A Brief History of Islam in Europe

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Notes

Introduction


See Chapters 2 and 3.

See Chapter 3.

In doing so, this book may be considered a contribution to the recent thinking on transnational and transcultural history. That approach to history aims to get away from the conventional focus of the nation state, and to study those mechanisms and influences that are not confined to boundaries or single peoples. Hence the emphasis on the importance of phenomena and processes like culture, migration, science, multinationals, ideologies. (See, e.g., Madeleine Herren et al., Transcultural History. Theories, Methods, Sources, Heidelberg/New York: Springer, 2012; Akira Iriye, Global and Transnational History, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).


See Chapter 5 for detailed discussion of this quote.

Power was the element that Talal Asad argued was missing in Clifford Geertz’ definition of religion (see previous footnote).


The aforementioned Bernard Lewis is one of those who supports that view.


1. Uncivilized Europe (700–1000 CE)

2 This is the so-called Pirenne Thesis, as suggested by Henri Pirenne in his *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, first published in 1937.
6 Conversion to Christianity was one of the pretexts for conquests, however, given the fact that most conquered peoples were already Christian; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *A history of Christianity: the first three thousand years*, London, Penguin Press, 2009, p. 349.


19 Lewis, God’s Crucible, p. 286.


21 E.g., Watson, Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World.


25 ‘No compulsion in religion’: la ikhrāf fī dīn (Quran 5:99).


27 E.g., Daniel C. Dennett, Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1950; Lewis, God’s Crucible, p. 175.


40 Chejne, ‘Islamization and Arabization in al-Andalus’, pp. 69–70; Coope, *The Martyrs of Cordoba*.

42 Coope, The Martyrs of Cordoba, referring to Bulliet (Conversion to Islam), pp. 124–128.
43 Hitchcock, Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain, pp. 41–51.
45 El-Cheikh, Byzantium viewed by the Arabs, p. 160.
46 Barbara Kreutz, ‘Ships. Shipping, and the implications of change in the early medieval Mediterra-
nean,’ Viator, 1976 [Vol. 7].
48 As reported by the Arab chronicler Ibn al-Athir; translated by Edmond Fagnan, Annales du Maghreb et de l’Espagne, Alger, 1898.
49 See for the alliance and following campaign: Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse, Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe: archaeology and the Pirenne thesis, Lon-
51 Lewis, God’s Crucible, p. 262.
52 The following is based on the detailed study by Kees Versteegh, ‘The Arab presence in France and Switzerland in the 10th century’, Arabica, 1990 [Vol. 37, Nr. 3], pp. 359–388.
56 Fletcher, Moorish Spain, pp. 76, 117; Kennedy, The Great Arab Conquests, p. 370.
58 Cheich, Byzantium viewed by the Arabs.
59 E.g., James T. Johnson and John Kelsay, Just War and Jihad: Historical and Theoretical Per-
spectives on War and Peace in Western and Islamic Thought, New York, Greenwood Pub Group, 1991; Rudolph Peters, Jihad in Medieval and Modern Islam, Leiden, Brill, 1977; Michael Bonner, Jihad in Islamic History: Doctrines and Practice, Princeton: Princeton Univer-
60 Kennedy, The great Arab conquests, p. 63.
65 Kennedy, The great Arab conquests, p. 320.
68 Lewis, God’s Crucible, p. 183.
70 Heck, Charlemagne, Muhammad and the Arab roots of Capitalism, p. 17.
72 El-Cheikh, Byzantium viewed by the Arabs, p. 162.
76 Herrin, Byzantium, p. 211; McCormick, Origins of the European Economy, p. 138.
77 Gibb, ‘Constantinople’; Herrin, Byzantium, p. 158, 244.


86 Verlinden, *L’esclavage dans l’Europe médiévale*.

87 Chejne, ‘Islamization and Arabization in al-Andalus’, p. 73.

88 Verlinden, *L’esclavage dans l’Europe médiévale*.


2. Crusading Europe (1000–1500 CE)


22 Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1979; Harvey thinks that it must be much lower, arguing that, if the estimate of the fourteenth century is credible, a drop in population from 5.6 to approximately 1 million in two centuries is ‘very unlikely’; Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, p. 8.

