

its status (if we may call it that) as *musha*, was an internal matter that was irrelevant to the court proceeding. *Musha*, it should be recalled, was not a legal category of land tenure.

Since these two land parcels shared by members of so many of the village's families equaled almost 40 percent of the village's 840 registered dunams in Jamrūra, it is likely that these same villagers also had a stake in the other various areas of Jamrūra that the town claimed, in the same way that these two plots were shared. Although the names of the locations of the various communally held parcels were almost certainly recorded in the *tapu* register, in the *Emlak* register the location of each of the thirteen plots in Jamrūra was defined only as being "*civār al-mezra*" (in the vicinity of the *mezra*'). The borders of the two plots, as defined in court, are delineated in Table 4.4, below.

As with the case from Taffūḥ discussed above, here too, there were in 1895 substantially more shareholders claiming rights to these lands than had been recorded in the *Emlak* register two decades previous. According to it, only six residents of Bayt Kāḥil had registered plots in Jamrūra, each one 140 dunams in size.⁴⁰⁴ In 1895, nineteen owners of twenty-four shares out of a total of thirty shares presented themselves. A comparison of names between

⁴⁰⁴ These were 'Aql b. Ṣālīḥ (al-Zuhūr), 'Uthmān b. Ahmad Barūsh (Abriyūsh al-'Aṭāwneh), Ahmad b. Naṣār (al-'Aṣāfra), Sulayman b. Hassan Naṣār (al-'Aṣāfra), Muhammad b. Ahmad 'Ali (al-'Aṭāwneh), and Salāme b. Khalil 'Ādi (al-'Aṭāwneh). Surnames (in parentheses) were added according to a folk history of Kāḥili hamulas and their branches (*fakhdh*, pl., *fukhūdh*) posted at <http://baytkahel.ba7r.org/t125-topic>. The village is comprised of just three main families. The largest is the 'Atāwneh, followed by the 'Asāfra, and the Zuhūr. (See *Dalīl Qaryat Bayt Kahil* (Bayt Kāḥil Village Profile), Applied Research Institute, Jerusalem (2009): 7. The guide is accessible online at vprofile.arij.org/hebron/ar/pdfs/Beit%20Kahil_ar.pdf, accessed 13 July 2015.) It is likely for this reason – familiarity in a small village – that only three villagers in the tax register for Bayt Kāḥil were designated by surname, all from the 'Atāwneh family.