayd Ibn Thabit, who had been able to learn Hebrew in one month. His ability to read Jewish documents to the Prophet suggests that Hebrew as a language was very

close to Arabic. It was also narrated that 'Umar Ibn al-Khatrab could read some Hebrew. In Hilali's view, the reason why such research and interpretations were not known among early Muslim exegetes was their lack of knowledge of other languages, as learning foreign languages decreased after the time of the Prophet.⁷²

III. AN OCCIDENTALIST IMAGE FROM WITHIN

Hilali's training in Orientalist scholarship made Hilali establish an “Occidentalist” view of Europe from within. His stay in Germany and his role in the Oriental Seminar in Bonn enabled him to create specific images about European culture, society, and religion. His choice of topics was probably deliberate. One should actually read his ideas as implicit reactions to Western critique of Islam, the position of women in the Muslim world, Muslim values, and political and racial issues. His “conservative” acclaim of the proper Muslim behavior vis-à-vis his severe critical ideas about the West was also integrated in the German neoromantic *völkisch* tradition and its national concepts toward the significant meanings of race and nation. Such ideals offered all sorts of inspiration not only to indigenous European nationalists and conservatives, but included Hilali and many Muslim and Arab patriots in Europe as well.

As we shall see, in explaining Islam to the Germans, Hilali relied on anecdotes, which were often enlightening and characteristic for both Hilali and his interlocutors. It is true that Hilali looked at Islam through the lens of nationalism as a compelling modern term, while the *Salafi* discourse was increasingly modeled after the concept of nationalism in Europe. However such a unifying ideal would keep the community strong in the face of colonialism.⁷³

Western Women

The position of women in Muslim tradition was a thorny issue in the Western debates about Islam. In response, Hilali made a counter-campaign by constructing specific images on the life and fate of European women as based on his observations in Germany. His sociological interpretations of the status of family and women in the West reflect a certain feeling of frustration about the European and Orientalist images of Islam and its social norms. They also carry an undertone of the challenging Western questions about such Islamic norms as polygamy and gender equality. These questions were already echoing in Muslim reformist circles as well. But as he was living in the

West, Hilali claimed to have a better authority of understanding the European society and its social concerns from within.

Under the headline "*Layla 'indi Harim*" (I have no harem), Hilali made a straightforward value judgment that the position of Muslim women in their indigenous lands was much better (though not ideal) than their European counterparts. In Germany, he observed that people normally used the word "harem" as a word of offence to houses of immoral character because of its connotation to Muslim houses with many slave girls. His unnamed German landlady was unwilling to rent a room to a German student, since he regularly had various girlfriends. She did not tolerate his behavior, and severely rebuked him: "Either you get one girlfriend only, or you leave my house. . . I have no harem here."⁷⁴ She often complained to Hilali about the bad reputation of another German female student, who was said to have changed four boyfriends in a year, all of whom had promised to marry with her, but later backed out. Hilali tried to explain to his landlady that it was the man's guilt, but she insisted that a woman should always protect herself if she wanted that nobody should deceive her.⁷⁵

Such anecdotes made Hilali believe that Europeans, particularly the common people, had inherited unyielding and deeply rooted misconceptions about Muslim households. As per his harsh defense, "the harem—even in the time when it contained more than one wife and more than one slave-girl—was a thousand time purer than any of their purest house."⁷⁶ After one and a half years in Germany, Hilali had reached a conclusion that Western women, unlike what westernized easterners propagated about their dignified status, were the victims of "ill-treatment, pain, disrespect, and spinsternhood extreme." It was futile to hope that European men would one day change their ill-treatment toward their women.⁷⁷

Hilali compared four different stages of women's upbringing in the West with the situation in Muslim societies. In the first stage of childhood, Western governments, unlike the Muslim ones, often took care of health, perfect hygiene, and good nutrition for all young girls of all social classes. During the second stage, young girls always got obligatory primary schooling, but in the third stage everything started to change. Girls usually left their parents' house to study at college or university. Rich and middle-class families continued to support their daughters financially, either on campus or in a rented place. Hilali denounced the moral life of many of European girls for their habitual visits to nightclubs and dancing. Day and night they wandered with men across the city and the forests, while their "poor" parents continued to send them money. They were thus exposed to

lose what "Arabs and Muslims would call *'ifl*" (honour).⁷⁸ In that stage, European girls, for Hilali, were like "feathers" flying in a heavy storm. After finishing their studies, generally at the age of 25, the lucky ones officially married their boyfriend. But most young men and women feared the marriage bond at a young age, as it restricted their freedom and pleasures, and in many cases, girls remained a burden on their families. Besides, European girls were usually obliged to collect their own dowry to be paid to any potential bridegroom, but in most cases they remained spinsters. Hilali assured that any Muslim witnessing the situation of European women should acknowledge God's favor upon Muslim women and the significance of "strict" and "just" Sharia regulations in protecting women.⁷⁹ The only way for poor European girls to get a decent life was to finish school and find a suitable job. Even though, Hilali argued, women in Europe suffered under tough work, let alone the forms of debasement in their jobs. In many cases, they would take care of their disabled mothers and would save money for their dowry. In their leisure time, many of them were obliged to look for a suitable man for the future. As dancing was a public custom in Europe, dancing clubs were common places where men and women used to enter relationships that could result into marriage or cohabitation. Hilali informed his readers that men of all classes rarely danced with their own wives, and a wife often chose a man other than her husband to dance with.⁸⁰ As for the fourth stage of middle age and old age, Hilali argued that married women usually became too fatigued because of the tedium of housekeeping and looking after children with no support from their husbands. But some good husbands shared the work with them, and their wives normally passed their middle age in a comparatively better state. Alternatively, unmarried middle-aged women continued working till they retired. In old age, they would either depend on social welfare or on their own savings. Hilali pitied elderly women on the streets in Germany doing their shopping without any help from the society.⁸¹

Hilali used to discuss with some of his German fellows that the situation of Muslim women was better than that of women in Europe. As a result a highly educated lady had even agreed with him on that point although she did not like the idea of a second wife. But Hilali asserted that he was able to convince her that polygamy might protect the rights of women if it is applied properly.⁸² However, he admitted, the status of Muslim women was not ideal in practice. Nevertheless, Muslim women were happier, even if they lacked appropriate and useful education. In Hilali's understanding, some Muslim men also displayed their jealousy by tightening the matter of veiling and depriving

women of education in contrast to the "tolerant" and "moderate" attitude of Islam and the *Schulaf* in that regard.⁸³

Another related issue was what Hilali saw as the suffering of women under the bond of Catholic marriage. In Germany, he heard about a Catholic lady who, despite her official divorce and that her husband had abandoned their children, was neither able to get the church's recognition of her divorce, nor to remarry. Having a new unwedded relation with another man, she felt guilty about her "sin." The priest advised her that it was better for her to come every week to confess for her sin than remarry. Since another civil marriage meant, in her case, excommunication from the church, the lady lived her life in a dilemma between her feeling of guilt and being a sincere member of the church community.⁸⁴ Hilali considered this as a sign of the church's "ruthless" attitude toward the people's social life. Unlike Islam, he argued, the Catholic Church, due to its corruption, was only concerned about increasing its income by retaining as many members as it could.⁸⁵

White "Race"

Racial policies and the Aryan/non-Aryan binary were specific characteristics of Nazi Germany. Hilali once witnessed a dialogue between an "American lady" and a "German man" concerning the role of the white man in modern history. The German man supported the idea that Germany should retrieve its single "modest" colony as its legitimate possession in East Africa. His American counterpart denounced colonialism and European "aggression" upon weak nations as unjust. In her view, the European struggle on getting colonies resembled two thieves attacking a house in order to steal its possessions, but finally differing in dividing the plunder: both were essentially civil. The German rejected her claim as an "empty" philosophy saying that colonialism persists as long as human beings remain different in colors and powers. Therefore, the white man should carry out his mission in life by rescuing "barbarous" nations from their ignorance and chaos. The American lady was not deluded into believing that France and Great Britain had crossed the sea in order to save and civilize nations, but believed that they, on the contrary, initiated "terrorism" and destruction of weak peoples.⁸⁶

Whether this debate is fictional or real, it perfectly suited Hilali's anticolonial sentiments. He mocked that the term "white man" had become equal to "European" with no regard for one's color. He observed that many Europeans of his time were sometimes astonished when they knew that other non-Europeans were white-skinned,

or that snow sometimes falls in north Africa. They even thought that "the whole Africa is boiling because of its hot temperature and that its entire people are black or look like milk mixed with coffee, and are not in need of wearing wool clothes to get warmth."⁸⁷

Hilali himself knew of incidents of European racism in Germany. He praised a Turkish man in Germany (probably his fellow Ahmed Zeki Validov Togan), who severely reacted to some pejorative statements made by a German lady about the low nature of oriental people. By referring to the superiority of Japanese civilization and progress, he also reproached the lady for her belittling views as if "European heads were made of 'light,' whereas that of other nations was made of 'darkness.'"⁸⁸