23 Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, pp. 8, 135.


26 Charles Dalli, ‘From Islam to Christianity: the Case of Sicily’.


See for an elaborate analysis of one of the earliest historiographical documents from the seventeenth century: Allen Frank, Islamic historiography and ‘Bulghar’ identity among the Tatars and Bashkirs of Russia, Leiden, Brill, 1998.


Dziekan, ‘History and Culture of Polish Tatars’, p. 28.

Bartlett, The Making of Europe. e.g. p. 301.

Bartlett, The Making of Europe. e.g. p. 301.


Powell, Muslims under Latin Rule, p. 7.


Powell, Muslims under Latin Rule, p. 8.

The terminology is the author’s.

Fletcher, Moorish Spain, p. 138–139; Harvey, Islamic Spain, p. 104–106 & 133–136.

Fletcher, Moorish Spain, p. 139.


Fletcher, Moorish Spain, p. 14 & 138.

Fletcher, Moorish Spain, p. 94.

Fletcher, Moorish Spain, p. 135.

Fletcher, Moorish Spain, p.138.


53 Harvey, Islamic Spain, p. 134.


55 Harvey, Islamic Spain, p. 135.


57 Powell, Muslims under Latin Rule, pp. 190–191.

58 Powell, Muslims under Latin Rule, pp. 206; Harvey, Islamic Spain, pp. 65–66.

59 Powell, Muslims under Latin Rule, pp. 206; Harvey, Islamic Spain, pp. 65–66.

60 Powell, Muslims under Latin Rule, p. 8.


62 Powell, Muslims under Latin Rule, p. 8.

63 Powell, Muslims under Latin Rule, pp. 8–9.

64 Powell, Muslims under Latin Rule, p. 206.

65 Charles Dalli, ‘From Islam to Christianity: the Case of Sicily’; Fletcher, Moorish Spain.


67 Powell, Muslims under Latin Rule, introduction.

68 The Islamic justification for his rule is that a child automatically follows the religion of the father: the child of a Muslim woman and a non-Muslim man would therefore be lost to Islam.

69 Harvey, Islamic Spain, pp. 324 ff.


71 David Abulafia, ‘Monarchs and Minorities in the Christian Western Mediterranean’.


75 Dalli Charles, ‘From Islam to Christianity: the Case of Sicily’.
80 Heck, Charlemagne, Muhammad and the Arab roots of Capitalism, p. 208.
81 Heck, Charlemagne, Muhammad and the Arab roots of Capitalism, pp. 207–208.
90 Brodman, Ransoming Captives in Crusader Spain, p. 2.
91 Brodman, Ransoming Captives in Crusader Spain, pp. 7–8, 10.
94 Thomas Burman, ‘Tafsīr and Translation: Traditional Arabic Qur’an Exegesis and


101 Kritzeck, Peter the Venerable, p. 161.


104 Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael*, p. 278.


107 Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*.


109 See the Introduction for a cursory list of these publications.


3. Divided Europe (1500–1700 CE)

5. Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 29.
11. Sugar, *South-Eastern Europe under Ottoman Rule*. 
23 Dziekan, ‘History and Culture of Polish Tatars’, p. 33.
24 Dziekan, ‘History and Culture of Polish Tatars’, p. 35.
27 Inalcik with Quataert, An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, pp. 602–603.
29 Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, New York/London, Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982, pp. 4–8; Inalcik with Quataert, An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, p. 32.
30 The Turkish name of Constantinople (‘Konstaniniyye’) was used by Ottomans alongside with Istanbul – originally Greek for ‘in the city’ (‘stin-polı’), later turned into ‘İslambol’ (Ottoman for ‘abounding with Islam’) – which became the official name of the city only in 1930 (Finkel, Osman’s Dream, p. 57).


