

# THE ANDALUSIAN ECONOMY IN THE TIMES OF ALMANZOR. ADMINISTRATIVE THEORY AND ECONOMIC REALITY THROUGH JURIDICAL AND GEOGRAPHIC SOURCES

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## ABSTRACT

A study of the economy of al-Andalus in epoch of Ibn Abī 'Āmir, Almanzor, through the analysis of three related aspects: First, it is shown how the *Kitāb al-amwāl* of the Maghrebin, ad-Dāwūdī (d. 402 or 411/1011-2 or 1020-1) was a juridical treaty on administrative and economic topics and it was known and used in this epoch. Secondly, the functioning of the state granaries or *alorines* as storage centres for the legal taxes proceeding from agriculture is presented and they are presented as the functional heirs of the *annona militaris* of the Roman empire. Finally, the economic information about al-Andalus transmitted by the oriental geographers Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Muqaddasī is shown in the shape of tables (both died after 378/988).

## KEY WORDS

Economy, Al-Andalus, Caliphate, Ad-Dāwūdī, Taxes.

## CAPITALIA VERBA

Oeconomia, Arabica Hispania, Caliphae munus, Ad-Dāwūdī, Tributa.

## 1. Introduction

Various studies have dealt with the economy of al-Andalus,<sup>1</sup> but none of these has placed enough emphasis on the aspects related to the political economy of al-Andalus, a state with Islamic confessional roots (it could also be called a "superstructure") that possessed a centralised economic administration, and that, depending on the strength of the central power and the moment, might in some cases be successful in this, while during many other periods it might be the regional and local dynamics that would take precedence in its economic evolution.

In this sense, as an aside, it must be emphasised that in the epoch of Almanzor (who governed from 978-1002/367-392), the Andalusian economy was run according to clearly established and well-known legislation, some of whose treatises were already over a century old. But without needing to go back to oriental sources, there is a clear example of an economic treatise of which we know that it was known and followed in the al-Andalus Mālikī.

On the other hand, the aim was to show the economic reality of al-Andalus, as well as the regional economies, by means of a regulatory mechanism for the economy that was employed on numerous occasions by the powers that be to mitigate famines and guarantee social peace. This was the so-called *alorines*, an economic institution whose roots lie in the *annona militaris* of the Roman world, but which, according to the data available, contributed to mitigating famines in the caliphate of al-Andalus, and to enriching its administrators.

Finally, we will consider the two most important contemporary oriental geographers in order to show the economic panorama that Ibn Ḥawqal-, and al-Muqaddasī wished to portray in al-Andalus, a peninsula that they knew at first hand, precisely at the time when Ibn Abī 'Āmir, better known as Almanzor, was beginning his rise to power.

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1. See the valuable summary of the data by Chalmeta, Pedro. "An Approximate Picture of the Economy of al-Andalus", *The legacy of Muslim Spain*, Salma Khadra Jayyusi, ed., chief consultant Manuela Marín. Leiden: ed. E. J. Brill, 1992: 741-758; other earlier studies that deal more specifically with the economy of al-Andalus in the 10<sup>th</sup> century are: Inamuddin, Sayyid Muhammad. *The Economic History of Spain (under the Umayyads, 711-1031 A.D.)*. Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1963: XVII + 537. (This is the English publication of the thesis undertaken with the support of a grant from the Spanish government. He defended it in Madrid in 1956; reviewed by Martínez Montávez, Pedro. "La economía en la España omeya". *Hispania*, XXV/99 (1965): 429-440; Arié, Rachel. "La vie économique dans l'Espagne musulmane", *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Vorderen Orients in islamischer Zeit*, Bertold Spuler, ed. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977: 239-254; Chalmeta, Pedro. "Sources pour l'histoire socio-économique d'al-Andalus: essai de systématisation et de bibliographie". *Annales Islamologiques*, XX (1984): 1-14; Chalmeta, Pedro. "España musulmana. La sociedad andalusí. La economía. Instituciones", *Historia General de España y América. III. El fallido intento de un Estado Hispánico Musulmán (711-1085)*, Vicente-Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela, coord. Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 1988: 459-543; Córdoba de la Llave, Ricardo. "Las actividades económicas", *Abdarrahman III y su época*, Emilio Cabrera, coord. científico. Córdoba: Caja Provincial de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1991; and various notes about the economy and taxes can be found in: Vallvé, Joaquín. *El califato de Córdoba*. Madrid: Mapfre, 1992: 1-1351.

Although their reports about al-Andalus have been classified as clearly biased (especially in the case of Ibn Hawqal), their works are of great interest because the authors had first-hand information which they refer to, and also because both contributed to creating the image of a rich and splendid al-Andalus in the Islamic world.

## 2. Relation between Islamic economic theory and real economic administration

The maḡhab by al-Awzā'ī (d. 157/774), and his rules regulated everything related to the division of booty in precise detail. His juridical doctrine, which aimed at a fair share of the land and property seized, was clearly the result of a society in expansion. But once the new Muslim state had been consolidated, a restructuring of the law became necessary, in consonance with a much more complex administration.

These rules were developed in the first 'Abbāsid period, with works such as those by Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī (d. 182/799): *Kitāb al-ḥarāğ*; Yahyà Ibn Ādam (d. 203/819): *Kitāb al-ḥarāğ*; Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām (d. 224/839): *Kitāb al-amwāl*; Abū l-Farāğ Qudāma Ibn Ġa'far Ibn Qudāma al-Kātib al-Bağdādī (d. 320/932): *Kitāb al-ḥarāğ wa-ṣinā'at al-kitāba* and Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Māwardī (364-450/974-1058): *Al-Aḥkām as-sultāniya*.<sup>2</sup>

These works on political economics, or economic administration, demonstrate the long trajectory of the orient regarding its codification, but there were also notable examples of this in the Muslim west,<sup>3</sup> such as the works by ad-Dāwūdī and Ibn Ḥazm. Here, they appeared in the 4<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> centuries out of the need to clarify the legality of property ownership, which was in turn the consequence of the need for restitution for the numerous injustices committed by the powerful, who had taken to pillaging and seizing lands to which they had no legitimate rights. Among these, the work of ad-Dāwūdī stands out, for which there is firm evidence, based on real casuistry, that it was used in al-Andalus and that its influence stretched beyond the final epoch of the Umayyad caliphate.<sup>4</sup>

2. Other later works must be added to these, such as those by Ibn al-Farrā' (d. 458/1066). *Al-Aḥkām as-sultāniya*; Abū l-Farāğ 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ibn Rağab al-Ḥanbalī (d. 795/1393). *Kitāb al-istiḥrāğ li-aḥkām al-ḥarāğ* to mention only the most important treatises. Among the works on economic material it is basic to consult the work *Taxation in Islam*, ed. A. Ben-Shemesh. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965-1969, 3 vols., as well as the article by Chalmers, Pedro. "Una obra de 'materia económica': 'el Kitāb fi'at al-amwāl de al-Dāwūdī'", *Actas del IV Coloquio Hispano-Tunecino (Palma de Mallorca, octubre a noviembre de 1979)*. Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Arabe de Cultura, 1983: 63-78.

3. Add to the work by ad-Dāwūdī the epistle by Ibn Ḥazm (384-455/994-1063). *Risālat al-taḥlīs li-wuğūh at-taḥlīs*, a work written later in 426/1035. Edition and partial translation by Asín Palacios, Miguel. "Un código inexplorado del cordobés Ibn Ḥazm". *Al-Andalus*, II (1934): 1-56.

4. With regard to the importance of the work by ad-Dāwūdī, it is cited as a source by Abū l-Walīd Muḥammad Ibn Rušd al-Qurṭubī (450-520/1058-1126). *Kitāb al-Muqaddimāt li-awā'il kutub al-Mudaw-*



Abū Ġa'far Aḥmad Ibn Naṣr ad-Dāwūdī (or ad-Dā'ūdī) al-Mālikī al-Asadī (d. 402 or 411/1011-2 or 1020-1), according to the qāḍī 'Iyād, was a *faqīh* (doctor of Muslim law) from Masīla (others say that he was from Biskra) who lived in Tripoli in Libya (where he composed his commentary about the *Kitāb al-Muwatta'*), later moving to Tremecén, where he died in 402 (although some locate his death in 411). His biographers agree that he was an outstanding Maghrebin Mālikī scholar, a virtuous *faqīh*, a precise, admirable and fecund polygraph, and a gifted linguist, expert in ḥadīth and speculative science and also a kind man.<sup>5</sup> He was a disciple of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Abd Allāh az-Zubaydī al-Qalānisi (d. 359/969), and Abū 'Abd al-Mālik Marwān al-Būnī (d. 440/1048), Abū Bakr Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī Zayd, Hayyūn al-Ḥaṭṭāb at-Ṭulayṭulī, Ibn Fuṭays, and Ibn al-Faraḍī, Ibn Ḥayr al-Īsbīlī and many others learned from him.

