

M. Ikrām Chaghatāi *

Pakistan and Europe: Their Intellectual, Cultural and Political Relationship**

The wave of European Nations' invasion of India commenced in the sixteenth century and the Portuguese were the first to hoist the flag on her western shores. Soon French, Dutch and the English followed in their footsteps in the disguise of trading companies and then a long period of sanguinary wars started among them for establishing political hegemony over various parts of India. Eventually, the English became successful and in the beginning of the nineteenth century took the administrative reins of the government, still headed by the late Mughal emperors. After having political power, the British East India Company turned its attention to other parts of local life, for instance, the social and educational system, and took some initial steps to make western learning popular among the natives.¹

In this process of accelerating the pace of uplifting the mental and intellectual potentialities of the indigenous people, many learned personalities of other European countries participated without having any colonial and imperial interests, though they were serving in different capacities under the British Indian Empire. The number of such eminent persons was not large, but the contribution made by these scholars, educationists and linguists in their respective domain of interest is unforgettable. In this array of reputed literati, there were many of German, French and Austro-Hungarian descent who, for certain reasons, migrated to England, naturalized there or went straight to India. Among them, many distinguished

linguists, scholars, missionaries, travellers and militarists (especially in the reigns of Tipu Sultan of Mysore, d. 1799)² and Ranjit Singh (a ruler of United Punjab, d. 1837),³ made valuable contribution to the historical and cultural milieu of Muslim India.

Here it is necessary to mention a few points:

- i) The subject of this presentation is vast and it deserves well-documented and extensively-researched dissertation of any higher academic degree. In this article, an attempt has been made to hint at some salient aspects of the subject.
- ii) Partition of the subcontinent took place in 1947, and a new state under the name of Pakistan emerged. I have tried to confine myself to the areas now included in Pakistan, but some indispensable historical facts have compelled to cross over the barriers of time and space.
- iii) In this study, only those European savants have been included who spent a few years or the major part of their life in India and substantially contributed to the intellectual, cultural and academic history of Muslim India, with special reference to Pakistan.

* * *

Among the early European visitors of the subcontinent, the name of Joseph Tieffenthaler (1710, Bolzano –1785, Lucknow), a Jesuit missionary from South Tyrol, can be mentioned, who sailed for India in 1743 and stayed here upto his death in Lucknow. He travelled extensively to the remote parts of India and was an extraordinary expert of Indian literature, geography and natural history. He is commonly called the “Father of modern Indian geography”, and his magnum opus *Description of Hindustan*⁴ provides the original geographical, astronomical, historical and linguistic

information, based on his own experiences and deep observations.⁵

Johann Martin Honigberger (1795, Kronstadt, Transylvania–1869, Kronstadt), an Austrian pharmacist, reached Lahore in 1828 and became the court physician of Ranjit Singh. He practiced medicine in this city for about twenty years. In his book “Fruits of the Orient”⁶ he described vividly his numerous adventures. A major part of this book deals with the reports of the various cures he attempted with people, combining western medicine with what he observed in the oriental countries.⁷

Freiherr von Hügel (1796, Regensburg, Bavaria–1870, Bruxelles) was a wealthy diplomat. He travelled in far-fetched Indian regions, especially in Kashmir and Punjab. His voluminous *Travels*⁸ (4 vols., 1840-48) contains a peculiar account of the government and character of the Sikhs, a summarized account of the ancient and modern history of Kashmir with sundry geographical and physical particulars. Hügel entered Lahore in 1836 and enjoyed the royal hospitality of Ranjit Singh. He was very much impressed by the architectural grandeur and beauty of the historical monuments of the Mughals.⁹

M. Ikrām Chaghatāi | 15

* * *

Many divergent theories about the origin of the Urdu (also named Hindi, Hindavi, Hindustani and Rekhta) language have been so far presented, but historically one can say that this language was gradually gaining popularity among the masses with the beginning of the decline of the Mughal Empire (1707). Besides the indigenous intellectuals and litterateurs, the Europeans, mostly settled in India, also paid attention to this language and preferred to compile its grammar and started translating their Holy Writ. In this respect, the name of a German Protestant missionary, Benjamin Schultze (1609-1760) can be referred.¹⁰ During his twenty-four years’ stay in India,

he learned Urdu and translated the Bible into this language in 1748 (ms., preserved in Berlin Staatsbibliothek). His pioneer work was *Grammatica Hindostanica* that was completed in 1740, a year before Schultze left for Germany.¹¹ Most of such grammars were written in Latin in order to meet the need of missionaries from all European countries. Luckily, its English version with an Urdu translation and copious notes is available.¹² Another German-born scholar and traveller in Dutch service, John Joshua Ketelaar (d. 1718), also compiled such grammar under the title *Lingua Hindostanica*, is rightly claimed as the first attempt in this respect. Its unique ms. is available in the Hague Museum and a few years ago, a renowned Indian linguist in collaboration with a Japanese professor, published its critical edition in three parts.¹³

The mutual cooperation of Japanese and Indian linguists for making available the first Hindustani (=Urdu) grammar (copied in Lucknow, in 1898) to the common readers is really commendable, as it will certainly open the new vistas for further research about the lexicographical research of the Urdu language. But the credit of discovery of its unique ms.¹⁴ goes to Jean Philippe Vogel (1871,s' Gravenbage–1958, Oegstgeest (Z.H.)), a renowned Dutch scholar and archaeologist. His other discovery is concerned with the travelogue of this first grammarian of Urdu language, J. J. Ketelaar and then its annotated edition.¹⁵

J. Ph. Vogel studied at Amsterdam, where he gained a doctorate in 1897. He came to India and served as a superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Lahore (1901–1915). He eventually served at Leiden, as a professor of Sanskrit and Indian archaeology until his retirement in 1938.¹⁶

His writings include *Antiquities of Chamba State* (Calcutta 1911), *Indian Serpent Lore* (London 1926), *Goose in Indian Literature* (Leiden 1962), *The Contribution of the University of Leiden to Oriental Research* (Leiden 1954), *Tile-Mosaics of Lahore Fort* (Calcutta 1920); cf. *Bibliographical*

woordenboek van Nederland. s' Gravenhage. 1979, vol. 4, pp. 530-531.

Ernst Trumpp (1828-1885) of Ilsfeld, was a “scholar extraordinary” of the Pakistani languages. To him, Pakistani linguistics owe the first comprehensive study of Sindhi (1872), deep and thought-provoking studies of Pashto (1873), a solid research into medieval Punjabi, articles on Brahui as well as on the language of the so-called Kafirs. He also left a number of unpublished collections on other north-west Indian idioms, such as Kashmiri and Nepali.

His name is most important among German philologists in the field of Pakistani linguistics, and who has been called very rightly “the true founder of neo-Indian philology.”

The qualities such as deep and sincere piety and indefatigable diligence and assiduity are reflected in Trumpp’s life and in his approach to oriental learning.

After joining the Church Mission Society, he was asked to go to India for an intense study of modern Indian languages and to compose their grammars and dictionaries for use by future missionaries. So he left for India and reached Karachi in 1854, which he calls “an irregular heap of desolate mud huts.”

He left a most precious treasure of studies on the languages of Pakistan which are still fundamental for our understanding of the grammatical structure of Sindhi, Pashto, old Punjabi, Brahui, and other languages.

Trumpp was a typical scholar of 19th century Germany: modest and retiring, and a faithful member of the Protestant Church. His two main interests were the grammar and the phonology of the languages which he investigated. Some of his linguistic theories have been rejected in view of more recent investigations. Nevertheless, there is no German, or European scholar of the 19th century, who could be compared to him as regards the sober analysis of the main languages of Pakistan.¹⁷

* * *

Putting aside the meritorious services rendered by all Christian Missions to educate the commonfolk of India, we switch over to refer to some of the educational institutions in which European scholars and orientalists substantially contributed to bridge the gap between conservatism and modernizing trends. Delhi College was the first of its kind in the subcontinent. Re-established in 1825, modern scholarship was introduced at least to a certain extent in this college. It produced a galaxy of outstanding scholars and writers who made singular contributions to the healthy development of the social and intellectual life of the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁸ Its first principal was Félix Boutros (d. 1864), a Frenchman, who immediately after his appointment in 1841, founded a 'Society for the Dissemination of Useful Knowledge' (also named Vernacular Translation Society), primarily aimed to encourage good and simple translations from western languages into Urdu. The basic principles of translation were diligently laid down. Strangely enough, afterwards the term "Useful Knowledge" and the newly introduced translation scheme were completely followed by the Anjuman-i Punjab (Lahore, 1865) and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's Scientific Society (Ghazipur, 1869).¹⁹

Félix Boutros was an intimate friend and one of the reliable informants of a French scholar Garcin de Tassy (1794-1878)²⁰ who never visited India, but his name is best known among those who devoted their studies to the Indian scene, so that even some German scholars went to Paris to learn Urdu from him (among them Theodor Goldstücker from Königsberg 1821-1871). De Tassy's *Histoire de la littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*,²¹ together with his very informative annual lectures about the yearly development of Urdu, have made his name immortal in the Urdu-speaking world.

