

# Formality and Reality in Shari'a Court Records: Socio-Economic Relations in the Šālihiyya Quarter of Nineteenth Century Damascus\*

MIURA Toru

The main purpose of this paper is to elucidate the socio-economic relationships of people in the Šālihiyya Quarter of Damascus by examining six volumes of Šālihiyya court registers for the period 1290–95/1873–78.

As my previous work shows, the purpose of the shari'a court registers was to record the rights of individuals. People attended the court to record their rights in the registers and get deeds issued by the court. Registration required various kinds of court attendants for certification, and people had to have personal networks to certify their rights at registration and in lawsuits.<sup>1)</sup>

Shari'a court registers contain ample economic data, which have been used for socio-economic studies. Most such studies focus only on the notables and do not present data about the common people, yet the studies assume that numerical data collected from the sources directly reflect real economic conditions.<sup>2)</sup> My goal is to describe more fully the life and economy of the common people, using statistical data. By describing how people made contracts, I attempt to elucidate the reality of socio-economic relations around the shari'a court.

The Šālihiyya Quarter is located in the suburbs north of the Damascus walled city center. (See Map 1.) The Quarter was founded in the middle of the twelfth century, and it developed as religious institutes were constructed and economic facilities grew up around them. It was famous as a college town, rather independent of the city center both socially and economically.<sup>3)</sup> Estimates are that it comprised about 10,000 inhabitants out of a total population in Damascus of about 110,000, for it was responsible for 8.2% of the total city taxation in 1259–6/1843–44.<sup>4)</sup> The economic level of the inhabitants was

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high, similar to that of residents of the walled city center and west suburbs, according to the average inheritance estate in the eighteenth century.<sup>5)</sup> In the nineteenth century, it was still surrounded by orchards. Within this area, we will examine economic relations in terms of sales, leases, and inheritances.

## I. Sales and Leases

Sales were the most frequent transactions registered, about one-third of the total (286 cases, 32.8%). This frequency shows that the inhabitants continued to go to shari'a court for sale registration, even though the Ottoman decree in 1861 provided that sale of land should be registered at the Land Tenure Office (*Da'ira Tabū*).<sup>6)</sup> Lease contracts comprised 64 cases (7.3%, see Table 1). Table 3-1 shows objects of sales and leases with their price and location. When a single document deals with the sale or lease of more than one object, we treat them here as separate cases, which makes the total cases of sales and leases 336 and 69 respectively.

Almost half of the objects of sale are houses (153 cases, 45.5%). Orchards are next in importance (133 cases, 39.6%), while shops are only 23 cases (6.8%). In the register of the *Midān* court at the same period, the objects of sale are, first, 82 houses (71.3%); second, 16 shops (13.9%); and third, 11 orchards (9.6%). As for the objects of leases, 51 orchards represent almost three-fourths (73.9%), and houses and shops are much fewer, eight and three cases respectively. Transactions at the *Ṣālihiyya* court, then, feature more orchards and fewer shops compared with the *Midān* court.

### 1. Houses

Sale contracts of houses usually involve the entire property (house and lot), comprising 131 cases (85.6% of the total). In a few cases parts of a house were sold, not necessarily within the same family. In such sales the right of way to the gate of the house was guaranteed.<sup>7)</sup>

The average number of sellers is 1.97 persons per case, and of buyers, 1.20 per case. This indicates a pattern of small portions of property ownership being combined into larger ones. Sales among members of the same family are 36 cases (23.8% of 151 house sales documents), which were done to adjust small divisions caused by equal inheritance. About half of the house sales dealt with small portions, less than 12 *qirāt* (67 cases), and were usually between unrelated persons. House ownership and sale appears to have been a way to raise cash money when needed for other purposes.

**Price<sup>8)</sup>:** The average sale price is 2,812.8 piastres for an entire house. But the portion of sale is 11.9 *qirāt* on the average, which means the average price per *qirāt* is 236.6 piastres. The average price of shops per *qirāt* (65.5 piastres) is

almost one-fourth, while that of orchards (1,660.3 piastres) is several times higher. Table 4-1 shows the distribution of sold houses by price. While only 37 houses sold at more than this average price, low-price houses were more numerous, as houses sold at less than 100 piastres or between 101 and 200 piastres constituted one-third of the total respectively. At the Mīdān court, in contrast, the average house price is much higher, 3,690.6 piastres in the Mīdān Quarters (40 cases), and 4,329.4 piastres in the Muṣallā Quarter (10 cases). The average price per *qirāṭ* of Ṣālihiyya Quarter (236.6 piastres) is between that of the Mīdān Quarter (288.2 piastres) and the Muṣallā Quarter (215.4 piastres).

**Location and composition:** Most houses, 144 of those sold (94.1 %) and seven of those rented (87.5%), were in the Ṣālihiyya Quarter. Rental houses were all waqf property, but few in number, leading us to ask, "Rental of waqf houses has increased in Muslim cities such as Cairo and Damascus since medieval times;<sup>9</sup> why, then, the scarcity of such houses in the Ṣālihiyya Quarter?"

We can analyze the composition of residential areas in the Ṣālihiyya Quarter by examining structures adjacent to the sold house, for such buildings, on all four sides, were recorded in the documents. Table 4-3 shows that houses (281 cases) were the most of all, occupying 92.4% of the total number of buildings (304 cases), and that most of the adjacent houses were described as "one's house" (*dār fulān*, 243 cases), while "house under one's possession" (*dār bi-yad fulān*) were one-seventh (36 cases). These two terms were differentiated in the registers; for example, a description is given of "Ḥusayn's house, now under Aḥmad's possession." "Ḥusayn's house" means a house owned and lived in by the same person, while "Aḥmad's possession" means a rental house of private ownership under temporary possession (*yad*) by a non-owner. Only two houses were waqf property, evidence of the rarity of lease contracts for houses. We can find no lease contract for any private house in the registers, which raises a question as to why private ownership rental houses were not registered at the shari'a court.

Table 4-1 shows the composition of sold houses in the Ṣālihiyya Quarter. Almost all houses contain courtyards (123 cases, 98.4%), which means they must be typical court-houses (a main building of rooms surrounding a central court). Two-thirds of the houses (85 cases, 68.0%) had a well or fountain, which is a common feature because Ṣālihiyya stretches along the Yazīd and Thawrā rivers. Other facilities were 19 *iwāns* (15.2%), 18 kitchens (14.4%), 17 outer stairs (13.6%), 26 guest rooms, or *murabba'*, (20.8%), and nine terraces, or *mashraqa*, (7.2%). These facilities were not limited to high-priced houses, but were found at each price level. In the early nineteenth centuries, kitchens, *iwāns*, guest rooms, and terraces were less often attached to Ṣālihiyya houses than to those of the Mīdān Quarter, which had many kitchens (63 %), *iwāns* (39 %), guest rooms (89 %), and terraces (35 %) among the houses registered at the Mīdān court.<sup>10</sup>

Table 4-2 shows the average sale prices of houses in the Ṣālihiyya Quarter

according to their location, for in all the documents the location was made clear by mention of sub-quarters (*ḥāra*, *maḥalla*) and lanes (*zuqāq*). (See Map 1) No conspicuous differences of average sale prices among the sub-quarters were found, as these prices ranged from 50 to 150 piastres per *qirāt*. An exception is the Ḥammām al-Muqaddam sub-Quarter, an upper-class residential location in which the average price per *qirāt* is 623.5 piastres, including two cases of more than 1,000 piastres and five cases between 501 and 1,000 piastres.

The registers did not mention the surface area of each sold house. I examined the surface area of houses based on 1930's cadastral maps (making the assumption that no great change in the structure of houses and streets had occurred). Table 5 shows the distribution of houses at two sub-quarters (Abū Jarash and Taghālība) as sample cases according to their surface area. The average surface area of the former is 122.2 square meters, and of the latter, 93.8. Small houses of less than 100 square meters were common, and larger ones of more than 300 square meters and smaller ones were mixed on the same lane. (See Map 2.)

If the sold houses reflect general housing conditions in the Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter, we may describe them thus: Private-ownership houses were dominant. The people lived in their houses, and sold and leased them as needed to get income.

## 2. Shops

The registers record twenty-three cases of selling a shop and three cases of a shop lease contract. (See Table 3-1.)

**Composition:** Shop transactions might include the shop structure with its land (here the shop structure includes its land). Sometimes, also, only a part—lot, building, or capital asset—was sold or leased separately. *Kadak wa khulūw*, which includes the show-window, shelves (*raff*), key (*ighlāq*), and boxes (*‘ulba*) needed by the shop, is the capital asset. This was sold at an average price of 152.7 piastres, which is higher than that of the shop structure (65.5 piastres). A similar pattern is found in the Mīdān court registers, where the average price of the capital asset is 167.4 piastres, and that of the shop structure is 98.1 piastres. (See Table 3-2.) We may assume that when the shop structure was bought or sold, the capital asset was not included. The sale price of the shop structure was less than that of a house, for its construction was simpler than that of a house.

When getting the capital asset of a shop by purchase, one would rent the structure under the waqf property.

Brothers Rashīd and Aḥmad bought the capital asset (24 *qirāt*s) of a shop in Sharkasiyya Sūq in the Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter from Muḥammad Sa‘īd b. Ḥasan Baqdūnis for the price of 2,500 piastres on 1290/10/17. The seller

had bought it from 'Abd Dāya and Fāṭima, his sister, on 1285/1/27. He showed the *ḥujja* (document) issued at the Buzūriyya court and the former owners also attended the court to assure that it would be a private property (*milk*) of Rashīd and Aḥmad. The shop structure had been a waqf property and two of the above-mentioned former owners had gotten right of its lease (*tawājir*) as certified by the document of the Buzūriyya Court on 1285/2/5. The buyers concluded a lease contract to rent the shop structure from these two at the rent of 48 piastres per year for two years and four months. (LCRD, 660-87)

Baqdūnis was a regular court attendant, whose role I discussed in an earlier paper,<sup>11)</sup> and he might have had a business at this shop before selling it. Here the sale price of the capital asset is about 52 times the rental price. The capital asset was highly estimated, while its holder can lease the shop structure of waqf property at a low price.

**Dealers:** The average number of sellers is 2.43 persons and of buyers, 1.17 persons. In only one case did the transaction take place among members of the same family, which suggests that shop transactions were almost entirely for economic purposes.

