

URBAN LIFE IN AL-ANDALUS AND ITS ROLE IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND THE STRUCTURE OF SETTLEMENT

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ABSTRACT

In forming an analysis of society in al-Andalus, one is obliged to establish an understanding of the patterns of settlement which are based on the very configuration of Andalusian social formation. Two forces are established: the State and the rural communities. The point of contact between the two, although unequal, is the city. It is necessary to address these two elements in relation to the genesis and evolution of Andalusian society in order to explain how the city came to be through these powers that needed its presence both to organize the territories and control surplus production of a rich agricultural system.

KEYWORDS

Settlement, City, Al-Andalus, Islamic World, Formation of a Mercantile-Tribute State.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Exstructio, Vrbs, Baetica Arabica, Orbis Mahumedanus, Res publica mercatorum uectigalis.

1. The society of al-Andalus and its function

The current archaeological project we are working on under the title, “the City of Madinat Ilbira,”¹ has forced us to rethink the role of the madīna in Andalusian society. This issue is of great importance and must redress this particular point: The debate on urban structures in al-Andalus has to go beyond an analysis, particularly an analysis in isolation, of those same structures. The investigation must integrate the meaning and function of the mercantile-tribute society that existed in al-Andalus. Without understanding this issue in all its breadth and difficulty, we cannot develop a clear vision of the past. So, we begin by addressing the formation of a mercantile-tribute society both in general and in the specific context of al-Andalus.

In spite of having generated a vast bibliography in recent times, which is impossible to list here in its totality,² many of the questions raised in pioneering works, such as those by Pierre Guichard, to mention one of the most prolific and important authors in the field, remain unanswered. The analysis made in his book *Al-Andalus*,³ though steeped in the influence of structuralism, enunciated a few principles basic to the understanding of the social formation that existed in the Middle Ages in the Iberian Peninsula under Muslim rule. It is of course abundantly clear in this work and others,⁴ that the Andalusian world is qualitatively different from the Christian West. It is like saying that one cannot speak of feudalism in al-Andalus, in accordance with what Chalmeta expressed in his time.⁵ In fact, the point under discussion, both in and out of Marxist circles,⁶ was the validity of the official Soviet doctrine on the universality and sequence of modes of production (primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, socialism and communism). The response, of course, came from outside the Soviet orthodoxy, although there were a few move-

1. This project is authorized and financed by the Dirección General de Bienes Culturales of the Junta of Andalucía (Spain).

2. We have collected a good sample of the bibliography, with some evaluation, in Malpica Cuello, Antonio. “El modelo islámico de ciudad. De la madīna a la ciudad castellana”, *Actas de la XXXIII Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella. Mercado inmobiliario y paisajes urbanos en el Occidente europeo (siglos XI-XV)*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra-Institución Príncipe de Viana, 2007: 567-589.

3. Guichard, Pierre. *Al-Andalus: estructura antropológica de una sociedad islámica en Occidente*. Barcelona: Barral, 1976.

4. We refer in particular to the response to the work by Olagüe, Ignacio. *Les Arabes n'ont jamais envahi l'Espagne*. Paris: Flammarion, 1969, which was translated into Spanish: Olagüe, Ignacio. *La revolución islámica en Occidente*. Madrid: Fundación Juan March, 1974. The response is: Guichard, Pierre. “Los árabes sí que invadieron España. Las estructuras sociales de la España musulmana”, *Estudios sobre historia medieval*. Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1987: 27-71, although the original in French was published in *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 31/6 (1976): 1483-1513.

5. Chalmeta Gendrón, 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 de 1972*. Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1973: 91-115. This work continued a tradition of discussion on the character of feudalism and its consideration as a mode of production beyond Europe, which in the 50s and 60s of the preceding century dominated the intellectual—and even political—field in Europe.

6. None of the authors cited so far ascribe to the Marxist historiographical trend, and certainly none are partisan.



ments from inside that almost crystallized.⁷ As we will see, the Egyptian sociologist Samir Amin has undoubtedly produced the most complete conceptualization and is a scholar who has had, and continues to have, a great intellectual influence.

