

Landholding and military payment in the Arab conquest of Al-Andalus (AD 711–756)

Marisa Bueno

‘In the three centuries after the great Islamic conquest the armies of the Caliphs were mostly paid in cash salaries, rather than lands or grants in the Middle East. In contrast to many post-Roman polities in Europe, grants of land, or of rights to collect taxes directly from the payers, were only in minor importance’ (Kennedy 2001, 59; 2002, 155–169). The payment could be in cash payments, *’atā*, gold or copper, or kind (*rizq*, pl. *arzaq*). The income to pay soldiers came from public taxation, a mechanism that was inherited from the Byzantines and Persians, and consequently adapted to the specific requirements of the Umayyad caliphate (Kennedy 2001, 59–96). However, the land tax disappeared in western Europe in the 6th century, the explanation for this collapse of public taxation being the fact that the Germanic armies were rewarded by grants of land rather than salaries (Wickham 1984, 3–36). Occasionally, some troops were encouraged to settle in new garrisons away from their previous home, similarly to the soldiers in Taurus in the Cilician plain, or in the eastern province of Khurasan, who were settled in Bagdad after the foundation of the city, however these lands, *qatī’a*, are not substitutes for cash salaries (Kennedy 2002, 160–161).

Hugh Kennedy’s statement demonstrates that for the Middle East, the narratives of the conquest of al-Andalus are not clear. However, the facts are well known. In April 711, a contingent formed by combatants under the command of the Berber Tāriq ibn Ziyād al-Layti, lieutenant of the governor of North Africa, Musā ibn Nušāir, moved to Gibraltar from Ceuta and Tangier, beginning the Islamic conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. The expedition under the command of Tāriq defeated and killed Rodrigo, the last Visigoth king in the battle of Guadalete, thus opening the way for this expeditionary army to travel across the peninsula to Toledo, conquering some cities. The following year, Musā

ibn Nušāir landed in Algeciras with his army, and before meeting with Tāriq, he conquered Seville after a three-month siege, campaigned in Lusitania, and conquered Mérida after a five-month siege, after which he made his way to Toledo (Collins 1989, 7–50). The events of the Arab conquest and the period of formation of al-Andalus have given rise to a large number of works, where different approaches and aspects are added to the process. Although Thomas Glick defended the reality of the Islamic conquest of the Iberian Peninsula and the importance of cultural change based on Bulliet’s conversion curve at the end of the 1970s (Glick 1979, 33–35), Spanish historiography has interpreted the arrival of Islam to the territories of Hispania in various ways. Chalmeta Gendrón maintained the idea of invasion in the mid-1990s, highlighting the importance of capitulation pacts in the submission of al-Andalus (Chalmeta Gendrón 1994), while at the end of the second decade of the 2000s, García Sanjuán presented a revised vision of the process of the arrival of the Arab-Berber contingents, supporting the reality of the conquest based on an analysis of the visions of the different legal schools regarding the new conquered territories and the treatment of the defeated (García Sanjuán 2019). The form of submission to Islam of the conquered lands could be carried out in different ways: conquest by force, *’anwatan*, or through a capitulation pact, *ṣulḥ*, events that determine the tax models on the land and on the people. One of the particularities of the conquest of al-Andalus was the settlement of the conquerors in the conquered lands as owners, without the same settlement system developing in Hispania as in the eastern Islamic world, where the Muslims settled only in certain garrisons in towns, like Kūfa and Bašra in Iraq or Fustāt, Old Cairo (Kennedy 1996, 16). The conquerors settled down in al-Andalus as property owners and do not seem to have received the *’atā* or pensions,

which were such an important feature in the Middle East. This meant that there was no need to compile *dīwāns* or lists of those entitled to pensions. The absence of a complex bureaucratic development is explained as the absence of the development of a literary culture, which did not occur until the time of ‘Abd-al-Raḥmān II (207–237/822–852) (Kennedy 1996, 16). Arabs settled in the main cities and the fertile irrigated areas of the Guadalquivir valley, the Levante around Murcia and Zaragoza, and in the middle, the Ebro valley. In some places, there were concentrations of people from the same tribes in the same area, such as Lakhma around Málaga and the Judhāmimīs and Tujibīs, who settled in Zaragoza, while other tribes were more dispersed. The Berbers were widely distributed throughout al-Andalus. Many settled in the central Meseta, Extremadura and the whole of the north and west, apart from Zaragoza and its environs. Some Berbers were farmers, used to irrigate agriculture, but the majority seem to be pastoral people who gravitated towards the environments of the Iberian Peninsula (Kennedy 1996, 17–18). Could it be understood from these facts that the conquerors of al-Andalus received as payment the settlement in the lands they desired, based on their hierarchies or preferences? The written Arab sources that narrate the conquest are very late and there are contradictions that must be explained, considering both the identity and training of their authors and the historical-legal context of writing the texts. The sources, written from the 9th century under the sphere of influence of the Cordoba court, try to justify the situations of their presence, with arguments that go back to the moment of the conquest as elements of legitimation (Manzano Moreno 1999, 389–482; Safran 2001, 191–195; Clarke 2012, 25–47). In the case of Christian sources, only the Chronicle of 754 offers the vision of the conquered with statements related to the model of conquest and the author’s perception of the situation of the defeated (López Pereira 2009).

The fundamental question of this work, how the soldiers who participated in the conquest of al-Andalus were paid, has not attracted most scholars’ attention in these terms. However, the divergences of the sources have been analysed regarding the problem of land distribution and the fifth, *khums* (Manzano Moreno 1999; García Sanjuán 2019, 435–449) and the origin of the settlement concessions in al-Andalus (Chalmeta 1975, 10–40). There are key issues related to the settlement, such as the property rights of the land of the first conquerors, as well as the tax modalities that could be applied to the land and people. Only Manzano Moreno points out the possibility of paying a salary to the most relevant military commanders, and payment in kind when there is no monetary coinage, using as an example, the Tudmir pact (713), in which the delivery of a tribute of a dinar per person and an amount for each free person of vinegar, wine, honey, wheat, and half for each slave is given. This pact is very similar to others that were established in

the Middle East during the time of conquests, where soldiers appear demanding payment in kind or in cash (Manzano Moreno 2006, 65).

The approach to the forms of payment of the armies in the Arab sources is a problematic reality since the accounts of the conquest of al-Andalus offer cursory descriptions of the military expeditions, the itineraries of the armies and even different motivations of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād al-Layti and Musa ibn Nušāir, governor and general of North Africa, Ifriqiya. However, the form of payment for the different military contingents and the possibility of settlement of different contingents are not explicitly developed other than with tangential allusions to the need to deliver a fifth of the loot and the irregularity of land possession. The Arab chronicles that document the entry of Berbers and Arabs into Hispania are in many cases late, with contradictions existing between them that can be explained based on the situations existing at the time of writing these texts and the attempt to justify such situations with arguments that dated back to the first moment of the Muslim conquest (Manzano Moreno 1999, 389–432). Nor do Latin chronicles, contemporary at the time of the conquest, such as the Byzantine Chronicle or the Mozarabic Chronicle of 754, collect information regarding the organisation of the conquerors’ armies and their forms of payment (López Pereira 2009). Therefore, this has to change and the Eastern sources have to be looked at, in order to seek a comparative framework that allows an explanation of the conditions under which the conquest took place and the interpretation that is made of it based on Umayyad interests. Likewise, the material remains in the first 40 years of the Islamic conquest, the monetary coinage (Balaguer Prunés 1976a; Ariza Armada 2017; González García and Martínez Chico 2017) and the seals (Sénac and Ibrahim 2023) will be analysed.