**Location:** Of twenty-three cases of shop dealing, fourteen were in the Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter, and nine outside it. Inside the Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter three each were in Sūq al-Juma' and Sharkasiyya Sūq, and one was in Abū Jarash Sūq. Surveying adjacent buildings by the same method used for sold houses, we found that thirteen were shops (40.6% of the total number of adjacent buildings; three of waqf property, eight of private ownership). Shops were concentrated in sūqs (market places). We should note that two of the private shops were rented under temporary possession (*bi-yad*) by non-owners.

**Lease:** Only three lease contracts of shops were registered, all of waqf property. The average rent was 25.33 piastres (1.06 piastres per *qīrāt*), which is half of the house rental price (47.13 piastres per case). The scarcity of lease contracts is puzzling, for there must have been many shops of waqf property in the Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter; nine shops were recognized as early as at the end of the 15th century.<sup>12)</sup> Possibly most shops were converted from waqf property to private ownership by legal exchange (*istibdāl*). There were two kinds of shops, waqf property and private ownership. A shopkeeper can manage by leasing a waqf shop at a low rent and holding a capital asset, but sale prices of the latter were high. Shops of private ownership did exist, no less than those of waqf property, but we cannot find lease contracts in the registers. My assumption, which will be examined in the following chapter, is that the lease contract for private property might be done without recording it in the court registers.

### 3. Orchards

Surrounding the city center of Damascus was an agricultural zone called al-Ghūṭa where vegetables and fruits such as olive, apple, apricot, melon, plum and nut were cultivated by irrigation from the Baradā River and its branches.<sup>13)</sup> We find 133 cases of sales and 51 cases of lease for orchards (*bustān*, *junayna*, *ḥākūra*) registered in the Ṣāliḥiyya court (see Table 3-1). They located in the suburbs of Ṣāliḥiyya and the adjacent villages of Dummar, Ḥarastā, Jisrīn, etc.; 85.0% (113 cases) of all sold orchards and 88.2% (45 cases) of all leased orchards were in the suburbs of the Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter. From the southern suburbs of Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter, agricultural lands such as Nayrab, Maqrī, Sahm, and Maytūr extended to the city center. Sale and lease contracts referring to orchards both inside Ṣāliḥiyya and in its suburbs were almost always recorded at the Ṣāliḥiyya court irrespective of a dealer's residential location, with only 27 cases recorded at other courts.

**Composition:** Orchard transactions sometimes involved the entire property—land, waterway, plants (*ghirās*), and capital asset (*qīma*)—and sometimes dealt with one or more of these separately. Capital asset is defined as hut (*hawsh*), wall (*dakk jadr*), foster (*faṣṣa*), and green barley (*qaṣṣiyya*); that is, the facilities and materials needed for cultivation.<sup>14)</sup>

The lease transactions all involved waqf property: land leases were 92.2% (47 cases), and capital asset and plants were not leased separately from the waqf land. Privately owned orchards existed, certainly, for their sales were recorded, but why is there no record of lease contracts for orchards under private ownership? This leads us to assume that private properties were leased without registration at the courts, as were houses and shops under private ownership.

**Price:** The average sale price per *qīrāt* was: lands, 729.5 piastres; plants, 533.4 piastres; and capital asset, 1250.5 piastres. The average price of capital asset is highest, and the following examples show the prices respectively referring to the same orchard.

Muḥammad Aghā al-Kurdī bought from eleven sellers Suwayda Orchard—eight *qīrāṭs* of land, twenty-four *qīrāṭs* of capital asset, and sixteen *qīrāṭs* of plant—on 1294/10/8, and the prices were 5,000, 20,000, and 15,000 piastres respectively (LCRD, 691-70).

Thus, the per *qīrāt* price was 625 piastres for land, 833.3 piastres for capital asset, and 937.5 piastres for plants. The per *qīrāt* price of capital asset is 1.3 times as much as that of land.

‘Abd al-Ghanī of the Saqāṭi family bought from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Sayyid

Ṣāliḥ 2.5 *qirāts* of Ab'ūwa Orchard at Maqrī in the suburb of the Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter—twelve *qirāts* of land, capital asset, and plants, on 1291/8/20 at the prices of six *liras* [pounds] for land, twenty *liras* for capital asset and twenty *liras* for plants. This amount was to be offset by the seller's debt owed to the buyer. (LCRD, 660-79)

In this case the per *qirāt* price of capital asset and plants is 3.3 times as much as that of land. The price per *qirāt* of the capital asset and plants was higher than that of the land. They were more highly valued than the land because they were key elements in agricultural production.

**Capital asset and plants:** In the sale documents of capital asset, lease contracts for waqf land were often concluded concurrently (13 cases). In such cases, the owner of capital asset rented waqf land and cultivated plants. In LCRD 691-107, 'Abd al-Qādir and his relatives sold the capital assets and plants of three orchards in the suburbs of Ṣāliḥiyya to Ḥasan al-Kurdī for a price of 45,000 piastres. At the same time the buyer concluded a contract to lease the waqf land of this orchard from its superintendent at the rent of 135 piastres per year, as well as a sharecropping contract for plants owned by the waqf foundation. The sellers had held the capital assets and plants for fifteen years for cultivation since they bought them in 1280 A.H. Even when concluding this lease contract, the fictitious lawsuit of raising the rent was performed to certify the contract and prevent future raising of rent.<sup>15)</sup> Also in the sale documents for plants, lease contracts for waqf land were concluded in eleven cases.<sup>16)</sup>

Ḥusayn al-Hindī and five other persons concluded a contract to rent the land of Ḥimṣ Orchard (24 *qirāts*) in the suburbs of the Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter from 'Uthmān Aghā and his brothers at 90 piastres per year on 1294/2/9. This land is a waqf property of the Māridāniyya Madrasa in the Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter, and the lessors had the document for right of its lease (*tawājur*) and sharecropping (*musāqāt*). Half of plants are Madrasa's waqf and the rest is private property (*milk*) of the lessors, and a sharecropping for the latter half is contracted for the lessor to get the profit of one percent. (LCRD, 691-28)

As shown above, right of lease could be transferred to others like *milk* (private ownership). Plants in lease land often belonged half-and-half to the lessor (waqf foundation) and the renter, and plants owned by the lessor were cultivated by the renter according to a sharecropping contract (*musāqāt*). The share of profit for the lessor was only one percent. The portion taken by the waqf foundation (lessor) was low, whereas the cultivator was privileged.

A question now arises about the relationship between the lessee of land and the owner of capital asset and plants. The lease contract was often conclud-

ed at the same time as the sale contract of capital asset or plants. Since anyone who bought the capital asset from the holder of the land lease concurrently concluded a new land lease contract, the owner of the capital asset would be the true cultivator of the land. On the other hand, we found no case in which a lease contract accompanied the sale contract for capital asset or plants. About half of such lease contracts referred to the ownership of plants (26 cases),<sup>17)</sup> in most of which the lessee owned a half portion of plants. Only four cases mentioned the ownership of capital asset, all of which belonged to the lessee of land.<sup>18)</sup> Who was the owner of capital asset or plants when it was not mentioned in the lease contracts of land?

Here it should be noted that though the sale contract of capital asset accompanied the lease contract of land (LCRD 691-107), another lease contract of the same land (LCRD 691-188), registered on the same date to 691-107, had no reference to the ownership of capital asset. This example suggests there was no need to identify a holder of capital asset when concluding a lease contract of land. The average term of a land lease was 6.44 years, approved by repeating the three-year term contract two times or more (the Ḥanafī law school did not approve a waqf land lease term of more than three years). As it is hard to believe that such a long-term lessee would have no rights to capital asset or plants, it seems reasonable to assume that the right of capital asset is the first step toward concluding a land lease contract, whether by sale or lease. Therefore a sale contract of capital asset includes the land lease contract of necessity, while on the other hand the land lease contract has no need to mention the right of capital asset.

**Dealers:** Sale contract information shows the average number of sellers and buyers to be 2.16 and 1.53, respectively. We can recognize a pattern of aggregating ownership of small properties into larger ones. As for lease contracts, the averages are 3.33 lessors, compared to 4.25 lessees. Among lease contracts, we find notables such as twenty-one Efendīs among the lessors, of whom eight were superintendents for waqf property.<sup>19)</sup> The Būzū family appeared in five deeds (total 24 persons), renting two orchards, one cattle hut, and one mill. This famous landlord and merchant family lives in the Akrād sub-Quarter. We cannot find other conspicuous notables in the Ṣālihiyya registers. The rarity of dominant families in these registers may be owing to such short terms of registration as five years, but we should take note that common people would manage the orchards by gaining their capital assets.

**Rental price:** Average rent of land was quite low, 61.77 piastres per year, 4.21 piastres per *qirāṭ*. The lessor (waqf foundation, or beneficiary from waqf property) might get no real income, for a registration fee such as five piastres was required to receive a deed of lease contract.<sup>20)</sup> Furthermore, as explained in an earlier paper, the raising of rent in the future was prevented by a fictitious lawsuit, when concluding the present contract. In contrast to it, from the ac-



count reports of the properties of minors, we know large amounts of rent are recorded there. For example, 691-184 records that an orchard inherited by two minors provided them with rental income for one year of 1,312 piastres, and they paid 391 piastres in rent to the waqf. In LCRD 691-185, income of 3,850 piastres for two-year rent of the orchard and 424 piastres of expense as three-year rent paid to the waqf is recorded. (See Table 7.) These deserve ten to twenty times as much as the rents registered in the lease contracts, which gives rise to an important question: Was the low amount of rent recorded in the shari'a courts real, or nominal? We will return to this issue after examining the inheritance system.

## II. Loan to Waqf Property (*murṣad*)

*Murṣad* is a loan to waqf property when it needs repair.<sup>21</sup> It was common in Damascus in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and twenty-five documents in the Ṣālihiyya registers mention it. In general, the creditor had the right to rent the waqf property, and rent paid by the creditor/renter should be allotted to return the debt owed by the waqf. An example of *murṣad* is:

Mā'ir, a notable in the Jewish quarter, paid 36,558.5 piastres to Muḥyī al-Dīn Efendī on 1290/11/10. The receiver had a claim (*murṣad*) to a house which was waqf property of a family located at the sub-quarter of Sikka in the Ṣālihiyya Quarter, certified by the document at the 'Awniyya court on 1281/6/16. As there was no one to rent the waqf property (the above-mentioned house) for a long period by advance payment and the waqf itself had no fund to return the debt, the payment by Mā'ir was regarded to be advantageous to public interest (*maṣlaḥa*) of waqf, and the Ḥanafī deputy-judge (*nā'ib*), according to the testimony of the witnesses, approved that Mā'ir had the right for usufruct of waqf (*jiha*) as well as right for disposition of the house itself (*raqaba*) as mortgage (*rahn*). Thereafter Ma'ir rented the house at two hundred piastres, of which one hundred was paid to return the loan (*murṣad*) owed by the waqf, and the rest went to the waqf as its income. The superintendents (*nāẓir*) of the waqf also approved this loan (*murṣad*) and agreed that Mā'ir would cover the cost for repair in the future on the condition that it would be a new loan owed by the waqf. (LCRD, 647-132).