Boutros was succeeded by Aloys Sprenger (1813-1893) as Principal of Delhi College. Austrian by birth but after thirteen years' stay in India (1843-1856), he came back to Germany and died in Heidelberg. He was one of the first

western scholars to admit openly about the influence of the Islamic culture on the Medieval West—contrary to the traditional idealization of classical antiquity. No doubt, he was a leading authority on the literature of Muslim India, and his studies of Urdu and Persian manuscripts are as valuable today as his superb collection of manuscripts, which is now housed in Berlin.²²

Sprenger's multi-faceted contribution to the cultural history of Islam in general and to Muslim India in particular, require much space to be covered. Here, a few aspects can be mentioned.

In the prime of his youth, Sprenger had decided – as he writes in the preface of his *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*:

to devote himself completely to Asian studies, to visit the Orient, to contribute there to the introduction of European culture, and again to bring back to Europe a correct knowledge of the Orient and its literature.²³

Having a cursory glance of his whole scholarly life, one can easily find how sincerely, devotedly and incessantly he strived for achieving this goal.

In Delhi, he started publishing an illustrated weekly journal entitled *Qiran-al-Sa'dayn* (1845),²⁴ meaning the Conjunction of the auspicious planets, Jupiter and Venus, which meant the Occident and the Orient. It covered the political and literary events of the period, but its real objective was to introduce western ideas, especially the scientific progress of the West. This journal was very significant for the early history of Urdu journalism.

As a student of Hammer-Purgstall (d. 1856)²⁵ and being a trained orientalist, Sprenger was well aware of the great treasures which the Muslims had collected in the course of long centuries of Muslim rule over the subcontinent, and he knew that it needed only little effort to revitalize the intellectual powers of large parts of the population. Having a profound

scholarship and encompassing bibliographical knowledge of Islamic sources, he brought to light the books which seemed to have disappeared, for instance the *Sirah* of Ibn Hishām with Suhaili's commentary, parts of invaluable Wāqidi, the first volume of Ibn Sa'd's *Tabaqāt* in a private library of Cawnpore and the remaining parts in Damascus, parts of the Annals of Tabari, Gurgani's *Vīs-o-Rāmin* (a Parthian romance) and the mystical treatises of al-Muhāsibi, a Sufi of the ninth century.

After one year of Sprenger's departure from India, the Mutiny broke out (1857). In these catastrophic circumstances, the decaying Mughal Empire and the nucleus of power were transferred from the East India Company to the Queen of England. When this turbulent situation became calm, an orientalist with sincere admiration for Asian culture, named Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner (1840-1899) was appointed as the first Principal of Government College, Lahore (1864) and afterwards, as the founder of Anjuman-i Punjab, Oriental College, Punjab University and the editor of the English newspaper 'Indian Public Opinion', he revolutionized the educational and literary scenario of the region. Belonging to the Hapsburgian Empire and a Jewish family, he received higher academic degrees from Freiburg. Concerning some of his educational policies, he was opposed many times but he had patience and tact and a mind enlightened by the knowledge of more than one culture. He should be remembered as 'Dr. Enlightener of the Punjab.'²⁶

In 1877, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), a noted Indian Muslim educationist, laid the foundation of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh for reconciliation of the Christian ruler from England and their Muslim subjects all over India. Its emblem combined three symbols: the crescent, the date-palm and the British crown. In 1920, it was raised to the status of a University and named Aligarh Muslim University.

The first German professor to work in Aligarh was Josef Horovitz (1874, Lauenburg, Pomerania-1931, Frankfurt

a.M.), a specialist in early Islam and Quranic sciences. His interest in classical Arabic historiography had been inspired by Eduard Sachau. He held the chair of Arabic at the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, with great distinction for several years preceding the First World War (1914–1918), before he returned to Europe as Professor of Arabic in the newly founded university in his native city of Frankfurt a. Main (1915–1931). Besides teaching classical Arabic at Aligarh College, he was also employed from 1909 onwards as Government epigraphist for Muslim inscriptions in India. Because of his long stay in India (1907–1914) he was personally known to a considerable number of people in India, where he endeared himself to one and all by his affability and charm of manners, and had won universal respect by his competence as a teacher and scholar.

In Aligarh, Horovitz was also interested in the struggle for freedom of the Indian Muslims, so much so that he became *persona non grata* with the British and was interned for some time as an enemy alien. His concise contribution, *Indien unter britischer Flagge* (India under British Flag, Berlin 1928), proves his attitude. His devotion to the cause of Muslim education and his advocating freedom for India made him the friend of leading members of the Muslim intelligentsia: Sir Ross Mas‘ud and other family members of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan, Begam Shahnawaz, Lady Shafi and others counted him as their friend and visited him in his Frankfurt home. It is said that he was about to return to India—“the country where he had spent probably the happiest years of his life”—when he suddenly died in 1931.²⁷

Another German scholar who stayed at least one year in Aligarh, was Fritz Krenkow (1872, Schobürg, Meckenburg–1952, Cambridge). The German-born merchant had settled in England early in his life and eventually devoted himself completely to his former hobby, the collection of classical Arabic texts. He was regarded as one of the leading authorities on early Islamic poetry, and from 1923 he became a member of the *Dā‘iratul-Ma‘ārif* in Hyderabad Deccan (now Andhra

Pradesh, India) where his knowledge proved extremely useful for a mammoth project of editing classical Arabic texts. He taught in Aligarh in 1929-30, but even after his retirement he remained a referee for scholarly dissertations in Arabic at the universities of Hyderabad Deccan, Dacca and Aligarh.²⁸

One year after Fritz Krenkow left Aligarh, a scholar from Frankfurt, Johann Fück (1894, Frankfurt a.M.–1974, Halle)²⁹ was invited to Dacca University (previously in East Pakistan, now in Bangladesh) as the director of Arabic and Islamic studies in the University. Fück had worked under Josef Horowitz in Frankfurt, and was trained like his master, in the strictest philological tradition. For five years he taught in Dacca, until he was called back to Frankfurt in 1935, and shifted in 1938 to Halle, where he spent the rest of his life; but the memory of his teaching in Dacca remained alive among the older generation of the Islamicists in Dacca. Although his main books centre around problems of Arabic linguistics and the history of Arabic studies in Europe (1955), Fück always had a deep understanding of the cultural situation of the Muslims in the subcontinent. His remarks on Punjabi Sufi poetry³⁰ are very important, and he was one of the few German orientalists who showed a lively interest in and understanding of Iqbal's work.³¹

The last of the German professors at Aligarh (1932–late 1936) was Otto Spies (1901, Bad Kreuznach–1981, Bonn),³² who, besides his studies in Arabic and Turkish, became very much interested in Urdu and contributed some articles based on Urdu publications to German learned journals. He also compiled a grammar of this language ('Hindustani') in collaboration with E. Bannerth. Otto Spies' interest in things Indian manifested itself in studies of Arabic sources of Indian culture such as *An Arab Account of India in the 14th Century* (by Qalqashandi) and *Masālik al-Absār* (by al-Umari).

Ernst Bannerth (1895, Eilenburg in Saxe–1976, Cairo) learnt Arabic in his youth. After his gymnasium (Leipzig), he was encouraged in his scholarly pursuits by renowned orientalists and devoted more time for having a mastery over

Persian language. He joined the German army as an interpreter and during the First World War (1914–1918) he was posted in Turkey and then in Iran.

In Mosul, he was captured by the British army and brought to India as a POW. Here, he learnt Urdu and soon after his release he published its grammar in collaboration with Otto Spies.

After going back to Germany, he studied the major Islamic languages, philosophy and theology. Afterwards, he went to Austria and settled in Eisenstadt. In the Second World War (1939–1945), he was arrested by the Allied Forces. Despite all these adverse circumstances he continued his Oriental Studies in Vienna University, where he received Dr. phil. (1941, “Ein altosmanische Destan”) and finally got a title of “Ausserordentlich Universitätsprofessor” (1965). In 1961, he took his residence in Cairo. As a Catholic priest and well-known Orientalist, he was associated with al-Azhar University, Austrian Consulate (Cairo) and the Dominican Institute of Oriental Studies (Cairo).

His works include *Hindustani Briefen* (Leipzig 1943, pp. 55; 15 Urdu and 6 Hindi letters with German translation); *Lehrbuch der Hindustani [Urdu] Sprache*, in collaboration with Otto Spies (Leipzig/Vienna 1945, pp. 203, at the end Urdu-German dictionary, pp. 175-203); *Der Pfad der Gottesdiener* (German translation with explanatory notes of Ghazzālī’s *Minhāj al-ʿAʿbidin*), Salzburg 1964), etc. etc.

E. Bannerth was the first European scholar who translated Iqbal’s *Shikwa* and *Jawāb-i Shikwa*, into English (entitled “Islam in Modern Urdu Poetry”), published in a Swiss journal *Anthropos* (1942-1945, pp. 605-609), now reproduced in my book *Iqbal: New Dimensions*, Lahore 2003, pp. 189-204.³³

Sir Marc Aurel Stein (1862, Budapest–1943, Kabul) was an illustrious and distinguished traveller, a great explorer and archaeologist, primarily known for his explorations and archaeological discoveries in Central Asia. In the course of

three major expeditions he explored the ancient trade routes linking China with India and the West.

