

## 20. Ḥasan Tawfīq al-ʿAdl (d. 1904) – Arabic Tutor and Author at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* in Berlin, 1887–1892

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*Islam Dayeh*

On 10 September 1887, the twenty-five-year-old Egyptian Ḥasan Tawfīq al-ʿAdl (1862–1904), a prodigious graduate of al-Azhar and Dār al-ʿUlūm, set off for Berlin to embark on what would become a distinguished academic career. As part of an agreement between the Prussian and the Egyptian governments, he was selected to become the first native teacher of Arabic at the newly-founded *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* at the Berlin Friedrich-Wilhelm University (now Humboldt University). He would remain in Berlin for five years, teaching future German orientalists, diplomats, and government translators. He also engaged in the study of pedagogy, and became a prolific author and translator, researching and composing works in Arabic on a variety of themes, including child pedagogy, physical education, Arabic literary history, and the etymology of colloquial Egyptian Arabic. Ḥasan Tawfīq also composed two travelogues which provide a fascinating account of his encounter with German culture and society around the 1890s. Although these works were written primarily for an Egyptian readership and published in Cairo, many of them were either composed entirely in Berlin or had their origins during his time in Berlin.

Ḥasan Tawfīq al-ʿAdl joined numerous non-German tutors who taught their native languages and cultures at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*, and participated in research assistance and translation work. However, our understanding of their lives, activities and experiences in Berlin, and how they interacted with their German peers and amongst each other, remains limited to a few cases.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Previous research on the lives of non-European tutors at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* include: Ludger Wimmelbücker, Mtoro Bin Mwyni Bakari: Swahili Lecturer and Author in Germany (Dar al-Salam, Tanzania: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, 2008); Katrin Bromber, 'German Colonial Administrators, Swahili Lecturers and the Promotion of Swahili at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* in Berlin', *Sudanic Africa* 15 (2004): 39–54; Astrid Brochlos, 'Das *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* an der Berliner Universität und die Japanbezogene Lehre', in *Japan und Preußen* (München: Iudicium-Verlag, 2002), 145–62; Holger Stoecker,

In the case of Ḥasan Tawfīq al-‘Adl, he is generally absent from scholarly accounts of the history of orientalism in Germany. This chapter aims to shed light on this little-known figure. In particular, it will focus on the following questions: How was Ḥasan Tawfīq al-‘Adl’s work shaped by his encounter with German colonialism and scholarship? What was his experience as a native tutor of Arabic at the Berlin University? What did he teach? How was his work shaped by his time in Berlin? What impact did his work have? This chapter begins by laying out an outline of his biography, followed by an examination of his role at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* and then proceeds to give an overview of his writings, situating them in their wider historical and intellectual contexts.

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The earliest biographical account of Ḥasan Tawfīq al-‘Adl was written by Dār al-‘Ulūm alumnus Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Jawād (1887–1964) in his *Taqwīm Dār al-‘Ulūm*, or the Dār al-‘Ulūm almanac, a documentary history of the institution written on the occasion of its 75th anniversary (1872–1947).<sup>2</sup> ‘Abd al-Jawād’s account draws on the information gleaned from Ḥasan Tawfīq’s travel reports, documents of the Dār al-‘Ulūm (many of which are no longer extant), newspaper announcements as well as oral testimonies from people who knew Ḥasan Tawfīq. ‘Abd al-Jawād also reproduced several rare photographs of Ḥasan Tawfīq al-‘Adl (see fig. 20.1, 20.3, and 20.4, below). A further valuable source for the reconstruction of Ḥasan Tawfīq’s life, particularly in relation to his role at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*, are the diplomatic documents preserved in the German State Archives. These documents consist of correspondences between the Prussian and Egyptian governments as well as correspondences between Ḥasan Tawfīq and the director of the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*, the German orientalist Eduard Sachau (1845–1930). They provide important information about the administrative and official contexts of his employment.<sup>3</sup>

Previous research on Ḥasan Tawfīq al-‘Adl has focused on particular aspects of his life. Aischa Ahmed, for example, examines the modes of Arab representation and agency in Berlin around the turn of the century, and takes Ḥasan Tawfīq al-‘Adl’s

‘Das Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen’, in *Kolonialmetropole Berlin: Eine Spurensuche*, ed. Ulrich van der Heyden (Berlin: Berlin Edition, 2002), 118.

2 Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Jawād, *Taqwīm Dār al-‘Ulūm: Al-‘adad al-māsi yaṣdur li-murūr 75 ‘āman ‘alā al-madrasah 1872–1947* (Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1952), 178–85. ‘Abd al-Jawād’s 900-page work remains the most important source for the history of Dār al-‘Ulūm.

3 Many of these documents were compiled by Gerhard Höpp (d. 2003) as part of his pioneering research on the history of Arabs and Muslims in Germany. The Höpp Nachlass has been digitised and is preserved at the Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient. I wish to thank the ZMO for providing me access to these documents.

work *al-Riḥla ilā Birlīn* as a case in point.<sup>4</sup> Hilary Kalmbach looks at certain aspects of the life of Ḥasan Tawfiq in the context of the social and cultural history of Dār al-‘Ulūm.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, Ḥasan Tawfiq is often credited with having a pioneering role in the development of modern Arab literary history and pedagogy, a theme which will be discussed below. However, a comprehensive biographical account that brings together the documentary sources with an overview of his works remains lacking. This article aims to provide a general sketch of his biography as well as the ways he is remembered (and forgotten) today.

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Ḥasan Tawfiq al-‘Adl was born in Alexandria in 1862 and moved with his family to Dimietta (Dimiyāt) in 1874. He memorised the Qur’ān at an early age, under the tutelage of his father, who was chief judge in the court of Damietta. In 1875, he moved to Cairo and began his studies at al-Azhar, graduating in 1882/83.<sup>6</sup> At around that time, ‘Alī Mubārak (1824–1893), Egypt’s Minister of Education, was preparing the grounds for the creation of a government teacher training college that would meet the demands created by the recent expansion of European-influenced civil schools. Dār al-‘Ulūm, as it would be called, was founded in 1882 and integrated Islamic and Arabic knowledge with European disciplines, attracting many reform-minded Azhari graduates who promoted European subjects and pedagogies. Having just graduated from al-Azhar and earned the religious title *Shaykh*, Ḥasan Tawfiq enrolled in Dār al-‘Ulūm in the year it was founded and witnessed the beginnings of this new institution. (Five years later, he would witness the beginnings of a very different kind of educational institution in Berlin). At Dār al-‘Ulūm, he continued to study the religious and philological sciences, along with some of the subjects that had no longer been taught at al-Azhar, such as geography, history, mathematics, and chemistry.<sup>7</sup> Among his teachers at Dār al-‘Ulūm was the prominent literary scholar Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī (1815–1890). Some of the teachers at Dār al-‘Ulūm had taught at al-Azhar before, and many of the students were, like Ḥasan Tawfiq, graduates of al-Azhar. This explains why he continued to study with some of his teachers

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- 4 Aischa Ahmed, *Arabische Präsenzen in Deutschland um 1900: Biografische Interventionen in die deutsche Geschichte* (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2020), 71–90.
  - 5 Hilary Kalmbach, *Islamic Knowledge and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Cambridge University Press, 2020).
  - 6 As part of the employment procedure at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*, Ḥasan Tawfiq produced a curriculum vitae, which was presented to the German consul, who then forwarded it to Eduard Sachau. See Nachlass Höpp, 07.01.
  - 7 During his time at Dār al-‘Ulūm, the curriculum consisted of the following subjects: exegesis of the Qur’ān, Islamic law, Arabic philology, geography, mathematics, geometry, chemistry, physics, and Arabic orthography. See ‘Abd al-Jawād, *Taqwīm Dār al-‘Ulūm*, 19.

from al-Azhar, receiving *ijāzāt* (educational certificates) from them while he was enrolled in Dār al-‘Ulūm.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, Ḥasan Tawfiq began taking French lessons at the Shaykh Ṣāliḥ night school together with his close friend and colleague Muḥammad Sharīf Salīm (1861–1925).<sup>9</sup> In 1887, Ḥasan Tawfiq graduated from Dār al-‘Ulūm, and was the only graduate that year.

By graduating from Dār al-‘Ulūm, Shaykh Ḥasan Tawfiq also earned the civic title *effendi* (sir) and, from then on, he would often combine the two titles, *shaykh* and *effendi*, in his publications, indicating that he had joined the class of reform-minded al-Azhar graduates who were suitable for employment in Egypt’s growing civil schools. Yet, as fate would have it, Ḥasan Tawfiq would never teach at any of these civil schools.

In 1887, as Ḥasan Tawfiq was preparing for his final examination at Dār al-‘Ulūm, the Prussian ministry of education and foreign ministry were jointly finalising their plans for a new educational institute in Berlin that would prepare German colonial officials for foreign service. Its emphasis was to be on practical training, with a particular focus on teaching the languages of the areas in which Germany had colonial or commercial interests. It was also envisioned that the languages in question would be taught by a native speaker. In that same year, the German foreign ministry sent an official letter to the ruler of Egypt, the Khedive Tawfiq (reigned from 1879–1892), requesting the employment of an Arabic teacher who can teach Egyptian Arabic at the recently established *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* in Berlin. Ḥasan Tawfiq was chosen for the task and was sent off to Berlin soon after his graduation.