Paying the armies and landholding in the Islamic tradition and legal texts

The capture of loot among the Bedouin tribes, *gānima*, was an ancestral tradition, and normally involved movable property, especially livestock such as cattle, whose distribution was somewhat more complex, with the products of the raids and actions of plunder divided between victors either in fifths or in fourths. The customs were upheld by the Prophet after the battle of Badr, mentioned in Sura VIII, 42, the five employments for the Prophet’s one-fifth (*khums*) to figure in future budgets. The territorial expansion in the early moments of Islam modified the nature of the loot, including large extensions of land which brought about a conceptual shift in defining the new conquest. This is how the Koranic concept of *fay’*, ‘what God has granted to his Messenger’, was applied. The theocratic explanation of this concept is based on the meaning of *afā’a*, ‘to bring back’ as by the right belonging to God and consequently to Muslim-to-Muslim

society. Conquered lands belong to the Muslim community and its value should be translated into monetary value that belonged to the caliph, extracted through the tax system. It seems that ‘Umar I (634–644) prohibited the distribution of these lands and their inhabitants among the troops in 641. He decided to extract taxes from these assets, to pay the soldiers, either in cash, *ḥaq*’ (gift or beneficium) or in kind, *rizq*. Even if the law was clear, it was not easy to apply, since the soldiers maintained their own practices. A good example is provided by al-Tabarī who quoted that the common practice was to distribute the booty among the people present at the conquest, lands included (Juynbold 1985, 29–31). The need to apply the regulations of ‘Umar I is reflected in another text that has been attributed to ‘Umar II (717–20) (Gibb 1955), but whose authorship is disputed today (Gessous 2012). The ‘fiscal rescript of Umar II’ established that Muslims could not inherit the lands on which the *kharāj* was imposed, however, they could rent those lands and they should continue paying the land tax to the estate. The decision to keep the land in the hands of the state was necessary to extract profits to pay the soldiers who fought in wars and the efficiency of elite armies, but if the owners of those lands were converted, they theoretically should not pay the *kharāj*. But the Umayyad caliphs (r. 661–750) who were faced with increasing financial problems, imposed a kind of *kharāj* on the land of recent converts, while trying to keep the lands in the hands of their original owners to maintain tax rates. Regardless of the authorship of the rescript of ‘Umar II, the existence of a situation that could reduce state income is evident. This leads to a scenario in which it is desirable for most of the lands to pay their taxes as decreed in the edict of ‘Umar I. All this was reflected on the one hand in the writings of a jurist from the late 8th century, Abū Yūsuf al-Anṣarī (d. 182/798), which reflected the common practices of the ‘Abbāsīd period regarding the distribution of benefits from conquered lands that belonged to the state: ‘Umar b. Kḥḥaṭṭāb’s decision not to distribute the land among those who had captured it was guided by God’s book (Qur’ān) and was of benefit to all Muslims. The taxes collected from such lands enables the payment of pensions and wages to the troops from this perpetual income thus making the wars of *jihād* possible and providing security against the reconquest of their lands and places by the enemy’ (Abū Yūsuf 1969, III 68). According to theory, *fay*’ lands arise from unconditional surrender, conquest made *anwatan*’, even if this does not wholly square with Prophet’s precedents, as negotiation has taken place. The theoretical alternatives were, division among Muslims, in which case these lands became *ushr*’ lands while inhabitants became serfs, or that it should be left in status quo for the exploitation of the Muslim community but the inhabitants remain free and liable to *kharāj*, in which case the *kharāj* is regarded as a sort of tenure to the state. On the other hands *ṣulḥ* lands originally paid a stipulated tribute or other more

favourable dues increasingly came to pay *kharāj* so apart from the actual ownership it became difficult to uphold strict division between the two (Lewis *et al.* 1991, 868).

After the origins of the Arab caliphate, it soon became apparent that constant military hostilities could not be sustained and that other form of relations with non-Muslims would be necessary. To reconcile the imperatives of faith with the limits of military power, Islamic scholars elaborated different legal doctrines in the mid-8th century, when traditions about early Arab history was first being collected. The controversy around administration and taxation was at the centre of all discussions in the works of leading Fīqh scholars. In essence the discussion focused on the level to which the owner of the land could be taxed because of the Arab conquest by force before the territory passed under a new political administrative power. Abū Hanīfah (d. 148/767) considered that the caliph could choose between the distribution of the lands, immobilisation, or leaving them in exchange for the payment of the *kharāj* in the hands of their non-Muslim owners. On the other hand, Mālik ibn Anas (d. 178/795), author of the *Muwatta’*, was against the distribution of *fay*’, understood as loot captured from the enemy that must be divided and divided, considering the *khums* as inalienable assets, *wafq*, or mortmain property, over which land tax, *kharāj*, must be imposed. The income from these taxes would be used to pay soldiers, the construction of public works, bridges, mosques, and hospitals. Al Shāfi’ī (767–820) considered that they should be treated the same as movable loot, *ganīma*, and should provide one-fifth to the state and the other four-fifths to the conquerors, becoming tithe lands, *uṣr*, unless they decided to renounce them, thus obtaining the condition of inalienable lands, *wafq* (García Sanjuán 2019, 436–437). The opinions of these jurists were not applied during the conquest of al-Andalus, since the first Andalusian ulama were followers of the legal school of al-Awzā’ī (d. 157/774), a Syrian jurist established in what is now Beirut. Although he was never a qadi, a judge, he served as theological advisor to the caliph Hisām b. ‘Abd al Mālik (r. 105–125/724–743). His work, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, was a refutation of the treatise of Abu Hanīfah, the work only known by its transmitters. However, some of his ideas are known thanks to the *Kitāb al Umm* of Shāfi’ī, and from various pieces of news, such as the ten letters that Ibn Abī Hafīn, author of the *Taqdima*, declares to have read from the hand of al-Abbas b. Wālid (d. 270–271/883–885), one of the teachers from whom he had learned on his pilgrimages (Tillier 2022, 67–68). In his work, the need to reform the payment system of some sectors of the army is mentioned, particularly in the Syrian one, since he had seen how they became impoverished. After the reform of the army of ‘Abd al Mālik (r. 65–86/885–705), they limited the payment of a salary to permanent soldiers, a salary that consisted of eight dinars per month in the Umayyad period and in the Abbasi period of six–seven dinars a month, receiving about

80 dirhams a year (Kennedy 2001, 77–78), with al-Awzāʿī denouncing the situation of the soldiers on the Syrian coast who were not treated as an elite body (Tillier 2022, 69). al-Awzāʿī had some relevance in North Africa and some impact on the *zāhirī* school, a Sunni school founded in the 9th century by Dāwūd al-Zāhirī (d. 269/883), a school to which the Córdoba Ibn Hazm belonged.

