

# History of the Translation of the Meanings of the Qur'an in Germany up to the Year 2000 A Bibliographic Survey

Ahmad von Denffer\*

## Abstract

The following study consists of three sections, namely an introduction including a brief description of earlier bibliographical sources, secondly a description of the various full translations of the meanings of the Glorious Qur'an into German from 16th to 20th century, and lastly a complete bibliography of all translations, full or partial, that have been published in the same period, with some explanatory notes where appropriate.

It is understood that dealing with this subject in a language other than German cannot do justice to the matter and may also give rise to misunderstandings. However to undertake such an effort in spite of its risks is better than making no attempt. Errors and mistakes can be pointed out and corrected, whereas keeping silent on this subject will not provide any information about it at all.

## I. Introduction

The subject of the history of the translation of the meanings of the Qur'an in Germany has not previously been dealt with comprehensively apart from some earlier bibliographical surveys. These usually concerned literature on Islam and the Arabs in general and occasionally included some sections on the Qur'an and its translations. Those noteworthy are the following:

- Schnurrer, Christianus Fridericus de: *Bibliotheca Arabica*, Halae ad Salam, 1811, pp. 421-445. (In Latin)
- Chauvin, Victor: *Bibliographie des ouvrages des Arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes*,

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\* Islamic Centre Munich, Munich, Germany.

- Bd. X, Liege and Leipzig 1907. (In French)
- Pfannmüller, Gustav: *Handbuch der Islam-Literatur*, Walter de Gruyter & Co. Verlag, Berlin und Leipzig 1923, pp. 206-19. (In German)
  - Hamidullah, Muhammad: *Le Saint Coran*. Traduction intégrale et notes, Club Français du Livre, Paris 1963, "Liste des Traductions du Coran en langues européennes", pp. XLV-XLVIII. (In French)
  - Hamidullah, Muhammad: *Le Saint Coran*. Traduction intégrale et notes, Ankara 1973 (8th édition), "Liste des Traductions du Coran en langues européennes", pp. LXIV-LXVIII. (In French)
  - Binark, Ismet and Eren, Halit: *World Bibliography of translations of the meanings of the Holy Qur'an: printed translations 1515-1980*, Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture, Istanbul 1986. (In English; a supplementary volume is intended but has not been published so far).
  - Sezgin, Fuat (ed.): *Bibliographie der deutschsprachigen Arabistik und Islamkunde von den Anfängen bis 1986 nebst Literatur über die arabischen Länder der Gegenwart*. Zweiter Band: Islam: Religion und Theologie. Recht und Sitte, Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Frankfurt 1990, pp. 207-15; 322-328. (In German. References contained herein not only cover full or partial translations of the Qur'an but also reviews and comments on such works, which I have not included).
  - Sezgin, Fuat (ed.): *Bibliographie der deutschsprachigen Arabistik und Islamkunde von den Anfängen bis 1986 nebst Literatur über die arabischen Länder der Gegenwart*. Elfter Band: Nachträge, Inhaltsübersicht, Quellen, Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Frankfurt 1992, pp. 84-85. (Supplement to the above. In German. References contained herein not only cover full or partial translations of the Qur'an but also reviews and comments on such works, which I have not included).
  - Enay, Marc-Edouard: *Mohammed und Der Heilige Koran*, Verlag im Orient-Antiquariat, Hamburg 1995. (In German. Deals especially with the history of book-production and various editions of the titles included, but does not concern itself much with the translations as such).

Some of the above sources have been prepared with more care than others. As in any result of human effort none of them can be described as free of errors, and those errors detected will be corrected in this

present study. Still they serve well as an initial introduction to the subject.

However these sources available on the history of the translation of the Qur'an in Germany have hardly, or not at all, taken into account the conditions, under which such translations need to be seen. Only Pfannmüller provides some background for earlier periods, but does not apply this to his own time.

No doubt efforts in translating the meanings of the Qur'an and their results are closely interrelated with their respective historical backgrounds as well as socio-cultural environments. They are determined, to a great extent, by the socio-cultural environments in which they emerged, and some of them do in turn influence the socio-cultural environment in which they are read and studied.

At times, the prefaces and introductions to some of these translations give indications concerning these interactions and developments, and one may therefore discover the following periods and trends in the history of the translation of the Qur'an in Germany:

- 1) classical anti-Islamic,
- 2) age of Enlightenment,
- 3) orientalism and Romanticism,
- 4) colonial and political up to World War I,
- 5) pro-Islamic and *da'wa* to Non-Muslims,
- 6) modern anti-Islamic.

### First European publications of the Qur'an in Arabic

Arabic editions of the Qur'an were published in Europe as early as the 16th century. The first one seems to be *Alcoranus Arabice* printed by Paganino de Paganini from Brixen, in Venice 1530. It is said that this edition had to be burnt immediately after its appearance upon instructions from the Pope.<sup>1</sup> However few copies seem to have escaped this fate and at least one copy has lately been discovered in the Franciscan Library of San Michele in Isola, Venice.<sup>2</sup>

In Germany the Arabic text of the Qur'an was first printed under the title *Al-coranus, Lex Islamitica Muhamedis, Filii Abdallae Pseudo-prophetae, ad optimorum Codicum fidem edita ex Museo Abrahami Hinckelmanni* in

<sup>1</sup> Pfannmüller, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> Bobzin, Hartmut: *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation*, Stuttgart 1995, pp. 182-184.

Hamburg 1694.<sup>1</sup>

It is clear that Hinckelmann's effort is directed towards the specialist student of Arabic language and not towards the general public. Even though he had to take his precautions and defend himself against attacks from opponents who belittled his undertaking and criticized him in particular for not having included a translation together with a corresponding refutation of the Qur'an. Hinckelmann tries to counter this by explaining in his preface that he refrained from publishing a translation due to the fact that with regards to a number of passages from the Qur'an there are so many contradicting interpretations.<sup>2</sup>

In this manner he also avoided publishing a "refutation" of the Qur'an, which according to the conditions of his time would have been required.

### First European translation of the Qur'an

As the letter that was sent by Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ) to the Emperor of Byzantium, Heraclius, was translated to him, this may be seen as the first historical record of the translation of a verse from the Qur'an into a European language, namely into Greek, as this letter contained *āyah* 3:64 as narrated by al-Bukhārī.<sup>3</sup> This event is to be dated into the year 6 AH/628.

Subsequently, further historical development leading to Muslim rule over much of Byzantium resulted in various encounters between Muslims and Christians, where the Qur'an was subject of discussion and hence at least selected passages needed to be translated. Muhammad Hamidullah mentions that the philosopher Nicetas had translated parts of the Qur'an into Greek and summarized the rest of it.<sup>4</sup> The message of the Qur'an and religion of Islam continued to be debated, and Christian theologians referred to the Qur'an and quoted short extracts from it in their anti-Islamic writings.

One needs to take into account that during this period it was not the Qur'an as such or the Qur'an as a whole that was taken into view. Instead references to the "Scripture of Islam" were made with very specific

<sup>1</sup> Pfannmüller, pp. 207, 213. See also Enay, no. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Pfannmüller, p. 212.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, IV, 57.

<sup>4</sup> Hamidullah 1973, p. LXI, with reference to Vincent Monteil, *L'Islam*, Paris 1963, p. 8.

objectives in mind. As may be seen from the so-called “Dialogues” by John of Damascus between a “Christian” and a “Muslim” - usually called the “Saracens” or even the “Barbarians” - the prime objective was to describe Christianity as, at least, intellectually and religiously superior to Islam in view of the factual inferiority of Christianity at that period in history in the sphere of political power. Just as one ought not to disregard the “collective memory” of Muslims concerning the crusades, although many centuries have passed since the Christian occident launched its “holy war” against “the infidels”, it would be equally unwise to overlook the traumatic experience of the earlier Christians and the church in particular, caused by the fact that they lost the largest part of their territory and in particular their territory of origin to the Muslims. It is from this that the roots of the anti-Muslim attitude originated, which is still in full force even today. From the point of view of the church at that time, Islam was seen as one of the various heretical teachings that endangered the influence and power of the established church. Now it is a fact that none of the so-called heretical sects has endangered the church to the extent as Islam did at the time. Hence Islam, its Messenger and its Book were perceived to be the most dangerous challengers and needed to be opposed by all means. All that Islam stood for was subsequently described as bad and evil. At times deliberately and at times, perhaps due to misunderstandings, all sorts of wrong descriptions of Islam, its Messenger and its Scripture were made to circulate in order to paint a picture as dark and grim as possible.

In this process as far as the Qur’an is concerned, one selected from it as far as one’s knowledge permitted whatever was thought to render support to one’s own ideas of Islam, and if what was found in the Qur’an was not sufficient one made up whatever was needed. Already the Byzantine Christian theologian John of Damascus applied this method and spread the story about an alleged “*Surah* of the camel of God”, which according to him, was part of the Qur’an and contained the story of “a camel sent by God, which drank up all the river and could not pass between two mountains, because the space was too narrow. This camel was killed by the people. However it had an offspring, and this young animal ascended to heaven.” All this including the question from which of the rivers of paradise this camel was drinking, if it was in fact in paradise, was meant to show what he perceived as the irrational nature of the Qur’an,<sup>1</sup> while in

<sup>1</sup> Ducellier, Alain: *Le miroir de l'Islam*, 1971, pp. 136-137.

fact all this is not part of the Qur'an at all. It is of course a falsified account about Prophet Ṣālih, and since he and the story of the camel is not mentioned in the Bible, it was thought to be very suitable to show the "mistaken nature" of the Qur'an.

While most of the objections that later medieval Christians authors have raised against Islam, its Messenger and its Scripture, go back as far as this Byzantine period, subsequently Latin replaced Greek as the language of religion, scholarship and science.

The first complete translation of the Qur'an in Europe was the translation into Latin by Robertus Ketenensis and Hermannus Dalmata in 1143. It was called the *Lex Saracenorum* (*The Saracen Law*) and was part of the "Corpus Toletanum", a collection of writings about and against Islam initiated by Peter the Venerable, Abbott of Cluny, who during the period of the crusades thought that Islam needed to be fought not only by the sword, but also by the pen. Robertus Ketenensis, also known as Robert of Chester, had come from England to Spain in order to translate books of science from Arabic into Latin. In his preface to the translation of the Qur'an he does not hide his dislike of the "Saracen sect."

About a century later the Qur'an was once more translated into Latin by Marcus of Toledo. Though it had no lasting impact, it may have been used by André du Ryer as a source for his French translation of the Qur'an, *L'Alcoran de Mahomet*, published in Paris 1647.<sup>1</sup>

At that time, only very few people in Europe were literate, and books were only circulated as manuscripts and codices. Only 400 years later, after Gutenberg had invented the moveable type and thus revolutionized book-publishing and printing, the earlier translation by Ketenensis and Dalmata came from the press in Basel in 1543:

Bibliander (Buchmann), Theodor: *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eius'que successorum vitae ac doctrina ipseque Alcoran ...* Verleger: Oporinus, Basilea (Basel) n. d.

n. p. (Basel) 1543

(Basel) 1550

(Basel) 1556

Zürich 1556.

The first edition of 1543 exists in three variants.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bobzin, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Enay, p. 69.

This was the first ever printed translation of the Qur'an in Europe. At this time on the one hand the Spanish Reconquista had been achieved, and the Muslims had been expelled from Spain, although not all traces had been erased. On the other hand, the Christian occident, and in particular its German speaking region, found itself once again under threat from the Muslims, this time since the fall of Constantinople in 1453, through the Ottomans or "Turks". This development was perceived as extremely dangerous and gave cause to special concern about Islam, its Messenger and its Scripture. At the same time, Europe, and Germany in particular, was faced with hitherto unknown inter-Christian tensions, leading to the separation of the Protestants from the Roman church, and this, together with the Muslim threat from outside, resulted in a strange climate, in which at times opposition to Islam seemed to coincide with opposition to Rome and the Pope. This is reflected in the fact that during this period, the word "Alchoran" was used by many authors to refer to any disliked, scandalous and heretic book, and does not actually mean the Qur'an of Islam.

The 16th century is the turning point in the history of the translation of the Qur'an in Germany as it marks the beginning of translation of the Qur'an into German.

## Translations of the Qur'an into German

### First translations of selections from the Qur'an into German

#### 16th Century

**Rickel**, Dionysius von: Alchoran. Das ist des Mahometischen Gesetzbuchs und Türckischen Aberglaubens ynnhalt und ablänung, Hans Schott, Straßburg 1540.

Dionysius of Rickel from today's Belgian province of Limburg, also known as Dionysius Carthusianus, is author of an anti-Islamic book entitled *Contra Alchoranum & sectam Machometicam libri quinque* written around 1454 and printed in Cologne 1533. In this book he quotes, based on the Latin translation of Robertus Ketenensis, a number of passages from the Qur'an in order to refute them. Seven years later, i.e. in 1540, an abridged version was published in German.

To the best of my knowledge, this is the earliest publication containing

passages from the Qur'an in German. It contains about 60 selected *āyahs*, some in translation, some shortened and some paraphrased, and quotations from the Bible. The book also includes a closing chapter containing a summary of what the Qur'an has to say about Jesus.

The origins of these quotations from the Qur'an therefore are as follows: Arabic text of the Qur'an translated into Latin by Robertus Ketenensis, from the Latin selected and quoted, sometimes shortened or paraphrased by Dionysius of Rickel and subsequently selected and quoted, sometimes shortened or paraphrased, into German by an unnamed author. In view of this, it is not surprising to find that there are some serious misunderstandings and mistakes, while on the other hand it is surprising to find that a good number of the translated *āyahs* quoted are quite acceptable.