Despite Hilali's opposition to racism, we did not come across any writing in which he directly criticized the Aryan ideologies in Nazi Germany in 1930s. Later in 1960s, he recalled his German period by saying that the German idea of the "superiority" of the white race affected all classes, including the German Orientalists Carl Brockelmann and Martin Hartmann.⁸⁹ Hilali now argued that Brockelmann's claim that al-Biruni was a Persian who hated the Arabs was nothing but an echo of National Socialist racial theories and superiority of the Aryan race as opposed to their contempt for Semites, that is, Arabs.⁹⁰

Religion and Religiosity in Europe

Before his arrival in Germany, Hilali shared the widespread view in the Arab press regarding the undiminished role of religion in the West in contrast to the increase of biblical critical works doubting the authenticity of the Holy Scriptures. His stay in Europe made him recognize that both facts were actually true. Democracy in Europe means that all governments, including the Nazis, should respect the public feelings of one's traditions, beliefs, and visiting the church. He was impressed by the policy of social nationalist regimes, except Russia, for their "affectionate feelings of unity" as long as they did not disturb internal politics.⁹¹

As for the sense of religious piety, Hilali observed that many German students were devout Christians. A German student once refused to accompany him to Cologne on Sunday because of his attachment to the "divine law" obliging him to attend the weekly morning sermons in the Church. He admired such a "polite, mature and highly-educated" young man who, despite his good command over Latin and many European languages and also studying Arabic,

Turkish, Persian, Aramaic, and Sanskrit, was not ready to abandon his faith.⁹² However, there were other German friends who used to go to the church just out of respect for their parents and for fear due to a certain degree of social control. As he now mixed with diverse social classes in Germany, Hilali noted that people in Europe had a certain degree of religious respect for each other; and nobody could utter any antireligious words that might hurt the feelings of others. Even scholars critical of religion were mostly obliged to preserve the public order by not offending people's beliefs.⁹³

As for religiosity at the grassroots level, Hilali narrated a story of two of his German neighbors, a butcher and a postman, who once visited him in hospital. During their conversation, he insisted on discussing with them the invalidity of Christian doctrines, but they preferred to abandon the debate because keeping up one's religion was far better than looseness and immorality.⁹⁴ However, Hilali noted that superstitions did not disappear in modern Europe. One of his visiting German neighbors, for example, did not take regular medicine for treating callosity. Rather, he requested any of his friends or family members after the death of anybody in their circle to put water on the callosity saying: "Die, just as he dies." This was seen as a more painless treatment than removing callosity from his body.⁹⁵

This dichotomy between the Christian faith and some members of the community is clearly illustrated in Hilali's anecdotes in the Arab press of Cairo. One of them was a story circulated among the local people of Bonn about the compulsory church tax levied on all members of the church (introduced in Germany during the nineteenth century as a state law).⁹⁶ A church collector in Bonn went to collect this tax from a non-practicing Christian shopkeeper, who was hesitant to pay. When the collector warned that he would report him to the municipality, he finally succumbed and paid the tax. Meanwhile, this shopkeeper sent his assistant to the religious leader of the church with an invoice for an unspecified number of wine bottles. Having been told by the clergyman that they had never ordered those things, the assistant conveyed his boss' message: "And we have never observed prayers or listened to any of your sermons in order to pay taxes."⁹⁷

Hilali recalled that an unnamed German university lecturer once invited him for a Christmas dinner at home. Among the guests there were another Muslim student and a Jew, while the others were all Christians.⁹⁸ This lecturer was probably Paul Kahle, because it was his habit to invite his staff group for Christmas. For example, his wife Marie, who was a member of the Confessional Church, recorded in her memoirs the Christmas of 1938 before their escape to Britain

that there had been two (one Indian and one Arab) students present at their home on the Christmas Eve.⁹⁹ While people were waiting for food, the host wife brought the Gospel and placed a copy before all guests, and religious hymns were sung accompanied by piano music. In the midnight everybody was ready to leave, and the "devout" wife of Hilali's teacher prepared herself to go to the church for the Christmas service. She asked whether anybody was interested in accompanying her, but everyone kept silent. Hilali cynically said to her: "None would like to join you, because when you enter into the Kingdom, you shall be alone and will not take anybody of us." All people, including her, laughed. But Hilali knew later that she did not like his joke at all.¹⁰⁰

The reason why Hilali brought forward such anecdotes was to prove that there was a certain degree of "European fanaticism" in religion not only at the grassroots level, but also at the level of university professors and highly educated youth. Muslims should not be misled by the "camouflage of atheists" in the East, who strongly called for a blind imitation of Europeans in all ways of life including in abandoning religion and traditions.¹⁰¹

Debates on Muslim Values in Interwar Europe

As a *Salafi* student in interwar Germany, Hilali's discussions of religiosity in Europe were integrated in his ideas on the uniformity of reformist Islam and its needs for Muslims in the Muslim world and in the West as well. He did not like the existence of "extreme" mystical sects, as they were the direct reason for the degeneration of Muslim societies and creation of disharmony, especially under colonial powers.¹⁰² Hilali regularly lamented that lay and "ignorant" Europeans always looked down at the practices of oriental people living amongst them. His oriental fellows in Europe should be therefore well-prepared for debates on such issues as polygamy, male inheritance, women veiling, and segregation between sexes in Islam. Even some of his German friends even saw the concept of dowry in Islam as a symbol for the enslavement of women.¹⁰³

Hilali gave a special reference of two of such typical debates with Europeans. Fellow Muslims in Germany, unlike him, used to eat pork in restaurants. On many occasions, Europeans urged him to taste pork, saying he would never leave it again. A German colleague was surprised he had one day ordered eggs with his meal at work instead of pork. To this, Hilali sarcastically reacted that although the "ugliest insulting" word in the German language is "Schweinehund" (Swine

dog). Europeans still insist on eating the first part of the word while avoiding the second. Many of the friends present laughed. Asked by his German counterpart about the Muslim ruling regarding eating dogs, Hilali stated that Muslims do not eat dogs either, but that pork is more strictly forbidden. Hilali added that pork was considered unclean in the Old Testament too, and that Jesus never ate it because he did not come to abolish the laws of the Torah (Matthew 5:17–20).¹⁰⁴

The life of people in paradise according to the Islamic tradition was another central point of debate. In one of his gatherings with German academic fellows, someone mockingly commented about the beauty of the paradise of Muslims where they will eat, drink, and marry as well. Another man asserted that the idea of marriage in the Muslim picture of paradise was not rational. Hilali reacted that there was no paradox in this notion because people remain human beings with desires even in paradise:

The Muslim paradise is rational because it will be in accordance with the human nature, unlike your paradise which will only contain playing flutes and harps and singing songs [referring to Revelation 5:8]. After a while, one gets tired and bored when he always plays harp or sings, and will start to seek something else. If they all play, who will listen to them? To whom will they play? Human nature and mind get bored of eternal playing and singing.¹⁰⁵

As for wine drinking among Muslim students in Europe, the well-known Indonesian Muslim reformist writer Muhammad Basyuni b. Muhammad 'Imran (1885–1953) of Sambas, West Borneo, asked Hilali to spell out his views about the ruling about wine drinking in Islam on the basis of his experience in Europe.¹⁰⁶ Some Indonesian students retained their Western teachers' habits of wine drinking even after their return from Europe where it was a custom because of the cold weather. As the Shari'a was merciful, it should not prohibit what people in cold countries needed in that weather. 'Imran's questions focused on the following points: Does Islam prohibit useful things that have no harm? Are those Indonesians right in their claim? Is wine drinking useful or necessary for the people of Europe?¹⁰⁷

In his answer, Hilali stressed that prohibitions in Islam are of two types: (1) purely harmful, such as *shirk* (polytheism) and murder, and (2) things having both benefit and harm, but whose harmful effects are greater, such as wine (Quran, 2:219). In his view, not everybody in the West agreed on the unconditional benefits of wine. In the

United States there had been attempts to prohibit wine since 1874. Hilali wrote:

All wise men and leaders in the United States were unanimous on the prohibition of wine, [since] they became certain that it was a source of corruption whose harm exceeded its probable usefulness; and that its benefit was too small compared to its harmfulness. They exerted great efforts to forbid *wine al-khamr* (the mother of all filthiness)... They had continued for years till Jewish merchants were triumphant in causing strife among them. They finally succumbed to legalize it because of their judicial system.¹⁰⁸

As for the second assertion that people in cold regions need alcohol, Hilali severely reacted to that as "nonsense." His answer remained rhetoric that the Shari'a guarantees happiness in all matters of life. If God knew that wine was useful for the inhabitants of cold areas, he would have never prohibited it. Hilali argued that all physicians agreed that wine drinking is not essential for the health of any human being, but without it health improves and mental and physical diseases decrease. In Germany he observed that wine drinkers usually got headaches, swollen eyes, and uncomfortable sleep.¹⁰⁹

Hilali found the claim of those "westernized" Indonesian students in Europe as merely an allegation. University teachers in Europe were generally moderate in their habit of drinking, since being excessively drunk would badly affect their academic reputation. He concluded that alcoholism was detested in Europe as well. Unlike wine drinkers among Muslims, Europeans see wine as a superfluous matter, which they drink during festivities without lavishly spoiling their health or money. In contrast, Europeans also looked down on easterners who heavily indulged in wine drinking.¹¹⁰