It is not obvious why Ḥasan Tawfiq was selected, particularly given his young age and lack of prior teaching experience. In a 1953 essay published in the journal *al-Hilāl*, entitled “Ḥasan Tawfiq Al-‘Adl: The Azhari who met Bismarck”, the author, Aḥmad ‘Aṭṭīyatullah, comments that al-Azhar and Dār al-‘Ulūm had indeed produced many competent graduates, including prominent senior figures, such as ‘Abd

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- 8 Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Jawād mentions that Ḥasan Tawfiq earned certificates from Shaykh Ibrahim al-Saqqā (d. 1289/1872) in 1297/1879, Shaykh Ḥasan al-‘Adawī (1221–1303/1806–1886) in 1297/1879, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Inbābī (1240–1313/1824–1896) in 1298/1880, and Shaykh Muḥammad al-Shanqīṭī (1245–1322/1829–1904) in 1298/1880. See Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Jawād, ‘Ḥasan Tawfiq Al-‘Adl’, al-Kitāb, no. July (1947): 1374. Al-Inbābī served as Shaykh al-Azhar from 1886 to 1895.
- 9 After graduating from Dār al-‘Ulūm, Muḥammad Sharīf Salīm was sent to Paris in 1888. Similar to Ḥasan Tawfiq, he composed a *Riḥla* comprising an account of his time in France. He returned to Dār al-‘Ulūm in 1894 (two years after Ḥasan Tawfiq’s return to Cairo) and would also teach pedagogy. See ‘Abd al-Jawād, *Taqwīm Dār al-‘Ulūm*, 150–51. Other colleagues of Ḥasan Tawfiq’s cohort, who were sent to Europe for further education, included Muḥammad Najīb Ḥatāta, who was sent to the University of Exeter, England, and Zaki Muḥammad al-Muhandis, who was sent to the University of Reading, England. See *Taqwīm*, 153–55.

al-Jawād ‘Abd al-‘Āl, Ḥifnī Nāṣif, Muṣṭafā Ṭuḥūm, and Sulṭān Muḥammad, but, he asserted, it was the young Ḥasan Tawfīq who was the most talented and ambitious of his generation.<sup>10</sup> In hindsight, this may well be true if we consider how prolific he was despite his relatively short-life (he died at the age of 42). There is no doubt that his teachers at al-Azhar and Dār al-‘Ulūm saw great potential in Ḥasan Tawfīq and would have vouched for him. On the other hand, the fact that he was young and had no prior experience does not seem to have been a concern for the German officials. In fact, several other native language tutors at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* were similarly young and had no prior teaching experience.<sup>11</sup> It seems safe to suggest that the German officials approved of Ḥasan Tawfīq not necessarily because of his knowledge of the religious and philological sciences he had studied at al-Azhar and Dār al-‘Ulūm (the point stressed in the aforementioned *Hilāl* essay) but rather because he was a “civilised” shaykh who could teach the native spoken Egyptian Arabic. This would become evident in how teaching was carried out at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*, as we shall see below.

For the twenty-five-year-old Ḥasan Tawfīq, this was an opportunity that he was eager to embrace. In addition to his teaching duties, he was also expected to study pedagogy. He would join the many Egyptians who were sent to Europe on government-sponsored study-missions since the time of Muḥammad Ali, including the reform-minded scholars Rifā‘a Rāfi‘ al-Ṭaḥṭāwī (1801–73) and the aforementioned ‘Alī Mubārak. In the case of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, he spent five years in Paris (1826–1831), before returning to Egypt for a career as an educator, reformer, and translator. He wrote an account of his time in Paris, *Takhliṣ al-ibriz fi talkhīs bārīz* (1834), which encapsulated the national spirit that shaped Ḥasan Tawfīq and his generation. Ḥasan Tawfīq’s path, as exemplified in his account of Berlin, was to a great extent already paved by

10 Aḥmad ‘Aṭṭīyyatullah, ‘Ḥasan Tawfīq al-‘Adl: Al-Azhari alladhī qābal Bismārck’ [Ḥasan Tawfīq Al-‘Adl: The Azhari who met Bismarck], *al-Hilāl*, no. 6 (1953): 72.

11 Regarding the African tutors, many of whom were young when they arrived at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*, Sara Pugach writes: “The first, and most significant, of the Africans’ duties involved standing next to a German coworker and mimicking difficult pronunciations . . . *Lektoren* were considered invaluable but not because of their linguistic knowledge. Instead, they were prized for the purely physical ability to make certain sounds. Their worth to the developing science of phonetics in particular was assessed not on merit or personal skill but on the movement of vocal organs”. See Sara Pugach, *Africa in Translation: A History of Colonial Linguistics in Germany and Beyond, 1814–1945* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 148–49.

al-Ṭaḥṭāwī.<sup>12</sup> What distinguished Ḥasan Tawfiq's study-mission, however, was that it was the first of its kind to Germany.

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When the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* opened its doors on 27 October 1887, the academic study of Arabic and Islam had long existed at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Berlin, but it was a handmaid to classical philology and Biblical studies.<sup>13</sup> In contrast, the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* was to “teach practical knowledge for aims that lie outside the area of philology”.<sup>14</sup> While building on the expertise already at the university, the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* was by no means to be in competition with oriental studies. It was to remain independent from the existing chair of oriental studies, with its links to Biblical studies, theology, and classical philology.

Germany's entry into the ranks of the colonial powers from the mid-1880s played a major role in shaping the colonial character of the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*. The lack of expertise and language knowledge of the colonised countries was increasingly felt. It was the Chancellor Otto von Bismarck himself who called for the establishment of the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*, particularly following the Berlin Africa Conference in 1884–85.<sup>15</sup>

The *Seminar* was under the direct administration of the Prussian government and the German Empire (*Reichskanzleramt*). It was to be housed at the Friedrich-Wilhelm University but did not become part of it, reflecting the special status it had in the Prussian educational landscape and the German foreign and colonial administration.<sup>16</sup> It played a significant role in the German colonization of East Africa where, besides German, Swahili came to be used as an official language.<sup>17</sup> The *Seminar für*

12 For example, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's work was so well-known that Ḥasan Tawfiq tells his readers that there is no need to provide a long description of Alexandria because al-Ṭaḥṭāwī had already done so in his *Riḥla*. See Ḥasan Tawfiq al-'Adl, al-Riḥla ilā Bīrlīn, ed. 'Abd al-Mun'im Muḥammad Sa'īd (Cairo: Maṭba'at Dār al-Kutub wa-l-Wathā'iq al-Qawmiya bi-l-Qāhira, 2008), 50, see also 38.

13 Eberhard Seraukly, 'Zur Entwicklung der Arabistik am Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen', ed. Hannelore Bernhardt (Berlin: Humboldt-Universität, 1990), 57–63.

14 From the speech of Gustav von Goßler (1832–1902), the Prussian Minister of Culture, at the opening of the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*. Quoted in Bromber, 'German Colonial Administrators, Swahili Lecturers and the Promotion of Swahili at the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen in Berlin', 41.

15 Konrad Canis, 'Bismarck als Kolonialpolitiker', in *Kolonialmetropole Berlin: Eine Spurensuche*, ed. Ulrich van der Heyden (Berlin: Berlin Edition, 2002), 23–28.

16 Stoecker, 'Das Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen', 116.

17 Wimmelbücker, Mtoro Bin Mwinyi Bakari: Swahili Lecturer and Author in Germany, 28.

*Orientalische Sprachen* also taught the languages of the countries with which the Reich government had (or aspired to have) commercial, diplomatic and political relations, such as Khedival Egypt. Both the Prussian colonial administration and Khedive Tawfiq, whose father Khedive Ismā‘il had been removed by the British, had a common interest in strengthening commercial, educational, and political ties, and to stop or weaken the British colonial presence on the African continent.<sup>18</sup> It seems that Ḥasan Tawfiq swiftly became aware of the political stakes in his mission and the role that was expected of him, and he acted accordingly.

Thus, before leaving Egypt, Ḥasan Tawfiq met Khedive Tawfiq himself, who decorated him with the Majīdī Medal of the Fifth Order (*al-Nīshān al-Majīdī al-Khāmīs*) a symbol of trust and encouragement. He also met the minister of education, Yaqub Artin (1842–1919). A grand farewell ceremony was organised by the Ministry of Education, with notable attendants from the government, al-Azhar and Dār al-‘Ulūm.<sup>19</sup> On 13 September 1887, Ḥasan Tawfiq embarked on the steam ship (vapour) from Alexandria, heading for Trieste, and from there to Vienna and then Berlin. During his brief stop in Vienna, he met the 13-year-old ‘Abbās Ḥilmī and the 12-year-old Muḥammad ‘Alī, Khedive Tawfiq’s two sons, who had been sent to study in Vienna.<sup>20</sup> He would later accompany them on their visit of King Friedrich Wilhelm in Berlin.<sup>21</sup>

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Ḥasan Tawfiq arrived in Berlin on 20 September 1887. Eduard Sachau, the director of the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*, welcomed al-‘Adl at the Berlin Train Station and brought him to his accommodation.<sup>22</sup> Sachau, who had been a professor at the Berlin University since 1876, was appointed as director in August 1887 and remained in this position until 1928. Ḥasan Tawfiq initially stayed at a place which he called “the mixed school” (*al-madrasa al-mukhṭalaṭa*), because it was a place where students of various foreign backgrounds lived and interacted with one another.<sup>23</sup> Sachau appointed a guide for him who knew some Arabic until Ḥasan Tawfiq began to learn German.

18 Canis, ‘Bismarck als Kolonialpolitiker’, 26–27.

19 Ḥasan Tawfiq provides a detailed account of the ceremony, including the poetry and speeches that were delivered. al-‘Adl, *al-Riḥla ilā Birlīn*, 28–30.

20 al-‘Adl, 72–73.

