

# The Piety of Learning

*Islamic Studies in Honor of  
Stefan Reichmuth*

*Edited by*

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# Introduction: The Piety of Learning

*Michael Kemper and Ralf Elger*

This tribute to Stefan Reichmuth contains studies on the history of Islamic education since the mid-18th century, with case-studies from Sub-Saharan Africa, Central Eurasia, the Middle East, and Europe. The chapters return to many facets of Reichmuth's own work, while in their methodologies they also attempt to follow in Reichmuth's footsteps.<sup>1</sup>

The first imperative that Stefan Reichmuth's work has underscored is the importance of remaining close to philology, the mother discipline of our field. For Reichmuth, this requires solid and active language skills. These are necessary for obtaining access not only to the texts themselves but also to those who write, read, teach, and preach them. Philology is not opposed to social studies approaches; rather, the two should inform each other. Fieldwork is required not only to gain access to archives and manuscript repositories but also to develop a feeling for the language and to comprehend its uses in social interaction. It is no coincidence that Reichmuth started his career researching the Arabic dialects of a Sudanese people, the Shukriyya,<sup>2</sup> and in his second major project, the study of modern Islam in Nigeria, he undertook considerable periods of fieldwork that required him to learn African languages that are not part of the standard curricula at European universities.<sup>3</sup> Reichmuth rightly regards immersion into a new setting and language as an enrichment of the self; in the field, he built up friendships that he has maintained ever since and that have led to long-standing cooperation with Muslim scholars.

This brings us to another feature that transpires from Stefan Reichmuth's writings, and that is empathy. Not making any secret of his own views as a Christian, Reichmuth strives to understand Muslim religious writers as personalities who, like non-Muslims, struggle with the ultimate questions of human existence. Hence his strong conviction that Islam can be approached from a

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1 The contributors to this volume are all from among Stefan's former disciples, co-workers and colleagues. We admire him greatly; Stefan's enthusiasm is a constant source of inspiration for us.

2 Stefan Reichmuth, *Der arabische Dialekt der Šukriyya im Ostsudan* (Hildesheim: Olms Verlag, 1983).

3 Stefan Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung und soziale Integration in Ilorin (Nigeria) seit ca. 1800* (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 1998). For an appreciation of Reichmuth's fieldwork experience, see Razaq 'D. Abubakre's contribution to this volume.

perspective of humanism, which has the potential to bridge any racial, religious or political cleavages. Science knows no confessional boundaries, and world civilizations teach the decency of maintaining friendship and empathy even in the most turbulent times.<sup>4</sup> The quest for morality and religious education—whether Muslim or Christian—Reichmuth sees as being part of an emancipation process, on both individual and community levels.<sup>5</sup>

Yet while maintaining the strong linguistic and philological approaches, Stefan Reichmuth has pioneered ways of bringing classical Western Islamology into an exchange with social studies. As a student of Islam in Nigeria he was impressed by social network analysis, a field for which Sub-Saharan Africa was a veritable laboratory. Colonial and post-colonial re-ordering, and in particular labor migration and urbanization—plus, today, electronic media—have brushed aside the romantic notion that communities live in their neatly-confined private worlds. Scholars of the social sciences were the first to understand the enormous dynamics in African societies, where new urban communities transcend ethnic and linguistic boundaries, and where culture, education, and religious and political authority are negotiated in new ways. Why should we not apply their tools to Islamic studies?<sup>6</sup>

Reichmuth first moved in this direction for his study of a Muslim educational movement in Nigeria, the Ansar-Ud-Deen Society. He approached this association not from the conventional viewpoint, according to which all concepts and forms of organization radiated from the activities of a few well-known personalities of the late 19th- and early 20th-century Arab world; rather, he emphasized that local activists mobilize their communities to engage with their own heritage of piety and learning. Reichmuth also found that the Society consciously borrowed from Christian missionary and Aḥmadiyya organizational models.<sup>7</sup>

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4 Stefan Reichmuth, "Humanism in Islam between Mysticism and Literature", *Humanism and Muslim Culture: Historical Heritage and Contemporary Challenges*, ed. by Stefan Reichmuth, Jörn Rüsen, Aladdin Sarhan (Göttingen: V&R unipress; Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2012), 115–26.

