

The Origins of the term “Palestinian” (“Filasṭīnī”) in late Ottoman Palestine, 1898–1914

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Introduction

When did Arabs start to use the word Palestinian, or “Filasṭīnī” to refer to the people of Palestine? The question has attracted a great deal of interest among the general public. Ted Cruz, Mike Huckabee, Sheldon Adelson and Newt Gingrich have all expressed their opinions about the historical usage of the word, “Palestinian.” Media brands like Arutz Sheva, Haaretz, Fox News, AJ+, the Guardian and the Washington Post have chimed in as well, while social media platforms abound with misinformation on the topic. Thus, in this paper, we explain when and in what contexts the word “Palestinian” spread in the 20th century.

The word “Palestinian” gained acceptance as a description of Palestine’s Arabic speakers during the first decade and a half of the 20th century. Khalīl Baydas first used the term in 1898, followed by Salīm Qub‘ayn and Najīb Naṣṣār in 1902. Then, after the 1908 Ottoman Constitutional Revolution eased press censorship laws, dozens of periodicals appeared in Palestine, and the term “Palestinian” exploded in usage as result. The newspapers *al-Quds* (1908–14), *al-Munādī* (1912–1913), *Filasṭīn* (1911–1914), *al-Karmal* (1908–1914) and *al-Nafīr* (1908–1914) use the term “Filasṭīnī” (in the available issues) about 170 times in more than 110 articles from 1908–1914 (see Appendix 1). The phrases “the people of Palestine” (“ahl/ahālī Filasṭīn”) and “sons of Palestine” (“abnā’ Filasṭīn”) appeared dozens of times as

well. The “Palestinians” surfaced in articles about Zionism, migration and politics, the print media and the Orthodox Renaissance. The writers themselves came from a range of Muslims, Christians and Jews from Palestine, Palestinian expatriates, and Arabs from Lebanon, Egypt and elsewhere. Moreover, these newspapers circulated around the region and played a key role in explaining the emergence of a modern Palestinian identity.

Before the Revolution

In 1898, the Nazarene Khalīl Baydas translated *A Description of the Holy Land* from Russian to Arabic. “The Arabic geography books on the topic were insufficient,” he believed, and “the people of Palestine needed a geography book about their country.” As Baydas explained, the book was “a description of the land of Palestine,” referring to the people of Palestine as Palestinians in multiple places. “The ancient inhabitants of Palestine used limestone to whitewash the walls of their buildings,” Baydas wrote, “while the modern Palestinians also whitewash the inside, and occasionally the outside, of their homes with it as well.” Soon enough, though, “modern Palestinians” became simply Palestinians. “The Palestinian peasant,” Baydas noted elsewhere, “waits impatiently for winter to come, for the season’s rain to moisten his fossilized fields” after many rainless months following the May summer wheat and barley harvest. The book was likely taught in classrooms across the region from the late 19th century onwards, although details on its usage and circulation are unknown. By the turn of the 20th century, the Palestinian peasant was born.¹

In 1902, Salīm Qub‘ayn and Najīb Naṣṣār both published articles titled “A Palestinian Describes Palestinian Towns” in Farah Anṭūn’s *al-Jāmi‘a*, a magazine printed in Alexandria, Egypt. Qub‘ayn compared his observations of the towns Kafr Kanā and Tiberias to those of the famous French scholar Ernest Renan three decades earlier. Qub‘ayn agreed with Renan that Tiberias was a thriving city during Biblical times but was as pitiful (circa 1902) as it was a few decades earlier when Renan observed it. A few months later, Najīb Naṣṣār published an article in the same magazine with the same title: “A Palestinian Describes Palestinian Towns.” Naṣṣār similarly compared his own observations to Ernest Renan’s, reviewing the geography, demography and current state of Wādī Mūsā. Although *al-Jāmi‘a*’s circulation figures are not available, similar publications attracted between 1,000–1,500 subscribers. By the early 20th century, a Palestinian identity was spreading.²

¹ Akim Alekseyevich Olesnitskii, Khalīl Baydas (trans.), *Kitāb al-rawḍa al-mu’nisa fi waṣf al-Ard al-muqaddasa* (Ba‘abdā, Lebanon: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘uthmānīya, 1898), 2.

² Salīm Afandī Qub‘ayn, “Buldān filasṭīnīya yaṣīfuhā Filasṭīnī,” *al-Jāmi‘a* 3:6 (1902), 404–6; Najīb Naṣṣār, “Buldān filasṭīnīya yaṣīfuhā Filasṭīnī,” *al-Jāmi‘a* 3:9 (1902), 612–5; On circulation figures of similar papers,

Baydas, Qub‘ayn and Naṣṣār were the first three Arabs in modern history to use the term Palestinian, and each of them attended the Russian Teacher’s Training Seminary in Nazareth in the late 19th century. The boarding school emphasized the Arabic language, encouraged Arab dress, taught the history and geography of Palestine and took students on trips to the Holy Land’s pilgrimage sites. Young Arabs from around Palestine were taken out of their home, learned to take pride in their heritage and were exposed to stories and images that made Palestine seem real and important. No surprise that many of school’s graduates were among the earliest to use the term Palestinian.³

After the Revolution

The 1908 Ottoman Constitutional Revolution brought with it press freedoms in Palestine, and dozens of Arabic periodicals appeared on the scene. The most successful papers attracted some 1,000–1,500 subscribers, circulated once or twice a week and were sent to small towns and villages around Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Ramallah, Haifa, Jaffa, Gaza, Nablus, Safed and Tiberias. These figures might seem modest, but consider that some 2% of the population was literate in 1914, or about 12,000 people.⁴

The bi-weekly *al-Quds* (“Jerusalem”), published a dozen some articles that included the word “Palestinian.” *Al-Quds* is the best preserved of all the newspapers published in Palestine during this period, and in the 382 extant issues, we found 12 articles mentioning the term “Palestinians,” written by 7 authors (see appendix 1). The writers used phrases such as the Palestinians (“al-Filasṭīniyūn”), the Palestinian people (“al-sha‘b al-filasṭīnī”, “al-umma

al-Jinān (Beirut, 1870–1879) boasted 1,500 subscribers. See Fruma Zachs and Sharon Halevi, “From Difa‘ al-Nisa’ to Mas‘alat al-Nisa’ in Greater Syria: Readers and Writers Debate Women and Their Rights, 1858–1900,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 41:4 (2009), 619; Yusuf al-Dibs’s bi-weekly paper, *al-Najāh*, printed some 1,000 copies; See Fouad Zouki-Haklany, “Yusuf al-Dibs (1833-1907): Archeveque De Beyrouth, Historien at Homme de Culture,” *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 61:3-4 (2009), 251.