In the works of some jurists, there are allusions to the way in which the conquest of al-Andalus was carried out. In the *Kitāb al-anwāl*, written by Aḥmad al-Dāwūdī (402–411/1012/13–1020/21), a Maghrebi faqīh of the Maliki school it is quoted that al-Andalus was conquered by force and that the loot was not reserved: ‘as for the land of al-Andalus, the status of its properties has been criticised, claiming that it is a territory conquered by force ‘anwatan, in its entirety, or almost, and that not a fifth of the loot was reserved and that this territory has not been the subject of any distribution, but that different groups among the conquerors forcibly appropriated some plots, *fāʿifa*, without having received them as a territorial concession, *iqṭāʾ*, by the power of the imam’ (Wahab and Dachraoui 1962, 409–428). The discussion about how the conquest of al-Andalus was made lasted several centuries. In fact, the Maghrebi jurist Al-Wanṣarīṣī (d. 914/1508), who compiles opinions from previous works, maintains the same idea citing Saḥnūm b. Saʿīd (d. 240/884), one of the transmitters of Mālik (Lagardère 1995, 208, 274–275, 331–332). These Maliki jurists transmit opinions established in treaties and previous works associated with Medinense circles, different from those transmitted and defended in al-Andalus during the Umayyad period.

Paying the armies and landholding in the Arab chronicles of the conquest of al-Andalus

Before the conquest of al-Andalus the Umayyad had previous experience on expansion in North Africa, and Mūsā client had participated in the conquest of Ifrīqiya and Hispania, however there is no trace of their salary in the Arab sources of the conquest. Were the lands distributed among themselves as though it was the *gānima*, preserving the fifth for the Umayyad state? Were territorial concessions made on the lands that jointly belonged to the community? Only seven years after the conquest, it appears that the conquerors saw their property rights confirmed by the governors appointed by the eastern caliphs. In addition, upon his arrival in al-Andalus ‘Abd el-Rhamān I had to recognise the rights over the land of both, conquerors and other military bodies who arrived later, in exchange for paying tithes on the production of these lands and participating in military expeditions, having no other right than participation in the loot (Chalmeta 1975, 1–90). When al-Andalus was conquered the difference between the distribution of loot, *gānima*, movable property, animals, wealth, and lands that

belonged to the state, *fayʿ*, was already established, but it seems that Mūsā applied what is called the right of the conquerors, compared to the later right of the *bayt al-mālʿ* (Chalmeta 1975, 20–26; Chalmeta Gendron 1994, 227) contravening the doctrine of the *fayʿ*. The illegality of Mūsā’s actions is observed in some sources of the conquest written always after 711, and in almost all cases influenced by the Maliki doctrine, either by the legal training of the ulama or by intellectual contacts with the school. When the sources talk about the *khums* they mean the fifth of the lands conquered by force that belonged to the community that had to generate a tax delivered to the state, which according to Malik had an inalienable character. For this reason, whether Mūsā complied with the delivery of the corresponding tax has to be determined. The first Arab works that collect information on land ownership in the conquest of al-Andalus are from the end of the 9th century and are based, among others, on the Egyptian Maliki tradition established by Ibn ‘Abd al-Hakan (d. 257 (871), author of the *Kitāb futūḥ Miṣr; Book of the Conquest of Egypt*, and the *Futūḥ ‘Ifrīqiya wa’al-Andalus, Conquest of North Africa and Spain by the Egyptian Ibn ‘Abd al-Hakan* (ed. Torrey 1922; ed. Gateau 1942)). In Ibn ‘Abd al-Hakan’s work the contingents that accompanied Mūsā in the campaign of Hispania are mentioned: ‘Mūsā left for Andalus in Razab of 93, accompanied by the main Arab *mawālī* as well as Berber chiefs. Disgusted with Tariq, he marched in the company of Ḥabīb. b. Abī’Ubayda leaving his son ‘Abd Allāh in Qayrawān. After landing in al-Jadṛāʿ, and marching to Córdoba, Tāriq appears before him protesting that he is only his *mawlā*, and that the conquest was his responsibility. He then gave him all the loot and innumerable riches’ (Torrey 1922, 207; Gateau 1942, 92–93). This text highlights some problems that occur in the lands dominated by Islam in North Africa, such as the numerical inferiority of the Arabs, which forced them to recruit local North African contingents to continue their conquests. The description of Tāriq from his ethical origins and his social status as a *mawālī*, client, reveals that religious identity was not sufficient for social integration, and that the conversion to Islam of the *mawālī* was insufficient to make them equal to the Arabs. Religious identity was not enough to define an individual’s status in the Islamic community. There were many levels overlapping each other, which forced them to build social ties that caused changes in their social and personal status (Clarke 2012, 50). It also includes the Medinense tradition that attributes fraud in the distribution of loot in the conquest of al-Andalus: ‘When Sulaymān was examining the gifts brought by Mūsā, a certain ‘Isā b, ‘Abd Allah al-Tawīl, a native of Medina, presented himself, and that he was one of Mūsā’s companions in charge of the loot. This individual warned the caliph to abstain from the illicit, since Mūsā had not separated the fifth of the loot. Angry, Sulaymān declared to abstain from the illicit and had the gifts transferred to

the treasury' (Ibn Abd al-Hakan, ed. Torrey 1922, 211; ed. Gateau 1942, 101–102). This behaviour, although defended for al-Andalus, is not reported for North Africa, where the same source alludes to the appointment of Mūsà as governor, subjugating the entire Maghreb, while at the same time, sending the fifth of the loot to the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (Ibn Abd al-Hakan, ed. Torrey, 1922, 202–203; ed. Gateau 1942, 83). Loot is the motivation for military expeditions, raids that try to decimate both the enemy's resources, and conquered lands. Only one town that capitulated by pact is mentioned, Toledo (Ibn Abd al Hakan, ed. Torrey 1922, 214). Robert Brunschvig considers that Ibn 'Abd al-Hakan was not so much a historian as a jurist who sought legal precedents and plausible historical explanations related to the conquest of Egypt and North Africa (Brunschvig 1975, 75–92). The allusion in this text regarding the improper treatment of Mūsà could lead to the thought that for the Egyptian author it was clear that al-Andalus had been a territory conquered by force of 'anwatan weapons. This implied that the ruler in those lands could claim the lands held by the descendants of the conquerors who already belonged to the Muslim community, being able to place under his direct control a fifth of the total khums (Manzano Moreno 1999, 423; 2006, 38).

The Maliki theories can be seen in the work of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Ḥabīb (d. 238/852), who on his trip to the East had trained in the circle of Ibn al-Hakan (Makki 1957, 160). Ibn Ḥabīb was an ulema close to the palatine circle of 'Abd al-Rḥamān II who became a qadi in the time of Muḥammad I (r. 852–886). In his Book of History, *Kitāb al-ta'rikj*, he agrees with the Egyptian texts on various points, supporting the theory of fraud committed by the conquerors, but defending the theory that Mūsà deducted a fifth of the loot. The clearest example of Mūsà's good conduct is not found in the *Ta'rikj*, but in a very late compilation that is partly inspired by the work of this author, written by al-Gassānī, about an embassy of Mulay Isma'īl to the court of Charles II after the taking of Larache. In this text, he echoes the work of Ibn Ḥabīb, and the now lost texts of Ibn Muzayn (d. 239/853) that echoed the work of Muḥammad b. Mūsà al-Rāzi (d. 227/890) author of the *Book of Flags*. This book described Mūsà's passage through the peninsula, the troop standards and a lists of the main chiefs who accompanied him, itineraries and conquests, and the distribution of loot and settlement of the different groups (Chalmeta Gendron 1994, 204). Al-Gassani's text mentions how Mūsà distributed the lands among the conquering troops as well as the loot, reserving the fifth of the loot, and similarly with the captives and wealth:

He divided the territory of the Iberian Peninsula between the military who came to the conquest, in the same way that they had distributed the captives and other effects of the loot among them. Subsequently, he also deducted the fifth of the

cultivated lands, the same way he had previously deducted it from captives and movable objects. From the captives he chose one hundred thousand of the best and youngest and sent them to the emir of the believers...but he left other captives who were in the fifth so that they could cultivate them and give a third of their products to the public treasury, bayt to the māl (Al-Gassānī 1940, 103).