IV. NAZI PROPAGANDA

Hilali's role in the Nazi propaganda is one of the most intriguing parts of his career in Germany. In his recent study on Nazi propaganda for the Arab world, Herf saw common grounds between radical German anti-Semitism and radical anti-Semitism rooted in Quranic verses and the traditional commentaries of Islam. Arabs and Nazis were brought together in a shared project of radicalizing their own past traditions.¹¹¹ Critics of Herf's arguments insist that his foremost aim was to prove specific similarities of Jew hatred in both cultures at this historical moment, without paying fair attention to the reality of politics and memories specific to this era. Herf's assertion of a joint

German-Arab message of Jew hatred could be supported only if we were able to verify the role of Arab exiles in Germany in the choice of thematic priorities and texts, and what were their contributions to the strategic decisions made by the various offices in charge of the radio policy of the German Foreign Ministry.¹¹⁷

Like many Arab nationalists, Hilali admired the Third Reich's economic policy, authoritarian and egalitarian ideology and struggle against the Allies, communism, and Jewry. His collaboration with Nazi Germany was probably a notorious historical moment, but Berlin Arabic Radio offered an unprecedented opportunity to him and other Muslim and Arab nationalists to foster a certain sense of communion in the Arab world. Although it was committed to propagate specific anti-Jewish sentiments, the shortwave played a good role in "enlightening" Arab and Muslim peoples about the French and British injustice in north Africa and Palestine.¹¹⁸

As we shall see, Hilali started his job in the radio as a proofreader and linguistic corrector (*masabbih wa muraji' lughawi*). Soon he joined the team as one of the main speakers on air.¹¹⁹ Hilali was mostly in charge of the broadcasting of issues related to north Africa and the French policies there. The French authorities were concerned with the anti-French sentiments in German propaganda. Among the subjects that Hilali broadcasted were the celebration of the anniversary of the Berber Dahir (decree), the notion of *jihad* as a religious obligation to combat colonialism, and political matters such as the month of Ramadan.¹²⁰

Power of Radio

By studying the role of Arab nationalists in Nazi propaganda, one should not ignore the fact that the invention of radio had its impact on them just as it did on their Western peers. Hilali's enthusiasm about the radio was not in a vacuum. His Pan-Islamic ideas were actually formed within the circle of great reformers such as Rida and Arslan, who had greatly valued the role of the media in propagating Islam.¹²¹ His later joining of Radio Berlin was also a result of admiration to this new technique and its anticolonial and religious power. As the radio was a token of a nation's progress, Hilali hoped that Muslims could create a space for their anticolonial activities on air by establishing national radio stations for Muslim propaganda.

Hilali had already felt the usefulness of radio as a significant mass communication medium long before his arrival in Germany. In Iraq he was regularly listening to the Italian radio and the English-speaking

Radio Jerusalem.¹²² After his arrival in Germany, he bought a radio in order to follow world news.¹²³ After his daily work, he often avoided public meetings, spending most of his time listening to the radio. The voices of different broadcasters were competing on air in disseminating their countries' political interests. In Nazi Germany, Hilali now recognized the significance of radio propaganda in empowering the state and its extension of diplomacy, since "car is the messenger to one's heart."¹²⁴ He must have had the same feeling as many others in interwar Europe that "listening to foreign stations was a symbol of the right to think for oneself."¹²⁵

In February 1937, Hilali was admitted to a hospital for an eye surgery. While he was listening to music and news, he heard, all of a sudden the voice of an Egyptian reciter of the Quran, which was immediately interrupted by a French shortwave. He got excited about listening to the Quran on the radio in Europe. Another Muslim patient in a neighboring room wished he would have been with Hilali in his room. In Bonn, there were about 20–30 Muslims, who were, like him, eager to listen to the Quran and other Arabic speeches on air. Hilali believed that propagating Islam in Europe by using radio waves was feasible because churches in Europe were already broadcasting the ringing of their bells, organ music, hymns, and prayers. However, there was no single efficient Arab broadcasting wave, like those in Germany, spreading its cultural and political views in different languages.¹²⁶

Hilali was sometimes upset about Arab radio stations broadcasting in foreign languages without using Arabic in their opening speeches. While he was listening to a music concert (March 19, 1937) on the Cairo-based English Nil-Channel, he noticed that the whole program was presented in English and French, except an Arabic greeting phrase. European radio stations normally started their programs in foreign languages with an introduction in their native language. He found that even broadcasting national music could be used for propaganda, and felt that Arab radio stations should propagate oriental music above Western music, otherwise it would be like "selling a product to its own producers."¹²⁷

Hilali lamented the "ignorance" and "laxity" of Arabs handling radio propaganda. Egypt, which was supposed to take the lead in that matter, was lagging behind, unlike the Japanese on Radio Tokyo or other small European states, such as Luxembourg, on their radios.¹²⁸ Although he usually enjoyed the Quranic recitation by the well-known Egyptian reciter Muhammad Rif'at (1900–1950), he was not happy about the "archaic" language of Egyptian broadcasters and the British

propaganda on it.¹²⁴ Hearing “Hello .. Hello, this is Tokyo” on the Japanese radio made Hilali believe that the upcoming Japanese propaganda power would be the greatest challenge to the European “obstinate” and “damned” idea that the Orient’s nature was intrinsically and unchangeably imperfect.¹²⁵ Muslims should take Japan as a model; and Europeans should now confess the greatness of Japan despite its non-Aryan origin.¹²⁶

As the radio had become the speaking “tongue” of nations, Hilali had aspired that the Egyptian radio station would address Arabs and Muslims in Europe by broadcasting Quranic recitation and Islamic lectures. Muslim scholars and writers were encouraged to take the example of the Vatican Radio (established in 1931) in its faithful proclaiming of the Catholic message on air.¹²⁷

However, Hilali saw the European rivalry in radio wave techniques as a struggle between the good and evil. In this competition, the Germans were keen on spoiling Radio Moscow, as the Russians created shortwaves of higher quality that were well-received in remote areas. Hilali was informed that Germany had 12 efficient broadcasts, whereas Hitler kept another 12 stations in his “pocket” in order to spoil the enemy’s radio broadcasting during the war. But Hilali was aware that in their radio propaganda European governments sometimes exaggerated their minor achievements in order to manipulate their people.¹²⁸

Listening to the radio had changed many of Hilali’s views on world politics and reinforced his antipathy toward colonialism. For example, before his arrival in Germany he admired Abba Jofir, the last sultan of the Kingdom of Jimma in Ethiopia. But Jofir’s excessive public praise for Italy on Rome Arabic Radio made him change his mind.¹²⁹ He was shocked to hear Jofir demanding of Muslims in a radio speech to obey Italy’s rule by citing the Quranic verse: “Obey God, the Messenger and those in authority among you” (Quran 4:59). Hilali found that Jofir committed a grave and evident *kufr* (disbelief), which had already reached a countless number of people on the globe via the radio. In order to erase his “sin” and retrieve his faith, the king had to declare his repentance on air as well.¹³⁰

Radio as an Anticolonial Weapon

During his stay in Nazi Germany, Hilali eagerly searched for French colonial broadcasting stations on his radio device in order to keep updated on the French propaganda in north Africa. He was thrilled when many times a German station tried to disturb Radio Paris.¹³¹

One day he was disappointed when a certain Ahmed Lihbib, the main speaker on the French radio, *Algérie*, lauded France for its “motherly tenderness” and “generosity” toward her Algerian “children.” In his radio speeches, Hilali habitually attacked French colonialism as the most “abominable” and “diabolic” oppression in the world.¹³²

Hilali ridiculed such Arab propagandists as “barking dogs.” On the French radio *Paris Mondial*, one Arab broadcaster even went further in equating the role of the French radical Prime Minister Édouard Daladier (1884–1970) and his British counterpart Neville Chamberlain (1869–1940) with prophets in history. While prophets had been sent down by God to preserve humanity, Hilali commented, those two leaders were destined to destroy the world despite their claim of democracy.¹³³ In response, Hilali contrasted the “misdeeds” of Daladier and Chamberlain in their colonies with the Nazi regime and Hitler, who, in his view, was not an absolute tyrant or authoritarian as many people might have thought. Unlike these two leaders, Hitler ruled as a native Catholic leader in his own country, not in the country of others. Hilali also asserted that he also treated the Germans equally with no distinction or bias. Unlike the French and British colonizers, Hitler was keen on preserving his nation’s wealth. He neither had a wife or any sons, nor did he appoint any of his family members in office.¹³⁴

Being aware of the notoriety of his defense to Nazism and Fascism, Hilali remarked that Germany and Italy remained, for him, foreign nations. Especially Italian and French authorities were alike in their “brutality” against Muslims. In his view, Italian Fascism in Libya resembled the French “Fascist” behavior in north Africa. For him, neither France nor Italy was a good friend of Islam. For that reason, Islam should never exist under any foreign form of colonialism that explicitly rejects the Quran, the Sunna and the good *Salaf* (ancestors).¹³⁵