His biographers, namely qāḍī 'Iyād (d. 544/1150 or 575/1179, depending on the source), Ibn Ḥayr (502-575/1108-1179), Ibn al-Abbār (595-658/1199-1260) and Ibn Farḥūn (720-799/1321-1397), concurred on the basic traits of his life and works. Ibn 'Iyād (who seems to be the oldest of them) stated that he acquired his knowledge by himself, being almost self-taught; he reiterated that his learning was unique and that the majority of his knowledge was not acquired from to any famous imām, and that he reached (his solutions) only through his intelligence (which does not detract value or orthodoxy from his writings). He also affirmed that he wrote his commentary *Fī šarḥ al-Muwatta'* in Tripoli, and among other works mentioned the one titled *Kitāb al-amwāl*.<sup>6</sup> Both Ibn Ḥayr and the qāḍī 'Iyād give contradictory arguments; although both were writing just over eighty years after the death of ad-Dāwūdī, the latter's biography seems to be more complete and better founded.

He wrote a Mālikī treatise on Muslim law that must be considered among the works on juridical-economic issues known as *Kitāb al-amwāl* (*Kitāb fī al-amwāl*

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wana; Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Anṣarī al-Qurtubī (d. 671/1273). *Tafṣīr al-Qur'ān*, or by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Qāsim Ibn Sa'īd al-'Uqbānī al-Tilimsānī (d. 871/1467). *Tuḥfat an-nāzīr wa- ġunyat ad-ḡākir*, not to mention other compilers who used it, such as Abū l-Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Yahyā al-Wanṣarī (834-914/1430-1508). *Al-Mi'yār al-muġrib*. These circumstances allow us to conclude that the *Kitāb al-amwāl* by ad-Dāwūdī was long studied by jurists in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, being a basic reference work for Mālikī law for over 500 years after the author's death. For more details about the work, the genre it belongs to, and other treatises of the same theme or about those that influenced this one, see pp. 1-3 and 19-20 of the introduction to the complete Arab edition: Šaraf ad-Dīn, Abu Muhsin Muhammad. *Kitāb al-amwāl. Abū Ja'far Aḥmad Ibn Naṣr ad-Dā'ūdī* (t. 402 H./1011). Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 1995/1416: 1-3, 19-20.

5. Qāḍī 'Iyād (476-544/1083-1150). *Tartīb al-madārik*, ed. (partial Arabic) Muhammad at-Talbī. *Tarāġim aġlabīya mustahraġa min Madārik al-Qāḍī 'Iyād* Biographies aghlabides. *Extraites des Madārik du Cadi 'Iyād*. Tunis: Ġāmi' at-Tūnistīya, 1968: 369-70, 430. About the author and his work, see the introductory study in Arabic and English translation by Šaraf ad-Dīn, Abu Muhsin Muhammad. *Kitāb al-amwāl. Abū Ja'far Aḥmad Ibn Naṣr ad-Dā'ūdī* (t. 402 H./1011). Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 1995/1416: 1-12, as well as the article by Chalmeta, Pedro. "Una obra de 'materia económica'...": 66-73.

6. Qāḍī 'Iyād. *Tartīb al-madārik*, ed. (Arabic) Ahmad Bakīr Maḥmūd. Beirut: Dar Maktabat al-Hayat, 1968: IV, 623-624.

according to P. Chalmeta, and also sometimes called *Kitāb fī l-amwāl wa l-makāsib*).<sup>7</sup> Based on a reference by Ibn Ḥayr<sup>8</sup>, and on the style of the work,<sup>9</sup> P. Chalmeta brought forward the hypothesis that it was not written by the author, but rather that it is a *nawāzil* or compilation of answers given by ad-Dāwūdī himself to specific questions and affairs that he was asked about. This would explain why ad-Dāwūdī neither wrote nor taught this work (in which case the biographers would have included it among his works). The *Kitāb al-amwāl* would have been compiled by some of his disciples, and would have circulated in the Maghreb and al-Andalus without an original author, later under the name of the compiler, and after the latter's death it would have been reassigned to ad-Dāwūdī. Thus, dissenting with Ibn 'Iyāḍ, he affirms that it was a doctrinal body, rather than a real treatise.

The work consists of four parts (*ağzā'*), which, from a Mālikī point of view, deals with the principal resources of the state, the military administration, the right to make peace and war, and it contemplates a whole set of rules relating to taxes, captives, booty and its division, etc., supplying sentences by the author about cases related to the Maghreb, Sicily and al-Andalus. It also deals with illegally acquired

7. Abū Ġa'far Aḥmad Ibn Naṣr Ad-Dāwūdī (or Ad-Dā'ūdī) al-Mālikī al-Asadī (Masīla-Tremecén, d. 402/1011). *Kitāb al-amwāl* (or *Kitāb fī'at al-amwāl*, or *Kitāb fī l-amwāl wa l-makāsib*), partial Arab edition and French translation of the 3<sup>rd</sup> *Ḍikr* of the second part: Abdul Wahab, Hasan Husni; Dachraoui, Farhat. "Le régime foncier en Sicile au Moyen Age (IXe. et Xe. siècles) Édition et traduction d'un chapitre du '*Kitāb al-amwāl d'al-Dā'ūdī*', Études d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal. Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1962: II, 401-444, arab edition 405-427; French translation 428-444; Arab edition of the capitulillo 26: Dachraoui, Farhat. "Faṣl min *Kitāb fī l-amwāl wa l-makāsib* li-l-Dā'ūdī". *Ḥawliyat al-Ġāmi'at at-Tūnisīya*, IV (1967): 83-100; complete Arab edition with intro. and notes of the "unicum" from El Escorial, and English trans. by Šaraf ad-Dīn, Abu Muḥsin Muḥammad. *Kitāb al-amwāl. Abū Ġa'far Aḥmad Ibn Naṣr ad-Dā'ūdī* (t. 402 H./1011). Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 1995/1416: 1-170 + 1-225, a work we have taken as a basic reference (Arabic reed. New Delhi: Kitāb Bhavan, 1999), and there is another Arab edition: Šihāda, Rida. *Kitāb al-amwāl li-Aḥmad Ibn Naṣr ad-Dāwūdī*. Rabat: Markaz At-Turāt al-Maġribī, 1988, as well as the one by Al-Filī, Najib Abdul Whab. *A critical edition of Kitāb al Amwāl by Abu Jafar Ahmad al-Dawudi*. University of Exeter, 1989. Outstanding studies about this work include the brief analysis of the first pages of Sharfuddin, Abu Mushin Muhammad. "Abū Ja'far al-Dāwūdī's '*Kitāb al-amwāl*'. Islamic Studies, 4 (1965): 441-448, as well as the presentation and preliminary study of the El Escorial manuscripts by Chalmeta, Pedro. "Una obra de 'materia económica': el '*Kitāb fī'at al-amwāl* de al-Dāwūdī'...: 66-68. Although the spelling in the manuscript used by the editor and English translator correspond to a transcription "ad Dāwūdī", we share the criteria of the western Arabists who, avoiding archaic forms, have transcribed "ad-Dāwūdī" with a modernised spelling.

8. Ibn Ḥayr al-Iṣbīlī (502-575/1108-1179). *Fahrassa ma rawāhu 'an šuyūhihi min ad-dawāwīn al-muṣanna fa fī ḍurūb al-'ilm*, ed. Codera, Francisco.; Ribera, Julián. *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana. Index librorum de diversibus scientiarum ordinibus quos a magistris didicit Abu Bequer Ben Khair*. Madrid: Michaelém Romero, 1893/1895: IX-X, 247-248. Pedro Chalmeta reaches this conclusion through the fact that Ibn Ḥayr does not cite this among ad-Dāwūdī works while, in another place in the *Fahrassa* (p. 440), he boasts about "having learned that he composed Aḥmad Ibn Naṣr ad-Dāwūdī, with *igāza*". Pedro Chalmeta is rightly surprised that he does not cite the *Kitāb al-amwāl* and placed emphasis on having learnt all his science from it (Chalmeta, Pedro. "Una obra de 'materia económica': 'el Kitāb fī'at al-amwāl de al-Dāwūdī'...").

9. The text states: "was asked ...", "they asked him ...", "the author answered ...", "he stated ...", etc.



property and property which was abandoned and without a legal owner.<sup>10</sup> It is one of the oldest surviving treatises on the subject of taxes, and it not only talks about general casuistry, but also about specific cases from al-Andalus, Sicily and the Maghreb.

It seems clear that this is a series of juridical approaches originating in a real environment, in which inherited situations abound, and a desire to adapt them to reality and standardise them. That is why out of the 28 epigraphs in the work, those of a more "theoretical" nature are shorter, older and not very polemical, while those that deal with reality are much longer, contemporary with the author, little "traditionalist" with regard to his explanation and with a clear touch of controversy.<sup>11</sup> Its being a realistic and practical treatise makes it especially interesting and valuable for the construction of social and economic history. Although it is not strictly speaking a work on economics, it is about the economic theory of the state, and must therefore be taken into account as its suggestions help us better to understand the Andalusian and Maghrebin society at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and the *faqīhs* almost certainly demanded its application by the Umayyad power.