The text also includes news of the arrivals of other military contingents, such as the troops that accompanied the governor al-Ṣamḥ al-Jawlānī during the time of Umar II (700/99/717–710). The first conquerors sent an embassy to Damascus ensuring that the distribution was legal, since Mūsà had distributed the fifth after reserving the fifth and had been recognised by al-Walīd himself who had documented his rights. The caliph orders the governor to respect the concessions of the first conquerors and orders al-Ṣamḥ to assign his troops to the fifth (Al-Gassānī, ed. Bustani 1940, 195). The ambassador's text also includes the order of Caliph Umar II to the governor al-Ṣamḥ to divide the lands of the territory that remained to be divided. In the distribution of the customary fifth of the conquered spoils, the governor establishes a distinction between the lands acquired by force, 'anwatan, and those obtained through a capitulation pact, which only corresponded to the territories of the northern peninsula, whose inhabitants had capitulated in exchange for paying the *ḡizyā* that corresponds to the third or fourth part of their product. He also ordered the construction of a bridge over the River Guadalquivir, while the plain located south of Córdoba that corresponded to the fifth, the khums, became a cemetery (Al-Gassānī, ed. Bustani 1940, 107–108). What is observed in Al-Gassānī's text is the tension between the vision of the conquerors, who considered that everything was loot to avoid giving up more than a fifth of the value of land and belongings, and the vision of the state that considered all lands, including those of the dhimmies, to belong to the community. Likewise, the conquerors try to justify to Damascus that everything was done in accordance with Koranic practice. This was not an isolated position as there is evidence of these claims in a letter sent by Yazīz b. al-Muhallab (632/702), a general in the service of the Umayyads, who led campaigns in Central Asia to the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar II, who would be accused of not remitting the income from his conquests (Juynbold 1985, 29–30). Although the fifth had been distributed, it had been carried out similarly to the early days of the conquest when everything was *ḡānima*, distributing lands that belonged to the treasury. This idea is reinterpreted in other later sources that summarise Ibn Ḥabīb's text by saying that Mūsà does not reserve the fifth, and that if he had reserved it, he had never delivered it to the treasury as mentioned in the work of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, *Al-nawdir wal-ziyādāt* (Chalmeta Gendron 1994, 228). Ibn Ḥabīb's text highlights the importance of the Umayyad

political framework and develops the ‘memory community’ of ‘ulamā’. The text is distinctively a ‘foundation text’ in the way it associates Ibn Ḥabīb’s time and place with the sacred past, presenting two different group genealogies (political and scholarly), and describes the conquest of al-Andalus in mythical terms (Safran 2021, 36–55).

The interpretation that Ibn Hazm (348–456/994–1064) makes of these events is that in al-Andalus, the fifth was never reserved, nor was the loot distributed as the Prophet did in the countries he conquered, nor did the conquerors agree to it or recognise the right of the community of Muslims as ‘Umar did in his conquests. Rather, the rule practiced in this matter was each person appropriating what he took with his own hands. That is, the different Berber and Egyptian armies that arrived in al-Andalus settled arbitrarily without distribution, which would end in 740 with the entry of the Syrians (Asin Palacios 1934, 36–46). This same idea of the illegality of Mūsà’s actions continues with the authors of late medieval Castilian and Portuguese chroniclers who wrote their own stories from translations of previous works. Al-Rāzī’s work was also used by Christian authors. It is cited in the work of *De Rebus Hispanie* (1243) by the Archbishop of Toledo Ximénez de Rada. On other occasions, al-Rāzī’s text was directly translated, reaching the present day thanks to a translation by Gil Pérez, known as the Chronicle of the Moor, Rasis. One of the complete versions of Al-Rāzī is found in the Copenhagen manuscript that contains the medieval version of him, but with interpolations made by Gabriel Rodríguez de Escabías in the 17th century. In this text, it insists once again that Mūsà did not reserve the fifth according to law, pointing out that once he made his son king, he took all his profit from what he had stolen in Spain, crossing the sea with the largest number of people he could (Catalán and De Andrés 1975, 360). This work inspired other later texts, such as the General Chronicle of Spain, ordered by the Count of Barcelos, Don Pedro Alfonso, son of King Dinis of Portugal, in which entire passages were transcribed (Catalán and De Andrés 1975, XVII). The text of the conquest of al-Andalus from the General Chronicle was translated into romance in the 14th century, giving rise to the Chronicle of 1344, in which al-Rāzī’s account is copied again from the Portuguese text to which the translator adds his own ideas (Catalán and De Andrés 1971, LXII–LXVIII, 132–133). In the Chronicle of 1344, the idea of theft by Mūsà is again insisted upon, thus reflecting the tension between the governor of Ifriqiya and his client (Catalán and De Andrés 1971, 155–156). In Castilian and Portuguese sources, this same idea of the theft of the fifth is mentioned in a simplified way. If originally it expressed the tension between the conquerors and caliphs and two models of conquest before and after the existence of the concept of fay’, in the Christian sources, the idea of theft is simply indicated, perhaps in an interested way, revealing the illegitimacy of the Umayyad conquest.

In the reading of the transmitted story, not only cities taken by force are mentioned, but also some such as Valencia, Orihuela, and Orta, in which a capitulation pact is signed echoing the Tudmir pact (Catalán and De Andrés 1971, 153–154). The idea of pacts had been widely developed in the work of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya (d. Córdoba 977), a descendant of the Sevillian Visigothic aristocracy. Ibn al-Qūṭiyya claimed descent from Witiza, the last king of the united Visigoth Spain, through a granddaughter, Sara al-Qūṭiyya, Sara the Gothic woman, who travelled to Damascus and married ‘Īsā ibn Muzāḥim, an Arab client of the 10th Umayyad caliph Hisham (c. AD 691–743), and once married, they returned to Al-Andalus. Ibn al-Faraḍī (351/403/962–1013), a Cordoban jurist expert in the transmission of prophet traditions and historian of Andalusian intellectuals, in his work *Ta’rīj ‘ulamā’ al-Andalus* (History of the Ulema of Al-Andalus), quoted that Ibn al-Qūṭiyya studies first in Seville and then in Córdoba, and although he describes the grammatical books of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, he does not refer to his historical works. Although he mentions that he had ‘a great fondness for remembering the facts of the history of al-Andalus that he was zealous in recounting the deeds of the emirs, and anecdotes of the alfaquíes and Andalusian poets, but he dictated these things from memory’ (Ibn al-Qūṭiyya 1926, XVII). In other words, he considered his stories (akhbār) a product of oral transmission, but not as a true story, ta’rīkh. Ibn al-Qūṭiyya highlights the existence of a pact between Artobás (Alamundo), one of the sons of Witiza and Ṭāriq, concluded in July 711, giving 3,000 royal estates (Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, ed. Ribera y Tarragó, 1926, 2). Likewise, this author denies the existence of the reservation of the fifth at the time of the conquest in several passages. Caliph ‘Umar II intended to expel the Muslims from al-Andalus for which he sent al-Ṣamḥ. However, he writes to tell him about the wonders of the new territories and sends his mawlā to collect the fifth that corresponded to him. Upon his arrival in the country, he settles in Córdoba, and after learning of the death of the caliph, he refrains from collecting the fifth by only building a bridge in Córdoba (Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, ed. Ribera y Tarragó 1926, 9).