For Hilali, the emergence of authoritarian or democratic political systems in Europe were the product of freedom. The people in the East, on the contrary, were “dying of thirst” for a “drop of justice.”¹³⁶ He argued that Germany’s political system, good or bad, would benefit or harm only its people. The same held true for France’s democracy, which was beautiful only for the French themselves. The so-called democratic regimes were sometimes even worse than authoritarian political systems, as they remained democratic only within their borders, but were tyrant and suppressive in other lands. Hilali found that what Daladier was saying on the radio was completely at variance with the ethics Europeans taught their children at schools.¹³⁷

Hilali attacked *Paris Mondial* for its “pro-Jewish” tone against the Palestinian cause. He harshly labeled it a “devilish Jewish Mondial,” which deserved instead to be labeled as “Radio Tel Aviv,” for its unconditional defense of the Jewish question more than the Jews themselves did.¹³⁸ No less worse was *Radio-Tunis PTT* broadcasting station, which was officially inaugurated by the French PTT minister M. Jules Julien in September 1938 during the celebration of the month of Ramadan. Hilali doubted that such a colonial station was set up as respect to Islam and Muslims.¹³⁹ For him, the colonial stamp was obvious on this station, as it regularly broadcasted its inauguration ceremonies in French, besides Arabic. Ironically, the Tunisian station carried the French abbreviation “PTT,” and always ended its programs with the French national anthem. He suspected its coverage for the simple reason that it labeled the *mujahidin* in Palestine as “rebellious” and “thieves.”¹⁴⁰ Due to his puritan understanding of Islam, Hilali accused the French propagandists of pacifying Muslims by broadcasting musical concerts and mystical gatherings, religious hymns, and poems on radio as the “best” form of Islam in order to entice its listeners against resistance.¹⁴¹ Also he saw that *Radio-Tunis* propagated the idea that the Berbers were superior to Arabs, as proved by what had happened in Morocco during Berber Dahir in 1931. They tried to convince people that the French introduced culture, democracy, and liberty to the Berbers, while the Arabs brought them a religion only.¹⁴²

Hilali was thrilled to hear about the establishment of any Muslim or Arab anticolonial radio stations, such as *Radio Ankara* (October 1938). Also the establishment of “moderate” radio waves in Arabic by other colonial states, such as Spain, was sometimes also welcomed.¹⁴³ On browsing stations on his radio, Hilali came across the anti-French radio station of *Greater Syria*, which was broadcasted from an anonymous place in order to escape any French interference. Now having gained experience with the radio world, Hilali advised Syrian broadcasters to air their programs in English, French, Italian, and German. In order to escape any foreign interference, they were advised to change the wave from time to time, and to put their radio wave beside *Paris Mondial* in order to guarantee that the French could not interfere with it without spoiling their own station. In *al-Fatih*, Hilali made an announcement for his Arab readers about its broadcasting times; and urged other Arabs and Muslims in Europe to follow its programs.¹⁴⁴ To his mind, the radio of *Greater Syria* was the only anticolonial Arabic Muslim station that the French authorities were trying to spoil.¹⁴⁵ When it returned back on air after a short period

of disappearance, Hilali welcomed its return by equating it with the *adhan* (call of prayer), that drove the “Satan” [referring to colonialism] away.¹⁴⁶

Due to the lack of Arab anticolonial radios, Hilali was ready to accept Nazi propaganda in serving the Muslim Arab cause in Palestine. Thanks to the Nazi radio propaganda, he believed, Germans from all classes became well-informed about the British disproportionate policies in the Muslim world. The Germans had therefore started to show a certain degree of sympathy toward the people of Palestine.¹⁴⁷ Hilali was sometimes rejoiced by Hitler’s challenge to the British imperial policies in Palestine. For example, he talked of the well-known assault of Hitler in his *Reichstag* speech (February 22, 1938) in the British House of Commons for its critique to the German racial policy, in which he said: “I advise the members of the House of Commons to concern themselves with the judgments of British military courts in Jerusalem, and not with the judgments of German courts of justice.”¹⁴⁸

Hilali broadcasted his dismay about the news of the partition of British mandatory Palestine on the Nazi radio.¹⁴⁹ He was impressed by the voices of German masses, men and women, broadcasted on the radio while they were shouting “Heil Hitler!” on the streets of Berlin for his annexation of Sudetenland in 1938. This scene on German streets reminded Hilali of the suffering of Muslim prisoners in colonial jails. He bemoaned that Muslims had *no Hitler, no nation, and no hope* to rescue them from the colonial oppression like Hitler did with Sudetenland.¹⁵⁰

Also the call of German authorities for the Winter relief campaign (*Winterhilfswerk*) in October 1938 for the sake of Sudetenland was of great importance in Hilali’s admiration of the German Reich.¹⁵¹ His landlady in Bonn doubled her contribution that year because of her strong faith in her government’s sincerity in helping German fellows in Sudetenland. Had a quarter of the number of Arabs had been like this old German lady in her national faith and work, he wrote, the Arab situation would have drastically changed. Hilali was certain that this German mass charity demonstration (clothes, toys, and huge amounts of money) should improve the status of those annexed fellow Germans by reconstructing their roads, buildings, schools, and public parks.¹⁵²

Political Convictions

As for his political convictions, Hilali shared the Nazi propaganda campaign against communism and Bolshevism as evil for the world.¹⁵³ Particularly in 1937, immediacy after Hilali’s arrival in Germany and

before joining the radio, *Reichpropagandaleitung* organized a major anti-Bolshevik exhibit that traveled to big cities. Joseph Goebbels (1897–1945), the Reich Minister of Propaganda in Nazi Germany, promoted a severe anti-Bolshevik campaign by delivering inflammatory speeches, blaming the entire Spanish Civil War on “Jewish Bolshevism.”¹⁵⁴ Against this background, Hilali jumped to warn his fellow Moroccan nationalists against the Spanish Bolshevik Party as more hostile to the Islam and the Moroccan people due its blind loyalty to Paris and Moscow.¹⁵⁵ Although Muslims should never expect any good from a European, he wrote, one should try to diminish any French or Russian influence in Spain.¹⁵⁶

As a Pan-Islamic thinker, Hilali argued that the Islamic state is the most ideal political system. In his view, the social nationalist state system was closer to Islam than democratic, communist, autocratic forms. The social nationalist system, such as the German case, was keen on the unification of a nation under the leadership of a “sincere” and “fair-minded” group cooperating for the sake of the nation’s reform, happiness, and welfare in all aspects and for the struggle against anarchists. Following the line of Nazi propaganda, Hilali stressed that the National Socialist regime had saved Germany from disastrous crisis, burglary, corruption, hunger, chaos, enemies of the nation abroad, and the “corrupting” Jews who “inflamed the fire” inside the country.¹⁵⁷ For him, the Germans had borrowed the welfare system from Islam. He was impressed by the charitable work of the *Winterhilfswerk der Deutschen Völker* (the National Socialist People’s Welfare Organization) and its winter-help collection drive for the sake of needy people.¹⁵⁸ He considered taxation and the social welfare and pension system in Germany as primarily instituted to serve the people with no intention of any propaganda. It was only aimed at supporting poor families, fighting against monopoly and usury, and keeping the social balance in contrast to the “bloody” Bolshevism.¹⁵⁹

Hilali shared with his Pan-Islamic peers an ambition of liberating all Muslims and Arabs from colonial powers under one nation. But it is noteworthy that he did not agree with the mainstream reformist Muslim political thinking that stressed an Islamic appeal for democracy by comparing it with *Sharia*, and gave instead his preference for national socialist regimes as closer to Islam. He argued that democratic systems are based on “beautiful” elections in the first place. However, when a democratic government comes to power, it tries to manipulate votes of weak and naive people for the following elections. Strikes within democratic systems easily lead to chaos and wasting of national money. In conclusion, democracy is, in his view, contradictory to Islam

because of its “chaos and corruption,” and the absence of a proper imam leadership in the community.¹⁶⁰ Hilali remarked that communist and autocratic systems, especially the communist Bolshevik model, were the worst type of governments for their “enslaving” of people and depriving them of their religion and money. Hilali seems to agree with the German organized anti-Bolshevik propaganda that Bolsheviks lavishly spent their national income on propaganda, while their people were dying of hunger. He also added that the Jews were the force behind the communist system.¹⁶¹