We find in it the key to the norms for the regulation of the compulsory taxes, such as the *ṣadaqa*<sup>12</sup> on the Muslims or the *ḡizya* on the *ḡimmīs*, to specific epigraphs on booty, abandoned goods, the correct administration of booty seized during combat (with an extensive casuistry concerning this), the status of captives and how their possessions should be considered. On the other hand, it also contains the legal concepts of obligatory application in the Islamic society that was al-Andalus. Thus, we have used it for such diverse research as understanding the legal status of lands in the northern meseta, abandoned after the reorganisation of the 9<sup>th</sup>-century frontiers<sup>13</sup>, or understanding the concept of "social assistance" for those in need, referring to its definitions of the poor and needy, which is specified in such great detail.<sup>14</sup> Given the above, we wish to recover this treatise, which, as a complement to the great manuals of the Mālikī school, shows the legislation applied

10. It is divided into four parts (*ağzā'*), and these then into a total of 26 chapters (*fuṣūl*), that begin with the word *Dīkr* and are: Preamble (ff.1v-2r); 1<sup>st</sup> part (ff. 2r-14r), which in essence deals with the goods that fall into the hands of the sulṭān, the booty, conscription, and the farming of the lands of the ḥarāḡ; 2<sup>nd</sup> part (ff. 14r-29v), that discuss the diwān and the reception of pensions, booty, tithes on the lands, recove of lands abandoned by the Muslims in Ifrīqiya al-Andalus and Sicily and inheritance of pensions; the 3<sup>rd</sup> part (ff. 29v-43v), about the rights and behaviour about captives, truces, as well as various epigraphs dedicated to the paying of taxes, both the *ḡizya* by the *ḡimmīs*, and the *ṣadaqa* by the Muslims and various casuistics about combat, and the 4<sup>th</sup> part (ff. 43v-55v.), about the goods belonging to unknown owners, about who should be considered poor and about wealth.

11. According to Chalmeta, Pedro. "Una obra de 'materia económica'...": 72-73.

12. Weir, Thomas Hunter; Zysow, Aaron. "Ṣadaqa". *Encyclopédie de l'Islam/Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2<sup>ème</sup> édition/2<sup>nd</sup> edition: EP). Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995: VIII, 510-526, which analyses: 1. Ṣadaqa in the Qur'ān; 2. Ṣadaqa in the ḥadīṡ; 3. Ṣadaqa in Islamic law, and 4. The practice of Ṣadaqa.

13. Franco Sánchez, Francisco. "Consideración jurídica y religiosa de los territorios de la meseta y el Norte peninsular por el poder musulmán de al-Andalus". *Al-Andalus-Magreb*, 7 (1999): 101-133.

14. Franco Sánchez, Francisco. "La asistencia al enfermo en al-Andalus. Los hospitales hispanomusulmanes", *La Medicina en al-Andalus*, Camilo Álvarez de Morales, Emilio Molina López, dirs. Granada: Fundación El Legado Andalusi, Conserjería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía, 1999: 135-171.

in the Muslim west, holding as it does the norms of the socio-economic field of public and private law that the works of Mālik Ibn Anas or Saḥnūn do not provide in such detail.

### 3. Some mechanisms for the regulation of the "real economy" by the state

The intervention of the caliphal state in the general economy of al-Andalus could not be direct, in the way we understand this nowadays, but rather applied through indirect mechanisms and intermediaries. Thus, when Marxist historiography qualified the economic regime of Islamic societies as a "tributary-mercantile system", thereby making an essential differentiation between the earlier "slavery-based system" and the contemporary "feudal system"<sup>15</sup>, the first axis of this was defined as the relation of exaction by the ruling social class or group over the popular mass, manifested through the payment of taxes, while the other axis was configured by the intense mercantile relation of the system, in turn a consequence of an evidently monetary economy.<sup>16</sup>

Such a general outline of this relation is a useful framework and element of analysis, but little else. The reality, as it has been transmitted to us through the Arab sources, was that the central Cordovan government tried to make the tax effective, gathering it through local governors. Thus enunciating this, it might seem to be a mere fiscal relation between a/some lord(s) and their respective subjects,

15. About the question of whether there was feudalism in al-Andalus, see the analysis in Chalmeta, Pedro. "Le problème de la féodalité hors de l'Europe chrétienne: le cas de l'Espagne musulmane", *Actas del II Coloquio Hispano-Tunecino de Estudios Históricos* (Madrid-Barcelona, Mayo 1972). Madrid: Instituto Hispano Árabe de Cultura, 1973: 91-115 (especially pages 93-96); Chalmeta, Pedro. "¿Feudalismo en al-Andalus?", *Orientalia Hispanica, sive studia F. M. Pareja octogenario dicata. Volume I: Arabica-Islamica. Pars Prior*, J. M. Barral, ed. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974: 168-194 (especially pages 173-177).

16. About the Marxist vision of the Islamic societies see the historical and socio-economic analysis by Samir Amin, whose Spanish translation is in: Samir, Amin. *Clases y naciones en el materialismo histórico*. Barcelona: Iniciativas Editoriales, 1979: 1-211; Samir, Amin. *El desarrollo desigual. Ensayo sobre las formaciones sociales del capitalismo periférico*. Barcelona: Fontanella, 1974: 1-427; Samir, Amin. *Elogio del socialismo y otros escritos*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 1978: 1-110; Samir, Amin. *Sobre el desarrollo desigual de las formaciones sociales*. Barcelona: Anagrama 1974: 1-154. A coinciding analysis about the real importance that the Marxist postulates have suggested in the historiography in general, can be seen in two very different works: Cardoso, Ciro Flamarión Santana; Pérez Brignoli, Héctor. *Los métodos de la Historia*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1977: 1-439 (pages 59-70: "La concepción marxista de la historia, desde los años 20 a nuestros días", pages 70-72: "La influencia del marxismo en el pensamiento histórico contemporáneo"); Aróstegui, Julio. *La investigación histórica: Teoría and método*. Barcelona: Crítica, 1995: 1-428 (pages 110 - 128: "El marxismo y la historiografía"). A study of the ideological drift of an important group of Egyptian intellectuals from Marxist positions towards radical Islamism is the one by Gómez García, Luz. *Marxismo, islam e islamismo: El proyecto de Adil Husayn*. Madrid: CantArabia, 1996: 1-432 pp. Finally another reading of the evolution of contemporary Arab ideologies that tries to explain this same intellectual drift is Charaffeddine, Fahima. *Culture et ideologie dans le monde arabe: 1960-1990*. Paris: éditions L'Harmattan, 1994: 1-244.



but, as we have expressed in a previous study,<sup>17</sup> the payment of the tax assumed a “recognition of sovereignty”, which is something more than an exercise in fiscal obligation; it means carrying out a religious obligation that affected the real essence of the Islamic “pyramid of sovereignty”. This “recognition of legitimate sovereignty” to the Muslim ruler was a political act, but also had economic and religious implications: as is known, the payment of the legal tax (whether it be Christian or Muslim), was the way in which this recognition was periodically made evident; non-payment was equivalent to insubordination, a rebellion that went beyond the political sphere and that implied abandoning agreed juridical-religious obligations.<sup>18</sup> This meant that regular payment of the tax was equivalent to the formal acceptance of political-religious deference, and non-payment meant rebellion, not only against the established earthly power, but also against the political-religious system of which this was its legitimate representative. The non-payment of tax by a group that had previously agreed to it was in itself enough reason to consider them “outlaws”, and even more so if there was any active aggression against the Muslim community, as was the case with the rebels towards central power, or the kingdoms in the north of the peninsula.

The quality and obligation of the legal tax has been clarified before. Despite this, the successive governments of the orient and those of al-Andalus (especially after the *Fitna*) complemented it with other illicit taxes (*mukūs*, *magārim*, etc.). However, the aim is here to concentrate on an aspect that we do not consider to have received the attention it deserves. This is the issue of the state granaries or *alorines* which, according to what we can infer from the references in the Arab sources, were another inheritance from the Roman past in the Andalusian administrative structure.

The, *alfolies*, *alhelies* or *alorines*<sup>19</sup> were the public granaries which were used essentially to store grain, and possibly also other long-lasting products, all being the result of taxes paid in kind by the Muslim peasants. These were obliged to contribute a proportion of the harvest, generally a tenth, as a tax.

17. Franco Sánchez, Francisco. “Consideración jurídica y religiosa de los territorios de la meseta y el Norte peninsular ...”: 101-133.