Pierre Guichard's book, while not embedded in the latter historiographical tradition, was soon part of a new trend that could only be described as heterodox, in the best sense of the word. Making no objections, since the investigation was an open one, he began to bring new views to the analysis until he arrived at his important thesis on the state.⁸ The French historian had no doubts. Here is one of his key claims:

Fue en el curso de los debates de inspiración marxista sobre el "feudalismo" cuando se propusieron y discutieron las nociones de "modo de producción asiático" y de "sociedad tributaria" para designar un tipo de organización económica, social y política cuyos dos elementos esenciales, antagonistas y complementarios, son, por un lado, las comunidades de aldea propietarias de la mayor parte de las tierras, y por otro, una clase dirigente que se apropia de una parte del excedente de las explotaciones rurales, merced a las posesiones territoriales que posee y, sobre todo, a los lazos que mantiene con la organización estatal perceptora del impuesto, aunque no constituye, como en la estructura feudal occidental, una clase social que obtiene lo esencial de sus ingresos de los derechos que ejerce sobre la tierra y los hombres. La tierra queda, en gran parte, en manos de los campesinos que la cultivan, y sus fuertes comunidades presentan estructuras socio-económicas notablemente estables en relación con las del occidente feudal, mucho más móviles y evolutivas. Así pues, desde el punto de vista socio-político, la formación "tributaria" se organiza en torno a dos realidades fundamentales: la estructura estatal y las comunidades campesinas locales; la relación entre ambas se concreta, esencialmente, en la satisfacción de un tributo.⁹

7. We must not forget a few works of certain interest, such as that of the Russian scholars, Oudaltsova, Z. V.; Goutnova, E. V. "La Genèse du féodalisme dans les pays d'Europe", *XIIIe Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Moscow, 16-23 août 1970*. Moscow: Editions Naoula: direction de la littérature orientale, 1970, translated into Spanish in the collection Udaltsova, Z. V.; Gutnova, E. V. "La génesis del feudalismo en los países de Europa", *La Transición del esclavismo al feudalismo*. Madrid: Akal, 1975: 195-220.

8. The original work, published in French in Damascus in two volumes, in 1990, (Guichard, Pierre. *Les musulmans de Valence et la reconquête: XIe-XIIIe siècles*. Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1990: I) and 1991 (Guichard, Pierre. *Les musulmans de Valence et la reconquête: XIe-XIIIe siècles*. Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1991: II), respectively, has been translated into Spanish: Guichard, Pierre. *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana. Los musulmanes de Valencia (siglos XI-XIII)*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2001.

9. It was in the course of the Marxist-inspired debates on "feudalism" that the ideas of an "Asiatic mode of production" and "tribute society" were proposed and discussed. They were used to designate a certain social, political and economic organization with two essential elements, both antagonistic and complementary at the same time: village communities that own the majority of the lands, and a ruling class that appropriates a portion of the agricultural surplus through the possession of lands and through ties to a state tax-collection organization that maintains said class, although it does not constitute it as in Western feudalism. As such, this social class obtains the majority of its revenue through the rights it holds over lands and men. The land, generally speaking, stays in the hands of the peasant farmers. The strong rural communities form a remarkably stable socio-economic structure, in comparison to that found in Western feudalism, in addition to being more mobile and able to evolve. Thus, from a socio-political standpoint, the formation of a "tribute" society is organized around two fundamental realities: the structure of the state and the local peasant communities. The relationship between the two becomes, essentially, the exchange of tribute (Guichard, Pierre. *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista...*: 42-43).



Note, in passing, that nothing is said of the urban centers that doubtlessly made a peripheral appearance here as a point of contact between the State and the local peasant communities. The peasants lived on farms, in rural settings fundamentally supported by irrigation, as has already been established. In this regard, Miquel Barceló has embarked on a study to respond to a few essential problems, among them “the organization of work within the broad territory of the farm.”¹⁰ But this is no easy task, and, so far, it has not provided the necessary insights. Really, it is the organization of Andalusian society and the extent to which it can be defined as a mercantile-tribute entity that is in need of elucidation. The scholar primarily responsible for this concept has been Samir Amin. This was recognized by Guichard himself on an occasion when we had the pleasure of interviewing him,¹¹ which explains the language he uses. In this way, he demonstrates that his book, *Al-Andalus*, is influenced by structuralist anthropology.¹² The reading of Amin, thanks to Miquel Barceló, was for him, in his own words, “a revelation.”¹³

Given, then, the relationship between the analysis in *Al-Andalus* and the works of Samir Amin, which go beyond those of Guichard,¹⁴ it is necessary to bring Amin’s contributions to the debate, particularly the ideas he has defined and that have been picked up by the other historians we are citing.