32 Quataert, The Ottoman Empire, p. 21; Finkel, Osman’s Dream, p. 56; The same percentages of Muslims, Christians and Jews were recorded in the surveys of 1535 and 1550: Robert Mantran, Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle, Paris, Librairie Adrien Maisonneuve, 1986, pp. 44–45; Barkan, ‘Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l’empire ottoman’, pp. 9–36.


34 Donia and Fine, Bosnia and Herzegovina, pp. 37, 41.


36 Donia and Fine, Bosnia and Herzegovina, pp. 41–45; Minkov, Conversion to Islam in the Balkans, p. 193.

37 Donia and Fine, Bosnia and Herzegovina, pp. 41–45.


39 Inalcık with Quataert, An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, p. 66, referring to Barkan, ‘Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l’empire ottoman au XVIe siècle’; Peter Sugar (South-eastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354–1804) mentions the much higher figure of 42.3 percent, which is probably a misreading of Barkan’s figures who mentions that the tax collected in the European provinces amounted to the sum (not the percentage) of 42,29 million akça.

40 Donia and Fine, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 41–43.

41 Emphasized by Sugar as the most important reason for the conversions in the Balkans: Sugar, South-Eastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, p. 52–54; Vryonis holds a slightly different opinion, arguing that converted Christians passed on Christian cult practices into Islam, like the celebration of Christian holidays, the veneration of Christian saints and even baptism, which was extensively practised among Muslims; in this way many forms of syncretism between Islam and Christianity emerged in the Balkans (Speros

42 Sugar, South-Eastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, pp. 11–12.
43 Donia and Fine, Bosnia and Herzegovina, pp. 38–39.
44 The boy levy was not indiscriminate: there was a preference for Albanian, Bosnian, Greek, Bulgar, Serbian and Croatian boys; Jews, Turks, Kurds, Persians, Ruthenian (Ukrarian), Muscovite and Georgians were exempted; Armenians only for palace service, not military service (Finkel, Osman’s Dream, p. 74).
45 Estimates of Sugar, South-eastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, p. 56.
48 Goffman, The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe, p. 68; Minkov, Conversion to Islam in the Balkans, p. 75; Sugar, South-eastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, p. 58.
49 Sugar, South-Eastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, p. 58.
51 Benjamin Baude makes it clear that the term millet came into use only in the nineteenth century, and was until then not a developed institution but rather a set of arrangements and policies that differed with time and place: Benjamin Braude, ‘Foundation Myths of the Millet System’, in: Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, New York/London, Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982, pp. 69–87.
52 Most literature on the millet system deals with its situation and transformations during the nineteenth century, of which we will speak in the next chapter. For the period between 1500 and 1700, the main volume of literature is that of Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, New York/London, Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982.
53 See, e.g., Sugar, South-Eastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, p. 45.
54 Braude, ‘Foundation Myths of the Millet System.’

56 Sugar, South–Eastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, p. 108.

57 Finkel, Osman’s Dream, p. 193; Mazower, The Balkans, p. 67.


61 Mazower, The Balkans, p. 67.

62 Sugar, South-eastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, pp. 31 ff.

63 Mazower, The Balkans, pp. 39, 42.

64 Especially Jews were close to the Ottoman ruling class as physicians, advisors, diplomats: Finkel, Osman’s Dream, pp. 190–191.

65 Sugar, South-Eastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, p. 109; Donald Quataert, The Ottoman Empire 1700–1922, pp. 143–144.

66 Goffman, The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe, p. 110.


69 For instance, in the case of Jews, see Aryeh Shmuelevitz, The Jews of the Ottoman Empire in the Late Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Century, Leiden: Brill, 1984, pp. 67, 72; Mazower, Salonica, City of Ghosts, pp. 60–61.

