One Hundred and Fifty

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Published in Cairo in 1892, the first issue of Jurji Zaydan’s Arabic journal *al-Hilal* contained a history of the Arabic press, including a list of the journals published in Beirut in the 1870s and 1880s, when Zaydan was a young waiter and finally a Syrian Protestant College medical student and leader of the 1882 protest. Listed too are the Arabic journals of Egypt, as the journal *al-Muqtataf* staged a migration in 1884 from its Beirut years at the Syrian Protestant College to Cairo. In his *Yawmiyyat rihla bahriyya* (Memoirs of a Sea Voyage), penned in 1886, Zaydan recounts in great detail his own journey from Beirut to Cairo via London. At the end of this long journey, he is welcomed in Cairo by former students and faculty of the Syrian Protestant College, including Faris Nimr and Ya’qub Sarruf, editors of the freshly relocated *al-Muqtataf*. This chapter traces Zaydan’s humble Beirut beginnings as an aspiring Syrian Protestant College medical student and reader of *al-Muqtataf*, to become one of the most prolific editors, authors, and novelists of the Nahda, often translated as a time of Arab renaissance.

At the heart of the Nahda, unfolding at the end of the nineteenth century in Beirut, Cairo, and other cities of the region, was a growing number of periodicals. As Zaydan secured his place in Arabic letters, his story of migration, his past at the Syrian Protestant College, and the continued presence in his life of its faculty and students shaped the narration of the Nahda. The Nahda, apace in Arabic by the start of the twentieth century, animates a significant body of new critical work in Arabic literature and intellectual and social history. While scholars have attended to the Egyptian national experience of the Nahda in fine detail, much less has been said about Cairo’s Syrian emigrés. In the historiography of the Nahda, and particularly in the work of literary scholars, the larger Syrian emigré community is often reduced to the figure of Jurji Zaydan, who comes to stand in at the threshold of Cairo’s inheritance of the “Recent Literary Nahda in Beirut and [Mt.] Lebanon.”

An article by just that title can be found in the index of the fourteenth year of *al-Hilal*, a retrospective citation from early twentieth-century Cairo of a Beirut left behind. One finds upon turning to the entry for *al-Nahda al-adabiyya fi Suriya* not the contributions of Arabic authors and intellectuals in Syria to the Nahda, as the title would seem to suggest, but rather a fragment from Zaydan’s earlier geography. The reader opens to: “The Memoirs of Doctor [Cornelius] Van Dyck from 1830–1851 or The History of the Foundation of the Recent Literary Nahda in Beirut and [Mt.] Lebanon,” an intimation of Zaydan’s historiographical posture toward the Syrian Protestant College, on whose faculty Van Dyck would later serve. This posture emerges more fully in Zaydan’s 1892 novel *Asir al-Mutamahdi* (a title we might translate as the So-Called or Self-Made Mahdi), a novel that also looks from Cairo to the “Recent Literary Nahda in Beirut and [Mt.] Lebanon,” and presents the foundational legacy of the Syrian Protestant College, this time during the years when Zaydan himself was aspiring to join its student body.

As *Asir al-Mutamahdi* begins, Su’da is in her Cairo apartment on Shariʿ al-Abbasiyya. The year is 1878, and she is reading a copy of the journal *al-Muqtataf*. Founded two years earlier in 1876, *al-Muqtataf* established itself soon thereafter as a pivotal scientific and cultural journal among Beirut’s growing number of periodicals. The Syrian Protestant College was instrumental in the production of *al-Muqtataf* far beyond its physical publication at its press; as Nadia Farag notes, Syrian Protestant College instructors Ya’qub Sarruf and Faris Nimr “in 1876, under the able guidance of Cornelius Van Dyke [sic] . . . published *al-Muqtataf* utilizing the resources of the College library, laboratory, periodical literature, and obtaining literary contributions for their journal from members of the staff and College graduates.” Makariyus Shahin also served on the editorial staff, and *al-Muqtataf* became one of a small but growing number of periodicals—such as the Bustani family’s *al-Jinan, al-Janna*, and *al-
Junayna, as well as others such as al-Zahrah, al-Najah, al-Nahlah, and later in the decade Thamarat al-Funun and Lisan al-Hal – beginning to be published in Beirut in the 1870s, joining Hadiqat al-Akhbar, which from 1858 had been the city’s only newspaper. Looking back at the late nineteenth-century periodical scene of the early Nahda, Philippe de Tarrazi recalls in the second volume of his seminal history of the Arabic press that as al-Muqatafat grew in esteem, “readers bestowed upon it the nickname ‘the sheikh of Arabic journals.’”