21 ‘Aṭṭīyyatullah, ‘Ḥasan Tawfiq al-‘Adl: Al-Azharī alladhī qābal Bismārck’, 72–74.

22 al-‘Adl, *Al-Riḥla ilā Birlīn*, 76–77.

23 Ḥasan Tawfiq would later become unhappy about this accommodation and complained about the high cost of rent. See Nachlass Höpp, 07.01.

Hasan Tawfiq joined a faculty of ten teachers and tutors who were appointed in 1887.<sup>24</sup> To facilitate language instruction, each language was taught by a German professor (*deutscher Lehrer*) and a native tutor (*eingeborener Lektor*). The German professor would teach the theory of the language, whereas the lector would teach how the language is actually used.<sup>25</sup> Teachers, some of whom had professor titles, had a fair knowledge of the language and the country because they had worked as missionaries or with the German colonial administration prior to joining the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*.

Some lectors, especially those from Africa, were brought to the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* by missionaries, while others were part of an agreement of the German foreign ministry (*Auswärtiges Amt*). Lectors usually remained for a few years and often returned home. The employment of non-Europeans as tutors contradicted the sense of moral and intellectual superiority that many Europeans claimed at the time. Nonetheless, the German teachers appreciated the linguistic competence and knowledge of the non-European tutors, without which the training in “practical knowledge” would have been inconceivable.<sup>26</sup> This appreciation can particularly be seen in the acknowledgements in the prefaces to their works, as we will see below. The lector was expected to teach the spoken, modern form of the language, but may occasionally also teach literature and cultural subjects.

The curriculum of the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* was designed in agreement with the German foreign ministry. According to this agreement, successful graduates of the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* can function as translators in the foreign ministry (*Dolmetscherdienst*). The curriculum initially encompassed the teaching of the following languages: Chinese, Japanese, Hindustani, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Swahili.

In addition to language instruction, the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* also taught so-called classes on *Realia*, which were sometimes given by the language tutors. These included: the customs and institutions of the people who speak these

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24 These included Friedrich Rosen, teacher of Hindustani; Rudolf Lange, teacher of Japanese; Friedrich Carl Andreas, teacher of Persian; the “Missions-inspektor Pfarrer” C. G. Büttner, Lehrer of Suaheli; “Magistrats-Büreauassistent” Amin Maarbes, lector of Arabic; the Egyptian Scheick Hasan Effendi Taufik, lector of Arabic; “Kanzler-Dragoman” Martin Hartmann, teacher of Arabic; Tetzujiro Jnouyé, lector of Japanese; “Gesandtschafts-Dolmetscher” C. Arendt, teacher of Chinese; Kwe Lin and Pan Fei Sching as lectors of Chinese. Bernhard Moritz was appointed as secretary and librarian of the SOS. He would later teach Arabic. See ‘Chronik der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, 1.1887/88’ (Coslar, 1888), 64–66.

25 ‘Chronik der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, 1.1887/88’, 64–66.

26 There were however some instances of discrimination against some Swahili lectors. See Bromber, ‘German Colonial Administrators, Swahili Lecturers and the Promotion of Swahili at the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen in Berlin’, 51–52. and Stoecker, ‘Das Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen’, 118.

languages, as well as instruction in tropical hygiene, colonial law, geography, statistics and contemporary history of the language area (*Sprachgebiet*). The objectives of the classes were four: 1. Knowledge of the grammar and widely used vocabulary in speech and writing. 2. Training in oral and written use of the language. 3. Familiarity with “the types of documents, both public and private, which are used most frequently in relations between Europeans and Orientals”. 4. Understanding of the land and the people.<sup>27</sup>

For the academic year 1890–91, Eduard Sachau reported that the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* consisted of eleven faculty members, three of whom taught Arabic: Martin Hartmann, as teacher, and Ḥasan Tawfiq and Amīn Ma‘arbis (Amin Maarbes) as tutors. Hartmann taught the subjects “public and private documents in Arabic” (“öffentliche und private Urkunden in Arabischer Sprache”) and “Laws and Customs in Arab Lands” (“Recht und Sitte in den Ländern arabischer Zunge”).<sup>28</sup>

Ḥasan Tawfiq taught “practical exercises in modern Arabic, with a special focus on the dialect of Egypt,” while his colleague Amīn Ma‘arbas taught the Syrian Arabic dialect.<sup>29</sup> We do not know how Ḥasan Tawfiq taught the subject, but a considerable part of it must have focused on Egyptian Arabic. It is safe to say that this course was the impetus for his 1898 work on the etymology of Egyptian Arabic, which we shall discuss below. The other Arabic tutor was the Syrian Amin Ma‘arbes, who taught Syrian Arabic for fifteen years. In addition to his language classes, he offered three courses on the subjects “1001 Nights,” “Exercises in Reading and Explaining Arabic Script,” and “Newspapers and Practice in Writing.” Apparently, he chose his own texts for teaching and argued with one of the German professors over what was the best text.<sup>30</sup>

27 ‘Chronik der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, 1.1887/88’, 64–66.

28 “Als Docenten sind z. Z. am Seminar thätig: 1. Herr Professor C. Arendt, Lehrer des Chinesischen; 2. Herr Hsüeh Schen, Lector des Nordchinesischen; 3. Herr Au Fung Tschü, Lector des Südchinesischen; 4. Herr Professor Dr. R. Lange, Lehrer des Japanischen; 5. Herr T. Senga, Lector des Japanischen; 6. Herr Djama Chan Ghorī, Lector des Hindustani und Persischen; 7. Herr Professor Dr. Hartmann, Lehrer des Arabischen; 8. Herr Hassan Taufik, Lector des Arabischen; 9. Herr Amin Maarbes, Lector des Arabischen; 10. Herr Dr. K. Foy, Lehrer des Türkischen; 11. Herr Dr. C. G. Büttner, Lehrer des Suaheli. Der Lector des Suaheli Sleman Bin Said ist verstorben. Der commissarische Director, Sachau.” Eduard Sachau, *Das Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*, ‘Chronik der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, 4.1890/91’ (Goslar, 1891), 61–62.

29 “Praktische Übungen im Neuarabischen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Dialects von Ägypten, Lector Hasan Taufik, Montags, Dienstags, Mittwochs, Donnerstags, Freitags, 6–9 Uhr (6–7 ½ Uhr für den Zweiten Cursus, 7 ½–9 Uhr für den Anfängercursus), öffentlich.” See *Universität Berlin Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität: Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen* (Berlin: Universität Berlin, Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1888). Winter Semester, 1888–89, 29.

30 Pugach, *Africa in Translation*, 148.

The salary of a professor was higher than that of a lector, and the salaries of Chinese and Arabic tutors were higher than that of the African language tutors.<sup>31</sup> According to the agreement between the German foreign ministry and the Egyptian ministry of education, the salary of Ḥasan Tawfiq al-‘Adl was covered by both countries and initially amounted to 3000 marks per year, paid monthly. The contribution of the Egyptian ministry of education was to be paid to the German consulate in Egypt. In December 1889, slightly more than two years after Ḥasan Tawfiq’s arrival in Berlin, Sachau approved an additional 500 marks per year to be paid from the funds of the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*, after Ḥasan Tawfiq al-‘Adl had complained of financial hardship. The Egyptian government continued to pay its share, 1500 marks, as in the original 1887 agreement. The cost of travel between Cairo and Berlin was borne by both governments.<sup>32</sup>

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Tutors were required to wear their native, traditional attire while they were teaching at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*. In the case of Ḥasan Tawfiq, this was even stipulated in his contract.<sup>33</sup> This requirement was not only to identify him as a language tutor, but also as a representation of the “orient” in the lecture halls of the *Seminar*. The “oriental attire” which he and other non-European tutors were required to wear was integral to the reification and commodification of non-European cultures and peoples which was taking place in museums and colonial “people exhibitions” in Berlin at the time.<sup>34</sup> From the perspective of Ḥasan Tawfiq al-‘Adl, however, he was proud to wear his “oriental dress” (*al-malābis al-sharqiyya*), which was also his “cultural capital” as a religious scholar.<sup>35</sup> Until the 1920s, Egyptian graduates of al-Azhar and Dār al-‘Ulūm were expected to wear a gown and turban (*thawb*, ‘*amāma*), unlike the graduates from the Egyptian civil schools who wore a suit and tarboush. However, it was common for fin-de-siècle graduates of Dār al-‘Ulūm to engage in what Hilary Kalmbach calls “performative code-switching”. She writes, “the fluid manner in which he [Ḥasan Tawfiq al-‘Adl] deployed various aspects of his cultural capital is most visible in his switching between different styles of dress and title. For instance, he was listed as a *shaykh* in the notice announcing his induction into the Royal Asiatic Society in London and wore the dress of a religious scholar when meeting the

31 Pugach, 144–46.

32 For the diplomatic exchange and contracts, in French, see Nachlass Höpp, 07.01.

33 See Nachlass Höpp, 07.01. According to Pugach, Ḥasan Tawfiq was the only native tutor who was required to wear his native oriental attire. See Pugach, *Africa in Translation*, 145.

34 Ahmed, *Arabische Präsenzen*, 78.

35 He praises the Egyptian ministry of education for providing him with the oriental dress, Arabic books and the travel expenses. See al-‘Adl, *al-Rihla ilā Birlin*, 29.

German Kaiser, yet he used the title *efendi* and appeared in a suit and *tarboushin* in the 1895 picture of Dar al-‘Ulum’s faculty.”<sup>36</sup>

*Fig. 20.1: Ḥasan Tawfiq al-‘Adl in the dress of a religious scholar when meeting the German Kaiser in Berlin, c.a. 1892.*



Source: Taqwīm Dār al-‘Ulūm, 41.