Born in a Jewish Hungarian family, he and his brother, Ernst Edward, were baptized as Lutherans. After studying at universities of Vienna and Leipzig, he graduated in Sanskrit and Persian languages and received his Ph.D. from Tübingen (1893). Next year, he proceeded to England where he was naturalized.

In 1887, Stein came to India. He was appointed as the Registrar of the Punjab University (Lahore)³⁴ and then became the Principal of the University Oriental College.³⁵ Besides serving at various Indian universities, he realized the significance of Central Asian history and archaeology and led an expedition to Chinese Turkestan (1900). During his four expeditions to Central Asia (1901-1930), he brought to light the hidden treasures of a great civilization. He also discovered mss. in the previously lost Tocharian languages of the Tarim Basin at Marin and other oasis towns, and recorded numerous archaeological sites especially in Iran and Baluchistan.

He was not only a great archaeologist but also an ethnographer, geographer, linguist and surveyor. His contribution to the academic world is outstanding. The art objects he collected are divided between the British Museum, the British Library, the Srinagar Museum, and the National Museum, New Delhi and are important for the study of the history of Central Asia and the art and literature of Buddhism.

His writings include *Ancient Khotan* (1907), *Serindia* (1921), *Innermost Asia* (1928), Eng. tr. of Kalhana's *Rajtarangini* (2 vols., Delhi 1979), *On Alexander's Track to the Indus* (1929), *Old routes of Western Iran* (1940), *In Memoriam—T.W. Arnold* (1932) etc. etc.³⁶

Now, I would like to mention the names of two European converted Muslims who served Islam in different capacities. First one was 'Abdul Karim Gyula (Julius) Germanus (1884, Budapest–1979, Budapest). He studied at Istanbul, Budapest and Vienna and as a pupil of Ignaz

Goldziher (1850–1921), he earned fame as a Hungarian Arabist. After his conversion to Islam, he came to India where he was encouraged by Iqbal with whom he also corresponded and sought his support for getting a suitable place in any educational institution of the subcontinent.³⁷ He served first as a professor of Islamic studies in Jāmi‘a Millia (Delhi) and then took the charge of headship of the Department of Islamic Studies in Shantineketan, financially supported by the Nizam of Hyderabad Deccan, under the auspices of Rabindranath Tagore (d. 1941).³⁸ He spent four years there (1929-1933) and contributed several articles on Islam and modern Islamic movements published in *Visva Bharati Quarterly* (Shantineketan), *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad Deccan) and *Islamic Review* (Lahore).

In 1934, Germanus made the pilgrimage to Mecca. From 1948 to 1965 he was a professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies at Budapest as well as a visiting lecturer throughout the Muslim world. His writings include *Modern movements in the world of Islam* (1932), *Suile erme di Maometto* (Milano 1938) etc. etc.³⁹

The other converted scholar was Leopold Weiss *alias* Muhammad Asad (1900, Lemberg, Austria–1992, Mijas, Spain) whose grandfather was a Rabbi. He studied the history of art, and philosophy at the Universities of Vienna, Praha and Berlin, where he was deeply influenced by the intellectual coterie of the 1920s. During the time he made a living as a newspaper correspondent for the *Frankfurter [Allgemeine] Zeitung*. When his uncle invited him to Jerusalem, he became exposed to Zionism about which he sent critical dispatches back to Germany. These were published as a book under the title *Unromantisches Morgenland* (1924, also available in English tr.). He continued to travel extensively in the Middle East, and inasmuch as he became personally and religiously involved in the region he became alienated from the West. He took up studying Arabic at Cairo. In 1926, he and his German wife broke with the past, embraced Islam, (in Berlin) and

settled in Saudi Arabia. His life up to this point is the object of his spiritual autobiography entitled *The Road to Mecca* (1954). In late 1932, he sailed for India. After his conversion (1926) he spent a few years in Saudi Arabia. In Lahore, he frequently met Iqbal and was deeply influenced by his idea of a separate Islamic state, presented two years before. After Iqbal's death (1938), Asad decided to bring Iqbal's dream into reality. After his release from the internment camp (1945), he resolved to make a tangible contribution, in writing, towards a formulation of the ideological principles on which the future of Pakistan might be built.

In 1946, Asad started publishing a journal under the title "Arafat" (a symbol of Muslims' unity – a concept reminiscent of Jamaluddin Afghani and Iqbal's influence) and subtitled "A monthly critique of Muslim Thought" and made it a vehicle for his ideas alone—ideas aiming at a fundamental reconstruction of his approach to the problem of the *sharī'ah*, the Islamic law as such.

This journal was to be a clarion-call at the critical time of Pakistan's coming into being.

May 1947 issue of this journal was entitled "What do we mean by Pakistan?" in which Asad stressed the *real* purpose underlying the future establishment of Pakistan: that purpose did not consist in merely providing more economic opportunities or government posts to Muslims but, rather, in enabling them to live effectively as Muslims and to realize the spirit of Islam in their political forms, in their laws and local institutions.

In logical continuation of this line of thought, the July 1947 issue (published less than one month before Independence Day) consisted of a lengthy essay entitled "Towards an Islamic Constitution". It was the first attempt ever made to outline the principles which must be incorporated in the constitution of any state that claims to be 'Islamic'. It is said that this essay was destined to become the first step in the

development of political thought as such in the modern world of Islam.

In the early years of Pakistan, Asad was appointed in the Middle East section of the Foreign Office and then promoted to the post of Minister Plenipotentiary in the United Nations. Soon, he had to resign because of the conspiracies hatched by his colleagues. In spite of this maltreatment, he never felt any resentment. He remained a citizen—the first citizen of Pakistan—until the end, although he had been strongly tempted to have Saudi citizenship and passport—which would have made his life and his travels so much easier.⁴⁰

* * *

Lahore, our provincial metropolis; a historic and cultural centre, is one of the earliest cities of the world where an interfaith dialogue among the staunch followers of almost all the leading religions of the world took place. For such religious discussions, Akbar the Great (d. 1605) built an *Ibādat Khāna* (House of Prayer), first in Fatehpur Sikri (1575) and then it was shifted to Lahore, because of the King's long stay in this city. Here the first three Jesuit missions participated and bore a deep imprint on his innovative religious ideas. One of the remnants of these missions is *Mirāt-ul-Quds* (The Mirror of Holiness) or *Dāstān-i-Masīh* (Life of Christ), attributed to Fr. Jerome Xavier, and its incomplete manuscript (dated 1602) is still housed in the Lahore Museum. It bears Akbar's seal and is interleaved with eleven miniature paintings, depicting various parts of Christ's life.⁴¹

Afterwards centuries elapsed and about fifty years ago the first Jesuit House was founded in Lahore and one of its founders, Fr. Robert A. Büttler (d. 1998), a Swiss German priest, a Jesuit Superior, spent about 25 years here and restarted this old tradition of religious dialogue. As an Islamist, he tremendously contributed in different ways.⁴²

Conclusion:

- i) European Christian missionaries, independently or in collaboration with their English co-religionists, played a vital role in providing educational facilities for all, irrespective of their cast and creed. Further, one can hardly ignore the commendable services, rendered by them in the field of linguistics and literature.
- ii) As rulers, the Britishers had an authoritative force to enforce their educational policies which were mostly suitable for their colonial interests. Though the other European savants were serving under the British Indian Empire, but the attitude of most of them was entirely anti-colonial and did not toe the rulers' policies. Regardless of their subordination, they endeavoured to protect the centuries-old local traditions and thus, created an atmosphere of mutual understanding between the East and West.
- iii) Majority of such Europeans were eminent Islamicists and Arabists. Primarily, their approach was scholarly and it aimed at highlighting the contribution, the Indian subcontinent made in enriching Islamic and Arabic studies. In this field of scholarship, Germans played a leading role, as Enno Littmann (1875-1958), the prominent Orientalist of Tübingen University, mentions the contribution of German scholars of Arabic to the development of modern Islamic studies in India in his booklet "Der deutsche Beitrag zur Wissenschaft vom Vorderen Orient" (1942).
- iv) It is a very unique phenomenon that a few German scholars vehemently supported and

- took active part in the freedom movement of the Indians from the yoke of British colonialism.
- v) “Deeper research shows that the German contribution to the study of Urdu, Sindhi, Pashto, Balochi, the Dardic languages, Brahui and the whole complex of Indo-Muslim literature was not as insignificant as it might look at first sight and when compared with British publications; in fact, in almost all these fields the first studies were those by Germans.”
(A. Schimmel)