In this case the waqf property had had the loan from Muḥyī al-Dīn since 1281 A.H. Mā'ir returned this loan on behalf of the waqf and got the right to rent the house. As the creditor was a Jew, there were witnesses to certify the loan to be advantageous for the welfare of the waqf, and further the inhabitants of the Sikka sub-Quarter attended the court. The average loan (20 cases in

which the amount is mentioned) is a rather substantial amount, 7,420.1 piastres, and the largest loan in our analysis is 36,558.5 piastres.<sup>22)</sup> In contrast, rent was usually less than 200 piastres, one-third to one-half of which was allotted to repay the loan. The terms of debts were therefore long, the longest in the above example being 365 years and the shortest twenty-eight years.<sup>23)</sup> The properties for credit are: half of them are houses (nineteen) and mills (three) could expect a large sum of income to return the loan, while no orchard could be set, for the nominal purpose of loan was repair of the structure. Indeed, the purpose of *muṣṣad* is not the loan itself but the rental of waqf property for a long term. It is similar to the long-term lease contract (*ijāratayn*) in which the cost of repairs is paid in advance. The *muṣṣad* could be inherited like other loans and sold to other parties. It could also be treated simply as an investment.

### III. Inheritance

In Islamic law, children have a share in an inheritance irrespective of age or gender. The court appoints a guardian responsible for safeguarding the inheritance share of minor children and the expense for their maintenance (*naḥaqa*). Acknowledgement (*iqṛār*) means here that the guardian legally acknowledges borrowing from the inheritance of the ward. The guardian submits an account report of the property of the minors, in which are reported all monies for maintenance, borrowing, and interest due (*ribh*). Inheritance (175 cases, 20.0%), appointment of guardian (124 cases, 14.2%), acknowledgment (46 cases, 5.3%) and account report (28 cases, 3.2%) should be regarded as the procedures, in sequence, that relate to inheritance; these were more than 40% of the cases in the Ṣāliḥiyya registers. We can clarify estate of the deceased (legator) and how to manage their inheritance by their inheritors from the court records. (See Table 6.)

#### 1. Right of Inheritance

According to the principles of inheritance in Islamic law, there are two kinds of inheritors: those entitled to a fixed share by the holy Qur'an, and the male paternal relatives (*ʿaṣaba*) of the deceased. First the shares of the former are allotted, and then the latter receive the rest. If no one is in either of these categories, the inheritance is given to other relatives, the former master of an emancipated slave, and finally to the state.

We assume that most of the deceaseds registered at the Ṣāliḥiyya court were inhabitants of the Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter, since the decree appointing a deputy-judge of this court ordered him to record the cases of inheritance for the inhabitants of the Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter, Akrād Quarter and neighboring villages such as Barza, Tell, Dummar and Hāma on 1290/1/22–1873/3/22.<sup>24)</sup> In

fact, among the cases in which the deceased's residence was recorded, only four cases were other than the Šālihiyya Quarter. The average number of heirs was 4.59 persons. Of the total heirs, 420 were females (51.7%) and 319 were minors (39.3%). As most heirs were restricted to relatives having direct kinship to the deceased (wife, husband, son, daughter, parent), the average number of heirs (4.59 persons) could be regarded as the number of family members alive at the death of the deceased.

## 2. Inheritance Amount

An inheritance was recorded in the Šālihiyya court registers as follows: First, the total estate was assessed, by listing all items of property with their estimated values, whether immovable or movable. Second, from the total estate were deducted funeral costs, debts (including remainder of nuptial gift called *mahr* due to one's wife), testamentary legacy (*waṣiyya*), and many kinds of fees for registration, such as tax (*rasm*), agent fee (*dalāla*), expense for notebook (*daftar*) and paper (*warāqa*), and registration fee (*qayd*). The average cost for registration was 224.5 piastres, approximately 5.7% of the inheritance. The remaining amount is to be divided among the heirs according to their portion as regulated in Islamic law.

As is shown in Table 6, the average inheritance was 3,937.9 piastres, which is 58.2% of the average estate (6,761.9 piastres) due to deduction of debts and legacies. Debts due to others were recorded in eighty-one cases and averaged 4,762.2 piastres. The use of credit seems to have been prevalent among the people.<sup>25)</sup> In fourteen cases, the debts were larger than the estate. The amount inherited varied widely: 129 cases (about two-thirds) were less than the average given above, fifty-five inheritances of less than 1,000 piastres made up almost one-third (31.4%), and the largest inheritances, those of more than 10,000 piastres, numbered sixteen. The largest was 67,831 piastres.<sup>26)</sup>

The average estate inherited from a woman (4,154.2 piastres) was about half of that from a man (8,340.9 piastres), and the average amount of inheritance (2,807.2 piastres) was 60 % of that from a man (4,672.9 piastres). Though women probably had no regular income from their work, they could leave such large inheritances because of their share regulated in Islamic law (half of the man's share) and the nuptial gift for them. Furthermore, women managed to increase their estates by sale or lease of immovable property.<sup>27)</sup>

Immovable property could be inherited in two ways, either by selling it and including the proceeds in the estate or by inheriting it in joint ownership, the heirs receiving their shares according to the regulated portion. When the debts were great, the heirs sold their immovable properties to pay the debts of the deceased, as in LCRD 699-48 the house was sold to the husband of the deceased's daughter at the price of 12,000 piastres and thus the debt of 7,514 piastres

tres, owed by the deceased, was paid and six heirs could inherit 4,131 piastres altogether. The registers list seventeen cases in which immovable property was sold and eighteen cases in which it was inherited jointly. In the former cases, the average estates, debts, and inheritances were about double the latter. The amount of inheritance changes depending on whether there was immovable property, and whether it was sold or jointly inherited. Therefore the amount recorded in the registers should be regarded as nominal because it does not directly show the real estate. Rather, we should note that at inheritance people made decisions suitable to their economic circumstances.

### 3. Investment of Minor's Estate

Minor heirs make up about 40% of the total, and their shares were administered by guardians (*wali*, or *waṣī*) appointed by the judge. The appointment was recorded in the registers, where the guardian was also obliged to provide these heirs with maintenance (*nafaqa*) for food, clothes, soap, etc. The amount of maintenance was between one piastre and three. The register notes that the guardian was allowed to borrow from the minor's share of inheritance (*istidāna*).<sup>28)</sup>

The guardians and other relatives had a loan of the minors' share, and they acknowledged it at the court to be registered. In the document of acknowledgement (*iqrār*), they stated that their debts were composed of two parts: one was the loan from the minors, and the other was the price of the watch they bought from the minors' inheritance. For example:

As'ad b. Khayyāṭ expressed his acknowledgement on 1294/3/1 that he owed to a minor, Salmā, his paternal sister under the guardianship of her mother, Hāmida, a debt amounting to 21,300 piastres. It consists of a debt (*dayn*) of 15,000 piastres according to shari'a plus a remainder of 6,300 piastres, the price for two copper watches that he bought from the guardian of Salmā. It is promised that 15,900 piastres should be paid within a term of three years (*mu'ajjala*, later payment) and the remaining 5,400 piastres paid in thirty-six installments (*qist*), that is, by paying 150 piastres per month. He gave a part of the orchard in the suburb of the Ṣālihiyya Quarter as mortgage (*arhana*). Furthermore three persons assured it as guarantee for money loan (*kafāla māliyya mutadāminūn*). (LCRD, 691-15)

These words, "price of the watch," are typical in acknowledgement documents.<sup>29)</sup> What do they mean? We find similar statements in the inheritance documents and account reports of minors' estates, namely, that their inheritance share was loaned on the spot, a sum was added with the explanation, "its *ribh*, the price of watch for three years," and then the total amount was counted.

It is clear that "price of the watch" means the *ribh*, that is, interest. As interest was forbidden in Islamic law, this indirect expression *ribh* (originally meaning "profit in transaction") was adopted. As an example, in an acknowledge document of LCRD 669-118 dated 1293/2/1, a mother as guarantor for her three minor daughters owed 2,294 piastres to them, of which 1,582 piastres and eleven paras were debt from the daughters' share of inheritance, and 711.5 piastres and nine paras were the "price of the watch." In the inheritance document of 669-126 dated 1292/6/8, these three daughters inherited 771 piastres each, while their mother inherited 680 piastres, less than a minor's share. The mother purchased a house and a shop, using the minors' inheritance and borrowing the rest. Because the loans and their interest had been written in the inheritance document half a year earlier, before the acknowledge document of debt, we should suppose that inheritance deeds were submitted to the court, after settling how to invest the minors' share.

The rate of interest of this loan was fixed at 15% per year, and the term was three years or less. Professional lenders usually offered 15 to 18% interest, although this sometimes rose as high as 60%.<sup>30)</sup> The interest rates of minors' loans seemed to fit into this pattern. Guarantors (*kafāla*), whose names were registered, stood for its return. As regular court attendants were included among these guarantors, and as a lawsuit found in the records requires the guarantors to repay the loan on behalf of the debtor,<sup>31)</sup> guarantors were neither fictitious nor nominal. Furthermore, the immovable properties were also mortgaged. Sales of watch were sometimes conducted directly by the court clerk or deputy-judge, which means official approval of a loan with interest.<sup>32)</sup>

The real conditions of investment of minors' estates can be understood by examining the account reports. These reports detail the amount at the beginning of the term, income and expenses during the term, the amount at the end of the term, and the investment (loan) balance in the next term. The items of income include interest from the loan, rent from any immovable property, and sale prices of sold properties. Various expenses are also mentioned, such as daily maintenance of the minors (*nafaqa*), maintenance and repair of immovable property, and the upbringing of the minors (fee for teacher, cost for circumcision, etc.).<sup>33)</sup>

An example of a simple case in which only maintenance and interest are recorded is given in LCRD 691-189. The constant income was limited to the interest on the loan, and its rate was fixed at 15%. The maintenance of 1,080 piastres per year exceeded the interest income, thus decreasing the minor's estate little by little until after three years and eight months his portion of inheritance amounting to 5,037 piastres became 2,954 piastres, about 60% of what it was at the beginning.