36 Kalmbach, *Islamic Knowledge and the Making of Modern Egypt*, 39–40.

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Despite the fact that the objectives of the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* were clear from the start, there was no set curriculum or textbooks to achieve these objectives in the initial years. In 1890, the first work in a series entitled *Lehrbücher des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin*, under the editorship of Eduard Sachau, was published. The works were prepared by a German teacher at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*, with the assistance of a native tutor. Occasionally, this assistance was acknowledged in the book's preface.<sup>37</sup> Some acknowledgements show clearly that German teachers needed the assistance of the native lecturers, who became central to the production of colonial knowledge. As Sara Pugach argues: "lektoren [lectors] were not in Germany to entertain but rather to teach, and this assured a complex relationship; they may have been despised or looked down upon because of their "race," but it was difficult to deny their pedagogical importance."<sup>38</sup> Some acknowledgements also allude to collegial relations between the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* faculty, as well as the collaboration between teachers and tutors. For example, Bernhard Moritz (1859–1939), who began working at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* in 1887 as a secretary, librarian and then professor of Arabic, thanks "Dr. Reinhardt in Zanzibar, Herrn Amin Maarbes und Herrn Hassan Taufik am Seminar".<sup>39</sup> Moritz later moved to Egypt and became the first director of the Khedival Library in Cairo from 1896 to 1911. Similarly, Carl Gotthilf Büttner acknowledged the important contributions of two tutors of Swahili.<sup>40</sup>

Hasan Tawfiq continued to teach at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* until the summer semester of 1892. From the winter semester 1892–93 onwards, a new Egyptian tutor assumed work at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*, Shaykh Muḥammad Naṣṣār (1863–1936).<sup>41</sup> The teaching of Arabic continued to grow at the

37 On the cooperation (or the lack thereof) between the German professors and the lecturers of Swahili, see Bromber, 'German Colonial Administrators, Swahili Lecturers and the Promotion of Swahili at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* in Berlin', 41–48.

38 Pugach, *Africa in Translation*, 142.

39 Bernhard Moritz, ed., *Sammlung arabischer Schriftstücke aus Zanzibar Und Oman, Lehrbücher des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen Zu Berlin* (Stuttgart & Berlin: W. Spemann, 1892), XIV.

40 "Einiges ist mir von den Lektoren am Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen Herrn SLEMAN BIN SAID und Herrn AMUR BIN NASUR aufgeschrieben". See Carl Gotthilf Büttner, ed., *Suaheli-Schriftstücke in arabischer Schrift: Mit lateinischer Schrift umschrieben, übersetzt und erklärt* (Stuttgart & Berlin: W. Spemann, 1892), Vorwort, V. The reference is to Sulaymān b. Sa'īd b. Aḥmad al-Ṣurāmī (ca. 1871–1891) and 'Amr b. Naṣr al-'Umarī (1867–after 1914). See Bromber, 43.

41 Muḥammad Naṣṣār graduated from Dār al-'Ulūm in 1891. He would spend seven years at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* as a tutor of Arabic. At the Berlin University, he studied hieroglyphics, psychology and ethics. Upon returning to Egypt in 1899, he taught at Dār

*Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*, particularly after the establishment of diplomatic ties with Morocco. As a result, the Arabic Moroccan dialect began to be taught by the Moroccan tutor Muḥammad Bu Selham. Moreover, the Arabic of Zanzibar began to be taught by ‘Amr b. Naṣr, who also taught Swahili.<sup>42</sup> ‘Amr b. Naṣr arrived in Berlin in 1891 and remained until 1895. He wrote an autobiographical account of his experiences in Berlin in Kiswahili, which was translated into German by his mentor C. G. Büttner, which he published in his anthology *Lieder und Geschichten der Suaheli* in 1894, and used as teaching material. ‘Amr b. Naṣr narrates his experiences in Berlin, touching on themes such as the weather, urban life, the German language and bureaucracy, and even recounts a brief encounter with Bismarck, themes that Ḥasan Tawfiq also wrote about in his *Riḥla*.<sup>43</sup>

Moritz’s aforementioned acknowledgment notwithstanding, it is interesting to note that none of Ḥasan Tawfiq’s Arabic works were translated into German. We know that Sachau knew of his Arabic works, particularly of the *Riḥla* and the work on pedagogy, and that some of the works had already been printed.<sup>44</sup> Would his *Riḥla ilā Birlin* not have served as a suitable Arabic text for the *Lehrbücher* series? There are several issues here. First, although ‘Amr b. Naṣr’s autobiographical account, which was written in Swahili and translated into German by C. G. Büttner, was perhaps inspired by the work of his colleague Ḥasan Tawfiq, it was intended to be used as teaching material for the German students who planned to serve in the German East African colony. However, Ḥasan Tawfiq’s *Riḥla ilā Birlin* was written for an Egyptian, Arabic readership.

The first Arabic textbook in the series appeared only in 1897, and it was the 17<sup>th</sup> in the series. It was a translation of and introduction to the popular Shāfi‘ī legal primer *Matn Abī Shujā’*, which Sachau prepared together with Ḥasan Tawfiq’s successor Shaykh Muḥammad Naṣṣār. In the preface to the work, Sachau wrote:

“It was very helpful to me that I was able to discuss many difficult questions with Mr. Muhammed Naṣṣār, who was a member of the teaching staff of the Seminar from 1892–1897, an excellent connoisseur of his mother tongue and of jurisprudence. It is my pleasant duty to express my gratitude to him at this point, as well

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al-‘Ulūm and al-Madrasa al-Nāṣiriyya, before assuming the role of education inspector. See ‘Abd al-Jawād, *Taqwīm Dār al-‘Ulūm*, 287–89.

42 Chronik der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, 6.1892/93 (Goslar, 1893), 31–32.

43 “Geschichte des erwähnten Knechtes des Propheten Gottes Amur bin Nasur ilOmeiri. Eigenhändig”, in Büttner, *Suaheli-Schriftstücke in arabischer Schrift*, 178. ‘Amr b. Naṣr’s account ends on 15 September 1892, shortly after Ḥasan Tawfiq left Berlin. It is highly probable that he was familiar with Ḥasan Tawfiq’s *Riḥla*.

44 See *Vita* prepared in German, presumably, after 1889, listing Ḥasan Tawfiq’s accomplishments before and after his arrival in Berlin. Nachlass Höpp, 07.01.

as to Dr. A. Fischer for his kind assistance in reading the corrections, especially the second half of the work.”<sup>45</sup>

This acknowledgment suggests that Sachau had little experience with *fiqh* prior to this publication and that Muḥammad Naṣṣār did not merely assist Sachau but taught him how to read the work. *Matn Abī Shujā’* would have been one of the many legal texts that Naṣṣār would have studied at al-Azhar or Dār al-‘Ulūm. It is not difficult to imagine Naṣṣār actually being the teacher of Sachau and having recommended the text for study. Despite the official hierarchy established between German teachers and native tutors, the acknowledgements included in the prefaces of the publications of the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* reveal some of the latent dynamics that were at play at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*. Unfortunately, we do not have academic reports or transcripts of the kind of scholarly discussions that took place at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* and in which language, but it is clear that the tutor’s contributions influenced the design and content of the curriculum.

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Ḥasan Tawfīq al-‘Adl began writing his travelogue soon after he left Egypt in September 1887, and he would continue to write it until September 1889. The travelogue was called *Riḥlat Ḥasan Efendi Tawfīq* (The Journey of Ḥasan Efendi Tawfīq); it is also known as *al-Riḥla ilā Birlin*. The work consists of thirteen dated, but untitled sections (*ajzā’*). An examination of the extant manuscript indicates that the work was serialised in the period between 1888 and 1890.<sup>46</sup> The sections were despatched from Berlin to the Egyptian ministry of education in Cairo. Later they would be forwarded to the Khedivial Egyptian library. This suggests that Ḥasan Tawfīq had been commissioned to write a regular report of his time in Berlin, and that he had begun doing so shortly after leaving Egypt. However, Ḥasan Tawfīq’s *Riḥla* is incomplete. At the end of section thirteen, we are promised a description of the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*, but we do not have this account. It seems that Ḥasan Tawfīq never got round to writing it or that it was never dispatched.

45 “Es war mir in hohem Maasse förderlich, dass ich manche schwierige Frage mit Herrn Muhammed Naṣṣār, der von 1892—1897 dem Lehrkörper des Seminars angehörte, einem ausgezeichneten Kenner seiner Muttersprache sowie der Rechtswissenschaft, besprechen konnte. Es ist mir eine angenehme Pflicht ihm an dieser Stelle meinen Dank zu bezeugen, sowie Herrn Dr. A. Fischer für freundliche Hülfe bei dem Lesen der Correcturen besonders der zweiten Helfte des Werkes.” Eduard Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht nach Schafitischer Lehre. Lehrbücher des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen in Berlin* (Stuttgart & Berlin: W. Spemann, 1897), XXVIII–XXIX. (my translation).

46 Egyptian National Library (Dār al-Kutub), MS 113 Geography. See also copy in Nachlass Höpp, 05.13.032.

The work is a rich account of the first two years of his time in Berlin. It is written in a literary style, interspersed with poetry (sometimes his own) and curious anecdotes about his personal experiences. The serialised work sometimes reads like a report on particular historical and cultural themes, gleaned and translated directly from books he was able to read in German.

The work has an unmistakable didactic tone, which makes it clear that Ḥasan Tawfiq's main objective was to report on the pedagogical institutions and practices in Germany. His intended readers were Egyptian students and education inspectors, whom he often addresses directly. The didactic tone is softened however by humorous anecdotes reminiscent of the picaresque *maqāmāt*-like rhymed prose (*saj'*), which his readers (graduates of al-Azhar and Dār al-'Ulūm) would have appreciated.