It is not possible within this survey to provide detailed information on problems of translation from Arabic and Latin into German, and even more so since the book is not written in contemporary German, but in 16th century style and spelling. Nevertheless it will be of interest to note a reference to *sūrah* al-Naḥl 27:17 ff., which is in the form of a summary, and provides the following information:

The King Solomon he describes, as a hoopoe talked to him and told him several secrets. Also how he, together with his armies, devils, men and birds, who praised him, rode to an ant-hill, and saw one of them specially, which begged him to spare its fellow-ants. Annoying and ridiculous to hear. Without doubt taken partly from the Jews' Talmud. (Rickel, no pag., (p. 29) )

Apart from the problematic rendering of *jinn* as "devils", the summary of the contents is not wrong. However the comment "...annoying and ridiculous to hear" points to the fact that this narration about Prophet Sulaiman is not found in the Bible and therefore not acceptable as truth by the author's standards. To further support this, a further deriding and derogative source is indicated, namely the Jewish Talmud. We shall continue to discuss this matter below.

**Luther, Martin** (Transl.): Verlegung des Alcoran, Bruder Richardi, prediger Ordens Anno 1300, verdeutscht durch D. Mar Lu, Lufft, Wittenberg 1542.

Martin Luther, Protestant reformer and founder of the Lutheran Church, had already mentioned in his writing of 1529/30 *Krieg wider die*

*Türcken (War against the Turks)* his intention to translate the Qur'an into German. However later he did not pursue this any further after he had published in 1542 a German version of the Latin *Confutatio Alcorani* by Ricoldus de Montecrucis dated 1300, another of the anti-Islamic treatises that were written at the time of the crusades and seemed to gain renewed relevance during these years of the "Turkish danger."

In this publication more than 100 *āyahs* have been selected from the Qur'an and translated into German by Luther. His attitude towards the Qur'an appears to be extremely negative. Luther was known for not mincing his words - he explained this by his famous saying that one needs to look at peoples' "trap" to communicate well with them. Hence his derogatory references to Islam, its Messenger and its Scripture are much worse than those of Dionysius of Rickel, and I do not wish to further refer to them here. Suffice it to say that he even uses stronger words than the Latin writing that he translates would allow or indicate.<sup>1</sup> Apart from this the main problem with this work is that the Latin version that Luther had based his German translation on, had been retranslated from an earlier Greek version which itself was a translation of the original book by Ricoldus de Montecrucis. Naturally this gave rise to a number of misunderstandings, the most obvious one of which concerns the story of Prophet Sulaiman from *sūrah* al-Naḥl 27:17 ff., to which I already referred above. According to Luther, the Qur'an contains the following:

In chapter Emele, which means fly, is written, that Solomon gathered a large army of angels, men and unreasonable animals. While they travelled they came across flies like a large stream. So Solomon said to the flies: Make way ye flies to your homes so that Solomon and his army do not harm you. However the flies smiled at that. Later on all birds were there in the army, but not the flies. And Solomon said: How is it that I do not see any fly? I shall punish it and cut its head off, or it shall tell me the cause why it is not here. So the fly said: I have learnt more than you, I come to you from Sabea with real news. There I found a woman, ruling over them, I have forced her with her people to worship the sun instead of God. (*D. Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 53, Weimar 1920, p. 296)

<sup>1</sup> *D. Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 53, Weimar 1920, p. 312, heading of Chapter 8.

It is not necessary at this point to trace back how exactly this obvious mess arose. Its more serious elements are as follows. Firstly, the Qur'an does not mention "fly" or "flies" at all in this passage. Secondly, both the ants and the hoopoe that do occur here in the Qur'an have been turned into "flies". Thirdly, in Luther's version it is the ants smiling at Sulaiman, while according to the Qur'an Sulaiman smiles at them. Fourthly, according to Luther's version it is a fly that travelled to Sheba and according to its words it is this very fly that forced the queen as well as her people to worship the sun!

This account does not reflect the Qur'anic narrative at all and also differs considerably from the earlier one by Dionysius of Rickel quoted above. However Luther quotes it in his writing to prove the point "that the Alcoran is full of fables and useless fairy-tales."<sup>1</sup>

Other passages from the Qur'an, in particular those dealing with Jesus, are fairly accurate and acceptable. It is remarkable that Luther is the one who, more or less, correctly translates those passages from the Qur'an into German, which according to the Muslim view correct the wrong concept that Christians have of God and of Jesus, and that Luther is the very person who makes public these *āyahs* in German, although together with their respective "refutations".

Finally it is noteworthy that the only *sūrah* that was fully translated by both Ricaldo and Luther is *sūrah* al-Kafirūn 109:1-6. For ﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الْكَافِرُونَ﴾ (*yā ayyuha-l-kāfirūn*) Luther writes "O ye cursed ones" and for the Qur'anic word *dīn* (lit. religion) he uses "law."<sup>2</sup> Otherwise the translation is acceptable. This appears to be the first complete *sūrah* from the Qur'an that was ever made known to people in German.

### 17th Century

**Leuchter**, Henr.: Alcoranus Mahometicus oder Türckenglaub auss d. Mahomets Alcoran und s. azoar in ein Compendium gebracht ..., Johan Hartman, Frankfurt am Mayn, 1604.

Heinrich Leuchter (1558-1623) born in Melsungen (Hessia) was a Lutheran theologian, who had studied at Marburg University, where he also took his doctorate on the subject of trinity and the anti-trinitarian

<sup>1</sup> D. Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, vol. 53, Weimar 1920, p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.: 347.

teachings. Later he served as preacher and superintendent first in Marburg and then Darmstadt.

This book is a bi-lingual compendium in Latin and German and presents select *āyahs* from the Qur'an together with passages from the Bible that are meant to refute the Qur'anic statements. Many of the references to the Qur'an are indirect or summarized, however some are direct translations from Latin.

**Schweigger**, Salomon: Alcoranus Mahometicus, Das ist der Türken Alcoran, Religion und Aberglauben ... Erstlich auß der Arabischen in die Italianische: Jetzt aber inn die Teutsche Sprach gebracht. Durch Herrn Salomon Schweiggern ... Inn dreyen unterschiedlichen Theilen ... , Simon Halbmayern, Nürnberg 1616.

Salomo(n) Schweigger (1551-1622) from Haigerloch in Wurttemberg was a Lutheran priest, well known for his opposition to both the Pope as well as the Calvinists. He had studied at Tübingen University, from where he went to Vienna and was then sent along with the ambassador of Emperor Rudolf II. to Constantinople to serve as the embassy's preacher. He stayed there from 1577 to 1581 and made a visit to Palestine and Jerusalem before his return to Germany, where he became preacher at St. Mary's church in Nürnberg.

While in Constantinople, Schweigger had come across the Italian translation of the Qur'an by Andrea Arrivabene of 1547, which, notwithstanding the author's claim, was not done directly from the Arabic, but based on the Latin translation by Robertus Ketenensis and Hermannus Dalmata in 1143. Schweigger's translation is therefore from Italian into German, with his own preface followed by a blatantly anti-Islamic introduction of 78 pages entitled "The first book of Alcoran", although it does not represent Qur'anic texts at all. These follow in "The other book of Alcoran", covering pages 79-267. The volume is concluded by an index.

There is no numbering of *āyahs* while the numbering of *sūrahs* is confusing: *sūrah* 2 is chapter 1, while *sūrah* 3 is chapter 4, etc. Longer *sūrahs* are also subdivided somewhat on the line of *ahzāb*, but each new section begins with "In the name of the most gracious merciful God" as though a new *sūrah* begins. Of many *sūrahs* only extracts have been given. It is therefore not, as some earlier sources have indicated, a full translation of the Qur'an, although it contains large parts of it. There are no explanatory notes.

An edition in Dutch was also published under the name of Salomon Schweigger, *De Arabische Alkoran*, Hamburg 1641.

Sezgin's indication "1616-1623" as the date of publication is misleading, as this would suggest that it took from 1616 to 1623 to have the book completely published. However what is meant is that the first edition was published in 1616, while another edition followed in 1623.

Sezgin also points to "further editions 1659, 1664."<sup>1</sup> By this reference is meant:

**Endter**, Johann Andreas und Wolfgang: Al-Koranum Mahumedanum, Das ist Deer Türcken Religion ... Darnach die Gesetz und Ceremonien des Alkorans ... , In Verlegung Johann Andreas und Wolfgang Endters des Jüngerer seel. Erben, Nürnberg 1659.

There is much confusion about this work in earlier sources. Probably their authors have not taken the trouble to actually search for the book and read it. The correct name here is Endter and not Endters, as Binark and Eren have it.

Sezgin lists only one edition under Endter Johann Andreas u. Wolfgang Endter: Al-Koranum Mahumedanum ..., Nürnberg 1644, while two editions exist. The year of publication 1644 Sezgin provides is most likely a misprint for 1664.<sup>2</sup>

Pfannmüller<sup>3</sup> has both editions as translations by Johann Andreas Endter, while Endter is actually a book-publisher, but not a translator. Enay<sup>4</sup> follows Pfannmüller, but with no further explanation.

However a comparison of the works listed under Endter with Schweigger shows that it is in fact Schweigger's translation. The wording is identical, and he misses out the very same passages that are not to be found in Schweigger's. The only modifications to be found concern spelling. However, this edition contains lengthy commentaries meant to refute the Qur'an that occur at numerous places within the translation, indicated by the word "Censura" and making the book a bulky volume of 982 pages. The commentaries are of varying quality, but often intended to vilify the Qur'an. The following note on *sūrah* 97 concerning

<sup>1</sup> Sezgin, p. 213.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*: 208.

<sup>3</sup> Pfannmüller, p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Enay, p. 136.

the Night of al-Qadr may serve to illustrate this point:

Censura. The thousand months add up to 83, 1/3 years, and may be the time that Alcoran had to be accepted by the surrounding countries as a publicly approved book. Other than that it is strange that Alcoran has been sent out at night, the more as I hold the view that there is no night in heaven, as night is a pointed shadow of the earth against the sun travelling around the earth.... (Endter, p. 789)

Reading this today, it is perhaps amusing to note such a commentary from people who not much earlier had still threatened Galileo with death, when he proclaimed that the earth travels around the sun. However seeing it in its actual context of the middle 17th century, it is amusing to read that some people went to such great lengths to influence the mind of a reader of the translation of the Qur'an.

**Schuster**, David: Mahomets und Türcken Grewel ... 5 Teile in 1 Bd., Johann Baptist Schönwetter, Franckfurt 1664.

Schuster was a native of Memmingen, Bavaria. His book is another of the compilations that attempt to convince its readers of the "defectiveness" of Islam, its Messenger and its Scripture. It is, especially, aimed at those, who are sent to war against the Turks, and who therefore need to know more about their enemies.<sup>1</sup>

However one wonders how many of those who fought against the Turks at that time were actually able to read and get hold of such a publication. The book itself is about the life of the Prophet and his teachings. Another section deals with the Qur'an and its refutation in 15 chapters and contains a number of references to the Qur'anic text. However only very few of them can be described as actual translations, and it requires some effort and knowledge to discern them. Most of them are in the form of summaries and paraphrases. The rest of the book deals with Muslim and in particular Turkish history, culture and customs.

## II. First Complete Translation of the Qur'an into German

At this point it may be useful to state that the following descriptions of translations of the Qur'an into German can only be understood as initial surveys. All of them do deserve more detailed analysis. However

<sup>1</sup> Schuster, author's preface.

this would need to be done in German. It is hoped however that the subsequent brief surveys can convey to some extent the particular peculiarities of each one of them. Of course all of them have, in spite of shortcomings to which attention is drawn here, their respective merits as well.

### *17th century*

1. **LANGE**, J(ohann): Vollständiges Türckisches Gesetz-Buch. Oder Des Ertz-betrigers Mahomets Alkoran. Welcher vorhin nimmer vollkommen herausgegeben noch im Druck außgefertigt worden. Aus der Arabischen in die Französische Sprach übergesezt Durch Herrn Du Ryer. Aus Dieser aber in die Niederländische durch H.J. Glasemacker<sup>1</sup> Und jetzo Zum allerersten mahl in die Hochteutsche Sprache versezet Durch Johan Lange, Medicinae Candidatum. Hamburg 1688.

This is the first complete translation of the Qur'an that was published in German. As the title indicates, it was translated from the Dutch language version of Du Ryer's French translation of the Qur'an. The Dutch translation was: Mahomet's Alkoran. Uit h. Arab. Du Riyer ... door J.H. Glazemaker ... vertaalt, Amsterdam 1658. Further editions were published in 1696, 1698, Leide 1707, 1721, 1734.<sup>2</sup> Lange could only have used the first edition of 1658. The French translation, on which the Dutch version was based, is: Ryer du, Sieur: L'Alcoran de Mahomet. Translaté d'Arabe en Francois, Antoine de Sommaville, Paris 1647 with many later editions.<sup>3</sup> Du Ryer was French Consul at Alexandria before 1630 and later also posted in Constantinople.

Of the translator Johann Lange not much is known. When he translated the book, he was a student of medicine. Later he became a medical doctor and was still living in Hamburg in 1695. He translated numerous books on all kinds of subjects from other languages into German. As such he may also be described as a professional translator. Hence he perhaps looked somewhat dispassionately at the contents of the books he worked on and was obviously more concerned with the translation as such, rather than spending his time on thinking out any commentaries or refutations. One therefore finds that his translation is virtually free from derogatory

<sup>1</sup> Some authors, such as Binark and Eren following Hamidullah have "Blasemacker" instead, but the correct name is "Glasemacker."

