Indian Visions of a Germanic Home

World War I brought Indians to Germany in large numbers. The Great War dealt a serious blow to the vitality of the British empire, and scholars have argued that the "decolonizing process" began as early as the time boots hit the ground in the Dardanelles. The increasing entanglements of Indian nationalists with societies and institutional spaces outside the British empire were symptoms not only of the decline of British power in India but also of the loss of Britain's magnetic force as the lodestar at the center of a world order. The multiplication of centers of world power in the lead-up to World War I—a regionalization of the earth—continued in accentuated form into the 1920s and 1930s. A measure of "deglobalization" pressed Indians into alternative migration patterns after 1915 as the "traditional Victorian economy crashed into ruins," and globe-straddling economic and cultural liberalism under the aegis of nineteenth-century British hegemony was replaced with a plurality of post-Enlightenment utopias.

The German Foreign Office, under Max von Oppenheim, recruited high-profile Indian Hindu revolutionaries from Paris, London, and San Francisco to join the German war effort as consultants and propaganda ears at the very start of the belligerencies. A group of seadivi internationalists, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, Haridayal, and Bhupen Guranath Datta chief among them, collected in Charlottenburg in August 1914.5 A Committee for Indian Independence was constituted as part of the newly established Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient (Information Bureau for the East) under Oppenheim's direction.6 One of the main tasks of the Nachrichtenstelle was the production of anti-British propaganda in Middle Eastern and Asian languages, including Urdu, Persian, Hindi, Arabic, and Chinese. Until the autumn of 1915, the two most important roles of the Nachrichtenstelle für den Orient involved attempts to provide massive amounts of weapons to revolutionaries on India's east coast via Hardayal's Ghadar network headquartered in San Francisco, and a simultaneous campaign to raise revolution throughout the Middle East that would spill into India from the northwest frontier.7

The number of Indian "sojourners" in Germany was augmented by the large number of Indian prisoners of war (POWs) from the British army, held at camps outside Berlin.8 Prisoners were allowed to exit the camps if they entered the service of the German Foreign Office during the war. And after the war's end, some POWs chose to remain in Berlin rather than return to colonial India.

This contingent of radical anticolonial activists and ex-POWs formed the kernel for a significant Indian community in Berlin after 1918. The neighborhood of Charlottenburg became Berlin's "little Asia" partly because the Foreign Office had set up its Information Bureau for the Orient in that region during the war.9 Hardayal recalled of his time in Charlottenburg in 1914 that "all the peoples of Asia could be seen on the streets."10 The most powerful and respected Indian émigré, especially Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and Bhupen Guranath Datta, established a center for diasporic anticolonial nationalist activity. The social imprint of wartime experience kept Indians in this same region of Berlin throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Social spaces that were established in the war years for anticolonial activists—dormitories for Indian students, community meeting houses, parks to play cricket, places of worship, the homes of the older generation of émigrés—now served a burgeoning community of Indian students in the Weimar period.11

The conduits of entanglements among German and Indian intellectuals were not random or diffuse, but were organized within fields of dialogue. There was choreography to transnational encounters. Entanglements and the institutions that structured them provided the frameworks and the media that gave shape to German-Indian interactions. These entanglements provided Indians with ways to restate their place in the world. Discourses of the natural sciences, social sciences, and the humanities that connected Indians with German universities proffered a new kind of "soft power" for Indian nationalists to undermine the British imperial worldview.12
INDIANS WHO TRAVELED TO GERMANY in the 1910s-1930s pursued anticolonial politics and obtained degrees of higher education before returning home. Some made German society their new permanent home. In the time when the British empire was breaking down, Indians treated Germany, and German Europe generally (including Austria and Switzerland), as a reservoir of intellectual, cultural, and social resources to aid the nationalizing project.

Benoy Kumar Sarkar, one of the young leaders of the National Council of Education in Bengal, began a decade of world travel in 1914. Sarkar, a member of the Calcutta Dawn Society and disciple of Satish Chandra Mukherjee, led the project of building transnational linkages for swadeshi internationalists in the 1910s and helped plan which students were to be sent abroad by the National Council of Education. Sarkar made a series of study tours across the world from 1914 to 1926 and wrote about his experience in books such as Duniyā Abhādāyā (The atmospheres of the world) 1922. He spoke about the need for study tours among Indian nationalists in order to ensure what he called the healthy “social metabolism” of the Bengal people. He published five volumes on world touring, which included reports on his trips to Egypt in 1914, to England in 1912, to China in 1922, and to “Yankee-ism” (the United States) in 1923. Sarkar also published a 600-page work, written in Bengali, on his experiences in Germany, Purjita Jārmānī (Defeated Germany, 1932). Sarkar developed a theory of touring and travel, which he called “digesting the world” (duniyā hajam karī).

Benoy Kumar Sarkar repeatedly restated in his writings of the 1920s and 1930s that his views were produced from lived experience. He began his book, Economic Development (1926), by saying that “the papers were backed by a mass of concrete experience derived from visits to workshops and institutions as well as on-the-spot conversations.” Sarkar reported that he met Germans “in the flesh and blood” (raktanāmase) and that he “condensed” all of these encounters in his work. He proposed, “a unity of meaning could be bound together (aikyē bandhan padaī jaibe) by experiencing the flesh and blood of another people (raktaamānase gaṇahoe), and by being in exchange with their daily life (mūnāsśe piēriē sāndose).” His project was not only to experience the “world-forces” abroad but also to channel these forces to Bengal, and to “digest” them in particularly Bengali and anticolonial Indian ways. Between 1921 and 1936, Sarkar wrote twelve volumes of his Bartaṃān Jagat (Contemporary World) in Bengali covering some 4,000 pages. “We cannot be satisfied with the still meager amount of research that Bengali researchers have carried out regarding today’s world. Young Bengal requires more,” Sarkar enjoined. In an age of world touring, by Europeans and Asians alike, Sarkar inspired younger bhadrakāl travelers.

Kalidas Nag partook of Benoy Kumar Sarkar’s travel ethos in 1923. While studying philosophy in Paris, he took the opportunity to make journeys through Italy, Germany, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, and Palestine. Nag published a set of travelogues on his experiences, especially focused on his encounters with continental European scholars. The way foreign experiences could be socially distributed, almost as though it were an accruing and shareable kind of invisible capital, disrupts that hard-and-fast analytic distinction between the “rooted” and the “traveling” modes of anticolonial activity.

Indians studying and touring abroad were interested in reaching the top of foreign disciplinary hierarchies. Swadeshi internationalists wanted to reach the most prestigious figures in German institutions in order to garner heightened international recognition for the Indian nationalist cause. By establishing relays with prestigious German science, Indians hoped to substantiate their claims about their distinction vis-à-vis the British empire. Indian scholarly internationalists branched out to cover a wide spectrum of disciplines, from the natural sciences to the social sciences to the humanities: from physics to political science to art history.

ESTABLISHING AN INDIAN PRESENCE IN GERMANY

The diasporic community of Indians in Berlin during the 1920s numbered about 400 to 500 individuals. But this small group also served as a well-spring of radical nationalism in the 1920s, a catalyst for politics back on the subcontinent. It was from these Central European connections, for example, that Indian anticolonial entanglements with European Marxist institutions first began. Out of this group also came engineers, doctors, and business leaders for the nationalist movement.