First, we must begin with the definition of pre-capitalist society. For Amin:

*Todas las sociedades precapitalistas son formaciones sociales que combinan los mismos elementos, caracterizadas por: 1) el predominio de un modo de producción comunitario o tributario; 2) la existencia de relaciones mercantiles simples en esferas limitadas; 3) la existencia de relaciones de comercio lejano.*¹⁵

10. Barceló, Miquel. “Vísperas de feudales. La sociedad de Sharq al-Andalus justo antes de la conquista catalana”, *España. Al-Andalus. Sefarad: Síntesis y nuevas perspectivas*, Felipe Maíllo Salgado, ed. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1988: 99-112, especially page 107.

11. Malpica Cuello, Antonio. “Al-Andalus y la antropología histórica. Dialogando con Pierre Guichard”. *Fundamentos de Antropología*, 1 (1992): 64-73.

12. “When I published *Al-Andalus*, I was not familiar with the works of Miquel Barceló because they were published later. I did not know all the questions raised from tribute societies. I was unaware of the connections to Marxist or neo-Marxist thought... When I published *Al-Andalus*, I had hardly noticed any of this. It came later. At the time, I was largely influenced by historical anthropology.” (Malpica Cuello, Antonio. “Al-Andalus y la antropología...”: 72).

13. “I read Samir Amin, because Miquel Barceló, who had been his editor and had written a prologue that was really an introductory essay, sent it to me. It was a revelation for me. Things that I had not understood suddenly seemed quite clear. Samir Amin’s proposed sketch of tribute society was revealing and stimulating, and, in turn, gave me the key to understanding a number of facts that I was familiar with but had not been able to properly interpret” (Malpica Cuello, Antonio. “Al-Andalus y la antropología...”: 72).

14. This is Barceló, Miquel. “Ensayo introductorio”, *Sobre el desarrollo desigual de las formaciones sociales*, Samir Amin. Barcelona: Anagrama, 1974: 5-53 and Pastor de Togneri, Reyna. *Del Islam al cristianismo. En las fronteras de dos formaciones económico-sociales: Toledo, siglos XI-XIII*. Barcelona: Península, 1975.

15. “All pre-capitalist societies are social formations that combine the same three elements, namely: (1) the predominance of a communal or tributary mode of production; (2) the existence of simple mercantile relationships in limited spheres; (3) the existence of long-distance trade relationships” (Amin, Samir. *El desarrollo desigual. Ensayo sobre las formaciones sociales del capitalismo periférico*. Barcelona: Fontanella 1978: 14).



Later he adds:

*La familia de formaciones más corriente en la historia de las civilizaciones precapitalistas es la de las formaciones de predominio tributario. Al salir del comunismo primitivo, se constituyen las comunidades y después evolucionan hacia formas jerarquizadas. Esta evolución es la que engendra el modo de producción tributario.*¹⁶

Such a broad definition leads him to a division into three “subfamilies,” as he calls them. The first is that of rich tributary developments, based on “a voluminous internal surplus.”¹⁷ The second is that of poor tributary developments, whose principal marker is “the low level of domestic surplus.”¹⁸ Lastly, there are the tribute-trade social formations, as it appears in the translation.

The Arab world, at its apogee in the Medieval period, should fall into this category. However, as Samir Amin said:

*El mundo árabe constituye un ejemplo de formación caracterizada por la importancia excepcional que en ella tiene el comercio a larga distancia, que sin embargo no engendra un capitalismo autóctono.*¹⁹

There is no doubt that there are differences between one area and another in the Arab world. In fact, there are three such divisions: the east, the area of the Nile, and the Maghreb. Among the many features of these regions, they are distinguished by the strength of their cities which does not come from the exploitation of the peasantry but rather from the benefits of long-distance trade “that is, from the surplus extracted from peasant populations by the ruling classes of other civilizations.”²⁰ Their prosperity is intimately related to long-distance trade. This required that certain agreements be established with the nomads traveling by caravan.

The ruling class is, therefore, urban, with a common language and an orthodox Sunni interpretation of the court to justify the actions of power. They have great mobility, explained by the functions they perform, by the obligation of pilgrimage to Mecca, and by the system of apprenticeship for the “intellectuals”.

16. “The most common category of formations in the history of pre-capitalist civilizations are primarily tribute-based. In moving away from primitive communism, communities are formed, and later these evolve into hierarchies. It is this evolution that engenders a tributary mode of production” (Amin, Samir. *El desarrollo desigual...*: 16).