18. In case of non-payment of the cited tax, the Muslim sovereign was empowered to reclaim it; here arose the religious relevance of the raids against the Christians in the north (in the times of the ‘Abd ar-Rahmān III until the *Fitna*, and in especial those of Almanzor), or against the Muslim rebels within the state (epoch of ‘Abd ar-Rahmān I, ‘Abd ar-Rahmān II, ‘Abd ar-Rahmān III). See more details in my study cited in note 17, and Mikel de Epalza has also dealt with this in various places, such as: Epalza, Mikel de. “El derecho político musulmán y su influencia en la formación de Álava (siglos VIII-XI)”, *La formación de Álava. 650 Aniversario del Pacto de Arriaga (1332-1982). Comunicaciones*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Diputación Foral de Álava/Arabako Foru Aldundia, 1985: 309-310 (*Estudios de Deusto*, Bilbao, XXXII/2, fasc. 73 [1984]: 504-518); Epalza, Mikel de. “Descabellament polític i militar dels musulmans a terres catalanes (Segles VIII-XI)”, *Symposium Internacional sobre els orígens de Catalunya (Segles VIII-XI)*, Frederic Udina, dir. Barcelona: Real Academia de las Buenas Letras, 1991: I, 67-75.

19. Dozy, Reinhart; Engelmann, Wilhelm Hermann. “Alholí”. *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l’arabe*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1869: 139.



We do not know if an origin of this based in the "*annona militaris*"<sup>20</sup> of the Roman Empire has been indicated before, but given what is known, this is more than likely, as both mechanisms are similar. In the Roman state, along the roads built for this purpose, the army went about gathering the tax of the *annona*, consisting of wheat, oil, wine, barley, rye, meat, vegetables, etc., and this *annona* was used to pay the costs of the militias. The products collected were stored in provincial granaries built for this purpose, the so-called *mansiones*; a mansion was a station prepared as a place where soldiers and state officials could spend the night, and with stores where they could supply themselves and their troops. The landowners in the surrounding area took the respective contributions (*annonae*) to these stores, silos or granaries or, if it came from communities far afield, the army went to collect the tax.

In the Andalusian case, we find a correlation in the *quṣūr*, or state inns, in some cases fortified, that were placed at regular intervals along the main routes in the peninsula. They were luxury inns (*palacetes*), almost like little palaces (hence their later semantic derivation) where the various lords and Omeya state officials stayed, and even later ones.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, the public granaries do not seem to have been associated with those in al-Andalus, but were instead centralised provincially.

The local officials were in charge of the administration of these public silos, and we know of their existence because the Arab sources cite them as the origin of the lucrative profits and fortunes that their administrators gained from them. Thus, the management of the granaries in Cordoba was of special importance, due to being the seat of central power and the large number of peasants in the Cordovan country that paid their taxes in grain and kind there, and due to the economic importance that they had in general, and for the city in particular. That is why the appointment

20. Among the very extensive bibliography that should be cited with regard to the *annona militaris*, a special place is given to both the old studies by van Berchem, Denis. "L'annone militaire dans l'Empire romain au III<sup>e</sup> Siècle". *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, LXXX (1937): 117-202, and his Doctoral Thesis, published under the title: van Berchem, Denis. *Les distributions de blé et d'argent à la plèbe romaine sous l'empire*. Geneva: Georg et Cie., 1939: 1-182 and the Pavis D'Ecurac, Henriette. *Le préfecture de l'annone, service administratif impérial, d'Auguste à Constantin*. Rome: Écoles Françaises de Rome, 1976: 1-473. Gonzalo Arias has followed the ideas of D. van Berchem and has even developed them regarding the philological study of the so-called *Antonine's Itinerary*; his scientific debt to D. van Berchem has been recognised in a recent article: Arias, Gonzalo. "Tras las huellas de van Berchem". *El Miliario Extravagante*, 82 (2002): 20-26, in which he annotates his work as a researcher on Ancient Rome. We must thank him for the theory that *Antonine's Itinerary* was really a series of disperse route notes that were grouped together by an anonymous collector of the Roman *annona militaris*, a thesis about which he has spoken in various studies in *El Miliario Extravagante*. A complementary study is the one by Remesal Rodríguez, José. *La annona militaris y la exportación del aceite bético a Germania*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1986: 1-284.

21. See the section dedicated to the functionality of the *quṣūr* in Franco Sánchez, Franco. *Vías y defensas andalusíes en la Mancha Oriental*. Alicante: Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil Albert-Conselleria d'Educació i Ciència de la Generalitat Valenciana, 1995: 1-402, as well as Rubiera Mata, María Jesús. "El rey Lobo de Murcia, Ibn Mardanis (1147-1172): promotor de la construcción de alcázares viales", *Imágenes y promotores en el arte medieval. Miscelánea en homenaje a Joaquín Yarza Luaces*. Bellaterra: Servei de Publicacions de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2001: 191-194.



and control of the management by the administrators in charge of them was carried out regularly.

This control was also carried out, although less directly, by the management of those in charge of the provincial granaries, as shown by news from Ibn Bassām, contained in a letter from Ibn Šuhayd to the Valencian taifa king, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ibn Abī ‘Āmir (Almanzor’s grandson), explaining the promise that he had been made to grant him a property in Tudmīr. The motive was that Ibn Šuhayd’s father had been named governor of Tudmīr and Valencia by Almanzor, and the exploitation of the aforementioned property in an indeterminate place had been ceded to him; after nine years as governor, his father returned voluntarily to Cordoba weighed down with enormous wealth: “four hundred gold dinars from the sale of products; gold objects with a value of 100,000 dinars; ownership documents for five hundred head of livestock and two hundred selected slaves”.<sup>22</sup> The governor Ibn Šuhayd presented the list of earnings to Almanzor in order for him to indicate the tax that he had to pay for them, complaining about the high price of the grain required to feed the slaves and the livestock. In a display of generosity, Ibn Abī ‘Āmir exempted him from the taxes and conceded him two thousand *almuds* of cereals, half of wheat, and half, barley, that had to be taken from the state granaries in Villena (Fillāna), situated near his property.

M<sup>a</sup>. J. Rubiera identified these granaries of the Šarq al-Andalus cited in the estate of Los Alorines/Els Alforins, an interesting case of the derivation of the same Arab place name (*al-hurī*, pl. *al-ahrā’*) simultaneously in Castilian and Valencian, separated by a regional and linguistic frontier, despite being the same estate. The cause of the double toponymical derivation lies in the enormous size of the estate in question (which covers a large region between the modern-day municipalities of Caudete, Villena and Onteniente) and the fact that this has been divided since the Middle Ages by a linguistic frontier, which has led to the double denomination.<sup>23</sup> The estate of Los Alorines/Els Alforins on the frontier between the kingdoms of Castile and Valencia was the reason behind various disputes over its ownership and its boundaries, remaining a crossing to this day.<sup>24</sup> These stores of the kūra of Tudmīr were located in a strategic zone: far from the coast, the

22. Ibn Bassām (m. 542/1147). *Ad- Daḥīra fī mahāsīn ahl al-ḡazīra*, Arab ed. by Ihsān ‘Abbās, I. Tunis: Dār al ‘Arabīya li-l-Kitāb, 1975: I, 193.

23. Rubiera Mata, María Jesús. “Los precedentes geopolíticos musulmanes del señorío de Villena”, *Congreso de Historia del Señorío de Villena. Albacete 23-26 Octubre 1986*. Albacete: Instituto de Estudios Albacetenses de la Excm. Diputación de Albacete-C.S.I.C.-Confederación Española de Centros de Estudios Locales, 1987: 360; Rubiera Mata, María Jesús. *Villena en las calzadas romana y árabe*. Alicante: Ayuntamiento de Villena-Universidad Alicante, 1985: 1-62; Rubiera, María Jesús; Epalza, Mikel de. *Xàtiva musulmana (segles VIII-XIII)*. Xàtiva: Ajuntament de Xàtiva, 1987: 60-61.

24. See Gironès Guillem, Ignasi. *Els Pergamins d’Ontenient*. Ontenient: Ajuntament d’Ontenient, 1991: 1-229; Gironès Guillem, Ignasi. “L’Ontenient al segle XIV (Notes tretes del Curial del Justícia d’Ontenient de 1343). El *Diari* més antic que es conserva a Ontenient des de la conquesta. Un dels primers documents de censals de la Comunitat Valenciana”, *Almaig. Estudis i Documents*, X (1994): 37-45. He studied in detail this lawsuit known as “Los debates de Villena de 1425: un episodi inèdit” that defined as “*El teló de fons: del contenciós entre Ontenient i Villena sobre els Alforins*”: Terol i Reig, Vicent. “Los debates de Villena de 1425: cavalcades i enfrontaments fronterers en preludi de la Guerra

above-mentioned district was sufficiently dry to guarantee the correct storage of the grain. Moreover, they were at the crossroads of the Játiva-Villena-Vinalopó Valley-Murcia route and the Villena-Caudete-Balazote route, the Via Augusta and the Camino de Aníbal respectively, being equidistant from all the large urban centres in the region. These are convincing reasons to guarantee the credibility of such a toponymical identification.

Similarly, a century earlier, when al-Ġazzāl (156-250/772-864), 'Abd ar-Raḥmān II's court poet, was in charge of the granaries in the kūra of Jaén, he became notoriously rich during a period of shortages. As with the granaries of Tudmīr, the ones in the kūra of Jaén were also situated at another crossroads, although we do not know whether in Balāṭ Marwān or *Calzada de Marwān*.<sup>25</sup> This relation with the road network (as with the *annona*) also responded to two needs: the need to be at a crossroads, to facilitate access from any place in the kūra for the villagers who went there to pay tax or to collect grain, and in second place, so that military expeditionary forces did not have to go far off their route when they required supplies from the state granaries in the kūras.