In 1921, the German consul in London wrote of his efforts to facilitate the travel of Indian students to Germany. He placed the advantages of Germany in comparative terms: “we are unquestionably in a position to offer a far better education [to Indians] than the English can provide.”
students often began working at British institutions and then from there obtained permission to take one or two years of study in Germany. But the Indian Information Bureau began in 1929 made it possible for Indian students to come directly to continental Europe, circumventing London’s imperial nexus. This project to send students to Germany for training came to be championed by Jawaharlal Nehru himself by the late 1920s, especially thanks to the work of the organizers in Berlin, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and his assistant, A. C. N. Nambar. As of 1929, the Indian Information Bureau received funds directly from the Indian National Congress under Nehru’s direction.

Nehru wanted Indian students to go increasingly to Germany instead of to Britain for education, and this would help produce Indian intellectual elites with less dependence on British imperial institutions. Within a two-month period from September to November 1929, for example, the Indian Information Bureau reported 68 inquiries, 219 visitors, and 17 new students, with 14 coming directly from India. Around the same time, beginning in 1928, the Deutsche Akademie, an official agency for German cultural diplomacy, set up an Indian Department to facilitate the study travel of Indians to German universities. This new program of 1928 and 1929 ran both by diasporic Indians and by funds from the German state, responded to the rising trend in increasingly bold ways. The policy of granting scholarships to Indian students expanded through the 1930s, and a Humboldt Medal for renowned visiting Indian scholars was introduced in 1936.

Virendranath Chattopadhyaya was perhaps the most important organizer of institutions for Indian travel in German Europe. He served the Information Bureau of the Orient during the war. Virendranath was the son of an eminent Bengali literary family in Hyderabad. He graduated from Oxford in 1903, and became an itinerant anticolonial nationalist between London, Paris, and Berlin in the period of swadesi resistance to British rule. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya moved from one anticolonial underground to another, from the salon of Shyamaaji Krishnavarma in London to that of Bhikaji Cama in Paris, embracing the program of springing the imperial lock by forging transnational alliances and cultural diplomaticies in the diaspora.

The pursuit of study travel went far back in Virendranath Chattopadhyaya’s family. His father, Aghorenath, had obtained a PhD in chemistry from Edinburgh University and had toured German and Dutch universities in 1875. Aghorenath returned to India to join the Indian Civil Service, and became an influential educationist in Hyderabad as the first principal of Nizam College and the founder of a school for girls. He passed on his enthusiasm for intellectual politics as well as a particular affection for both British and Central European education to many of his children. Aghorenath’s son, Virendranath, his daughter, Subhasini Chattopadhyaya, and his daughter-in-law, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, all studied in Britain and spent extended time living in Germany in the postwar years. The younger family members, in different ways, embraced communism in the 1920s as a powerful language for Indian anticolonial struggle. Virendranath’s older sister, Sarojini, was a celebrated All-India nationalist figure and the poet laureate of the Indian National Congress.

In 1921, Virendranath established a new organization in Berlin, the Association of Indians of German Europe. His main goal was to organize the many Indian students coming to Berlin, both to serve the diasporic student community and to coordinate students for anticolonial resistance. Virendranath founded the Hindustan Haus, a boarding house sponsored by the Deutsches Institut für Ausländer (German Institute for Foreigners) of Berlin University. After the creation of the Comintern in 1919, Virendranath sat at the top of one of the three overseas Communist Parties of India, with the other two led by M. N. Roy in Berlin, and by Shapurji Saklatvala in London.

By 1923, more than 300 Indians were staying in Berlin. Among Indian students at Berlin universities, about a third studied natural and applied sciences, especially physics, chemistry, and engineering. A quarter studied the humanities, and a quarter pursued the social sciences. Between 1928 and 1932, 140 Indian students matriculated at the University of Berlin, suggesting that the numbers of Indian students in Berlin remained relatively constant over the course of the 1920s.

Many students lived in the Hindustan Haus on Uhlandstraße, in close proximity to the Berlin Technical University. The majority of Indians living in Berlin tended to live close to the Hindustan Haus. There were also clusters of Indian students in the cheaper workers’ neighborhoods of Moabit and Wedding. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya’s house at Georg-Wilhelm-Straße served as an epicenter for the Indian Association, and for Indian students and political activists. In May 1923, Virendranath hosted 225 students at his home on Georg-Wilhelm-Straße.

In these early years, not many Indian students studied medicine. This was in contrast to the broader trend of foreign students who studied in
Berlin in the 1920s. For example, of 2,578 foreign students matriculated at Berlin University in 1923, one-third studied either medicine or dentistry. Asian and African students (426 in total) made up about 15 percent of all foreign students studying at Berlin University in the 1920s. Indians were a small fraction of that number, and their studies tended to focus on the natural and social sciences. A few Indian students also studied industrial arts, such as weaving and printing, although, in these cases, the students in question were generally already master craftsmen seeking advanced training. Of the students in the sciences, physics, chemistry, and engineering were best represented. Within the humanities, the majority of Indians studied Hindi and Sanskrit philology, and German language and philosophy, while a few pursued photography or cinematography. By the 1920s, Berlin's reputation in India as an arts capital rivaled the typical fascination with Paris.

Within the social sciences, an overwhelming number of students studied political economy (Nationalökonomie). In addition to university study, the Siemens enclave (Siemensstadt) in Berlin, a suburb of the city built by Siemens AG, sponsored a number of Indians to undertake industrial training. Siemens strengthened its presence in India in the 1930s, especially at the peak of an Indian electrification boom. The Siemens enclave in Berlin became the scene for Indian cultural and educational diplomacy. Both the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Prince of Baroda visited the Siemensstadt in 1931, receiving the red-carpet treatment. The maharaja of Rewa visited in 1933, seeking an arrangement for Siemens to develop electrification and waterworks projects in his state. The majority of Indian visitors to Berlin aimed, in some way, to acquire knowledge and methods that would further the political ends of anticolonial economic nationalization. Indians saw German Europe as a reservoir of knowledge and technique in the arts and sciences.

The Indian Association of German Europe organized nationalist meetings and social events for new arrivals to Berlin. Over the years, luminaries such as Babindranath Tagore, Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru, the singer Dikp Roy, and Subhas Chandra Bose all sojourned in Berlin via Virendranath's institutions. Virendranath set an example for others. Zakir Husain, who later became chancellor of Aligarh University and the third president of India after independence, studied political economy in Berlin beginning in 1924. Following Virendranath's example in anticolonial cultural diplomacy, Husain organized a major "gathering" of Indian students with German professors at the Hotel Bristol on Unter den Linden in 1928.

Other younger Indian internationalists worked under Chattopadhyaya's leadership, Bapanendra Datta, the younger brother of the Hindu spiritual leader, Vivekananda, helped organize one of the fledgling Indian Communist parties while completing his dissertation in anthropology at Humboldt University. Meanwhile A C N Nambiar, a Malayali intellectual and brother-in-law of Virendranath, joined the Berlin group in 1921 and later played a major role in setting up the Indian Information Bureau as a satellite organization of the Indian National Congress. The "Indian News Service and Information Bureau," established by Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and A C N Nambiar in October 1922, represents the first attempt to create a satellite office for the Indian National Congress. Nambiar would later organize the Azad Hind Radio, an anticolonial radio station transmitted from Berlin during World War II. He became the first Indian ambassador to West Germany in 1952.