17. Amin, Samir. *El desarrollo desigual...*: 17.

18. Amin, Samir. *El desarrollo desigual...*: 17.

19. “The Arab world is an example of a formation characterized by the exceptional importance of long-distance trade, which, however, does not lead to indigenous capitalism” (Amin, Samir. *El desarrollo desigual...*: 32).

20. Amin, Samir. *El desarrollo desigual...*: 34.



In these societies the peasant world naturally exists, but, in Amin's opinion, it does not carry out an important role: "the peasant hardly interacts with the system; they are only episodically and on a small scale subject to the payment of tributes."²¹

The separation between the peasants and the urban class must be qualified, however, as there is no doubt that the rural world, as marginalized in the State as it may be, has an economic relationship with the urban centers, as we will point out. For that reason, Reyna Pastor is correct when she speaks of the role of Andalusian cities:

(los geógrafos árabes) hacen resaltar el papel de las ciudades andaluzas²² como pivotes centralizadores de las regiones que presiden. Esta centralización se basa, sobre todo, en la importancia de sus mercados, en los que se comercializaban productos de las artesanías urbanas, además de los provenientes de otras regiones del Califato o de fuera de él.²³

In any case, this issue, which falls squarely within the realm of our present discussion, must be properly analyzed. In doing so, one studies the city and the control state powers held over the rural populations. The meaning and role of urban groups in economic, social and political organization must not be forgotten either. Miquel Barceló studied the fiscal structure of the emirate and of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordoba.²⁴ The first statement he makes shows us who is the principal subject of taxation:

A mediados del siglo III/IX la base fiscal de los ingresos(...) era muy mayoritariamente musulmana. En este sentido, el proceso de islamización, tanto de hispanos como de bereberes, se había efectuado a un ritmo más vivo del que ha suferido recientemente R. W. Bulliet...²⁵

The collection in al-Andalus in the Emirate period is done in cash, which reveals three important aspects, according to Barceló:

En primer lugar, la cantidad de piezas de moneda exigida como pagos al Estado en cada ejercicio fiscal es muy alta atendiendo al hecho de que el Estado es el único ofertor de moneda de curso legal, a través justamente de su exigencia fiscal y debido a las condiciones técnicas de producción de moneda... En segundo lugar, el volumen de monetización... implica que las

21. Amin, Samir. *El desarrollo desigual...*: 42.

22. Translator's note: The original cited text used the term *andaluzas*. The author of this article states that the correct descriptor is *andalusíes*.

23. "(Arab geographers) underline the role of Andalusian cities as pivotal centers of the regions they presided over. This centralization is primarily based on the importance of markets in which goods made by urban artisans were sold, in addition to goods from other regions of the Caliphate and from beyond". (Pastor de Togneri, Reyna. *Del Islam al cristianismo...*: 42).

24. Barceló, Miquel. "Un estudio sobre la estructura fiscal y procedimientos contables del emirato omeya de Córdoba (138-300/755-912) y el califato (300-366/912-976)". *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia*, 5-6 (1984-1985): 45-72. This has been reprinted with the same title in Barceló, Miquel. "Un estudio sobre la estructura fiscal y procedimientos contables del emirato omeya de Córdoba (138-300/755-912) y el califato (300-366/912-976)", *El sol que salió por Occidente. (Estudios sobre el estado omeya en al-Andalus)*. Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 1997: 103-136. In the future we will cite this latter version.

25. Barceló, Miquel. "Un estudio sobre la estructura...": 107-108.



alquerías deben producir excedentes suficientes para ser comercializados en los saeq(s) locales o en la misma Córdoba que está en pleno crecimiento. Y en tercer lugar, que la cantidad recaudada a través del nāḍḍ²⁶, el 49,68%, pone de manifiesto que paralelamente al proceso de islamización, tanto de hispanos como de bereberes, el estado omeya, todavía no califal, se está construyendo, en aparente paradoja, facilitando la inhibición de sus súbditos musulmanes ante un claro deber religioso, el de yihād, y creando su propia milicia profesional, sin conexiones tribales y su propia burocracia integrada en todos sus escalafones por numerosos ḍimmī(es) cristianos y judíos.²⁷

This way of organizing taxation corresponds to a State that is in some way distant from its supporting society, as was common in medieval Islam. Perhaps one more aspect that has been highlighted by Amin should be added: the unification of the Arab world by its ruling class.²⁸ We think that this means that there is a general interchange between members of this group, it being normal to travel through various Islamic territories both for intellectual reasons as well as political ones. The idea of a mobile elite in every sense, including geographically, is clearly present here, but there is also an indication of rootlessness with regards to origins.