NOTES

- * Researcher and historian, Lahore.
- ** Paper delivered at the international seminar: “Pakistan im Fokus”, held in Hochschule für Philosophie, Munich, on 25th October 2013 (see *Hikma. Zeitschrift für Islamische Theologie und Religionspädagogik*. Hrsg. Bülent Ucar. Vol. V, nr. 8, April 2014, p. 94, art. by Dr. Thomas Würtz. Now, its entirely revised and annotated version with additional and bibliographical material has been produced here.
- ¹ See J. Keay: *The Honourable Company: a History of the English East India Company*. London 1993 (1991).
- ² *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (=EI²). Vol. x (2000), Leiden: Brill, pp. 582-583. (art. P. J. Marshall)
- ³ Jean-Marie Lafont: *French Administrators of Maharajah Ranjit Singh*. Delhi 1988; *ibid.*: *La présence française dans le royaume Sikh du Penjab, 1822-1849*. Paris 1992; K.S. Duggal: *Ranjit Singh. A Secular Sikh Sovereign*. New Delhi 1989, pp. 95-98.
- ⁴ Original in German entitled *Des Pater Joseph Tieffenthalers d. G J und apost. Missionarius in Indien historisch-geographische Berschreibung von Hindustan*, 3 vols., Berlin 1785–1788.
- ⁵ See for detail Ludwig Koch: *Jesuiten Lexikon*. Paderborn 1934, cols. 1757-1758 (art. by Dahmen); C. Sommervogel: *Bibliographie des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*. 12 vols., Paris 1890-1932, s.v. Tieffenthaler (vol. VII, pp. 21-24; S. Noti’s article in *East and West*

- (Bombay), 1906, pp. 142-152, 269-277 and 400-413 (also available in book form, 1906; also in German Aachen, 1920); S. Noti; *Das Fürstenthum Sardhana*. Freiburg 1906; Sir Edward Maclagan: *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*. London 1932, pp. 137-141, and index; S. N. Sen: "Joseph Tieffenthaler and his geography of Hindustan" (in: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta), 4 (1962), pp. 75-99)
- ⁶ German title: *Früchte aus dem Morgenlande oder Reise-Erlebnisse...* Vienna 1853. Nachdruck: *Als Leibarzt am Hafe des,, Löwn von Panjab"* Ranjit Singh. With a preface by Jürgen Hammeder. Halle, 2011.
- ⁷ He pursued an interest as personal physician to various potentates. His collection of numerous plants and herbs was edited by Stephan L. Endlicher (1804-1849) under the title *Serum Cabulicum enumeratis plantarum quas in itinere inter Dera-Ghazee-Khan et Cabul*. (Vindobaonae, 1836). In 1815 he departed for the East, eventually reaching India where he became an expert in medicine and pharmacy. Cf. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*. Leipzig 1875-1912 (=ADAB), vol. 13, pp. 70-71; *Deutsche biographische Enzyklopädie*. Munich 1995-2000 (=DIBE); *Deutscher biographischer Index*. 2. kumerlierte und erw. Ausgabe. Munich 1998 (=Dt Blind(2)); Friedrich Embacher: *Lexikon der Reisen und Entdicklungen*. Leipzig 1882 (=Embacher); Dietmar Henze: *Enzyklopädie der Entdecker*. Graz 1978 (=Henze); Hans-Jürgen & Jutta Kornrumpf: *Fremde im Osmanischen Reich, 1826-1912/13, bio-bibliographisches Register*. Stutensee, Privately published, 1998 (=Kornrumpf); *Neue deutsche Biographie*. Berlin 1913(=NDB); *Österreichisches biographisches Lexikon 1815-1950*. Vienna 1957(=OBL); Samuel Wininger: *Grosse jüdische National-Biographie*. Cernăuti, 1925-1932 (=Wininger); Constant von Wurzbach: *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*. Vienna (=Wurzbach).
- ⁸ German title: *Kaschmir und das Reich der Sieck* (1840-1848); English tr. *Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab...*(1845), reprinted: Lahore, 1976 (pp. 423). Summarized Urdu translation by Muhammad Husain Siddiqi, Lahore, 1990. ("Siyāhat-nama-i Kashmir wa Punjab.")
- ⁹ Von Hügel, Carl Alexander Anselm studied law at the University of Heidelberg. In 1811, he joined the Austrian army to participate in the campaigns against Napoleon, later serving as a diplomat. In 1824 he resigned from the military with the rank of major in order to prepare for his journey to the East in 1830. During his seven-years' travels he visited India, the Himalayas and the Southeast Asia, returning by way of the Cape of Good Hope in 1837. A friend of Prince Metternich, they

- went to England in 1848. From 1849 he successfully served as an Austrian ambassador in the Toscana and in Bruxelles, retiring in 1867. Cf. ADtB; British Library Catalogue; DIBE; Embacher; Henze; Kornrumpf; Wurzbach; Wilhelm Kosch: *Das katholische Deutschland*. Augsburg 1933-1938 (=Kosch).
- ¹⁰ For Schultze's biography, see *Grammatica Telugica*. By B. Schultze. Madras 1728. Reprinted: Halle (Saale) 1984, pp. ii-vi.
 - ¹¹ Benjamin Schultze: *Grammatica Hindostanica*... Edidit Jo. Henr. Callenburg... Halle 1745. Reprinted: Halle 1986 (edited by Burchard Brentjes & Karl Gallus); H. Liebau: "Deutsche Missionare als Indienforscher: Benjamin Schultze (1689-1760)–Ausnahme oder Regel?" (in: *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* (Cologne), 76/i (1994), pp. 11-133).
 - ¹² Its ms. is preserved in the British Library, London. Published with Urdu translation and annotations by Dr. Abu'l Lais Siddiqi, Lahore 1977.
 - ¹³ *The Oldest Grammar of Hindustani. Contact, Communication and Colonial Legacy. Historical and Cross-Cultural Contexts, Grammar Corpus and Analysis*. By Tej K. Bhatia & Kazuhiko Machida. 3 vols., Tokyo 2008; for other details to this first Urdu grammar and its author, see my article, published in *Me'yār* (a literary journal of Urdu Department, International Islamic University, Islamabad). Vol. 10 (July-Dec. 2013), pp. 9-38.
 - ¹⁴ Entitled: Instructie off orderwijsinge Hindoostansch, en Persiaanse talen door J. J. Ketelaar.
(Hague Museum. Van Sypestein Collection (acquisition 1825 II), collection no. 4a, inventory nos. 1 & 2).
J. Ph. Vogel: "Joan Josua Ketelaar of Elbing, author of the first Hindustani grammar."
(in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London), VIII (1935), pts. 2-3 pp. 817-822).
 - ¹⁵ *Journal van J. J. Ketelaar's Hofreis naar den Groot Mogol te Lahore, 1711-1713*. (Shah Alam Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah).
Edited and annotated by J. Ph. Vogel. s' Gravenhage, 1937. English tr. by Mrs. D. Kuenen-Wicksteed and annotated by J. Ph. Vogel, published in *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* (Lahore), vol. x, pt. 1 (1929), pp. 1-94.
 - ¹⁶ Obituary notice by John Marshall, in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London), pts. 3-4 (1958), pp. 220-222; *India Antiqua: A volume of Oriental studies presented... to J. Ph. Vogel on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his Doctorate*. Leyden 1947; *Suparna*. Commemoration volume in honour of the late Prof. J. Ph. Vogel.

Leiden: Brill (in preparation, 1970); Vogel's writings on Lahore: "Historical notes on the Lahore Fort" (in: *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* (Lahore) = *JPHS*, 1 (1911-12), pp. 38-55); "The master-builder of the Lahore Palace" (in: *JPHS*, 3 (1914-15), p. 67; "The Shalamar Bagh of Lahore in 1712" (*JPHS*, 2 (1913-14), pp. 170-171; "The tile-mosaics of the Lahore Fort" (*Journal of Indian Art* 14 (1912), pp. 1-26; B. Ch. Chhabra: "Dr. J. Ph. Vogel (9.1.1871–10.4.1958)." in: *Journal of Oriental Research* (Madras), 26 (1956/57) [1958], pp. 156-158.

Cf. "The Writings of Dr. J. Ph. Vogel." Compiled and annotated by K. W. Lim, in: *Journal of Oriental Research* (Madras), pt. I (1957-58) 1960, pp. 17-47.

- ¹⁷ E. Trumpp studied at Tübingen, where he received a D.Phil. and subsequently took Lutheran orders and visited England. In the service of the Church Missionary Society of London he went to India for linguistic research and study, particularly Pashto. He was invalided to Jerusalem in 1856, but later took his family to Peshawar. After his return to Germany, he was for one year a lecturer in Oriental languages at Tübingen before he became a professor of Semitic languages at Munich. He became totally blind in 1883 and spent the last years of his life in a hospital in mental derangement.

Cf. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. Vol. 38 (Leipzig 1894), pp. 687-689 (=ADtB); C.E. Buckland: *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. London 1906, repr.: New York 1969, Banaras 1971 (=Buckland); DtBE; *Biographical dictionary and synopsis of books*. Detroit, c 1912, 1965; Valentina Stache-Rosen: *German Indologists*. 2nd ed., New Delhi 1990, pp. 70-71; *Cultural and Scientific Relations between Pakistan and Germany*. A Symposium on the occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the Death of Ernst Trumpp, 10-12 June 1985, Tübingen. Ilsfeld 1986, art. "Das Leben und Werk von Ernst Trumpp" by Prof. A. Schimmel, pp. 52-59. She also penned a monograph on E. Trumpp in English, published from Paksitan-German Forum, Karachi (1961), Gr. Ed., Karachi 1998.