The destination of the cereal stored in the granaries varied. As in the case of the grain in the Roman *annona militaris*, the cereals in the alorines were destined for high-ranking officials and armies on their travels, thus guaranteeing not only the maintenance of people and pack animals, but also a minimum of security and comfort on any journey of an emissary or civil servant. Grain was also extracted from the granaries to pay the pensions of those whom the Cordovan power had conceded this right; they served to pay in kind the troops stationed in the provincial fortresses, and from them was taken the grain necessary to be taken for the supply of the caliphal raids. Thus, al-Ḥakam II guaranteed Ġālib (who was going through a bad economic moment in the Maghreb) his unconditional support "although they had to empty the full coffers of the treasury and the overflowing granaries of al-Andalus".<sup>26</sup> They also had a set standard measure for charging taxes and for regional economic transactions related to them; thus, for one of the Berber lords given refuge on the Cordovan side, al-Ḥakam II granted a pension of "200 dinars (...) plus ten almudes of wheat per month, according to the standard measure of the souk, plus two cahices of barley for their mounts every night, according to the standard measure of the granary".<sup>27</sup>

The type of taxation is referred to in the document (see Appendix I) which mentions livestock taxes. This was a writ conceded during Ramaḍān in 362/June 973

de Castilla de 1429-1430". *Alba. Revista d'Estudis Comarcals d'Ontinyent i la Vall d'Albaida*, 10 (1995): 17-34.

25. Vallvé, Joaquín. *La división territorial de la España musulmana*. Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1986: 281.

26. Ibn Ḥayyān (377-469/987-8-1076). *Kitāb al-muqtabis fī ta'rīḥ riḡāl al-Andalus*: vol. VII, ed. Emilio García Gómez. *El Califato de Córdoba en la Muqtabis de Ibn Hayyān: Anales Palatinos del Califa de Córdoba al-Ḥakam II, por 'Isā Ibn Ahmad al-Rāzī (360-364 H. = 971-975 J. C.). Traducción de un ms. árabe de la Real Academia de la Historia*. Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1967: 165 (chap. 139).

27. Ibn Ḥayyān (377-469/987-8-1076). *Kitāb al-muqtabis fī ta'rīḥ riḡāl al-Andalus*: VII, ed. Emilio García Gómez. *El Califato de Córdoba...*: 187 (chap. 161).

by the caliph al-Hakam II to some of his Berber allies who wished to return to their regions of origin in the Maghreb. As well as the religious recommendations and the fiscal guidelines for livestock, it specifies the behaviour to be followed when collecting agricultural produce:

*The zakaat corresponding to the goods harvested must be taken from your subjects, as well as that of the fruit found on their land, and the ṣadaqa or legal alms of the livestock, according to the legal precepts and prescriptions, without in the slightest way reducing, increasing or altering these precepts, that are as follows:*

*(...)Zakaat must be levied on all the grain in silos. There is no zakaat for less than five loads (wasq), the wasq consisting of sixty sā's, and the sā' being equivalent to four almudes, according to the almud of the Prophet (God bless him and save him!). Above five wasq, the zakaat is a tenth, if the land is watered by rains or from springs, or a fifth, if it is dry land or irrigated by water mills.*

*The zakaat is not levied on figs, walnuts, almonds, or other fresh or dried fruit. It is, in contrast, levied on dates and grapes.*

*The zakaat on olives is levied on the oil, after pressing.*

*There is no zakaat on the ḍimmīs taxpayers, either men or women, nor on any of their goods or livestock. They are only obliged to pay the poll tax or ḡizya. However, if they engage in trade between one country and another, they must pay a tenth of the product that they sell.*

*Only an eighth of the zakaat must be seized, that God grants to those who levy it, without increasing or exceeding this quantity.<sup>28</sup>*

The public granaries also had another important function, given that in the case of storms, lack of rain and, in general, ruinous harvests, the grain in the silos was a guarantee that it might be sown again the following year. The unpredictability of the weather (droughts, torrential rains, bad harvests in general, etc.) was alleviated to some extent by the grain deposited in the state granaries, given that, in case of an unfavourable economic or climatic situation, orders were given to put it on public sale at an adequate price. This was a way of limiting famine among the population and securing the next sowing. In these cases, we know that the stored cereals were sold at a moderate fixed price to break the extortionate prices that food reached during periods of dearth.

Thus, the alorines became a very effective measure for regulating grain prices and mitigating shortages. The Romans used the grain collected through the *annona* for the same purpose, and even in late imperial times, on some occasions the emperors gave orders to bring out cereal at a price below market value, as a populist measure to control the increasingly discontent plebs.<sup>29</sup>

The Arab sources frequently show these negative economic contingencies in the registers of the Cordovan State, as in the case of the great famine of 397/812-3, that

28. Ibn Ḥayyān (377-469/987-8-1076). *Kitāb al-muqtabis fī ta'rīj riḡāl al-Andalus*: VII, ed Emilio García Gómez. *El Califato de Córdoba...*: 142-145 (chap. 112).

29. Van Berchem, Denis. *Les distributions de blé et d'argent a la plèbe romaine sous l'empire...*: 1-182.

killed many people in Šarq al-Andalus and was the cause of serious revolts,<sup>30</sup> to mention but one example.

The granaries were designed for this. Thus, through Ibn Ḥayyān, we know that the Cordovan capital managed to survive thanks to the grain from the state granaries after a serious drought which lasted throughout the year 324/935-6:

That year there was a general drought in al-Andalus, such as had never before been seen or heard of so persistent, given that it lasted throughout the year, the sky denying any rain down to the last drop that might moisten the land, but the people enjoyed a good situation, and the prices did not rise much despite the persistent drought, because there were still abundant resources, given that provisions were continually brought from other places and there was general prosperity, without misery, the sultan sustaining them through the bad times, until the following year, [3]25 (936-7) they had rain. That they could be sustained like this for a whole year was considered marvellous (...).<sup>31</sup>

Similarly, we know that as a result of famines, shortages due to bad harvests, heavy flooding of rivers and diverse tragedies, the population affected received a general exemption from the legal tax. Accordingly, all those circumstances were carefully noted in the Cordovan palace archives, and eclipses, comets, and other extraordinary astronomic phenomena that were considered presages or related to the disasters were added. Thus, thanks to the meticulousness of the registers of the central administration, ar-Rāzī was able to note them down in what, for the same reason, E. García Gómez called the *Anales Palatinos*.

Numerous examples might be shown to reflect this exemption from taxes. Thus, Ibn Ḥayyān states that the taxes were lifted in the year 362 (early April 973) in the kūra of Jaén after a drought followed by frosts;<sup>32</sup> behind this news lies the unjust claim made for a large quantity of wood, fish and tar as legal taxes that the kūra of

30. Ibn 'Idārī al-Marrākuṣī (died around 711/1312). *Al-Bayān al-muḡrib*, ed. (Arabic) Evariste Lévi-Provençal. *Ibn 'Idārī al-Marrākuṣī. Al-Bayān Al-Muḡrib. Tome Troisième. Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane au XI<sup>ème</sup> siècle. Texte arabe publié par la première fois d'après un manuscrit de Fès*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1930: II, 73, and also in the anonymous *Ḍikr bilād al-Andalus* (s. VIII/XIV), arab ed. spanish trans. study Luis Molina. *Una descripción anónima de al-Andalus*. Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1983: chap. 109.

31. Ibn Ḥayyān. *Kitāb al-muqtabis*, V, Arab crit. ed. Pedro Chalmeta; Federico Corriente; Maḥmūd Ṣubḥ. *Ibn Ḥayyān. Al-Muqtabas V*. Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura-Facultad de Letras, 1979: 259-260; Ibn Ḥayyān. *Kitāb al-muqtabis*, V, ed. and spanish trans. María Jesús Viguera, Federico Corriente. *Crónica del califa 'Abdarrahmān III an-Nāṣir entre los años 912 y 942 (al-Muqtabis V)*. Saragossa: Anubar, 1981: 287 (epigraph "La sequía").