Ḥasan Tawfiq was conscious that his work would be the first detailed account of Germany written in Arabic. While other nineteenth-century Arab travelogue authors made Paris the centre of their work, his was the first to give a comprehensive account focused on the capital of the German Empire. He reported on its schools, universities, libraries and museums. He wrote about the postal service, means of transportation, the climate and the everyday life of people. He introduced various pedagogical thinkers, such as Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1827).<sup>47</sup> He gives a detailed description of the *Festtag* of the chemist August Hoffmann (1818–1892).<sup>48</sup> He also provided a description of gymnastics and the pedagogical importance of physical education. He provides a brief biography of the German gymnastics' educator and nationalist Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778–1852), commonly known as "Turnvater Jahn" (Father of Gymnastics Jahn).<sup>49</sup> His interest in physical education would later result in his work *al-Ḥarakāt al-Riyāḍiyya*, published in Cairo in 1895.

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Ḥasan Tawfiq was a keen observer and a flaneur, who enjoyed walking through the streets, squares and parks of Berlin.<sup>50</sup> Shortly after his arrival, Ḥasan Tawfiq went to the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*, which was housed in the Alte Börse, Am Lustgarten no. 6, just across from *museum island*,<sup>51</sup> but finding it closed for the holiday, he

47 al-'Adl, al-Riḥla ilā Birlin, 88.

48 al-'Adl, 143–49.

49 al-'Adl, 251.

50 Occasionally, he would introduce a topic or an anecdote with the opening sentence, "As I was walking one day, I saw...". For example, see al-'Adl, 79, 81, 156–57.

51 The building was demolished in 1893 to make room for the new construction of the Berlin Dome which began in 1894. The *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* moved to Am Zeughauser Nr. 1 before finally moving to Dorotheenstraße 7, just behind the main building of the Berlin University. The buildings do not exist today. See Stoecker, 'Das Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen', 118.

walked to the nearby museum instead. Ḥasan Tawfiq was fascinated by the number of museums surrounding the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* at the “museum island” (*Museumsinsel*). He frequented the museums and was asked to assist in the identification and deciphering of objects from the Islamic world. However, he was critical of the imperial and colonial agendas that shaped the Berlin museum landscape. By the 1880s, museums had become sites for the appropriation and representation of the world, and Ḥasan Tawfiq was critical of this.<sup>52</sup> He recorded a telling conversation he had with a museum guide at the Egyptian Museum:

“An attendant who was assigned to me asked me jokingly, “How do you like your treasures here with us?” I replied, “They are beautifully displayed and indicate your efforts to present them appropriately. I am pleased that they are with you and that you remember the ancient Egyptians, even though we [the Egyptians] actually have a claim to them first.” He replied, “Then why do they forbid export from your country? It would be better if we could increase the number [of artefacts in the Museum] to increase the memory!” I laughed and said, “Yes, if it were a matter of true friendship, less would have to suffice for remembrance.”<sup>53</sup>

Aischa Ahmed argues that Ḥasan Tawfiq articulated one of the earliest critical interventions in the debate around the provenance of artefacts in European museums.<sup>54</sup> His critique was not limited to Egyptian antiquities, but extended to the Spanish colonisation of Mexico: “They [the Spanish] broke the statues and destroyed the rock inscriptions and tore up what history books they could find, which, had they been preserved, would have been one of the greatest testimonies to the history of these lands.”<sup>55</sup> Ḥasan Tawfiq even compared the Spanish colonization of Mexico with the contemporary British colonization of Egypt, an analogy that can be considered as a precursor to an anti-colonial critique.<sup>56</sup>

“When the Europeans came to their senses [i.e., after an age of decline], they began to search for antiquities in all lands and travelled more and more. They were led by ambition and they wanted to make a profit. They spent dirhams and dinars and set up companies in their kingdoms. How they explored in all directions! We mocked them and thought them reckless and greedy, till they took immeasurably from our and other countries. If they could, they would have even taken the pyramids. But thank God, since then we have begun registering and preserving the remaining antiquities in order to do the same [i.e., study the antiquities].”<sup>57</sup>

52 For an analysis of Ḥasan Tawfiq’s critical views on the colonial politics of nineteenth-century European museums, see Ahmed, *Arabische Präsenzen*, 80–85.

53 al-’Adl, *al-Riḥla ilā Birlin*, 288. The guide is referring to the 1835 decree of Muhammad Ali, which prohibited the export and trade of all Egyptian antiquities.

54 Ahmed, *Arabische Präsenzen*, 82.

55 al-’Adl, *al-Riḥla ilā Birlin*, 276–77.

56 Ahmed, *Arabische Präsenzen*, 90.

57 al-’Adl, *al-Riḥla ilā Birlin*, 276.

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One day, as Ḥasan Tawfiq was studying German at home, he heard a loud noise coming from outside. Asking what it was, he was told that the first German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) was visiting in order to attend the opening of the Parliament. Ḥasan Tawfiq immediately rushed outside to join the crowds cheering Bismarck.<sup>58</sup> This story then serves as a prompt for an extensive discussion about loyalty and love between leaders and the people, and a typology of nations in terms of modes of governance.<sup>59</sup> In fact, Bismarck appears frequently in Ḥasan Tawfiq's *Rihla*, often depicted as the wise, exemplary prince. Ḥasan Tawfiq devotes three sections (seven to nine) of his *Rihla* to Bismarck, in which he details the career of the first German Chancellor and at the same time provides the reader with a comprehensive overview of the historical events of his lifetime. It is the most extensive treatment of any theme in his *Rihla*. As in the rest of the work, al-'Adl's framing of Bismarck's life serves a didactic purpose. Thus, most of his account of Bismarck's life is dedicated to his childhood and early education, starting with the boarding school in Berlin to which Bismarck was sent at the age of six. Ḥasan Tawfiq connects anecdotes about Bismarck's upbringing and education to his military character and leadership.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, Ḥasan Tawfiq makes it clear that it was his own intention to write a biographical account of Bismarck and to study his personality, which fascinated him so much.<sup>61</sup> He concludes that Bismarck's leadership and success in the creation of a German nation-state should be studied and emulated by his Egyptian countrymen and all people.<sup>62</sup>

Ḥasan Tawfiq's extensive presentation of Bismarck's biography, probably the longest account in Arabic at the time, reached Bismarck, who was – after all – the man who was officially behind the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*. He invited Ḥasan Tawfiq to attend an official gathering with him. In his oriental attire, Ḥasan Tawfiq read a poem he had composed in which he praised Bismarck, which was later translated into German, and spoke to him about Egypt.<sup>63</sup>

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58 al-'Adl, 99–100.

59 al-'Adl, 101ff.

60 al-'Adl, 189.

61 al-'Adl, 235.

62 Incidentally, W. E. B. Du Bois, who was a student at the Berlin University in 1892–1894, wrote a laudatory speech on Bismarck in 1888, even before arriving in Germany. According to Kenneth D. Barkin, “the German chancellor's single-mindedness and determination to create a German nation-state impressed the twenty-year-old Du Bois.” See Kenneth D. Barkin, “‘Berlin Days,’ 1892–1894: W. E. B. Du Bois and German Political Economy”, *Boundary 2* 27, no. 3 (2000): 80ff.

63 'Abd al-Jawād, *Taqwīm Dār al-'Ulūm*, 41.

In the summer of 1892, before he would leave Berlin for good, Ḥasan Tawfiq was decorated with the Royal Order of the Crown, Fourth Class, in recognition of his work at the *Seminar*. This was not only a major achievement for Ḥasan Tawfiq, but was also seen as an accomplishment for the Egyptian ministry of education and affirmation of the ties between the Prussian and Egyptian governments. It was also recognition of Sachau's leadership of the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*.<sup>64</sup> No other tutor had achieved such an award.

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On 8 August 1889, Ḥasan Tawfiq sent a letter to Eduard Sachau seeking permission for leave. He had not been feeling well and his doctor recommended some fresh air and a tour (*Rundreise*).<sup>65</sup> The permission was granted and, a week later, on 16 August the twenty-seven-year-old Ḥasan Tawfiq set off on a month-long summer tour through Germany and Switzerland. The summer tour was also approved by the Egyptian ministry of education, which covered the costs. The expectation was a report on the education institutes and practices that he encountered along his journey, similar to his report on Berlin. The itinerary included the following places: Berlin, Hannover, Minden, Essen, Köln, River Rhein, Koblenz, Rüdeshheim, River Nahe, Assmannshausen, Bingen, Wiesbaden, Mainz, Frankfurt (am Main), Sachsenhausen, Heidelberg, Baden Baden, Strasbourg, Bern, Thunersee, Interlaken, Giessbach, Meiringen, River Aare, Aareschlucht, Luzern, Vitznau, Rigi Hochflue, Arth, Zurich, Bodensee, München, Nuremberg, Leipzig, Dresden, Berlin. He returned to Berlin on 15 September.