- ¹⁸ *The Delhi College. Traditional Elites, the Colonial State, and Education before 1857*. Edited by Margrit Pernau. New Delhi: OUP, 2006; M. Ikram Chaghatai: *Qadim Delhi College* (in Urdu). Lahore 2012; Gail Minault: "Delhi College and Urdu", in: *Annual of Urdu Studies*, 14 (1999), pp. 119-134.

- ¹⁹ M. Ikram Chaghatai: "Félix Boutros—Life, Works and his Contribution to Urdu Language and Literature", in: *Bunyād* (LUMS, Lahore), vol. 5 (2014), pp. 3-52.

- ²⁰ See my article (in Urdu) on Garcin de Tassy, based on a new material, published in *Me'yār* (Urdu Department, International Islamic University, Islamabad), vol. 4 (July-Dec. 2010), pp. 279-310.
- ²¹ 1st ed., 2 vols., Paris 1839, 1847; 2nd ed., 3 vols., Paris 1870-71 (reprinted: New York, 1968).
- ²² Cf. A Schimmel: *German Contributions to the Study of Pakistani Linguistics*. Hamburg, 1981, pp. 48-74; Norbert Mantl: *Aloys Sprenger: Der Orientalist und Islamhistoriker aus Nassereith in Tirol. Zum 100. Todestag am 19. Dezember 1993*. Nassereith 1993; Stephen Prochazka: "Die Bedeutung der Werke Aloys Sprengers für die Arabistik und Islamkunde", in: *Tiroler Heimatblätter* (Innsbruck), vol. 69, no. 2 (1994), pp. 38-42; M. Ikram Chaghatai: "Dr. Aloys Sprenger and the Delhi College", in: *Delhi College...* ed. M. Pernau, op. cit., pp. 105-124; Gail Minault: "Aloys Sprenger: German Orientalism's 'Gift' to Delhi College", in: *South Asia Research*, 31: I (2011), pp. 7-23; Ursula J. Neumayr: *Heimat in der Fremde-Leben und Werk des Tirolers Aloys Sprenger (1813-1893)*. Magisterarbeit, originally in English, London 1997; Rudi Paret: *Arabistik und Islamkunde an deutschen Universitäten*. Wiesbaden 1966, pp. 11-12.
- ²³ Vol. I, Berlin 1861, preface.
- ²⁴ *Sawaira* (Urdu journal, Lahore), 67 (March 2002), pp. 110-148.
- ²⁵ Cf. M. Ikram Chaghatai: *Hammer-Purgstall and Muslim India*. Lahore 1998.
- ²⁶ For G. W. Leitner, see: Embacher; Alexander Jászengi: *Das geistige Ungarn, biographischer Lexikon*. Hrsg. von Oskar Kricken [pseudo.] & Imre Parlagi. Vienna/Leipzig, 1918; Dietmar Henze: *Enzyklopädie der Entdecker*. Graz, 1978-; *Indian biographical index*. Compiled by Loureen Baillie. Vol. 2, Munich 2001; *Magyar Zsidé, lexicon*, Budapest 1929; Winniger; John F. Riddick: *Who was who in British India*. Westport, Conn. & London, 1998.
- J.H. Stockqueler: *A Review of the Life and Labours of Dr. G. W. Leitner*. Brighton 1875 (reproduced in: *Muhammad Husain Azad*. Ed. by M. Ikram Chaghatai, Lahore 2010, pp. 351-384); M. Ikram Chaghatai: *Writings of Dr. Leitner*. Lahore 2002; *ibid.*: *Mutā'li' Azād* (collection of articles). Lahore 2010, art. on Leitner, pp. 139-153 and the sources cited, pp. 151-153; John Keay: *The Gilgit Game. The Explorers of the Western Himalayas*. London 1979, pp. 14-40, s.v. index; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. XII (2002), p. 629; Tim Allender: "Bad Language in the Raj: The 'Frightful Encumbrance' of Gottlieb Leitner, 1865-1888", in: *Paedagogica Historica*, vol. 43, no. 3 (June 2007), pp. 383-403; Jeffery M. Diamond: "The Orientalist-Literati

Relationship of Neo-Orientalism in Colonial Lahore”, in: *South Asia Research*, vol. 31, no. 1 (2011), pp. 25-43; *ibid.*: *Negotiating Muslim Identity: Education, Print and Intellectuals in Nineteenth Century Colonial North India*. Amherst, NY: Cambria Press (Forthcoming); W. D. Robinstein: “Leitner, Gottlieb Wilhelm (1840-1899), Educationist and Orientalist”, in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: OUP (online October 2009).

Leitner’s standing as a traveller and savant see *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, XLIII (1873); see also The British Library, India Office and Oriental (London), Political and Secret Correspondence, vol. 128, Political and Secret Letters from India, vol. 65.

- ²⁷ J. Horovitz studied Oriental languages at the universities of Marburg and Berlin, where he received a Dr. phil. in 1898 for *De Waqidis libro qui Kitab al-Magazi inscribitur*, and a Dr. habil. in 1902. He subsequently visited Turkey, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt for the purpose of manuscript research. In 1907, he became a professor of Arabic at the Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, India. In 1915 he accepted an invitation to the chair of Semitic philology and Biblical literature at the Frankfurt a. M. University; His writings include *Spuren griechischer Mimen im Orient* (1905), *Koranische Untersuchungen* (1925), and he edited *Epigraphica Indo-Moslimeca* (1907-1912).

Cf. DIBE. DBIind; NDB; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Jerusalem 1971- (=Enc. Jud.); Ludmila Hanisch: *Die Nachfolger der Exegeten deutschsprachige Erforschung des Vorderen Orients in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Wiesbaden 2003 (=Hanisch); *Jüdisches Lexikon*. A–R, Berlin 1927-1930, vol. 1-4 (=Jüdle); *Kürschners Deutscher Gelehrten-Kalender, 1925-1931* (=Kürschner); Megali: *Encyclopedia* (in Greek), Athens 1927-1934, vol. 24, p. 673; Klaus Schwarz: *Der Vordere Orient in den Hochschulschriften Deutschlands, Österreichs und der Schweiz*. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1980 (=Schwarz); *Wer ist wer, Lexikon Österreichischer Zeitgenossen*. Vienna 1937 (=Werist); B. Heller: “Éléments juifs dans les termes religieux du Qoran d’après les récentes publications de M. J. Horovitz.” (in: *Revue de études juives* 85 (1928), pp. 49-55); *Index Islamicus*, 1906-1955. Cambridge 1958, s.v. index; Obituary notice by S. D. F. Goitein, in: *Der Islam* 22 (1935), pp. 122-127.

J. Horovitz: “Baba Ratan, the saint of Bhatinda”, (in: *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* (Lahore), 2 (1913-1914), pp. 97-117); *ibid.*: “The earliest biographies of the Prophet and their authors” (in: *Islamic Culture*, 1 (1927), pp. 535-559, 2 (1928), pp. 22-50, 164-182, 495-526; Urdu tr. by Nisār Ahmad Faruqi, in: *Noqush* (Lahore), Rasul Nr., pp. 725 ff.)

²⁸ F. Krenkow graduated from high school but the early death of his father prevented him from further formal education. He became a merchant in Lübeck, Bremen, and Berlin. In 1894 he emigrated to England, becoming naturalized in 1911. For many years he ran a factory in Beckenham, England. In 1921, he began to pursue an academic interest. Soon after his arrival in Britain he had started to learn Persian in his spare time. Under the influence of Sir Charles Lyall, he also studied Arabic, at first poetry only but later including also lexicography and biographical works. In the 1920s, he had become a recognized Arabic scholar honoured by membership in learned institutions in Hyderabad Deccan, Erlangen, and Damascus. Upon the recommendation of August Fischer, the Leipzig University granted him a honorary doctorate in 1929. In the same year he was invited to teach Islamic studies at the Muslim University, Aligarh. Allergic to the Indian climate he returned to Europe in 1930, teaching Arabic and Persian at Bonn until 1935, when he settled with his British wife at Cambridge. He donated his private library to the Seminar für Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients, Hamburg. His writings include several editions of classical Arabic texts.

Cf. J. W. Fück: *Die arabische Studien in Europa*. Leipzig 1955, p. 280 (=Fück); *Der Islam* (Berlin), 31 (1953), pp. 228-236 (by Otto Spies); *Index Islamicus*, 1906-1955. Cambridge 1958, s. v. index;

²⁹ J. W. Fück studied oriental and classical philology at the universities of Halle, Berlin and Frankfurt, where he received a Dr. phil. in 1921 for his dissertation *Muhammad Ibn Ishaq, literatur-historische Untersuchungen*. For a number of years he taught Latin and Greek as well as Hebrew at secondary schools until 1930 when he went for five years to the university of Dacca as a professor of Arabic and Islamic studies. After his return home he taught at Frankfurt until 1938 when he succeeded Hans Bauer in the chair of Semitic languages and Islamic studies in Halle. Concurrently he became director of the Oriental Faculty as well as the Library of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. His writings include *Arabiya. Untersuchungen zur arabischen Sprache und Stilgeschichte* ((1950, Fr. tr., 1955) and *Vorträge über den Islam*. Aus dem Nachlass, hrsg. von einem Anmerkungsbeirat ergänzt von S. Günther. Halle 1999. *Ibn an-Nadim und die mittelalterliche arabische-Literatur*. Beiträge zum J. W. Fück-Kolloquium (Halle 1987). Wiesbaden 1999; Werner Ende, in: *Der Islam*, 53 (1976), pp. 193-195; Manfred Fleischhammer, in: *Jahrbuch Sächs. – Akademie Wissenschaften* (Leipzig), 1973-1974 (1976), pp. 419-439; *ibid.*: "Johann Fücks Materialien zum *Fihrist*" (in: *Wiss. Z. Univ. Halle* 25 (1976), pp. 75-84).