32. "The same month the ṣāhib aṣ-ṣurta and zabazoque (master of the souk) Aḥmad Ibn Naṣr, cadi of the kūra of Jaén, went out to examine the complaint by some inhabitants of the kūra against their governor ('āmil), el'arid 'Abd ar-Rahmān Ibn Yahwar", and "At the end of ġumadā al-thāni (the year 362/beginning of April 973) sent the caliph al-Ḥakam al ṣāhib aṣ-ṣurta and zabazoque Aḥmad Ibn Naṣr to the kūra of Jaén, to inspect the quantities of wood, fish and tar that the 'āmil of the kūra, Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd l-Mālik had demanded from the vassals of that place. They had, effectively, received orders to supply specific quantities of the above-mentioned products and to transport them to Seville and Algeciras for the fleets that were under construction; but now the Caliph decided to exonerate them of this supply and include it in his private expenses, out of benevolence to his subjects and their comfort. The 'āmil Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Mālik paid all the people of the villages the value of what they had supplied, in the presence of Aḥmad Ibn Naṣr. The repayment was perfect, and they were not defrauded out of even a whit", Ibn Ḥayyān. *Kitāb*



Jaén had to supply to the central government, being collected by the 'āmil of the kūra of Jaén. In the previous epigraph, Ibn Ḥayyān talks about a serious drought and frosts that affected Cordoba and "also some kūras near Cordoba", that had destroyed their crops.<sup>33</sup> In these circumstances due note was taken of this fact in the annals of the Cordovan administration and payment of taxes by the local populace was postponed. The levy of these by the governor of the kūra was considered a great injustice. In reparation, al-Ḥakam II applied pressure by sending a Cordovan official to control the return of the payment of the supplies in kind unduly levied, with the public treasury taking charge of this repayment.

When the Umayyad state disappeared with the *Fitna*, all the state institutions vanished with it, some of which were inherited by the kings of the *taifas* that arose from the 11<sup>th</sup> century. We have hardly any data about the institution of the state granaries after the caliphate, although we might expect that, depending on the new taifa capitals, they continued centralising their important fiscal task and fulfilling the above-mentioned economic improvement functions. Given this, it must be supposed that the granaries mentioned in the Villena/Caudete/Onteniente region fulfilled their function until the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century, and probably after they disappeared, although their toponymical imprint still survives. And the same should be said about the rest of the caliphates' state granaries.

#### 4. Two tales about the economy in Almanzor's times: the reports of Ibn Ḥawqal anb Al-Muqaddasi

I. The geographer Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Ḥawqal (d. after 378/988), was from Naṣībīn/Nisibis (Upper Mesopotamia/al-Ġazīra), where he spent his childhood and adolescence; between 331/943 and 362/973, he travelled ceaselessly, undertaking innumerable journeys. It seems that Ibn Ḥawqal's main activity was as a trader, and it has been shown that that he professed to šī'ism, which is why he has also been defined as a missionary-agitator.<sup>34</sup> On his lengthy wanderings, Ibn Ḥawqal travelled through the Maghreb and al-Andalus, telling his tale in the first person: "*I entered al-Andalus at the beginning of the year 337 [11<sup>th</sup> July –9<sup>th</sup> August 948], when it was ruled by Abū l-Muṭarrif 'Abd ar-Raḥmān (III)*

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*al-muqtabis fī ta'rīj rigāl al-Andalus*: VII, ed Emilio García Gómez. El Califato de Córdoba...: 123 (chap. 88), 129-130 (chap. 90).

33. The drought followed by hail and frost that occurred in the months of March and April 973 and that "also extended to some kūras near Cordoba and destroyed a good number of vines, fig trees and other crops", Ibn Ḥayyān. *Kitāb al-muqtabis fī ta'rīj rigāl al-Andalus*: VII, ed Emilio García Gómez. *El Califato de Córdoba*...: 129 (chap. 89).

34. In A. Miquel's opinion about the author's political-religious options, the professions of fātimī faith scattered through his work identify him as a sincere militant of this movement, although it is difficult to affirm that he was a *dā'ī*, a Fātimī missionary *EP*: III, 810-811.

*Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ibn Ḥakam Ibn Hišām Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān*"<sup>35</sup>; 'Abd ar-Raḥmān III proclaimed himself caliph in 316/929, but is not described in this work by his title as caliph of *an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh* as might be expected, from which we might surmise that this is coherent with the anti-Umayyad tone of the rest of his story. We know that from Cádiz he travelled to Seville and around the western regions of the Baetic ranges, moving up through current-day Portugal and Extremadura, visiting Toledo and the peninsula's central meseta; he also went to Cordoba.

Ibn Ḥawqal returned to the peninsula for a second time in 363-4/974-5. His work was written in about 367/977 (at least the first version) a year before Almanzor's rise to the *ḥiḡāba*, which is why the economic data that he wanted to reflect about al-Andalus is important. Although it cannot be used for dating his work, he states that Almanzor "*is the current zabazoque (master) of al-Andalus*".

Given the large amount and the kind of information that he transmits, but especially on account of the way in which he relates his news about al-Andalus, there is an almost general consensus, following R. Dozy, that Ibn Ḥawqal must have been a spy dedicated to gathering information on his long trade journeys, which he then placed at the service of the Maghrebin Fāṭimids or the Šī'īs in the east. Ibn Ḥawqal appears to have been interested in supplying a full and accurate account of the economic and natural resources of al-Andalus and its natural wealth; he also describes the situation and state of the tracks and routes, as well as the state of its armies and their military power. When turning to commerce, he shows an interest in the prices, productions, and economic activity in general.

As can be seen, the data is more generic than exact, and if he wished to gather information about al-Andalus to offer to the Fāṭimids, it was more to persuade them about the general good and the global economic bonanza in the peninsula, than to provide them with precise data of places, routes or production, that they would undoubtedly know about from other more prolific and exact informers or traders.

II. For his part, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Abī Bakr al-Bannā' aš-Šamī al-Muqaddasī (or al-Maqdisī), (around 334/946-around 390/1000) in his *Aḥsan at-taqā-sīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm* also shared the postulates of the "al-Balḥī school".

35. Ibn Ḥawqal (d. after. 378/988), Arab ed. Johannes Hendrik Kramers. *Opvs Geographicvm auctore Ibn Hawkal (Abū l-Ḳasīm Ibn Hawkal al-Naṣībī). Secundum textum et imagines Codicis Constantinopolitani conservati in Bibliotheca antiqui Palatii n° 3346 cui titulus est "Liber Imaginis Terrae"*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1938: I, 108-117, French trans. Johannes Hendrik Kramers: Wiet, Gaston. *Ibn Hawqal. Configuration de la Terre (Kitāb Sūrat al-Ard)*. Paris-Beirut: Maissonneuve et Larose-Comission International pour la Traduction des Chefs-Oeuvre, 1964: I, 107-116. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān III's rule stretched from 300/912 to 350/961: first as an independent emir between 300-316/912-929, and as the first caliph of al-Andalus between 316-350/929-961; the reasons for him assuming the title of caliph can be seen in Epalza, Mikel de. "Problemas y reflexiones sobre el califato en Al-Andalus". *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, 18 (1981-1982) (*Homenaje al Profesor Abdelaziz Al-Ahwānī*. Madrid: Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos, 1982): 59-73; Epalza, Mikel de. "Problemas y reflexiones sobre el califato en Al-Andalus". *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 53 (1983): 569-581.



**Graph 1. Tabulated data concerning the economy of al-Andalus, according to the "report" drawn up by Ibn Hawqal in 367/977**

Region or place mentioned	Agriculture	Livestock	Crafts	Mining	Commerce	Other data
Cordoba Casa de la Moneda						Rent rises annually to 200,000 dinars, to which one must add contributions and incomes from all al-Andalus, taxes on goods, tithes, rents, tolls, poll taxes, customs duties on the merchandise that enters and leaves by boat, rights on the taverns in the urban markets.
All the cities (of al-Andalus)	They are metropolises, populous, full of resources					
Al-Andalus			It continues to have factories of <i>fīrāz</i>			Its products are exported to Egypt, Khorasan, and other places
						Slaves, captured in Ifrāṅgā and Ġillīqiya. All the <i>Ṣaqāliba</i> eunuchs that are found on the face of the earth are from al-Andalus. They are castrated by Jewish merchants.
						The total income until the year 340/951 was no less than 20,000,000 dinars, without counting the merchandise, jewels, ships' rigging and pieces of gold work.
				Mercury, iron and lead		



Al-Andalus	The fruit of average quality is affordable for anyone, without having to pay very dearly for them		Wool fabrics (aṣ-ṣūf), the most beautiful Armenian velvet that is sold very expensively. Tapestries of excellent quality. There are brocades that are exported. There are marvels with regard to dyes, obtained from grasses native to al-Andalus; Maghrebin felts are dyed, excellent and expensive, and silk. Brocades are exported. Aducar in fine or crude silk (sakh) is produced, that made up for the sovereign, exceed in quality that of Iraq; another variety is made waxed, to make it impermeable. Ordinary linen is made for dressing and it is exported in large quantities to Egypt. Felts of unequalled quality.			
	All the cities: They are famous for their cereals, commercial articles, vines, buildings, markets, shops (al-buyū'), baths, and public inn, granary and wholesale market (al-hānāt). All the prayers take place in their beautiful mosques. There are no run-down mosques in all al-Andalus. There is no city that is not well populated and surrounded by a vast agricultural district (rustāq), or rather a whole province (kūra), with numerous villages (ḍiyā') whose farmers are prosperous, own major and minor livestock, good agricultural implements, beasts of burden and fields. Its lands are well watered, by the rain or by channels					
Pechina			For the people and the court linen cloth is made (that is) not inferior to the dabīqī, it is thick but light, of great quality. The blankets made there are exported to Egypt, Mecca, Yemen and other places.			
Rayyuh (Malaga)	A vast and fertile region.					
Cordoba		There are great fortunes. The luxury of many fashions is appreciated: precious fabrics and dresses, in flexible linen, in course or fine silk. There are agile mounts and all kinds of food and drinks				

Majorca	Abundance of fruit trees. Large number of pastures.	Robust mules are the speciality of this land; the breeding of the mules has no equal anywhere. Live-stock at a low price.				
Seville	Many orchards and vineyards. Producing especially figs					
Gibraleón					Flourishing city	
Ocsonoba					Considerable city and abundant in resources	
Caracuel					Aljama major mosque, markets, baths and <i>fanādiq</i> (public inns, granarys and wholesale markets)	
Calatrava	Beside a river that its inhabitants use for irrigation				There are souks, baths and shops ( <i>matāğir</i> )	
Yébenes (Abaniš)	With a spring that provides drinking water				It has a <i>funduq</i> (public inn, granary and wholesale market)	
Magán (Mağām)			This is where the clay (Tafl) deposits of al-Andalus are located.			