While in 1892, Jurji Zaydan was living in Cairo, printing the first issues of al-Hilal, and publishing his new novel Asir al-Mutamahdi; in 1878, the year that novel begins, Zaydan had only just heard about the journal called al-Muqatafat for the first time. As he recalls in his memoirs of his younger days in Beirut, the students and teachers from the Syrian Protestant College would frequent Zaydan’s father’s lukanda for lunch, where Zaydan cooked, waited tables, and attended to guests. Zaydan relates in detail the day that some teachers from the local schools showed him an issue of al-Muqatafat. He was sixteen years old, “and during that time al-Muqatafat was in its second year I believe. Some schoolteachers who would pass by [the lukanda] showed me an issue of it [. . . ] and my desire to study the laws of nature increased.” This intense “desire to study the laws of nature” drew many readers of Arabic in the late nineteenth century to the burgeoning press, whose ranks Zaydan joined in 1878.

The intellectual community around the Syrian Protestant College, like the larger Arabic reading public, was actively cultivating new ideas of the self in the late nineteenth century. Sarruf, for instance, not only taught at the Syrian Protestant College and edited al-Muqatafat with Faris Nimr, but he had also translated Samuel Smiles’ Self-Help into Arabic in 1880 at the suggestion of Cornelius Van Dyck and with the support of the Syrian Protestant College. As Timothy Mitchell notes in Colonising Egypt, the book was then used as a reader at the Syrian Protestant College, and “its vocabulary and ideas influenced a generation of students there.” It was a book Zaydan read when he matriculated at the Syrian Protestant College, whose students and faculty he had once only admired from beyond its gates.

Over the course of his memoirs, the young Zaydan emerges as deeply ambitious, attempting to find ways to leave behind his life of attending to the pots and pans, books, and customers of his father’s lukanda. After a brief stint as a bookkeeper for a silk merchant after mastering a course in double-column bookkeeping, as he tells us in his memoirs, he began to aspire to become one of the likes of his father’s customers. He studied the affect and memorized the speech of frequenters of the lukanda, such as Sheikh Ibrahim al-Yaziji and Abdullah al-Bustani, and bought himself a subscription to al-Muqatafat, Zaydan recalls in his memoirs that “I had subscribed to al-Muqatafat in order to read it, and I took pride in being a subscriber and I liked for people to know that I read it.”

Al-Muqatafat, like many journals of the Nahda, invited its readers to become writers and to share their thoughts on the sciences, household management, education, industry, and agriculture. al-Muqatafat even had a special section devoted to reader correspondence. Zaydan wrote in his memoirs of the desire to embark on writing for it. I wrote an article and strove to revise and embellish it to the extent of my abilities, though I did not know I’rab, but rather felt my way through writing it; its topic was a critique of fathers who do not educate their children when they are young, for if they grow up the opportunity to educate them will be missed. That was my situation in those days.

After watching issue after issue of al-Muqatafat be published without his piece appearing in its pages, Zaydan was sorely disappointed the day that Shahin Makariyus came to the lukanda for lunch. To his inquiry, Makariyus’s response, which hoped that his next letter would be better, set Zaydan’s “self confidence back by ten years.” In the pages of his memoirs, we see Zaydan, in turn, become determined to attend the Syrian Protestant College medical school, studying in the evenings and in spare moments at the lukanda for his entrance exams. In 1881, he finally entered the College to study medicine, where he became a student of Faris Nimr and Ya’qub Sarruf, the editors of al-Muqatafat, both of whom would go on to have a lasting influence on his early career in the Arabic press, despite Zaydan’s stumbling start.