<sup>2</sup> Chauvin X, p. 129-130.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*: 126-131.

remarks. The few notes refer to Muslim commentaries, such as those of Jalālāin or Baiḍāwī. The numbering of *sūrah*s begins with al-Baqarah as chapter one, while al-Fātiḥah is taken as an introductory chapter. There is no verse-numbering. The translation of the passage in *sūrah* al-Naml, which caused so much confusion to Luther, is acceptable and corresponds with the actual Qur'anic version apart from some minor differences. The ant that speaks to the other ants and warns them of Sulaiman's troops is called "their queen", and the hoopoe is translated as "the owl." Most importantly there is no misrepresentative commentary.

The translation was published as the last part of a series on foreign countries and non-European cultures in Africa, Asia and the Americas, entitled *Thesaurus Exoticorum* by Happelius, Everhard Guerner (=Happel, Eberhard Werner): *Thesaurus Exoticorum Oder eine mit Ausländischen Raritäten und Geschichten wohlversehene Schatz-Kammer Fürstellend ... Wie auch ... Gesetz-Buch oder Alkoran ... Von Everhardo Guenero Happelio, Thomas von Wiering, Hamburg, 1688.*

It is therefore sometimes listed under "Happelius" or "Happelio" or "Happel", as by Binark and Eren<sup>1</sup> as well as by Sezgin.<sup>2</sup> In contrast to the translator, Happelius as the responsible editor and publisher has used scores of strong words against Islam, its Messenger and its Scripture in his Introduction. Still one seems to sense that his objections perhaps serve more as self censorship to protect him from having his book banned or taken off the market altogether.

At a number of places, corrections or improvements in the translation would have been necessary. Nevertheless it may be said that on the whole this ever first complete translation of the Qur'an into German could serve the purpose well of informing its readers about the actual contents of the Qur'an, if only they would have been able to disregard the misleading and, in many instances, pernicious introduction by Happel.

### 18th Century

2. **NERRETER**, David: David Nerreters Neu eröffnete Mahometanische Moschea, worinn ... Fürs andre, Der völlige Alkoran, Nach der besten Edition Ludovici Marraccii verteutscht und kürzlich widerlegt wird, Wolffgang Moritz Endters, Nürnberg, 1703.

<sup>1</sup> Binark and Eren, no. 811/22.

<sup>2</sup> Sezgin, p. 209.

David Nerreter (1649-1726) was another Lutheran theologian, again from Nürnberg. He studied at Altdorf and Königsberg, travelled to Sweden and Estonia and after his return became priest at various churches, mainly in Nürnberg, where he also wrote his *Mahometan Mosque*. In 1709 he moved to Pommerania to become Superintendent there.

This is, after Lange, the second complete translation of the Qur'an into German. Once again it is based on another translation, namely the Latin translation by Marracci, Lodovico (=Ludovico): *Alcorani textus universus ... ex Arabico idiomate in Latinum translatus ...*, Patavii (Padua) 1698.

Nerreter's book still reflects much of earlier collections of writings about and against the "Turkish danger." The translation of the Qur'an is only one part of the collection. The preface is strongly anti-Islamic. To him, as to Luther and earlier writers, Islam, its Messenger and its Scripture are evil and untrue. In the preface Nerreter defends himself against such critics who may object to the publication of a translation of the Qur'an by citing from Marracci the example of a young Muslim in Spain, who had been invited to Christianity by a Christian aunt of his, and he finally became a Christian after having thoroughly studied the Qur'an. Hence, Nerreter concludes, a Christian may be only strengthened in his own faith by being acquainted with the Qur'an.

In fact Nerreter uses much stronger offensive words, which I do not wish to repeat here.<sup>1</sup>

The translation has numbering throughout for both *sūrah*s and *āyah*s. It covers pages 505 to 1222 and is entitled: *Der Mahometanischen Moscheen Zweyther Theil, worin der Alkoran selbst nach der accuratesten Edition Ludov. Marraccii, gezeiget wird, verteutscht mit kurzen Anmerkungen von David Nerreter*. It has a number of faults, some of which may be traced back to the Latin version by Marracci, while others may be Nerreter's own. Taking the example of the passage in *sūrah* an-Naml 27:17 ff., this translation again on the whole is fairly accurate, but similar to Lange's it mentions that one of the ants was "the queen of the others"<sup>2</sup>, but the hoopoe is correctly named. Nevertheless *āyah* 25 is somewhat incorrect, where it says of the people of Sheba "they worship the sun apart from God, who reveals, what is in the heavens and the earth, and knows what is

<sup>1</sup> Nerreter, p. 515.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*: 931.

in the hidden and what is open.”<sup>1</sup>

3. **FASSMANN**, David: Der auf Ordre und Kosten seines Kayzers, reisende Chineser, was er von dem Zustand ... derer Europäischen Lande ... Bericht erstattet, Wolfgang Deer, Leipzig 1721-1723.

David Fassmann (1683-1744) was a historian from Wiesenthal in Saxonia, who had begun to study languages as a young boy and after a short term at Altdorf University became a secretary and translator for various official delegations, travelling widely across Europe. He continued his studies at the universities of Utrecht and Paris, and around 1717 established himself as author and translator in Nürnberg.

Sezgin mentions his work by pointing out: “This travel-account about China and other oriental countries contains a complete translation of the Koran.”<sup>2</sup> However his bibliographical information is incomplete and therefore confusing. Probably this information was taken from some secondary source, most likely a review of the book. Apparently no one ever took the trouble to trace the work in order to verify this information and provide more details. In fact it is a very sizeable collection in four volumes dealing mainly with China, various European and few other countries presented to the reader in the form of a dialogue between a fictitious traveller from China, who visits Europe and his fictitious friend, whom he meets there, and who is also an expert on Turkish affairs. It is this friend who, on various occasions, reads passages from the Qur’an to acquaint his Chinese visitor with its contents, and these passages are dispersed throughout the first volume consisting of 28 parts, published between 1721 and 1723. The full bibliographical details are provided in the bibliography below.

This translation is very close to Lange’s, but not just a slightly modified version of his. It seems more likely that it is a fresh translation either directly from the French of Du Ryer’s or the Dutch version of Glasemaker’s. Here I may point out two examples. Comparing the translations of *sūrah* al-Fāṭihah, it is noteworthy that in both Lange’s and Fassmann’s, the German words for «رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ» (*rabb al-‘ālamīn*) are missing.<sup>3</sup> Similarly in both translations «الْأَمِينَ» (*alif lām mīm*) at the beginning

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*: 932.

<sup>2</sup> Sezgin, p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> Lange, p. 1; Fassmann p. 38.

of *sūrah* al-Baqarah is rendered by Lange as “I am the very wise God”, while Fassmann has “I am a wise God.”<sup>1</sup> Also in common with Lange is the almost total absence of notes and commentaries and therefore of vituperative remarks.

4. **ARNOLD**, Theodor: Der Koran, oder insgemein so genannte Alcoran des Mohammeds, unmittelbar aus dem Arabischen Original in das Englische übersetzt und mit beygefüigten, aus den bewährtesten Commentatoribus genommenen Erklärungs-Noten, Wie auch einer Vorläuffigen Einleitung versehen Von George Sale, Gent. Aufs treulichste wieder ins Teutsche verdollmetschet Von Theodor Arnold, Johann Heinrich Meyer, Lemgo, 1746.

Theodor Arnold (1683-1761 or 1771) from Annaberg in Saxonia had studied at Leipzig University and later became master-teacher of English language there. He had written a number of books, some on teaching English, and also translated various titles from English into German.

This translation, as the title suggests, is a German version of the well-known English translation of the Qur'an by Sale, George: The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed, translated into English immediately from the Arabic ..., London 1734.

Sezgin lists this work under Sale and not Arnold, whose name he did not include separately in his bibliography.<sup>2</sup>

The German version includes Sale's Preface as well as his detailed introduction and has an additional note by the translator, i.e. Arnold,<sup>3</sup> where he emphasizes that he has not made any changes to what Sale has written. His respect *vis-à-vis* the Qur'an may be sensed from his statement:

It is true that once again this is only a translation of a translation. However, since the Koran is indeed presented as a divine revelation, I have taken highest care and conscientiousness to follow the English original most precisely and neither remove or add any word (according to reason). (Arnold, p. X.)

Still, regrettably, he does not avoid calling the Messenger of Islam a

<sup>1</sup> Lange p. 1; Fassmann p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Sezgin, p. 322, 327.

<sup>3</sup> Arnold, p. IX-XI.

“self-styled prophet.”<sup>1</sup> However, on the whole, Arnold has indeed restricted himself to presenting a German version of Sale’s translation, and therefore his work may be described as having all the merits and demerits of the English original, including such details as the lack of numbering of *āyahs*. Since this is a translation of the Qur’an in English language, there is no need to go into more detail here.

### **First complete translation of the Qur’an into German directly from Arabic**

5. **MEGERLIN**, David Friederich: Die türkische Bibel, oder des Korans allererste teutsche Uebersetzung aus der Arabischen Urschrift selbst verfertigt: welcher Nothwendigkeit und Nutzbarkeit in einer besondern Ankündigung hier erwiesen von M. David Friederich Megerlin, Professor. Johann Gottlieb Garbe, Franckfurt am Mayn, 1772.

David Friederich Megerlin (? - 1778) from Stuttgart studied at Tübingen University, became a protestant priest and head-master of a school in Lambach, later Professor at Maulbronn and finally settled in 1769 as a freelance scholar in Frankfurt. He published a number of theological writings, in particular several addressed to the Jews with the intention to convert them to Christianity.

Hamidullah’s spelling “Megerlein” is incorrect.<sup>2</sup> This publication is the first translation of the Qur’an into German that is not based on any other translation but is based immediately on the Arabic text. In an anonymous contemporary brief review in “Frankfurter Gelehrte Anzeigen” this translation was described as a “miserable production.”<sup>3</sup> It is assumed that Germany’s national poet Johann Wolfgang Goethe was the author of this review, since he had at some time made use of Megerlin’s translation of the Qur’an.

In his preface Megerlin points out that he had already published in 1750 a small publication in Latin, dealing with the necessity of having a German translation of the Qur’an directly from the Arabic and not based on other translations. In a third paragraph, he deals with the question, whether it would not be better to burn a book that denies the main

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*: XI.

<sup>2</sup> Hamidullah p. XLV, no. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Goethes Werke, WA I, 38, 392-3. In this review there is also a brief reference to the translation of Sale, probably intending Arnold.

principles of Christianity rather than have it published and circulated in German. Confirming his view about Islam, its Messenger and Scripture as being false and untrue, he then has recourse to the same logic that all earlier Christian publishers of translations of the Qur'an have already applied, namely that the nature of the Qur'an, according to them, is such that any serious Christian will be convinced of its falsehood after having read it, and thus be strengthened in his own Christian faith.<sup>1</sup> Similarly he repeats the need to know one's enemy - the Turks - in order to defeat and expel them from Christian Europe.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, concluding his introduction he prays that "God might bring about some benefit from the good that is contained in this mixed book".<sup>3</sup>

As to the translation itself, Megerlin begins with "In the Name of the Triune God", an introductory line that does not usually occur in front of a translation of the Qur'an, and then commences with a brief heading concerning *sūrah* al-Fāṭiḥah, followed by a German translation of ﴿بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ﴾ (*bismillahi-r-rahmāni-rahīm*). In al-Fāṭiḥah, there is some confusion. According to Megerlin, the last two *āyahs* are both numbered 7, so in fact he has 8 *āyahs*. The order of ﴿الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ﴾ (*ar-rahmāni-r-rahīm*) and ﴿مَلِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ﴾ (*māliki-yaumi-d-dīn*) is reversed,<sup>4</sup> which although incorrect may however be seen as a matter of style. The disjointed letters ﴿آلَم﴾ (*alif lām mīm*) at the beginning of *sūrah* al-Baqarah are left untouched and rendered as "A.L.M."<sup>5</sup>

*Sūrahs* and *āyahs* are numbered. There are no footnotes or commentaries, even at places where different views between Christians and Muslims would arise, not even at *sūrah* 4:157 or *sūrah* 61:6. The rendering of *sūrah* 27:17 ff. about Prophet Sulaiman is not wrong. In particular, like Fassman and Arnold, he has "spirits" for "jinn",<sup>6</sup> while earlier translators including Lange<sup>7</sup> usually rendered this word in this context as "devils".

## 6. BOYSEN, Friedrich Eberhard: Der Koran, oder Das Gesetz für die

<sup>1</sup> Megerlin, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*: 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*: 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*: 37-38.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*: 38.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*: 510. Before him, it is only Arnold, based on Sale who uses "spirits", Arnold, p. 433.

<sup>7</sup> Lange, p. 68.

Muselmänner, durch Muhammed den Sohn Abdall. Nebst einigen feyerlichen Koranischen Gebeten, unmittelbar aus dem Arabischen übersetzt, mit Anmerkungen und einem Register versehen, und auf Verlangen herausgegeben von Friedrich Eberhard Boysen, J.J. Gebauers Wittve und Joh. Jac. Gebauer, Halle 1773.

Friedrich Eberhard Boysen (1720-1800) from Halberstadt, studied at Halle University, where he also did oriental languages, became a doctor of theology and later protestant priest and educator as well as inspector of the Quedlinburg High School. He wrote mostly on theology, education and local history. His auto-biography<sup>1</sup> may perhaps contain more information about his work on the Qur'an.