In later sources, the theme of the fifth continues to be one of the key features of the story, thus the *Faṭḥ al-Andalus* mentions how Mūsà gives the caliph the fifth part of what he conquered in al-Andalus, granting it to him as a possession entrusting Sa’d b, Abī Layla al-Yaḥsubī as an agent to exploit it. During the government of the Eastern Umayyads, this fifth continued to be exploited and when ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu’āwiya entered al-Andalus, he himself administered and collected the fifth (Faṭḥ al-Andalus, ed. Molina 1994, 30–31). However, it also mentions that the reservation of the fifth had not been made in accordance with the law since Sulaymān fined Mūsà and his companions with 100,000 dinars for having distributed the fifth

without the caliph's order (Fath, ed. Molina 1994, 32). Also mentioned in this text is the performance of Tāriq who distributes four parts of the loot, leaving a fifth for the public treasury (Fath, ed. Molina 1994, 20). This news is echoed in a work from the 14th century, in the *Ta'rīkj al-Andalus* by Ibn al Kardabūs, a Tunisian author, where the reservation of the fifth and the distribution of the loot to Tāriq is attributed, referring to movable property (Ibn al Kardabūs, ed. Maillo 2008, 48).

Certain divergences are observed in various sources in the form of submission of the territory, pact and capitulation, divergences that have given rise to extensive historiographic debates since the 1970s, when Chalmeta stated that the Iberian Peninsula surrendered mostly by capitulation (Chalmeta Gendrón 1975, 1–15), while Manzano supported the idea of violent conquest (Manzano Moreno 1999). Divergences that do not imply the existence of sources that transmit one or another model of conquest, since in most cases both procedures are mentioned (García Sanjuan 2019, 436–477). Regarding the Iberian Peninsula, Chalmeta registered 11 pacts, eight relating to specific localities such as Écija, Ceuta, Seville, Fuente de Cantos, Mérida, Pamplona, Huesca, and Lisbon, and three areas or regions, the Cinca valley and the term of Lérida, Tudmīr and Yillīquiya (Chalmeta Gendrón 1994, 213–220). If the lands were conquered by capitulation, they were not distributed and remained in the hands of the conquerors. However, the sources also speak of a violent conquest, whose presence is explained by Manzano as the inheritance of the Maliki Egyptian tradition through Ibn Ḥabīb and Al-Rāzī, during the Umayyad period in al-Andalus, when there was a need for greater taxation. (Manzano Moreno 1999). This idea has been discussed recently since the privileges of the conquerors end when taxation becomes confessional, at the beginning of the 8th century (García Sanjuán 2008, 105; 2019, 436). The interests of the 10th-century chroniclers mentioned by Manzano are not reflected unilaterally in later works, that is, there are no chroniclers who defend the model of pacts or the model of violent conquest, rather cases of both traditions are mentioned in almost all subsequent works. Likewise, the presence of the two positions in the sources leads to the conclusion that the presence of *ṣulḥ*, or 'anwa does not determine a dichotomy between both modalities of conquest, since both violence and the peace treaty were preceded by some type of force (García Sanjuán 2008, 91). It seems clear that in the Iberian Peninsula there were two models of conquest, violent or by means of a pact does not exempt from violence, reflected in sieges and feuds that ended with a capitulation. The claims of the *khums* to Mūsà on the conquered lands reveal the interests of the Umayyad state against the practice of the conquerors. The conquerors of the lands conquered through force did not have fair title to their properties. A title that had to be

issued by the state and that was only recognised with the arrival of 'Abd al-Rḥamān b. Muāwiya, who recognises the properties where the Syrian and Egyptian yunds, who came to quell the Berber revolt of 740, and the property rights of the first conquerors were settled (Manzano Moreno 1993, 327–359). The Arab and Latin sources previously listed are not exhaustive for the analysis of the conquest, there are more authors than those quoted in this article, such as 'Arīb in the 10th century or Ibn 'Iḍārī in the 14th century who also mentioned the problem (Chalmeta Gendrón 1994, 221–237; Manzano Moreno 1999, 400–420; García Sanjuán 2019, 420–436) The only textual source contemporary to the conquest was the Chronicle of 754, a text that presents the view of those who were conquered. This chronicle offers alternative visions to the Arab narratives that are more in accordance with the reality of the conquerors' activities. On the one hand, it reflects the actions of the different governors and the fiscal capacity of the state, whose fiscal machinery began to function from 'Abd al-Azīz onwards (López Pereira 2009, 233). On the other hand, it reflects the administrative and fiscal measures imposed by al-Ḥurr, who 'organised Hispania Ulterior step by step, forcing people to pay taxes' (López Pereira 2009, 236–237). He also mentions how this governor imposes small fines on Christians in exchange for peace, with the aim of increasing tax revenues, as well as punishing Berbers for hiding treasures (López Pereira 2009, 238–239). In addition, the author of the Chronicle mentions the period of Al-Ṣaḥm, who carried out the census of Hispania Citerior and beyond to charge taxes. Also, he distributed fields and livestock among his allies, in addition to any other property that the Arabs kept in Hispania without distributing the fruits of previous booty and delivered a part of all properties and lands to the treasury (López Pereira 2009, 69, 243). This part of the taxes has been interpreted as the fifth of the booty, the *khums*, *fay*' Allah, to be delivered after an action of conquest, a fifth that did not reach Damascus in its entirety. It is also mentioned that Al Ṣaḥm dies in the attempt to conquer Toulouse, the capital of Narbonese Gaul (Chronicle 754, ed. López Pereira 2009, 242–243).

Paying the armies and landholding: archaeological traces

There is material evidence that provides a dynamic vision of the conquest and the extraction of tribute, where the interests of the state and the conquerors are not in dispute. Although it is impossible to accurately reproduce the story of the conquest from material sources, these allow the analysis of the demands of the new dominators and the forms of conquest. On the one hand, the lead seals of the first Umayyad governors of al-Andalus until 756 provide real and empirical information about the process of Muslim conquest.

All these lead seals had different shapes, dimensions, sizes, and legends engraved in Kufic characters, which provide complementary information to the written discourse. Originally, the stamps were placed on the bags that contained the taxes, which had to be delivered to the state. The seals, studied and classified by Sénac and Ibrahim, belonged to the Sebastián Gaspariño collection that has recently been auctioned (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017), with seals from both the Iberian Peninsula and Narbonne. Subsequently, Ibrahim oversaw the classification and study of one of the Japanese collections of great importance in the numismatic world, ‘Tonegawa collection’, publishing the seals of early al-Andalus in the magazine *Al-Qantara*, between 1995 and 2006 (Ibrahim 1995; 1999; 2006). Lead seals were also found in Septimania at the archaeological site of Ruscino, found in archaeological context and published in 2014 (Sénac 2014). The joint body of lead seals from the Septimania and the Peninsula was published in 2017 (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017). The body of lead seals published in 2017 is being completed with some discoveries in an archaeological context, such as the piece found in Nina Alta (Delgado Blasco 2020). In the study by Sénac and Tawfiq Ibrahim, 143 precincts from al-Andalus are presented without archaeological context, in contrast to the Ruscino precincts. In the prologue about the body of these seals, Guichard names them ‘official documents’, due to the importance of the content of their legends (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017, 11). The study of the precincts provides information about the new authority, governors and emirs; the existence of military campaigns and surrenders by pact or violence, as well as the existence of loot, the reservation of the fifth, *fay’ Allah*, and the collection of taxes in kind; and finally, the creation of the state apparatus in al-Andalus. The seals mention the governors of the first 40 years of al-Andalus, forming the chronology of this period: al-Ḥurr (97–99/716–719), al-Ṣamḥ (719–721), ‘Anbasa ibn Suḥaym (721–725), Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Aṣṣā‘ī (729), al-Gāfiqī (730–732), and Abū l-Jaṭṭār (743–745) (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017, 71–76).