Virendranath Chattopadhyaya funded his operations in Berlin with a mix of funds from the Russian Bolsheviks and the Indian National Congress. He tried to reconstitute an international anticolonial constellation in the postwar years from his Berlin base. Virendranath sent letters to H N Clove in New York, Rash Behari Bose in Tokyo, Barakatullah in Kabul, and Jawaharlal Nehru in Delhi, proposing a renewed and organized traveling nationalist movement organized around the Berlin hub. Jawaharlal Nehru and his father, Motilal, visited Berlin in 1926 on Virendranath's invitation. And when Virendranath became the general secretary of the Soviet-sponsored Brussels-based League against Imperialism, Jawaharlal Nehru agreed to serve on the executive council. The Indian contingent to the League against Imperialism formed its own chapter with Jawaharlal Nehru and Shapurji Saklatvala as co-presidents and with Jaya Surya Naidu, the nephew of Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, and Khwoja Abdul Hamid as Berlin representatives.

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What ends were served by the organization of the Indian traveling nationalists in Berlin? Already in 1922, with the number of Indian students in Germany rising, the British government began raising concerns about the revolutionary leanings of the diaspora community in the city. An intelligence officer in British India reported, "the information recently received regarding the activities of Indian revolutionaries in Germany, and in
particular the establishment there of a night school for the manufacture of bombs and explosives, has led the Government of India to consider further the question of the grant of passports for Germany to Indians. In that same year, the Central Intelligence Department of the government of India began drawing up “blacklists” of Indians suspected of anticollaboration activity on the continent, lists they revised yearly and maintained well into the 1940s.

Indian students openly engaged in anticollaboration activity by attending nationalist gatherings or by participating in even more direct involvement in political intrigue, including transporting Soviet-sponsored Marxist literature back to India and creating anti-British alliances with different levels of German officials. In Berlin, the line blurred between studying and engaging in radical politics. For example, while Ananda Mohan Bose completed his doctorate in physics in Berlin, he also associated with Virenkrishna’s group and M. N. Roy’s communist circle in 1924. D. M. Bose, the nephew of leading Indian physicist Jagadish Chandra Bose, eventually returned to India as a communist agent carrying anti-British Soviet literature. Or take the cases of Brajesh Singh and Tayab Shaik who both came to Berlin to study engineering, but soon abandoned their studies completely in order to work exclusively in M. N. Roy’s communist group.

Indian doctoral students in Berlin often transformed themselves into radicalized leaders of Indian anticollaboration politics. A diasporic center such as Berlin provided an important environment for their political formation before they returned home as nationalist leaders, ensconced in new dialogues about India’s significance in the world. Zakir Husain, a reformer of university education associated with the University of Delhi and Aligarh Muslim University, later became president of India. Ran Manohar Lohia completed doctoral research at the University of Berlin and returned home as a prolific political theorist of Gandhian socialism and as a leader of the Congress Socialist Party. Gangadhar Adhukari, who arrived in Berlin to begin a doctorate in chemistry, soon involved himself with communist organizations in Berlin and went on to serve as one of the most influential theorists in the Indian Communist Party in the 1930s and 1940s. Meghnad Saha, an internationally renowned physicist who also studied in Berlin in the 1920s, returned home to Calcutta to play a major role as a nationalist organizer of science in India from the 1930s to the 1950s. The biographies of many major Indian nationalist figures of midcentury bear the watermark of German diaspora.

But there was more going on than university matriculation and political radicalization alone. Diaspora led to German–Indian social interactions of proliferating sorts and outcomes. Many marriages between Indian men and German women developed. Vikram Seth’s Two Lives provides a touching biographical account of Indian–German intimacy in the 1930s. The archives are less detailed, but the affective bonds of political, social, and intellectual entanglement between Germans and Indians in the war years is still obvious. Abdul Sattar Kheiri, Babar Mirza, Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Subhas Chandra Bose, and M. N. Roy all had German or Austrian wives. The Bhaduri brothers, Anudhi Nath and Prasanta, both studied in Germany in the 1920s and also returned to Calcutta with German wives, Margrit and Gerta. British surveillance officers note that at Aligarh University in the 1930s, “at least six of the Professors have German wives,” and these six professors had completed PhDs in Germany a decade earlier.

The potentials of popularized Indic Orientalism in German society and the modes of relation that it produced could alternate from the seemingly sublime to the painstilly absurd. Indians could be represented as primitive, just as much as they could be represented as sage, or archaically exotic. Indeed, Orientalism and imperialism were different phases of a single kinetic force. And this beam of German imperialist fantasies and German Orientalism seemed to intensify after the Locarno Treaties of 1925, just as Germany was beginning to reclaim a role in international politics after almost six years of enforced exclusion from the League of Nations. As Germany was readmitted into the European international community, and as the economy stabilized, German colonialist cravings arose anew, in terms of the wish to reclaim German colonies abroad and the desire to annex contiguous land in the east.

In July 1926 the billboards of Berlin were plastered with advertisements for “Indians in the Zoo!” John Hagenbeck, brother of the Hamburg circus magnate, Carl Hagenbeck, brought more than 100 South Asians from Sri Lanka to live in grass huts, charm snakes, climb poles, and dance in an “Indian Village” set up in the Berlin Zoological Garden. “The public gives the money,” one observer remarked, “and seems delighted and astonished to learn that Indians can speak any language at all—they seem to think they are like apes in the forest, who only chatter.” The performers were paid only 20 to 50 marks per month, and gave up to six performances a day. They were not allowed to leave their compound and were instructed to collect around Hagenbeck when he made his appearance before the German
audiences. Human sideshows and exhibitions were not unique in this period, of course. In fact, ever since the exhibition of the "Hottentot Venus" in the early nineteenth century, but especially since the 1870s, European audiences could celebrate their supposed place on the ladder of human progress by viewing displays of "strange" peoples and "primitive" races in purportedly indigenous dress at fairs, circuses, and exhibitions. Carl Hagenbeck, John Hagenbeck, and the Krone Circus were all involved in bringing Volkerschauen to German audiences in the 1910s and 1920s. In 1915, for example, some Indians who had come to Germany for study but were then expelled from their courses due to war measures were forced to don costumes and turbans and sell Ceylon tea at the Hagenbeck fair in Hamburg. By 1926, however, a diasporic community of Indians had taken up residence in the city and was poised to launch an attack against John Hagenbeck, and to criticize the German public for its ignorant depiction of what was termed "Gandhi's people" in the German press.

The first volley of protests came from the leaders of the Indian community in Berlin, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and A. C. N. Nambiar. In an article appearing in the Berliner Tagezeitung, the two argued on grounds of human rights that the demeaning show should end. They criticized the racial labors underlying the event. Indian students protested the show on two occasions. Letters were also sent to the British embassy in Berlin demanding that Hagenbeck not be allowed back to Ceylon or South India to recruit further. A German journalist, Rudolf Oden, noted the inhumane conditions under which performers lived. He spoke out against the shows and called for an embargo on Hagenbeck's company by the British authorities. The eruptions of protest in the Indian community confirm the presence of a highly organized, and vocal, Indian diasporic group in Berlin during the 1920s.