- ³⁰ “Die sufische Dichtung in der Landessprache des Panjab” in: *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Leipzig), 43 (1940), Sp. 1-11 (review article on L. Rama Krishna’s *Punjabi Sufi Poets*, London 1938).
- ³¹ “Iqbal und der indo-muslimische Modernismus”, in: *Westöstliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi*, Zum siebzigsten Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Schülern. Hrsg. von Fritz Meier. Wiesbaden 1954, pp. 356-365, in a summarized form, in: *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1. Abteilung, 8 Band, 2. Abschnitt. Leiden: Brill 1965 and *Arabische Kultur und Islam im Mittelalter*. Ausgewählte Schriften. Hrsg. von Manfred Fleischhammer. Weimar 1981, pp. 207-213, English tr. “Muhammad Iqbal and the Indo-Muslim Modernism”, in: *Iqbal: New Dimensions*. Compiled by M. Ikram Chaghatai. Lahore 2002, pp. 497-503; for his articles and reviews see, Registerband der ‘Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes’ für die Bände I-Lxx (1887-1978). Hrsg. Von Erika Belietreu & Andreas Tietze. Vienna 1980.
- ³² Otto Spies studied oriental languages at Bonn and Tübingen, where he received a Dr. phil. in 1923 with a thesis entitled *Asman und Zejdschan, ein Türkischer Volksroman aus Kleinasien*. He gained a Dr. habil. in 1924 at Bonn with a thesis under the title *Das depositum nach islamischen Recht*. His writings include *Türkische Volksbücher* (1929), *Das Blutgelt und andere türkische Novellen* (1942) und *Der Orient in der deutschen Literatur* (1949). Cf. Otto Spies (1901-1981). By Heinrich Schützinger (in: *ZDMG*, 133/i (1983), pp. 11-17, with photograph); Festschrift: *Der Orient in der Forschung*. Heraus. von Wilhelm Hoenerbach. Wiesbaden 1967.
- ³³ See for E. Bannerth’s life and writings, *Mélanges de l’Institut dominicaine d’études orientales du Caire* (Cairo), vol. 6 (1959-61), p. 526, vol. 7 (1962-63), p. 414, vol. 8 (1964-66), p. 515, vol. 12 (1974), p. 327 and vol. 13 (1977), pp. 477-482; *Iqbal: New Dimensions*, op. cit., pp. 678-682.
- ³⁴ As a Registrar, he signed the final document of Muhammad Husain Azad’s application for pension (dated 28 Jan. 1892), see my book *Muhammad Husain Azad* (based on his newly-found Pension Record), in Urdu. Lahore 2004, pp. 85-87.
- ³⁵ See Ghulam Husain Zulfiqar: *Ta’rikh Oriental College* (in Urdu). Lahore, 1962, pp. 139-142; *ibid.*: *Sad Sāla Ta’rikh Jāmia Punjab*. Lahore 1982, pp. 105ff.
- ³⁶ For Stein’s life, archaeological discoveries and works, see: Jeanette Mirsky: *Sir Aurel Stein. Archaeological Explorer*. Chicago 1977; Annabel Walker: *Aurel Stein. Pioneer of the Silk Road*. Washington D.C., 1999; S. N. Pandia: *Sir Aurel Stein in Kashmir*. New

- Delhi 2004; Helen Wang (ed.): *Handbook to the Stein Collection in the UK*. London 1999; *ibid.* (ed.): *Sir Aurel Stein in The Times*. London 2002; *ibid.* (ed.): *Sir Aurel Stein. Proceedings of the British Museum Study Day, 2002*. London 2004; *ibid.*: “Sir Aurel Stein. The New Generation”, in: *From Persipolis to the Punjab*. Eds. Elizabeth Errington & Vesta Sarkosh Curtes. London 2007, pp. 227-234; Vilma H. Boros: *Stein Aurél ifjúsága. Hirschler Ignác és Stein Ernő levelezése Stein Aurélról 1866-1891*. Budapest 1970 (The young Aurel Stein. The exchange of letters between Ignaz Hirschler (1823-1891) and Ernst Stein about Aurel Stein 1866-1891); Buckland; DNB; Riddick; *Encyclopedia Americana*. New York 1966; *Das geistige Ungarn*. op. cit.; *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* (1942), pp. 176-177.
- ³⁷ *Maktubāt-i Niāzi*. Ed. Sayyid Nazir Niāzi. Karachi 1957, p. 83, letter dated 29th September 1932. Germanus mentions his meeting with Iqbal in his autobiography entitled *Allah Akbar. Im Banne des Islam*. German tr. by Hildegard von Rooss. Berlin, undated.
- ³⁸ Also called “Nizam al-Mulk Chair.” Germanus delivered three lectures on the language, literature and services rendered by Turks to Islam in Hyderabad Deccan which were translated in Urdu by Sayyid Wahājuddīn (Awrangabad, 1932).
- ³⁹ For his life and works see:
The Muslim East. Studies in Honour of Julius Germanus. Budapest 1974 (includes “A Bibliography of Prof. J. Germanus” by David Geza, pp. 253-264); E. Joháoz: “Julius Germanus, the Orientalist”, in: *The Arabist*. Budapest 1988, pp. 87-98; *Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman périphérique du XIX^e siècle à nos jours*. No. 1, Paris 1992, p. 52, art. by G. Lederer; M. Ikram Chaghatai: *Iqbal and Tagore* (New Avenues for their comparative study). Lahore 2003, pp. 69-70, with photograph); Qāzi Athar Mubārakpuri: “Hungry key Mustashriqeen”, in: *Ma’ārif* (Azamgarh); 88/10 (July 1961), pp. 74-75; Mukhtār ud-Dīn Ahmad: “Ad-Duktur ‘Abd al-Karim Germanus” (Arabic), in: *Majallah al-Majma’ al-‘Ilmi al-Hindi* (Aligarh), 7/1-2, 1982.
 Julius Germanus: “From Western to Islamic Civilization” in: *Western Civilization condemned by itself*. By Maryam Jameelah, vol. II, Lahore 1990, pp. 1065-1072, also in: *Our Choice*. Woking 1961, pp. 128-132; *ibid.*: “*Pellegrinaggio alla Mecca*”, lettere. Tr. E. Faber, in: *Islām: Storia e Civiltà*, 3(1984), pp. 271-285 (1935).
- ⁴⁰ See my books on Asad:
 i) *Muhammad Asad-Europe’s Gift to Islam*. Reprinted: 2 vols. Lahore, 2015 (2006).

- ii) *Home-coming of the Heart (1932-1992)*. By Muhammad Asad & Pola Hamida Asad. Lahore 2012.
- iii) *Muhammad Asad's Approach to the Qur'ān*. Lahore 2014.
- iv) *Muhammad Asad—An Austrian Jewish Convert to Islam*. Lahore 2015.
- v) *Muhammad Asad—A Man of Desert*. (Urdu). Reprinted: Lahore 2014.
- vi) *Muhammad Asad—A European Bedouin*. (Urdu). Reprinted: Lahore 2013.
- ⁴¹ *Mir'āt al-Quds* (Mirror of Holiness, 1602). A life of Christ for Emperor Akbar. A Commentary on Father Jerome Xavier's Text and the Miniatures [27] of Cleveland Museum of Art, Acc. No. 2005. 145. Pedro Mousa Carvalho. With a Translation and Annotated Transcription of the Text by Wheeler M. Thackston. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- ⁴² Dr. Gerhard Böwering (Yale University, USA), Dr. Anton Heinen (1939-1998) and Dr. C. W. Troll (1937-, stayed in Lahore (1966, frequently visited afterwards and spent twelve years (1976-1988) in India) followed in his footsteps and contributed well-researched studies to Islam and Muslim India (cf. *Christian Lives Given to the Study of Islam*. Eds. C. W. Troll & C.T.R. Hwer. New York: Fordham University Press, 2012, pp. 115-127). In this regard, the name of Jan Slomp (1932, Hardenberg-) is worth a mention who stayed in Pakistan from 1964 to 1977. (cf. *Christian Lives...* op. cit. pp. 42-52 and G. M. Speelman (ed.): *Muslims and Christians in Europe. Breaking News Ground: Essays in honour of Jan Slomp*. 1993).