Al-Muqatafat, before its departure for Cairo, served to connect the Syrian Protestant College to the world outside its gates, inviting readers, such as those in a dining room of one of Beirut’s lukandas, to join so many others in Beirut, Mount Lebanon, and further afield, in Cairo, Baghdad, and eventually Europe and the Americas. While Zaydan had finally found his place among Syrian Protestant College students, his time on campus was brief, and his life, until then lived in Beirut, was destined to change significantly. After watching issue after issue of al-Muqatafat, Zaydan stages a plot of macabre secrets

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that leads its late nineteenth-century Cairo-resident protagonists to return to the Syria they left behind. The novel’s geography is woven between various settings, first around Cairo and especially by Ezekíyya, later joining the British expedition in the Sudanese desert; and, upon the return to Beirut, alighting at the gates of the Syrian Protestant College, the home of a retired professor, and the snowy slopes of Mount Lebanon; all haunted by scenes of the bloody fighting on Mount Lebanon and Syria in 1860. It is a story of star-crossed love that finds its resolution in the secrets that drove an earlier generation of Syrian émigrés to Cairo.

The itinerary is the young Zaydan’s own in reverse, something he comes to flaunt as he advertises the novel in the pages of his newly founded journal. The fourth issue of Zaydan’s al-Hilal, appearing in December 1892, advertised a number of texts, including the early novel Asir al-Mutamahdi, identified as a historical novel that “includes the ‘Urabi and Mahdi events as well as what happened in 1860 in Damascus.” In an advertisement for the same novel appearing in June 1892, al-Hilal provides a longer description, informing those who might wish to buy that novel that “the author [i.e., Zaydan] witnessed most of the Sudanese events as an eye witness and was present at the battles and saw the country and its people.”

Spliced between accounts of the intrigue surrounding the “Urabi affair, the devastation in Alexandria following the British bombardment, a main protagonist’s sojourns and chance encounters in the Sudanese desert, and bloody intrigue in the mountains between Beirut and Damascus in 1860, are shards of the Syrian Protestant College community of Beirut that Zaydan left behind. Zaydan consolidates his authority to narrate the Nahda by penning a semi-autobiographical historical novel woven of contemporary events. Asir al-Mutamahdi bridges the Syria of his youth and the Cairo of Zaydan’s present – a Cairo occupied by the British, who had designs extending south down the Nile into the Sudan – and as the novel is reprinted, Zaydan inhabits the paradoxical stance of being the self-advertised eyewitness to the historical fictions animating late nineteenth-century Arabic.

Zaydan had lingered in Beirut in the early 1880s before relocating to Cairo later that decade. Al-Muqtataf’s obituary for Jurji Zaydan, published in September of 1914 – though Zaydan had died on July 22, just before midnight, at his desk, having put the last touches on that year’s last issue of al-Hilal – remembers Zaydan as having been:

born in the city of Beirut in 1861 and pursued his medical studies at the Syrian Protestant College when we were among its teachers. We found in him the attributes of excellence and high aspirations. At the beginning of his second year occurred the event that led many of the medical students to leave the College, and he was among those who left, completing his studies with some of the teachers that year, abbreviated to what was needed for the pharmacy trade such as chemical analysis and pharmacology.

After the protests and ensuing fragmentation of the Syrian Protestant College community, the Beirut home of Doctor Cornelius Van Dyck briefly served as a new campus, and it was there that Zaydan participated in the kind of graduation ceremony he had only watched as an observer years earlier, receiving his diploma in pharmacy in 1882. That same year, Sarruf, Nimr, and Van Dyck formed al-Majma’ al-Ilmi al-Sharqi (The Eastern Scientific Academy) “for research in sciences and industries, and how to benefit from them in order to return the country to wealth and prosperity” As Muhammad ‘Abd al-Ghani Hasan notes in his book Jurji Zaydan, “Dr. Ya’qub Sarruf, Dr. Faris Nimr, Dr. Van Dyck, and Mawsuli Pasha […] were joined later by Dr. Wortabet, Dr. Iskandar Barudi, Salim al-Bustani, Sheikh Ibrahim al-Yaziji and others.” A group of intellectuals, writers, and leading figures in the Arabic press – many of whom had eaten lunch in Zaydan’s father’s lukanda, published in al-Muqtataf, or belonged to the Syrian Protestant College faculty in the late 1870s – briefly came together in Beirut in the early 1880s as a short-lived scientific society, in many respects reviving the late 1860s Syrian Scientific Society, an ephemeral manifestation of a moment of Beirut’s Nahda.