Arabic Radio Berlin

Many of Hilali’s above-mentioned reflections were later more clearly crystallized during his work in the Berlin Arabic Radio. The proofs for his qualification criteria for the job as a translator at this radio were beforehand examined by his German teachers, namely the above-mentioned Bernhard Moritz, Richard Hartmann, and the Swedish Arabist Walther Björkman, the editor of *Mitteilungen der Auslands-Hochschule an der Universität Berlin*. Together with three other Arab employees, Hilali accepted the position in mid-April 1939 after Kahle had fled to Great Britain due to the Nazi harassment to him and to his family. In the meantime, the propaganda department applied at the Reichserziehungsministerium (Reich Ministry of Education) for leave from his post at the University of Bonn.¹⁶² According to his employment dossier in the Bundesarchiv, the monthly salary for this new function in the Wireless Service (Der Drahtlose Dienst) as a “translator and language specialist and advisor” was 550 Reichsmark (RM). On May 9, 1939, Hilali signed a statement subjecting himself to the regulations of scrupulous performance of duties and commitment to obligations.¹⁶³ In the summer of 1939, the Secret State Police (Geheime Staatspolizei) screened him and reported that nothing negative was known about his political detriment (politisch Nachteltes).¹⁶⁴ Finally, Hilali received a permit from the Reich Ministry of Education to move to Berlin.¹⁶⁵

Later he became a broadcaster on the radio. In *al-Fatih*, now as a professional broadcaster in Europe, he continued to tell his readers about the usefulness of the radio power in modern times. He published a few of his speeches that he read on air in Berlin. Some of them were apolitical dealing with such topics as the Prophet’s birthday (May 1939) and the significance of Prophet’s traditions and ethics in the progress of Muslim life.¹⁶⁶

Besides his anti-French speeches, Hilali sharply criticized Muslims for their laxity in defending Palestine. In those speeches he made use

of Quranic citations related to the duty of *jihad* in Islam. His projection of such passages on the modern political state of Muslims was sometimes mixed with anti-Jewish sentiments, which fitted perfectly well in Nazi propaganda campaigns.¹⁶⁷ In one speech, he announced that Muslim collaborators with the French in north Africa were as bad as those who collaborated with the British and Jews in Palestine. "If the Jews had 'murdered' some of their Prophets in the past," he said, "those Muslim 'traitors' murder the divine laws by their acts."¹⁶⁸ Meanwhile, it should be emphasized that Radio Berlin had given Hilali a chance to fulfill his anti-imperial aspirations, due to its strategy of stigmatizing the interests of the Allies in the Middle East as "greedy imperialism," and "robbing the Arabs from their wealth and enslaving them."¹⁶⁹ Allied leaders were mostly presented as "untrustworthy" and "decadent individuals" who were "controlled by the Jews."¹⁶⁹

In a severely polemical series of speeches in July 1939 under the title "Prophetic Guidance Which Muslims Had Abandoned," Hilali launched a harsh attack on the increasing French, British, and Jewish power in the world. In his words, "the horn of the devil" had grown again, whereas the Prophetic traditions had disappeared in the Muslim life. The state of *Jahiliyya* (pre-Islamic ignorance) had replaced those traditions. Because of their negligence of *jihad*, Muslims had acquired a more miserable life than death. His harsh anti-Jewish words reflect his frustration of Arab and Muslim efforts in defending the Palestinian cause. He found that the Arabs in Palestine supporting the British and the Jews against their brethren by helping Jewish commissioners to sell Muslim lands and houses were as evil as the Jews themselves. In contrast, a contemporary Jew would neither kill his fellow Jew, nor confiscate his land.¹⁷⁰ In another radio speech, Hilali repeated that the Jews were able to confiscate a great part of the Holy Land not because of their military power, but due to their expenditure of huge amounts of money in support of their common cause. If Muslims "had spent half of the money amounts they often lavishly spent on smoking and . . . own pleasures, the Jews would have never been able to buy a span of land in Palestine."¹⁷¹

Regretting or Justifying?

Hilali worked for Radio Berlin for almost three years. In early 1942, he left Germany and arrived in Spanish Morocco in March. Based on Hilali's published autobiography, Henri Lauzière maintained that his departure to his fatherland was rather secretive. For reasons that are not entirely clear, life in Berlin became more difficult for him

after the outbreak of the war. Hilali admitted that he was on a mission at a request of Hajj Amin al-Husayni, who requested him to deliver an "oral message" to the Moroccan nationalist and leader of the National Reform Party 'Abd al-Khalik al-Turayy regarding their common anticolonial cause.¹⁷² As Hilali was an Iraqi by nationality, and had no Moroccan passport at that time, Turayy provided him with a doctored document that had enabled him to enter his fatherland again. The Spanish authorities were alarmed by his arrival and put him under surveillance fearing his role in any secret contacts between the Germans and Moroccan nationalists.¹⁷³

Hilali did not reveal what kind of message it was. However, a German political document suggested that this "message" had something to do with Husayni's plan to establish a center for Arab legions by establishing a German-Arab *Lehrtrupp* in north Africa after any German march to the region.¹⁷⁴ Turayy had been in contact with Husayni before Hilali's departure to Morocco. In a letter (November 14, 1941), Turayy assured the mufti that his National Reform Party and all nationalist organizations would be under Husayni's command and were "ready for any sacrifice."¹⁷⁵

After his departure from Germany, Hilali had been keeping contact with Husayni, who was still active in Berlin during the war, through the German consul in Tetuán Herbert Georg Richter, who channeled money and propaganda to Moroccan nationalists in the French zone.¹⁷⁶ Hilali was said to have given information to German officials about the size of American and British propaganda in the Spanish zone.¹⁷⁷ It is also interesting to add that after the outbreak of the war, Richter tried to convince the Spanish authorities to adopt anti-Jewish measures in Tetuán. He also tried to entice Muslims against the Jews. But all his efforts failed, as the governor of the city and other Makhzan officials assisted the Jews against any attempt by Muslims of Germany to harm them.¹⁷⁸

Many years later, Hilali recalled his memories about the German period in many places of his writing. He tried to justify his collaboration with the Nazis by confirming that he was never a "German agent," but a "defending agent" to the Moroccan cause.¹⁷⁹ In a discussion with the vice-consul of the British Consulate in Morocco (who was of Jewish Greek origin, according to Hilali), Hilali did not regret his anticolonial attacks that he had broadcasted on Radio Berlin, as he believed he should defend the rights of his country, just as the Britons tried to defend their country by collaborating with the French. Hilali was convinced that he did the right thing, since the enemy of the enemy was a friend.¹⁸⁰

Hilali explained that due to his sincere commitment to that cause, he was sometimes obliged to face the danger of war and bombardment in Berlin on his way to the radio building outside Berlin in the metro at night and under the snow. He asserted that he was even obliged to pay the costs of translation and typesetting because the director of the station did not allow the broadcasting of any program before its authorization from four government offices, which he had to pay for himself.¹⁸¹

Germany was a fruitful station in Hilali's career, but he was sometimes obliged to justify his collaboration with the "notorious" side after the war. In an unpublished diary document, which he wrote in reaction to the trial of Nazi leaders in Nuremberg (October 22, 1946), Hilali supported the views of some of Nuremberg's critics that it was an invalid trial because it was a form of "victors' justice." Hilali wrote this document as a journal article in Arabic, but failed to publish it in any journal at that time. In his view, the trial was "unprincipled" and "partial," because the claimant was a witness and judge at the same time. It would have been fair if the British and French leaders also had been convicted for their crimes besides their German counterparts, he said.¹⁸²

Hilali did not change his mind after the war regarding the perceived paradoxes of democracy, which the United States, Britain, and France started to propagate after the end of World War II. Freedom of religion and thought, which those nations boasted, was merely an illusion because Muslims under their rule were deprived of them. His intention of documenting his judgment was neither due to his feeling of loyalty nor any commitment to the Nazi *ihwan* (beneficence) to him during his stay in interwar Germany. What he saw from them was merely *islah* (misdced). Hilali was unfortunately silent about this kind of *islah* that he encountered during his sojourn among the Nazis. As he did not completely trust Hitler's promises to the Arabs, Hilali now said that he wished Germany neither a total victory, nor a complete defeat. Even in his Nazi time, he was always worried that Germany would have tyrannized Muslims, if it had won the war. "[Fearing the German] defeat," he wrote, "was meant to strike a specific balance by which we [Muslims] could hit... [Europeans] with one other; and could therefore resist their injustice."¹⁸³

CONCLUSION

In the above-mentioned analysis, we have tried to reconstruct the academic, intellectual, and propagandist political activities of a unique

Muslim reformist figure functioning during a changing course of actions in Nazi Germany. It is the study of a man in a world of a Pan-Islamic transnational collective action in interwar Europe. It has been clear that Hilali had a uniform anticolonial aim during his stay in the Third Reich.

