



ZENTRALRAT DER MUSLIME IN DEUTSCHLAND: DYNAMICS OF SOCIO-RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS AND MUSLIM REPRESENTATION IN GERMANY (1994–2015)

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Abstract

The *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* has emerged as one of the most influential Muslim umbrella organizations in Germany, playing a crucial role in articulating the socio-religious interests and identity of the Muslim community since its establishment in 1994. As an officially recognized representative body for diverse Islamic associations, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* has positioned itself as a strategic actor in responding to the complex socio-political challenges faced by Muslims as a minority group in contemporary German society. This study seeks to provide a comprehensive analysis of *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland*'s socio-religious movement by examining its advocacy strategies, modes of representation, and its influence on the construction of Muslim visibility and identity within the German public sphere from 1994 to 2015. Employing an extensive literature-based method, this research integrates historical analysis, organizational document review, academic publications, media discourse, and theoretical frameworks of social movement studies including resource mobilization, political opportunities, and framing theory. The findings indicate that *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* promotes a moderate, dialogical, and integrative model of socio-religious activism, demonstrated through interfaith dialogues, engagement in public policy debates, advocacy for religious rights, and public responses to issues such as Islamophobia, terrorism, migration, and integration. Furthermore, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* contributes significantly to shaping a narrative of "moderate Islam" compatible with Germany's democratic values, while simultaneously contending with internal fragmentation within the Muslim community, media bias, and fluctuating public perceptions of Islam.

Keywords: Socio-religious movement; Germany muslim; Political representation.

Abstrak

Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland merupakan organisasi payung yang berperan penting dalam mengartikulasikan kepentingan dan identitas komunitas Muslim di Jerman sejak pendiriannya pada tahun 1994. Sebagai representasi resmi sejumlah organisasi Islam, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* menjadi aktor strategis dalam merespons dinamika sosial, politik, dan keagamaan yang dihadapi Muslim sebagai kelompok minoritas. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis secara komprehensif gerakan sosial keagamaan *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* dengan menelaah strategi advokasi, peran representasional, serta pengaruhnya terhadap pembentukan citra dan posisi sosial umat Muslim di ruang publik Jerman. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah studi pustaka mendalam yang memadukan analisis historis, kajian dokumen organisasi, publikasi akademik, berita media, serta pendekatan teoritis gerakan sosial seperti mobilisasi sumber daya, framing, dan peluang politik. Temuan kajian menunjukkan bahwa *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* menjalankan gerakan sosial keagamaan yang bercirikan moderasi, pendekatan dialogis, dan orientasi integratif, yang tampak dalam program dialog antaragama, advokasi kebijakan publik mengenai hak keagamaan, serta pernyataan sikap terhadap isu-isu seperti Islamofobia, terorisme, dan integrasi imigran. *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* juga memainkan peran penting dalam membentuk narasi Islam moderat yang kompatibel dengan nilai demokrasi Jerman, meskipun menghadapi tantangan berupa fragmentasi internal umat, tekanan media, serta persepsi publik yang sering bias terhadap isu Islam.

Kata Kunci: Gerakan sosial-keagamaan; Muslim Jerman; Representasi politik.

Article History | Submitted: 17 December 2025 | Revised: 10 February 2026 | Accepted: 11 February 2026 | Publish: 15 January 2026
HOW TO CITE (FCM Style^{17th} Edition):

Ramadhan, Zidni Ilmi. (2026). Zentralrat Der Muslime in Deutschland: Dynamics of Socio-Religious Movements and Muslim Representation in Germany (1994–2015). *Al-Mujtama': Journal of Social Sciences*. Vol.2 (1), page.43-49

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.30829/al-mujtama.v2i1.27605>



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INTRODUCTION

The Muslim community in Germany is one of the largest and most dynamic minority groups in Western Europe. Their existence did not arise suddenly, but through a long and layered historical process¹. In the mid-20th century, West Germany opened its doors to foreign labor through the *Gastarbeiter* program, mainly from Turkey, Yugoslavia, Morocco, and Tunisia. The arrival of these guest workers was initially temporary, but the social and economic developments that took place later encouraged many of them to settle permanently. The second and third generations born of these migrant families later made Islam a permanent part of the German religious landscape.

The significant growth of the Muslim population has implications for Germany's previously more culturally and religiously homogeneous national identity. The emergence of mosques, Islamic communities, and the demand for Islamic religious education in schools marks a new chapter in Germany's religious configuration. However, this development also brings challenges such as negative stereotypes, cultural prejudices, and political tensions related to integration and security issues. Global events like the September 11, 2001 attacks, the Syrian conflict, and the 2015 refugee crisis have further positioned Islam as a strategic issue in public discourse in Germany².