Zaydan soon relocated to Cairo with plans to continue his medical studies at Qasr al-‘Ayni. However, instead he briefly edited the small newspaper al-Zaman, though once again the historical juncture overwhelmed his scholarly aspirations, and in 1884, as al-Muqtataf’s editors would recall in his obituary, Zaydan “accompanied [the British on their] Nile expedition to the Sudan […] spending ten months there as a translator for the Intelligence Service. The next year, he returned to Beirut and studied Hebrew and Syriac with his friend, the teacher Jabr Dumit” – a former student of the Syrian Protestant College – “and wrote a book on linguistics.” (His notes from these years now rest in the American University of Beirut’s Jafet Library Archives and Special Collections) In 1885, Zaydan also joined al-Majma’ al-Ilmi al-Sharqi, though, as Hasan records, “this academy did not remain long after the owners of al-Muqtataf moved to Cairo.” Zaydan had not returned to Beirut planning to stay and, in 1886, he and Dumit left the city again. This time, Zaydan passed through London before returning to Cairo, recording his daily musings in Yawmiyyat rihla bahriyya [Diary of a Sea Voyage].
Zaydan is greeted, in the final pages of his *yawmiyyat* in July of 1886, by none other than his former teachers at the Syrian Protestant College, Ya’qūb Sarruf and Faris Nimr, still editors of the now newly relocated *al-Muqtataf*. Upon his arrival in Cairo, Zaydan stayed in Bayt al-Zuhar with his friend As’ad al-Hishma. As he recalls,

> A moment after I arrived, al-Mu’allim Faris [Nimr] came down as he was living on the floor above us, and met me and greeted me and invited me to dinner saying that the people of the house await you. So after washing and changing my clothes I went up with As’ad to the *Muqtataf* house and there we sat down to dinner with al-Mu’allim Ya’qūb [Sarruf] and Faris [Nimr] and Shahin Makariyus and the Lady Yaqut and Mariam. After dinner we spent the evening and the night talking of travels.27

Zaydan continued to pass by Bayt *al-Muqtataf* in the coming weeks, discussing with them many matters and one day al-Mu’allim Faris [Nimr] revealed their need for someone to take over managing the affairs of the journal and help them work the press and review the proofs. He confided that they could not rely on just anyone in this matter. And he hinted that they would be at ease if it were me.28

Zaydan’s apprenticeship in editing and operating the printing press for *al-Muqtataf* lasted for “a year and some,” as Nimr and Sarruf recall in their obituary, before [Zaydan] stepped down to focus on writing, completing *Tarikh Misr al-hadith* [The History of Modern Egypt], and then founding *al-Hilal* in 1892 and writing novels and historical and literary books such as *Tarikh al-tamaddun al-Islami* [History of Islamic Civilization] and *Tarikh adab al-lughah al-‘Arabiyyah* [History of the Literature(s) of the Arabic Language]. His Novels of the History of Islam number eighteen, and the remaining four are historical novels.29

*Asir al-Mutamahdi* is one of the remaining four, and in its opening pages, as we recall, a copy of Nimr and Sarruf’s *al-Muqtataf* appears in the hands of an anxious Su’da, mother of Shafiq, patiently awaiting the chance to share an article from the journal with her son.30 The year is 1878, the same year that Jurji Zaydan himself began to read *al-Muqtataf* after that fateful day in the *hukanda* dining room. A reading public of Arabic emerges between the pages of *Asir al-Mutamahdi* and Zaydan’s private writings. Arabic journals like *al-Muqtataf* and *al-Hilal* served not only to connect disparate individual readers in a new experience of simultaneity, but they also materially substantiated a shift in the Arabic press’s center of gravity in the mid-1880s from Beirut to Cairo.