Al-Ḥurr is the governor who appears the most frequently. His name appears on six seals, and is associated four times with the word *qiṣm*, distribution. On the obverse of these seals, ‘Al-Ḥurr orders the distribution’, while on the reverse, his origin, al-Andalus (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017, 71–72). On other occasions, the word *qiṣm* is mentioned in association with the territorial entity of al-Andalus (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017, 102). This word *qiṣm* has given rise to different interpretations: distribution of the loot (Ortega 2018, 100–101), taxation and administration of the conquered territory (Ibrahim 2021, 31–32), or distribution of taxes (Echevarría and Viso 2019, 79–80). It seems most likely that these seals are related to taxation, with the appearance of the governor’s name, which does not appear on the seals associated with the loot. It is known from Chronicle 754 that this governor came to organise the collection of taxes, although it is unknown

what the mentioned part corresponds to. In other cases, the noun *qiṣm*, distribution, is accompanied by naming what is distributed, as in the case of the seal that indicates *qiṣm jarā’id*, distribution of ‘unopened pearls’, that is, young women (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017, 30, 102), which may well indicate a distribution of maidens as loot, or the distribution of a tax paid with women.

Al-Ṣamḥ (99–102/718–721) is also mentioned in association with the word *ṣulḥ* and once only, ‘Anbasa b. Suḥaym al-Kalbi (102–107/721–726), who dispatched several expeditions into Septimania, crossing the Pyrenees and capturing the Visigothic town of Carcassonne in 724/725, in addition to Nîmes (Collins 1989, 87). Most of the seals were minted in the first third of the 8th century, one of the latest being a seal that mentions the existence of a *ḥund* in Seville in 741 (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017, 28).

Some seals indicate the way in which the conquerors appropriate the territory, by mentioning the expressions *maqṣūm*, what has been distributed or lawful loot, *magnun ṭayyīb*, which refers to a territory that has been conquered by force which, in the Ruscino precincts, refers to the conquest of Narbonne (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017, 105–110). In other cases, territories that have capitulated are mentioned, using the nouns *muṣālaha* and *ṣulḥ* interchangeably. The capitulations of Sidonia, Seville, Faro, and the region of Jaén, are mentioned in the Iberian seals (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017, 81–87). The name of various mentioned cities appears on the seals that show the payment of the *jizyā*, such as Seville, but other places not previously mentioned, such as Beja, also appear (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017, 91–93). On the Elvira concept, there are several seals with the words *muṣālahaṭ* Libīra, and another with the spelling *jātim* Ilbīra or Elvira’s seal, which must surely be related to the payment of the *jizyā*. If correct, this would probably have occurred during the tenure of Musa ibn Nusayr, when his son ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, leading a detachment of the *djund* moving eastward, must have necessarily passed through the area on his way to Orihuela, where the pact of Tudmir was established. The possible pact with Elvira may have been established just before Musa’s departure in 95/713 (Ibrahim 2015). There are very few cases where this type of seal has been in an archaeological context, only the one found at the Nina Alta site (Málaga) has a stratigraphic context but does not mention the toponym to which the capitulation refers (Delgado Blasco 2020, 304–305). According to the texts, Mūsa subdued some cities, for example, Sidonia and Seville, after crossing the strait (Ibn Al-Qūṭṭiya 1926, 7).

Six lead seals have also been preserved with direct references to the part of the loot that the state kept for the benefit of the *umma*, the fifth, the *khums* that had been achieved in military campaigns. This procedure, carried out in the conquest of Hispania, is known thanks to the seals, *fay’ Allāh*, ‘the part of God’ (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017, 32), meaning the part of any booty derived from a ‘licit’ war act, *ghanima*.

This fifth also affected taxes derived from the production of state lands that must be retained for the benefit of the entire community (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017, 32, 113–114). This group of seals presents some variants, on the one hand, three seals are found with the legend *fay' Allāh al-Andalus* (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017, 114), interpreted by Ibrahim as seals that refer to the fifth of all the loot from the campaigns prior to Al-Ṣamḥ, sent by this governor to Caliph 'Umar II, who had appointed this general as governor to end the corrupt practices of the governors (Ibrahim 2021, 30–31). Another of the precincts mentions the legal fifth of Málaga, *fay' Allāh Rayya* (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017, 113), interpreted as a city that was taken by storm, although for others, it refers to an administrative term that includes a territory (Correa 2006, 217). Likewise, two more seals have been classified without any geographical or temporal allusion to the legend *Fay' Allāh* (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017, 133). Secondly, but not of less importance, monetary coinage is discovered from the first phases of the conquest, both gold coins, dinars, and feluses, *fulūs*, which are currently preserved in different museums or private collections, such as the Tonegawa collection, which has recently been auctioned in February 2024. Most of the coins correspond to sporadic finds of which the archaeological context is unknown (Balaguer Prunés 1976a; Ariza Armada 2017). However, sometimes the location of the discovery is known, such as the dinars found in Despeñaperros without stratigraphic context, but whose context of appearance allows it to be associated with the itineraries of the conquest (González García and Martínez Chico 2017). The coins of the conquest correspond to three different moments: firstly, the transitional dinars with two series, the Latin epigraphic dinars that correspond to the monetary issues of Mūzā 93–95 H/712–714 and the bilingual dinars that correspond to the period of Al Hurr, around 98H/716–717 (Canto García 2011, 135–146). Finally, the Arabic epigraphic dinars that correspond to the period of Al-Ṣamḥ, 102H/720–721 (Ariza Armada 2017, 72–73), which introduce the complete monetary reform of 'Abd al-Mālik, 25 years after its implementation in the East. Since the origin of Islam, coins have been documents that indicate the fiscal function of the state, market development and financial practices. However, they are also instruments of transmission of the ideology of the state, and in the case of al-Andalus, they indicate the existence of a change of scale, including the ancient Hispania in the domains of the province of Ifrīqiya with headquarters in Kairouan, dependent in turn on Damascus. But they also allude to the origin of the conquerors who collected their loot with currency that imitated the North African one.