³ See Zachary Foster, *The Invention of Palestine* (Ph.D Dissertation, Princeton University), 155–164.

⁴ *al-Quds* (Jerusalem, 1908–1914) printed around 1,500 copies; *al-Karmal* (Haifa, 1908–1914) claimed 1,000 subscribers; *al-Akhhār* circulated 600 copies; the Jewish paper *Ha-Herut* (Jerusalem) reported 1,500–2,000 subscribers. The ‘Isā cousins’ *Filasṭīn* (Jaffa, 1911–1914) boasted more than 1,100 subscribers. See Ya‘qub Yehoshua, *Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa al-‘Arabīya fī Filasṭīn fil-‘Ahd al-‘Uthmani, 1908–1918* (Jerusalem: Maṭba‘at al-Ma‘ārif, 1974), 44; Michelle Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011), 282; Ami Ayalon, *Reading Palestine: Printing and Literacy, 1900–1948* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 170, n.69; Emanuel Beška, *From Ambivalence to Hostility: The Arabic Newspaper Filasṭīn and Zionism, 1911–1914* (Bratislava: Slovak Academic Press, 2016), 18–23; on *al-Karmal*, see *al-Karmal* 20 February 1914, 1; on the 2% literacy figure, see Yehoshua, *Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa*, 24 and Ayalon, “Modern Texts and their Readers in Late Ottoman Palestine,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, 38:4 (2002), 17.

al-filasṭīniya”), Palestinian society (“al-mujtama‘ al-filasṭīnī”), Palestinian emigrant community (“al-jāliya al-filasṭīniya”), the Palestinian individual (“al-fard al-filasṭīnī”), the Palestinian youth (“al-nāshi’a al-filasṭīniya”) and Syrians and Palestinians (“al-Sūrīyīn wa al-Filasṭīniyīn”). The articles that contain the term “Palestinian” cover topics such as the Palestinian diaspora, Orthodox Renaissance and Zionism.

The newspaper *Filasṭīn*, published in Jaffa by cousins ‘Īsā al-‘Īsā and Yūsuf al-‘Īsā, mentioned the term “Filasṭīnī” in 57 articles written by dozens of authors spanning the years 1911–1914. Those who used the term included members of prominent Muslim Palestinian families (Rāghib al-Khālīdī, Aḥmad Sāmiḥ al-Khālīdī, ‘Abdalghanī Shukrī al-Ḥusaynī), well-known literates (‘Alī al-Rīmāwī), other Muslim and Christian contributors, Palestinian expatriates (mostly Christians) as well as non-Palestinian Arabs (one among them from as far as Khartoum). The use of the term expanded over time: In 1911, it was used just once; in 1912, 8 times; in 1913, 22 times and in 1914, 26 times, despite a much lower number of issues available for the last year. Roughly one quarter of the articles containing the word “Filasṭīnī” dealt with Zionism and the Palestinian diaspora in the Americas each, while the rest discussed the emigration, Orthodox Renaissance, reforms and modernization in Palestine and commentary of other newspapers and journalists.⁵

Palestinian migrants were especially likely to embrace the word, Palestinian. Arabs from Palestine established specifically “Palestinian” Associations in Chicago, Beirut and Istanbul in the 1908–1914 period. In some cases, though, the names of the associations were the source of controversy. In Argentina, for instance, the émigrés wanted to present a joint gift to the Republic of Chile in honor of its 100-year anniversary but disagreed on how to present themselves. The “Palestinian group” preferred the term “Ottoman”, whereas another group wanted to present themselves as “Syrian Ottoman”. After discussing another similar incident, the author asks: “Oh, Palestinians, respond to me, how should we be called[?]”. The author unwittingly addresses “Palestinians” in a question about their true identity. *Filasṭīn*’s editors, though, were Ottoman loyalists, saying they should go with “Ottomans” since it united “Turks, Palestinians and Syrians.”⁶

⁵Evelin Dierauff pertinently describes *Filasṭīn* as “a collective enterprise, with the ‘Īsās depending on their networks and a circle of publishing authors.” The broad spectrum of authors who used the term “Filasṭīnī” in the newspaper confirms her assessment. Dierauff, Evelin. *Translating Late Ottoman Modernity in Palestine: Debates on Ethno-Confessional Relations and Identity in the Arab Palestinian Newspaper Filasṭīn (1911 – 1914)* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020), 62.