The foundation of the fiscal structure is already laid in the emirate and is definitively consolidated in the caliphate. Thus it appears that most state income was the fruit of regular and legal taxation. This is demonstrated by the evolution of tax revenue. In the 8th century, tax revenue was 300,000 dinars; with al-Ḥakam I (796-822) it increased to 600,000; at the time of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II (822-852), 1,000,000 dinars; and with the first caliph, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, it reached the enormous sum of 5,480,000 dinars, with an additional 765,000 available through the properties belonging to the crown.

This income came from highly developed commercial activities, which allowed significant collections, but, as has been demonstrated in the case of the kūra of Córdoba, revenue came above all from agriculture. Indeed, Miquel Barceló has very clearly pointed this out:

Los ingresos fiscales (yibaya) proceden en su gran mayoría de las alquerías, del trabajo de las comunidades campesinas. Los datos fiscales posteriores de época califal, siguen indicando

26. “Nāḍḍ significa contribución en numerario...” (Barceló, Miquel. “Un estudio sobre la estructura...”: 105).

27. “First, the quantity of currency required as payment to the State in each fiscal year is very high, given the fact that the State is the sole provider of legal tender, precisely through its fiscal requirements and due to the technical conditions of the production of coins... Secondly, the volume of monetization... implies that the farms must produce sufficient surpluses to be traded in the local saeq(s) or in Córdoba itself, which was booming. Thirdly, the amount collected through the nāḍḍ, the 49.68%, shows that, in a development parallel to the Islamization of both Hispanics and Berbers, the Umayyad state, which was not yet a caliphate, was paradoxically in the process of facilitating the inhibition of its Muslim subjects in the face of the clear religious obligation of jihad. Namely, the State was creating its own professional military without tribal connections and with its own internal bureaucracy present on all levels though the numerous Christian and Jewish ḍimmī(es)” (Barceló, Miquel. “Un estudio sobre la estructura...”: 109-110).

28. “As such, therefore, the Arab world is profoundly unified by its ruling class in spite of its variety” (Amin, Samir. *El desarrollo desigual...*: 42-43).



que el porcentaje de ingresos procedente de actividades comerciales difícilmente podía superar el 15%.²⁹

One possibility is that the widespread practice of irrigation, as reflected in the texts of 10th century Arab authors like al-Rāzī³⁰, lead to the increase and strengthening of agricultural production, which, in turn, led to the development of rural and urban markets. Pedro Chalmeta's studies in this area should be continued.³¹

For this reason, the following statement by Barceló must be considered correct, although it appears to be an exaggeration:

Las modificaciones tanto tecnológicas como de organización de trabajo debieron ser muy profundas, constantes y más rápidas de lo que se ha querido pensar. Es equivocada pues la insistencia historiográfica en destacar las actividades comerciales como el elemento definidor de la nueva sociedad andalusí.³²

In addition, it should be said that, as we will discuss further on, the formation of rural markets is a precondition to the formation of cities,³³ from which it can be deduced that the rural world was conveniently hierarchical and had an appropriable surplus, although not directly so.

But for now we will continue with the well-documented idea that the historiography of al-Andalus has been pointing to: the role of the countryside and the definition of trade that was taking place.

It is a good idea to take into account the opinions expressed by Pedro Chalmeta. Although there may be some disagreement about them, they are very interesting:

Descuella (en al-Andalus) en primer término el factor urbano, tanto por el número como por la extensión, la difusión geográfica, la densidad y la importancia demográfica de las ciudades. Éstas concentran la actividad artesano-mercantil, constituyen la sede del poder político y monopolizan la vida ideológico-cultural. Hemos aludido a la presencia de una considerable actividad comercial y es evidente que al-Andalus está integrado en una economía de mer-

29. "Tax revenue (yibaya) came mainly from the farms, from the work of the peasant communities. Later fiscal data, from the Caliphate period, continues to show that the percentage of income from commercial activity hardly exceeded 15%" (Barceló, Miquel. "Un estudio sobre la estructura...": 124).

30. *Cronica del moro Rasis: versión del Ajbar muluk Al-Andalus de Ahmad Ibn Mamad Ibn Musa Al-Rāzī, 889-995, romanizada para el rey Don Dionís de Portugal hacia 1300 por Mamad, Alarife, y Gil Pérez, clérigo de Don Perianes Porcel*, eds. Diego Catalán, María Soledad de Andrés. Madrid: Gredos, 1975. An attempt to reconstruct the Arabic text is made in Lévi-Provençal, Évariste. "La 'Description de l'Espagne' d'Ahmad al-Rāzī". *Al-Andalus*, 18 (1995): 51-108.