The first coins associated with the conquerors are the Latin epigraphic dinars, minted between 93H (711–712) and 95H (713–714), heirs of the solid North African Byzantine golden coins (Fig. 20.1). Bates claims that Spain is unique among the countries conquered by Arabs in the first century

of Islam in that its coinage owes nothing to the preceding coinage of the territory (Bates 1993, 271). If the currency is a tool to distribute the loot (Chalmeta Gendrón 1994, 237), this must be distributed in the currency in which the Mūsā contingents used to share the benefits of the conquest, which is why they imitate the North African models with an indication of belonging to the Hispania campaigns. In some of the pieces, a discrepancy between the year of the hejira and the inscription is observed, explained because of the negligence of some engravers (Balaguer Prunés 1976a, 42–47) who engraved in mobile mints the coins that were the product of the melting and transformation of the Visigoth numery into the North African globular solids. The mobility of the mints and the speed of manufacturing signified that they did not have homogeneous weights between 3 and 4.5 g. On the obverse of these coins, the first part of the profession of faith is reproduced, the *sahāda* in abbreviated Latin: In the name of God, there is no God but God, Unique has no equal (IN NOMINI DEI, NON DEUS, NISI DEUS, SOLOS, NON SIMILIS·). The legend is surrounded by an incomplete dotted line. In the centre of the obverse, there is an eight-pointed star that is probably associated with the star Sirius, in Arabic *Āsha'ara* and related to the Iberian Peninsula. In the Chronicle of 754, the arrival of al-Ḥurr to the kingdom of Hesperia is mentioned (Chronicle 754, ed. López Pereira 2009, 234–235). On the reverse, NOVUS SOLIDUS FERTUS IN SPANIA, hejira years in Roman numerals and the date of inscription in the centre, the 15-year time calculation used in the late Roman empire and Byzantium to determine fiscal periods, which is sometimes replaced by the word SIMILIS, like the dinar found in Carmona (Balaguer Prunés 1976b, 27–31). The numery of this typology is scarce: Four dinars from Écija 93–94/711–713 (Pliego Vázquez 2001); those from Granada with date 94H/712–713 and indiction date XI, and that of the same year and date and indiction XII (Canto García and Ibrahim 1997, 95–96, 208); the four dinars from Despeñaperros dated between 93H and 94H, 711–713, corresponding to the Mūsā pass (González García and Martínez Chico 2017, 52–53). Three dinars from 93–95 H/711–14 in Córdoba, and one possible piece from Algeciras that for Balaguer could have been minted under the authority of Ṭāriq (Balaguer Prunés 1976a, 17; and the specimen from 94H (712–713), which appeared in Tudején in the vicinity of Fitero (Medrano Marques 2004).

These gold coins were minted after the landing of Mūsā in the Iberian Peninsula, and they were involved in the appraisal and distribution of the monetary loot among the soldiers and bureaucrats who, accustomed to the monetary system derived from Byzantine customs, rejected the Visigothic coin (Chalmeta Gendrón 1994, 232–237). The Arab chronicles testify that the gold numery was immediately withdrawn from circulation when the conquerors arrived (Martín Escudero 2005, 36), producing an absolute substitution of the Visigoth numery, which was replaced by these

coins of conquest (Canto García 2011, 135–146). The analyses of the alloys indicate that they were produced with metal from the Visigoth money. The minting technique is North African following the practices of the Kairouan mint, using globules instead of laminated coins, which results in very thick coins with rounded edges (Balaguer Prunés 1976a, 165–166; Pliego Vázquez 2001, 154; González García and Martínez Chico 2017, 49). For Manzano Moreno, this evidence implies the existence of an administration that, no matter how rudimentary, oversaw minting gold coins and the implementation of a rudimentary state apparatus, but which manifests the break with the previous period (Manzano Moreno 2006, 59), displaying North African continuity in the form of coinage but differentiating its origin.

In the year 88H/716–717, bilingual dinars were minted in al-Andalus and attributed to al-Ḥurr, coinciding with the transfer of the capital to Córdoba. These coins have their precedent in Maghrebi coins (97–99H/715–718) but there are differences between the two. Maghrebi bilingual dinars are characterised by having the central legends on both sides written in Arabic, while the marginal legends on both sides are written in Latin (Ariza Armada 2016, 139–141), with only 13 copies of this type found. On the bilingual dinars of al-Andalus, the Latin inscriptions are found on the obverse, while legends in Arabic are found on the reverse. Thus, on the obverse there is the Latin legend FERITUS SOLIDus in SPANia, anno of ‘Abd al Malik, without the introductory basmalah in the field, where Muḥammad, the prophet of God, is indicated (Ariza Armada 2016, 144–145). Al-Ḥurr is appointed ‘amil, governor of Al-Andalus from Kairouan, therefore dependent on Ifrīqiya, and is accompanied by soldiers of the North African clans, with the aim of being able to control the conquerors, settle in Córdoba, and thus differentiating himself from the first conquerors who settled in the surroundings of Seville (Fath, ed. Molina 1994, 23). The emissions of this period are more homogeneous in weight, but there is still no complete uniformity in the minting. These bilingual dinars not only imply the presence of the North African state apparatus that has partially applied the monetary reform, but also the existence of the loot of the

North African contingents that arrive with the new governor to control Seville, who are accustomed to North African bilingual transitional dinars, which indicates their origin in al-Andalus (Fig. 20.2). It seems logical to believe that this army, trained for battle, participated in the submission of northern Hispania Citerior in various campaigns from 716. Latin sources mention campaigns in Narbonese Gaul for almost three years (López Pereira 2009, 236–237; Fernandez Valverde 1987, X), although other Arab sources of the period do not mention them.

In Ruscino, the remains of a bilingual dinar appeared that was struck in Ifrīquiya in 97H (715–716) or 99H (717–718) (Sénac 2014, 290). Why are bilingual dinars not found in the same way as they are in the south? Similar to the case of the indiction dinars, the existence of North African bilingual dinars in this area may correspond to the distribution of the loot, *ganīma*, in Narbonne as accredited by the seals (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017, 105–110).

Coins with obverse and reverse in Arabic appear in al-Andalus in 102H (720–721), corresponding to the period of Al-Saḥm’s government (719–721). They have been interpreted as the application of the tax reform in al-Andalus long after it was implemented in the East (Kennedy 2011, 21), although Ariza considers that this reform is already present in the bilingual transitional dinars (Ariza Armada 2017, 71) consolidated in 102H/720–721 as the obverse and reverse were written in Arabic. The field on the obverse appears ‘There is no god but God alone’, while the marginal legend indicates in Arabic the al-Andalus mint and the year (102H/720–721). On the reverse, the *sahada* appears in the field, ‘In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate’, and in the marginal inscription: ‘Muḥammad is the prophet of God, he sent him with guidance and the true religions’. These coins correspond to the arrival of Al-Saḥm, guarantor of the legality of taxation and distribution of the loot (Chalmeta Gendrán 1994, 262–270) and remain until the arrival of ‘Abd el-Rḥaman I (Fig. 20.3).

With the arrival of the complete monetary reform that unified the coinage of the West and the East, the silver dinar was also introduced (Ariza Armada 2017, 73).



Fig. 20.1. Transitional dinar Indiction XI, 93 H (AD 712–713). Toneyawa Collection, Aureo & Calicó.



Fig. 20.2. Bilingual transitional dinar: Al-Andalus, 98 H (AD 716–717). MAN, Madrid, Sala 23, Showcase, 12.

Although these coins may correspond to the distribution of the loot or the reserve of the fifth for the state, for many years it was thought that the soldiers participating in the different phases of the conquest were paid with *fūlus*, copper coins (Manzano Moreno 2006, 69). It has also been indicated that the Berbers who participated in the army were paid with *feluses* (Barceló 1971–1972, 42). In al-Andalus, the minting of *feluses* was allowed, since a currency is necessary for commercial exchanges and specific needs of armies, and there are eight seals with the legend *jawāz min al-Andalus* (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017, 129–131), which makes it a very abundant currency. The *felús* imitates the Byzantine copper coin, the *folis*, widespread in North Africa and very abundant in sites such as the suburb of Saqūnda, where 68.43% of the existing coins correspond to *feluses* of the Conquest and the emirate, the maximum classification that can be made of these based on the typologies (Martín Escudero *et al.* 2023, 297).

