

the tax register and the court case yields a pattern similar to what was observed in Taffūḥ. It appears that each name recorded initially in the *Emlak* register was a representative of a larger family group.⁴⁰⁵ The use of the term *sahm* to describe the relationship among the nineteen supports this theory, as does the equivalent and large size of each of the six parcels of land, which certainly required many hands to work them.

It is worth questioning further whether the use of the term *sahm* in this case is meant to indicate that the nineteen shareholders' names did not appear on tapu certificate(s). Unfortunately, reading the court and tax documents side-by-side provides us only enough knowledge to prompt this question but insufficient information to accurately answer it.⁴⁰⁶ On the one hand, as mentioned above, it was stated in court that the nineteen intended to proceed from the courtroom to the lands commission office, presumably with the detailed, sharia-court *hujje* in hand. At the very least, the court document was needed to

⁴⁰⁵ The nineteen sellers were: 'Abd al-Hādī b. Salāmeḥ 'Ādī (al-'Aṭāwneh), Hasan b. Ahmad 'Alī (al-'Aṭāwneh), 'Abdallah b. Sulayman al-'Atāwneh, Mahmūd b. Sālīm b. Sālīm al-'Atāwneh, 'Awdatallah b. Khalil Ahmad D'abūs (al-'Aṭāwneh), Sulayman b. Hasan Naṣār (al-'Āṣāfra), Muhammad Ṣāliḥ (al-'Aṭāwneh), Muhammad b. Naṣār al-R'ad (al-'Aṭāwneh), Muhammad b. al-Hajj Jibrīn (Jibrīl al-'Āṣāfra), 'Alī b. Naṣār Husayn Naṣār (al-'Āṣāfra), 'Abd Rabbuh b. Ahmad Naṣār (al-'Āṣāfra), Sulaymān b. Muhammad Bariyūsh (Abriyūsh al-'Aṭāwneh), 'Awda b. 'Aql Ṣāliḥ (al-Zuhūr), Muhammad b. Naṣār Ahmad (al-'Āṣāfra), one Yūsif b. Ibrahīm Ibrahīm Yūsif (surname unidentifiable), Mahmūd b. Abriyūsh (al-'Atāwneh), 'Abd al-Hādī Riyān (al-Zuhūr), Sulaymān b. Kan'ān Dhawān (al-Zuhūr?), and 'Ali b. Hasan Dhawān (al-Zuhūr?). The underlined names would appear to be siblings or sons of the six owners registered in the *Emlak* register two decades earlier, which are named in the preceding footnote and in Table 4.3, except for Sulaymān, who himself was an original registered owner. Relatives of the sixth original owner, 'Uthman b. Ahmad Bariyūsh (Abriyūsh al-'Aṭāwneh), are not readily identifiable among the nineteen.

⁴⁰⁶ Mundy and Saumarez-Smith have noted the same difficulties in attempting to trace ownership between the tapu and tax records (277, footnote 32).