⁶On the Chicago Association, see Iskandar Shaḥḥāda, “Jam’iyya filasṭīniya fī Shikāghū intikhābātuhā al-niṣf ṣanawīya wa ta’sīs far‘ Nyūyūrk [Palestinian Association in Chicago, Its Biannual Elections and Founding of the New York Branch], *Filasṭīn*, 22 July 1914, no. 338, p. 5; on Istanbul, see Najīb Naṣṣār. “Jam’iyya filasṭīniya jadīda fī Fārūq” [A New Palestinian Association in Istanbul], *al-Karmal*, 12 June 1914, no. 437, pp. 1–2; on Beirut, see

The newspaper *al-Karmal*, published in Haifa by Najīb Naṣṣār, mentioned the term “Filasṭīnī” in (at least) 45 articles from 1913 (15) – 1914 (30). More than 80 percent of them (37) dealt with Zionism, a subject very familiar to Naṣṣār in part owing to the book he published on the same subject in 1911. The Palestinians surfaced in other topics as well, though, notably, in a piece comparing the business prowess of the Beirutis on the one hand and the Palestinians on the other. According to both Naṣṣār and an unknown person from Beirut the Zionists would not stand a chance if they were to compete economically with the Beirutis.⁷ Still, Naṣṣār’s focus was Zionism, including many references to the Palestinians in his Zionism articles, including Palestinians (“al-Filasṭīnīyūn”), the Palestinian youth (“al-shabība al-filasṭīnīya”), Arab Palestinian community (“jāmi‘a ‘arabīya filasṭīnīya”), your/their Palestinian brothers (“ikhwānukum/ikhwānuhum al-filasṭīnīyīn”), Arab Palestinian people (“al-umma al-filasṭīnīya al-‘arabīya”), the Palestinian kinfolk (“ma‘shar al-Filasṭīnīyīn”) and the Palestinian peasant and farmer (“al-fallāḥ wa al-zarrā‘ al-filasṭīnī”).⁸

We also found the term “Palestinian” in a range of other publications in the 1908–1914 period. The newspaper *al-Naḥḥ*, published in Jerusalem and later in Haifa by Ilyā Zakā, once praised an Egyptian journalist in 1910 for acknowledging that Palestinians had made important literary contributions but criticized him for failing to mention the Palestinians by name. The weekly paper *al-Munādī*, published in Jerusalem in 1912–1913, mentioned the term “Filasṭīnī” in at least two instances – both written by the editor-in-chief Muḥammad Mūsā al-Maghribī – one pertaining to the regional scope of the periodical’s focus and the other in a piece about the first Palestinian emigrants to the American continent. Shukrī Khalīl Suwaydān, of Jaffa, wrote a history of the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society in 1912 for the benefit of “Syrians and Palestinians.”⁹

Aḥmad Sāmīḥ al-Khalīdī. “Jam‘iyat Filasṭīn fī Kullīyat Bayrūt” [The Palestine Association at the Syrian Protestant College], *Filasṭīn*, 12 July 1913, no. 253, p. 2; on the gift to Chile, see “Man naḥnu wa mā nusammā?” (Who Are We and How Should We Be Called?), *Filasṭīn*, 12 October 1912, 4. The article reportedly first appeared in the Argentinian newspaper, *al-Zamān* and was reprinted in *Filasṭīn*. On Brazil migration, see María del Mar Logroño Narbona, “The Development of Nationalist Identities in French Syria and Lebanon: A Transnational Dialogue with Arab Immigrants to Argentina and Brazil, 1915–1929” (Ph.D Dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2007), 151.

⁷*al-Karmal*, 3 September 1913, 370, 2/4.

⁸On his Zionism book, see *al-Ṣahyūnīya, Tārīkhuhā - Gharaḍuhā - Ahammīyatuhā: Mulakhkhaṣan ‘an al-Insīklūbīdīyā al-yahūdīyya* [Zionism, Its History, Objective and Importance: Abridged from the Jewish Encyclopedia] (Haifa: Maṭba‘at al-Karmal bi shāri‘ Dayr al-Rūm, 1911). For more on Naṣṣār’s book, see Emanuel Beška, “Arabic Translations of Writings on Zionism Published in Palestine Before the First World War,” *Asian & African Studies*, 23:1 (2014), 155–165. Note that the 1908–1912 issues were unavailable and many pages from 1914 were also missing.

⁹On Ilyā Zakā, see *al-Naḥḥ*, 14 June 1910. We found this article in the personal files of David Yellin, located at the Central Zionist Archives (CZA) in Jerusalem; Shukrī Khalīl Suwaydān, *Tārīkh al-Jam‘īya al-Imbarātūrīya*

Some writers asserted their Palestinianness explicitly. We found six articles containing such statements or signatures, four in *Filasṭīn* and one in *al-Quds* and *al-Karmal* each.¹⁰ A writer, calling himself “Filasṭīnī,” criticized the ineffectiveness of the measures taken by the authorities against Jewish immigration and colonization calling them “mere ink on a paper” (“ḥibr ‘alā warāq”).¹¹ A contributor writing under the same signature, “Filasṭīnī,” argued that decentralization was inappropriate for provinces that faced strong “foreign influence”, such as Palestine, by which the author clearly means the *mutaṣarriḥīya* of Jerusalem, since it could lead to its Judaization.¹² A certain Rashīd, a Palestinian living in the US while praising the poet ‘Alī al-Rīmāwī describes himself as an “Arab Palestinian Ottoman man” (“raḥul ‘arabī filasṭīnī ‘uthmānī”).¹³ Iskandar al-Khūrī while criticizing the clerical members of the Mixed council described himself in the following words: “I as a Palestinian, and as a member of the Palestinian Orthodox body” (“Anā ka Filasṭīnī, wa ka ‘uḍw min jism al-urthūdhukṣīya al-filasṭīnīya”).¹⁴ Nakhla al-Dadā, a Palestinian emigrant living in El Salvador, sent a letter to the newspaper *al-Quds* in which he praised Is‘āf Afandī al-Nashāshībī for writing the poem “Filasṭīn, Filasṭīn, yā qawm” [Palestine, Palestine, Oh, Nation/People] addressing him “From a Palestinian to the poet of Palestine” (“min Filasṭīnī ilā shā‘ir Filasṭīn”).¹⁵ An anonymous citizen (“waṭanī”) declared in *al-Karmal* “I am a Palestinian” (“anā Filasṭīnī”) while talking about resistance to Zionism and his admiration for its adherents at the same time.¹⁶

In short, newspapers played a key role in propagating new ideas, such as a Palestinian identity. Editors engaged in conversations with readers that earlier genres of literature could not. Newspapers solicited submissions, received questions, published responses and acquired paying subscribers. Articles were also read aloud in the town cafés and village guesthouses. What was written in ink leapt off the page and into hearts and minds. Thousands of people who had never met one another could participate in the same weekly conversation. Newspapers accelerated the pace of change. New ideas, including new identities, were catapulted forward.¹⁷

al-Urthūdhukṣīya al-Filasṭīnīya (Boston: Matba‘a Suriya al-Jadida, 1912), 33.