Only one year after Megerlin's translation, Boysen published the second German translation of the Qur'an based on the Arabic text. It is said to be much better than Megerlin's.<sup>2</sup>

In his preface, Boysen introduces himself to the reader as a scholar in Arabic language, who is aware that his translation is more literal than free and not reflecting the poetic style of Arabic.<sup>3</sup> However he felt he had succeeded in presenting the authentic contents without mixing in foreign ideas. This is of course a subtle criticism of earlier translations, where the Christian perspective perhaps appears to be more obvious, in particular through explanatory notes and comments. Still, he holds the view that through his translation he may point out to his readers the advantages of the Christian religion over Islam. At the same time he rejects exaggerations and falsifications that earlier authors had presented.<sup>4</sup> In particular he draws attention to the fact that the Messenger of Islam was "a man, who knew many invaluable truths," and hence "could not have strayed into such childish and absurd mistakes"<sup>5</sup> that have been attributed to him.

His translation begins with the heading "Free translation of the Koran." In *sūrah* al-Fātiḥah, just as in Megerlin's, the order of ﴿الرَّحْمَنِ﴾ (ar-rahmāni-r-rahīm) and ﴿مَلِكٍ يَوْمَ الدِّينِ﴾ (maliki-yaumi-d-dīn) is reversed. ﴿غَيْرِ الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ﴾ (Ghairi-l-maghdūbi 'alaihim) is rendered as

<sup>1</sup> *Eigene Lebensbeschreibung*, 2 vols., 1795.

<sup>2</sup> Pfannmüller, p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> Boysen, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*: 13.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*: 14.

“not the religion of the Jews”. It must be noted that the word “Jews” does not occur in the Arabic text, but many commentators have used it in their interpretation. Similarly, Boysen has for ﴿وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ﴾ (*wa la-d-dāllin*) “also not the wrong religion of contemporary Christians” and even adds to it “teach us the religion, which the old believers practised.”<sup>1</sup>

So indeed at least *sūrah* al-Fātiḥah is a free translation, also Boysen had earlier claimed to be quite literal. The disjointed letters ﴿آل﴾ (*alif lām mīm*) at the beginning of *sūrah* al-Baqarah are rendered as “By the order of Muhammad.”<sup>2</sup> *Sūrahs* are numbered, but *āyahs* are not. Explanatory notes are few and usually unbiased. His rendering of *sūrah* 27:17 ff. is quite accurate. Boysen does not translate the Arabic word “hudhud” but retains it as the name of the bird and explains in a footnote: “We kept the original expression, as we do not dare to translate it.”<sup>3</sup>

### 19th century

7. **WAHL**, Samuel Friedrich Günther: Der Koran oder Das Gesetz der Moslemen durch Muhammed den Sohn Abdallahs. Auf den Grund der vormaligen Verdeutschung F. E. Boysen's von neuem aus dem Arabischen übersetzt, durchaus mit erläuternden Anmerkungen, mit einer historischen Einleitung, auch einem vollständigen Register versehen von Dr. Samuel Friedrich Günther Wahl, Gebauersche Buchhandlung, Halle 1828.

Samuel Friedrich Günther Wahl (1760-1834) from Alach near Erfurt was a Prussian interpreter and Professor of oriental languages at Halle University since 1788. He published various titles on oriental subjects including dictionaries and a teaching-manual of Arabic in 1789 and translated from oriental languages. It is said that he was one of the most learned and highly esteemed professors at the university. His last major work was a translation of the Qur'an with explanatory notes.

In his preface Wahl explains that although he had started from Boysen's translation in fact what he presents is a translation of his own. This is also the view of Pfannmüller,<sup>4</sup> while Binark and Eren list it under Boysen with the remark: “The marginal notes, introduction and indexes

<sup>1</sup> Boysen, p. 1 following p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*: 2

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*: 373, note d.

<sup>4</sup> Pfannmüller, p. 218.

by Samuel Friedrich Günther Wahl.”<sup>1</sup>

Towards the end of his preface, Wahl makes his position unmistakably clear by stating:

Regarding the judgement of the contents and spirit of the Koran and its author, my conviction, which hopefully most of the readers will share with me after impartial consideration, has forced me to mainly come round to the older views. Those opposing one having from time to time recently been carried to the market, to which already Boysen and some of his contemporaries had inclined, may be left to a hundred others: they will never appeal to me. (Wahl, p. IV.)

Again this translation is without the numbering of *āyahs*. The lengthy introduction of 89 pages deals mostly with the life of the Messenger of Islam, who is called a “Pseudo-prophet”<sup>2</sup> and much worse names. Only a small section of six pages deals actually with the Qur’an as such. Instead much effort is made to convince the reader of the falseness and fallaciousness of Islam, its Messenger and its Scripture, just as though this publication was not from the 19th but from the 16th or even 8th century. According to Wahl, the Messenger of Islam was influenced by the Nestorian monk Boheira who himself was a heretic, schemed against the authorities of his time and hoped to make use of the young man from Arabia for his plans.<sup>3</sup> Thus the Messenger of Islam, according to Wahl, became himself a “cheater” and “betrayor”, who “spread the religion of Islam by fire and sword.”<sup>4</sup> I shall not go into more detail at this point. Suffice it to say that Wahl has in his preface applied at one place no less than 41 derogatory and slighting words one after the other to describe the Prophet of Islam. The same approach is fully at work in the various explanatory footnotes.

Of course one fails to see how such a work may then be described as scholarly and scientific. Apart from that there is however another aspect that needs to be noted. Wahl includes in his judgement not only the Messenger of Islam, but also all those who believe in him and honour him.<sup>5</sup> They are of course the contemporary Muslims, in their entirety,

<sup>1</sup> Binark and Eren, no. 793/4.

<sup>2</sup> Wahl, pp. XIV, XX and elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*: XXIII-XXIV.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*: LXXVI.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*: LXXIV.

who according to Wahl, are either too simple minded or hypocritical. This is of course a lopsided approach in describing those peoples of other faiths and cultures, whose lands and riches were taken illegally by force by the Christian Europeans, at the very time that Wahl lived, thought and wrote.

Wahl's introduction as well as his explanatory notes most clearly indicate how at his time European political interest and European science became fused and worked hand in hand, not just in natural science, but, in particular, in the field of humanities and even in its highly specialized branch of oriental studies.

8. **ULLMANN**, Ludwig: Der Koran. Aus dem Arabischen wortgetreu neu übersetzt und mit erläuternden Anmerkungen versehen, von Dr. L. Ullmann, J.H. Funcke'sche Buchhandlung, Crefeld 1840.

Of Ludwig Ullmann no information seems available, except that he was a student of the well-known German Orientalist Georg Wilhelm Freytag (1788-1861), author of *Lexikon Arabico-Latinum*, who taught at Bonn University.

In his preface he emphasises his special interest in pointing out in particular what the Messenger of Islam has borrowed from Judaism<sup>1</sup> and refers to the study of a contemporary Jewish scholar Geiger. Therefore such information can be found at various places in the explanatory notes Ullmann provides. While he has not included any biographical information on the Messenger of Islam in this work, it is clear from various footnotes that he, as most of the earlier translators, holds him to be "dishonest" and "untrue".<sup>2</sup> However unlike Wahl, Ullmann does not usually employ fastidious vocabulary.

This translation was the most widely published during the 19th century. It was brought out in nine editions. Again during the second half of the 20th century, more than 15 editions of a version with revised spelling have been printed. The first edition has no numbering of *āyahs*, however in later editions these have been added. Footnotes are usually brief, and the translation as a whole appeared readable to a general audience rather than the specialist, as the large number of editions indicates. However, German fellow-Orientalists did not regard it highly.

<sup>1</sup> Ullmann, preface, no pag. (p. 3).

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. Ullmann, p. 149, note 1.

Pfannmüller comments, comparing it with Boysen and Wahl: "... also Ullmann's translation, which had found a wide circulation, is not of much better value. Nöldeke actually calls it "a miserable schoolboy's piece." ”<sup>1</sup>

### 20th century

9. **GRIGULL**, Theodor Fr.: Der Koran. Aus dem Arabischen für die "Bibliothek der Gesamtliteratur" neu übersetzt von Theodor Fr. Grigull, Otto Hendel, (Bibliothek der Gesamt-Literatur No. 1501-1507), Halle a. S., 1901.

Sezgin's version of the title is shortened as: Der Koran. Aus dem Arabischen. Mit Vorbemerkung und Index nebst Facsimile einer Koran-Handschrift.<sup>2</sup>

It remains unclear whether the second edition was published in two separate prints, one from Halle and the other from Berlin, or only one print was published from Berlin as Enay has it, who does refer to Binark-Eren, but does not comment on the discrepancy.<sup>3</sup>

This translation is, according to Pfannmüller, "a smoothed out work of Ullmann leaning closely on Sale, and not a translation in a narrow sense, but mainly intended to reflect the oriental style,"<sup>4</sup> while Grigull himself in his brief preface indicates that it is based on Flügel's edition of the Arabic text of the Qur'an and some reference to Sale.<sup>5</sup> It is the first translation into German published in the 20th century, but did not have a lasting impact.

10. **HENNING**, Max: Der Koran. Aus dem Arabischen übertragen und mit einer Einleitung versehen von Max Henning, Leipzig, Phil. Reclam jun., (Reclams Universal-Bibliothek No. 4206-4210), Leipzig n.d. (1901).

Max Henning (1861-1927) was a journalist, writer and editor of a magazine *Das freie Wort* close to the Free Religious Church, a 19th century breakaway denomination from the Roman Catholic church. He had also translated and published *Alf Laylah wa Laylah* (*The Thousand and One*

<sup>1</sup> Pfannmüller, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Sezgin, p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> Enay, no. 125.

<sup>4</sup> Pfannmüller, p. 218.

<sup>5</sup> Grigull, p. VII.

*Nights*, alias *Arabian Nights*).

Hamidullah<sup>1</sup> has the following additional information: Henning, Max: *Der Koran. Aus dem Arabischen übertragen ...* in: *Das freie Wort*, Bd. 1, S. 1-350, Leipzig 1901. However he was mistaken. This magazine contains only three verses from the Qur'an translated by Max Henning, pp. 350-351, and not the complete translation by Max Henning to be found in pages 1-350 as he stated.

Pfannmüller calls it “a readable and understandable translation ... at least sufficient for the lay-man,”<sup>2</sup> while according to Muhammad Hamidullah<sup>3</sup> it was the best German translation of the Qur'an available at the time of the publication of a new edition in 1960.

With its various revised editions it has become the most widely circulated translation of the Qur'an in German. While on the whole it conveys well the meaning of the Qur'an, unfortunately it still contains several serious mistakes not ironed out by any of the later editors, who apparently have not taken the trouble to compare it with the Qur'an in Arabic and instead have concentrated on improving the language and style in German.

11. **GOLDSCHMIDT**, L(azarus): *Der Koran aus dem Urtext wortgetreu übertragen*, Kittl, Berlin 1916.

Lazarus Goldschmidt (1871-1950) was a Jewish scholar of religion originally from Lithuania, who came to Berlin in 1890, studied at Berlin and Strassburg universities and translated mostly Jewish texts, including the complete Babylonian Talmud into German (8 vols., Berlin 1925). In 1933 he immigrated to London.

According to Enay, the book was first published in 1917 and not in 1916.<sup>4</sup> While on the whole a fluent and well readable text, at some places strange expressions have been used, such as “world-inhabitants” in *sūrah* 1:2 for ﴿ٱلْعٰلَمِيْنَ﴾ (*‘ālamīn*, i.e. all beings) or “the righteous-led ones” in *sūrah* 2:16 for ﴿مُهْتَدِيْنَ﴾ (*mubtadīn*, i.e. rightly-guided). The latter example shows that Goldschmidt, while without doubt having been

<sup>1</sup> Hamidullah 1973, p. XLVI, no. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Pfannmüller, p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> Preface by Annemarie Schimmel to the 1960 revised edition published at Stuttgart.

<sup>4</sup> Enay, no. 122.

fluent in German, was not able to always do justice to the fine details of expression and occasionally even grammar of the German.<sup>1</sup> Due to the background of the translator, his notes often refer to Jewish material.

**12. SADR-UD-DIN**, Maulana: Der heilige Koran. Übersetzung, Erklärung und Einleitung, Verlag der Moslemischen Revue, Berlin 1939.

Published by the Lahore Ahmadiyya movement, which established its mosque in Berlin in the 1920s, this is the first complete translation of the Qur'an into German published together with the Arabic text. Both German and Arabic have a number of typographical errors. At some places, the translation and the explanatory notes clearly reflect views specific to the Ahmadiyya movement, which has been declared apostate by Islamic authorities.

**13. ANONYMOUS**: Der Heilige Qur-an, Arabisch - Deutsch, versehen mit einer ausführlichen Einführung, unter der Leitung von Hazrat Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, Ahmadiyya-Mission des Islams, Zürich und Hamburg, O. Harrassowitz Wiesbaden 1954.

Published by the Qadian Ahmadiyya movement, the translator's name is not known. According to verbal information it might have been a German Orientalist by the name of Dr. Curt Tiltack, who in the 1950s had associated himself with the Ahmadiyya community at Hamburg. However the Ahmadiyya Centre at Zurich, Switzerland has rejected this claim and instead says the translation had been undertaken by a firm in England and revised by Nasir Ahmad.<sup>2</sup>

This is the second translation of the Qur'an into German published together alongside the Arabic text. Both the introduction and notes at the end of the book clearly reflect the teachings of the Qadian Ahmadiyya-Movements, and so does the translation at some places. Some of the later editions are without the 153-page-long introduction.

**14. PARET**, Rudi: Der Koran, Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz 1963.

Hamidullah's information about "Wiesbaden" as the place of publication<sup>3</sup> cannot be verified. Similarly Binark and Eren's year of

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Goldschmidt, p. 8 *sūrah* 2:7 "Gläubige" in place of "Gläubigen".

<sup>2</sup> *Der Islam*, no. 63, Zurich Sept. 1997, pp 42-43.