We can get a general calculation: Estimating maintenance needs as one piastres per day (about 360 piastres per year), the minor must have more than

2,400 piastres to loan out at interest to avoid decreasing the estate, given an interest rate of 15%. As the average inheritance is 864.5 piastres per heir, it seems likely to be rare for a minor to have an inheritance share of more than 2,400 piastres, even though the shares of children were relatively large compared with wives and parents. In fact, in only four cases did interest income exceed maintenance, whereas maintenance exceeded interest in fourteen cases.<sup>34)</sup>

#### 4. Income and Expenses of Lease Contract

The account reports show estate increases in fourteen cases and decreases in thirteen. Of the increases, seven had income from the rental of immovable property. Table 7 lists cases comprising rent income.

Rents were very high, ranging from several hundred to more than one thousand, which is ten to twenty times as much as the average price of rents for waqf property recorded in the court registers (orchards: about 4 piastres per *qirāt*, about 60 piastres per case). Also, some minors (or guardians) got rent income by leasing property while paying rent for the same property to the waqf. This raises a question as to why the minors could collect such large amounts of rent, for we find sublease contracts of waqf property in the registers, the rents of which remained at the same low level of the original lease contract.

We fortunately have the inheritance and sale documents relating to the account report of LCRD 691-199, which reveal the details of what the minors owned.<sup>35)</sup> (See Table 8.) The inheritance from 'Abd al-Majīd went to his mother Nafīsa, his wife Fāṭima, and three children on 1293/2/5 (LCRD, 699-161). After the death of Nafīsa, her portion was bought by her daughter Ḥasība (the three children's aunt) and the above-mentioned three children on 1295/2/13 (691-159). Furthermore, three times sales were conducted among them (691-200, 699-14, 699-40), until the three children, their aunt and their mother had respective shares of  $10+4/9$ ,  $11+5/9$ , and  $1+7/9$  *qirāts* for properties no. 1 to no. 6 on Table 8, and the three children had twenty-one *qirāts* from properties nos. 7 and 8 while their mother had three *qirāts* from them. The account report tells that the profit from properties no. 1 to no. 6 was 3,563 piastres, which were divided by each share. The three children got 1,561 piastres, and of the profit from nos. 7 and 8 amounting to 1,185 piastres, they got 1,037 piastres.

They owned capital asset and plants of three orchards, and capital asset and building of three shops, but no mention of related land ownership appears. Concerning the first estate (Bustān al-Dahsha), they paid 35 piastres to the waqf, the original lease holder of the orchard land, and got 2,000 piastres of rent for the land (*arḍ*) for a term of one year and nine months, from two lessees. If this were a simple sublease of waqf land, such high rent, 1,143 piastres per year, would not be reasonable. We can assume, instead, that the high rent included rent of capital asset. The estates of a shop in Sūq al-Jadīd and another

orchard (Bustān al-Ṣaghīr) might also have been leased together with capital assets owned by the minors, which would explain their high rents.

We know the sale price of the capital assets for the above-mentioned properties. The average price of capital asset of Dahsha Orchard (no. 1) was consistently 1,636.7 piastres per *qirāt* through three sales, and it was leased at 1,143 piastres per year. The average price of capital asset of the shop (no. 6) was 520.8 piastres per *qirāt* and it was leased at 870 piastres per year. Thus a relationship can be discerned between the sale price of the capital asset and its rent.

This assumption coincides with the relationship between the land lease contract and sale contract of a capital asset. As noted above, someone who had capital asset of orchards or shops could rent the waqf land at a low rent, whereas someone who had no right of capital asset would get it by paying a large amount of rent to its owner, as shown in the account report 691-199.

There were no registrations of lease contracts for properties under private ownership (*milk*), but it is likely that private properties were also leased without registration at the court, which is sometimes revealed in the account reports and inheritance deeds.<sup>36)</sup> Even when lease contracts of private properties were concluded among the parties without any registration at the courts, they were legal in Islamic law if testified to by two witnesses. The lease contracts of waqf properties, however, needed registration at the court, for they were public estates. We can discern the same tendency in the eighteenth century shari'a court registers. There were 70 cases of lease contract (houses, 13 cases; shops, 4 cases; orchards, 39 cases; mills, 6 cases; and others) in the shari'a court register of the Ṣālihiyya court in 1149-1153/1733-40 (LCRD vol. 88). All of them were waqf properties except one private house lease (LCRD, 88-468).

The British Consul report on commercial statistics in Syria in 1839 gave a glimpse of registration of immovable property: "transfer or sales are not usually registered; to render them valid, a hoget [*hujja*, deed], or declaration of sales, is made by the *cadi* [*qāḍī*], in which case the sale or transfer is registered; the former course is, however, generally followed, to avoid double expense, though the latter is the safe and legal one."<sup>37)</sup> This statement revealed that the registration of transfer depended on the will of dealers even in the case of transfer of immovable property, for this required a considerable fee for registration. It is likely that the people would conclude a lease contract without registration to avoid additional expense, for the term of lease was limited.<sup>38)</sup>

The low prices of waqf land rent recorded in the registers should be regarded as nominal, for someone who wished to manage the orchards should expect to pay much more to buy their capital assets or to rent them. The lease contracts of waqf land were concluded, in order to hold the usufruct of waqf land, after getting the capital asset. They were registered by paying a registration fee and calling attendants for certification, to make sure of holding land as well as the capital asset. Thus we cannot know the real circumstances of man-

agement of orchards, except from the data on rents of waqf land. The capital asset of private ownership was a key element. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the usufruct of orchards and shops of waqf property was transferred, following the transfer of capital assets under private ownership, that is, we may say that waqf properties circulated just like private properties.

### Conclusion: People's Living Conditions and Strategies

This paper attempted to reconstruct the living conditions of people in the Šālihiyya Quarter of Damascus in the nineteenth century, using analysis of property transactions and inheritance recorded by the court registers of the time.

Most families lived as owners in private houses. The lots of most houses had an area estimated to be less than 100 square meters. The average number of family members was approximately five persons, as estimated from the inheritance documents.

The average inheritance of 3,938 piastres and its share of 865 piastres per heir suggest that a typical resident increased his estate by his own effort from 865 to 3,938 piastres during his life. But this calculated increase should actually be much more, for in some cases immovable estates were excluded from the estate and inheritance records. In fact, only one-seventh of the estates (27 cases) included immovable properties encashed at the time of inheritance.

Someone wishing to manage orchards or shops would first get the capital asset by sale or rent, and then conclude a lease contract for the land or the main structure of the shops. The average sale price of capital assets is expensive; for an orchard, five times the price of a house and equal to land rents for several decades. Most orchards were waqf property, but privately owned shops were increasing to nearly the same number as those of waqf as shown in Table 4-3. Loans to waqf property (*mursad*) were for the purpose of leasing it long term, like private property.

To compare data collected from the registers with wages and commodity prices, Table 9 shows these prices and wages in Damascus and Beirut (both in Syria Province) as given in British Consul reports in 1871-81 and, for additional references, in the "Dictionary of Artisans" of al-Qāsimīs written at the beginning of the 20th century. The salaries of police and court officials in the 1880s are between 160 and 300 piastres per month, that is, between 1,920 and 3,600 piastres annually, while a deputy-judge was afforded 48 *liras* (pounds), equivalent to nearly 5,200 piastres. The wages of laborers range from 1,440 piastres per year for street sweepers to 3,960 piastres for cooks. The average inheritance of 3,938 piastres was the equivalent of a one-and-a-half-year income, and the average price of an entire house (5,664 piastres) was the equivalent of a two-year income if estimating yearly income as 2,500 piastres. The rents of waqf land,



houses, or shops, which ranged from 25 to 65 piastres per year, were extraordinary low compared with commodity prices (about 40 piastres of mutton meat of and about 30 piastres of olive oil per kilo). The rents recorded in the account report ranging between 500 and 2000 piastres (see Table 7) seemed to show conditions more accurately, as the British Consul's report told in 1871 that the consul's house rent was increasing from 60 to 100 sterling pounds per year, equivalent to 1,250 piastres.

The lease contracts demonstrate differences in the people's behavior. Though leases of waqf property were registered, leases of private property were not. This contrasts with the common practice of registering sale of immovable property and inheritance even when amounts are very small.

Investment of minors' estates shows that the people used them in loans, sales, and leases, not leaving them as dead stock. Such investments needed approval from the court, and guardians were obliged to submit account reports. Nevertheless, the guardians held the initiative: all profits and interest were offset by the maintenance for the minors, which means that the funds finally fell into the guardian purse.

Before concluding this paper, we should examine two important problems of the period; first, the economic hardship that confronted Damascus in the 1870s, and second, the corruption of legal administration. The former was reported in a local history of Nu'mān Qasāṭilī and the British Consuls Report of Syria. Qasāṭilī gave an account of the serious economic crisis in Damascus between 1864 and 1878 owing to natural disasters such as locust, famine, flood and plague, as well as the intrusion of European economy and civil and international wars.<sup>39)</sup> In fact the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 changed the Syria-Iraq route of European merchants to a sea-route via Egypt, and the Russo-Turkish War in 1876-77 brought the people heavy taxation and conscription for war, in addition to frequent famine. This came to a peak in 1876-77; in January 1877, Jago, Vice Consul of Damascus, sent his report that "trade and commerce are at a standstill; public business may be said to be practically suspended; and the general gloom which has pervaded Damascus for some time daily deepens under the influence of reports tending to show that relief is still far off."<sup>40)</sup> The Consul reported on December 31, 1877 that such difficulties brought "vast numbers of families to the verge of starvation . . . . House rent has declined 30 and 50 per cent, and large numbers of empty shops and houses in every part of the city . . . . Household effects and articles of value have long ago been disposed of, and a loan of even a few pounds is an impossibility, even among the so-called rich."<sup>41)</sup> This economic difficulty can be discerned also in the Ṣālihiyya court registers in 1873-78, as registrations for sale of house, capital assets and plants of orchards, as well as for lease of orchards, all decrease suddenly in the two years of 1292-1293/Feb. 1875-Jan. 1877 (see Table 10 and Graph 1).