¹⁰In first person singular and several more in plural “we Palestinians” and “we, your Palestinian brothers”.

¹¹*Filasṭīn*, 2 November 1912, 185, 1/5–2/3.

¹²“Hal taṣluḥ al-lāmarkazīya (fī Filasṭīn)” [Is Decentralization Suitable for Palestine(?)]. *Filasṭīn*, 19 April 1913, 231, 1/1–4.

¹³*Filasṭīn*, 7 February 1914, 305, 4/1–2.

¹⁴*Filasṭīn*, 24 June 1914, 330, 3/4.

¹⁵*al-Quds*, 7 February 1911, 215, 1/4.

¹⁶*al-Karmal*, 15 May 1914, 429, 3/3–4.

¹⁷Adnan Abu-Ghazaleh, ‘Arab Cultural Nationalism in Palestine during the British Mandate.’ *Journal of Palestine Studies* 1:3 (1972), 37–63; Ann Mosely Lesch, *Arab Politics in Palestine, 1917–1939: The Frustration of a Nationalist Movement* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 65; Ayalon, *Reading Palestine*; al-Najjar, Aida,

Conclusion

Why did the term Palestinian spread rapidly in the first decade and a half of the 20th century?

Graduates of the Russian Teacher's Training Seminary in Nazareth were among the earliest to use the term, suggesting that school as a possible point of origin. But it was in newspapers, rather than in boarding schools, where the identity blossomed. Four themes characterized discussions of the Palestinians in the press: Zionism, the Orthodox Renaissance, migration and the Arab public sphere. Palestinians perceived Zionists as an economic and political threat to *Palestinians*. Similarly, the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem was monopolized by Greek monks of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre who refused to share power, status and resources with the people who formed the overwhelming majority of church members, the *Palestinians*. Migrants in the New World found themselves in heterogeneous environments and came to define themselves as *Palestinians*. And Arabs from Palestine encountered Arabs from Lebanon, Syria and Egypt in schools, literary clubs and newspaper columns and thus increasingly came to see themselves as *Palestinians*.

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Farīd Jirjis Qaṣṣāb. *Palestine, Hellénisme et Cléricalisme* (Constantinople: Impr. de La Patrie, 1909), pp. 5, 8, 22, 26, 31.

al-Quds

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The Arabic Press and Nationalism in Palestine, 1920–1948 (Unpublished dissertation, Syracuse University, 1975), ch. 2; Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), ch. 3.

(“al-sha‘b al-filasṭīnī”; “sha‘b Filasṭīn”)

Tawfiq Zaybaq. Ḥājatunā al-kubrā ilā al-rijāl [Our Greatest Need for Men]. 24 November 1908, no. 20, p. 1.

(“al-fard al-filasṭīnī”)

Tawfiq Zaybaq. Ḥājatunā al-kubrā ilā al-rijāl [Our Greatest Need for Men]. 27 November 1908, no. 21, p. 1.

(“al-mujtama‘ al-filasṭīnī”)

[Anonymous author]. Juninnā bi Laylā wa hiya junnat bi ghayrinā [We Became Crazy because of Laylā and She Became Crazy because of Someone Else]. 12 January 1909, no. 32, p. 1.

(“al-sha‘b al-urthūdhukī al-filasṭīnī”)

[Likely *al-Quds*’s agent in Brasil – Yūsuf Ḥanā ‘Aṭāallāh al-Baytlaḥmī.] Barnambūk [Per-nambuco]. 29 January 1909, no. 34, p. 3.

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(“al-nāshiya al-filasṭīniya wa ‘alā al-khuṣūṣ al-qudsīya”)

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(“al-sha‘b al-filasṭīnī wa al-sūrī”)

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(“al-Filasṭīniyyūn”)

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(“Filasṭīnī”)

Aḥmad Sāmīḥ al-Khālīdī. Jam‘īyat Filasṭīn fī Kullīyat Bayrūt [The Palestine Association at the Syrian Protestant College]. 12 July 1913, no. 253, p. 2.

(“Filasṭīnīyūn”; “jarīdat Filasṭīn hiya lisān al-ḥāl kāfat al-Filasṭīnīyīn”; “al-nāshiya al-filasṭīniya al-jadīda”; “Filasṭīniyū al-kullīya”)

Rāghib Efendī al-Khālīdī. al-Hijra ‘inda al-‘Arab [Arab Emigration]. 26 July 1913, no. 257, pp. 1–2.

(“al-umma al-filasṭīniya”, “al-umma al-filasṭīniya”)

Fāris Na‘āma, Ḥāris ibn ‘Abbād / Ramla. Qaṭf al-‘inab al-mash‘ūm [The Picking of the Ill-Omened Grapes]. 2 August 1913, no. 259, p. 3.

(“kafā kafā yā al-sha‘b al-filasṭīnī”)

Sulaymān al-Tājī al-Fārūqī. Ḥurrīya am isti‘bād wa ‘adl am istibdād [Freedom or Enslavement and Justice or Tyranny]. 30 August 1913, no. 267, p. 5, mulḥaq [extra sheet].

(“al-ra’y al-‘amm al-filasṭīnī”)

‘Isā al-Safarī. ‘Alā dhikr marfa’ Yāfā [Speaking of the Port of Jaffa]. 10 September 1913, no. 270, p. 3.