After the war, Hilali turned to a more conservative *Salafī* trend. However, he did not disconnect himself from the Western academic life in the late 1940s and 1950s. His relationship with his German mentor Kahle remained solid. Hilali used to send Kahle his newly established journal *Liṣān al-Dīn* from Tenuh. From his side, Kahle used to inform his old student about his sick wife, children, and his plan of publishing his book about the Nazification of University of Bonn. In 1948, Kahle had requested Hilali to help him find a publisher for one of his works in Morocco, Egypt, or Syria.¹⁸⁴ In the same year, Hilali published an edition of Ibn Daniyal's plays with an Arabic translation of Kahle's introduction in Baghdad in 1948.¹⁸⁵ In 1953–1954, Hilali was even invited as a guest lecturer at the University of Bonn. In his address to the Pakistan History Conference in Karachi (1956), Kahle still boasted about his Oriental Seminar and praised the contribution of Eastern scholars to it. "They were," he said, "of the greatest value and gave the atmosphere of the Institute a distinctive character, and I have remained on the best terms with them. I may mention here my friend Dr. Taki'uddin al-Hilali, from Morocco, a great Arabic scholar.... We worked together for some years on very difficult Arabic texts with the greatest profit to both of us."¹⁸⁶ After many years, Kahle remained thankful to Curt Prüfer for having made it possible for him to make use of Hilali's knowledge.¹⁸⁷

It is plausible to argue that due to his training in Germany, Hilali laid his emphasis on philology, and that his positivistic approach to history bolstered his scripturalist and linguistic approach to Islam and made it more persuasive.¹⁸⁸ We have seen, however, that Kahle on his part boasted about the new "excellent" knowledge introduced to him by his Moroccan disciple, which distinguished his work from that of his Orientalist colleague. Hilali's acceptance and defense of Montz's "revisionist" exegesis of the Quranic Opening Sura in an Egyptian *Salafī* journal in Cairo was remarkable.

Nevertheless, other German Orientalists, such as Brockelmann, were not very enthusiastic about his academic qualities. The disagreement of German Orientalists regarding Hilali's scholarly quality should not be surprising. Kahle and Brockelmann responded differently to his works due to the simple fact that Kahle had for many years worked with non-Europeans (including many Jews) on the Cairo

Genizah project, as well as other projects. Brockmann on the other hand was trained in a Eurocentric tradition of pure philology.

Reconsidering his role (together with other Arab nationalists) in the Arabic propaganda of Nazi Germany, one could venture to say that their collaboration was a product of its times. It was a continuation of the advent of Pan-Islamic anticolonial movements inside Europe with their self-proclaimed goals of liberating their colonized lands in the wider world politics. His polemical and pragmatic messages were produced in a period of highly charged and acute ideological nationalist divisions. This may be due to his "Occidentalizer" point of view that did not inhibit him from talking about his work in the German Arab broadcasting service, and his views of Hitler and National Socialism. On the one hand, Hilali opposed racism, but he was not happy with at least one Jewish colleague.

Hilali's ideological consideration was noticeable. His main contributions to the Arab press and German broadcasts should not be dismissed from the project of the internationalization of the Pan-Islamic struggle against colonialism and the increasing Zionist movements in Palestine. In his pre-German period, Hilali aspired that the Arabs and Muslims should have their own radio waves in their anticolonial struggle. As he did not have any chance to participate in the radio in his early stay in Germany, he opted for the printing press as a medium for spreading the message among his readers regarding radio power. But when he got the chance to take part in it, he regularly articulated heavy opposition to the French colonialism in north Africa, and the "British Jewish" complot to destroy the Arab existence in Palestine.

In many places, Hilali stressed the idea of nationality and its racial resonances as he perceived them in the Nazi context. As a propagandist, he knew the needs of the latent and actual public opinion and the degree of intensity of the subjects he dealt with in his press articles and on radio. His pro-Axis sentiments were therefore reflections of a complex international political situation. However, his contributions to Berlin Arabic Radio expressed his religious beliefs and political ideals; the German propaganda machine had exploited his anti-Jewish sentiments to its maximum because it was in entire harmony with the German international interests.¹⁸⁹

NOTES

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11. The label is quoted from Lauzière, "The Evolution."
12. Nordbruch, "Cultural Fusion," 187.
13. Lauzière, "The Evolution," 88–89.
14. Taqi al-Din al-Hilali, *Al-Dawa li-l-Allah fi Agam Makhanatini* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Sahaba and Sharqa: Maktabat al-Tahrir, 2003), 36, 40–41, 50–51, 131–132.

15. Stefan Wild, "National Socialism in the Arab Near East between 1933 and 1939," *Die Welt des Islams* 25 (1985): 126–173. Wild did not depend on *Al-Fatih*, but on an Italian translation of the article in *Oriente Moderno* (1937). On its tenth anniversary, *Al-Fatih* published a photo of Hilihi, among other contributors, in his European dress with a comment that he, as a writer in the magazine, was like the "sun" that remains "sun" in the east or in the west with his "rife, useful and enjoyable" contributions (*Al-Fatih* 12, 551 [July 26, 1937]: 25).
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27. Lauzière, "The Evolution," 242.
28. Kramer, *Islam Assembly*, 144–146.
29. Hilihi, unpublished diary, "Min al-Zubayr la la adri (From Zubayr to I-do-not-know-where)," 1936, Hilihi family private papers.
30. Lauzière, "The Evolution," 242.
31. Lauzière, "The Evolution," 252.
32. Ursula Wokoock, *German Orientalism: The Study of the Middle East and Islam from 1800 to 1945* (Taylor & Francis, 2009), 185–209; cf. Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship* (Washington, DC: German Historical Institute, 2009).
33. For more about him, see Donald M. McKale, *Curt Prufers, German Diplomat from the Kaiser to Hitler* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1987).
34. Paul Kahle, "Curt Prufers," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 111 (1961): 1–3.
35. Paul Kahle, *Three Shadow Plays*, with a critical apparatus by Derek Hopwood (Oxford: Gibb Memorial Trust, 1992), 3.
36. Lauzière, "The Evolution," 254–255.
37. According to Hilihi, the quality of this edition was bad and contained many errors, because of the weak print techniques in India (T. al-Hilihi, "Kitab al-Jamahir fi al-Jawahir li-Biruni," *Al-Fatih*

- 14,653 [May 11]: 6–7). For Krenkow, see Otto Spies, "Fritz Krenkow," *Der Islam* 31, 2–3 (1956): 228–236.
38. See, for instance, Edward C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India: An Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Geography, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India about A.D. 1030* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trubner), 1910.
39. Hilihi, "Kitab al-Jamahir," 7.
40. Hilihi, "Kitab," 6.
41. Paul Kahle, *Bonn University in Pre-Nazi and Nazi Times (1929–1939): Experiences of a German Professor* (London: n.p., 1945), 28; H. B. Paksoy, "Basmachi Movement from within: Account of Zeki Veldi Togan," *Nationalities Papers* 23 (1995): 373–399.
42. Raz, "The Transparent," 69.
43. Kahle, *Bonn University*, 27.
44. Kahle, *Bonn University*, 29–30.
45. Kahle, *Bonn University*, 29.
46. Kahle, *Three Shadow*, 3.
47. Shmuel Moreh, "Review of *Three Shadow Plays* by Muhammad Ibn Danyal, Paul Kahle," *Die Welt des Islams* 34, 1 (1994): 126–129.
48. Original text: "Auerdem war es möglich, diesen Text mit Takieddin al-Hilihi durchzusprechen, dem alten Freund aus der Bonner Zeit. Ein Furuwwa Text war der erste arabische Text gewesen, der uns beschäftigt hatte, als Hilihi im Herbst 1936 nach Bonn kam, nämlich das Furuwwa Kapitel aus der Einleitung zu Biruni's Steinbuch." Paul Kahle, *Opera Minora: Festgabe zum 21. Januar 1956*, (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1956), 216. Kahle was also impressed by Hilihi's memorization of the Quran and that he was able to find any verse without any help of glossaries.
49. Kahle, *Opera*, 216.
50. Kahle, *Opera*, 217–219.
51. Paul Kahle, "The Arabic Shadow Play in Egypt," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 (1940): 21–34; Kahle, *Opera*, 300.
52. Cyrus Ali Zargar, "The Sarric Method of Ibn Danyal: Morality and Anti-Morality in 'Tayfal-Khawal,'" *Journal of Arabic Literature* 37, 1 (2006), 68–108.
53. Kahle, *Three Shadow*, 3–4.
54. Original text: "Er hat sich bei der Arbeit der wichtigen Mitarbeit eines ausgezeichneten arabischen Gelehrten, prof. Takieddin al-Hilihi, erfreuen können. Er hofft, demnachst den arabischen Text nebst Übersetzung herausgeben zu können." Jean Capart, ed., *Actes du XXXe Congrès international des Orientalistes: Bruxelles, 5–10 Septembre 1938* (Louvain: Bureaux du Muséon, 1940), 325.
55. Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 490–492.
56. Marie Kahle, *What Would You Have Done? The Story of the Escape of the Kahle Family from Nazi-Germany* (London: Porssocken Press), 15.