The other problem, corruption of legal administration is presented in the Consul reports. "Justice has been of late openly bought and sold. The posts in the patronage of the Vali (Provincial Governor) and Defterdar (Financial head) have been dispersed of to the highest bidders, and the energies of the employees of the Government and of the tribunals have been directed to enriching themselves to the abandonment of public business."<sup>42)</sup> Matters could not be dealt with in the courts without various kinds of charges and bribes paid to judges, notaries, clerks and other court officials, as well as negotiations with them: "It must be here observed that almost every case, whether criminal or civil, is often practically decided out of doors before it comes on for judicial hearing, by the system of interviewing Judges and members all around, or by bringing pressure to bear upon them by influential persons when personally unapproachable. . . . Justice is an object of barter."<sup>43)</sup> Such "corruption" was accelerated by the low salaries of government officials and its delay in wartime or others.<sup>44)</sup> The turmoil in legal procedures caused delay of administration as "an enormous amount of civil sentences—between 600 and 700 in Damascus alone—remain unexecuted."<sup>45)</sup> The administrative "corruption" was basically due to poor financial support to civil administration, as suggested in the British Consul reports.<sup>46)</sup>

The Şālihiyya court registers show that registration and judgment appeared to be conducted according to Islamic law and Ottoman regulations,<sup>47)</sup> the cost of which was borne mostly by the people and fell most heavily on the common people. If the people had to pay a considerable amount in additional fees and tax for legal registration, they may have given up many sales and leases of real property at the time of economic difficulty. Or they may have chosen to do their transactions without court registration, although this could be dangerous. It is appropriate to say that these two strategies could have caused the sudden decrease of court registration of immovable property in 1875–77 shown in Table 10.

My analysis of the personal networks and socio-economic relations of the Şālihiyya people reveals that they lived and managed, combining many kinds of ownership divided into small portions by means of sales, leases and loans. They behaved according to the formalistic regulations of Islamic law, and yet they also looked out for their own interests by utilizing formal regulations for their protection, not breaking them (as can be seen in the investment of minors' estates or the lease of orchards). We should take note of this dynamic relationship between formality and reality in which the people strove to live.

### Notes

- 1) Miura, "Personal Networks surrounding the Şālihiyya Court in Nineteenth Century Damascus," in *Espace et société dans les villes arabes du Machreq à époque ottomane*, Damas, 2001.
- 2) Scholars have recently been paying more attention to the character of shari'a court records

- (mainly registers), and Dror Ze'evi points out that "the record discusses the case not as it actually unfolded but rather in terms consistent with legal doctrine and practice" (Ze'evi, "The Use of Ottoman Shari'a Court Records," 1998, p. 38). Similar discussion concerning what kind of reality the sharia court records represent was done at the Ottoman Qadi Court Records Workshop at Harvard University (organized by Professor Cemal Kafadar of the Center for Middle East Studies and Professor Beshara Doumani, Middle East Social and Cultural Association, on May 18-20, 2001) and at the International Symposium of Dynamism of the Muslim World; Session 6, Contracts, Validity, Documentation, at Kisarazu, Japan (organized by Professor HAYASHI Kayoko, the Islamic Area Studies Project, on October 9, 2001).
- 3) cf. Miura, "The Şālihiyya Quarter in the Suburbs of Damascus: Its Formation, Structure and Transformation in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Periods," *BEO*, 47, 1995.
  - 4) Ghazzal, *L'économie politique*, pp. 40-42. The total population of Damascus was calculated from the data in *Sālnāme* (Yearbook of Syria); the British Consul report in 1880 stated that the Syrian authority estimated the population of Damascus as between 120,000 and 180,000 (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1880 [2537], LXXXVIII: 747).
  - 5) Establet and Pascual, *Familles et fortunes*, Carte VI; Marino presents additional data of the latter half of the eighteenth century to show that the military in the Şālihiyya Quarter left larger inheritance estate than in other quarters, whereas ordinary people left smaller estates than elsewhere (*Le faubourg du Midān*, Tableau 25, p. 169).
  - 6) cf. 'Awaḍ, *al-'Idāra al-'Uthmāniyya*, pp. 115, 233-239.
  - 7) LCRD 660-117 etc.
  - 8) Three kinds of currency units were used in the Şālihiyya registers: *qurush* (piastre), *bāra* (para), and *lira faransāwiyya* (pound). Exchange rates of *lira faransāwiyya* to piastres varied, as 101, 108, or 111 piastres were mentioned in the registers. Here the calculation is done at the rate of 1:110. One sterling pound was equivalent to 125 piastres. *Qirāt* designates 1/24 portion of the total property ownership.
  - 9) cf. Hanna, *Habiter au Caire*, pp. 30-35.
  - 10) Marino, *Le Faubourg du Midān*, Tableau 35, p. 226.
  - 11) Miura, "Personal Networks," pp. 130-132, 149.
  - 12) Miura, "The Şālihiyya Quarter," p. 150.
  - 13) cf. Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, *al-Ghūta*.
  - 14) LCRD 647-54, 55, 94, 152 etc.; cf. Reilly, "Properties," p. 93; id., "Shari'a Court Registers," p. 166; Zuhdī, *al-Waqf*, p. 123.
  - 15) Referring to fictitious lawsuit, see, Miura, "Personal Networks," pp. 135-136.
  - 16) LCRD 647-35, 669-204, etc.
  - 17) LCRD 669-19, 49, 155, 159, 188, 691-28.
  - 18) LCRD 691-118, 123, 128, 169.
  - 19) Muṣṭafā Efendī al-Sibā'ī, superintendent for waqf of Ḥaramayn (two holy cities) (LCRD 647-27, 39, 83, 158); Khalīl Efendī al-Şāliḥī, superintendent for waqf of the Māridāniyya Madrasa in the Şālihiyya Quarter (LCRD 691-19, 26, 179).
  - 20) Decree issued on 1291/4/18 (LCRD 641-4, 642-206, 648-p. 184). British Consul report on the Administration of Justice in Anatolia in 1880 told the various fees for registration: the registry of the first petition, 5 piastres; for every written document used in evidence, 5 piastres; the sentence, charged for according to its length; in a civil suit, the legal charges necessary to recover a sum of 1,000 piastres amount to 500 piastres (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1880[2712], LXXXII: 938). See also, 'Awaḍ, pp. 126-128.
  - 21) Deghuilhem, "Waqf Documents," pp. 76-79; Reilly, "Shari'a Court Registers," pp. 161-163; Zuhdī, p. 122.
  - 22) LCRD 647-132.
  - 23) In LCRD 660-128 and 129, the rent for a mill was 1,700 piastres per year, of which 200 piastres was allotted to return the debt (*muṣṣad*) of 5,277 piastres.

- 24) LCRD, 647-1.
- 25) According to Marino's study, about one-third of the deceased persons in Damascus had credit owed by others in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and the average credit amounted to 3,643 piastres (Marino, *Le faubourg*, p. 170).
- 26) LCRD 663-27. In 663-66 a deceased person left a huge estate of 106,934 piastres, primarily revenue (*mutaḥaṣṣil*) from 41 persons. He might be a tax-farmer or a landlord.
- 27) On women's property, see Reilly, "Women in the Economic Life."
- 28) LCRD 647-102, 691-174 etc.
- 29) Other items were also mentioned, such as ink bottle (669-184, 213, 243) and shawl (691-117, 136).
- 30) al-Qāsimī, *Qāmūs*, p. 429: the British Consul report gave the rate of interest as between fifteen and eighteen percent (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1878, LXXIII: 517).
- 31) LCRD 691-49.
- 32) Clerk of the Ṣālīhiyya court, Muḥammad Sa'īd Efendī al-Nābulusī (LCRD 669-214, 224, 233); deputy-judge (669-118).
- 33) LCRD 691-41, 133.
- 34) Income exceeding maintenance (LCRD 691-14, 20, 64, 699-31); maintenance exceeding income (669-237, 691-7, 102 etc.).
- 35) LCRD, 669-161, 691-159, 200, 699-14, 40.
- 36) Inheritance deeds (LCRD 663-37).
- 37) Bowring, *Report on the Commercial Statistics*, p. 101.
- 38) The Ottoman Central Government might have been trying to control the lease contracts for real property when they issued a regulation about them on 1284/8/6 (1867/12/3), providing that the lease contract for all kinds of real properties (houses, shops, land, and buildings) should be guaranteed by city authority and then recorded in the registers of quarters or guild corporations by authority of their heads (*mukhtār*, or *kethhudā*) (*Düstūr*, I, pp. 263-269). I would like to thank Mr. OKAWARA Tomoki who called this regulation to my attention.
- 39) Qasāṭilī, *al-Rawḍa*, pp. 63-64.
- 40) Great Britain, Public Record Office, FO 78/2622, January 21, 1877. A similar report was repeated on November 12, 1877.
- 41) "Reports from Her Majesty's Consuls," *Parliamentary Papers*, 1878, LXXIII: 518-521. This economic hardship was examined in James Reilly, "Women in the Economic Life of Late-Ottoman Damascus," p. 102.
- 42) FO 78/2622, March 4, 1877. A similar report is found in FO 78/2622, June 10, 1877.
- 43) "Reports on the Administration of Justice," *Parliamentary Papers*, 1881 [3008], LXXXII: 900.
- 44) FO 78/2850, March 27, 1878.
- 45) *Parliamentary Papers*, 1881 [3008], LXXXII: 900, 903.
- 46) The British Consul reported in 1881 (*ibid.*, LXXXII: 905) that the expenses of the courts were 4,050 pounds for the shari'a courts and 4,116 pounds for the civil and criminal courts (secular courts), and total receipts of courts were 2,267 pounds. The net cost was therefore 5,899 pounds, representing 0.84% of the total revenue of Syria (700,000 pounds). "The total expenses of the civil administration, leaving off the cost of gendarmerie[police], comes to about four per cent,[of the total revenue of Syria, 7,800,000 pounds]." (FO 78/2850, December 22, 1878.)
- 47) See Miura, "Personal Networks," pp. 140-142.