5 Stefan Reichmuth, "Islamische Bildung und Emanzipation der Muslime. Šaiḥ Ādam al-Ilūrī, Nigeria, und seine Schriften", *Die Welt des Islams* 30 (1990), 201–10; idem, "Christian and Muslim Communities and Their Influence on Education in Nigeria", *Pluralism and Education: Current World Trends in Policy, Law, and Administration*, ed. by Peter M. Roeder, Ingo Richter, Hans-Peter Füssel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 279–92.

6 Roman Loimeier and Stefan Reichmuth, "Zur Dynamik religiös-politischer Netzwerke in muslimischen Gesellschaften", *Die Welt des Islams* 36 (1996), 145–85.

7 Stefan Reichmuth, "Education and the Growth of Religious Associations among Yoruba Muslims: the Ansar-Ud-Deen Society of Nigeria", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 26 (1996), 365–405.

Reichmuth then took the network approach further in his long-term project on Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1791), the Indian scholar who studied in Yemen and settled in Cairo, and who, through correspondence and mutual visits, forged network ties to peers and students that spanned the whole Muslim world. After writing a series of articles in which he meticulously studied various facets of Zabīdī's textual oeuvre,<sup>8</sup> Reichmuth linked the traditional qualitative research of Oriental philology—contextualizing literature horizontally and vertically, in space and time—with quantitative research methods borrowed from the social sciences. In his 2009 masterpiece on Zabīdī's life, works, and networks, Reichmuth identified the broader patterns behind the multitude of Zabīdī's contacts. He singled out geographical parameters (where did Zabīdī's guests and students come from?), topics (what did they study with him, and why was their study relevant for them in their respective home communities?), and genres (who studied *ḥadīth* with him, who asked for a Sufi license, for a genealogical treatise, or for a booklet on the art of archery?). The material in Zabīdī's biographical work *al-Muʿjam* (at that time only available in manuscript form) allowed Reichmuth to trace the ups and downs in relations over time and thereby overcome one of the major problems of any historical application of network approaches, namely that in most cases our source base only provides material for snapshots of moments. Reichmuth also analyzed Zabīdī's commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* in a new light; what had long been regarded merely as the work of an epigone appears in Reichmuth's reading as a new and unique synthesis of religious ethics in an open-minded engagement with the diversity of Islamic traditions. The polymath Zabīdī now stands before us not just as a popularizer of all kinds of inherited sciences but

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8 Including, among many others, Stefan Reichmuth, "Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1791) in Biographical and Autobiographical Accounts: Glimpses of Islamic Scholarship in the 18th Century", *Die Welt des Islams* 39 (1999), 64–102; Stefan Reichmuth, "Notes on Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī's *Muʿjam* as a Source for al-Jabartī's History", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001), 374–83; Stefan Reichmuth, "Beziehungen zur Vergangenheit: Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (gest. 1791) und seine Archäologie islamischer Kultur", *Asiatische Studien* 56 (2002), 439–69; Stefan Reichmuth, "Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (1732–91) and the Africans: Islamic Discourse and Scholarly Networks in the Late Eighteenth Century", *The Transmission of Learning in Islamic Africa*, ed. by Scott R. Reese (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 121–53; Stefan Reichmuth, "Nachricht von den Inseln der Seligen. Mythos und Wissenschaft im *Tāj al-ʿarūs* von Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (gest. 1205/1791)", *Alltagsleben und materielle Kultur in der arabischen Sprache und Literatur. Festschrift für Heinz Grotzfeld zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Ulrike Stehli-Werbeck and Thomas Bauer (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 291–308; Stefan Reichmuth, "Freundschaft und Liebe im Werk von Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī", *Zwischen Alltag und Schriftkultur. Horizonte des Individuellen in der arabischen Literatur des 17./18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Stefan Reichmuth and Florian Schwarz (Beirut: Ergon, 2008), 101–29.

as the active shaper of a web of contacts and contents, with himself at the center; in Zabīdī's writings, we can trace the purposes and meanings that he attached to his social contacts.