70 The following is taken from Finkel, Osman’s Dream, pp. 181, 191–193.

71 Sugar, South-eastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, pp. 94, 110.


76 Harvey, Muslims in Spain, pp. 7–10.

77 The following is based on English literature, which makes reference to the vast Spanish literature on Moriscos.

78 Green, Inquisition, pp. 24–25, 32.


80 Green, Inquisition, p. 170.


82 Green, Inquisition, pp. 126, 169.


84 Harvey, Muslims in Spain, pp. 12–13.


86 Harvey, Muslims in Spain, p. 13.

87 Chejne, Islam and the West, p. 10.


91 Harvey, Muslims in Spain, p. 343.

92 See for an overview of these reports Henry Charles Lea, The Moriscos of Spain. Their Conversion and Expulsion, pp. 278–290.


94 Chejne, Islam and the West, pp. 10.

95 Green, Inquisition, pp. 171.

96 Chejne, Islam and the West, pp. 9–11.
98 Chejne, Islam and the West, p. 15.
101 See the chapter ‘What could the terms Gaza and Gazi have meant?’ in Heath W. Lowry, The nature of the early Ottoman state, Albany, State University of New York Press, 2003.
103 Lowry, The nature of the early Ottoman state pp. 51–54; Sugar, South-eastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, p. 20.
104 Lowry, The nature of the early Ottoman state, pp. 50, 57, 95–96; Finkel, Osman’s Dream, p. 10.
107 Finkel, Osman’s Dream, p. 119.
109 Sugar, South-eastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, p. 21.
112 Finkel, Osman’s Dream, pp. 11, 15; Lowry, The nature of the early Ottoman state, p. 132.
115 Sugar, South-Eastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, p. 21.
The siege of 1529 “was not part of a Turkish plan to conquer Germany. It was intended to warn the Habsburgs that interference in Hungary, the western bastion of the Ottoman Empire, would not pass unchallenged.” (Stephen A. Fisher-Galati, Ottoman Imperialism and German Protestantism, 1521–1555, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959, p. 38).


119 Wheatcroft, The Enemy at the Gate, pp. 165–167.


122 Earle, Corsairs of Malta And Barbary, p. 10; Fisher, Barbary Legend, p. 7.

123 McNeill, Europe’s Steppe Frontier, p. 49.


125 Bracewell, The Uskoks of Senj, pp. 189–190.


127 Earle, Corsairs of Malta And Barbary, p. 109


129 Also: Maxime Rodinson, Europe and the Mystique of Islam, pp. 32–33.


The following paragraph is mostly based on Abdelkader Benali and Herman Obdeijn, *Marokko door Nederlandse ogen, 1605–2005*, Amsterdam, Arbeiderspers, 2005.


The earlier treaty of 1536 was drafted but never ratified by the Ottoman Sultan: Inalcik with Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 194.

Inalcik with Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 194.

Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, p. 195.


Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, p. 23: He bases this figure on extensive calculations (p. 3–26) whereby he estimates that during the period between 1580 and 1680 CE an average of 35,000 European slaves were held at any given time in all Barbary (p. 15); this estimate corroborates the similar estimate given by Stephen Clissold, *The Barbary Slaves*, London, Elek, 1977, pp. 17–25.


Inalcik with Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 284.


Inalcik with Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 284; See


152 Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders, Leiden/Boston, Brill, 2007.


154 E.g., Earle, Corsairs of Malta and Barbary, p. 92.


156 Davis, Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters, p. 21.

157 Setton, Western Hostility to Islam and Prophecies of Turkish Doom, p. 17.

158 The earliest is probably the Treatise on the customs and conduct of the Turks (origin in Latin) by the escaped slave Georgius de Hungaria, published in 1481 (Albrecht Classen, ‘The World of the Turks Described by an Eye-Witness: Georgius de Hungary’s Dialectical Discourse on the Foreign World of the Ottoman Empire’, Journal of Early Modern History, 2003 [Vol. 7, No. 3]).


160 The most famous were the Turkish Letters (1553–1562) by Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor to the Ottoman Empire, and the writings of Bartholomaeus Georgievicz who had spent a decade as a slave in various parts of the Ottoman Empire.