INDIANS AND INSTITUTIONS OF TRANSNATIONAL ENTANGLEMENT

Rabindranath Tagore, in 1913, was the first Indian to win the Nobel Prize in Literature. With that prize, he stood out in the world. He rose to the heights of international cultural prestige, and used his status in a project to critique India's peripheral status in the imperial system. International literary audiences beyond the empire became important for Rabindranath's project, and the most significant overseas audience at the end of World War I was located in Germany.

In his lectures across north and south Germany in 1921, Rabindranath emphasized the "spiritual" message of the East as contrasted with the "materialistic" and "exhausted" civilization of the West. Such a prioritization of the Orient over the Occident resonated strongly with German postwar audiences. The whole trip was an affair in cultural diplomacy. Rabindranath's books became best sellers in Germany in the 1920s, published by Kurt Wolff Verlag. Because of popular Indian Orientalism, and because of the post-Versailles cultural shock, Rabindranath Tagore's books sold more copies in Germany between 1917 and 1924 than in other international markets. In Berlin, beginning on May 23, 1921, Rabindranath delivered lectures, visited the Indian community living in the city, and even recorded a poetry reading on wax plate for the Wilhelm Dögen sound archive (which still exists). Carl Heinrich Becker, the Prussian minister of culture, received the Indian poet. From Berlin, Rabindranath traveled on June 5 to Munich, where Thomas Mann attended his lecture. The poet went on to Darmstadt, for the "Tagore Week" organized by Hermann von Keyserling. A visit was made to the Bauhaus School in Weimar where Rabindranath made the acquaintance of the school's art director, Johannes Itten. The opponents of popular Indian Orientalism disparaged the extreme excitement over Rabindranath Tagore's visit as "Tagore-Mode" and "Tagore-Kult." But Rabindranath's efforts in cultural diplomacy involved as much the donation of wisdom and Indian culture to Germany as the solicitation of cultural gifts from Germans for the Indian nationalist cause. Rabindranath built institutional and personal friendships through complementary practices of gift-giving and gift-receiving. If Rabindranath donated cultural goods in public, he was interested in receiving cultural goods in private. In Rabindranath's private discussions with German academics, he scaled the mountains of German science and sought to recruit German and Austrian scholars as visiting fellows to his recently inaugurated (1921) university, called the Indian International University (Vibha Bharati).

He was pleased to receive a collection of 400 German books for the library of the new university presented to him at Darmstadt on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. The book donation came with a lavatorial birthday note signed by German scholars of national renown, including Adolf Haenisch, Hermann Jacobs, Richard Wilhelm, Hermann Hesse, and Gerhart Hauptmann. Rabindranath wrote from Darmstadt to C. F. Andrews, his colleague who was then in Shantiniketan: "Germans have done more than any other countries in the world for opening up and broadening the
channel of the intellectual and spiritual communication of the West with India, and the ... love, which she freely has given to-day to a poet of the East, will surely impart to this relationship the depth of an intimate and personal character."\textsuperscript{113} Rabindranath was celebrated by the revolutionary conservatives, by the nationalist (\textit{buddhische}) Youth Movement, by the liberal bourgeois and belletrists, and by the Left, even if young critics such as Georg Lukács vituperated against the German fascination with Rabindranath's writings, which he saw as little more than a fetish of bourgeois Orientalism.\textsuperscript{114}

Rabindranath's 1921 trip was widely covered in both the German press and the Bengali press.\textsuperscript{115} In fact, the enthusiasm for Rabindranath Tagore in German newspapers was then reported in Bengali newspapers. Rabindranath, upon returning home to Calcutta, was hailed for "doing service to the mother country abroad (\textit{bidelo})."\textsuperscript{116} Images of swarming crowds awaiting Rabindranath Tagore at Darmstadt and Berlin, as well as his portrait on the front page of the \textit{Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung}, appeared in the \textit{Frankfurter} magazine, the most important journal of the Bengali educated classes.

During Rabindranath's second trip to Germany in 1926, the popular cult around him subsided substantially. Economic stabilization, the rising antiromantic \textit{Neue Sachlichkeit} (New Objectivity) artistic sensibilities, the resurgence of German imperial pretensions, but also the rise of the \textit{kollektive} variant of Aryan studies, meant that the coming of a dark sage from India sparked much less interest than it once had.\textsuperscript{117} During this second visit, Keyserling again organized events in Darmstadt,\textsuperscript{118} Indologists, especially Heinrich Lüders, Sten Konow, and Richard Pischel again hosted Rabindranath's lectures. Rabindranath met with a strong enough reception in 1926 to warrant a third and final trip to Germany in 1930. It was during the last trip that Rabindranath climbed to the top of the German magic mountain with his celebrated and much publicized summits with the icon of German physics, Albert Einstein.\textsuperscript{119}

During his last tour, Rabindranath did not primarily come as a sage or a poet, but now in another guise—as an expressionist painter.\textsuperscript{120} The exhibit of Bauhaus Art in Calcutta in 1922–1923, including the display of pieces by Paul Klee, whom Rabindranath so admired, stimulated a feedback response.\textsuperscript{121} On this final trip, Rabindranath brought 400 of his watercolors with him and put them on display.\textsuperscript{122} Rabindranath had already exhibited his paintings in Birmingham and Paris, and they now went up at the Moeller Gallery in Berlin, and then on to a subsequent show in Munich.\textsuperscript{123} Before returning to India, Rabindranath gave a set of six paintings to the Berlin Museum in his continued project to build international ties through giving gifts of Indian culture.\textsuperscript{124}

Just as certain German scientists, for example, Albert Einstein and Sigmund Freud, became embodiments of Germanic monumental science with their gravitational pull felt as far away as colonial India, so too, for Germans, certain Indians, such as Rabindranath Tagore and M. K. Gandhi, became the charismatic embodiments of the Orient's monumental gravitas of myth and wisdom.\textsuperscript{125} The 1920s, we should also observe, also saw a Gandhi craze in Germany.\textsuperscript{126}

Rabindranath's efforts in transnational dialogue during his 1921 trip paid off. When he founded his new international university in 1921, his first order of business was to bring in prestigious continental European scholars as his founding faculty. Joseph Strzygowski, an expert on non-Western art and founder of the Art History Institute at the University of Vienna, promised to come to Shantiniketan in order to set up a department there.\textsuperscript{127} In the end Strzygowski did not come, but he sent his promising student, Stella Krumrucke, who remained in Bengal for thirty years helping to build up nationalist intellectual institutions. Meanwhile, in 1925, Ali Akhtar Ansari, a young Indian architect, began his dissertation on the architectural history of the Taj Mahal under Strzygowski's supervision in Vienna. Strzygowski also wrote five essays on Indian art for the \textit{London Indian Society} in 1925, suggesting that the 1920s were Strzygowski's "Indian years," even if he remained an admirer at a distance.\textsuperscript{128}