<sup>3</sup> Hamidullah 1973, p. XLVII, no. 44 a.

publication, 1962,<sup>1</sup> is apparently incorrect. Furthermore Binark and Eren<sup>2</sup> have a later edition as coming from "Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 1975." This is not however an edition of the translation, but a collection of essays by various Orientalists on the Qur'an and Qur'anic studies, edited by Paret, being volume 326 of a series "Wege der Forschung."

Rudi Paret (1901-1983) may be described as the leading German scholar in Arabic studies during the second half of the 20th century, when he used to teach at Tübingen University. His translation of the Qur'an was followed by a second volume *Concordance and Commentary*, in which he collected more background material on various Qur'anic *āyahs* than any other German translator before him. With this he established his unrivalled and lasting reputation amongst his Orientalist colleagues. Much of this is digestible only to the specialist, and also in his translation he has often not decided, how to render a certain expression in German and instead added an alternative in brackets with a question mark. At other places explanatory additions have been included, again in brackets. Thus the text becomes very difficult to read and understand. Also his concepts and choice of words is not free from Christian influence, when e.g. to translate *mushrik* he uses the term "heathen", a term which he also employs at the same time for *ummi*, as well as *jāhiliyya* as well as *al-ahzāb*.

### **First complete translation of the Qur'an into German directly from Arabic by an Arab Muslim**

**15. RASSOUL**, Muhammad Ahmad: Die ungefähre Bedeutung des Qur'an Karim in deutscher Sprache. Von Abu-r-Rida Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Rassoul, Islamische Bibliothek, Köln 1986.

This is the first complete translation of the Qur'an into German by a Sunni Muslim. Muhammad Ahmad Rassoul is a Muslim from Egypt residing in Germany. In view of the understanding that the Qur'an cannot adequately be translated, he called his work *The approximate meaning of Qur'an Karim into German*. Nevertheless he intended to provide a reliable translation. However it is obvious that he borrowed much from earlier German translations, as can easily be seen by comparison.

**16. KHOURY**, Adel Theodor: Der Koran. Übersetzung von Adel

<sup>1</sup> Binark and Eren, no. 814/25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*: no. 818/29.

Theodor Khoury. Unter Mitwirkung von Muhammad Salim Abdullah, Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn (GTB 783), Gütersloh 1987.

Adel Theodor Khoury from Lebanon is a Roman Catholic priest and former professor of theology at Münster University, having specialized in the field of Christian-Muslim dialogue. His translation of the Qur'an is fluent and easily readable, but otherwise does not differ much from Paret and sometimes borrows from him. It is not exactly clear what was the contribution of Muhammad Salim Abdullah, a German Muslim journalist, unfamiliar with the Arabic language. One could only guess that the indication of his cooperation was obviously to make the translation appear an endeavour in Christian-Muslim dialogue and perhaps to also make it acceptable not only to Christian but also to Muslim readers.

Based on this translation, Khoury has later brought out another edition enlarged to 12 volumes by adding a "scientific commentary", which is clearly coloured by a Christian perspective. This may be seen in the commentary on the last verse of *sūrah* al-Fātiḥah, in which according to classical Muslim commentators Christians are referred to and censured, while Khoury prefers to emphasize a rare view not conveying this interpretation.

### **First complete translation of the Qur'an into German directly from the Arabic by a German Muslim**

**17. DENFFER**, Ahmad v(on): Der Koran. Die Heilige Schrift des Islam in deutscher Übertragung mit Erläuterungen nach den Kommentaren von Dschalalain, Tabari und anderen hervorragenden Koranauslegern, Da'wah Academy International Islamic University Islamabad und Islamisches Zentrum München, Islamabad und München 1996.

Since this is my own translation, I shall restrict my comments to a few remarks. It is the first complete translation of the Qur'an directly from the Arabic into German by a Muslim whose mother-tongue is German. In its introduction of 44 pages the background and methodology of the translation have been explained. Special emphasis has been given to appropriate mode of expression in German while remaining as close as possible to the Arabic original, even with regards to the structure of phrases. Concise explanatory notes, where necessary, have been added and are based on the *tafsir* works of al-Jalālayn, al-Ṭabarī and other classical commentators with the exclusion of controversial opinions.

### First complete translation of the Qur'an into German with extensive annotation

**18. SKD BAVARIA** Verlag und Handel GmbH: Die Bedeutung des Korans, Text und Kommentar, München 1996.

This is the continuation and completion of the work listed in the bibliography below under "Anonymous (Heeren-Sarka, Fatima)." The translation was initiated by Fatima Heeren-Sarka, a German who had embraced Islam and in the 1970s was the secretary of the Islamic Centre Munich. She originally intended to publish a German version of Abdullah Yusuf Ali's English translation.<sup>1</sup> This work was continued by her and a team of collaborators and published in various parts and in somewhat unsystematic and irregular order from 1983 to 1996 and finally brought together in five bound volumes. For further bibliographical details see below. Explanatory notes were not restricted to Abdullah Yusuf Ali, but also included other English translations, in particular those of Maududi and Asad. Later on references were also made to the Arabic *tafsir* of Sayyid Qutb and occasionally to some other sources. The translation itself continued to reflect Abdullah Yusuf Ali's work.

This publication is the largest ever literary work undertaken by Muslims in Germany so far. It includes the Arabic text with the translation. The explanatory notes assist to grasp better the meaning of difficult passages. As is to be expected in a work of this size, it does contain a large number of mistakes, which unfortunately have not been corrected and thus carried on into further editions.

**19. ARABISCHE REPUBLIK ÄGYPTEN.** Al-Azhar. Ministerium für Awqaf. Oberster Rat für Islamische Angelegenheiten: Al-Muntakhab. Auswahl aus den Interpretationen des Heiligen Koran Arabisch - Deutsch, Kairo 1420/1999.

To promote a better understanding of the Qur'an, the Egyptian High Council for Islamic Affairs has selected a simplified interpretation of the Qur'an known under the title of *al-Muntakhab* (*The Select*). On this the translation into German by Dr. Moustafa Maher, Professor of German language at Ain-Shams University is based. Language revision was undertaken by Mrs. Elsa Maher and final revision was done by Ali Huber.

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<sup>1</sup> See HKD: Mushaf Bafariya Munich (1983), no pag (p. IV). Binark and Eren have the same information, see no. 860/71.

The volume includes a German translation of the Qur'an together with the Arabic text, while all explanatory notes from the original *al-Muntakhab* have been reproduced in Arabic only without translation. Occasionally what is contained in these notes has been incorporated into the actual translation, however, at times, without properly identifying it. The publication is therefore only of limited value for the German reader. The German style is still influenced by old biblical language.

**20. ZAIDAN**, Amir M.A.: at-Tafsir: eine philologisch, islamologisch fundierte Erläuterung des Quran-Textes, ADIB Verlag, Offenbach, 2000.

Amir Zaidan, Muslim from Syria living in Germany, felt the urge to introduce a new Islamically sound terminology into German and in view of this also the need for a fresh interpretation of the Qur'an. However without having grasped the depths of the German language, he was unable to do justice to such an ambitious project. Therefore his rendering of the Qur'an into German is in many instances hardly comprehensible to the reader. In addition to that at a number of places it is unreasonable, inconsistent with his own approach or simply wrong.<sup>1</sup>

### III. An Annotated Bibliography of Both Partial and Complete Translations of the Qur'an into German

Partial translations are indicated by (A) before the translator's name, while complete translations are preceded by numbers and translators' names are in capital letters.

#### *16th century*

**(A) Rickel**, Dionysius von: Alchoran. Das ist des Mahometischen Gesatzbuchs und Türckischen Aberglaubens ynnhalt und ablänung, Hans Schott, Straßburg 1540.

**(A) Luther**, Martin (Transl.): Verlegung des Alcoran, Bruder Richardi, prediger Ordens Anno 1300, verdeuscht durch D. Mar Lu, Lufft, Wittenberg 1542.

German and Latin text also to be found in:

<sup>1</sup> Compare his translation of *sūrah* 3:93 with what he explains on pp. 15-16 of his preface.

D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Bd. 53, Weimar 1920, p. 261-396; Ehmann, Johannes: Ricoldus de Montecrucis, Confutatio Alcorani (1300). Martin Luther, Verlegung des Alcoran (1542). Kommentierte lateinisch-deutsche Textausgabe, Würzburg 1999.

### *17th century*

**(A) Leuchter**, Henr.: Alcoranus Mahometicus oder Türckenglaub auss d. Mahomets Alcoran und s. azoaris in ein Compendium gebracht ..., Johan Hartman, Frankfurt a.M. 1604, Alcoranus Mahomedicus oder Türckenglaub, aus Mahomets eygenem Buch und seinen Azoaris in ein Compendium gebracht ...Frankfurt a.M. 1611.

**(A) Schweigger**, Salomon: Alcoranus Mahometicus, Das ist der Türken Alcoran, Religion und Aberglauben ... Erstlich auß der Arabischen in die Italianische: Jetzt aber inn die Teutsche Sprach gebracht. Durch Herrn Salomon Schweiggern ... Inn dreyen unterschiedlichen Theilen ...  
Simon Halbmayern, Nürnberg 1616  
Simon Halbmayern, Nürnberg 1623

**(A) Endter**, Johann Andreas und Wolffgang: Al-Koranum Mahumedanum, Das ist Deer Türcken Religion ... Darnach die Gesetz und Ceremonien des Alkorans ... In Verlegung Johann Andreas und Wolffgang Endters des Jüngerer seel.  
Erben, Nürnberg 1659  
Nürnberg 1664

**(A) Schuster**, David: Mahomets und Türcken Grewel ... 5 Teile in 1 Bd., Johann Baptist Schönwetter, Franckfurt 1664.

**1. LANGE**, J(ohann): Vollständiges Türkisches Gesetz-Buch. Oder Des Ertz-betrigers Mahomets Alkoran. Welcher vorhin nimmer vollkommen herausgegeben noch im Druck außgefertigt worden. Aus der Arabischen in die Französische Sprach übergesezet Durch Herrn Du Ryer. Aus Dieser aber in die Niederländische durch H.J. Glasemacker<sup>1</sup> Und jetzo Zum allerersten mahl in die Hochteutsche Sprache versezet Durch Johan Lange, Medicinae Candidatum. Hamburg 1688.

For more information see section II. above.

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<sup>1</sup> Some authors, such as Binark and Eren, following Hamidullah, have "Blasemacker" instead, but the correct name is "Glasemacker".

**18th century**

**2. NERRETER**, David: David Nerreters Neu eröffnete Mahometanische Moschea, worinn ... Fürs andre, Der völlige Alkoran, Nach der besten Edition Ludovici Marraccii verteutscht und kürzlich widerlegt wird, Wolfgang Moritz Endters, Nürnberg, 1703.

For more information see section II. above.

**3. FASSMANN**, David: Der auf Ordre und Kosten seines Kayzers, reisende Chineser, was er von dem Zustand ... derer Europäischen Lande ... Bericht erstattet, Wolfgang Deer, Leipzig 1721-1723, Leipzig 1727-33.

For more information see section II. above.

**4. ARNOLD**, Theodor: Der Koran, oder insgesamt so genannte Alcoran des Mohammeds, unmittelbahr aus dem Arabischen Original in das Englische übersetzt und mit beygefügt, aus den bewährtesten Commentatoribus genommenen Erklärungs-Noten, Wie auch einer Vorläufigen Einleitung versehen Von George Sale, Gent. Aufs treulichste wieder ins Teutsche verdollmetschet Von Theodor Arnold, Johann Heinrich Meyer, Lemgo, 1746.

Also in Microfiche, Bibliothek der deutschen Literatur, Saur, München 1990-94.

For more information see section II. above.

**5. MEGERLIN**, David Friederich: Die türkische Bibel, oder des Korans allererste teutsche Uebersetzung aus der Arabischen Urschrift selbst verfertigt: welcher Nothwendigkeit und Nutzbarkeit in einer besondern Ankündigung hier erwiesen von M. David vid Friederich Megerlin, Professor. Johann Gottlieb Garbe, Franckfurt am Mayn, 1772.

For more information see section II. above.

**(A) Goethe**, Johann Wolfgang: (Notes) 1772?

Hamidullah mentions *West-Östlicher Divan*<sup>1</sup>, but this is incorrect. This collection of poems by Goethe has no translations from the Qur'an. However Goethe has translated for himself 19 *āyahs* and kept them as notes. He translated some of them from the Latin version of Marraccius

<sup>1</sup> Hamidullah, p. XLV, no. 13.

and partially modified some excerpts from Megerlin. While these were never published during Goethe's life-time, they are included in the volume of his collected works.<sup>1</sup>

**6. BOYSEN**, Friedrich Eberhard: Der Koran, oder Das Gesetz für die Muselmänner, durch Muhammed den Sohn Abdall. Nebst einigen feyerlichen Koranischen Gebeten, unmittelbar aus dem Arabischen übersetzt, mit Anmerkungen und einem Register versehen, und auf Verlangen herausgegeben von Friedrich Eberhard Boysen, J.J. Gebauers Wittwe und Joh. Jac. Gebauer, Halle 1773  
Zweyte verbesserte Ausgabe Halle 1775  
(3. edition 1828, see Wahl)

For more information see section II. above.

**(A) Berisch**, Heinrich Wolfgang: Der Koran oder Monologen der Vernunft ..., C.G. Hilscher Leipzig 1776.

This title is listed by Binark and Eren with the surname misspelled as "Berish".<sup>2</sup> I have been as yet unable to see this publication myself, and I doubt that it has been located by many other researchers. The date of publication according to other sources is 1775.<sup>3</sup>

**(A) Haller**, August Wilhelm: Mochameds Lehre aus dem Kor'an gezogen. Altenberg(e) 1779.

Muhammad Hamidullah lists this publication. Its title does not clearly state whether or not it contains selected passages from the Qur'an in translation, and I was unable to see a copy of it myself so far.

