at the base of the Hebron foothills.<sup>306</sup> (See Image 4.1). The two-thousand-and-some dunams<sup>307</sup> known collectively as Jamrūra have served the nearby villagers of Taffuḥ and Bayt Kāḥil as important agricultural lands since the Ottoman era, when the Hebron district extended north, west, and south some distance beyond its present-day borders. An approximation of the expanse of the *mezra*' in the late-nineteenth century is shown on Map 4.1. The area encompasses a number of plots, each known by its own name, for example: Marj Qaṣṣa, al-Ruweisāt, Shi 'ib 'Azzām, Akfar, al-Nijma, al-Khab, Bayarāt Abu 'Umayra, Dharā' al-'Abd, Khallat al-Khamās, and Khallat al-Khaimeh.<sup>308</sup>

In Hütteroth and Abdulfattah's well-known study (1977) of late-sixteenth century dafātir-I mufaṣṣal (detailed land registers), the western foothills of Hebron appear to have been sparsely populated with small, tax-paying settlements. Their research does not shed light on Taffuḥ, Bayt Kāḥil, or Jamrūra. None of these was counted among the thirty villages that

About confiscation orders issued in 1983, 1991, 1997, and 2005, see "Jamrūra wa'l-arādhi al-muṣādira" (Jamrūra and the Confiscated Lands), http://taffouh.org/ar/taffouh/jammrora, accessed May 2015 (Arabic). Regarding land confiscation orders issued in 2006, see "al-Khalīl: al-Iḥtilāl ya'atazimu iqtilā' 'asharāt al-ashjār tamhīdan l'iqāmat muqāṭi' min al-jidār fī "Jamrūra" (Hebron: The Occupation intends to remove dozens of trees to make way for the establishment of segments of The Wall in "Jamrūra"), al-Ayyām, 2 August 2006, accessed at http://www.miftah.org/Arabic/Display.cfm?DocId=4554& CategoryId=4, accessed 9 June 2015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>307</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>308</sup> Some of these names occur in the documents to be discussed in this chapter. This list is taken from Ibid., in consultation with Abu Sitta, sheets #456, 457, 473, 474. Dozens of local names are listed in the area.

The authors theorize that this was because the area was inhabited and controlled by bedouin, whose presence discouraged permanent settlement. Wolf Dieter Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century (Erlangen: Fränkische Geographische Ges., 1977), 46, 48. The relevant register is Liva-ı Kudüs, <i>defter-ı mufaṣṣal #112*. In recent decades, scholars have moved away from viewing bedouin as settled society's traditional enemy.