Syvain Lévi, the leading Indologist at the Sorbonne, held a visiting chair at Shantiniketan in 1921. The linguist and German translator of Rabindranath's work, Heinrich Meyer-Berney, assumed a visiting lectureship in 1922. Moriz Winternitz, eminent Indologist at Charles University in Prague, held a visiting Indology chair in 1923. The German-trained Norwegian scholar, Sten Konow, who had served as the deputy to George Grierson in the Linguistic Survey of India before World War I, came to Shantiniketan the following year, 1924–1925.\textsuperscript{129} Rabindranath had wanted Paul Natorp to teach philosophy at Shantiniketan, and hoped also that artists from the Bauhaus school might visit to teach modern art.\textsuperscript{130} Neither of those objectives was ultimately achieved. But Giuseppe Tucci, the Italian Indologist and specialist on Buddhism and Tibetan Art, arrived in 1925. And Vincenzo Lessoj, a Czech scholar and Winternitz's student, arrived in Shantiniketan in 1929. These scholars were brought in order to lend their prestige to
Indian nationalist learning, and to bolster Shantiniketan’s academic status on the global stage. Rabindranath’s anticolonial internationalist pursuit of cultural and intellectual distinction depended on alliance building. India had been centered in the world in the ancient past, Rabindranath argued, and collaboration with continental European scholars would allow India to again become a world center for the arts and humanities in modern times, just as “India’s learning had once spread outside India, [and] the people outside accepted it.”

DIALOGUE UNDER DURESS

The relationship between dialogue action, epistemic radicalism, and anticolonial intellectual political power was not lost on British colonial surveillance. The British were concerned about Berlin as a crucible for political activism outside empire, against empire. By late 1924, the whole atmosphere in Germany had changed. In the national elections of that year, the German Communist Party had lost 1,000,000 votes. The Dawes Plan produced stabilizing results for the German economy: industrial production grew by 50 percent and the unemployment rate dropped sharply. The year marked the conclusion of the revolutionary eruptions that haunted the young Weimar Republic. In this context, the German government cooperated with British requests to expel anti-British colonial activists in Berlin. The Berlin police suppressed the activity of Indian revolutionaries, apologizing to the British government for the “inconvenient guests” that took up residence in the city. German officials turned on the tap of police aggression against Indians in the hope of securing the good favor of the British as well as the benefits of access to the Indian market for German industry.

In 1925, at the insistence of the British government, the German government expelled twenty of the most influential Indian leaders in Berlin. In 1925, the infamous traveling radical, M. N. Roy, moved to Paris (he was soon expelled from there too), while others such as Bhupendra Nath Datta, Benoy Kumar Sarkar, and Abul Jabbar Kheiri returned to India. The business of Virendranath Chattopadhyaya’s Indian Information Bureau ceased, and Chattopadhyaya was forced to move out of his spacious house on Georg-Wilhelm-Straße due to lack of funds. He relocated to the suburb of Spandau before leaving for Switzerland. These leaders who did not return to India filtered back to Berlin in 1927, after the police onslaught subsided.

As many Indian men in the diasporic community married German, European, or American women, the continuous political intrigue and fear of persecution strained, and often broke, relationships. The truculent record of Indian-German marriage was not one of perennial marital bliss or intercultural understanding. Evelyn Trent, an American, and the wife and political collaborator of M. N. Roy, wrote to a friend that she was “weary of being hunted from place to place, country to country, of having to hide and always to be rewarded by a thick fog of suspicion and fear.” Trent, in 1926, eventually decided to return home to the United States. Agnes Smedley, originally from the backwoods of Missouri, and eventually an important anticolonial political activist, was the partner of Virendranath Chattopadhyaya in Berlin at this time. She recalled the extreme difficulties, even neurosis, associated with the anticolonial cosmopolitan lifestyle. “We were desperately poor, and because Viren [Chattopadhyaya] had no possessions, I sold everything I owned in order to get money. ... We met the problem by moving repeatedly and changing our name. But our debts and difficulties seemed to increase by geometric progression. More than death I feared insanity.” Smedley left Chattopadhyaya in 1928. At least one German woman, Hiklo Singh, was recorded as murdering her Indian migrant husband, Shidego Singh-Ahwalia. Indian-German romantic liaisons split up, as much as they joined together.

The ailments, psychological and physical, associated with traveling anticolonial life could be severe. Hardyal, one of the central Indian political activists in Berlin during World War I, retired in 1918 to a sanatorium to cure his nerves before leaving Germany for good and adopting a vigorous anti-German political stand. A German official reported of Hardyal that “his nerves [were] so destroyed that, at times, he no longer [behaved] normally.” Life followed art. The theme was a favorite of Somerset Maugham in his writings on the fictional Indian radical, Chandra. After the war, Maugham served as a British intelligence officer investigating the dealings of Indian nationalists on the European continent. Meanwhile, W. E. B. Du Bois, in Dark Princess, wove together narrative threads of Indian diasporic political life, romance, and African American political travel through Europe.

Brain and paranoia can be traced through the biography of many itinerant nationalists in German Europe. M. N. Roy fell severely ill with an infection of the inner ear in 1929 just as he was being expelled from the
Con tinterni. And Indian traveling nationalists suffered from dysentery, Subhas Chandra Bose, the renowned diasporic Indian nationalist in Germany in the 1930s, and Virendranath Chattopadhyaya both complained of feverish stomach illness. Although political activities and agendas differed in many ways, politicians and travelers all had to face the debilitating effects of continuous struggle and displacement. Severe physical and mental strain resulted from the condition of "statelessness." 

Virendranath Chattopadhyaya was said to suffer from paranoia. His German secretary, Lucie Hecht, recalled that he never took meals outside for fear of being poisoned. Chattopadhyaya's second wife, the Russian Lidia Kazanovskaya, remembered him as "always in a state of fleeing, full of disease, sorrow, awareness, always on the alert..." Chattopadhyaya, a man without a sense of being at home, living in rented rooms paid for by the money of European patrons, entered a depressive state that eventually led him to abandon Berlin a final time in 1928. After another period of wandering through Europe, he finally settled in Moscow in 1931. He taught ethnology in Moscow for some years, but soon began to raise the suspicion of the paranoid Stalinist regime, which suspected him of deviating from "orthodoxy" Marxism-Leninism in his teaching. During the purges, a campaign began to prove his heterodoxy, and letters from some of his students, especially Archie Flinn, as well as from his ex-wife Agnes Smidley, accused him of being an Indian nationalist, not a "true" Soviet. Chattopadhyaya disappeared in the Stalinist purges of 1938–1940, murdered by the regime.

Adolf Hitler had already recorded his distaste for the Indian national movement in Germany in Mein Kampf, with its "fakirs" and "traveling jugglers." And with Hitler's ascent, influential members of the Indian diasporic community in Berlin were immediately placed under arrest. In the midst of the Nazi crackdown on communists, on February 28, 1933, the Nazi paramilitary group, the SA (Sturmabteilung), stormed into the Indian Information Bureau and confiscated papers. By evening, the SA had taken the two administrators of the bureau, A. C. N. Nambiar and Jayasuriya Naidu, Virendranath's nephew, as well as Taraknath Das and Soumenendra Tagore (Rabindranath Tagore's nephew) into custody. The Nazi crackdown resulted in the imprisonment of thousands of communists during this same period. Nambiar, Das, Naidu, and Soumenendra Tagore were released after ten days, following the inquiries of the British embassy in Berlin into their cases. Indian activists fled the city. Nambiar took up residence in Prague. Taraknath Das left Munich for the United States. But conditions would again stabilize and Indian students once more started arriving for studies in Germany. More than 180 students came to study in Germany between 1928 and 1938.