**(A) Augusti**, Joh(ann) Christian Wilhelm: Der kleine Koran oder Uebersetzung der wichtigsten und lehrreichsten Stücke des Koran's, mit kurzen Anmerkungen. Zur richtigen Kenntniss und Beurtheilung der von Muhamed gestifteten Religion von Joh(ann) Christian Wilh(elm) Augusti, F. Severin, Weissenfels und Leipzig 1798.<sup>4</sup>

Contains various passages in verse and prose.

<sup>1</sup> *Goethes Werke*, WA I, 431-32; WA I, 143-47. See also Denffer von, Ahmad: Der Islam und Goethe, in *Al-Islam*, no. 1/1990, p. 23, where all these *āyahs* have been reproduced.

<sup>2</sup> Binark and Eren, no. 857/68.

<sup>3</sup> *Deutscher Biographischer Index*, I, 87 (pp. 396-398).

<sup>4</sup> No information on place and year of publication given in Pfannmüller p. 210.

### 19th century

**(A) Yusuf der Uebersetzer** (Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall) Proben einer neuen Übersetzung des Korans in deutschen Reimen, in: Neuer Deutscher Merkur, Weimar u. Leipzig 1807, S. 77; and in: Prometheus, eine Zeitschrift, Hg.: Leo von Senckendorf, Jos. Ludw. Stol, Wien 1808, No. 4.

Sezgin provides the following corrections in his supplement; “(Correct., before under von Hammer:) Jusuf, der Übersetzer (i.e.. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall): Proben einer metrischen und gereimten Übersetzung des Corans, (2.) Continued in: Der neue teutsche Merkur (Weimar, Leipzig) (correct.:) 1807, 2 S. 77-81; 1808, 3 p. 109-110. (The 1., 82. and 112. *sūrah*).”<sup>1</sup> Binark and Eren do not have “Neuer deutscher Merkur.”<sup>2</sup> Muhammad Hamidullah’s indication “Wien (?), 1807-1834”<sup>3</sup> is not clear.

**(A) Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph v.:** Die letzten 40 Suren des Korans als eine Probe einer gereimten Übersetzung desselben, in: Fundgruben des Orients, Jg. 2.1811, S. 25-46, 336-358; Jg. 3.1812 S. 231-261; Jg. 4.1814 S. 68-86, 100-105, Wien 1811-14.

The bibliographical information for the various parts of the selected passages translated from the Qur’an by Hammer-Purgstall is at times imprecise. In vol. IV of “Fundgruben des Orients” the heading is, other than the one provided by Hamidullah, actually “Probe einer Übersetzung des Korans, von H. Joseph von Hammer (Fortsetzung zu S. 261 des III. Bandes)”. Hamidullah’s indication of pages is however correct, i.e. part 1, p. 68-86; part 2, p. 100-105.<sup>4</sup>

Hammer-Purgstall’s translation does not include, with few exceptions, complete *sūrahs*. Instead he has selected short passages from here and there, e.g. he translates *sūrah* 37: 40-63, followed by *sūrah* 38: 32-42, then *sūrah* 39:70-75 etc.

(Rosenzweig-Schwannau, V. v.: Vier Worte aus vier Büchern, Tora, Psalter, Evangelium, Koran, in: Fundgruben des Orients, Wien 1812, Jg. 4, S. 237. Hamidullah<sup>5</sup> erroneously puts it as “Ronsenzweig”. The

<sup>1</sup> Sezgin, Nachtrag, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Binark and Eren, no. 866/77.

<sup>3</sup> Hamidullah 1973, p. XLV, no. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Fundgruben des Orients*, Wien 1814, vol. IV.

<sup>5</sup> Hamidullah 1973, p. XLV, no. 12.

author's correct name is "Rosenzweig, Vinzenz von." In spite of the title, this is no translation of the Qur'an, but only one fictitious sentence said to be of Qur'anic origin. Apparently Hamidullah has taken this information from Chauvin without checking the original source, and similarly Chauvin could have very well taken it from the list of contents of the "Fundgrube", without actually looking at it himself. This is a good example of how injudiciousness may lead to long lasting errors.

**(A) Hirzel**, Conrad Melchior: Die heiligen Propheten. Aufruf für die Befreyung des Griechenlands aus dem Worte Gottes enthoben von Conr. Melchior Hirzel, zweite durch Beläge aus dem Koran vervollständigte Auflage, Zürich 1822.

In this case Hamidullah<sup>1</sup> quotes an incomplete name and title, pointing to Chauvin, and Binark-Eren<sup>2</sup> follows him in that, although Chauvin has it complete!<sup>3</sup>

**(A) Rückert**, Friedrich: Specimen, in: Frauentaschenbuch 1824.

This source is listed by Hamidullah.<sup>4</sup> I have not seen it so far.

**7. WAHL**, Samuel Friedrich Günther: Der Koran oder Das Gesetz der Moslemen durch Muhammed den Sohn Abdallahs. Auf den Grund der vormaligen Verdeutschung F.E. Boysen's von neuem aus dem Arabischen übersetzt, durchaus mit erläuternden Anmerkungen, mit einer historischen Einleitung, auch einem vollständigen Register versehen von Dr. Samuel Friedrich Günther Wahl, Gebauersche Buchhandlung, Halle 1828.

For more information see section II. above.

**(A) Zschokke**, H.: Die biblischen Frauen des Alten Testaments, Freiburg i. B. 1828.

This is supposed to include a few passages from the Qur'an. I have not seen it so far.

**(A) Hammer-Purgstall**, Joseph v.: Die 55te Sura des Korans, in: Wiener Zeitschrift fuer Kunst, Litteratur, Theater und Mode, Hg. Johann

<sup>1</sup> Hamidullah 1973, p. XLV, no. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Binark and Eren, no. 869/80.

<sup>3</sup> Chauvin vol. X, p. 97 note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Hamidullah 1973, p. XLV, no. 15.

Schickh, Wien 1834.

**8. ULLMANN**, Ludwig: Der Koran. Aus dem Arabischen wortgetreu neu übersetzt und mit erläuternden Anmerkungen versehen, von Dr. L. Ullmann, J.H. Funcke'sche Buchhandlung, Crefeld 1840.

For more information see section II. above.

- 2. ed. Crefeld 1842,  
Verlag von Velhagen und Klasing
- 3. ed. Bielefeld 1844
- 3. ed. Bielefeld 1850
- 3. ed. Bielefeld 1853
- 4. ed. Bielefeld 1857
- 5. ed. Bielefeld 1865
- 6. ed. Bielefeld u. Leipzig 1872
- 7. ed. Bielefeld u. Leipzig 1877
- 8. ed. Bielefeld u. Leipzig 1881
- 9. ed. Bielefeld u. Leipzig 1897

There seems to be some confusion regarding the counting of editions, in particular the 3rd edition. Since I have not seen all of them, I cannot clarify the matter.

Some excerpts are found in: Rückert, Friedrich - Ludwig Ullmann: Mohammed. Die Stimme des Propheten aus dem Koran, Hg.: Wolfgang Kraus, Prachner, Wien, Stuttgart n. d. (1955), Diogenes Verlag (detebe Klassiker 21551), Zürich 1987.

Die Stimme des Propheten: Mohammed, Vorwort, hrsg. und aus d. Koran ausgewählt von Kraus, Wolfgang, Diogenes (Kleine detebe 70052), Zürich 1996.

Revised editions appeared during the second half of the 20th century: Der Koran neu bearbeitet durch Leo W. Winter, Goldmann Verlag München 1958.

This is Sezgin's information.<sup>1</sup> However the year of publication 1958 seems incorrect and apparently the first revised edition is the one from 1959 below:

Der Koran. Das heilige Buch des Islam.

<sup>1</sup> Sezgin, p. 327.

Nach der Übertragung von Ludwig Ullmann neu bearbeitet und erläutert  
von Leo Winter, Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag (Goldmanns gelbe  
Taschenbücher 521/522)  
München 1959

(Goldmanns Liebhaberausgaben)

München 1959

Leo W. Winter

2. ed. München 1960

3. ed. München 1962

...

9. ed. München 1981

Leo W. Winter

(paperback editions)

4. ed. München 1964

(? ed.) München 1968

5. ed. München (?)

6. ed. München (?)

7. ed. München 1972

(8. ed.) München 1974

9. ed. München 1976

10. ed. München 1977

11. ed. München 1978

12. ed. München 1979

13. ed. München 1982

München 1986 (Goldmann Taschenbuch 8613)

...

München 1998

Der Koran. Das Heilige Buch des Islam, Orbis Verlag,

München 1993

München 1999.

(Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph v.: Zeitwarte des Gebets in sieben  
Tageszeiten. Ein Gebetbuch arabisch und deutsch. Herausgegeben von  
Hammer-Purgstall, A. Strauss Wwe. und Sommer, Wien 1844.

Enay describes this work as a collection of various Qur'anic passages,  
though with divergent numbering and thus, "except for Zenker, no  
biographer up to now proved this Zeitwarte to really be a partial edition

of the Koran and - what is more - a new translation.”<sup>1</sup> However this is incorrect. In fact this work is a collection of a number of words of praise and prayer from collections of Hadith and from various other sources, none indicated, with very few occasionally interspersed phrases from the Qur’an, sometimes even only as partial quotations).

**(A) Daumer, Georg Friedrich:** Mahomed und sein Werk. Eine Sammlung orientalischer Gedichte. Von G. Fr. Daumer, Hoffmann und Campe Hamburg, 1848.

Contains translations from *sūrah*s 2, 6, 11, 25, 33, 41, 44, 59, 61, 112 on pp. 53-124 with notes on pp. 339-347.

**(A) Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph v.:** Das letzte Viertelhundert der Suren des Korans, in: Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph v.: Literaturgeschichte der Araber, Bd. I, S. 398-406, Wien 1850.

Again there is confusion regarding Hammer-Purgstall. Hamidullah has erroneously cited *History of the Arabs* as source instead of *Literary History of the Arabs*.<sup>2</sup> Binark and Eren add to the confusion by citing as source “Literaturgeschichte der Araber 7 vol. (n. p.) 1850-1856”<sup>3</sup> without specifying in which of the seven volumes this work is to be found. The place of publication on the other hand is well known to be Vienna (Wien).

Following Hamidullah,<sup>4</sup> Binark and Eren<sup>5</sup> as well as Sezgin<sup>6</sup> list separately the following work, which is in fact only a selection from Hammer-Purgstall as above:

**(A) Jolowicz, Heimann:** Polyglotte der orientalischen Poesie. In metrischer Übersetzung deutscher Dichter mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen, Leipzig 1853, 2nd edition with the title: Der poetische Orient. Enthaltend die vorzüglichen Dichtungen der Afghanen, Araber, Armenier, Chinesen, Hebräer etc., (Leipzig) 1855.

It is supposed to contain translations of *sūrah*s 99-104, and 109 on

<sup>1</sup> Enay, no. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Hamidullah, p. XLV, no. 11 d).

<sup>3</sup> Binark and Eren, no. 864/75.

<sup>4</sup> Hamidullah 1973, p. XLVI, no. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Binark and Eren, no. 817/82.

<sup>6</sup> Sezgin, p. 325.

pp. 323-374. However Chauvin writes: "Jolowicz, Polyglotte der or. Poesie 1856 reproduces the numbers 2, 6, 11, 25, 33, 41, 44, 59 and 61 as well as p. 241 (*sūrah* 112)." <sup>1</sup>

As I have not yet seen this work, I cannot provide more information.

**(A) Sprenger**, Alois: Das Leben und die Lehre Muhammeds 3 vols., Berlin 1861-65, 2nd edition 1869.

Contains a selection of passages translated from the Qur'an, see vol. III, p. XVIII-LIV. On pp. 591-599 there is a list of all Qur'anic passages translated in this work.

**(A) Blumenau**, S.: Gott und der Mensch, in Aussprüchen der Bibel alten und neuen Testaments, des Talmuds und des Koran, A. Helmich, Bielefeld 1876.

According to Chauvin, it contains some selected passages from the Qur'an in translation. <sup>2</sup>

**(A) Rückert**, Friedrich: Der Koran. Im Auszuge übersetzt von Friedrich Rückert, herausgegeben von August Müller, J.D. Sauerländers Verlag, Frankfurt a.M., 1888

reprint Olms Verlag, Hildesheim 1980

Mikrofiche edition in: Bibliothek der deutschen Literatur, Saur, München 1990-94.

Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866) from Hildburghausen studied at Jena University and spent some time with Hammer-Purgstall in Vienna, where he learnt oriental languages. He is also known as a poet and became professor of oriental studies at Erlangen University in 1826, from where he later moved to Berlin University and finally retired at Coburg.

In his translation he attempted to express the rhythm, rhyme and poetic style of the Qur'an in German and he has often been praised for his achievement. Naturally his approach at times led him away from the literal meaning, and a good number of the expressions employed are not common in contemporary German any longer.

Selections from the above appear in:

Hartmann, Martin: Der Islam. Ein Handbuch, Rudolf Haupt, Leipzig

<sup>1</sup> Chauvin, vol. X, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*: 97 note 1.

1909, pp. 17-31.

Aus dem Koran. Die Offenbarungen des Propheten Muhammad ibn Abdallah. Eingeleitet und ausgewählt von Ernst Zbinden, (Vom Dauernden in der Zeit 65), W. Classen, Zürich 1953.

Rückert, Friedrich und Ludwig Ullmann: Mohammed. Die Stimme des Propheten. Aus dem Koran von Mohammed, Hg.: Wolfgang Kraus, Prachner Wien, Stuttgart n.d. (1955).

revised new ed., Diogenes Verlag (detebe Klassiker 21551), Zürich 1987.