The scholarly work of Islamic writers thus reflects their social networks, and their encounters and ties shape the profile of their literary output, be it in Islamic law, theology, Sufism, historiography, educational reform, or poetry. At Bochum University, Reichmuth enthused a group of junior scholars to apply his approaches to a wide range of cases from other modern contexts. With generous funding from the Volkswagen Foundation, Reichmuth set up the research group *Islamic Networks of Education in Local and Transnational Contexts*, which produced Ph.D. theses on the historical interaction between Islamic scholarship and social networks in Syria, India, Turkey, Bosnia, the Ottoman Empire and Medina, in addition to post-doctoral work on the Caucasus.<sup>9</sup>

At that time, Reichmuth himself also ventured into Ottoman and South Indian contexts.<sup>10</sup> Lifelong learner that he is, Reichmuth joined the students of

9 Thomas Eich, *Abū l-Hudā aṣ-Ṣayyādī: Eine Studie zur Instrumentalisierung sufigischer Netzwerke und genealogischer Kontroversen im spätoosmanischen Reich* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2003); Bekim Agai, *Zwischen Netzwerk und Diskurs. Das Bildungsnetzwerk um Fethullah Gülen (geb. 1938). Die flexible Umsetzung modernen islamischen Gedankenguts* (Schenefeld: EB-Verlag, 2004); Yaşar Sarıkaya, *Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad al-Ḥādīmī (1701–1762): Netzwerke, Karriere und Einfluss eines osmanischen Provinzgelehrten* (Hamburg: Kovač, 2005); Michael Kemper, *Herrschaft, Recht und Islam in Daghestan. Von den Khanaten und Gemeindebünden zum ġihād-Staat* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2005); Claudia Preckel, *Islamische Bildungsnetzwerke und Gelehrtenkultur im Indien des 19. Jahrhunderts: Muḥammad Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Ḥān und die Entstehung der Ahl-i Ḥadīth-Bewegung in Bhopal* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Bochum University, 2008); Henning Sievert, *Zwischen arabischer Provinz und Hoher Pforte: Beziehungen, Bildung und Politik des osmanischen Bürokraten Rāġib Mehmed Paşa (st. 1763)* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2008); Armina Omerika, *Islam in Bosnien-Herzegowina und die Netzwerke der Jungmuslime (1918–1983)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014); Irfan Ince, *Medina im 12./18. Jahrhundert: Politische Strukturen, Beziehungen und Konflikte, mit Einblicken in den Gelehrten Diskurs* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Bochum University, 2014).

10 Stefan Reichmuth, "Islamic Scholarship between Imperial Center and Provinces in the XVIIIth Century: The Case of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d.1205/1791) and his Ottoman Contacts", *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation, Vol. 3. Philosophy, Science and Institutions*, ed. by K. Çiçek, E. Kuran, N. Göyünc, I. Ortaylı (Ankara, 2000), 357–65; Stefan Reichmuth, "Islamist Reformist Discourse in the Tulip Period (1718–30): Ibrahim Mütefferriqa and His Arguments for Printing", *International Congress on Learning and Education in the Ottoman World, Istanbul, 12–15 April 1999*, ed. by Ali Çaksu (Istanbul, 2001), 149–62; Stefan Reichmuth, "Bildungskanon und Bildungsreform aus der Sicht eines islamischen Gelehrten der

his own institute in taking Urdu classes, and one of the editors had the privilege of commuting with him to Essen to enjoy Turkish tutorials in a leftist evening school whose main task was to teach German to the offspring of Turkish migrants. Islam in Germany also attracted Reichmuth's attention, leading to regular interventions in the debate around Islamic education in public schools<sup>11</sup> and reflections on the public role of academic Islamic studies in Germany.<sup>12</sup> Contemporary issues informed his writings on Palestinian *Intifāda* literature and on perceptions of *jihād*.<sup>13</sup> In his work on Graeco-Islamic medicine (*ṭibb-i yūnānī*) Reichmuth established another inter-disciplinary dialogue, this time