162 Bernard Lewis, Islam and the West, pp. 78–81.


167 A.S. Francisco, Martin Luther and Islam, pp. 45–46, 64–65.


174 Martin Luther, Vom Kriege wider die Türken, 1528, WA 30 II, pp. 107–148.

175 Vielau, Luther und der Türke, p. 23. See also Francisco, Martin Luther and Islam, pp. 69–82.


179 Setton, Western Hostility to Islam and Prophecies of Turkish Doom, p. 51.
4. Powerfull Europe (1700–1950 CE)


4 Karpat, Ottoman population, p. 254.

5 Donald Quataert, The Ottoman Empire 1700–1922, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 175. Also Daniel Goffman, The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 90. The opposing view is voiced, e.g., by Charles and Barbara Jelavich who have written several seminal works on the Balkans.

6 Quataert, The Ottoman Empire 1700–1922, pp. 46–47.


8 Quataert, The Ottoman Empire 1700–1922, p. 45.

9 Inalcik with Quataert, An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, p. 702 & 764.


11 Quataert, The Ottoman Empire 1700–1922, p. 148.

12 Quataert, The Ottoman Empire 1700–1922, p. 148.

16 See, e.g., Mazower, Salonica, City of Ghosts, pp. 46 ff., 114 ff.
20 Goffman, The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe, pp. 196–197.
24 Inalcik with Quataert, An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, p. 766.
27 Quataert, The Ottoman Empire 1700–1922, p. 68.


Mustafa Aksakal, ‘Holy War Made in Germany’? Ottoman Origins of the 1914 Jihad’, War in History, 2011 [Vol. 18, No. 2], pp. 189–190 identified official calls for jihad against Russia [twice, 1773, 1829], Serbs [1809], Greeks [1897], European Allies [1914] and Greece [1919].

The fatwa was made up of questions and answers, and the question relating to the colonies read: “The Moslem subjects of Russia, of France, of England and of all the countries that side with them in their land and sea attacks dealt against the Caliphate for the purpose of annihilating Islam, must these subjects, too, take part in the holy War against the respective governments from which they depend?” The answer in the fatwa was a brief “Yes”. (Source: Charles F. Horne (ed.), Records of the Great War, Vol. III, National Alumni, 1923.)


52 Göçek, East encounters West, pp. 4–7; İnalci with Quataert, An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, p. 766.

54 H. Pfusterschmid-Hardtenstein, *A Short History of the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna*, Vienna, Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, 2008. See also Fichtner, *Terror and Toleration*, pp. 126–127. In 1897, the Academy became the general training institute for all diplomats, henceforth called the Consular Academy, and in 1964 was restructured and renamed as the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna.


56 Inalcik with Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 724.


62 Inalcik with Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 771.


68 A small Ahmadiyya community built the first modest brickstone mosque with private funds in The Hague in 1955.


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75 Issawi, Charles, *Cross-Cultural Encounters and Conflicts*, p. 143.


82 Francisco, *Martin Luther and Islam*, p. 54.


84 E.g., Carol Appadurai Breckenridge & Peter van der Veer (eds), *Orientalism and the Post-colonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993.


87 Mark Mazower, *The Balkans*. 


92 Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, pp. 64, 222–224.


96 Ernest Renan is one of the main proponents of this argument, in particular in his *L’Islamisme et la Science* (Paris: Calmann Levy, 1883).


5. Struggling Europe (1950–)


3 Austria is a special case: while the number of Muslims and the Islamic heritage is limited, it still has a political-legal infrastructure regarding Muslims and Islam that is a legacy from the imperial times when Austria ruled Bosnia and other regions with Muslim populations (see Robert Hunt, ‘Islam in Austria’ in The Muslim World, 2002 (Vol. 92, Nos. 1–2), pp. 115–128; Richard Potz, ‘Covenental and Non-Covenental Cooperation of State and Religions in Austria’ in Richard Puza & Norman Doe (eds.), Religion and Law in Dialogue, Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2006, pp. 11–19).