Al-Ġarrā'					City with souks and neighbourhoods. Similar to Guadix	
Guadalajara					Large, well-known frontier city (taġr) that has souks, fanādiq, baths, a <i>hākīm</i> and an espionage officer (muḥallif). The commanders of the frontier live there (wulāt aṭ-ṭuġūr).	
Medinaceli	It has a vast rural district (rustāq) and a large administrative circumscription (iqlīm).	Region very rich in live-stock.				It has an enormous wall. It is prosperous in all the senses and has a great abundance of resources



In it he filled in those elements that his predecessors had omitted, compiling data on economic geography about mines, languages and races, customs, religions and sects, weights, measures and prices, territorial divisions, itineraries and distances, etc. Although he admitted not having travelled to al-Andalus in person, he stated that he had consulted numerous Andalusian informers about its conditions, and although its date is not known, as it is somewhat later than that of Ibn Ḥawqal, it seems likely that it is fully contemporary with the government of Ibn Abī 'Amir.<sup>36</sup>

As can be seen at first sight, this work is more systematic with regard to the presentation of the data about al-Andalus (though perhaps not for other regions) and, in contrast to the relation of Ibn Ḥawqal, it offers abundant data about each city: situation, construction, fortification, quality of life, economic data linked to this concept, etc. It describes a considerable number of places and provides more economic data than its predecessor in the school but, despite this, it is complicated to extrapolate data or extract more conclusions than the merely descriptive from what is mentioned.

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36. AL-Muqaddasī (ha. 334-after 378/ha. 946-after 988): arab ed. Michael Jan de Goeje. *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum. Pars Tertia. Descriptio Imperii Moslemici auctore Al-Mokaddasi*. Lugduni-Batavorum: E. J. Brill, 1870: 7-499. A full English trans.: Collins, Basil Anthony; Hamid al-Tai, Muhammad. *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions. A Translation of Aḥsan at-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm*. Reading: Centre for Muslim Contribution to Civilization-Garnet Publishing Limited, 1994: I-XXVIII + 1-460. Chapter about the province of the Maghreb, that includes al-Andalus: 215-245 (Arab edition), 198-222 (English Translation).

**Graph 2. Data concerning the economy of al-Andalus, according to the “report” by al-Muqaddasī (ca. 1000)**

Region or place cited	Agriculture	Livestock	Crafts	Mining	Commerce	Others
Cordoba					Capital (miṣr) of al-Andalus. City on a plain with a mountain above it, it has a medina and neighbourhoods. It has various markets. It is an important metropolis, amiable and attractive, in which you will find justice, science, political sense, mildness, prosperity and religion	
Arjona	It has no orchards or trees, but it is a territory of grains. Its people drink water from springs, but their crops are only watered by the rain.					
Qaṣṭalla	There is an abundance of trees, olives and vines. Its people their orchards with water wheels.					It is on a vast plain
Jódar	Abundance of olives. They drink water from springs					Situated on a plain
Martos	It only has vineyards. There are springs					It is mountainous
Qanbānuš (Campania)	Most of its farms are in an area known as Campania. They drink water from wells					On a plain

Fağğ Ibn Laqīt	There are quite a lot of crops. Water from wells.					On a plain
Balāt Marwān	It has some crops. There is a permanent stream.					On a plain
Buryāna	It has crops. It obtains drinking water from wells					Situated on a plain. With souks in its neighbourhoods
Hişn Bulkūna	There are olive and fruit trees and springs in abundance. The drinking water flows from a spring and some wells					
Aş-Şanīda	There are vineyards, farmlands, figs and grapes in abundance. The drinking water comes from springs and wells					It is in the mountains
Wādī 'Abd Allāh	It has crops, creeks and some fruit trees					On a plain
Qarsīs	Rich in figs, grapes and olives. The drinking water comes from springs					On a plain
Jaén (its district is called Awlaba (Awliya =Ulia)	It has a certain number of springs (later he states that there are 20). It produces fruit in abundance.					The city is situated in the mountains

Al-Ġafr, district of Jaén	The zone of al-Ġafr has creeks and mills, with many trees, fruit, olives and grapes					It is located in the mountains. The zone is in a <i>wādī</i> in which a great va- riety of fruit have been concentrated
Priego	There are valleys where the springs bubble strongly and turn the mills. There is an abundance of blackberries, olives and figs					In the mountains
Martos (sic.)	Its inhabitants obtain drinking water from springs. It has an abundance of fig and olive trees and vines					It is a city in the mountains
[La] Qānt	There are no orchards.					Located on a plain. The cli- mate is healthy
Granada	It is an al-munya/fertile plain 30 miles long. It has all kinds of excellent fruit. It has many fields					It is beside a river. The city is on the plain
Mentesa	There are many olive and fig trees					Next to a river. On a plain
Baeza	Drinking water from springs. Abundance of fig trees and vines					On a mountain
Tudela		There is an abundance of sables	Its fur is used for scabbards			

## Appendix I

Ibn Ḥayyān provides information about the *ṣadaqa* or canonical tax on livestock, crops, gold and silver, gathered from a note by ar-Rāzī. In Ramaḍān of 362/June 973 (eight years before Almanzor took on the *ḥiḡāba*, in 981-371) the caliph al-Ḥakam II saw off some of his Berber allies who wanted to go back to their lands in the Maghreb. Together with splendid gifts, he gave them a diploma —that was really a kind of “constitution”— which included a series of basic religious, fiscal, social and political norms. This document contains the specific guidelines to follow about the aspects mentioned, both inside the community, and with regard to relations with their Šī‘ī neighbours.

Included in full by ar-Rāzī and copied by Ibn Ḥayyān, this document was dedicate to the most notable of all them, Abū l-‘Ayš Ibn Ayyūb

“this diploma that conferred on him the legitimate authority over its people the tribes of Kutāma”, moreover “on this day, on which they were given permission to leave, all the Berber chiefs (...) to whom the control over the tribes in their jurisdiction was granted, were presented with the diplomas that accredited them, written according to the text in which it was conceded to the chief among them, Abū l-‘Ayš Ibn Ayyūb”. There are many and varied sections in this set of rules which were imposed by al-Ḥakam II, which refer to the various legal taxes, mentioning grain, livestock, gold and silver, etc.

*“The zakaat (ṣadaqa) must be taken from your subjects corresponding to the goods harvested, as well as that of the fruits that are on your land, and the ṣadaqa or legal alms on livestock, in accordance with the legal precepts and prescriptions, without reducing or increasing nor altering in any way the precepts, which are the following:*

*The zakaat on gold and silver (...)*

*The zakaat on camels (...)*

*For minor livestock, from forty head (given that below this number there is no zakaat) and up to one hundred and twenty, the zakaat will be one head of livestock.*

*From one hundred and twenty to two hundred, it will be two head, and from two hundred to three hundred, three. Over three hundred, the zakaat will be a head for each hundred.*

*For cattle, from thirty head (given that below this number there is no zakaat) and up to forty, the zakaat is a two-year-old bullock (tabī‘). When the number of animals reaches forty, the zakaat is a three-year-old cow (musinna). From forty upwards, the zakaat is a two-year-old bullock for each additional fraction of thirty, or a three-year-old cow for each additional fraction of forty.*

*What is separate must not be joined and what is joined must not be separated to avoid the ṣadaqa.*

*Thus, if three men together have one hundred and twenty sheep, forty for each, they must pay only one sheep, and not three as would be required separately; and if two men have together two hundred and one sheep, they must pay three (seeing that, if the collector separated them, they would not have to pay more than one sheep each).*



*The payment of the ṣadaqa must be taken from the livestock that has shed its first teeth or that is a little younger; but it must not be taken from that which is breeding—or that has already given birth—, nor from that which is being fattened for meat, nor the stud of the livestock.*

[here follows the text about the zakaat on agricultural products, shown above]

*The zakaat is not applicable to the ḍimmī taxpayer, either men or women, nor to any of their goods or livestock. They are only obliged to pay the capitation tax or ḡizya. However, if they trade between one country and another, they must pay a tenth part of the product they sell.*

*The bearer of this writ must act with justice to levy the zakaat and to distribute it among the eight categories of people designated by God Almighty, or in the case that they do not all exist in the country, of the parts that correspond to those that have a right to them, that is, those who wage holy war on the infidels and heretics, according to the decision by the Cadis of the prince of the believers that operated in the Maghreb.*

*Only an eighth of the zakaat which God conceded to those who levy it, can be appropriated, without increasing or exceeding this quantity.*

*Nowhere on the land entrusted to you may any customs posts be built, that charge any toll to passengers and travellers, and they must not demand from them, either by land, or by sea, any tribute, alcabala (sales tax), contribution, food tax, nor extortion or expense that is weighed on their goods (... ..).<sup>37</sup>*

Various aspects from this text have to be considered. In first place, we can suppose that this norm that was imposed on the allied Maghrebins was the same as applied in al-Andalus, as it is very generic and in accordance with what is stipulated in the general treatises on Islamic administrative economy, and moreover, the Maghrebins would have protested if their zakaat had been higher than that of the Andalusians. Only the camel tax should be excluded, for these were nonexistent on the Peninsula (at least in the numbers of head described).