(“al-sha‘b al-filasṭīnī al-khāmil”, “rijāl Filasṭīn”)

‘Alī Rīmāwī. Taḥta shajara: ‘Ajā’ib wa gharā’ib [Under a Tree: Remarkable Things and Oddities]. 8 October 1913 no. 278, p. 2

(“al-Filasṭīniyīn al-qudamā”)

Yūsuf Ya‘qūb. al-Talāḥima wa quṣūruhum [The Bethlehemites and Their Palaces]. 11 October 1913, no. 279, p. 2

(“al-Talāḥima wa jamī‘ ikhwānihim al-filasṭīniyīn”)

Rashīd. Murāsālāt: al-muhājara al-filasṭīniya [Correspondence: Palestinian Emigration]. 18 October 1913, no. 281, p. 3.

(“akthar al-Filasṭīniyīn”, “muhājarat al-Filasṭīniyīn”)

Ḥannā Abū al-Ṣūf. Ṣarkha min shawāṭi’ al-Bāsīfik [An Outcry from the Pacific Coast]. 18 October 1913, no. 281, pp. 3–4.

(“iṣlāḥ shu’ūn al-milla al-urthūdhuksīya al-filasṭīniya”)

Yūsuf al-‘Īsā [author of the comment which contains the terms]. al-Muhājirūn al-muḥtālūn [The Emigrant Swindlers]. 1 November 1913, no. 285, p. 3.

(“abnā’ Sūriyā wa Filasṭīn”; “al-ism al-sūrī wa al-filasṭīnī”)

Jibrān Maṭar. Bayt Laḥm – li ṣāḥib al-tawqī’ [Bethlehem – by the Below-Signed]. 12 November 1913, no. 288, p. 3.

(“al-nāshi’a al-filasṭīniya”)

Murāsīlunā [Our Correspondent]. al-Wilāyāt al-muttaḥida: Klīfland – li murāsīlinā [The United States: Cleveland – by Our Correspondent]. 17 December 1913, no. 292, p. 1.

(“al-muhājir al-filasṭīnī”, “abnā’ Filasṭīn”)

al-Ra’y al-‘āmm al-agharr li mukātibihi al-mutajawwil [By the Traveling Correspondent of the Honorable *al-Ra’y al-‘Āmm*]. Aqwāl al-ṣuḥuf fī ta’ṭīl jarīdat Filasṭīn [Newspaper Reports on the Suspension of the Newspaper *Filasṭīn*]. 17 December 1913, no. 292, p. 2.

(“al-sha’b al-filasṭīnī”)

Newspaper Peyām – Istanbul. Ārā’ al-mukhlīṣīn fī salāmat al-waṭan [Opinions of the Faithful about Homeland s Well-Being]. 17 December 1913, no. 292, p. 4.

(“al-Filasṭīniyūn al-masākīn”, “al-Filasṭīnī”)

Majallat al-Ikhā’ al-gharrā [The Honorable Journal *al-Ikhā’*]. Aqwāl al-ṣuḥuf fī ta’ṭīl jarīdat Filasṭīn [Newspaper Reports on the Suspension of the Newspaper *Filasṭīn*]. 24 December 1913, no. 293, p. 2.

(“al-sha’b al-filasṭīnī”, “al-sha’b al-filasṭīnī”)

Yūsuf Ya’qūb. Nyū Yūrk – li ṣāḥib al-tawqī’ [New York - by the Below-Signed]. 27 December 1913, no. 294, p. 3.

(“nukhbat al-Filasṭīniyīn”)

Jurjī al-Khūrī Sulaymān. Jurūḥunā al-arba’a: radd ‘alā radd ‘alā radd [Our Four Wounds: Reply to a Reply to a Reply]. 7 January 1914, no. 297, pp. 1–2.

(“maththala al-umma al-filasṭīniya fī majlis nuwwāb al-dawla al-sābiq”)

Yūsuf al-‘Īsā. Ḥaraka mubāraka islāmīya [Blessed Islamic Movement]. 24 January 1914, no. 301, p. 1.

(“al-umma al-filasṭīniya ‘alā ikhtilāf ‘anāṣirihā”)

Iskandar al-Khūrī Baytjālī. al-Ḍayfān (al-rāḥil wa al-qādim) [Two Guests (the Departing and the Arriving)]. 24 January 1914, no. 301, p. 2.

(“al-sha‘b al-filasṭīnī”)

[26 signatures, among them] Ḥuṣāmaddīn Abū al-Su‘ūd, Rushdī al-Shawā, Mu‘ādh al-Khālīdī, Fu‘ād al-Nashāshībī, Fakhrī al-Ḥusaynī, ‘Ārif ‘Ārif. Ākhir sā‘a [Last Hour]. 24 January 1914, no. 301, p. 4

(“al-shabība al-‘arabīya al-filasṭīniya”)

[likely Yūsuf al-‘Īsā] (“al-shabība al-filasṭīniya”)

Rashīd. Taḥta shajara [Under a Tree]. 7 February 1914, no. 305, p. 4.

(“annī rajul ‘arabī filasṭīnī ‘uthmānī”)

The newspaper *al-Murshid*. Ṭalla idṭirārīya [A Necessary Look]. 11 February 1914, no. 306, p. 2.

(“Li jarīdat Filasṭīn wa li ra’īs taḥrīrihā Yūsuf Afandī al-‘Īsā manzila sāmiya fī qulūb al-Filasṭīniyīn fī hādhihi al-jumhūrīya”)

‘Azīz ‘Arīḍa. Ḥadīth ma’a Baylis [Interview with Beilis]. 18 February 1914, no. 308, p. 2.

(“al-shabība al-filasṭīniya al-rāqiya ‘alā ikhtilāf madhāhibihā”)

Ya‘qūb Jirjis Khalīl. Taqaddum aw qahqarā: Risāla min al-Wilāyāt al-muttaḥida [Advancement or Decline: A Letter from the United States]. 18 February 1914, no. 308, p. 4.