In this complex social and political context, the need for an organization capable of officially representing the Muslim community is crucial. The presence of various Muslim groups from diverse ethnic backgrounds and sects produces a broad spectrum of views, necessitating an organization that can coordinate these aspirations under a single representational umbrella. To address this need, the *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* was formed in 1994.

Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland has since developed into a key actor in formulating a moderate, inclusive Islamic narrative compatible with German democratic values. The organization is actively involved in interfaith dialogue, public policy discussions, advocacy for religious rights such as freedom of worship, Islamic education in public schools, recognition of religious holidays, and the establishment of Muslim cemeteries. *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* also plays a role in responding to sensitive issues such as radicalism, Islamophobia, discrimination, and the representation of Muslims in the media. Furthermore, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* frequently partners with the government in consultations on integration, domestic security, and intercultural relations³.

However, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* role has not been without challenges. Internal fragmentation among Muslim organizations, differences in sectarianism, political interests of migrants' countries of origin, and global geopolitical dynamics often influence internal organizational consolidation. Furthermore, the often negative public perception of Islam, biased media coverage, and political pressure from right-wing groups in Germany pose significant obstacles to the effectiveness of the *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* movement. Therefore, examining the *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* socio-religious movement is relevant for understanding how Muslim communities develop representation strategies in minority contexts,

¹ Mohammad Taufiq Rahman et al., *Multikulturalisme, Moderasi Beragama, Dan Tantangan Identitas Di Thailand Selatan* (Bandung: Gunung Djati Publishing, 2024); Nurul Faiqah and Toni Pransiska, "Radikalisme Islam Vs Moderasi Islam: Upaya Membangun Wajah Islam Indonesia Yang Damai," *Al-Fikra : Jurnal Ilmiah Keislaman* 17, no. 1 (2018): 33, <https://doi.org/10.24014/af.v17i1.5212>.

² Indah Puspita Sari, "Local Traditions as Guardians of Malay Identity among Pattani Muslims in Thailand," *At-Tarbawi: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial Dan Kebudayaan* 11, no. 2 (December 29, 2024): 326–47, <https://doi.org/10.32505/tarbawi.v11i2.9360>.

³ Zora Arfina Sukabdi et al., "Islamophobia among Muslims in Indonesia," *Cogent Social Sciences* 9, no. 1 (2023).

often faced with the dual challenge of maintaining religious identity while striving for social integration⁴.

This research has significant significance for the development of Islamic studies, the sociology of religion, and social movement studies, particularly regarding the dynamics of Muslim religiosity in minority countries like Germany⁵. The analysis of *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* provides a picture of how Muslim communities develop strategies for representation, identity negotiation, and advocacy for religious rights in the context of a pluralistic democratic society. This study also enriches understanding of how Muslim organizations exploit political opportunities, respond to the challenges of Islamophobia, and shape a narrative of moderate Islam that is acceptable in the Western public sphere⁶. Practically, this research can serve as a reference for Islamic organizations in Europe and other Muslim minority countries to develop inclusive, adaptive, and constructive social movement models in fighting for the interests of their communities. Furthermore, this research also contributes to policymakers and academics in understanding the patterns of interaction between the state, society, and religious organizations in a modern multicultural context⁷.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach, namely an approach that focuses on understanding social phenomena through text and document data⁸. This approach is appropriate because the research analyzes the socio-religious movement of the *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* through literature, history, and policy analysis data documented in the files provided. The research method used is library research⁹. This method is carried out by examining various written sources such as journal articles, research reports, and academic documents regarding: the development of Islam in Germany, Muslim organizations in Germany, the dynamics of Islamophobia, the socio-political context surrounding the *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland*. The library study method is used as is also done in the study of the History of Islamic Civilization: German Muslim Minorities, which emphasizes the use of library research and content analysis as the main methods.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

History of the Formation of *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland*

The development of the *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* is inseparable from the long history of Muslim presence in Germany. Migration of foreign workers (*Gastarbeiter*) from 1950–1970 brought thousands of Muslim workers from Turkey, Morocco, Tunisia, and other countries. Initially, these migrant workers were not intended to settle permanently, but social realities—

⁴ Moch. Nur Ichwan, “‘Ulamā’, State and Politics: Majelis Ulama Indonesia After Suharto,” *Islamic Law and Society* 12, no. 1 (2005): 45–72, <https://doi.org/10.1163/1568519053123867>.