An Indischer Ausschuß (a new Indian Bureau), under the direction of Adam von Trott zu Solz, was established in order to oversee the activities of Indians in Germany. It had its offices in the Ahrnerstrasse headquarters in Berlin. Trott zu Solz became the main Nazi government liaison to the anticolonial leader and representative of traveling truedeit, Subhas Chandra Bose. Bose spent much time in Germany Europe as a traveling nationalist in the 1930s, staying in Vienna. He made some visits to Berlin and Munich, but spent much less time in Nazi Germany than he did in Austria and Czechoslovakia. Vienna was Bose's chief center of activity, partly because this was his first home in Germany during his initial visit in 1933, and also for the important reason that his wife, Emilie Schenkl, lived there. The Indian Central European Society, founded in 1934 in Vienna by doctoral student Brahmanand Aghilothi for the development of good relations between India and Europe (particularly Austria), was set up with an unusually large source of funding. British surveillance surmised that a leading member of the organization, Dr. Otto Faltis, was a "person of standing" in the Nazi Party, and that the support for Bose's organization was coming from "high places." In the Foreign Office itself, there was an Oriental Department under the direction of Werner Otto von Hentig. Habibur Rahman was the main Indian representative to this arm of official Germany, along with other Indian Muslim leaders, including Hafiz Manzuruddin Ahmad and Zain ul Abidin Hassan. Habibur Rahman led the Muslim community in Berlin, located at the Jamia-ul-Muslinneen in West Berlin. These traveling nationalists also served as personnel in the Indian National Army established in Berlin under Subhas Chandra Bose. Zain ul Abidin Hassan helped to run Azad Hind Radio from Berlin. And Habibur Rahman, too, worked with Bose in that organization.

Bose had an ambivalent relationship with German Nazism from the start. Already on his first visit to Germany, he voiced his shock and displeasure with the Nazi social policies. He wrote to a friend after visiting Berlin, "Since I left Berlin, I have seen no indication of any good will towards Indians in the part of Germany. Recently another nasty Anti-Indian article has appeared in the 'Münchener Neueste Nachrichten.' In view of all these, I am thinking of starting an Anti-German campaign in the entire Indian press. I have waited sufficiently long for an indication of good will,
but have been disappointed.” In 1934 when Hitler publicly derided the Indian nationalist movement, the Munich Indians protested to the German Foreign Office. Bose, again visiting Germany at the time, wrote to a German official, “the most serious factor threatening friendly relations between Germany and India is the unfortunate effect produced by the present race propaganda in Germany.”

After 1937, Indian students studying throughout Germany again came to be seen as unwelcome visitors by the Nazi regime. It is only in the crisis of World War II that the Nazi regime revisited its India policy and decided to support Subhas Chandra Bose and Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) in a project to radicalize India from outside and thereby destabilize Britain on the Indian front. This project followed the pattern already established in 1941, when the German government partnered with Indian anticolonial diplomats avant la lettre in attempts to disrupt British rule in India from outside.

Beginning in 1940, the Indian Independence League in Berlin, using Nazi funds, published pamphlets attacking the British empire. A pamphlet written by the League stated, “England is responsible for starting the European war for the purpose of crushing rising Germany, in accordance with Britain’s time-honoured traditional policy of keeping her rival who may attain a position to challenge Britain’s illegal world-supremacy secured at the cost of the happiness of millions of human beings.” The Germans were obsessed with dominating the “India work” within the Axis, and preventing Rome from becoming the main center for Indian strategy.

Of the Indians living in Nazi Germany, a British Intelligence Department list of 1944 shows that a large proportion among that group had first arrived in the 1920s. Some Indians such as the Sikh émigré, Dalip Singh Gill, had first come to Berlin as prisoners of war during World War I, and were thus members of the British Indian Army before that. The other main contingent of Indian settlers in Nazi Germany, however, traveled to Germany for university study in the 1930s. Indian students in Berlin and Munich continued attending the Indian Students Association, which had been established the previous decade. One British intelligence report from 1939 reported that thirty Indian students were studying in Berlin, remarking that the students association was “carefully nursed by the Nazis.” Bengalis were also said to have formed their own group around Nalini Gupta’s café in the Hindustan Haus in Charlottenburg. Gupta had arrived as a traveling seadsi activist back in 1919.

The leaders of the Indian community in Berlin who represented the group to the Nazis were Habibur Rahman, Abul Rauf Malik, A. C. N. Nambiar, and Subhas Chandra Bose. A Foreign Students Association in the city catered to students from the Middle East and Asia, and a significant Arab nationalist contingent collected in Berlin in the Nazi years. The Nazis attempted to use the battle for territory in Palestine to win favor with Arab nationalists. The Mufti of Jerusalem took up residence in Berlin in 1941 and collaborated with Nazi officials. In these cases, as in a similar scenario that played out during World War I, the genocidal Nazi regime tried to co-opt non-European nationalists as if they were pawns in a “great game.”

Despite Hitler’s stated dislike for the dark Orientals, there was a significant strand of Indic Orientalism among leading Nazis. Some of these conciliating Nazis were inspired by notions of a distant Aryan brotherhood, while others identified with the ethos of anti-British struggle among contemporary Indian nationalist leaders. In 1935, a Deutsch-Indianer-Verein in Berlin was formed. It was associated with the Indian Students Association in Berlin, but also operated under the auspices of the German minister of propaganda. The organization was formed by the government, but overseen by civic leaders, and was supposed to cultivate relations with Turks, Egyptians, Indians, Persians, Afghans, Iraqis, Syrians, and Palestinians living in Germany, as well as with their affiliates in the homelands.

A large number of Indians were interned by the German military during the war. Indian sailors and British Indian troops formed the largest contingent among Indian POWs, and about 10 percent among their ranks chose to trade detention camp stays for membership in the Indian Legion. In 1942, two military training camps for the Indian Legion were established, numbering about ninety men. Meanwhile Hitler eventually directed Subhas Chandra Bose to seek out Japanese official support. The Nazi government sent him to Japan via submarine in 1943. Back in Germany, the Indian Legion continued its training, but its small infantry was eventually shipped to the southwest coast of France where it was employed to fight against the Allied troops.

During World War II, Indians who had returned home to India from Germany tended to speak out against the British and in favor of the Asia powers. They shared the view that India might be sprung loose from the British imperial grip thanks to leverage from Germany, Italy, and Japan. In 1940, Mohammad Obeidullah, who had sojourned as an anticolonial
radical in Berlin in the 1920s, declared in a speech after Juma prayers in Delhi that Germany might soon invade India through Iran, thereby ending British rule. Sattar Kheiri, a leader of the Indian Muslim community in Berlin during the Weimar years, organized pro-German meetings at his German society in Aligarh University. Kheiri also sought to obtain funding for university programs at Aligarh from the German consulate. In Calcutta, Benoy Kumar Sarkar was president of both the Bengali German Association and the Bengali Dante Association, and Kalidas Nag presided over the Calcutta Japan Society. Mahendra Pratap, the erstwhile president of the “Provisional Government of Free India” set up in Kabul with the aid of German funding and military support in 1915, now styled himself as president of a “World Federation” that advocated revolt against the British “overlords” during World War II.