(“abnā’ Filasṭīn”, “al-muhājir al-filasṭīnī” [quotes from the letter of “Rashīd”, no. 292]

“al-Filasṭīniyūn fī hādhihi al-bilād”; “al-ism al-filasṭīnī”, “jam’īya filasṭīniya ‘umūmiya khayriya”)

Aḥmad Sāmiḥ al-Khālīdī. Shay’ ‘an Jam’īyat Filasṭīn fī al-Kullīya al-amīrkīya [Something about the Palestine Association at the Syrian Protestant College]. 11 March 1914, no. 314,

p. 2.

(“al-talāmidha al-filasṭīnīyīn”, “al-talāmidha al-filasṭīnīyīn”)

Rāghib Efendī al-Khālīdī. Mā huwa al-mab‘ūth? [What Is a Deputy?]. 18 March 1914, no. 316, pp. 1–2.

(“al-umma al-filasṭīnīya”, “al-umma al-filasṭīnīya”, “ayyuhā al-Filasṭīnīyūn intakhibū al-akfiyā”)

Aḥmad Sāmīh al-Khālīdī. Shay ‘an Jam ‘iyat Filasṭīn fī al-Kullīya al-Amīrkīya [Something about the Palestine Association at the Syrian Protestant College]. 21 March 1914, no. 317, p. 2.

(“al-Filasṭīnīyīn”, “al-Filasṭīnīyīn fī al-kullīya”, “‘adad al-talāmīdh al-filasṭīnīyīn”)

Sh. Risāla min al-balda [A Letter from the City]. 1 April 1914, no. 320, p. 3.

(“al-shabība al-filasṭīnīya”)

Yūsuf al-‘Īsā, Rashīd Efendī. al-Filasṭīnīyūn fī Shīkāghū [Palestinians in Chicago]. 11 April 1914, no. 323, p. 2.

[likely: Yūsuf al-‘Īsā] (“al-Filasṭīnīyūn fī Shīkāghū”, “ikhwānīnā al-filasṭīnīyīn fī dār al-mahjar”);

[author: Rashīd Efendī] (“ikhwānunā al-muslimīn al-filasṭīnīyīn”)

18 authors: al-tawāqī‘ [Signatures]. Tilighrāf ākhar min ahālī Filasṭīn [Another Telegram from the Inhabitants of Palestine]. 11 April 1914, no. 323, p. 5, mulḥaq [extra sheet].

(“Naḥnu ikhwānukum al-filasṭīnīyūn”, “min ahl Filasṭīn”, “al-Filasṭīnīyīn”)

Yūsuf al-‘Īsā, Abdallāh Damghān. al-Filasṭīnīyūn fī Shīkāghū aw al-Muslimūn wa al-Masīḥīyūn fī al-mahjar [Palestinians in Chicago or the Muslims and Christians in Emigration]. 6 June 1914, no. 325, p. 2.

[Yūsuf al-‘Īsā] (“al-Filasṭīnīyūn fī Shīkāghū”, “ikhwānunā al-filasṭīnīyīn al-muhājirīn”, “al-munāfasa al-dīniya bayna ikhwānunā al-filasṭīnīyīn al-muhājirīn”);

[‘Abdallāh Damghān] (“Filasṭīnīyūn fī jamī‘ aqṭā‘ al-ma‘mūr”)

al-Ḥārith (in *al-Fatā al-‘arabī*). Kalima muqtaḍaba (ilā nuwābinā al-kirām) [A Short Remark

(to Our Honorable Deputies)]. 6 June 1914, no. 325, p. 6.

(“al-umma al-filasṭīniya”)

Najīb Naṣṣār / al-Karmal. al-Ṣahyūniya immā khaṭar ‘aẓīm wa immā mithāl ḥasan [Zionism Is Either a Great Danger or a Good Example]. 6 June 1914, no. 325, p. 6. (“al-Filasṭīniyūn khāṣṣatan wa al-‘Arab ‘āmmatan”, “al-Filasṭīniyūn”, “takwīn ra’y ‘āmm ‘arabī ‘uthmānī filasṭīnī”, “al-umma al-filasṭīniya al-‘arabīya”, “al-Filasṭīniyīn”)

Yūsuf al-‘Īsā. al-Jalsa al-thāniya [The Second Session]. 6 June 1914, no. 325, p. 9.

(“al-sha‘b al-filasṭīnī”)

Najīb Naṣṣār / al-Karmal. Laysa lī waṭan [I Have No Home/Homeland]. 13 June 1914, no. 327, p. 3.

(“al-Filasṭīniyīn [...] yuṣbiḥūna kulluhum bilā al-waṭan”)

Iskandar al-Khūrī. Shu’ūn urthūdhukṣiya: 3 – al-Shay’ min ma’dinihi lā yustaghrab [Orthodox Matters: 3 – One Does Not Find Strange His Own Nature]. 24 June 1914, no. 330, p. 3. (“Anā ka Filasṭīnī, wa ka ‘uḍw min jism al-urthūdhukṣiya al-filasṭīniya”)

Murāsilunā fī al-Shīlī [Our Correspondent from Chile]. Taṣḥīḥ khabar [Correction of a Report]. 24 June 1914, no. 330, p. 4.

(“al-jāliya al-filasṭīniya”)

al-Ab [Father] Buṭrus, Shammās [Deacon] Yūsuf ‘Aṭāallāh, wujahā’ hādhihi al-ṭā’ifa [Notables of this Denomination]. Tabarru’ maḥmūd [A Praiseworthy Donation]. 27 June 1914, no. 331, p. 2.

(“Idhā kāna fī al-mahjar qawm yalṭakhūna al-ism al-filasṭīnī”)

[The newspaper] *al-Ra’y al-‘āmm*. Jam’iyya ‘arabīya islāmīya fī dār al-mulk [An Arab Islamic Association in Istanbul]. 18 July 1914, no. 337, p. 5.