8 Olivier Roy describes the umma as an “imaginary” community that is abstract and deterriorialized (Globalized Islam), Mandaville speaks of a “virtual” umma that is the process of being continuously reimagined (Reimagining the umma), while Allievi conceives of it as both a real local community and a symbolic meta-community (‘Islam in the Public Space’).


16 Interview with German daily Die Welt, 28 July 2004.


18 Closer inspection shows that the references all lead to the authoritative report by the economist Karoly Lorant (The demographic challenge in Europe (Brussels: European Parliament, 2005)). However, the report shows that these figures are not Lorant’s, but he has used them under the heading ‘Those who are worrying about the growing Muslim population usually emphasize the following arguments’ and for this particular statement refers on page 12 of the report to the article by Timothy M. Savage, ‘Europe and Islam: Crescent Waxing, Cultures Clashing’ (The Washington Quarterly 2004 (Vol. 27, No. 3), pp. 25–50).

19 See for elaborate studies on this topic Göran Larsson, ‘The Fear of Small Numbers:

The rise in the number of Muslims was caused by the fact that the statistical office had previously focused only on the first generation of immigrants, but now also included their descendants. See Sonja Haug, Stephanie Müssig, Anja Stichs, *Muslimisches Leben in Deutschland*, Berlin: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2009, p. 80.


UK: 1.7 million, 3% (2001 Census); France: 3.5–5 million, 6–8.5%; (Sonia Tebbakh, *Muslims in the EU – Cities Report: France*, Open Society Institute, 2007, 11–13); Belgium: 0.4–0.45 million, 4% (Rijksregister, 2006); Sweden: 0.25–35 million, 1.8–3.5% (Göran Larsson, *Muslims in the EU – Cities Report: Sweden*, Open Society Institute, 2007, pp. 9–11).

Numbers listed by the Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek [Central Statistics Agency], 25 May 2011.

See the European city profiles in the online studies of Open Society Foundations (www.soros.org).


S. Akgönül, *Une communauté, deux Etats: La minorité turco-musulmane de Thrace occidentale*,


50 Roald, New Muslims in the European Context, p. 53 ff.


52 E. Özyürek, ‘Convert alert: German Muslims and Turkish Christians as threats to security in the new Europe’, Comparative Studies in Society and History, 2009 (Vol. 51, No. 1) 9, pp. 91–116.

lims: cultural schizophrenia’ Open Democracy (online publication), 10 September 2009 (http://www.opendemocracy.net/faith-islamicworld/article_103.jsp).

54 Ruthven, idem.


63 The two cases were Dahlab vs. Switzerland (ECHR, 15 February 2001, No. 42393/98) and Sahin vs. Turkey (ECHR, 10 November 2005, No. 44774/98). For a critical review of these cases see Carolyn Evans, ‘The “Islamic Scarf” in the European Court of Human Rights’ Melbourne Journal of International Law, 2006 (Vol. 7), pp. 52–73.


65 Rafic Banawi & Rex Stockton, ‘Islamic values relevant to group work, with practical


72 This is the concept of the state as the ‘neutral organizer’ [e.g., ECHR, Kokkinakis v. Greece, Nr. 14307/88, 25 May 1993].


76 See for discussions on the issue of ‘sharia in the West’: Rex Ahdar and Nicholas Aroney [eds.], Shari’a in the West, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011; Maurits Berger [ed.],


78 Article 62 sub 2 of the 2003 Constitution stipulates: “Organizations of citizens belonging to national minorities, which fail to obtain the number of votes for representation in Parliament, have the right to one Deputy seat each, under the terms of the electoral law. Citizens of a national minority are entitled to be represented by one organization only.”


82 Religious minority rights are mostly discussed in non-European contexts (see, e.g., publications in Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs). Within the Western European context Muslim minority rights are mostly discussed in ethnic terms, i.e. as the rights of Turks, Pakistanis, Moroccans more than the rights of Muslims (see, e.g., Tariq Modood, Ethnicity, nationalism, and minority rights, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004; Jonathan Laurence, The emancipation of Europe’s Muslims: the state’s role in minority integration, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012). For an Islamic legal perspective see Andrew March, Islam and Liberal Citizenship: The search for an overlapping consensus, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

83 Perceptions of Discrimination and Islamophobia. Voices from Members of Muslim Communities in the European Union by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), 2006.