Ḥasan Tawfiq kept a diary during his tour, in which he wrote down his observations on schooling, dialectical differences, the education of girls, and school curriculum, among other related topics. After returning to Berlin, he edited his notes and prepared the final version of the work, and sent it to Egypt. It was published with Bulaq in Cairo in 1891, with the title *Rasā'il al-bushrā fi al-siyāḥa bi-almāniya wa*

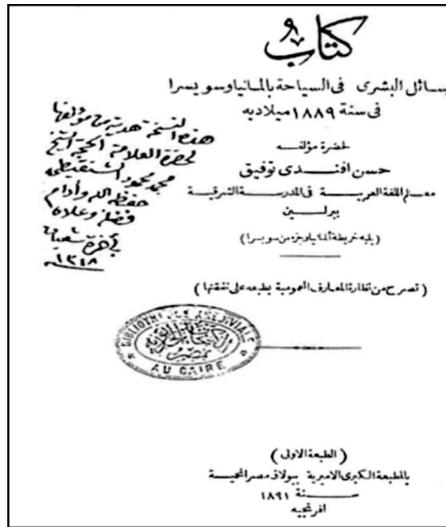
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64 On 30 October 1892, Sachau received the following letter: "Ew. Hochwohlgeboren benachrichtige ich mit Bezug auf den gefälligen Bericht vom 16. Juni d. Js. – No. 200 – dass Seine Majestät der Kaiser und König mittelst Allerhöchsten Erlasses vom 10. Oktober d. Js. dem bisherigen Lektor am Orientalischen Seminar Cheikh Hassan Effendi Taufik den Königlichen Kronen-Orden vierter Klasse zu verleihen geruht haben. Im Auftrage." See Nachlass Höpp, 07.01.

65 Ḥasan Tawfiq wrote: "Ew. Hochwohlgeboren: Beehre ich mich ganz ergebenst mitzutheilen, daß ich bei einem Arzt berufs Untersuchung meines körperlichen Zustand gewesen bin. Derselbe sagte mir, daß ich kein Bad zu besuchen brauche, dagegen gab er mir den Rath eine Rundreise zu unternehmen. Ihr ergebener, H. Taufik". See Nachlass Höpp, 07.01.

*siwisrā* (Letters of Glad-tiding; Being a Tour Through Germany and Switzerland).<sup>66</sup> The work contained diagrams and illustrations, as well as a foldout map that Ḥasan Tawfiq himself prepared, which represents the itinerary he took through Germany and Switzerland.<sup>67</sup>

Fig. 20.2: Cover page, Ḥasan Tawfiq, *Rasā'il al-Bushrā*, Bulaq, 1891, with a dedication to al-Shanqīṭī.



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Shortly after Ḥasan Tawfiq finished the final draft of his *Rasā'il al-bushrā*, he began to work intensively on a new project: a translation of the two-volume work on peda-

66 Ḥasan Tawfiq al-'Adl, *Rasā'il al-Bushrā Fī al-Siyāḥa Bi-almāniya Wa Siwisrā* (Cairo: Bulaq, 1891).

67 The 1999 edition of Ḥasan Tawfiq's *Rasā'il al-Bushrā*, edited by Muḥammad Ḥasan 'Abd al-Azīz, contains a reproduction of the cover page of the 1891 Bulaq edition with a dedication from Ḥasan Tawfiq to renowned philologist and editor Shaykh Muḥammad al-Shanqīṭī (d. 1322/1904), one of the teachers with whom he studied before he went to Germany. The dedication is dated Sha'bān 1318/December 1900. See Ḥasan Tawfiq al-'Adl, *Rasā'il al-Bushrā fī al-Siyāḥa bi-almāniya wa Siwisrā*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan 'Abd al-Azīz (Kuwait: Rābiṭa al-Udabā' fī al-Kuwayt, 1999), 67.

gogy, *Lehrbuch der Pädagogik*, by Johann Christoph Gottlob Schumann (1761–1810).<sup>68</sup> Ḥasan Tawfiq completed the translation of the first volume in Ramadan 1308/April–May 1891, and the second volume in Rabī‘ al-Thānī 1309/November 1891.<sup>69</sup> As a teacher of pedagogy at Dār al-‘Ulūm in the late 1890s, Ḥasan Tawfiq would teach this work. Volumes 1 and 2 were published posthumously in Cairo in 1921.

‘Abd al-Jawād notes that Ḥasan Tawfiq’s brother, ‘Alī Jamāl Pasha, had informed him that Ḥasan Tawfiq issued a journal during his time in Germany and had called it *al-Tawfiq al-Miṣrī*, however ‘Abd al-Jawād adds that he could not find any copies of it.<sup>70</sup> It is not difficult to imagine that Ḥasan Tawfiq planned to do so given his ambitious character, but lacked the time or the energy to realise this. It may also be the case that he did publish one or two issues which are no longer extant. The title of the journal would have been a homage to his patron al-Khedivi Tawfiq as well as a reference to himself, Ḥasan Tawfiq.

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Ḥasan Tawfiq completed his teaching duties at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* in the summer of 1892. He did not return to Egypt immediately, but travelled in Europe, particularly England, where he spent a few months visiting Oxford, Cambridge, Eton, Harrow School and Borough Road Training College, to learn more about public education for the Egyptian government.<sup>71</sup> He was one of several Dār al-‘Ulūm graduates who were sent by the Egyptian Government to study European education systems.<sup>72</sup>

68 The work consisted of two parts, theoretical and practical: 1. Einleitung in die Pädagogik und Grundlage für den Unterricht in der Geschichte der Pädagogik; 2. Zweiter Theil: die systematische Pädagogik und die Schulkunde.

69 Ḥasan Tawfiq al-‘Adl, *Kitāb al-Bidāghūjiyā, ay hidāyat al-atfāl* (Cairo: Bulaq, 1921). See colophons in vol. 1, 112, and vol. 2, 378.

70 ‘Abd al-Jawād, ‘Ḥasan Tawfiq al-‘Adl’, 1379.

71 In his description of the schools of London, Aḥmad Zakī Pasha (1867–1934) mentions that he met Ḥasan Tawfiq during his journey to the Ninth International Orientalist Congress, which took place in London in 1892. See Aḥmad Zakī, *al-Safar ilā al-mu‘tamar*, ed. Ayman Fu‘ād al-Sayyid (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya, 2000 [1893]), 134. Aḥmad Zakī’s *al-Safar ilā l-mu‘tamar* (A Journey to the Congress) is a detailed record of his six-month trip through Europe in 1892 and 1893.

72 Hilary Kalmbach, ‘Training Teachers How to Teach: Transnational Exchange and the Introduction of Social-Scientific Pedagogy in 1890s Egypt’, in *The Long 1890s in Egypt: Colonial Quiescence, Subterranean Resistance*, ed. Anthony Gorman and Marilyn Booth (Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 87–116.

Fig. 20.3: *Dār al-‘Ulūm Faculty in 1896*



Ḥasan Tawfīq al-‘Adl (back row, left to right, second).

Source: *Taqwīm Dār al-‘Ulūm*, 24.

Fig. 20.4: *Dār al-‘Ulūm faculty 1902*



Ḥasan Tawfīq al-‘Adl wearing a tarboush (back row, third from the left, no. 9).

Source: *Taqwīm Dār al-‘Ulūm*, 42.

In addition to pedagogy (*fann al-tarbiya*), Ḥasan Tawfīq taught composition (*al-inshā‘*) and the history of Arabic literature (*tārīkh ādāb al-luġha al-‘arabiyya*), and he invigorated research and publication in these areas. In 1894, he published a work on physical education: *al-Harakāt al-Riyāḍiyya al-Badaniyya* [*Bodily Exercise Movements*], and in 1897 he published a parental guide on child education: *Murshid*

*al-'ā'ilāt ilā tarbiyat al-banīn wa al-banāt, wal-tarbiya al-jismiyya mundhu al-ḥaml 'ilā sin al-bulūgh* [*The Parental Guide to Raising Boys and Girls, and to Physical Education from Pregnancy to Puberty*]. Both works were published in Bulaq, Cairo.

But the work that had the most profound impact was his *Tārīkh ādāb al-lughā al-'arabiyya* (A History of Arabic Literature), which he composed in 1897.<sup>73</sup> It is considered by many historians as the first history of Arabic literature in Arabic that is arranged chronologically, according to successive dynastic and political regimes.<sup>74</sup> Even before publishing this work, Ḥasan Tawfīq taught and lectured about the historicist approach to his students and colleagues at Dār al-'Ulūm. According to the literary historian Aḥmad al-Shāyib, after Ḥasan Tawfīq returned to Cairo he began to encourage his friend, al-Azhar and Dār al-'Ulūm graduate, Muḥammad Diyāb (1852–1921) to compose a history of Arabic literature following the methods of German literary history, and especially the work of German orientalists.<sup>75</sup> Ḥasan Tawfīq discussed with Diyāb how this might look.<sup>76</sup> And, indeed, in 1900, Muḥammad Diyāb published his *Tārīkh adāb al-lughā al-'arabiyya*.<sup>77</sup> The result was a comprehensive two-volume work on the history of the Arabic language sciences, but not a history of Arabic literature as such. Aḥmad al-Shāyib likened Diyāb's work to the compendium of knowledge, *al-Fihrisṭ*, compiled by the tenth-century Ibn al-Nadīm.

In 1897, Ḥasan Tawfīq began to teach a course on the history of Arabic literature. The outcome was a small textbook whose circulation was limited to the students of Dār al-'Ulūm. Ḥasan Tawfīq's divided his work into the following sections: five general introductions on 1. The human need for mutual understanding and knowledge of things; 2. on the imitation of nature; 3. on language; 4. on literature; 5. on the history of literature, followed by a section on pre-Islam (*al-adāb jāhili*) early Islam, and

73 Ḥasan Tawfīq al-'Adl, *Tārīkh ādāb al-lughā al-'arabiyya*, ed. Walīd Maḥmūd Khālīṣ (Amman: Dār Usāma, 2002). This edition is based on a sole manuscript at Dār al-Kutub, MS 4221 Adab, Tal'at, copied by Muḥammad Fakhruddin, who copied it in 1322/1904, based on the author's handwritten copy, which was completed in Muḥarram 1320/April 1902. See editor's introduction, 24.