A comprehensive study including both transactional *dinars* and *feluses*, associated to the geographical realities of their findings, shows that these places correspond to Mūsà's expeditions in Al-Ḥurr and Al-Samh, increasing the presence of these coins in areas where there were military actions, and associate the use of *feluses* during the phases of the conquest and their connection with the military organisation (Gasc 2021, 342–358). Sometimes, the *fūlus* were coined on top of other existing *fūlus* or Late Roman bronze ones. This method was carried out both in al-Andalus and the territories taken by the Muslims in the south of France (Ariza Armada 2017, 75).

Cultural memory and the different approaches to the Islamic conquest of al-Andalus

The conquest of al-Andalus can be analysed in different ways, with textual analysis of Arabic sources being one of the most classic ways of approaching the reality of this process. When this type of source is used, it is necessary to be aware of their distortion to explain the reality of the conquest, since the different authors look to the past, defining

the reality of the conquest at the time of writing. Some of these authors were jurists and transmitted the vision of conquest according to their legal schools. The majority belong to the Maliki school, such as Ibn Habīb, who describes how the *fay' allāh* was preserved, including lands and movable booty, adapting reality to the legal reality at that time. The legal perspective in written sources gives rise to different stories about the legality of the division of al-Andalus, in accordance with the principles of Maliki law, which did not exist at the time of the conquest. Law reshapes the reality of the conquest of al-Andalus by building a legal history that collides head-on with the reality of the Conquerors. The Christian Chronicles of Ximenz de Rada (d. 1243) to the 14th century Chronicle of 1344, point out the illegitimacy of the Umayyad conquest by insisting on the story of the theft of the fifth of the loot by Mūsà. Each one copies the lost text of Al-Rāzī to justify the advance against Islam, which they consider illegitimate from the origin. Despite the legal perspective of many of these sources, all of them show the tension between the practices of the conquerors, who considered that the lands were theirs, and the practices of the state once the jurists carried out the exegesis of the provisions of Umar I, relating to the possession of all the lands conquered from outside of which the fifth must also be delivered to the state. The lands conquered by force are distributed among the conquerors, of which in theory a fifth of the total should be reserved for the community between Arabs and Berbers, lands that should always be subject to fiscal duties. It is known from the Tudmir pact that each person who lived in those lands had to contribute the value of one *dinar* and tribute in kind, a form of taxation that should not differ very much in the lands conquered by force. If these lands belonged to the conquerors considered Muslims, they had to pay the tithe; if they were mere holders of the land, they should reserve a fifth of it or of the taxes derived from it for the state. In the case of the Hispanic indigenous sources, whether they are assimilated authors such as Ibn al-Qūtiyya, or not assimilated such as the author of the Chronicle of 754, probably an ecclesiastic who witnessed the event, there are different perceptions of the practices of the conquerors and of the construction of Umayyad legitimacy. In the Chronicle of 754, legitimacy is built a posteriori by insisting on the arrival of the different governors who try to distribute the lands of the conquest, the problem being both for the Umayyad caliphate and for the indigenous people themselves, whose interests clashed with the territorial aspirations of the first conquerors. For his part, Ibn al-Qūtiyya (d. 977) laid the foundations for the legality of the conquest in the pacts made with the indigenous aristocracies. In all cases, the reality of the conquest is presented from the perspectives of different communities: *ulema*, the conquered or assimilated indigenous aristocracies, who present the story by enforcing the memory of their own community.



Fig. 20.3. Epigraphic *dinar*. Governors 109/727. Minted in al-Andalus, Tonegawa Collection (Ibrahim 2017, 6).

The joint interpretation of seals and coins and some Hispanic sources allows some mechanisms of the conquest that do not appear in the Arab sources to be understood. Ṭāriq's armies constitute the shock force that makes the first reconnaissance of the cities of Hispania, a shock force assisted by a regular army formed by Mūsā's North African clients. From this first phase, seals are preserved that indicate the existence of pacts and that complete the sequence of those mentioned in the textual sources. The tax collection of the land, both conquered by force and by agreement, is carried out and paid with the existing Visigoth numerary, money that is used either to pay the state in the lands of *jizyā* or for the collection of the conquerors as owners or as tenants. However, what seems clear, is that the fifth is not delivered to the state of the conquered lands, a fifth that will not be delivered until Al-Samḥ (Sénac and Ibrahim 2017, 32). The gold of the dinars of this first stage corresponds to the alloy of the Visigoth coins, so presumably it was tax money. The Visigoth numerary that is melted and transformed into transitional dinars that imitate the North African globular solids with the *Spania* brand, allows the lots to be established for distribution between conquerors and the state, even if it is not done in the canonical way. The shape of these dinars indicate that this territory is part of the taxes of North Africa but with a distinct identity, Hispania, alluding to the ancient Roman province. It could also refer to the composition of the troops of Mūsā, North African clients, who are paid with part of the loot of al-Andalus. Some of the conquerors returned to North Africa accompanying Mūsā to Damascus, while his son 'Abd al-Azīz remained to maintain his father's policy with some conquerors. After his death, a new governor was needed to finish the conquest of Hispania and order the collection of taxes, therefore, in 716/717 al-Ḥurr arrived in the Iberian Peninsula by crossing the Pyrenees, raiding Septimania to subdue the north of Tarragona, which had not been conquered in its entirety. Under the governorship of al-Ḥurr, coins with bilingual Arabic and Latin inscriptions were minted. These models of bilingual transitional dinars imitate the North African models but are differentiated by the position of the legends on the obverse and reverse, and which partially apply the monetary reform of 'Abd al-Malik. The identity of Hispania on these coins appears in Arabic, al-Andalus and, like the previous ones, it facilitates the distribution between the conquerors and the state, clearly indicating that they refer to the loot of al-Andalus.

Once al-Ḥurr was deposed by the caliph, the new position appointed to replace him arrived, Al-Ṣamḥ (720–721). This governor tried to order the levy of taxes by creating a census that listed the lands among those conquered by force and agreement, collecting the fifth of the former, a fifth that had never been delivered. He managed to conquer the town of Narbonne while trying to conquer Toulouse, where he died. Although seals appear in Ruscino with the legend of

the fifth state, *fay' Allāh*, the truth is that they do not have chronological data, thus, considering the Spanish sources, it seems logical to attribute them to the time of Al-Ṣamḥ or later, which is when they were founded. His campaigns in Septimania intensified until 732, and during his period of government, epigraphic dinars were minted with the name al-Andalus, identifying in a differentiated way the taxes and the loot of this territory that, although it belonged to the African region, had its own identity. The North African governors succeeded one another uninterruptedly, trying to expand through Septimania and to cut off the problems between Arabs and Berbers of the first phase of the conquest and the contingents that arrived in the different phases. The tension between all those who aspired to ownership of the land increased when in 741 different military bodies were installed, the Syrian, Egyptian, and Palestinian *ajnad* who settled in al-Andalus, since they could not return to their places of origin after having subdued the Berber revolt in North Africa and al-Andalus. The land property rights of all the conquerors were recognised with the arrival of 'Abd el Rhamān I when al-Andalus began to be an independent territory of North Africa.

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