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anatolischen Provinz: Muḥammad al-Sājaqlī (Saçaqlı-zâde, gest. um 1145/1733) und sein *Tartīb al-‘ulūm*”, *Words, Texts and Concepts Cruising the Mediterranean Sea: Studies on the Sources, Contents and Influences of Islamic Civilization and Arabic Philosophy and Science. Dedicated to Gerhard Endress on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by Rüdiger Arnzen and Jörn Thielmann (Louvain: Peeters, 2004), 491–518; Stefan Reichmuth, “Wissen, Praxis und pluraler kultureller Kontext der graeco-islamischen Medizin (*yūnānī ṭibb*/Unani Medicine) in Nordindien”, *Muslim Bodies: Body, Sexuality and Medicine in Muslim Societies. Körper, Sexualität und Medizin in muslimischen Gesellschaften*, ed. by Susanne Kurz, Claudia Preckel, Stefan Reichmuth (Berlin: LIT, 2015), 357–405.

- 11 Stefan Reichmuth, “Muslime in Deutschland”, *Kleines Islam-Lexikon. Geschichte, Alltag, Kultur*, ed. by Ralf Elger (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2001), 76–80; Stefan Reichmuth, “Muslime in der demokratischen Gesellschaft—Religion, Politik, Kultur”, Landesinstitut für Schule NRW: *Dritte Fachtagung “Islamische Unterweisung” als eigenständiges Unterrichtsfach in deutscher Sprache. Schulversuch, 16. bis 17. November 2002* (Soest: Landesinstitut für Schule, March 2003), 1–17; Michael Kiefer and Stefan Reichmuth, “Einleitung”, *Staatlicher Islamunterricht in Deutschland*, ed. by Stefan Reichmuth, Mark Bodenstein, Michael Kiefer, Birgit Vāth (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2006); Stefan Reichmuth, “Islamwissenschaft und Islamische Theologie im Streit der Fakultäten”, *Das Verhältnis zwischen Islamwissenschaft und Islamischer Theologie. Beiträge der Konferenz Münster, 1.–2. Juli 2011*, ed. by Mouhanad Khorshide and Marco Schöller (Münster: Agenda Verlag, 2012), 61–69.
- 12 Stefan Reichmuth, “Die Islamwissenschaft und ihr Beitrag zu einer islamischen Lehrerbildung—Perspektiven und erste Erfahrungen”, *Islamischer Religionsunterricht: Hintergründe, Probleme, Perspektiven*, ed. by Thomas Bauer, Lamyā Kaddor, Katja Strobel (Münster: LIT, 2004), 69–78; Stefan Reichmuth, “Discourses of Orientalism? The Topicality of Islamic and Oriental Studies in Present-Day Germany”, *Penser l’Orient. Traditions et actualité des orientalismes français et allemand*, ed. by Youssef Courbage and Manfred Kropp (Beirut: Institut français du Proche Orient, Orient-Institut, 2004), 129–45.
- 13 Stefan Reichmuth, “The Second Intifada and the ‘Day of Wrath’: Safar al-Ḥawālī and His Anti-Semitic Reading of Biblical Prophecy”, *Die Welt des Islams* 46 (2006), 331–51; Stefan Reichmuth, “Thema Jihad—Die Muslime und die Option der Gewalt in Religion und Staat”, *Politische Bildung* 1 (2003), 8–20.



with the scholars of the history of medicine,<sup>14</sup> a new and unexpected link that reflects the influence of his wife Dr. med. Gisela Reichmuth, who accompanied her husband on all his major fieldwork travels in Africa. Most recently, Stefan Reichmuth turned to the history of Muslim statehood in the interwar period,<sup>15</sup> an era of particular importance as the borders drawn after WWI are increasingly being challenged.

These are just Reichmuth's major lines of investigation; he also studied early modern Arabic poetry,<sup>16</sup> Latin Qur'ān translations (with Reinhold Gleib, Bochum),<sup>17</sup> and many other subjects in line with his own taste for literature. As far back as the early 1980s, while still a Ph.D. student, he produced translations of modern Arabic novels.<sup>18</sup> His vast erudition, his phenomenal memory and his untiring capacity are further reflected in the wealth of entries that Reichmuth contributed to the *Enzyklopaedie der Neuzeit*. From 2002 to 2016, Reichmuth served as chief editor of Brill's flagship for Islamic Studies, *Die Welt des Islams*, and he remains an editorial board member for this major hub of international studies on Islam and modern Muslim societies. His aversion to rushed generalizations informed his engagement with broader academic debates: in the discussions about the place of the Muslim world in world systems theory, and about the significance of the "Islamic eighteenth century", Stefan Reichmuth carefully balances the arguments, and combines the push for new interpretational paradigms with the demand for clear textual evidence.<sup>19</sup>