74 Abdelrashid Mahmoudi, Taha Husain's Education: From al Azhar to the Sorbonne (Routledge, 2014), 89–90; Kalmbach, *Islamic Knowledge and the Making of Modern Egypt*, 198–99.

75 Aḥmad al-Shāyib, *Dirāsāt adab al-lughā al-'arabiyya bi-Miṣr fī al-niṣf al-awwal min al-qarn al-'ishrīn* (Kuwait: Dār al-Zāhiriyya, 2018), 6–8. The work was first published in Cairo in 1952.

76 Diyāb alludes to this in his preface: Muḥammad Diyāb, *Tārīkh ādāb al-lughā al-'arabiyya* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Taraqqī, 1900), ب.

77 Diyāb, *Tārīkh ādāb al-lughā al-'arabiyya*. At around the same time, Jurji Zaydan was working on his own *Tārīkh ādāb al-lughā al-'arabiyya*, which began to appear piecemeal in his journal *al-Hilāl* in the 1890s. Though independent of one another, they were both drawing on German philological scholarship.

the Umayyad period. It is likely that the book remained incomplete, as Ḥasan Tawfiq refers to two more periods: the Abbasid and Andalusian period, as well as the period of the subsequent dynasties. Ḥasan Tawfiq provided a short description of the historical, cultural and religious contexts of each dynasty, and then divides each period according to composers of prose (*al-nathr*) and verse (*al-shi'r*), giving examples of the poets and prose writers of each period. He integrates the opinions of literary critics of the formative period and informs the reader whether the work is available in print. Ḥasan Tawfiq's *Tārīkh ādāb al-lughā al-'arabiyya* was printed posthumously in 1906.

Muḥammad 'Abd al-Jawād reports that Ḥasan Tawfiq's small textbook was in fact a reworking of the teaching materials (*mudhakkara fī al-adab al-'arabī*) that he had compiled and taught at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* in Berlin.<sup>78</sup> The book is written in a clear didactic style, which would have made it accessible to his students in Berlin. It may have been inspired by a German work he saw in Berlin. 'Abd al-Jawād's assertion that Ḥasan Tawfiq had already composed a draft in Berlin implies that his work was not directly influenced by *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* by Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956), as is sometimes assumed. It is highly probable that Ḥasan Tawfiq and Carl Brockelmann may have met one another in Berlin, particularly since the latter was involved in Eduard Sachau's edition of Ibn Sa'd's multi-volume *Ṭabaqāt* in the early 1890s.<sup>79</sup> However, Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* began to appear in 1898, whereas Ḥasan Tawfiq's *Tārīkh al-ādāb al-lughā al-'arabiyya* appeared in 1897. The suggestion by some scholars of a possible influence of Brockelmann's work on Ḥasan Tawfiq's is misleading, as it ignores the fact that ideas about the periodisation of literature would have been available to Ḥasan Tawfiq through the study of German literature and European philosophy and religion more broadly. But Brockelmann's work came to represent this historical approach. Furthermore, it could be argued that Ḥasan Tawfiq's periodisation builds on the Arabic literary tradition's own sense of temporality and periodisation, as exemplified by the work of Ḥasan Tawfiq's teacher Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī, who taught him at Dār al-'Ulūm.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, and more importantly, Ḥasan Tawfiq's work was a pedagogical work, not a bibliographical encyclopaedia.

Ḥasan Tawfiq's work on literary history, however modest in size and incomplete, had a significant impact on the way Arabic literary history was taught at Dar al-'Ulūm and Egyptian secondary schools in the early decades of the twentieth-century. The teachers at Dār al-'Ulūm emulated the design of his work and developed his periodisation. Aḥmad Ḍayf (1880–1945), a student of Ḥasan Tawfiq at

78 'Abd al-Jawād, 'Ḥasan Tawfiq al-'Adl', 1379.

79 Johann Fück, 'Nachruf: Carl Brockelmann (1868–1956)', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 108 (1958): 3.

80 Kalmbach, *Islamic Knowledge and the Making of Modern Egypt*, 151.

Dār al-‘Ulūm, who then earned a doctorate in comparative literature from Paris, and later became a professor at the Egyptian University (later Cairo University), acknowledged that it was Ḥasan Tawfīq who changed the way Arabic literature was taught at Dār al-‘Ulūm after he returned from Europe.<sup>81</sup> Similarly, the historian and author Aḥmad Amīn (1886–1954), a graduate of Dār al-‘Ulūm, gives the following account:

“And al-Shaykh Muḥammad Mahdī taught us Arabic literature, and this kind of literature was new in Egypt, as people only knew literature in the form it had in the works of Kitāb al-Aghānī, al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, al-Amālī, and similar works; as for a history of literature in terms of periods, and the study of the biographies of the poets in light of their epochs, that was not known until *al-Ustādh* Ḥasan Tawfīq al-‘Adl, who had studied in Germany introduced this approach to Dār al-‘Ulūm, where he had been teaching. He was inspired by what the Germans had done in the teaching of their literature. His student, *al-Ustādh* Muḥammad Mahdī, built on his work and prepared for us comprehensive textbooks (*mudhakkarat wāsi’ a*)”.<sup>82</sup>

Muḥammad Mahdī (d. 1924) was a student of Ḥasan Tawfīq at Dār al-‘Ulūm. He published textbooks that followed Ḥasan Tawfīq’s historicist approach, and would teach at Dār al-‘Ulūm and later at the Egyptian University. Through his students and publications, Ḥasan Tawfīq’s influence extended beyond al-Azhar and Dār al-‘Ulūm to the Egyptian University. He is credited by many scholars with advocating a historicist approach to the study of Arabic literature that examined the political and social dimensions of literary production.<sup>83</sup> According to the Egyptian literary critic and historian ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Dusūqī (d. 2015), Ḥasan Tawfīq “liberated [Arabic literary studies at the time] from being limited to rhetorical analysis and grammatical and morphological interest, and opened a new literary horizon that was concerned with the relation between literature and political, social and religious influences.”<sup>84</sup>

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Another work that was published in Egypt but had its origins during Ḥasan Tawfīq’s time in Berlin was his small-sized work on the etymology of Egyptian colloquial Ara-

81 Aḥmad Ḍayf, *Muqaddima Li-Dirāsāt Balāghat al-‘Arab* (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Ṣūfūr, 1921), 22–23.

82 Ahmad Amīn, *Ḥayātī*, 4. Edition (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya, 1961), 74.

83 Yaseen Noorani, ‘Translating World Literature into Arabic and Arabic into World Literature’, in *Migrating Texts*, ed. Marilyn Booth, *Circulating Translations around the Ottoman Mediterranean* (Edinburgh University Press, 2019), 250–51.

84 ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Dusūqī, *Ṭaṭawwur al-naqd al-‘Arabī al-ḥadīth fī miṣr* (Cairo: al-Hay‘a al-Miṣriyya al-Āmma li-l-Kitāb, 1977), 221; Makkī Aḥmad al-Tāhir, *al-Adab al-Muqāran: Uṣūluhu wa-ṭaṭawwuruhi wa-manāhijuh* (Cairo: al-Ma‘ārif, 1987), 174–75.

bic: *Uṣūl al-kalimāt al-‘āmmiyya* [An Etymology of Common Speech].<sup>85</sup> In the preface to the work, Ḥasan Tawfīq wrote that he began working on the Egyptian Arabic dialect (*al-lahja al-‘arabiyya al-miṣriyya*) during his time at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* in Berlin (*al-madrasa al-sharqiyya bi-Birlin*), where he taught “practical exercises in modern Arabic, with a special focus on the dialect of Egypt”. Although what was required of him at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* was to teach the spoken dialect and to complement the “theoretical” classes offered by Sachau, Hartmann and Moritz, it seems that this motivated Ḥasan Tawfīq to think deeply and systematically about the roots of colloquial Egyptian Arabic.

The 1907 edition, published posthumously, consists of 283 alphabetically listed words. Ḥasan Tawfīq provides a phonetic Arabic transcription to show how a given word is pronounced. If the word is originally Arabic, he provides its *faṣīḥ* origin, then provides textual witnesses, extracted from the Arabic lexicographical tradition. If it is not of Arabic origin, he would indicate whether the word has a Coptic, Turkish or European root, and how it came to be used in Egyptian Arabic. Occasionally, he might provide the original spelling in Roman script. His investigation is descriptive; he does not evaluate common language use in terms of its proximity to the *fusha* (high register of Arabic). There are no errors, but rather morphological transformations and adaptations common to everyday speech. Yet, Ḥasan Tawfīq was not an advocate of writing in the Egyptian dialect (*al-‘āmmiyya al-miṣriyya*). Rather, he saw an organic affinity between the *fusha* and the *‘āmmiyya*, between the ideal register and the spoken register, an affinity which he sought to explore in this work. He considered his work as a contribution to the linguistic revival (*al-nahḍa al-lughawiyya*) of his time.

In 1901, Ḥasan Tawfīq published a work titled *al-Tarbiya al-Ḥadītha*, which was a translation of the French pedagogue Edmond Demolins’ (1852–1907) work *L’Éducation nouvelle: L’École des Roches*.<sup>86</sup> And, in 1901, he completed a work on wisdom, philosophy, and poetry, entitled *Siyāsāt al-fuḥūl fi tathqīf al-‘uqūl*, which was published posthumously in 1910.<sup>87</sup>

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85 Ḥasan Tawfīq al-‘Adl, *Uṣūl al-kalimāt al-‘āmmiyya* (Cairo: Maṭba‘at Wālidat ‘Abbās al-Awwal, 1907). The first edition was published in Cairo in 1898 with Maṭba‘at al-Taraqqī.