(“al-fallāḥ wa al-zāri‘ al-sūrī wa al-filasṭīnī”)

Iskandar Shaḥḥāda. Jam’iyya filasṭīniya fī Shīkāghū intikhābātuhā al-niṣf ṣanawīya wa ta’sīs far’ Nyūyūrk [Palestinian Association in Chicago, Its Biannual Elections and Founding of the New York Branch]. 22 July 1914, no. 338, p. 5.

(“al-jāliya al-filasṭīniya”)

Jamīl al-Rāfi ‘ī / Khartūm. Naṣīḥa wa ‘itāb [An Advice and a Rebuke]. 25 July 1914, no. 339, p. 3.

(“alimtu min ba‘ḍ ikhwānī al-filasṭīniyīn”, “aḥad abnā’ Filasṭīn”)

[Likely] Yūsuf al-‘Īsā. al-Shabība al-filasṭīniya [The Palestinian Youth]. 25 July 1914, no. 339, p. 5.

(“al-Shabība al-filasṭīniya”)

The Gaza Correspondent. Ghazza – li murāsilinā [Gaza – by Our Correspondent]. 5 August 1914, no. 342, p. 3.

(“al-shabība al-filasṭīniya”)

al-Karmal

M.Kh. Kitāb naṣūḥ [A Sincere Letter]. 31 January 1913, no. 304, p. 1.

(“sha‘b Filasṭīn”, “al-Filasṭīniyīn”)

[Najīb Naṣṣār] “kathīrun min al-Filasṭīniyīn”

Sulaymān Naẓīf Bak [author of the term]/ Farūq [Istanbul], Sayf al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb / Majallat „al-Ijtihād“ [The Journal *al-Ijtihād*]. ‘Ibra li a‘dā’ al-iṣlāḥ [Advice to the Enemies of the Reforms]. 4 July 1913, no. 346, p. 1.

(“al-farq bayna al-Makidūniyīn wa al-Filasṭīniyīn”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. Ilā khiyāmika yā Isrā’īl [To Your Tents, Oh, Israel[!]]. 25 July 1913, no. 352, p. 2

(“jamā‘at Filasṭīniyīn”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. Bushrā ḥasana [A Good News]. 5 August 1913, no. 355, p. 2

(“al-Filasṭīniyūn”)

Najīb Naṣṣār [his comment contains the term]. Badāri badāri [Hurry, Hurry [!]]. 8 August 1913, no. 356, p. 2.

(“al-Sūrīyūn ‘umūman wa al-Filasṭīniyūn khuṣūṣan”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. Mu'tamar Nābulus al-lāṣahyūnī [Anti-Zionist Congress in Nablus]. 26 August 1913, no. 361, p. 2.

(“al-Filasṭīnīyīn”)

al-Shabība al-filasṭīniya [The Palestinian Youth]. al-Mu'tamar al-lāṣahyūnī [Anti-Zionist Congress]. 9 September 1913, no. 363, p. 1.

(“al-shabība al-filasṭīniya”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. al-Jāmi'a al-'arabīya al-filasṭīniya [The Arab Palestinian Community]. 19 August 1913, no. 366, p. 1.

(“al-firqa al-filasṭīniya”, “naḥnu al-Filasṭīnīyīn”, “al-jāmi'a al-'arabīya al-filasṭīniya”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. al-Jāmi'a al-'arabīya al-filasṭīniya: Jihād shāqq wa lākinnahu ladhīdh [The Arab Palestinian Community: An Arduous but Sweet Fight]. 26 August 1913, no. 368, pp. 1–2.

(“jāmi'a 'arabīya filasṭīniya”, “al-Filasṭīnīyīn”, “al-Filasṭīnī”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. al-Bayrūtīyūn wa naḥnu [The Beirutis and Us]. 3 September 1913, no. 370, p. 2.

(“al-Filasṭīnīyīn”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. Mā yuhaddidu Bayrūtīyīn [What Threatens the Beirutis]. 14 October 1913, no. 374, p. 3.

(“ikhwānuhum al-filasṭīnīyīn”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. al-Duwal wa Filasṭīn: al-nufūdh al-rūsī [The Powers and Palestine: The Russian Influence]. 14 November 1913, no. 382, p. 3.

(“al-Filasṭīnīyūn wa al-Sūrīyūn”)

Najīb Naṣṣār [translated and retold article from the newspaper Peyâm – published in Istanbul]. Ārā' al-mukhlīṣīn fī salāmat al-waṭan [Opinions of the Faithful about the Well-Being of the Homeland]. 12 December 1913, no. 389, p. 1.

(“al-Filasṭīnīyūn”; “al-Filasṭīnī”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. Mawqifunā al-iqtisādī: Ḥayātunā bi al-iḥtifāz bi arāḍīnā [Our Economic Situ-