Indian traveling nationalists in Nazi Germany were seeking favors from their enemy’s enemy. This was partly the circumstantial politics of opportunism. But there was a great deal of historical momentum behind these alliances as well. Indians practiced forms of internationalism that had characterized their anticolonial movement over decades, stretching at least back to 1905. Both Indian traveling activists and nationalists at home in India worked together to mobilize international favor against imperial bonds. For some Indian immigrants in the 1920s and 1930s, Germany and Austria were no longer foreign lands and had become homes. A home of strife and division, but a place they identified with nonetheless.
The Physical Cosmos

The previous chapters have considered the social and political dimensions of rising entanglements between Indian and German travelers and their histories, especially in terms of the breakdown of the cohesive force uniting the ideals of “Europe” and “Empire” from the late nineteenth century onward. The second part of this book argues that this wreckage and rearrangement of geopolitics tracked transformations in the history of thought, and the history of transnational encounter. The rise of post-Enlightenment epistemologies across the range of the sciences and the humanities occurred over the course of this same period, 1880–1945. Post-Enlightenment discourses did not jettison the pursuit of scientific universalism based on modern scientific methods, but rather proposed new universalistic visions that challenged conventional positivistic views of the natural and the human realms.

Post-Enlightenment discourses of scholarship sought to enchant the world order in new ways, and it was within the fields of these scholarly discussions that German successorists from the nineteenth-century Concert of Europe and Indian rebels from the nineteenth-century ideal of Empire met each other as partners. These countercultural fields were not reactions against positivism, but rather transformations of scientific positivism. They represented the pluralization of scientific worldviews from within—based on transnational exchanges of unprecedented format and scale.

A pattern of dialogue among German and Indian thinkers organized around the pursuit of new representations of the world as a totality worked across a diverse sequence of fields, including theoretical physics, international economics, Marxism, geopolitical thought, psychoanalysis, and expressionist
239. The publishing of Buddhist texts, whether canonical or popular works, fell sharply to Germany in the 1930s: Heinz Sarkowski, Der Insel Verlag, 1899–1999 (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1999).


242. Anil Bhattacharyya and Johannes Voigt, eds., Jewish Exile in India (Delhi: Manohar, 1999); see Muhammad Asif (previously Leopold Weiss), Islam and Abendland (Olten, Switzerland: Walter, 1960).


251. Tom Ambrose, Hitler’s Loss (London: Chester Springs, 2001); Claus Dieter Krohn, Intellectuals in Exile (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993); Fleming and Baily, Intellectual Migration, 8.


254. Scholars such as Hermann Goetz, Muhammad Asif (previously Leopold Weiss), Appomandesta Bharati (aka Leopold Fischer), Stella Kramrisch, Walter Kaufmann, Otto Königberger, all of Central European Jewish descent, made major contributions to the knowledgeable nationalism in India.

4. Indian Visions of a Germanic Home

1. Radhakumud Mukherjee, "Indian Emigration," in Economic Problems of Modern India, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 1938), 190; Eric Holzbawen,
Industry and Empire: From 1750 to the Present Day (Harzow, UK: Penguin, 1999), 207.


7. Ibid., 17.


Sarkar, Prájita Jármáni, 1.

Sarkar, Donogir Alháná, 4.


Sarkar, Prájita Jármáni, 14.


31. A. C. N. Nambiar to Nehru, Document regarding the founding of the Indian Information Bureau, March 20, 1929, ZMO Kräger Archive, Bern 59; The Indian Information Bureau in Berlin, run by Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and A. C. N. Nambiar, facilitated the study of Indian students in Berlin. The organization leaders sent monthly reports to Nehru, and received funds from the coffers of the Indian National Congress beginning in 1928.

32. A. C. N. Nambiar to Jawaharlal Nehru, January 4, 1929, ZMO Kräger Archive, Bern 59.
33. Nehru to Chhattopadhyaya, April 25, 1929, NAI Nehru Correspondence, ZMO Krüger Archive, Item 47.
40. English, French, 17–18.
41. British surveillance file, APAC, L/P/J/12/667.
42. P. C. Ray, Life and Experiences of a Bengali Chemist (Calcutta: Chuckerberry, Chatterjee, 1892), 132.
44. Sarojini Naidu studied at King's College London and at Cambridge; Kamaladevi completed a course of study at the University of London; Virendranath studied at Oxford; Baroosh, Chaato, 7–10.
49. In 1923, British Intelligence reported more than 200 politically active students in Berlin. "Orientals in Berlin," APAC, January 13, 1923, L/P/J/12/102, 9, 10.
50. Ausländerkartei Indien, 1928–1938, HUA. This source consists of enrollment cards of Indian students to the university in these years.
51. See Ausländerkartei Indien, 1928–1938, HUA.
52. Virendranath Chhattopadhyaya's house on Georg-Wilhelm-Straße served as the social epicenter. APAC, September 3, 1923, L/P/J/12/102.
58. "Berlin Pictorial."
59. Ibid.
60. See the Ausländer Kartel-Indien, 1928–1938, HUA.
61. The Siemensstift, located in Spandau district, was established in 1895. Indian engineering students completed internships there in the 1930s. For example, N. G. Swami of Madras (1933); M. H. Advani (1929); Marnnathan Lal Gautha (1929). See Siemens Aktenarchiv (SAA), Ausländerkartei nos. 9, 56, 168.
62. SAA, Munich, Akte 1291. In 1935, Siemens in Calcutta became the regional office for all of Asia.
63. SAA, Akte 9463, describes the visits of Indian nationalists to the Siemensstift in 1936. Indian students also trained in engineering while living there, see the Humboldt Universität Ausländer Kartel Indien.
64. File 9463, SAA, Catalog no. 15139.
65. File 9463, SAA.
67. Virendranath Chhattopadhyaya's house on Georg-Wilhelm-Straße served as the social epicenter of the Indian émigré community. APAC, September 3, 1923, L/P/J/12/102.
62. Interview with A. C. N. Namhla, Oral History Collection at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (NMML), November 18, 1972.
65. In October 1922, Chattopadhyaya started the Indian News Service and Information Bureau in Berlin with support from Moscow. Loban, Khankaj, and Abani Mukherjee, all three of whom were present at the original competition for Soviet support in early 1921, were apparently also being individually provided with financial support from the Soviet government to carry on communist activities outside M. N. Roy’s circle. Das Gupta, December 24, 1923, NAI, Home Department Political, 1924 File 6/1.
68. The League against Imperialism was originally called the “League against Cruelties and Oppression in the Colonies,” Report on League Activities, APAC, June 2, 1927, L/PF/12/267. This was a Soviet-sponsored organization established to increase Russian influence in the colonial world.
69. Surveillance report to Petrie, APAC, April 9, 1927, L/PF/12/266.
73. Statement of Nabita Bhawna Das Gupta, NAI, Home Department Political, 1924, File 6/1.
74. APAC, L/PF/12/602, Roy, In Freedom’s Quest, 3-181.