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- 14 Susanne Kurz and Stefan Reichmuth, "Zwischen Standardisierung und Literarisierung: Der Fallbericht in der graeco-islamischen Medizin", *Der ärztliche Fallbericht. Epistemische Grundlagen und textuelle Strukturen dargestellter Beobachtung*, ed. by R. Behrens, M. Winter, C. Zelle (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 227–58.
- 15 Stefan Reichmuth, "The Transformation of Muslim Societies and the Reorganisation of Muslim Statehood during and after the First World War", *The World During the First World War*, ed. by Helmut Bley and Anorthe Kremers (Essen: Klartext, 2014), 45–56.
- 16 Stefan Reichmuth, "The Praise of a Sufi Master as a Literary Event: al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī (1631–1691), His *Dālīyya* (*Qaṣīdat at-tahānī*) and its Commentary (*Nayl al-amānī*)", *Ethics and Spirituality in Islam: the Sufi Adab*, ed. by Francesco Chiabotti, Eve Feuillebois–Pierunek, Catherine Mayeur–Jaouen, Luca Patrizi (Leiden: Brill, 2017).
- 17 Reinhold Gleib and Stefan Reichmuth, "Religion between Last Judgement, Law and Faith: Koranic *dīn* and Its Rendering in Latin Translations of the Koran", *Religio* 42.2 (2012), 247–71.
- 18 Salah Abd as-Sabur, *Der Tod des Mystikers*. Aus d. Arab. übertr. von Nagi Naguib u. Stefan Reichmuth (Berlin: Ed. Orient, 1981); Tayyib Salih, *Die Hochzeit des Zain*. Aus d. Arab. übertr. von Stefan Reichmuth (Berlin: Ed. Orient, 1983).
- 19 Stefan Reichmuth, "Arabic Literature and Islamic Scholarship in the 17th/18th Centuries: Topics and Biographies. Introduction", *Die Welt des Islams* 43 (2002), 281–88; Stefan Reichmuth, "The Interplay of Local Developments and Transnational Relations in the

## The Concept of this Volume

The “Piety of Learning” that this volume bears in its title is, therefore, a fitting characterization of Stefan Reichmuth’s most respectful attitude towards scholarship, and it is also the major *leitmotif* of the contributions. This book investigates the production of knowledge (*ilm*) and the Islamic morality (*adab*) that guides the educational process. What unites the contributions further is their concentration on the last two centuries, with two contributions that go into the mid-eighteenth century. Most of our authors chose a close reading of particular Muslim texts as their starting point, and in some cases we provide original documents in Arabic or in translation.

Stefan Reichmuth’s personal approach to the investigation of Islamic literature made us put the spotlight on particular genres that reflect the individuality of the composer, who finds himself in dialogue with the standards of the respective literary tradition. Our contributors analyze poetry, Sufi hagiographies, *ijāzas*, *silsilas*, and *ḥadīth* compilations, as well as travel accounts, correspondences and field-diaries.

This volume also honors Stefan Reichmuth’s interest in the long-neglected “peripheries” of the Muslim World: three chapters focus on Sub-Saharan Africa, and four on the post-Soviet area (Central Asia, Russia, the Caucasus). The “African” and “Russian” clusters of contributions complement each other particularly well, but also the chapters on the Ottoman Middle East are geographically and chronologically interwoven. Two contributions bring us to Europe.

The volume is arranged not according to these geographical areas but in broad topical sections. The first of our three sections discusses the relationship between Islamic knowledge and education, with first-hand material from specific settings in Africa, Anatolia, and Central Asia. Section two centers on the dynamics of Sufism, in Egypt, Syria and Iraq, and in Russia and the North Caucasus. The last section discusses specific European encounters with Islam, again in connection with a variety of target locations. One chapter discusses a remarkable Muslim travelogue.