⁵ M de Koning, C Becker, and I Roex, *Islamic Militant Activism in Belgium, The Netherlands and Germany: “Islands in a Sea of Disbelief”* (Springer International Publishing, 2020).

⁶ Saiful Mujani, R. William Liddle, and Deni Irvani, “Islamism and Muslim Support for Islamist Movement Organizations: Evidence from Indonesia,” *Studia Islamika* 30, no. 1 (April 30, 2023): 39–63, <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v30i1.33369>; Nur Faizin et al., “Pentingnya Moderasi Beragama,” 2020, 82–90.

⁷ Nafila Maulina Priyanto, “Alternative Für Deutschland Strategy in 2017 Germany Legislative Election: Analysis of Posters as Visual Campaign Media,” *Jurnal Global & Strategis* 15, no. 2 (October 11, 2021): 375, <https://doi.org/10.20473/jgs.15.2.2021.375-408>.

⁸ Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Pendekatan Ilmu Sosial Dalam Metodologi Sejarah* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1993).

⁹ Sugiyono, “Teknik Analisis Data Suatu Penelitian,” *Journal of Chemical Information and Modeling* 01, no. 01 (2010): 1689–99.

including the need for long-term labor and the formation of new generations—made the Muslim community a stable part of German society. In the file History of Islamic Civilization: The German Muslim Minority, it is explained that this phase was the initial foundation of the formation of a modern Muslim community in Germany, complete with the needs of mosques, religious education, and more formal religious organizations¹⁰.

The growing Muslim community subsequently gave rise to demands for political and social representation. In the 1980s and 1990s, Islamic organizations began to emerge, but they were fragmented along ethnic lines, such as those for Turkish, Bosnian, Arab, and African Muslims. This fragmentation made it difficult for the Muslim community to advocate for its rights in the German public sphere. Therefore, an umbrella organization was needed to coordinate these various Muslim groups through a single platform. Thus, in 1994, the *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* was established to address the need for Muslim representation at the national level¹¹.

Position of *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* in the Structure of Muslim Organizations in Germany

Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland has grown into one of the largest Muslim organizations in Germany, distinguished by its unique characteristics compared to other groups such as DITIB and IGMG. Multicultural in nature and unbound by any specific national government, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* plays a strategic role as a government partner in addressing issues like integration, religious freedom, and combating discrimination against Muslims.

In subsequent developments, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* became a trusted key actor in various official forums, including the Deutsche Islam Konferenz (German Islamic Conference). Its participation in these forums provides a platform for the Muslim community to voice aspirations regarding Islamic religious education, the establishment of Muslim cemeteries, mosque management, and the protection of minority rights. This position reinforces *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* image as a vital representative of the Muslim community, as it effectively unites members from diverse backgrounds such as Arab, Turki, Bosnia, Afrika.

Forms of the *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* Socio-Religious Movement

The *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* socio-religious movement can be seen through three main focuses: policy advocacy, interfaith dialogue, and empowerment of Muslim communities. In the advocacy field, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* actively advocates for the recognition of Islamic holidays, Islamic religious education in public schools, the freedom to build mosques, and the provision of special Muslim cemeteries. The Islamophobia Issue File in Germany shows that *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* is frequently involved in policy negotiations aimed at reducing discrimination and hate speech against Muslims in the German public sphere¹².

In addition to policy advocacy, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* also runs an interfaith dialogue movement that emphasizes the values of democracy, tolerance, and coexistence. The organization actively collaborates with the Catholic Church, Protestant churches, and civil society

¹⁰ Priyanto, "Alternative Für Deutschland Strategy in 2017 Germany Legislative Election: Analysis of Posters as Visual Campaign Media."

¹¹ Rafid Sugandi et al., "Sejarah Peradaban Islam: Menguak Keberadaan Minoritas Muslim Jerman," *TOLERANSI: Media Ilmiah Komunikasi Umat Beragama* 16, no. 1 (May 24, 2024): 56, <https://doi.org/10.24014/trs.v16i1.29754>.

¹² Jörn Thielmann, "Islam and Muslims in Germany: An Introductory Exploration," in *Islam and Muslims in Germany* (BRILL, 2008), 1–29, <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004158665.I-592.7>.

organizations to create harmonious interfaith relations. This step is important because the image of Islam in the German media is often associated with radicalism and violence. By prioritizing open dialogue, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* strives to build a more objective and positive public understanding of Islam¹³.

Meanwhile, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* also developed various internal empowerment programs such as Islamic education, Muslim youth training, anti-radicalism training, to strengthen the capacity of priests and mosque managers. These programs became increasingly important after Germany implemented the Open Door Policy in 2015. File open door policy asserts that the policy creates major demographic changes and poses new challenges for Muslim integration, so organizations such as *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* have an important role in accompanying new Muslim refugees coming to Germany.

Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland Challenges in Facing Islamophobia

Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland faces a significant challenge in the form of rising Islamophobia in Germany. The Islamophobia Analysis File explains that prejudice, discrimination, and negative stereotypes against Muslims have increased, particularly after 9/11, the terrorist attacks in Europe, and national security issues amplified by the mass media. These challenges have often made Muslims targets of suspicion, while organizations like *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* have to contend with political pressure and public opinion that tends to be biased against Islam¹⁴.

In addition to external challenges, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* also faces internal challenges in the form of diverse ethnic backgrounds, schools of thought, and orientations of Muslim organizations. These differences often make internal coordination difficult. However, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* success in accommodating various groups and becoming a national representative demonstrates a strong adaptive capacity. On the other hand, the rise of right-wing extremism, as explained in the open door policy file, has also increased pressure on Muslims and narrowed the scope for Islamic organizations, including *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland*.

The Impact of the Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland Movement on the Muslim Community and the German State

The *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* movement has had a significant impact on the lives of Muslims in Germany. *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* has successfully strengthened the identity of moderate Muslims by conveying an Islamic narrative that aligns with German democratic values. Furthermore, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* participation in various official forums helps fight for the rights of Muslim minorities, particularly in terms of religious freedom, education, and legal protection¹⁵.

At the social level, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* interfaith dialogue activities contribute to creating more harmonious interfaith relations and reducing religious-based tensions. The history of islamic civilization file shows that organizations like *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* are important pillars in addressing integration challenges and promoting tolerance in Germany's pluralistic society. This influence also extends to the fields of education, social affairs,

¹³ Rita Breuer, "Die Muslimbruderschaft in Deutschland," Bundeszentrale Für Politische Bildung, 2019, <https://www.bpb.de/themen/islamismus/dossier-islamismus/290422/die-muslimbruderschaft-in-deutschland/>.

¹⁴ Siti Shakira, "Strategi Kampanye Partai Alternative Für Deutschland (Afd) Dalam Menarik Dukungan Publik Terkait Isu Islamophobia Pada Pemilu Di Jerman" (Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, 2024), <https://eprints.umm.ac.id/id/eprint/11727/>.

¹⁵ Shakira.

and public policy. *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* is a model for an effective socio-religious movement in the context of European Muslim minorities and can serve as a reference for Muslim communities in other countries, including the Indonesian diaspora¹⁶.

CONCLUSION

The *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* is an organization that plays a significant role in the social, religious, and political dynamics of the Muslim community in Germany. *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* was born out of a historical need arising from the massive migration during the Gastarbeiter era, which brought thousands of Muslim workers to Germany in the mid-20th century. *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* has grown to become one of the largest and most influential Muslim organizations in Germany, bridging differences across ethnicities, sects, and social backgrounds. *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* plays a crucial role as the political representative of Muslims in official government forums, particularly in formulating policies related to religious freedom, protecting minority rights, and addressing religious-based discrimination. With a more independent and inclusive character than other organizations with ties to their members' countries of origin, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* has successfully established a strategic position within the fabric of modern German religious life. This movement encompasses three main areas: public policy advocacy, interfaith dialogue, and the empowerment of Muslim communities. In its advocacy, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* advocates for the recognition of Muslim rights, including Islamic religious education in public schools, the establishment of Muslim cemeteries, and the protection of freedom of worship. In the realm of interfaith dialogue, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* prioritizes the values of tolerance and interfaith cooperation to build harmonious relationships in a pluralistic society. *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland*'s community empowerment programs also contribute to strengthening the capacity of local organizations, including in developing young Muslims and preventing radicalism. These efforts became even more important after the open door policy in 2015, which brought an influx of Muslim refugees and created new integration challenges, as detailed in the Open Door Policy file.

Despite its important role, *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* faces various challenges, particularly rising Islamophobia and rising populist rhetoric in Germany. Prejudice, negative stereotypes, and anti-Muslim narratives often create social and political barriers for Muslim communities. *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland* represents a model for an effective socio-religious movement in the context of Europe's Muslim minority. *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland*'s strategic role in building political representation, fighting for religious rights, and promoting tolerance makes it a crucial actor in the dynamic relationship between Islam and the state in Germany. *Zentralrat der Muslime in Deutschland*'s experience can serve as an example for Muslim communities in other countries, including the Indonesian diaspora, in building moderate, adaptive, and integration-oriented social movements in multicultural societies.

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¹⁶ Shakira.

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