Reading Zaydan’s early fiction alongside his private diaries, that story of simultaneity and migration appears to be at once his and Arabic’s at a moment of *nahda*. It is not just that Zaydan was a translator for the British during their Sudanese expedition; or that some of *Asir al-Mutamahdi’s* characters peer through the gates of the Syrian Protestant College; or that they happen to be reading *al-Muqtataf* right when Zaydan himself became a subscriber to the journal. It is also that the novel begins in Cairo with a promise to reveal the contents of a small wooden box at midnight, a box containing a bloody lock of hair, testament to the bloodshed of 1860 Syria, a remainder of what was left behind, and an augury of what was to come. Zaydan was a son of that war; he was conceived as his parents fled the violence that drives the protagonists of *Asir al-Mutamahdi* – enamored of Su’da’s son Shafiq – of love sickness with the diversions of travel, her father the Pasha spending his mornings “administering medicine to the poor in some of the hospitals for free.” He is described as “having lived here [in Beirut] for fifty years practicing and teaching medicine,” having “adopted the manners of its people.”31 Following Fadwa’s check-up, Dr. Nun invites the Pasha and his daughter to visit his home, which “is by the lighthouse and looks out over the sea in one direction, and the mountain from the other.”32 The road to the doctor’s home is long. Fadwa and her father ride a carriage to where it ends “at a building containing a lighthouse.” The house is situated in a series of gardens leading finally to one “overlooking the sea – the entire house was set high on what appeared to be a large hill.”33 “Wearing the black ‘*abaya*’ of the Beduin atop his foreign suit, and on his head instead of a hat an *araqiyya* of blue velvet embellished with gold thread from which hung [another] lock of gold thread,”34 Dr. Nun greets the Pasha, inviting him to have coffee and an *argileh* with him. When the Pasha later asks him about his having taken on “Eastern customs,” Dr. Nun explains that “it is most days my custom to do so, for I came to these lands and adopted them as my own, and I loved its people as I love my children.”35

Elizabeth M. Holt
Zaydan continues the reader’s tour of the Syrian Protestant College community in Asir al-Mutamahdi’s Ras Beirut. After their lunch by the lighthouse with Dr. Nun, the Pasha and his daughter set out to return to their seaside hotel in their carriage, but “near the medical school on the way to the hotel,” the horse stumbles and though “the driver of the carriage tried in vain to right its course. The Pasha and Fadwa fall from it.” Awaiting the return of their servant with a new carriage, they:

took to walking on the road in front of the [Syrian Protestant College [madrasa] until he returned.

As they were walking along in front of the college and contemplating its beautiful building overlooking the sea, unexpectedly the heavens began to rain down on them, and so they had to enter the college seeking protection from the rain. As they stood there waiting for the arrival of their servant with the carriage, the bawwab brought them two chairs to sit.

An hour passed without the servant returning, and when the time of dismissal from the college arrived, the students and teachers came out together.37

As we behold this spectacle of the medical college, “contemplating its beauty” for the first time from a vantage point enframed by the doors of the college, the wheels of a carriage approach. When the Pasha goes to the road to check if it might be their servant returning with a new carriage, he comes upon one of the college teachers, another foreigner, with grey hair, a long beard and glasses, yet unlike Dr. Nun, this one is dressed only in “foreigner’s clothes.”38 The teacher kindly offers to lend the Pasha and his daughter his carriage back to the hotel, as they leave the gates of the Syrian Protestant College behind them.

Van Dyck’s memoirs (“Or The History of the Foundation of the Recent Literary Nahda in Beirut and [Mt.] Lebanon”), posthumously published years later in 1906, in Cairo, in the pages of al-Hilal, visit the prehistory of 1860 Syria, long before the Syrian Protestant College was founded, as Van Dyck traveled in the Levant conducting missionary work. Anne Laure Dupont, in her book-length study of Zaydan, asserts that “the ideal missionary remained Cornelius Van Dyck who Zaydan did not consider a foreigner for he spoke Arabic well and had adopted Syrian manners.”39 Indeed, the description is more than reminiscent of Dr. Nun’s manners and customs. As Van Dyck relates in the following passage from the memoirs that al-Hilal published in 1906:

At that time [late 1840s] I used to imitate the dress of the people of the land among whom I was to reside for the remainder of my life, so I would wear the sirwal and the tamaqat and the damir embroidered with cane, which was the costume worn by the notable princes of [Mt.] Lebanon at that time.40

Soon, though, Van Dyck changed course after nearly losing his life in Mount Lebanon when he was mistaken for just such a notable Shihabi prince. From that day, as he remembers, “I was determined to exchange the national costume for foreign clothes and replace my sarawil and damir for a jacket and pants.”41 Zaydan published his teacher’s memoirs with renderings of him, two that enframe Cornelius Van Dyck’s face, and another of him “in Eastern dress,”42 the image43 that endures.