57. Cf. John Mendel, *Legitimizing the Holocaust: the Early Phase, 1933–1939* (Garland: Brunstein, 1982); William Brunstein, *Roots of Hate: Anti-Semitism in Europe before the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
58. T. al-Hilali, "Ahl Uruba wa al-Iadayun," *Al-Fatih* 12.559 (July 23, 1937): 9.
59. Lauzère, "The Evolution," 252.
60. Typescript, no date, family archive. According to Hilali, Jakob died later after a British bombardment that destroyed his house.
61. Lauzère, "The Evolution," 252–353.
62. See his thesis, Taki al-Din al-Hilali, *Die Entwicklung zu al-Biruni's Sternbuch* (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1941).
63. Lauzère, "The Evolution," 252–353; Tsiqi ed-Din al-Hilali, "Die Kasien in Arabien," *Die Welt der Islam* 22 (1940): 102–110.
64. Lauzère, "The Evolution," 261.
65. As quoted in Lauzère, "The Evolution," 261.
66. P. Kahle, "Al-Biruni," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan* 1.1 (1956): 22.
67. Lauzère, "The Evolution," 260–261.
68. T. al-Hilali, "Latifa fi Tafsir al-Basmala," *Al-Fatih* 14.654, 28 Rabi' al-Awwal 1358 (May 18, 1939): 14.
69. Wild, "National Socialism," 139.
70. Hilali, "Latifa," 14. In his article in *Al-Fatih*, Hilali mentioned that Moritz had shown him a manuscript of a Persian translation of the *Fatihah* in which the word was translated as "voiving." This means that the Arabs at this time understood the word in this way. When Hilali showed the German orientalist his article on the issue, Moritz corrected him by saying that *al-Fatihah* appeared on the papyrus not in Persian, but in Greek translation. *Ibid.*, 10.
71. Abu al-Samh, "Falasfa fi al-Basmala," *Al-Fatih* 14.657, 20 Rabi' al-Akhar 1358 (June 9, 1939): 19–21.
72. T. al-Hilali, "Latifa fi mana al-Rahim," *Al-Fatih* 14.662, 25 Jumada al-Ula 1358 (July 13, 1939): 10.
73. Lauzère, "The Evolution," 238.
74. T. al-Hilali, "Laysa 'indi Harim," *Al-Fatih* 12.594, 23 Muharram 1357 (March 26, 1938): 6–8.
75. Hilali, "Laysa," 7.
76. Hilali, "Laysa," 6.
77. Hilali, "Laysa," 6.
78. Hilali, "Laysa," 7.
79. Hilali, "Laysa," 7.
80. Hilali, "Laysa," 8.
81. Hilali, "Laysa," 8.
82. Hilali, "Laysa," 9. Hilali cited the ideas of the British convert Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall (1875–1936) about the better status of Muslim women than their Western counterparts; see

- P. Clark, *Marmaduke Pickthall: British Muslim* (Quartet Books, 1986).
83. Hilali, "Laysa," 8.
84. T. al-Hilali, "Min 'Ayat al-Hakim al-Qassim," *Al-Fatih* 13.640, 20 Dhu al-Hijja 1357 (February 10, 1938): 6. Hilali maintained that there were 3,000 out of 100,000 inhabitants of Bonn, who were excommunicated from the church. Those people were always ashamed and faced trouble in the society. His landlady told him that she regretted her visit to a good friend in hospital after having known that she was excommunicated from the church. Because his landlady conveyed to him that she disliked dealing with disbelievers, Hilali described her as a "subordinarily religious and nationalistic person."
85. Hilali, "Min 'Ayat," 6.
86. T. al-Hilali, "Al-Rajul al-Abyad wa al-Rajul al-Mulawan: Muhawarah bayna Imrah Amrikyya wa rajul Jimani," *Al-Fatih* 11.549, 2 Rabi' al-Awwal, 1356 (May 13, 1937): 10–11.
87. Hilali, "Al-Rajul," 10–11.
88. Hilali, "Al-Rajul," 12.
89. T. al-Hilali, "Dawa' al-Shakk wa Qami' al-Mushakkkin 8," *Da'wat al-Haqiq* 4.1 (October 1960): 10–11.
90. Hilali, "Dawa' 8," 11.
91. Hilali, "Ahl Uruba," 9.
92. Hilali, "Ahl Uruba," 7.
93. Hilali, "Ahl Uruba," 7.
94. Hilali, "Ahl Uruba," 7.
95. Hilali, "Ahl Uruba," 8.
96. The system was embodied in the Weimar Constitution of 1919 and the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949. See the International Center for the Non-Profit Law, http://www.icnl.org/knowledge/pubs/Percentage_Laws_Report.pdf, accessed March 12, 2010.
97. Hilali, "Ahl Uruba," 8.
98. Hilali, "Ahl Uruba," 8–9.
99. Marc Kahle, *What?*, 19.
100. Hilali, "Ahl Uruba," 8–9.
101. Hilali, "Ahl Uruba," 9.
102. T. Hilali, "Al-Taraj al-Qidad wa 'Awagibaha al-Wahima," *Al-Fatih* 12.580, 13 Shawwal 1356 (December 16, 1937): 8.
103. T. al-Hilali, "Hajjimun Hagem Fa Duhira wa Inham," *Al-Fatih* 12.592, 8 al-Muharram 1357 (March 11, 1938): 7.
104. Hilali, "Hajjimun," 6.
105. Hilali, "Hajjimun," 7.
106. T. al-Hilali, "Shurh al-Khamr fi Uruba Mahlakah Kama fi Ghayriha," *Al-Fatih* 13.622, 13 Sha'ban 1357 (October 7, 1938): 6. It might be interesting to know that "Imran had earlier requested Shakhb Arslan, through Rida's magazine *Al-Manar*, to answer the question

- of the causes of Muslim decline as compared to the progress of the Western world. Arslan promptly answered the question in the form of a well-known treatise tackling the reasons why Muslim nations stagnated while the others experienced rapid progress." Arslan, 1349/1930–1931. About Imran's life, see, Martin Van Bruinessen, "Basyuni Imran," *Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman péripétrique, du XIXe siècle à nos jours* (Paris: CNRS-EHESS, 1992), 134–141.
107. Hihali, "Shurb," 6.
 108. Hihali, "Shurb," 6.
 109. Hihali, "Shurb," 7.
 110. Hihali, "Shurb," 7–8.
 111. Herz, "Nazi Germany's," 709–736.
 112. Nordbruch, "Cultural Fusion," 188.
 113. Lauzietz, "The Evolution," 257.
 114. Lauzietz, "The Evolution," 258.
 115. Lauzietz, "The Evolution," 258.
 116. Cf. Umar Ryad, "A Pinned Muslim 'Lighthouse' in Cairo *al-Manar's* Early Years, Religious Aspiration and Reception (1898–1903)," *Arabica* 56 (2009): 27–60.
 117. T. al-Hihali, "Ta'liqat min Almanya 'ala al-Itha'a al-Jaslikiyya," *Al-Fatih* 12, 522, 24 Rabi al-Awwal 1356 (June 4, 1937): 6–7.
 118. T. al-Hihali, "Hadith Tarif fi Ihsad al-Itha'at," *Al-Fatih* 13, 603, 26 Rabi' al-Awwal 1357 (May 27, 1938): 6.
 119. Hihali, "Ta'liqat," 6–7.
 120. Julian Hale, *Radio Power: Propaganda and International Broadcasting* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975), x.
 121. T. al-Hihali, "Itha'at al-Qur'an min Mishr wa sama'uh fi Uruba," *Al-Fatih* 11, 541, 5 Muharram 1356 (March 18, 1937): 6–7.
 122. Hihali, "Ta'liqat," 6–7. Hihali was aware that some of his Muslim readers disliked listening to music or even prohibited it.
 123. Hihali, *Al-Fatih*, 12, 589: 7. He complained about the weakness of the wave of the Egyptian radio because it was always received on a middle wave beside Radio Brussels, which always disturbed its quality. Hihali ironically stated that he received it at the same time of Brussels' broadcasting for one hour, but this was like a "miracle of a [Sufi] *maki*."
 124. Hihali, "Ta'liqat," 6.
 125. Hihali, "Hadith," 6. See, Jane M. J. Robbins, *Tokyo Calling! Japanese Overseas Radio Broadcasting 1937–1945* (Furcchio: European Press Academic, 2001).
 126. Hihali, "Hadith," 6. Hihali referred here to the Nazi conferring of the status of Honorary Aryan (Ehrenarier) to the Japanese people due to its great ancient civilization. Cf. Philip Towle (et al.) *Japanese Prisoners of War* (Continuum International Publishing Group, 2000), 128–129.
 127. Hihali, "Hadith," 7.