- ation: Our Live [Depends] on the Retention of Our Lands]. 23 December 1913, no. 392, p. 4.
- (“kull ‘Arabī ‘Uthmānī ‘alā al-‘umūm wa kull Filasṭīnī ‘Uthmānī ‘alā al-khuṣūṣ”)
- Fu’ād Jisr. Limādhā nahjuru al-awṭān [Why Do We Emigrate from Our Homes]. 26 December 1913, no. 393, p. 3.
- (“da‘at jamī‘ al-Filasṭīnīyīn ilā al-muhājara”)
- Najīb Naṣṣār. Fī waqt wāḥid [At the Same Time]. 27 February 1914, no. 409, p. 1.
- (“Wājibāt al-Filasṭīnī”, “al-Filasṭīnīyīn”, “al-Filasṭīnīyūn”)
- Najīb Naṣṣār. al-Iḥtijāj ‘alā al-Ṣahyūnīyīn [Protest against the Zionists]. 10 April 1914, no. 420, p. 1.
- (“al-Jāmi‘a al-‘arabīya ‘alā al-‘umūm wa al-filasṭīnīya ‘alā al-khuṣūṣ”)
- Najīb Naṣṣār. al-Ḥaraka al-ṣahyūnīya fī al-ṣiḥāfa al-turkīya [The Zionist Movement in the Turkish Press]. 14 April 1914, no. 421, p. 1.
- (“al-Filasṭīnīyūn”)
- Najīb Naṣṣār. al-Filasṭīnīyūn wa al-Ṣahyūnīyūn [The Palestinians and the Zionists]. 14 April 1914, no. 421, p. 2.
- (“naḥnu ikhwānukum al-filasṭīnīyūn”, “al-Filasṭīnīyūn”)
- Najīb Naṣṣār. al-Ṣahyūnīya immā khaṭar ‘aẓīm wa immā mithāl ḥasan [Zionism Is Either a Great Danger or a Good Example]. 17 April 1914, no. 422, p. 1.
- (“ra’y ‘āmm ‘arabī ‘uthmānī filasṭīnī”, “al-Filasṭīnīyūn chāṣṣatan wa al-‘Arab ‘āmmatan”, “al-Filasṭīnīyūn”, “al-Filasṭīnīyūn”, “al-Filasṭīnīyūn”, “nahḍat al-umma al-filasṭīnīya al-‘arabīya”)
- Najīb Naṣṣār. al-Ḥaqq ‘alā al-ṣuḥuf bal al-ḥaqq ‘alā ru’ūsīnā [[It Is Not] the Duty of the Newspapers, Rather it Is Our Duty]. 24 April 1914, no. 423, p. 1
- (“naḥnu al-Filasṭīnīyūn”, “qawmay al-Filasṭīnīyīn khāṣṣatan wa al-‘Arab ‘āmmatan”, “kibār an-nufūs min al-Filasṭīnīyīn”)
- Najīb Naṣṣār. Mashrū‘ Atlīt al-ṣahyūnī [The Zionist Atlit Project]. 24 April 1914, no. 423,

p. 2.

(“Fa yadhkuru lahu al-‘Arab lā sīyamā al-Filasṭīniyūn”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. Ra’y fī al-ṣahyūniya [Opinion about Zionism]. 1 May 1914, no. 425, p. 1.

(“ra’y ‘āmm min al-Filasṭīniyīn khāṣṣatan wa min al-Sūriyīn wa al-‘Arab ‘āmmatan”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. Fatā al-‘Arab wa al-ṣahyūniya [Arabs and Zionism]. 1 May 1914, no. 425, p. 3.

(“al-Filasṭīniyīn”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. Filasṭīn tuḥayyī Bayrūt [Palestine Greets Beirut]. 5 May 1914, no. 426, p. 3

[likely al-Sayyid Salīm Efendī Salām] (“al-Filasṭīniyīn”)

[Najīb Naṣṣār] (“al-Filasṭīniyīn”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. al-‘Uthmāniya [Ottomanism]. 12 May 1914, no. 428, p. 1

(“fa yaḥfazūn Filasṭīn li al-Filasṭīniyīn al-‘uthmāniyīn wa yaktasibūn riḍā’ al-‘Arab jamī’an”)

[Likely] Najīb Naṣṣār [parafrasing a Palestinian student from al-Azhar – Qāsim Efendī al-Fāhūm]. Jam’iyya lā ṣahyūniya [An Anti-Zionist Association]. 15 May 1914, no. 429, p. 2.

(“al-Filasṭīniyīn”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. al-Sayyid Wajīh Kaylānī: Khādīm al-islām wa al-madanīya [al-Sayyid Wajīh Kaylānī: Servant of Islam and Civilization]. 15 May 1914, no. 429, p. 2

(“al-Filasṭīniyīn”)

Waṭanī [A Native]. Man hum a’dā’unā [Who Are Our Enemies]. 15 May 1914, no. 429, p. 3

(“al-Filasṭīniyīn”, “anā Filasṭīnī”)

[Likely a member of this organization.] Sharika iqtisādīya [An Economic Company]. 22 May 1914, no. 431, p. 2.

(“al-shabība al-filasṭīniya”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. Jam‘īyat al-shabība al-nābulusīya [The Nābulus Youth Association]. 29 May 1914, no. 433, p. 1

(“al-shabība al-filasṭīnīya”, “al-shabība al-waṭanīya aw al-filasṭīnīya”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. Jam‘īya filasṭīnīya jadīda fī Fārūq [A New Palestinian Association in Istanbul]. 12 June 1914, no. 437, pp. 1–2.

(“al-shabība al-filasṭīnīya khuṣūṣan wa al-sūrīya ‘umūman”, “al-shabība al-filasṭīnīya”; “al-shabība al-filasṭīnīya”; “jam‘ kalimāt al-Filasṭīnīyīn wa ta’līf qulūbihim ‘alā al-khuṣūṣ wa qulūb al-‘Arab ‘alā al-‘umūm”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. Laysa lī waṭan [I Have No Home/Homeland]. 12 June 1914, no. 437, p. 2.

(“al-Filasṭīnīyīn [...] yuṣbiḥūna kulluhum bilā al-waṭan”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. al-‘Ulūm al-‘amalīya [Practical Sciences]. 23 June 1914, no. 440, p. 2.

(“khamsa min al-Filasṭīnīyīn”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. al-Qānūn al-‘askarī al-jadīd [The New Military Law]. 7 July 1914, no. 444, p. 1.

(“naḥnu al-Filasṭīnīyīn”)

Najīb Naṣṣār. al-Khaṭar al-ṣahyūnī [The Zionist Danger]. 7 July 1914, no. 444, p. 2.

(“yā ma‘shar al-Muslimīn yā ma‘shar al-Filasṭīnīyīn”, “yā ma‘shar al-Sūrīyīn”, “yā ma‘shar al-‘Arab”)

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