A decade earlier in 1895, upon Cornelius Van Dyck’s death, al-Hilal ran an obituary that, like Asir al-Mutamahdi or “The History of the Foundation of the Recent Literary Nahda in Beirut and [Mt.] Lebanon” memorializes the generation that built the Beirut of the early 1880s, even as it claims the authority to narrate that legacy. The obituary visits yet another funeral of the Nahda, that of Butrus al-Bustani, who in the decades before passing away in 1883 had founded al-Madrasa al-wataniyya, and, with his son Salim, had published two of the most important journals of 1870s and early 1880s Beirut – the newspaper al-Janna and the literary journal al-Jinan – in which Salim serialized a number of historical novels. Zaydan, memorializing his teacher Van Dyck in the pages of al-Hilal, remembers how, at Butrus al-Bustani’s funeral, Van Dyck’s “tongue stuttered and his lips shook and the words choked him and he was unable to speak except to say ‘oh my friend and companion of youth’ as he repeated the words over and over again with a voice shaking with tears, as everyone present cried.”44 In 1883, Van Dyck mourned Butrus al-Bustani; in 1895, Zaydan mourned Van Dyck mourning al-Bustani, laying claim to his place in the chain of transmission for the authority to memorialize Syria’s Nahda. In 1914, the editors of al-Muqtataf will in turn mourn Zaydan, as the legacy of the fractured intellectual community of early 1880s Syrian Protestant College reverberated thirty years later in Cairo in the pages of the Arabic press.
ENDNOTES

1 I remain very grateful to the American University of Beirut and especially to Nadia El-Chieikh and Bilal Orfali for inviting me to present a paper at the 2013 conference on 150 years of the American University of Beirut. My thanks to the audience members for their thoughtful questions and comments, and to Ali Wick, Dahlia Gubara, and Sonya Meyerson-Knox for their hospitality in Beirut. I am also indebted to the generosity of the National Endowment for the Humanities for supporting research on Jurji Zaydan at Dar al-Hilal in Cairo.

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5 More recently, this can be attributed to the efforts of the Zaidan Foundation, such as their growing series of translations from Zaydan’s Novels of the History of Islam series, as well as the symposium the foundation held on Jurji Zaydan’s Contributions to Modern Arab Thought and Literature at the Library of Congress in June of 2012, and the resulting book volume co-edited by George Zaidan and Thomas Phillip. For an example of Zaydan as the Syrian émigré par excellence in earlier histories of the Nahdo, consider consider Abd al-Muhsin Taha Badr, Tafwawar al-niwayah al’-Arabiyah al-hadihah fi Misr, 1870–1938 (Cairo: Dar al-Ma’arif, 1963 first edition; 1992 fifth edition). I treat the implications of this focus on Zaydan for the historiography of the Arabic novel in a recent article; see Elizabeth M. Holt, “From Gardens of Knowledge to Ezbekiya after Midnight: The Novel and the Arabic Press from Beirut to Cairo, 1870–1892,” Middle Eastern Literatures 16, no. 3 (2013): 232–248.

6 Farag, 74.


10 See Elshakry, in particular, for more on Reading Darwin in Arabic.


12 Donald Ried notes that “Sarruf’s translation was made at the suggestion of an American teacher at the Syrian Protestant College, Dr Cornelius Van Dyke, and it had the financial support of the College.” Donald Ried, “Syrian Christians, the Rags-To-Riches Story, and Free Enterprise,” International Journal of Middle East Studies 1, no. 4 (1970): 362.


14 Zaydan, Mudhkhirat, 39.

15 Ibid., 41.

16 Ibid., 42.

17 Ibid., 42–43.


19 See Philipp and Khuri-Makdisi for more.

20 Elsewhere, I show that this novel’s geography has much to say about changes apace in late nineteenth-century Cairo and the rise there of finance capitalism. See Holt, “Gardens of Knowledge to Ezbekiya after Midnight” and Novel Material.

21 Al-Hilal 5, no. 20 (15 June 1897): 800.


23 Zaydan, Mudhkhirat, 96–97.


28 Ibid.

29 Al-Muqtataf 45, no. 2 (September 1914): 285.

31 Ibid., 111.
32 Ibid., 112.
33 Ibid., 113.
34 Ibid., 119.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid., 120.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid., 120.
40 Al-Hilal 14, no. 4 (January 1906): 277.
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.