88. Vreunndrani Chattopadhyaya married Agnes Smedley, then, after their divorce, Idilia Kazumovskina. M. N. Roy married Evelyn Trent, and then Ellen Gottschalk after their divorce. Sabhas Chandra Bose married Emilie Schenkel, while Benoy Kumar Sarkar married Ida Steiger. A. C. N. Namhla, after his divorce from Suhasini Chattopadhyaya, married a German woman. See Manjapra, M. N. Roy, 119.
91. Ibid, 93.
92. Nina Berman, Orientalismus, Kolonialismus und Moderne (Stuttgart: Mdt Verlag, 1997), 35.
100. Berliner Tageblatt, March 21, 1927.
102. Ibid.
103. See Chandana Monundar, "Swastika and Tiranga: Subhas Bose and Indian Nationalism's Connection with the Third Reich," PhD diss., Auburn University, 1999, 23, which references an article by Rudolf Olden in the files of the German Foreign Office.
104. Report, F. 15 XLV 28 Fol, NAÍ, reproduction in Krüger Nachlass, ZMO.
105. See reports of Tagore in the British press in Kalyan Kunch et al., Imagining Tagore (Calcutta: Shishir Sahitya Sanstho, 2000), 120ff.
107. Kühnephen, Tagore and Germany, 84ff.
109. Humboldt University, Musikwissenschaftliches Seminar, Lautarchiv, LA 346. This is a recording at the Berlin Staatsbibliothek by Wilhelm Doegen on Tagore's first visit to Germany in 1921. Recordings of an English and a Bengali address by Benoy Kumar Sarkar made in 1921, a poetry reading by Dwijendralal Ray, an address by the Maharaja of Baroda (LA 71) and by Kesharat Ali are also stored in the archive.


136. See the Richtofen report, Bundesarchiv, Reichskanzleramt fuer Uberwachung der publizischen Ordnung, R1507/67299/650, October 17, 1924, 11, 12. Meanwhile in India, von Collenberg was also busy trying to obtain new permissions for German traders. In an interview for the Indische Rundschau of May 1925, no. 1, 245, 246, the Geman consul general of India said that Germany's trade aims must take pride of place.

137. "Orientals in Berlin," APAC, September 3, 1923, 1/7/12/10/2.


139. Bency Kumar Sarkar returned to India on September 18, 1925. He was bailed in the local press, the Indian Daily Mail and the Bombay Chronicle, as the ambassador of new India. See Giuseppe Flora, Bency Kumar Sarkar (1857-1949) (Delhi: Center for Contemporary Studies, 1998), 17. Bhopindranath Dutta returned in 1927. See "Bhopindranath Dutta Returning to India," Modern Review, May 1927, 289-290. On the Kirti brothers' petition to return to India, see the letter from Madeleine Slade to Alexander Muddmann, NA1, January 12, 1926, "Jaijbar and Sattara Khetri," Political File no. 30.

140. See the recollections of Lucie Hecht, Chattopadhyaya's secretary, in her letter to Horst Krueger, "Memories of Chattopadhyaya," 1967, ZMO Archive, Krueger Nachlass, Item 41.

141. Eld."

142. Ibid.

143. Evelyn Roy to Henik van Heekel (Jack Horner), March 13, 1927, International Institute for Social History (IISH), van Heekel Files 382.

144. Agnes Snedely, "European Quest" in Battle Hymn of China (New York: Knopf, 1943), 150.


148. Dharmavir, Har Dayal.

149. Roy, In Freedom's Quest, 3.5, 54.

150. See, for example, the report about Abdullah Siddiqui, AA, July 31, 1915, R21087. Subhas Chandra Bose would also suffer from chronic stomach ailments. See Leonard A. Gordon, Brothers against the Raj: A Biography of Indian Nationalists Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 257.


152. Lucie Hecht to Horst Krueger, August 10, 1967, ZMO. She said that "Chatt was essentially on the run." Chattopadhyaya, in a letter to Nehru, wrote, "My health has been causing me some anxiety . . . My nerves are in a terrible condition." Chattopadhyaya to Nehru, January 23, 1929, NAI Nehru Correspondence, photocopy in ZMO, Krueger Nachlass, Item 43.


154. Chattopadhyaya writes to Jawaharlal Nehru, May 1928: "The work of the Secretariat (of the League against Imperialism) is extremely heavy and I sometimes feel like giving it up. But then what will I do? . . . I feel very tired—and dreadfully home-sick." Chattopadhyaya to Nehru, NAI, Nehru Correspondence, photocopy in Krueger Nachlass, ZMO, Item 130.

155. He became a professor of anthropology in Moscow in the early 1930s, but was charged with advancing views that were not in line with party discipline. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya was likely executed in one of Stalin's purges in 1936. See Barooah, Chatt, 300.


159. Tapan Mukherjee, Taraknath Das: Calcutta: Jadavpur, 2008), 201.

160. On the arrest of Nanibar and Naidoo, see British intelligence report, APAC, March 3, 1933, L7/10/7/53. The communists were banned in March 1933, and the SPD in June 1933. But the conflict between the socialists and communists, on one hand, and the Nazis, on the other, had already begun to intensify by early 1931. On large-scale arrests of Nazis see Detlev Pohle, Inside Nazi Germany (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 89-95; Otto Fleischh, Die KPD in der Weimarer Republik (Frankfurt am Main: Europische Verlaganstalt, 1960), 282-286; William Allen, The Nazi Seizure of Power (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965), 34.
161. See the report by the British ambassador in Berlin, Hermann Runbold, APAC, March 8, 1933, L/PP/12/75.

162. "Nazi Imprisonment," APAC, L/PP/12/73.

163. Tarakanath Das, "A Memorandum on the Possibility of Establishing a School of Oriental Studies in Munich," Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archive (IZA), November 1, 1931, MA 1190/3.

164. See Nicholas Goodricke-Clarke, Hitler’s Priests or: Sanstrat Devi, the Hindu-Aryan Myth, and Neo-Nazism (New York: New York University Press, 1968), 80–91, on German Inology in the Nazi period; see also Sheldon Pollock, "Deep Orientalism: Notes on Sanskrit and Power Beyond the Raj," in Orientalisms and the Postcolonial Predicament, ed. Carol Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 86. Karl Haushofer was the president of the Deutsche Akademie, and like many intellectuals in the party did not see the alliance between India and Germany through the lens of occultism or spiritual yearning, but believed in a geopolitical alliance.

165. The most important sources on Subhas Chandra Bose in Germany are Gordon, Brothers against the Raj, and Bose, His Majesty’s Opponent: Trotz zu Solz, "Notiz für Herrn Luther," NA-UK, January 28, 1943, Catalog no. 349596, CEM 53/564.

166. Trotz zu Solz, "Notiz für Herrn Luther," NA-UK CEM 53/564.


168. Gordon, Brothers against the Raj, 269; Anton Pelinka, Demokratie in Indien (Vienna: Studienverlag, 2003), 81–103.


171. APAC, L/PP/12/506.


174. Gordon, Brothers against the Raj, 283.