Rüdiger Seesemann’s paper on the traditional modes of teaching Islam introduces the reader to the general topic of the volume, the relationship between

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Islamic World: Perceptions and Perspectives”, *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, vol. 2: *Inter-Regional and Inter-Ethnic Relations*, ed. by Anke von Kügelgen, Michael Kemper, Allen J. Frank (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1998), 5–38; Stefan Reichmuth, “‘Netzwerk’ und ‘Weltsystem’. Konzepte zur neuzeitlichen ‘Islamischen Welt’ und ihrer Transformation”, *Saeculum* 51 (2000), 267–93.

*ilm* and *adab*. With examples from Stefan Reichmuth's research into Islam in Nigeria and with his own observations from Sudan, Senegal, and Mauritania, Seesemann defines the traditional *adab* in West Africa as the teaching of the proper habitus, as "character formation through self-discipline and physical demeanor designed to transform the individual into a worthy vessel of knowledge", *ilm*. This traditional teaching philosophy is attacked by modern Salafī approaches. The latter not only break with traditional Sufi Islam in terms of how to weigh the fundamental sources of Islam over and against the later tradition, but they also abandon the classical *adab* of master-disciple relations. In what Seesemann identifies as an epistemic shift, modernist and Salafī methods replace *adab* by focusing on discursive practices only.

In our second chapter, Amidu Olalekan Sanni switches to the other meaning of *adab*, namely literature, and analyzes three elegies (*marthiyas*) composed by the Nigerian educational reformer Ādam al-Ilūrī (d. 1992), a central personality in Reichmuth's oeuvre on Ilorin. Sanni presents al-Ilūrī's elegies in the original Arabic and in English translation, and he evaluates al-Ilūrī's poetic craftsmanship by setting his work against the historical tradition of elegy-writing.

Several chapters investigate the establishment and maintenance of Sufi networks. Catherine Mayeur-Jouen provides a magnificent close reading of an Egyptian Khalwatiyya hagiography, whence she carefully reconstructs the social and political meanings that are hidden in the text. Mayeur-Jouen sets the "small" Egyptian world of her protagonist, Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī (1761–1825), against the background of Zabīdī's large international and encompassing networks, and argues that al-Ṣāwī's concentration on Egypt reflects a major paradigm shift that occurred with the end of Ottoman rule in Egypt.

Three contributions put Sufi lineages into the spotlight. Thomas Eich discusses the publication strategies of the major Rifā'iyya shaykh Abū l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī (d. 1909) with regard to *ḥadīth*, the transmission of the prophetic tradition. Eich shows that al-Ṣayyādī's *ḥadīth* publications of the 1890s combine the conventional Sunnī *isnāds* (transmission lines) that go back to the classical *ḥadīth* collections with chains that feature the Shī'ī Imams; he argues that the inclusion of Shī'ī elements was meant to emphasize the Rifā'iyya's proximity to Shī'ism, a strategy that can be explained by Ottoman policies in Iraq. Center-periphery relations are also central in Yaşar Sarıkaya's contribution, which demonstrates the importance of Naqshbandiyya Sufi links for the professional ascent of a provincial family of scholars in Anatolia, the Khādīmīs. Sarıkaya traces the Khādīmīs over three generations, and demonstrates the link between social capital and religious prestige.

The Naqshbandiyya is also central in the piece offered by Shamil Shikhaliev and Michael Kemper, who study the flow of Sufi teaching certificates (*ijāzas*) between the Volga-Urals and the North Caucasus. The respective lines of transmission reveal relations to Central Asia, India, Istanbul, Medina, and Fez; the link to Morocco brought a Shādhiliyya *ijāza* to Daghestan, and led to the emergence of a Naqshbandiyya-Shādhiliyya “consortium” that is today the state-sponsored form of Islamic organization in the country. Just as in Eich’s case of Abū l-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī, the Naqshbandiyya licenses also come together with the transmission of *ḥadīth*, which obviously experienced a rise in importance from the late 19th century, both in Ottoman lands and in Russia.