84 For authors who advocate such tolerance within a legal setting, see Silvio Ferrari, ‘The New Wine and the Old Cask. Tolerance, Religion, Religion and the Law in Contemporary Europe’, Ratio Juris, 1997 [Vol. 10, No. 1], pp. 75–89; Marie-Claire Foblets, ‘Accommodating Islamic Family Law(s): A Critical Analysis of Some Recent Developments and

85 Under ‘Scope’ in the Appendix to the Recommendation No. R (97) 20 of the Committee of EU Ministers to member states on “hate speech” (Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 30 October 1997) it is explicitly mentioned that hate speech can be punishable only when directed against people, not abstractions like religion.


87 ECHR, 7 December 1976 (Handyside).


There are many reports on this issue. For the sake of brevity I refer here to the recent report series by the Open Society Institute’s EUMAP-initiative called Muslims in EU Cities: Background Research Reports, which in early 2009 listed downloadable reports on
Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, The Netherlands, Sweden and United Kingdom (www.eumap.org/topics/minority/reports/eumuslims/background_reports).

**Note:**


107 European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), Perceptions of Discrimination and Islamophobia, 2006.


111 In the Netherlands, with a strong tradition of municipal autonomy, cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam have developed their own strategic plans, with a lot of financial and staff support (see Amsterdam’s Wij Amsterdammers, 2004 and Amsterdam tegen Radicalisering, 2007, and Rotterdam’s Meedoen of Achterblijven, 2005). In England, municipalities lack such powers and resources, but similar activities are nevertheless taking place in West London, West Yorkshire, Leicester and Birmingham (see The Prevent Strategy: A Guide for Local Partners in England. Stopping people becoming or supporting terrorists and violent extremists, H.M. Government, May 2008). For the little information in English available about Spain see Muslims in Europe: Integration Policies in Selected Countries, CRS Report to Congress, November 18, 2005, p. 38 ff.

112 Idem.

113 Observed by the author.

114 Jocelyne Cesari, The Securitization of Islam in Europe, Research Paper No. 15 in CEPS CHALLENGE Programme, April 2009 (available online at www.ceps.eu); E. Schlueter, B. Meuleman & E. Davidov, ‘Immigrant integration policies and perceived Group Threat: A
multilevel study of 27 Western and Eastern European Countries’ in Social Science Research, 2013 (Vol. 42).

115 See, e.g., the 1997 special of Mediterranean Politics (Vol. 2, No. 1).


120 Stefano Allievi, ‘The International Dimension’, pp. 481-482.


123 Speech of 6 November 2003 for the National Endowment for Peace.


This has been observed in the cases of Morocco and Turkey vis-à-vis their nationals in the Netherlands (Sunier, T. & N. Landman, Dijanet, the Turkish Directorate for Religious Affairs in a changing environment, Amsterdam/Utrecht: VU University and Utrecht University, 2011; M. Kahmann, Ontmoetingen tussen Marokkaanse Nederlanders en de Marokkaanse Overheid, Leiden (PhD thesis), 2014).


Pancevski, Bojan, ‘Saudis fund Balkan Muslims spreading hate of the West’ in TimesOnline, March 28, 2010; Defense & Foreign Affairs Special Analysis (no author), ‘Wahhabism and Islamic Extremism in Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia: a General


Interview with BBC Radio 4 on 16 October 2002.


Ahyan Kaya & Kentel, Ferhat, Euro-Turks: A Bridge, or a Breach between Turkey and the EU (Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 2005).

In 2006 restructured and named the Human Rights Council.

European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), Summary Report into Islamophobia in the EU following 11 September 2001 (Vienna: EUMC, 2002).