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Table 1 Contents of the Šālihiyya Court Registers

	647	660	663	669	691	699	Total
<b>Term of Registration</b>	1290/1/22 -91/6/5	1290/7/17 -92/2/27	1290/10/10 -92/12/23	1291/12/5 -94/12/28	1292/4/14 -95/9/5	1295/7/2 -12/25	
<b>Sales</b>	86 (53.4)	72 (46.2)	11 (16.9)	23 (9.4)	74 (38.3)	20 (37.7)	286 (32.8)
<b>Leases</b>	19 (11.8)	13 (8.3)	0	11 (4.5)	16 (8.3)	5 (9.4)	64 (7.3)
<b>Inheritance</b>	9 (5.6)	29 (18.6)	33 (50.8)	74 (30.2)	24 (12.4)	6 (11.3)	175 (20.0)
<b>Guardianship</b>	20 (12.4)	16 (10.3)	6 (9.2)	55 (22.4)	24 (12.4)	3 (5.7)	124 (14.2)
<b>Account Report</b>	0	1 (0.6)	1 (1.5)	5 (2.0)	18 (9.3)	3 (5.7)	28 (3.2)
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	3 (1.9)	5 (3.2)	2 (3.1)	19 (7.8)	15 (7.8)	2 (3.8)	46 (5.3)
<b>Debt</b>	0	0	0	2 (0.8)	0	0	2 (0.2)
<b>Lawsuits</b>	16 (9.9)	8 (5.1)	4 (6.2)	29 (11.8)	18 (9.3)	7 (13.2)	82 (9.4)
<b>Divorces</b>	4 (2.5)	1 (0.6)	0	0	1 (0.5)	0	6 (0.7)
<b>Assurance</b>	0	7 (4.5)	3 (4.6)	15 (6.1)	3 (1.6)	0	28 (3.2)
<b>Permission</b>	3 (1.9)	4 (2.6)	4 (6.2)	11 (4.5)	0	7 (13.2)	29 (3.3)
<b>Others</b>	1 (0.6)	0	1 (1.5)	1 (0.4)	0	0	3 (0.3)
<b>Total</b>	161	156	65	245	193	53	873
<b>Double-booking Cancelled</b>	3	1	2	3	3	1	13
<b>Orders</b>	4	0	0	0	0	1	5

The percentage of each share is shown in parenthesis.

Table 2 Social Strata of the Parties

		Inheritance (175)	Sales (286)	Leases (64)	Total
<b>Inherited/ Sellers/ Lessors</b>	Total	175 [1.00]	576 [2.01]	180 [2.81]	931 [1.77]
	Women	66 (37.7)	260 (45.1)	56 (31.1)	382 (41.0)
	Minors	0	120 (20.8)	21 (11.7)	141 (15.1)
	Ef/Sh	1/6 (4.0)	9/3 (2.1)	29/3 (17.8)	39/12 (5.5)
	Ag/Be/Pa	8/0/1 (5.1)	5/7/1 (2.3)	5/7/0 (6.7)	18/14/2 (3.7)
<b>Heirs/ Buyers/ Lessees</b>	Total	812 [4.64]	370 [1.29]	265 [4.14]	1447 [2.76]
	Women	420 (51.7)	104 (28.1)	108 (40.8)	632 (43.6)
	Minors	319 (39.3)	52 (14.1)	33 (12.5)	404 (27.9)
	Ef/Sh	1/1 (0.2)	8/1 (2.4)	4/1 (1.9)	13/3 (1.1)
	Ag/Be/Pa	3/0/0 (0.4)	5/2/0 (1.9)	2/24/1 (10.2)	10/26/1 (2.6)

The percentage of each share is shown in parenthesis. The number between the brackets [ ] is the average number of persons. Ef: Efendi, Sh: Shaykh, Ag: Aghā, Be: Bey, Bīk, Pa: Pasha/Bāshā

Table 3-1 Sales and Leases (The Šālihiyya Court)

		Sales						Leases					
		Cases	Average Price	Average Price per <i>qirāʿ</i>	Sellers/ Buyers	Location		Cases	Average Rent	Average Rent per <i>qirāʿ</i>	Lessors/ Lessees	Location	
						Šālihiyya	Suburbs of Šālihiyya					Šālihiyya	Suburbs of Šālihiyya
Houses	Entire	131	2812.8	236.6	1.90/1.15	125	1	4	47.13	2.04	4.5/1.75	4	0
	House only	6	6211.7	265.8		6	0	—					
	Room only	11	689	58.6		9	0	—					
	Lot only	—						4	6.63	0.57	2.75/4.75	3	1
	Combined	5	—	—		4	0	—					
	<b>Total</b>	153 (45.5)	2823.2	225.5	1.97/1.20	144 (94.1)	1 (0.7)	8 (11.6)	26.88	1.31	3.63/3.25	7 (87.5)	1 (12.5)
Shops	Structures with Land	8	1464.3	65.5		8	0	3	25.33	1.06	2.33/2.33	3	0
	Buildings and Lots	2	610	50.9		3	0	—					
	Building only	3	3384.4	437.3		0	0	—					
	Capital Assets	7	2669.3	152.7		2	0	—					
	Combined	3	—	—		1	0	—					
	<b>Total</b>	23 (6.8)	1974.7	143.1	2.43/1.17	14 (60.9)	9 (39.1)	3 (4.3)	25.33	1.06	2.33/2.33	3 (100)	0
Orchards	Entire	8	12591.3	1660.3		1	7	2	35	1.46	1/1	3	0
	Lands	9	2229.8	729.5	1.63/1.38	0	9	47	61.77	4.21	3.53/4.45	2	44
	Capital Assets	61	6729.2	1250.5	2.14/1.49	2	59	—					
	Plants	40	4006.1	533.4	2.55/1.85	1	26	—					
	Combined	15	10681.7	—		0	12	2	143	1.25	1/3	0	1
	<b>Total</b>	133 (39.6)	6514.0	1048.7	2.16/1.53	4 (3.0)	113 (85.0)	51 (73.9)	63.91	4.02	3.33/4.25	5 (9.8)	45 (88.2)
	Warehouses	8	1118.1	58.4		7	0	—					
	Mills <sup>1</sup>	2	2500	5000		0	2	6	446.87	50.49		1	2
	Baths <sup>2</sup>	5	6875	4138		5	0	—					
	Caravansarais	1	7205	300.2		1	0	—					
	Others	11	—	—		4	3	1	800	33.33	4/7	0	0
	<b>Grand Total</b>	336	4213.9	611.0	2.07/1.35	179 (53.4)	119 (35.4)	69	90.31	6.89	3.35/4.06	16 (23.2)	48 (69.6)

1 The Average Sale Price is for the main body of a mill, and the Average Rent based on the data for the five mills.

2 The Average Sale Price is based on the data for the capital assets of four baths.

Currency unit is piastre (*qurush*). The percentage of each share is shown in parenthesis.



Table 3-2 Sales (The Mīdān Court)

			Price (piastres)		Location	
		Cases	Average Price	Average Price per <i>qīrāṭ</i>	Midān	Muṣallā
Houses	Entire	69	3858.7	318.5	40	10
	House only	5	3428.8	277.1	4	0
	Room only	4	800	35.4	2	1
	Combined	4	2743.5	—	2	1
	Total	82 (71.3)	3672.6	297.5	48 (58.5)	12 (14.6)
Shops	Structure with Lot	9	1967	98.1	4	2
	Capital Assets	6	3658.3	167.4	3	0
	Combined	1	6725	—	0	0
	Total	16 (13.9)	2691.9	127.8	7 (43.8)	2 (12.5)
Orchards	Entire	1	400	16.6	0	0
	Lands	1	1400	1120	0	1
	Capital Assets	2	1155	935	0	0
	Plants	5	3226.7	134.4	0	0
	Combined	2	9500	—	0	0
	Total	11 (9.6)	3643.3	590.5	0	1 (9.1)
	Warehouses	4 (3.5)	7380	519.5	2	1
	Barns	2 (1.7)	2425	181.3	1	0
Grand Total		115	3656.7	306.2	58 (50.4)	16 (13.9)

The percentage in parenthesis on the line of Location designates the share for each Structure.

Table 4-1 Price and Compositions of Sold Houses (The Ṣālihiyya Quarter)

		Sales Price per <i>qirāt</i> (piastre)								Mīdān Quarter
	Cases	-100	-200	-300	-400	-500	-1000	Over 1000	Un-known	Percentage
<b>Courtyards</b>	123 (98.4)	42	38	19	6	4	10	3	1	100%
<b>Wells</b>	70 (56.0)	25	25	13	2	3	1	1	0	54
<b>Fountains</b>	15 (12.0)	1	2	2	1	0	7	2	0	8
<b>Kitchens</b>	18 (14.4)	3	7	3	0	0	4	1	0	63
<b>Ḥawāns</b>	19 (15.2)	3	5	4	1	0	5	1	0	39
<b>Guest Rooms</b>	26 (20.8)	7	11	4	1	0	2	1	0	89
<b>Terraces</b>	9 (7.2)	1	1	2	1	0	3	1	0	35
<b>Outer Stairs</b>	17 (13.6)	1	7	3	1	0	4	1	0	51
<b>Total</b>	125	43 (34.7)	39 (31.5)	19 (15.3)	6 (4.8)	4 (3.2)	10 (8.1)	3 (2.4)	1 (—)	189 cases

The percentage of each share is shown in parenthesis.

The data of Mīdān are from the term of 1820-30 (Marino, *Le Faubourg*, Table 35, p. 226).

Table 4-2 Location and Price of Sold Houses (The Šālihiyya Quarter)

Sub-Quarters	Cases	Average Price	Average Price per <i>qirāṭ</i>
Akrād	16 (12.8)	3601.7	232.4
Abū Jarash	37 (29.6)	1607.7	147.6
Sūq al-Jum'a	6 (4.8)	1395	115.8
Jihārkaṣiya	10 (8.0)	2541.5	153.6
Ḥammām al-Muqaddam	14 (11.2)	4191.1	623.5
Taghālība	6 (4.8)	2695.7	137.3
ʿArūdak	5 (4.0)	915.5	51.4
Sikka	13 (10.4)	2632.7	167.0
Total in the Šālihiyya	125	2802.0	237.2

The percentage of each share is shown in parenthesis.