SOURCES

- Allender, Tim: "Bad Language in the Raj: The 'Frightful Encumbrance' of Gottlieb Leitner, 1865-1888." (in: *Paedagogica Historica*, 43/3 (June 2007, pp. 383-403).
- Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*. Leipzig 1875-1912, 56 vols.
- Athar Mubārakpuri, Qazi: "Hungry key Mustashriqeen", (in: *Ma'ārif* (Azamgarh); 88/10 (July 1961), pp. 74-75)
- Beliebtreu, Erika & Andreas Tietze (eds.): *Registerband der 'Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes' für die Bände I-Lxx (1887-1978)*. Vienna 1980.
- Bhatia, Tej K. & Kazuhiko Machida: *The Oldest Grammar of Hindustani. Contact, Communication and Colonial Legacy. Historical and Cross-Cultural Contexts, Grammar Corpus and Analysis*. 3 vols. Tokyo 2008.
- Biographical Dictionary and Synopsis of books*. Detroit, 1912, 1965.

- Boros, Vilma H.: *Stein Aurél ifjúsága*. Budapest, 1970.
- Buckland, C.E.: *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. London 1906, repr.: New York 1969, Banaras 1971.
- Chaghatai, M. Ikram: "The first grammarian of Urdu" (Pt. I). (in: *Me'yār* (Urdu journal), Islamabad, vol. 10 (July-Dec. 2013), pp. 9-38).
- Ibid.: *Qadim Delhi College* (in Urdu). Lahore 2012.
- Ibid.: "Félix Boutros–Life, Works and his Contribution to Urdu Language and Literature", in: *Bunyād* (LUMS, Lahore), vol. 5 (2014), pp. 3-52.
- Ibid.: "Garcin de Tassy". (in: *Mey'ār* (Islamabad), 4 (2010), pp. 279-310)
- Ibid.: "Dr. Aloys Sprenger and the Delhi College", in: *Delhi College...* ed. M. Pernau, see below, pp. 105-124.
- Ibid.: *Hammer-Purgstall and Muslim India*. Lahore 1999.
- Ibid.: "Kiran al-Sa'dain" (in Urdu). (in: *Sawaira* (Lahore), 67 (March 2002), pp. 110-148).
- Ibid.: *Writings of Dr. Leitner*. Lahore, 2002.
- Ibid.: *Iqbal: New Dimensions*. Lahore, 2002.
- Ibid.: *Muhammad Husain Azad*. Lahore, 2004.
- Ibid.: *Iqbal and Tagore*. (New Avenues for their comparative study). Lahore, 2003.
- Ibid. (ed.): *Muhammad Asad–Europe's Gift to Islam*. 2 vols., Lahore 2015 (2006)
- Ibid. (ed.): *Home-coming of the Heart* (1932-1992). Lahore, 2012.
- Ibid. (ed.): *Muhammad Asad's Approach to the Qur'ān*. Lahore, 2014.
- Ibid. (ed.): *Muhammad Asad–An Austrian Jewish Convert to Islam*. Lahore 2015.
- Ibid. (ed.): *Muhammad Asad–A Man of Desert* (Urdu). Lahore, 2014.
- Ibid. (ed.): *Muhammad Asad–A European Bedouin* (Urdu). Lahore 2013.
- Ibid.: *Mutā'li' Azād* (Urdu). Lahore 2010.
- Chhabra, B. Ch.: "Dr. J. Ph. Vogel (1871–1958)." (in: *Journal of Oriental Research* (Madras), 26 (1956/57) [1958], pp. 156-158).
- Cultural and Scientific Relations between Pakistan and Germany*. A Symposium on the occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the Death of Ernst Trumpp, 10-12 June 1985, Tübingen. Ilsfeld 1986. (A. Schimmel: "Das Leben und Werk von Ernst Trumpp", pp. 52-59).
- Deutsche biographische Enzyklopädie*. Munich 1995-2000.
- Deutscher biographischer Index*. Munich 1998.
- Diamond, Jeffery M.: "The Orientalist-Literati Relationship of Neo-Orientalism in Colonial Lahore", in: *South Asia Research*, vol. 31, no. 1 (2011), pp. 25-43.
- Ibid.: *Negotiating Muslim Identity: Education, Print and Intellectuals in Nineteenth Century Colonial North India*. Amherst, NY: Cambria Press (Forthcoming)

- Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman périphérique du XIX^e siècle à nos jours*. No. 1, Paris 1992, p. 52
- Duggal: Ranjit Singh. *A Secular Sikh Sovereign*. New Delhi 1989, pp. 95-98.
- Embacher, Friedrich: *Lexikon der Reisen und Entdeckungen*. Leipzig 1882
- Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Jerusalem, 1971–
- Encyclopaedia Judaica*. XII (2002).
- Encyclopedia Americana*. New York, 1966.
- Ende, Werner: “J. W. Fück” (in: *Der Islam*, 53 (1976), pp. 193-195).
- Fleischhammer, Manfred: “J. W. Fück”. (in: *Jahrbuch Sächs. – Akademie Wissenschaften* (Leipzig), 1973-1974 (1976), pp. 419-439).
- Ibid.: “Johann Fücks Materialien zum Fihrist” (in: *Wiss. Z. Univ. Halle* 25 (1976), pp. 75-84).
- Ibid.: *Arabische Kultur und Islam im Mittelalter*. Ausgewählte Schriften. Hrsg. von Manfred Fleischhammer. Weimar 1981
- Ibid.: *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*. Leipzig 1955
- Ibid.: *Arabiya. Untersuchungen zur arabischen Sprache und Stilgeschichte*, 1950.
- Ibid.: *Vorträge über den Islam*. Hrsg. von S. Günther. Halle 1999.
- Ibid.: *Ibn an-Nadīm und die mittelalterliche arabische-Literatur*. Halle 1987.
- Ibid.: “Die sufische Dichtung in der Landessprache des Panjab”. (in: *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*. 43(1940), Sp. 1-11).
- Ibid.: “Iqbal und der indo-muslimische Modernismus.” (in: *Westöstliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi*. Wiesbaden 1954, pp. 356-365).
- Garcin de Tassy: *Histoire de la littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*. 2 vols. Paris 1839, 1847; 2nd rev. ed., 3 vols. Paris 1870-1871; Reprinted: New York 1968.
- Germanus, Julius: *Allah Akbar. Im Banne des Islam*. Berlin, no date.
- Ibid.: *The Muslim East. Studies in Honour of Julius Germanus*. Budapest 1974 (David Geza’s article, pp. 253-264)
- Ibid.: “From Western to Islamic Civilization” (in: *Western Civilization condemned by itself*. By Maryam Jameelah, vol. II, Lahore 1990, pp. 1065-1072)
- Ibid.: *Pellegrinaggio alla Mecca*, lettere. Tr. E. Faber, in: *Islām: Storia e Civiltà*, 3(1984), pp. 271-285
- Ibid.: *Contributions of Islam to World Civilization and Culture; writings of Hungarian Islamologist Gyula Germanus*. Ed. G. Wojtilla. Delhi 1981 (pp. 187).
- Ghulam Husain Zulfikar: *Ta’rikh Oriental College* (in Urdu). Lahore, 1962
- Ibid.: *Sad Sāla Ta’rikh Jāmiā ‘ Punjab*. Lahore 1982.
- Goitein, S.D.: “Josef Horovitz”. (in: *Der Islam* 22 (1935), pp. 122-127).

- Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1. Abteilung, 8 Band, 2. Abschnitt. Leiden: Brill 1965
- Hanisch, Ludmila: *Die Nachfolger der Exegeten deutschsprachige Erforschung des Vorderen Orients in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Wiesbaden 2003
- Hans-Jürgen & Jutta Kornrumpf: *Fremde im Osmanischen Reich, 1826-1912/13, bio-bibliographisches Register*. Stutensee, 1998.
- Heller, B.: “Éléments juifs dans les termes religieux du Qoran d’après les récentes publications de M. J. Horovitz.” (in: *Revue de études juives* 85 (1928), pp. 49-55)
- Henze, Dietmar: *Enzyklopädie der Entdecker*. Graz 1978
- Hikma*. Zeitschrift für Islamische Theologie und Religionspädagogik. Hrsg. von Bülent Ucar. Vol. V, nr. 8, April 2014, p. 94, art. by Dr. Thomas Würtz.
- Hoenerbach, Wilhelm (ed.): *Der Orient in der Forschung*. (Festschrift: O. Spies). Wiesbaden 1967.
- Honigberger, J. M.: *Früchte aus dem Morgenlande oder Reise-Erlebnisse*. Vienna 1853. Reprinted: Halle, 2011.
- Horovitz, J.: “Baba Ratan, the saint of Bhatinda”, (in: *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* (Lahore), 2 (1913-1914), pp. 97-117).
- Ibid.: “The earliest biographies of the Prophet and their authors” (in: *Islamic Culture*, 1 (1927), pp. 535-559, 2 (1928), pp. 22-50, 164-182, 495-526).
- Hügel, von Freiherr: *Kaschmir und das Reich der Sieck* (1840-1848); English tr. London, 1976 (1845), Urdu tr. Lahore, 1990.
- India Antiqua*: A volume of Oriental studies presented...to J. Ph. Vogel on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his Doctorate. Leyden 1947
- Index Islamicus*, 1906-1955. Cambridge, 1958.
- Jászingi, Alexander: *Das geistige Ungarn, biographischer Lexikon*. Hrsg. von Oskar Kricken [pseudo.] & Imre Pargali. Vienna/Leipzig, 1918.
- Joháoz, E.: “Julius Germanus, the Orientalist”, (in: *The Arabist*. Budapest 1988, p. 52).
- Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*. 1942, pp. 176-177.
- Journal of The Royal Geographical Society*. (London). XLIII (1873).
- Jüdisches Lexikon*. A-R, vol. 1-4. Berlin 1927-1930.
- Keay, John: *The Gilgit Game. The Explorers of the Western Himalayas*. London 1979.
- Ibid.: *The Honourable Company: a History of the English East India Company*. London 1993 (1991).
- Ketelaar, J.J.: *Instructie off orderwijsinge Hindoostansch, en Persiaanse talen* (Hague Museum, Netherlands), 1698.
- Koch, Ludwig: *Jesuiten Lexikon*. Paderborn 1934.

