

recorded in detail by Samuel Bergheim in an article appearing in 1894 ... . Throughout most of the Empire—in the provinces of present-day Iraq, for example, as well as in a large percentage of the Palestinian region (the area of Jerusalem, also due to its specificity, represented an exception to the rule)—the new regulations did not achieve the desired effects. On the contrary, the *fellahin*, fearing self-exposure, decided in many cases to register their land using the names of deceased relatives or noble residents of major cities.

**[Footnote:]** This does not exclude the fact that there are cases in which the *fellahin* living in the hill and mountain areas, or the areas in which the majority of them were concentrated, had registered the land in their name. The exact origin of the phenomenon is in any case difficult, if not impossible, to estimate accurately.<sup>40</sup>

This dissertation is being written because the conventional paradigm authored one hundred years ago remains unchallenged and widespread (except hesitantly, in the rare footnote).

There is much historiographical misunderstanding of the laws of reform, the process of reform, and the implementation of reform.<sup>41</sup> There has not been sufficient evidence available to allow systematic study, on the one hand, and the omnipresence of the historiographical paradigm has discouraged challenge, on the other.

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<sup>40</sup> Lorenzo Kamel, “Whose Land? Land Tenure in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Palestine”, *BJMES* 41/2: 230-242.

<sup>41</sup> Among recent researches, see, for example, Erik Eliav Freas, “Ottoman Reform, Islam, and Palestine’s Peasantry”, *The Arab Studies Journal* 18/1 (Spring 2010), 196-231 and p. 209 in particular; Farid al-Salim, “A Social History of Provincial Palestine: The History of Tulkarm in the Late Ottoman Period (1876-1914)”, PhD dissertation (University of Arkansas, 2008), Chapter 4: “The Second Wave of the Tanzimat: The 1858 Land Code and the New Social Order in the Tulkarm Region”, 88-114. Al-Salim’s book, *Palestine and the Decline of the Ottoman Empire: Modernization and the Path to Palestinian Statehood* (London: I.B. Tauris), which grew out of his dissertation, was published this year (2015), but unfortunately I have not yet been able to consult it.