Table 4-3 Structures Adjacent to Sold Houses and Shops

		Houses (122)		Shops (15)		Descriptions in Arabic
		Cases	Percentage	Cases	Percentage	
Houses	Private Owned	243	49.6	10	16.9	<i>dār fulān</i>
	Rental	36	7.3	0	—	<i>dār bi-yad</i>
	Waqf	2	0.4	0	—	<i>dār waqf</i>
Shops	Private Owned	1	0.2	6	10.2	<i>dukkān fulān</i>
	Rental	0	—	2	3.4	<i>dukkān bi-yad</i>
	Waqf	0	—	3	5.1	<i>dukkān waqf</i>
	Others	—	—	2	3.4	
	Orchards/Gardens	20	4.1	5	8.5	<i>junayna, ḥākūra</i>
	Warehouses	12	2.4	2	3.4	<i>bā'ika</i>
	Streets	166	33.9	22	37.2	<i>ṭariq, zuqāq, dakhla</i>
	(Closed Streets)	(23)	(13.9)	0	—	<i>ghayr nāfidh</i>
	Caravansarais	0	—	2	3.4	<i>khān</i>
	Others	10	2.0	5	8.5	
	Unknown	10	—	1	—	
	Total	500		60		

The percentage of Closed Streets designates the share for the total of Streets.

**Table 5 Surface Area of Houses in the Šālīḥiyya Quarter (1930s)**

Location: Sub-Quarters and Lanes		Houses	Average		Distribution according to Surface Areas					
			Surface Area	Court-yards	-50	-100	-200	-300	-400	-600
ABU JARASH	Abū Asad	13	174.3	1.08						
	'Aqabe	33	109.2	0.82						
	Abū Sha'r 1	10	107.4	1.00						
	Abū Sha'r 2	12	113.7	0.67						
	Total	68	122.2	0.87	14	22	20	7	3	2
	Percentage				(20.6)	(32.4)	(29.4)	(10.3)	(4.4)	(2.9)
TAGHĀLIBA	Taghālība 1	14	122.8	1.07						
	Taghālība 2	14	81.6	1.00						
	Mālik	47	88.9	0.96						
	Total	75	93.8	0.99	13	37	20	5	0	0
	Percentage				(17.3)	(49.3)	(26.7)	(6.7)		
	Grand Total	143	107.3	0.93						

The surface area of each house includes its courtyard. Unit is square meters.

**Table 6 Inheritance**

	Total		Inherited from		Immovable Properties		Distribution according to the Amount of Inheritance			
	Cases	Average Amounts	Men	Women	Sold and Encashed	Inherited in Joint Ownership	Total Inheritance	Cases (Percentages)	Inheritance per Heir	Cases (Percentages)
Estates	175	6761.9	8340.9	4154.2	15357.1	8921.8	-0	14 (8.0)	-0	14 (8.0)
Debts	81	4762.2	5779.1	1444.1	6294.4	4939.7	-500	30 (17.1)	-100	30 (17.1)
Costs	159	224.5	257.4	174.4	361.3	257.8	-1,000	25 (14.3)	-200	15 (8.6)
Inheritances	161	3937.9	4672.9	2807.2	8828.9	4703.3	-1,500	23 (13.1)	-300	21 (12.0)
Heirs	4.64		4.93	4.17	4.33	5.46	-2,000	10 (5.7)	-400	16 (9.1)
(Women)	420						-3,000	17 (9.7)	-500	7 (4.0)
(Minors)	319						-4,000	11 (6.3)	-600	8 (4.6)
Inheritance per Heir		864.5	783.0	719.5	2079.0	963.8	-5,000	16 (9.1)	-700	6 (3.4)
							-6,000	1 (0.6)	-800	10 (5.7)
							-7,000	6 (3.4)	-900	4 (2.3)
							-8,000	0	-1,000	3 (1.7)
							-9,000	3 (1.7)	-2,000	22 (11.4)
							-10,000	3 (1.7)	-3,000	9 (5.1)
							-15,000	8 (4.6)	-4,000	2 (1.1)
							-20,000	5 (2.9)	-5,000	3 (1.1)
							20,001-	3 (1.7)	5,001-	5 (2.9)
Total Cases	175		109	66	27	30		175		175

Currency unit is piastre and the amounts less than one piastre are cut off at calculation. In case the debt exceeds one's estate, the inheritance is given as zero.

Table 7 Rent Income Registered in Account Reports

Document No.	Names of Property	Portions ( <i>qirāt</i> )	Rent Income	Terms (year)	Annual Income	Payment for Lease	Taxes
691-184	Bu	8.53	1312	1	1312	391	250
691-185	Ju Abū Fahd	?	1750	2	875	768/2 years	448 (C)
	Ju Būlād	?	3850	2	1925	424/3 years	
691-199	Bu al-Dahsha	24	2000	1.75?	1143	35 (C)	382 (C)
	Bu al-Ṣaghīr	24	700	1.75?	400	35 (C)	63
	Du Bāb al-Jābiya	24	1500	2	750		
	Ju al-Miftāḥ	24		4		17	
	Du Sūq al-Jadīd	24	870	1	870	100/2 years	137
	Du Sūq al-Arwām	24	675	1	675		126(Expenses)
691-133	Ju & Ḥākūra	?	4041	3.17?	1275	245?	
699-241	Ju Nawā'ir	12.75	1050	1	1050	110	103
	Bu al-'Allāma	?	875	1	875	37	101

Bu (*bustān*) and Ju (*junayana*) mean orchard, and Du (*dukkān*), shop. The payment marked (C) is a total amount for more than two properties. Currency unit is piastre.

Table 8 Manage of Minors' Estate

Properties		1293/2/5 Inheritance	95/2/13 Sale at the time of inheritance	95/8/3 Sale	95/8/3 Sale	95/8/3 Sale	95/8/3 Account Report	
Locations	Type						Income	Expenses
1-Bustān al-Dahsha al-Nayrab	Orchard, Capital Asset of	Succession of 14+7/9+18 qirāts	Hasiba bought 4+7/9 qirāts 7856Q	Sulayman bought Nafisa's portion, 1+5/9 qirāts 2618+6+2/3Q	Hasiba bought from Sulayman and three sons 3+1/9+5/8 qirāts 5237+1/4Q		rent of the land 2000Q/1 year and 9 months	rent to the waqf 35Q/1 year
2-Junayna al-Miftāh al-Nayrab	Orchard, Capital Asset of	same to the above	same to the above 6283Q	same to the above 1394+1/2Q	same to the above 2789+1/4Q		no mention	rent to the waqf 17Q/4 years
3-Same to the above	Orchard, Plants of	same to the above	included in No. 2	same to the above 700Q	same to the above 1400Q		no mention	included in the above
4-Dār Hammām al-Muqaddam	House, Entire	same to the above	same to the above 7856Q	same to the above 2618+1/2Q	same to the above 5237+1/4Q		no mention	Tax 382Q/1 year including those for no.1&5
5-Dukkān Bāb al-Jābiya	Shop, Capital Asset of	same to the above	same to the above 3784Q	same to the above 1260+1/4Q	same to the above 2520+1/2Q		rent 1500Q/2 years	
6-Dukkān Sūq al-Jadīd	Shop, Capital Asset of	same to the above	same to the above 2500Q	same to the above 833+1/4Q	same to the above 1666+1/2Q		rent 870Q/1 year	rent to the waqf 100Q/2 years Tax 137Q/1 year
7-Dukkān Sūq al-Arwām	Shop, Capital Asset and Building of		Three sons bought 4 qirāts 1700Q			Building 2+2/3 qirāts 1133+1/3Q	rent 675Q/1 year	guard fee 126Q
8-Bustān al-Ṣaghīr al-Nayrab	Orchard, Capital Asset and 1/2 plants of		Three sons bought 4 qirāts 2500Q			Capital Asset 2+2/3 qirāts 1000Q Plants 1+1/3 qirāts 666+2/3Q	rent 700Q/1 year and 9 months?	rent to the waqf included in no.1 Tax 63Q/1 year
Notes		699-161 ②→①③④ ⑤⑥	691-159	691-200 ① →Sulaymān	699-14 Sulaymān & ④⑤⑥→⑦	699-40 ①⑦→④⑤ ⑥	691-199 Account Report	691-199 Account Report

Q: qurush (piastre) ① Nafisa, Grandmother ② 'Abd al-Majīd, Father ③ Fāṭima, Mother ④ Muḥammad Shākīr ⑤ Muḥammad ⑥ Zākīyya, three sons ⑦ Hasiba, aunt

Table 9 Salaries, Wages and Commodity Prices

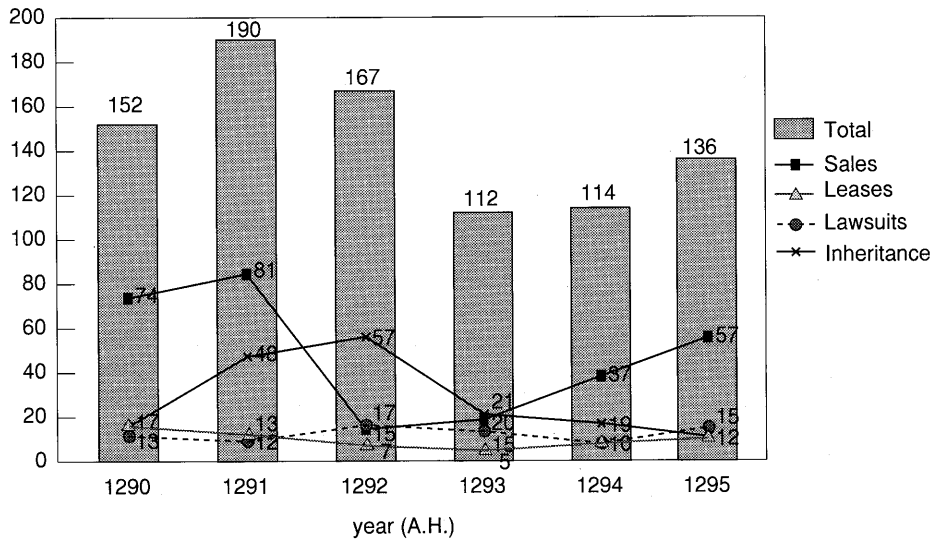
		Amount/Term	Monthly/Annual ( <i>qurush</i> , piastre)	Sources/Notes
Salaries and Wages	Judges	48L/Y	1320/5280	PP 1881[3008]82:90
	Court Clerks	300Q/M	300/3600	<i>ibid.</i>
	Policemen	160-200Q/M	160-200/1920-2400	PP 1880[2537]58:9
	British Consul		6250Q	FO78(2514), Sept. 12, 1876: 500 Sterling Pounds, plus allowance 200
	Qur'an Recitors	10Q/D	300/3600	<i>Qāmūs</i> , p.463
	Cooks	3Q/M	330/3960	<i>ibid.</i> , p.311
	Laundresses	3-6Q/D	90-180/1080-2160	<i>ibid.</i> , p.311
	Farmerettes	60Q/D	45/540	<i>ibid.</i> , p.329
	Construction Laborers	7Q/D	210/2520	<i>ibid.</i> , p.333
	Street Sweepers	4Q/D	120/1440	<i>ibid.</i> , p.395
Commo- dity Prices	Wheat	25-42Q/kilo		FO78(2651), Dec.6, 1877: Beirut 1876-77
	Wheat	18.7Q/kilo 4.02Q/okka		1872, <i>al-Rawḍa</i> , p.93
	Barley	11-24Q/kilo		FO78(2651), <i>op. cit.</i>
	Beef	4.5-5Q/okka		<i>ibid.</i>
	Mutton	5.5-8.25Q/okka		<i>ibid.</i>
	Butter	9Q/okka		<i>ibid.</i>
	Bread	2.5-3.5Q/okka		<i>ibid.</i>
	olives	3-3.5Q/okka		<i>ibid.</i>
	Rice	2.5-3.25Q/okka		<i>ibid.</i>
	Soap	4.5-5.5Q/okka		<i>ibid.</i>
	Olive Oil	5-6.5Q/okka		<i>ibid.</i>
	Vegitables	0.5-1.5Q/okka		<i>ibid.</i>
	Fruits	1.5-3.9Q/okka		<i>ibid.</i>
	Milk	2Q/okka		<i>ibid.</i>
	House rent	80-100SL	1000-1250Q/Y	FO (2150), July 24, 1871
	Register Notebook	14Q		LCRD691-133
	Registration Fee	5-10Q		PP 1880[2712]58:938
	Circumcision	732Q		LCRD691-133
	Repair of Orchard Wall	542Q		LCRD691-133
	Bedding	202Q		LCRD669-215
	Family Budget	12-16SL	1200-1600Q/Y	Beirut in 1840, Bowring, p.54