- Kosch, Wilhelm: *Das katholische Deutschland*. Augsburg 1933-1938.
Kürschners Deutscher Gelehrten-Kalender, 1925-1931.
- Lafont, Jean-Marie: *French Administrators of Maharajah Ranjit Singh*. Delhi 1988.
- Ibid.: *La présence française dans le royaume Sikh du Penjab, 1822-1849*. Paris 1992.
- Liebau, H.: "Deutsche Missionare als Indienforscher: Benjamin Schultze (1689-1760)—Ausnahme oder Regel?" (in: *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* (Cologne), 76/i (1994), pp. 111-133).
- Lim, K.W.: "The Writings of Dr. J. Ph. Vogel." (in: *Journal of Oriental Research* (Madras), pt. I (1957-58) 1960, pp. 17-47).
- Loureen Baillie (ed.): *Indian biographical index*. Vol. 2, Munich 2001
- MacLagan, Sir Edward: *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*. London 1932.
- Mantl, Norbert: *Aloys Sprenger: Der Orientalist und Islamhistoriker aus Nassereith in Tirol*. Zum 100. Todestag am 19. Dezember 1893. Nassereith 1993.
- Marshall, John: "J. Ph. Vogel, Obituary note". (in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London), pts. 3-4 (1958), pp. 220-222)
- Magyar Zsidé, lexicon*. Budapest 1929
- Megali: *Encyclopedia* (in Greek). Athens 1927-1934. vol. 24
- Mélanges de l'Institut dominicaine d'études orientales du Caire* (Cairo), vol. 6 (1959-61), p. 526, vol. 7 (1962-63), p. 414, vol. 8 (1964-66), p. 515, vol. 12 (1974), p. 327 and vol. 13 (1977).
- Minault, Gail: "Delhi College and Urdu", in: *Annual of Urdu Studies*, 14 (1999), pp. 119-134.
- Ibid.: "Aloys Sprenger: German Orientalism's 'Gift' to Delhi College", (in: *South Asia Research*, 31: i (2011), pp. 7-23).
- Mirsky, Jeanette: *Sir Aurel Stein. Archaeological Explorer*. Chicago 1977.
- Mukhtār ud-Din Ahmad: "Ad-Duktur 'Abd al-Karim Germanus". (in: *Majallah al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-Hindi* (Aligarh), 7/1-2, 1982).
- Nazir Niāzi, Sayyid: *Maktubāt-i Niāzi*. Karachi 1957.
- Neue deutsche Biographie*. Berlin 1913—
- Neumayr, Ursula J.: *Heimat in der Fremde-Leben und Werk des Tirolers Aloys Sprenger (1813-1893)*. Magisterarbeit, originally in English, London 1997.
- Noti, S.: *Donna Juliana*. Bombay 1906 (Gr. ed., Aachen 1920)
- Ibid.: *Das Fürstenthum Sardhana*. Freiburg 1906.
- Österreichisches biographisches Lexikon 1815-1950*. Vienna 1957—
- Pandia, S.N.: *Sir Aurel Stein in Kashmir*. New Delhi, 2004.
- Paret, Rudi: *Arabistik und Islamkunde an deutschen Universitäten*. Wiesbaden 1966.

- Pernau, Margrit (ed.): *The Delhi College. Traditional Elites, the Colonial State, and Education before 1857*. New Delhi, 2006.
- Political and Secret Correspondence. The British Library, India Office and Oriental (London), vol. 128.
- Political and Secret Letters from India. The British Library, India Office and Oriental (London), vol. 65.
- Procházka, Stephen: "Die Bedeutung der Werke Aloys Sprengers für die Arabistik und Islamkunde", (in: *Tiroler Heimatblätter* (Innsbruck), vol. 69, no. 2 (1994), pp. 38-42)
- Riddick, John F.: *Who was who in British India*. Westport, Conn. & London, 1998.
- Robinstein, W.D.: "Leitner, Gottlieb Wilhelm (1840-1899), Educationist and Orientalist", (in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: OUP (online October 2009).
- Schimmel, A.: *Ernst Trumpp*. Karachi: Pak-German Forum, 1961. Gr. ed. 1998.
- Ibid.: *German Contributions to the Study of Pakistani Linguistics*. Hamburg 1981.
- Schultze, Benjamin: *Grammatica Telugica*. Madras 1745. Reprinted: Halle (Saale) 1984.
- Ibid.: *Grammatica Hindoostanica*. Halle 1745. Reprinted: Halle 1986. Urdu tr. (from Eng. tr.) by Dr. Abu'l Lais Siddiqi. Lahore 1977.
- Schützing, Heinrich: "Otto Spies". (in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. (Wiesbaden). 133/i (1983), pp. 11-17).
- Schwarz, Klaus: *Der Vordere Orient in den Hochschulschriften Deutschlands, Österreichs und der Schweiz. Eine Bibliographie von Dissertationen und Habilitationen (1885-1978)*. Freiburg i. Br., 1980.
- Sen, S.N.: "Joseph Tieffenthaler and his geography of Hindustan." (in: *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta). 4 (a962), pp. 75-99).
- Sommervogel, C.: *Bibliographie des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*. 12 vols., Paris 1890-1932.
- Speelman, G.M. (ed.): *Muslims and Christians in Europe. Breaking News Ground: Essays in honour of Jan Slomp*. 1993.
- Sprenger, Aloys: *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*. Vol. 1. Berlin 1861.
- Stache-Rosen, Valentina: *German Indologists*. 2nd ed., New Delhi 1990.
- Stockqueler, J.H.: *A Review of the Life and Labours of Dr. G. W. Leitner*. Brighton 1875.
- Suparna*. Commemoration volume in honour of the late Prof. J. Ph. Vogel. Leiden: Brill (in preparation, 1970)

- The Encyclopedia of Islam*. Vol. x (2000), Leiden: Brill, pp. 582-583. (art. by P. J. Marshall)
- Tieffenthaler, J.: *Des Pater Joseph Tieffenthalers d. G J und apost. Missionarius in Indien historisch-geographische Berschreibung von Hindustan*, 3 vols., Berlin 1785–1788.
- Troll, C.W. & C.T.R. Hewer (eds.): *Christian Lives Given to the Study of Islam*. New York, 2012.
- Vogel, J. Ph.: “Joan Josua Ketelaar of Elbing, author of the first Hindustani grammar.” (in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London), VIII (1935), pts. 2-3 pp. 817-822)
- Ibid.(ed.): *Journaal van J. J. Ketelaar’s Hofreis naar den Groot Mogol te Lahore, 1711-1713*. s’ Gravenhage 1937. (Eng. tr. by D. Keunen-Wicksteed, in: *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, (Lahore).x/i (1929), pp. 1-94) = *JPHS*).
- Ibid.: “Historical notes on the Lahore Fort” (in: *JPHS*, 1 (1911-12), pp. 38-55).
- Ibid.: “The master-builder of the Lahore Palace”. (in: *JPHS*, 3 (1914-15), p. 67)
- Ibid.: “The Shalimar Bagh of Lahore in 1712”. (in: *JPHS*, 2 (1913-14), pp. 1701-171).
- Ibid.: “The tile-mosaics of the Lahore Fort.” (in: *Journal of Indian Art*, 14 (1912), pp. 1-26).
- Walker, Annabel: *Aurel Stein. Pioneer of the Silk Road*. Washington D.C., 1999.
- Wang, Helen (ed.): *Sir Aurel Stein in ‘The Times’*. London, 2002.
- Ibid. (ed.): *Handbook to the Stein Collection in the UK*. London, 1999.
- Ibid. (ed.): *Sir Aurel Stein. Proceedings of the Brisith Museum Study Day*, 2002.
- Ibid.: “Sir Aurel Stein. The New Generation”. (in: *From Persipolis to the Punjab*. Eds. Elizabeth Errington & Vesta Sarkosh Curtes. London 2007, pp. 227-234).
- Wer ist wer, Lexikon Österreichischer Zeitgenossen*. Vienna, 1937.
- Wininger, Samuel: *Grosse jüdische National-Biographie*. Cernăuti, 1925-1932.
- Wurzbach, Constant von: *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*. Vienna.