128. Hihali, "Hadith," 6.
129. T. Hihali, "Khutbat Sultan Jimma fi Itha'at Rumiyah al-Arabiyya: Zailuhu al-Kubra," *Al-Fatih* 13, 610, 16 Jumada al-Ula 1357 (July 14, 1938): 6–7. About the Kingdom of Jimma, see, for instance, Herbert S. Lewis, *A Galla Monarchy: Jimma, Akaba Jifar, Ebbiopia, 1830–1932* (Madison, WI et al.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965); Mocker Anthony, *Haile Selassie's War* (Oxford: Signal Books, 2003).
130. Hihali, "Khutbat," 7.
131. Hihali, "Hadith," 6–7.
132. Hihali, "Hadith," 6.
133. T. al-Hihali, "Chamberlain wa Daladur, Nahiyun Rawilan aw Qaiman Maqam Kasuli, Riwaya Radio Paris an Sahifa' al-Zahra al-Tunisiyya," *Al-Fatih* 13/626, 11 Ramadan 1357 (November 4, 1938): 6.
134. Hihali, "Chamberlain," 6.
135. T. Hihali, "Wagahat al-Ist'imar al-Faransi la Nihayat Itha," *al-Malam* (May 10, 1939): 4.
136. Hihali, "Chamberlain," 9.
137. Hihali, "Chamberlain," 9.
138. T. al-Hihali, "Al-Radio al-'Arabi al-'Hurr," *Al-Fatih* 13, 646, 2 Safar 1358 (March 23, 1939): 10.
139. T. al-Hihali, "Hadhiya Li Qurra' al-Fatih: Fukahat Adabiyya," *Al-Fatih* 13, 27, 18 Ramadan 1357 (November 11, 1938): 10–11. For more about this, see Tahar Melligh, "Ramadan 1938, naissance de Radio-Tunis." Available at <http://www.lapresse.tr/index.php?opt=15&cat=4&news=5186>, "11 ya 70 ans, la Radio voyait le jour," at <http://www.lapresse.tr/index.php?opt=15&cat=4&news=74068>, accessed March 27, 2010.
140. Hihali, "Hadhiya," 11.
141. Hihali, "Hadhiya," 11.
142. T. Hihali, "Makdah Faransiyya Ja'ida Yuridu al-Faransiyyun Tajribatna fi Tunis," *Al-Fatih* 13, 643, 11 Muharram 1357 (March 14, 1938): 11–12.
143. T. Hihali, "Khaawatir wa Sawanib fi al-Itha'a," *Al-Fatih* 13, 629, 2 Shawwal 1357 (November 24, 1938): 6–7.
144. T. Hihali, "Radio Surya al-Kudra," *Al-Fatih* 13, 644, 18 Muharram 1358 (March 10, 1939): 6–7. "Yasqur al-Indab Yasqur al-Ist'imar," *Al-Fatih* 13, 645, 25 Muharram 1358 (March 17, 1939): 8–9.
145. Hihali, "Yasqur," 8–9.
146. Hihali, "Yasqur," 10.
147. Hihali, "Yasqur," 11.
148. Francis R. Nicotia, *The Third Reich or the Palestine Question* (Transaction Publishers, 2000), 175.
149. T. al-Hihali, "Britaniyya tatharra al-'Adl Bi Zaminta Bayna al-Khusun," *Al-Fatih* 12, 593, 15 Muharram 1357 (March 18, 1938): 10. See Penny

- Sinangon, "British Plans for the Partition of Palestine 1929–1938," *The Historical Journal* 52 (2009): 131–152; Lukasz Hirszczyk, "Nazi Germany and the Palestine Partition Plan," *Middle Eastern Studies* 11 (October 1964): 40–65.
150. T. al-Hilali, "Ya Lillah Li al-Asra al-Dhina la Nasir Lahum: Filistin, Iskadrinah Shamil Ifriqiya," *Al-Fatih* 13.625, 4 Ramadan 1357 (October 28, 1938): 10.
http://www.caiwin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/booklet3.htm, accessed April 2, 2010.
152. T. Hilali, "al-Waranyya al-Sadiqa," *Al-Fatih* 13.640, 20 Dhu al-Hijja 1357 (February 10, 1939): 14–15.
153. Lorna L. Waddington, *Hitler's Crusade: Bolshevism and the Myth of the International Jewish Conspiracy* (London: IB Tauris, 2007).
154. Robert H. Whealey, *Hitler and Spain: The Nazi Role in the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005), 95.
155. T. Hilali, "Al-Hadhari al-Hadhari min al-Das'is al-Bolshafiyaa," *Al-Fatih* 11.542, 12 Muharram 1356 (March 25, 1937): 10.
156. Hilali, "Al-Iraqiq," 6; Hilali, "Al-Hadhari," 11–12; "Al-Shuy'ya Azam Lahat Hadha al-'Asr," *Al-Fatih* 12.581, 20 Shawwal 1356 (December 23, 1937): 6.
157. T. al-Hilali, "Kuhm al-Islam: al-Hukm al-Shahi, al-Hukm al-Dimqraq, al-Hukm al-Shuyu', al-Huk al-Istibdad: Ayyuha Aslah," *Al-Fatih* 11.545, 4 Safar 1356 (April 16, 1937): 6–7.
158. See, Herwart Vorländer, "NS-Volkswohlfahrt und Wirtschaftswerk des Deutschen Volkes," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 34 (1986): 341–380; Florian Tenenstedt, "Wohlfart und Interesse: Das Wirtschaftswerk des Deutschen Volkes: Die Weimarer Vorgeschiede und ihre Instrumentalisierung durch das NS-Regime," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 13 (1987): 157–180.
159. Hilali, "Kuhm," 7.
160. Hilali, "Kuhm," 7.
161. Hilali, "Kuhm," 7.
162. Abrechnung IVA, Der Drahtlose Dienst, IVA 4078/Pers/318, April 17, 1939, Bundesarchiv R. 55/24211—15.3.1896. Other names were Abdin Bey, Riad, and the above-mentioned Junis Bahri.
163. May 9, 1939, Bundesarchiv R. 55/24211—15.3.1896.
164. August 7, 1939, Bundesarchiv R. 55/24211—15.3.1896.
165. May 26, 1939, Bundesarchiv R. 55/24211—15.3.1896.
166. T. al-Hilali, "Al-Mahajja al-Bayda: Muhadara La Silbiyya min Berlin," *Al-Fatih* 14.653, 21 Rabi al-Awwal, 1358 (May 11, 1939): 20–21.
167. T. al-Hilali, "Al-Hadi al-Nabawi al-Ladhi dayayuhu al-Mishimun III," *Al-Fatih* 14.667, 2 Rajab 1358 (August 18, 1939): 7–8.
168. Hilali, "Al-Hadi," 8–9.
169. S. Arscman, "Warime Propaganda in the Middle East," *Middle East Journal* 2.4 (1948): 420–421.

AQ: We have included the works in nos. 162, 163, 164, and 165 in these references. Please confirm that they are correctly inserted.

170. T. al-Hilali, "al-Hadi al-Nabawi al-Ladhi dayayuhu al-Mishimun I," *Al-Fatih* 14.664, Jumada al-Akhira 1358 (August 1939): 8–9.
171. T. al-Hilali, "al-Hadi al-Nabawi al-Ladhi dayayuhu al-Mishimun II," *Al-Fatih* 14.666, 24 Jumada al-Akhira 1358 (August 10, 1939): 8. Hilali's anticolonial radio speeches included a defense of Shakh Ahsan against a campaign by the French radio Paris Mondial in 1939. The prince was criticized for his political failure and "oppor-tunism." The French radio recalled early accusations against Ahsan because of his former collaboration with Fascist Italy in return for money in 1935; Kramer, *Islam Assemblé*, 148. T. al-Hilali, "Al-Amir Shakh Ahsan bayna Almaniya wa Faransa," *al-Ahlan* (July 19, 1939).
172. Laurière, "The Evolution," 265; Hilali, *al-Da'wa*, 40–41.
173. Hilali, *al-Da'wa*, 36.
174. "Weiterleitung der Post für den Grossmufti," Politisches Archiv Auswärtiges Amt, Handakten Eitel Grossmufti, R. 27328–1943 to 1944.
175. Weiterleitung der Post für den Grossmufti, "Politisches Archiv Auswärtiges Amt, Handakten Eitel Grossmufti, R. 27324, 1941, 304509.
176. Stanley G. Payne, *Primo and Hitler: Spain, Germany, and World War II* (Yale University Press, 2008), 67 and 106–107. See also, Norman J. W. Goda, "Franco's Bid for Empire: Spain, Germany, and the Western Mediterranean in World War II," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 13.1–2 (2008): 168–194.
177. "Weiterleitung der Post für den Grossmufti," Politisches Archiv Auswärtiges Amt, Handakten Eitel Grossmufti, R. 27324, 1942, 304507.
178. Michael M. Laskier, *North African Jewry in the Twentieth Century: The Jews of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria* (NYU Press, 1993), 166.
179. Hilali, *al-Da'wa*, 51.
180. Hilali, *al-Da'wa*, 132.
181. Hilali, *al-Da'wa*, 132–33.
182. Hilali, MS, October 22, 1946, family archive.
183. Hilali, MS, October 22, 1946, family archive.
184. Letters, Paul Kahle, August 6, 1946, Oxford, and March 10, 1948, Hilali's family archive, Morocco.
185. T. al-Hilali, *Tashahhat Marrahiyyat Irawiyya mutashihat fi al-Qaym al-makna: wada'aha Ibn Danayal al-Mawashi yugadidunha liha al-Ahlan Professor Kahle* (Baghdad, 1948), as quoted in Kahle, *Three Studies*, 29.
186. Paul Kahle, "Muslim Contribution to Scholarship: Past, Present and Future," Address given at the Sixth session of the Pakistan History Conference (Karachi, 1956), 8–9.
187. Kahle, "Curt Pruefer."
188. Laurière, "The Evolution," 241.
189. Arscman, "Warime," 417–429.

AQ: Place of publication? Also, not included in references.

AQ: Place of publication of Payne's work. Also, not included in references.

AQ: The details are worded differently in the reference (from 1943 to bis 1944).

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