Q: *qurush* (piastre), P: para, L: *lira* (pound), SL: sterling pound; Y: per year, M: per month, D: per day;  
 okka: 0.2145kg *qinṭār*: 257.4kg

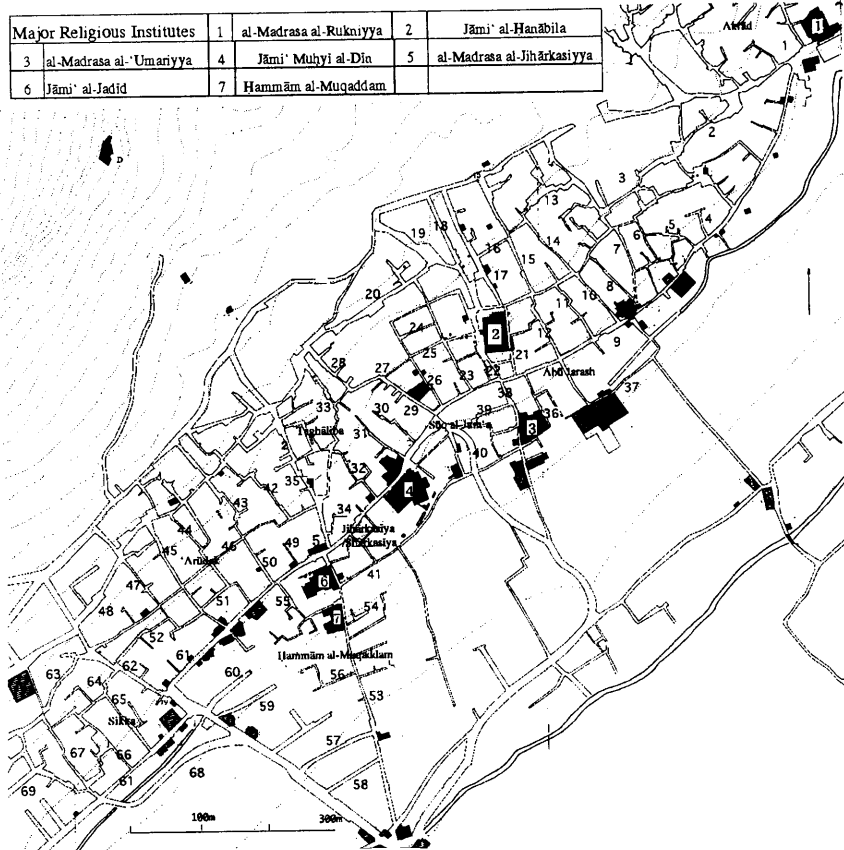
**Table 10 Annual Court Registration**

A.H.	The First day of A.D.	Sales of Entire Houses		Sales of Capital Assets of Orchards		Sales of Orchard Plants		Leases of Orchard Land	
		Cases	Average Price	Cases	Average Price	Cases	Average Price	Cases	Average Price
1290	1873/3/1	39 (30.2)	2686.8	9 (14.8)	9316.7	11 (27.5)	2965.2	11 (23.4)	54.36
1291	1874/2/18	37 (28.7)	3228.6	15 (24.6)	4250.7	7 (17.5)	3358.8	9 (19.1)	50.11
1292	1875/2/7	4 (3.1)	4372.5	4 (6.6)	12212.5	1 (2.5)	27500	3 (6.4)	175
1293	1876/1/28	7 (5.4)	2278.6	4 (6.6)	7150	3 (7.5)	325	3 (6.4)	35
1294	1877/1/16	17 (13.2)	2243.3	14 (23.0)	5203.6	8 (0.2)	3925	10 (21.3)	72.63
1295	1878/1/5	25 (19.4)	2704.9	15 (24.6)	7367.3	10 (2.5)	3766.6	11 (23.4)	45.27
Total		129		61 (Unknown 3)		40		47	

Currency unit is piastre. The percentage in each share is shown in parenthesis.

**Graph 1 Chronological Distribution of Contents**

Map 1 The Šālihiyya Quarter (End of 19th Century to Beginning of 20th Century)



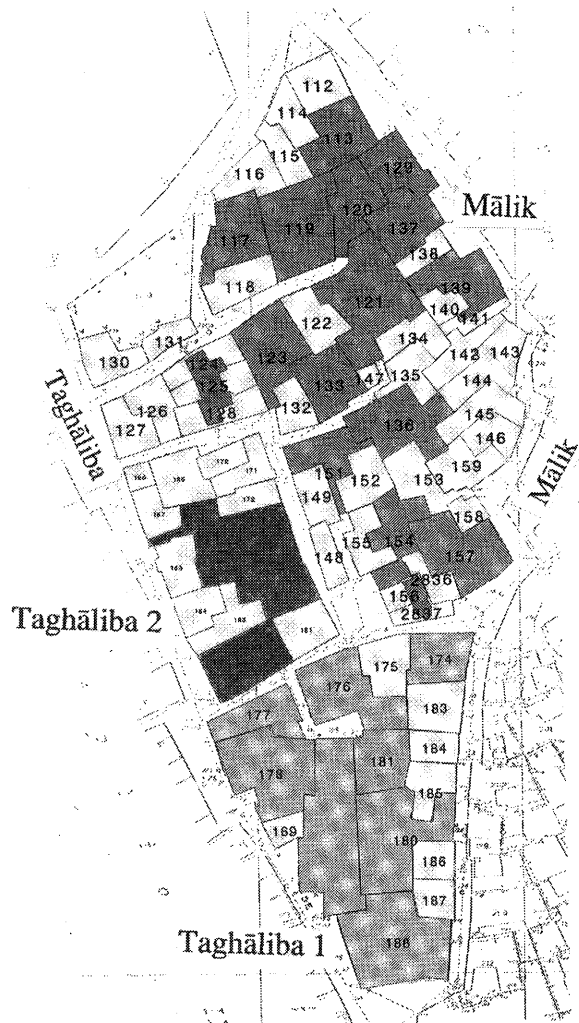
Names of Lanes					
1 'Arafāt Agha/P, R	15 Sibā'/P	29 Abū Asad/P	43 Asad al-Dīn/P, R	56 Sunbul	
2 Maghbara/P	16 Ḥalabī/P	30 Saqāf, Sahatīe/P, R	44 Shamā'/P	57 'Abd Rabbih	
3 Turbe/P	17 Abū Sha'bān/P	31 Farā'ine/P	45 'Arūdak/P, R	58 Bazm	
4 Karkour/P	18 Shaykh Ibrāhīm	32 Shaykh Qaymar/P, R	46 Firūn/P	59 Sukkar	
5 Chunafe/P	19 Ciel/P	33 Mālik	47 Zarūr/P	60 Manāzi	
6 Shurafā'/P, R	20 Dāwūdī/P	34 Ma'āsir/P, R	48 Shaykh Muḥammad/P	61 Sikka/P, R	
7 'Araf, 'Anīfīn/P, R	21 Miskī/P	35 Taghālībā/P, R	49 Malqaṭ	62 Māwardī/P, R	
8 Aḷlaqīn	22 Ḥanābila/P	36 Fāḍil	50 'Aḍī/P	63 Toute/P	
9 Abū Jarash/P, R	23 Abū Sha'r/P, R	37 'Abd al-Ghanī/P, R	51 Nour Ayoune/P	64 Dayl/P	
10 Shaykh Burniyya/P	24 Mabsūt/P	38 Sūq al-Jun'a/P, R	52 Shahabiyya	65 Burj/P, R	
11 Ḥattāb/R	25 Sarsour/P	39 Dayr/P, R	53 Hammām	66 Awwiyāt/P, R	
12 Shaykh Yūsuf/P, R	26 'Aqabe/P, S	40 Muhyi al-Dīn/P	al-Muqaddam/P, R	67 Kheyaran/P	
13 Bi'r Qays/P	27 Sarwe/P	41 Nawā'ir/P, R	54 Kammiye/P	68 Jadīd	
14 Khamīsiyāt	28 Shu'ara/P	42 Shayāhīn	55 Madānis	69 Fawākhīr	

Notes: P: in the Plan Cadastral, 1932-33 R: mentioned in the shari'a court registers

The names of lanes are based on the Plan Cadastral and an interview with the head of the quarter conducted in 1998. When the Arabic name is unknown, it is given in French style, as in the Plan Cadastral.



Map 2 Taghālība Sub-Quarter (based on the Plan Cadastral)



Notes: The number is of individual houses.

Houses shaded have more than 100 square meters of surface area.

Houses in white have less than 100 square meters of surface area.