

Other reform-derived linguistic phrases pop up here and there in the court records in these years, such as the term *hujjat sened 'ādī* (a document of a “regular” title deed).<sup>324</sup> Although the word *sanad* with the meaning of “deed” or “document” is also found in Arabic, the word is not used in early archived Hebron court records. It found its way into societal lingo following the advent of requirements (in Turkish) to acquire tapu *seneds* for properties. Likewise worthy of note in this phrase is the qualifying adjective “regular”. Its use reveals an implicit juxtaposition of two different documents of ownership, one issued in the traditional manner, usually in the sharia court, and the new type, the tapu. The phrase indicates that ownership affirmed by the sharia court continued to be valid in the post-reform period. First, it should be noted, the *sened* referred to here was issued in 1297 H (1880), a period when tapu registration had become easily accessible in Hebron. Secondly, had court-issued documents of ownership become invalid, one would expect not to see them described as “regular” – the complement of which is “special” – but, rather, as *qadīm* (old, former), as opposed to the “new” *sened tapu*.

Isma‘īl claimed he and the individuals he represented had rights to the lands in question by right of inheritance from relatives who either possessed or had themselves inherited rights to the land tenure from among a group of twenty-four people to whom *tapu kushans* had been granted. These title-deeds, he said, had been issued on 24 August 1875

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<sup>324</sup> HR 18 / 91 / 93 (12 Shawwal 1316 / 23 February 1899).