Die Stimme des Propheten: Mohammed, Vorwort, hrsg. und aus d. Koran ausgewählt von Kraus, Wolfgang, Diogenes (Kleine detebe 70052), Zürich 1996.

Der Koran. Entwurf einer aktualisierten Edition der Rückertschen Koran-Nachdichtung, Vorwort und Anm. von August Müller, August. Hrsg. und aktualis. von Peter Bieleke, Aus d. Arab. von Friedrich Rückert, Bieleke Verlag (1995?).

Der Koran: in der Übersetzung von Friedrich Rückert / hrsg. von Hartmut Bobzin. Mit erklärenden Anm. von Wolfdietrich Fischer, Ergon Verlag, Würzburg 1995.

2. ed., Würzburg 1996.

3. rev. ed., Würzburg 2000.

Hamidullah points to a revised edition by Prof. Annemarie Schimmel, Stuttgart 1960.<sup>1</sup> However this is incorrect and refers to the translation by Max Henning below.

**(A) Klamroth**, Martin: Die fünfzig ältesten Suren des Korans in gereimter deutscher Übersetzung. Mit einem Anhang über die übrigen mekkanischen Suren. Von Martin Klamroth, Herold's Verlag, Hamburg, 1890.

Vollers, Karl: Koran-Suren mit der Übersetzung Klamroth's und Erläuterungen, in: Baensch-Drugulin, J.v. (Hg.): Marksteine aus der Weltliteratur in Originalschriften, Leipzig 1902, Bd. II, pp. 1-7.

Contains several *sūrah*s in translation which Rückert has not included in his selection.

**(A) Grimme**, Hubert: Mohammed, 2 vols., Aschendorff, Münster 1892-1895.

A list of the selected translated passages is to be found in vol. 2, pp. 176-180. Short selection also in:

<sup>1</sup> Hamidullah, 1963, p. XLVII, no. 20 b.

Grimme, Hubert: Mohammed (Weltgeschichte in Charakterbildern), Kirchheim'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München 1904, pp. 90-91.

Separate collection of all passages selected by Grimme in:

Grimme, Hubert: Der Koran, ausgewählt, angeordnet und im Metrum des Originals übertragen, (Dokumente der Religion, VIII), Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn 1923.

**(A) Warren, William F.:** Rhyme and Rythm in the Koran, in: Open Court, La Salle, Illinois, Bd. XIII, No. 11, November 1899, pp. 641-43.

Contains German translation of *sūrah*s 113 and 114 according to Muhammad Hamidullah.<sup>1</sup>

### *20th century*

**9. GRIGULL, Theodor Fr.:** Der Koran. Aus dem Arabischen für die "Bibliothek der Gesamtliteratur" neu übersetzt von Theodor Fr. Grigull, Otto Hendel, (Bibliothek der Gesamt-Literatur No. 1501-1507) Halle a. S., 1901

2. ed. Halle (1924)

2. ed. Berlin n.d. (1924).

For more information see section II. above.

**10. HENNING, Max:** Der Koran. Aus dem Arabischen übertragen und mit einer Einleitung versehen von Max Henning, Leipzig, Phil. Reclam jun., (Reclams Universal-Bibliothek No. 4206-4210), Leipzig n.d. (1901)

For more information see section II. above.

Further editions:

Der Koran. Aus dem Arabischen übertragen von Max Henning. Einleitung und Anmerkungen von Annemarie Schimmel, Philipp Reclam Jun., Stuttgart 1960

Stuttgart 1962

Stuttgart 1963

Stuttgart 1966

Stuttgart 1973

Stuttgart 1974

Stuttgart 1976

(8. ed.) Stuttgart 1979

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<sup>1</sup> Hamidullah 1973, XLVI, no. 24.

Stuttgart 1984

Stuttgart 1991

Stuttgart 1996

Stuttgart 1996 (bound edition)

Stuttgart 1998 (Reclams Universal Bibliothek 4206)

Ungekürzte Buchgemeinschafts-Lizenzausgabe Dt.

Bücherbund/Bertelsmann, München 1991.

Der Koran. Aus dem Arabischen. Übersetzung von Max Henning. Einleitung von Ernst Werner und Kurt Rudolph. Textdurchsicht, Anmerkungen, Register von Kurt Rudolph, Philipp Reclam Jun., (Reclam's Universal-Bibliothek Bd 351).

Leipzig n.d. (1965)

2. ed. Leipzig 1968<sup>1</sup>

3. ed. Leipzig 1974<sup>2</sup>

Leipzig 1979

New print VMA(=Vertriebsgesellschaft Modernes Antiquariat), Wiesbaden 1979

4. ed. Leipzig 1980

5. ed. Leipzig 1983

(6. ed.), Leipzig 1984

VMA, Wiesbaden n.d. (ca. 1985)

7. ed. Leipzig 1989.

Der Gnadenreiche Koran (Kur'an-i Kerim). Originaltext mit deutscher Übersetzung, Türkisch-Islamische Union der Anstalt für Religion e.V. Köln, Redaktion und Gesamtkonzeption H. Achmed Schmiede. Editions Vorbereitung Halil Öztürk,

Ankara 1991

Ankara 1999

Der Koran - Das heilige Buch des Islam - Aus dem Arabischen von Max Henning. Überarbeitung und Einleitung von Murad Wilfried Hofmann, Cagri Yayinlari, Istanbul 1998.

Revised and introduction by Murad Wilfried Hofmann.

<sup>1</sup> According to Binark and Eren the 2nd edition was published in 1970, see no. 805/16.

<sup>2</sup> According to Binark and Eren the 3rd edition did not carry the year of publication, see no. 806/17.

Der Koran arabisch-deutsch. Aus dem Arabischen von Max Henning. Überarbeitung und Einleitung von Murad Wilfried Hofmann, Cagri Yayinlari, Istanbul 1998

As above, including Arabic text in Turkish style of writing.

Der Koran. Das heilige Buch des Islam. Aus dem Arabischen von Max Henning.

Überarbeitet und herausgegeben von Murad Wilfried Hofmann, Hugendubel (Diederichs), Kreuzlingen/ München 1999.

**(A) Bischoff**, Erich: Der Koran. Von Erich Bischoff, Th. Grieben, (Morgenländische Bücherei Bd. 4), Leipzig, 1904.

According to Binark and Eren, the author's first name is Ernst.<sup>1</sup> Pfannmüller describes it as "a superficial piece of work."<sup>2</sup>

**(A) Anonymus**: Der Koran, Grundzüge der Mohammedanischen Lehre, Leipzig 1904  
Leipzig 1924.

According to Hamidullah it is part of the series "Miniatur Bibliothek No. 4",<sup>3</sup> while Binark and Eren have it as "Miniaturbibliothek No. 635".<sup>4</sup>

**(A) Fischer**, A.: Zu Sura 101, F.A. Brockhaus, Leipzig 1906.

On *sūrah* 101.

**(A) Mittwoch**, Eugen: Auswahl, in: Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin 1906, Bd. IX, pp. 111-147.

This concerns Amharic translations of the Qur'an, partially rendered into German.<sup>5</sup>

**(A) Bertholet**, A.: Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch. In Verbindung mit Wilhelm Gruba (u.a.), Mohr, Tübingen 1908.

Some selected passages from the Qur'an in German translation on pp. 361-379.

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<sup>1</sup> Binark and Eren, no. 858/69.

<sup>2</sup> Pfannmüller, p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> Hamidullah 1973, p. XLVI, no. 27.

<sup>4</sup> Binark and Eren, no. 848/59 and no. 849/60.

<sup>5</sup> Hamidullah 1973, p. XLVII, no. 29.

**(A) Harder, Ernst:** Der Koran. In Auswahl herausgegeben von Ernst Harder, Insel Verlag (Insel-Bücherei No. 172) Leipzig n.d. (1915),  
2. ed. Leipzig n.d. (1919)  
3. ed. Leipzig n.d. (1921).

Most of the translations are from Rückert, some from Ullmann as stated on p. 72.

**(A) Hell, Joseph:** Die Religion des Islam, I. Von Mohammed bis Ghazali. Aus den Grundwerken übersetzt und eingeleitet von Joseph Hell, Eugen Diederichs, (Religiöse Stimmen der Völker. Herausgegeben v. Walter Otto) Jena 1915.

Von Mohammed bis Ghazali. Quellentexte aus dem Arabischen übersetzt und eingeleitet von Joseph Hell, Eugen Diederichs, (Religiöse Stimmen der Völker. Die Religion des Islam, I) (2. ed.), Jena 1923.

Selection of some translated passages on pp. 3-25.

**(A) Katircoglu** see Katirdschoglu

**First translation of selections from the Qur'an into German by a Muslim**

**(A) Katirdschoglu, Mahmud Mukhtar Pascha:** Die Welt des Islam im Lichte des Koran und (der) Hadith von Mahmud Mukhtar Pascha Katirdschoglu, (Deutsche Orientbücherei Bd. 1), Gustav Kiepenheuer, Weimar 1915.

Mahmud Mukhtar Pasha was a Turkish general and ambassador of the Ottoman Empire in Berlin. This is the first ever translation by a Muslim of selected passages from the Qur'an into German, containing "rich material in good translation."<sup>1</sup> The translator made special effort to consider the needs and opinions of a non-Muslim readership to the extent of preferring to use "God" in the translation, where the Arabic has "Allah". His translation appears successful in most cases.

**(A) Mahmud Muchtar Pasha** see Katirdschoglu

**11. GOLDSCHMIDT, L(azarus):** Der Koran aus dem Urtext wortgetreu übertragen, Kittl, Berlin 1916.

<sup>1</sup> Pfannmüller, p. 219.

For more information see section II. above.

Der Koran. El Koran das heisst Die Lesung. Die Offenbarungen des Mohammed Ibn Abdallah des Propheten Gottes. Zur Schrift gebracht durch Abdelkaaba Abdallah Abu-Bekr, übertragen durch Lazarus Goldschmidt im Jahre der Flucht 1334 oder 1916 der Fleischwerdung, Brandussche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Berlin n.d. (1917),

Berlin 1920 (?),

Brandus, Berlin n.d. (1923),

(3. ed.) Berlin n.d. (1923).

Julius Kittls Nachfolger als Lizenzausgabe der Brandus'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung in Berlin, Leipzig - M.-Ostrau n.d. (1935 or 1937-38?).

Enay suggests the correct date to be 1937, but his explanation is not fully convincing.<sup>1</sup>

Sezgin has a serious mistake as far as the place of publication is concerned: "3. Ausg. u. d. T.: El Koran, das heißt Die Lesung. Die Offenbarung des Mohammed. München-Ostrau: Kittl 1935" <sup>2</sup>. The abbreviation "M.-Ostrau" does not stand for "München-Ostrau" ("Munich-Ostrau") - such a place does not exist - but for Mährisch-Ostrau, which is located in Moravia, nowadays Czech Republic.

Meco Buchproduktion, Dreieich 1993

Lizenzausgabe für Fourier Verlag GmbH, Wiesbaden 1993

Fourier Verlag

2. ed. 1995

Der Koran. Die Offenbarung des Mohamed Ibn Abdallah des Propheten Gottes, Bechtermünz Verlag, Augsburg (1997)

Der Koran. Die Offenbarung des Mohamed Ibn Abdallah des Propheten Gottes, Verlag Komet, Frechen (?) 2000

**(A) Lehmann**, Edv. und Hans Haas (Hg.): Textbuch zur Religionsgeschichte, 2. ed. Deichert, Leipzig u. Erlangen 1922.

On pp. 341-382 some passages from the Qur'an in translation.

**(A) Reinke**, selection in: Polybiblion 26/82-83. Also in: Litteratur Handweiser für das katholische Deutschland, 244.

<sup>1</sup> Enay, no. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Sezgin, p. 323.

According to Hamidullah<sup>1</sup> in Chauvin, Bibliographie X Trad. allemandes incomplètes. No first name given by Hamidullah and also no page number for Chauvin. I have not seen this work.

**12. SADR-UD-DIN**, Maulana: Der heilige Koran. Übersetzung, Erklärung und Einleitung, Verlag der Moslemischen Revue, Berlin 1939.

For more information see section II. above.

Der Koran. Arabisch-Deutsch. Uebersetzung, Einleitung und Erklärung von Maulana Sadr-ud-Din, Herausgeber: Die Moschee, die Muslimische Mission, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 2. edition: II. Ausgabe (Berlin) 1964.

Sezgin seems to be unaware of the second edition, which he does not list.

**(A) Fleischmann**, Paul: Der deutsche Koran, in: Evangelische Missionszeitschrift 1.1940, S. 216-20, 237-39, Stuttgart 1940.

This is listed by Sezgin.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it is only a book review. I have not yet seen it.

**(A) Hartmann**, Richard: Die Religion des Islam. Eine Einführung, (Kolonialwissenschaftliche Forschungen 5), Mittler, Berlin 1944.

Contains translations of *sūrah*s 81, 82, 99, 101, 112.

Reprint: Unveränderter Nachdruck, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 1987

New revised edition: Neuausgabe, durchgesehen u. überprüft, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 1992.

(A) Hartmann, Richard: Der Koran 1963-1966 - I have been so far unable to verify this entry.

**(A) Mangoldt**, Ursula von (Hg.): So spricht der Koran, (Lebendige Quellen zum Wissen um die Gesamtheit des Menschen 5), Otto Wilhelm Barth Verlag, München-Planegg 1953.

A very small volume with select passages from the Qur'an in German translation without any indication of source and no numbering for *sūrah*s and *āyah*s, perhaps translated from some other European language.