86 Ḥasan Tawfīq al-‘Adl, *al-Tarbiyah al-ḥadīthah, ta’līf Idmūn Dīmūlin* (Cairo: Maṭb‘at al-Taraqqī, 1901). Incidentally, in 1899, Aḥmad Faṭḥī Zaghlūl, intellectual and brother of the nationalist leader Sa’d Zaghlul, published an Arabic translation of Edmond Demolin’s *A quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons? Surr taqaddum al-Inkiliz al-Saksuniyin* (Cairo, 1899). Zaghlūl’s translation included an introduction in which he criticised Egyptian society and its education system.

87 Ḥasan Tawfīq al-‘Adl, *Siyāsāt al-Fuḥūl ilā tathqīf al-‘uqūl* (Cairo: Maṭba‘at Abi al-Hul, 1910).

By the late 1890s, Ḥasan Tawfiq's impact on Dār al-'Ulūm had been significant. Through his teaching and publications, he introduced new disciplines and approaches, and inspired students and teachers alike. It would not be an exaggeration to say that he came to embody the ideals that Dār al-'Ulūm aimed to achieve. This was visible to all visitors to Dār al-'Ulūm at the time. One of these visitors was the British Arabist and Persianist Edward Granville Browne (1862–1926), who met Ḥasan Tawfiq at Dār al-'Ulūm during his visit to Egypt in 1903. Soon after, he was asked to teach Arabic at Cambridge University. Ḥasan Tawfiq accepted and arrived in Cambridge on 10 October 1903. He was to teach “future British administrators in the Egyptian government”.<sup>88</sup> He was inducted in the Royal Asiatic Society and taught at Cambridge until his sudden death on 4 June 1904. He died while teaching, at the age of 42. E. G. Browne wrote an obituary, which was published in the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Societies*. The obituary included a biography of Ḥasan Tawfiq and a reproduction of a poem Ḥasan Tawfiq had composed and presented to his students at Cambridge on the day he died.<sup>89</sup> The Egyptian government arranged for his body to be transported for burial in Egypt. His untimely death, the procession, the funeral, and the obituaries and eulogies are presented in detail in *Taqwīm Dār al-'Ulūm*.<sup>90</sup> The funeral was attended by heads of state and prominent figures such as Muḥammad 'Abduh and Muṣṭafa Kāmil. He was buried on 28 June 1904.

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Ḥasan Tawfiq al-'Adl is considered today as one of the founders of Arab pedagogical sciences, the historical approach to Arabic literature, and Egyptian-Arabic dialectology. His books formed part of the curriculum for decades after his death, particularly the works on pedagogy and the history of Arabic literature. A close reading of these works, which I have only briefly discussed in this study, will show how he translated and appropriated the knowledge he acquired in Berlin for the benefit of his Egyptian readers. Despite the recognition that he earned from Egyptian intellectuals in the twentieth century, there is hardly any trace of him in accounts of German colonialism or the history of German knowledge production. Ḥasan Tawfiq joined many non-European native language tutors to teach German government officials, orientalist, and missionaries in Berlin. Although the knowledge that they had to

88 'Abd al-Jawād, 'Ḥasan Tawfiq al-'Adl', 1379.

89 The poem and an English translation of it is provided in E. G. Browne, 'Obituary: Shaykh Ḥasan Tawfiq', *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, July 1904, 526–27.

90 'Abd al-Jawād, *Taqwīm Dār al-'Ulūm*, 182–84. It takes up several pages. No other funeral is covered in such detail in the biographical accounts in *Taqwīm Dār al-'Ulūm*.

offer was indispensable for the aims of the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*, their status remained inferior to that of their German colleagues.

The goal of this study was to introduce Ḥasan Tawfiq al-‘Adl and provide a basic narrative which could be the starting point for further research on the role of Arab teachers in German education and research. Although the historical circumstances are different today, there are important insights that can be drawn for our times. Ḥasan Tawfiq’s case shows how he navigated through institutional hierarchies and racially-constructed boundaries in order to assert his agency and transcend the role of the “native informant”. His situation was not much different from that of other tutors at *the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*, many of whom would later become important scholars in their home countries.<sup>91</sup> One important point to remember is that many of these tutors saw themselves first and foremost as students at the Berlin University. Their teaching duties were what enabled them to continue their studies. Fin-de-siècle Berlin was a major centre for the production of knowledge, and the city attracted many students from all over the world. Berlin educational institutions were key for modern theories on secularism, racism and colonial thought and practice. How did these student-tutors encounter these ideas? What sort of conversations would they have had with each other? And how did these conversations shape their respective work and later thought? While the available documentary sources are unfortunately quite limited, a close reading of their subsequent writings may reveal common themes and patterns of thought.

A further aspect in Ḥasan Tawfiq al-‘Adl’s biography worthy of reflection is the fact that he spent a great deal of his time and resources in Berlin working on scholarly projects that went largely unnoticed by his German peers. Save for the occasional acknowledgement in a preface to a publication, the idea of academic collaboration is completely absent. The colonial objectives of the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* determined the sort of knowledge that was deemed relevant. The institution itself created a hierarchy not only between teachers and tutors, but also between forms of knowledge. This structural factor explains Ḥasan Tawfiq’s absence from general narratives of German orientalism. There was no intention on the part of the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* to seriously engage the knowledge of Ḥasan Tawfiq, except where it fulfilled the goals of training future German officials. Ḥasan Tawfiq’s writings show a sophisticated understanding of German culture and society and the ambivalences of imperial and colonial politics. And his critique of colonial knowledge and the imperial objectives motivating the looting, collecting and order-

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91 For example, Inoue Tetsujirō (1855–1944), an important twentieth-century Japanese philosopher and educator, studied philosophy in Heidelberg and Leipzig between 1884 and 1890, and taught Japanese at the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen* at the time Ḥasan Tawfiq was teaching Arabic there.

ing of non-European artefacts in Berlin's museums remains relevant today as it was in the 1890s.

To conclude, the study of Ḥasan Tawfiq al-'Adl and other tutors at the Berlin University should not remain an intellectual curiosity. This history is highly relevant today. In order to address the asymmetrical relations in academia and the colonial legacies that continue to shape our institutions and disciplines, we would do well to excavate the lives, works and legacies of the countless students, tutors and teachers who contributed to knowledge-making at Berlin's universities. And we could begin by translating their writings, integrating them into the school curriculum, and by reinscribing them into Berlin's history.<sup>92</sup>

### Appendix: Timeline of Ḥasan Tawfiq's Life

1862	Born in Alexandria, Egypt
1875–82	Studies at al-Azhar
1882–87	Studies at <i>Dār al-'Ulūm</i>
1887, 20 September	Arrives in Berlin, via Alexandria, Trieste, Vienna
1887, 27 October	Official opening of the <i>Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen</i>
1887, winter semester	Begins teaching Arabic
1889, 16 August	Summer tour through Germany and Switzerland (Itinerary: Berlin, Hannover, Minden, Essen, Köln, River Rhein, Koblenz, Rüdeseim, River Nahe, Assmannshausen, Bingen, Wiesbaden, Mainz, Frankfurt (am Main), Sachsenhausen, Heidelberg, Baden-Baden, Strasbourg, Bern, Thunersee, Interlaken, Giessbach, Meiringen, River Aare, Aareschlucht, Luzern, Vitznau, Rigi Hochflue, Arth, Zurich, Bodensee, München, Nuremberg, Leipzig, Dresden, Berlin)
1889, 15 September	Returns to Berlin
1890	Completes his travel account toward the end of January
1891	The account of his summer tour is published in Cairo (Bulaq)
1891 April-May/1309 Ramadan	Completed vol. 1 of his <i>Pedagogy</i> (published posthumously in Cairo in 1921)
1891 November/December/1309 Rabī' al-Thānī	Completed vol. 2 of his <i>Pedagogy</i> (published posthumously in Cairo in 1921)

92 For example, research on W. E. B. Du Bois' "Berlin days" (1892–94) has shown how constitutive his time as a student at Berlin University was for the development of his critical thought. See Barkin, "'Berlin Days,' 1892–1894"; Kenneth Barkin, 'W. E. B. Du Bois' Love Affair with Imperial Germany', *German Studies Review* 28, no. 2 (2005): 285–302.

- 1892 Receives the Royal Order of the Crown, Fourth Class, from the German Kaiser
- 1892 Spends several months in England visiting educational institutions
- 1892 Returns to Cairo and assumes work as education inspector (*mufattish*) and then lecturer at Dār al-'Ulūm
- 1895 Publication of his *al-Ḥarakāt al-riyāḍiyya* (on physical education)
- 1897 Publication of *Kitāb Murshid al-'ā'ilāt ilā tarbiyat al-banīn wa-al-banāt: fī al-tarbiyah al-jismiyyah mundhu al-ḥaml ilā sinn al-bulūgh*
- 1897 Publication of *Tārīkh ādāb al-lughah al-'arabiyya*
- 1898 Publication of *Uṣūl Al-Kalimāt al-'āmmiyya*
- 1901 Publication of his translation of *al-Tarbiyah al-ḥadīthah*, by Edmond Demolins (1852–1907)
- 1903, October Arrives in England and begins teaching at Cambridge University
- 1904, 3 June Dies in Cambridge
- 1904, 28 June Buried in Cairo
- 1910 Posthumous publication of *Tathqīf al-fuḥūl*
- 1921 Posthumous publication of *al-Bidaguiyya* in Cairo (originally composed in Berlin in 1891)

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