Human Rights Council resolution 16/18 on Combating Intolerance, Discrimination, and Violence Based on Religion or Belief.


Talal Asad, Formations of the Secular, p. 159.


Perkins, Christendom And European Identity, p. 187.


The most renown parties are the British National Party in the United Kingdom, Vlaams Blok in Belgium, the Party for Freedom in the Netherlands, the People’s Party in Denmark, the Northern League in Italy, the Freedom Party in Austria (for an analysis of the last three see Susi Meret, The Danish People’s Party, the Italian Northern League and the Austrian Freedom Party in a Comparative Perspective: Party Ideology and Electoral Support [PhD thesis], Aalborg University, 2009).


Some of these Muslims become staunch critics themselves. A scholar specializing in Islamophobia makes the comparison with Jewish converts: “It is common knowledge that the best way of proving that one is no longer a Muslim is to become an Islamophobe. The history of anti-Semitism is full of examples of converts who became anti-Semites and who were accepted by anti-Semites as one of them.” (F. Bravo López, ‘To-


156 See Chapter 1, The Battle of Poitiers.

157 See Chapter 3, Vienna 1683.

158 Excerpt from television interview in the Al-Jazeera programme Bi-la Hudud on 13 August 2007 [available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RDLinMUhn3Q].

159 Secretary-general Willy Claes, interview in the Süddeutsche Zeitung of 2 February 2009.

160 See literature in footnote XX (Eurabia etc.).


169 For comparative analyses, see e.g., Peter L. Berger, Grace Davie, Effie Fokkas, Religious America, Secular Europe?: A Theme and Variation, London: Ashgate, 2008; Jackson, Pamela Irving & Peter A. Zervakis, The Integration of Muslims in Germany, France and the United States: Law, Politics and Public Policy, Paper prepared for 2004 annual meeting of the American sociological Association (pdf-file online only), 2004; Jocelyne Cesari, When Islam and Democracy Meet; Barbara Metcalf, Making Muslim Space in North America and Europe (Berkeley/London: University of California Press, 1996).


172 See the explanations of their respective law proposals by the Cabinet (Projet de loi interdisant la dissimulation du visage dans l’espace public (No. 2520, 19 May 2010)) and by the Socialist Party (Proposition de loi visant à fixer le champ des interdictions de dissimuler son visage liées aux exigences des services publics, à la prévention des atteintes à l’ordre public (No. 2544, 20 May 2010)).


Jørgen S. Nielsen remarked in 2012: “My own simple thematic search on the website of the UK Economic and Social Research Council using the search term ‘Islam’ in the category ‘Security and conflict’ indicates that no research grants meeting these criteria were awarded in the period 1982 (when the record starts) till 2000, although if all subject categories are included there were 18 grants. If, however, the same search is made for the years 2001 till the present, it appears that a total of 40 research grants were awarded in all categories, of which 32 were in the category ‘Security and conflict’.” (in: Book Reviews, *Journal of Muslims in Europe*, 2012 [Vol. 1], p. 217).

See the bibliographical references in the country studies in Jocelyne Cesari, *Handbook of Islam in Europe*.


185 Organizations that issue fatwas on questions regarding Muslims living in Western societies are the European Council of Fatwa and Research focuses (www.e-cfr.org) and the Fiqh Council of North America (www.fiqhcouncil.org). For other organizations see Berger, ‘Buying houses, donating organs’, 2011.


189 Idem.

190 Idem.

191 Neumann uses the opposites ‘dialogical’ and ‘dialectical’ Other (Iver B. Neumann, Uses of the Other. ‘The East’ in European Identity Formation, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999, p. 3).

192 See, for instance, the Pew Research Centre in its survey of 12 June 2013: an average of 50% of Americans find religion very important, pray at least once a day and find it necessary to believe in God to be moral, as opposed to an average of 30% Italians, 20% Germans and 13% Frenchmen (http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/06/12/americans-are-less-accepting-of-homosexuality-than-canadians-western-europeans-and-religion-may-be-one-explanation).