These legal taxes were based on a charge for agricultural production, as well as on the possession of gold and silver, and livestock. In the latter case, it first specifies in detail the one corresponding to camels, given that the document was aimed at the Maghrebin Berbers. Further, the taxes on minor and major livestock are specified; in the minor case (sheep and goats) payment began at 40 head, and for up to 120 head the required payment was one head; in the case of cattle, there was an exemption up to 30 head, and between 30 and 40 the payment was a bullock. These tax bands were important, given that, in the case of the zakaats being considered equal, we must conclude that there was great wealth in livestock in al-Andalus. That means that that in the 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> centuries, the small domestic flocks were free from the payment of such taxes, while must consider the possibility that whoever

37. Ibn ḥayyān. *Kitāb al-muqtabis fī ta'rīj riḡāl al-Andalus*: VII, ed Emilio García Gómez. *El Califato de Córdoba...*: 143-145 (chap. 112).



had a flock or herd would have a minimum of 40 sheep or goats or 30 cattle and that it would be normal to exceed this figure.

A curious point are the amendments on tax gathering which were soon made in an attempt to evade fiscal avarice. As the norm was to gather the flocks together and employ a shepherd to look after them, this was always the most favourable option for the owners when it came to paying tax. Similarly, it is notable that Muslim legal tax tended not to be levied on the *ḍimmīs*, unless they traded with Muslims (in which case they also had to pay the tithe); and the indication of the eighth that would be kept by the collector of such taxes needs to be considered.

It is prohibited to ask your subjects or travellers "*either by land, or by sea, for tribute, alcabala, contribution, food tax, nor extortion or expense over their goods*", which makes sense, given that the cited taxes were *illegal*, and this was an official document. On the other hand, we know that in al-Andalus these illicit fees (being outside the *sunna*) existed during the caliphate, were normal during the period of the taifas, and there are even some specific examples of their presence from the Almohad and Naṣrid periods. The express prohibition of the building of a "*customs post that charged passengers and travellers a toll*" must be understood in the same sense, from which it could be concluded that during the caliphate period there were no such fiefdoms or internal tolls (at least legally authorised ones) in al-Andalus, but Ibn Ḥawqal's text implies the opposite (see above).

Finally, among the various conclusions that can be drawn, there is one that relates to the albacares (exterior enclosures annexed at walls) of the fortifications, as places where the local troops would guard the livestock collected as *ṣadaqa*, until their subsequent sale (and conversion into cash), or consumption.<sup>38</sup> It follows that, if the tax to be paid is clear and we know that the grain was stored in the alorines state granaries, this livestock would also have to be stabled, even if only for a short period, in some *ad hoc* enclosure.

## Appendix II

Firm conclusions still cannot be drawn from the study of the economy of al-Andalus. The three maps included, illustrating the peninsula's productive economy between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, are a graphic summary and synthesis of the data.<sup>39</sup>

Despite showing its age, the work by César Emilio Dubler "*Sobre la vida económica en la Península Ibérica del siglo XI al XIII. Contribución a las relaciones islamo-cristianas*"

38. See the explanation by Epalza, Mikel de. "Funciones ganaderas de los albacares, en las fortalezas musulmanas". *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios Árabes*, 1 (1984): 47-54.

39. Dubler, César E. *Über das Wirtschaftsleben auf der iberischen Halbinsel vom XI. zum XIII. Jahrhundert. Beitrag zu den islamisch-christlichen Beziehungen*. Ginebra-Erlenbach-Zürich: Librairie E. Droz-Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1943: 1-XIV + 1-186 pp. See the details about this work that García Gómez, Emilio added in the review he wrote in *Al-Andalus*, 10 (1945): 472-474.

was the first in-depth, detailed and extensive study of the Andalusian economy. Concentrating on the 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, he painted a panorama of the Andalusian productions and crafts based on the oriental geographers, but especially on the data from al-Idrīsī and al-Ḥimyarī, also using the Arab toponymy profusely,<sup>40</sup> as well as the data supplied by contemporary Christian sources.

These three maps have been translated from German, and are included here, although doing so might be problematic, because they are a useful way of approaching the distribution of Andalusian production.

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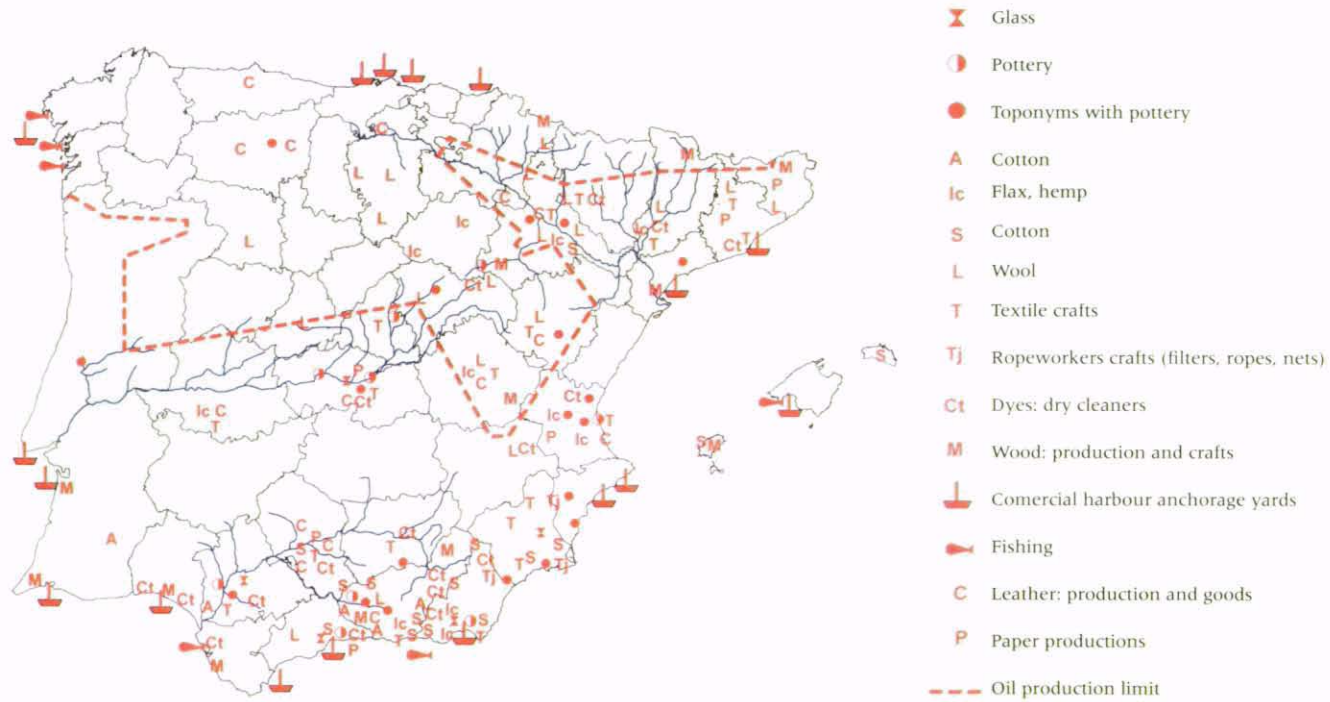
40. Despite the novelty of using the Arab toponymy as a vehicle for historical information, it must be mentioned that Dubler assumes the postulations by Miguel Asín, with nothing other than a mere enunciation of toponymy and meanings, and without further semantic or morphological criticism.



# LOCATION OF NON-METALLIC MATERIALS PRODUCTION IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA



# CRAFT PRODUCTIONS IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA (XI<sup>TH</sup>-XIII<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES)



# LOCATION OF METAL AND MINERAL PRODUCTION IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