Alfrid Bustanov provides the first comparative study of unpublished Sufi and ethical poetry from Soviet Russia, whose authors, confronted with the repressive State, used Tatar Islamic verses to either formulate Sufi-minded resignation or, on the contrary, actively engage with the Soviet system of administering Islam. Anke von Kügelgen analyses a broad variety of school textbooks from Central Asia, and discloses the principles of how Sufi, reformist (*Jadīd*), Soviet and Uzbek nationalist authors conceptualized morality for educational purposes. Comparing school readings from across several centuries and ordering them from the perspective of moral philosophy, von Kügelgen offers an innovative typology of ethics in Muslim societies.

In our third section, “Unusual Encounters”, we bring together seven contributions that present surprising facets of the history of interaction with the Muslim World. Our conventional historiography of Oriental studies has been downplaying its Christian roots, argues Ralf Elger; his paper analyses the travel account of a Pietist from Altona, near Hamburg, who in 1737–39 travelled extensively in the Ottoman Empire. The traveler was convinced that what the Bible once called the “Promised Land” had now turned into the target of “God’s curse”, and he undertook this trip in order to gather factual evidence for his thesis. Curiously, the German traveler saw God’s curse as a punishment not for the rise of Islam but for Christian “deviations” in the Orient. An equally personal involvement with the Ottoman Empire is presented by Markus Koller, who introduces us to a former Habsburg officer who converted to Islam and integrated into the Ottoman elite. Eventually, he became Istanbul’s military representative in Bosnia, where his task was to enforce the Sublime Porte’s *Tanzīmāt* reform policies. This contribution shows that the Ottoman leadership highly valued the service of European converts, and discusses the entangled identity conflicts that such transfers and assignments caused.

Two chapters in this section take us to the Ḥijāz. Rainer Brunner gives contours to Rashīd Riḍā’s (d. 1935) account of his Mecca pilgrimage in 1916.

Brunner explores Riḍā's travel account in an unconventional way, namely as an instrument for conscious self-promotion, against the backdrop of the First World War and the caliphate discussion. The person who hosted Rashīd Riḍā in Jeddah, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Naṣīf (1881–1971), also figures in Ulrike Freitag's contribution: she draws our attention to the letter-exchange between Naṣīf and the Leiden Orientalist Snouck Hurgronje, who had earlier travelled to Mecca in Muslim disguise, and who served as an advisor to the Dutch colonial government in Indonesia. What we see here is that, in the early 20th century, Salafism was not nearly as rigid as it is regarded today, and major activists had no qualms about keeping friendly relations with colonial officers and Orientalists.

A prominent aspect of the correspondence between Naṣīf and Snouck Hurgronje was the exchange of books, which in those days could only be procured through personal networks. The collection of books is also central to Diliara Usmanova's contribution, through which we return not only to Islam in Russia but also to Stefan Reichmuth's insistence on the centrality of fieldwork in Islamic studies. Usmanova analyzes the field diaries of her father, the prominent Tatar historian Mirkasym A. Usmanov, who, in the early 1960s, began organizing university expeditions to collect Muslim manuscripts from Russia's Tatar villages, thereby rescuing these treasures from decay and making them accessible to scholarship. This study demonstrates how a strong-willed Soviet scholar, despite the ideological confinements of the late Soviet era, engaged positively with Muslim literature, but in a race against time also struggled with the long-lasting consequences of Stalin's terror and the Bolsheviks' attempts to eradicate the pre-revolutionary Tatar written heritage.

Finally, Bekim Agai and Armina Omerika venture into the very epistemology of our discipline of Islamic studies. What is the relationship between "secular" academic Islamology and the new discipline of Islamic Theological Studies that has been emerging at German universities in recent years? Also in this debate Reichmuth regularly made his voice heard. To introduce religious Islamic Studies at secular universities is, of course, the culmination of the "epistemic shift" from pious self-discipline to rational discourse that Rüdiger Seesemann discusses in the first chapter with examples from West Africa.

Our collection ends with a very personal account on Stefan Reichmuth, from the pen of his long-time friend and colleague Razaq 'Deremi Abubakre. Outlining Reichmuth's engagement with the scholarly heritage and the Islamic elite of Ilorin (Nigeria), this chapter is an impressive testimony of friendship and brotherhood in the common quest for knowledge on Islam and Muslim societies. The volume thereby comes to conclusion with a piece of Yoruba poetry that Abubakre and Reichmuth together translated.

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