<sup>1</sup> Hamidullah 1973, p. XLVI, no. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Sezgin, p. 323.

**13. ANONYMOUS:** Der Heilige Qur-an, Arabisch - Deutsch, versehen mit einer ausführlichen Einführung, unter der Leitung von Hazrat Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad, Ahmadiyya-Mission des Islams, Zürich und Hamburg, O. Harrassowitz Wiesbaden 1954.

For more information see section II. above.

Der Heilige Qur-an, Arabisch und Deutsch, Verlag "Der Islam", 2. new revised ed., Zürich 1959,

4. ed. Rabwah 1980 / 4. ed. 1980, Verlag "Der Islam" (Frankfurt), Herausgegeben unter der Leitung von Hazrat Mirza Nasir Ahmad, Juris Verlag, 4. ed. Zürich 1980.

Paperback edition, Verlag "Der Islam", Frankfurt 1985.

Sezgin and Enay list these editions under "Ahmad, Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud."

Der Heilige Qur-an, Arabisch und Deutsch, I. Taschenbuchauflage, Herausgegeben unter Leitung von Hazrat Mirza Tahr Ahmad, Ahmadiyya-Bewegung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Rabwah 1985.

3. revised paperback edition, Frankfurt 1993.

**(A) Jockel, Rudolf:** Islamische Geisteswelt. Von Mohammed bis zur Gegenwart, (Geist des Morgenlandes Bd. 1), Holle, Darmstadt, Genf 1954. 2. ed. Wiesbaden, Drei Lilien Verlag, 1981

On pp. 19-65 selected passages from the Qur'an in German translation, based on English translations and Max Henning.

**(A) Balic, Ismail:** Jasin, Originaltext und Übersetzung der XXXVI. Sure des Koran mit einem Nachwort und einer Auswahl aus muslimischer frommer Dichtung, Muslimanska biblioteka 3, Ismail Balic, Wien 1955.

A bi-lingual edition in German and Bosnian language of *sūrah* 36 together with the Arabic text.

**(A) Kraus, Wolfgang (Hg.):** Mohammed. Die Stimme des Propheten aus dem Koran, Hg.: Wolfgang Kraus, Prachner Wien, Stuttgart (n.d.) 1955 überarbeitete Neuaufl., Diogenes Verlag (detebe Klassiker 21551), Zürich 1987. Die Stimme des Propheten: Mohammed, Vorwort, hrsg. und aus d. Koran ausgewählt von Kraus, Wolfgang, Diogenes (Kleine detebe 70052), Zürich 1996.

The selected passages are from Rückert and Ullmann. Enay comments:

“Not in Binark-Eren,”<sup>1</sup> but this is an error.<sup>2</sup>

**(A) Aubier, Jean:** Der Koran. In neuer Übersetzung und Darbietung von Henry Mercier. Aus dem Französischen von Jean Aubier, Eurafrika Verlag, Tanger 1957.

This is a German translation of a partial translation of the Qur'an into French by Henry Mercier. The selected passages are arranged under subject-headings and accompanied by the Arabic text as well as transliteration.

Hamidullah misspells the translator's surname as “Arebier.”<sup>3</sup>

**(A) Paret, Rudi:** Mohammed und der Koran. Geschichte und Verkündigung des arabischen Propheten, (Urban Bücher 32), Kohlhammer, Stuttgart 1957  
2. ed. Stuttgart, Mainz 1966  
4. ed. Stuttgart 1976  
5. rev. ed. Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz 1980  
7. ed. Stuttgart 1991.

Contains various selected passages from the Qur'an in German translation.

**14. PARET, Rudi:** Der Koran, Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz 1963.

For more information see section II. above.

In four parts:

1. *Sūrah*s 1-8, 28 Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz 1963
2. *Sūrah*s 8-28, 23 Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz 1963
3. *Sūrah*s 22, 23-45, 19 Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz 1965
4. *Sūrah*s 45, 20-114 Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz 1966

Parts 1-4, W. Kohlhammer  
Stuttgart 1966

Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz 1971  
(W. Kohlhammer)  
Stuttgart 1977

<sup>1</sup> Enay, no. 147.

<sup>2</sup> See Binark and Eren, no. 877/88.

<sup>3</sup> Hamidullah 1973, p. XLVII, no. 43.

Paperback edition:

Der Koran. Übersetzung von Rudi Paret. Überarb(eitete)  
Taschenbuchausgabe, W. Kohlhammer,  
Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz 1979

W. Kohlhammer

2. ed. Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz 1980

2. Taschenbuchausgabe. Mit einem Nachtrag 1980

2. revised ed. 1982

Reprint of the edition Stuttgart 1980: Zentrum für Islamische Studien,  
Qum (Iran) n.d. (1981).

Paperback edition, Kohlhammer, 7. ed. Stuttgart 1996.

**(A) Paret, Rudi:** Weitere Verbesserungen zu meiner Koranübersetzung  
sowie Hinweise auf beachtenswerte Varianten, Kohlhammer  
Stuttgart 1975.

Contains 8 corrigenda et errata pages.

**(A) Gätje, Helmut:** Koran und Koranexegese, (Die Bibliothek des  
Morgenlandes), Artemis-Verlag,  
Zürich und Stuttgart 1971.

Various selections in German translation.

**(A) Williams, John Alden:** Der Islam. Aus dem Englischen übertragen  
von Otto Rellock, (Die großen Religionen der Welt), Edito-Service S.A.,  
Genf 1973.

Has some passages from the Qur'an in German translation based on  
Arberry, Henning (1901, 1960) and Paret (1966).

**(A) Lüling, Günter:** Über den Ur-Qur'an. Ansätze zur Rekonstruktion  
der vorislamisch-christlichen Strophenlieder im Koran, Verlag H. Lüling,  
(Erlangen) 1974.

2. ed. Erlangen 1993 (Title: Über den Urkoran)

The author attempted to show that the Qur'an is actually based on  
pre-Islamic Christian hymns.

**(A) Anonymous** (Heeren-Sarka, Fatima): (Translation of the Koran), Al-  
Islam, München 1976.

This is a German translation published in instalments of *sūrah* al-Fāṭiḥah and *sūrah* al-Baqarah together with Arabic text and is based on the English rendering of Abdullah Yusuf Ali with notes, included in the magazine *Al-Islam* of Islamic Centre, Munich, beginning with *sūrah* al-Fāṭiḥah in No. 1 of 1976 and ending with *sūrah* 3:103 in No. 4 of 1984. Subsequently published as:

Mushaf Bafaria, HKD Bavaria Handels & Verlags GmbH, München n.d. (1983).

Binark and Eren's<sup>1</sup> year of publication, 1976, is misleading, as it only can refer to the first instalment that appeared in the magazine *Al-Islam* at that time. The brochure containing *sūrah* al-Fāṭiḥah and *sūrah* al-Baqarah, to which they refer, was published in 1983, when the translation of *sūrah* al-Baqarah was completed. This translation was initiated by Fatima Heeren-Sarka as a project of the Islamic Centre Munich and was later continued by her through the private publishing house SKD. For more details, see below under SKD.

**(A) Agie** (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Islamische Erziehung): Koran für Kinder, Hamburg 1978.

A small selection of translated *āyahs* for children.

(Asad, Muhammad, *The Message of the Qur'an*. Translated and explained by Muhammad Asad, Dar Al-Andalus, Gibraltar 1980.

Although this translation is only available in English, attention is drawn to it here, since Muhammad Asad (1900-1992) was a German-speaking Muslim, born as Leopold Weiss in Lemberg, who later lived a number of years in Vienna and Berlin before migrating to the Middle East).

**(A) Nagel**, Tilman: Der Koran. Einführung, Texte, Erläuterungen, C.H. Beck Verlag,  
München 1983  
Büchergilde Gutenberg,  
Frankfurt 1983  
C.H. Beck Verlag  
2. ed. München 1991  
3. ed. München 1998

Contains few selected passages in translation.

<sup>1</sup> Binark and Eren, no. 860/71.

**(A) Caspari**, Arifa (transl): *Sūrah* Al-Fātiḥah (Die Eröffnung). Schriftenreihe des Islamischen Zentrums München No. 9, München 1982  
Muslim Studenten Vereinigung e.V.  
München 1987

Commentary by Said Nursi on *sūrah* al-Fātiḥah translated from English.

**(A) Rassoul**, Muhammad Ahmad: Die beiden Schutzsuren, Islamische Bibliothek, Köln 1982

Contains translations of *sūrah* 113, 114

**(A) Rassoul**, Muhammad Ahmad: Al-Fatiha, Islamische Bibliothek, Köln 1982  
Köln 1987

Contains translation of *sūrah* 1.

**(A) Rassoul**, Muhammad Ahmad: Ibrahim im Koran, Islamische Bibliothek, Köln 1984

Contains translations of *āyahs* about Prophet Ibrahim.

**15. RASSOUL**, Muhammad Ahmad: Die ungefähre Bedeutung des Qur'an Karim in deutscher Sprache. Von Abu-r-Rida Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Rassoul, Islamische Bibliothek, Köln 1986.

For more information see section II. above.

Köln 1991

6. revised ed., (Arabic and German), 1994

7. ed. 1995

8. ed. Muslim Studenten Vereinigung in Deutschland, Marburg 1996

Paperback ed.:

9. ed. Muslimische Studenten Vereinigung and Islamisches Konzil, Marburg 1997.

**16. KHOURY**, Adel Theodor: Der Koran. Übersetzung von Adel Theodor Khoury. Unter Mitwirkung von Muhammad Salim Abdullah, Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, (GTB 783) Gütersloh 1987.

For more information see section II. above.

Bound ed. Gütersloh 1987

2. ed. Gütersloh 1992

selections in: Khoury, Hagemann, Heine: Islam-Lexikon, Freiburg 1991, vol. 3, p. 771-916.

Khoury, Adel Theodor: Der Koran. Arabisch-Deutsch. Übersetzung und wissenschaftlicher Kommentar von Adel Theodor Khoury, Gütersloher Verlagshaus

Gütersloh 1990-2001

Vol.1. *Sūrah* 1,1-2,74, Gütersloh 1990

Vol. 2. *Sūrah* 2,75-2,212

Vol. 3. *Sūrah* 2,213-2,286

Vol. 4. *Sūrah* 3,1-200

Vol. 5. *Sūrah* 4,1-176, Gütersloh 1994

Vol. 6. *Sūrah* 5,1-6,165, Gütersloh 1995

Vol. 7. *Sūrah* 7,1-9,129

Vol. 8. *Sūrah* 10-15

Vol. 9. *Sūrah* 16-23

Vol. 10. *Sūrah* 24-36, Gütersloh 1999

Vol. 11. *Sūrah* 37,1-57,29 Gütersloh 2000

(Vol. 12 with *sūrah* 58,1-114,6 has been announced to appear in October 2001).

**(A) Rassoul**, Muhammad Ahmad: Einige kurze Suren, Islamische Bibliothek,  
Köln 1983  
Köln 1993

Contains translation of *sūrah* 103, 106-112

**(A) Rassoul**, Muhammad Ahmad: Die Leute des Elefanten, Islamische Bibliothek,  
Köln 1982  
Köln 1993

Contains the translation of *sūrah* al-Fīl

**(A) Rassoul**, Muhammad Ahmad: Koran für Schüler (guz 'amma), Islamische Bibliothek,  
Köln 1984  
Köln 1995

Contains *juẓ' Amma* (*sūrahs* 78/114).

**(A) Al-Fadschr:** Qur'an lesen und verstehen, Islamisches Zentrum Hamburg e.V.

(Instalments published in the magazine *Al-Fadschr*. Die Morgendämmerung).

This magazine of the Islamic Centre, Hamburg serving the Shia Muslim community publishes instalments of the Qur'an in Arabic with German translation. As I do not have all copies with me, I cannot now provide exact details.

**(A) Denffer, Ahmad v(on):** Bittgebete des Islam aus dem Heiligen Qur'an. Kur'an-i Kerim'den Secme dualar. Auswahl und Übersetzung Ahmad v. Denffer. Mustafa Seker, Islamisches Zentrum München, München 1989 (Schriftenreihe des Islamischen Zentrums München No. 13).

Contains prayers from the Qur'an in Arabic with German and Turkish translation. The Turkish translation is by Mustafa Seker.

**(A) Rassoul, Muhammad Ahmad:** Lan tabur. Themenregister des al-Qur'an al-Karim, Islamische Bibliothek, Köln 1993.

A subject-index of the Qur'an in translation based on Rassoul's.

**(A) Anonymus:** Aus dem Koran (Die goldene Mitte 25), (Verlag) EDIS, Heilbronn 1994

**17. DENFFER, Ahmad v(on):** Der Koran. Die Heilige Schrift des Islam in deutscher Übertragung mit Erläuterungen nach den Kommentaren von Dschalalain, Tabari und anderen hervorragenden Koranauslegern, Da'wah Academy International Islamic University Islamabad und Islamisches Zentrum München, Islamabad und München 1996.

For more information see section II. above.

2. revised ed. München 1996

3. revised ed. München 1997

4. revised ed. (with Arabic text), München 1995

5. revised ed. München 1998

6. revised ed. München 2000

7. revised ed. München 2000

**18. SKD BAVARIA** Verlag und Handel GmbH: Die Bedeutung des

Korans, Text und Kommentar, 30 parts in 24. München 1996.

For more information see section II. above.

(parts 1-3, HKD-Verlag, München n.d. (1983))

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This is the first complete set of the above translation with all 30 parts of the Qur'an translated into German and published in 24 instalments between 1994 and 1996.

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München (1997?) 1998  
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(All other sources are included in "III. Annotated Bibliography of both partial and complete translations of the Qur'an into German").