31. Chalmeta Gendrán, Pedro. *El "señor del zoco" en España: Edades Media y Moderna. Contribución al estudio de la historia del mercado*. Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1973.

32. "Modifications, both of a technical nature and in the organization of work, must have been profound, constant, and faster than has been imagined. The historiographical insistence in focusing on commercial activities as the defining factor in the new Andalusian society is wrong" (Barceló, Miquel. "Un estudio sobre la estructura...": 124).

33. Barceló, Miquel. *Los Banū Ru'ayn en al-Andalus. Una memoria singular y persistente*. Granada: Al-Baraka, 2004: 143.



cado. Pero ésta no afecta más que al excedente de las economías de subsistencia familiares o aldeanas y no se debe de sobrevalorar (aunque sea significativa) la importancia de los zocos ni la presencia de un funcionario expresamente encargado de su control: el zabazoque. Si recordamos que el máximo legal imponible sobre los géneros procedentes de fuera de la dār al-islam oscila entre el 5% y el 10% ad valorem, el volumen del comercio necesario para sostener al estado andalusí habría de ser enorme. Y sabemos que, durante el califato de ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāṣir, los ingresos por aduana no pasaban de un 1,3% a 1,5% de la recaudación tributaria legal.³⁴

After these statements he concludes:

La conclusión que se impone es que al-Andalus era una sociedad precapitalista definible como formación social tributaria centralizada, predominantemente agrícola.³⁵

Other authors agree. Felipe Maíllo, for example, accepts the findings of Amin and does not dispute Chalmeta’s analysis.³⁶ However, Reyna Pastor, who disagrees with the schema proposed by Amin,³⁷ states her commitment to the characterization of al-Andalus as a mercantile-tribute society:

La España musulmana perteneció a una estructura mucho más vasta y perdurable que ella misma, tal es la formación tributaria-mercantil del mundo árabe. Sin aparecer comprendida en el conjunto de esa estructura y sin seguir su dinámica, Al-Andalus aparece con una autonomía histórica que no tuvo, como una entidad falsa.³⁸

34. “The urban factor (in al-Andalus) is outstanding, both for the number and size of the cities, and for their geographic distribution, density, and demographic importance. Artisanal and mercantile activity was concentrated in the cities, they were the seat of political power, and they monopolized ideological and cultural life. We have alluded to the presence of considerable commercial activity, and it is clear that al-Andalus was integrated in a market economy. But this only affects surplus generated by family- or village-based subsistence economies. The importance of souks or the presence of agents specifically responsible for them, the *zabazoque*, while significant, should not be overestimated. Remembering that the maximum tax on goods from outside *dār al-islam* oscillates between 5-10% *ad valorem*, the volume of commerce necessary to sustain the Andalusian state would have been enormous. And, we know that during the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāṣir customs revenues did not exceed 1.3-1.5% of legal tax collection” (Chalmeta, Pedro. “Al-Andalus”, *Historia de España. Vol. 3, Al-Andalus: musulmanes y cristianos (siglos VIII-XIII)*, Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, dir. Barcelona: Planeta, 1996: 8-113, especially page 100).

35. “This leads to the conclusion that al-Andalus was a pre-capitalist society that can be defined as a predominately agricultural, centralized tributary social formation” (Chalmeta, Pedro. “Al-Andalus”...: 100).

36. “Using, then, the terminology developed by Samir Amin and without rejecting P. Chalmeta’s analysis (although they differ on the matter of mercantilism) Andalusian society would be a slightly mercantile tributary social formation centered on the agricultural domain”. (Maíllo Salgado, Felipe. “Guerra y sociedad a fines del siglo XI”, *De Toledo a Huesca. Sociedades medievales en transición a finales del siglo XI (1080-1100)*, Carlos Laliena Corbera, Juan F. Utrilla Utrilla, eds. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico-Diputación de Zaragoza, 1998: 11-27, especially page 18).

37. “We do not ascribe completely to Amin’s schema as regards the characterization of the Arab world. We appreciate his efforts, although we understand they are incomplete. We agree on the causes, those things which impeded the development of capitalism.” (Pastor de Togneri, Reyna. *Del Islam al cristianismo...*: 10-11, note 2).

38. “Muslim Spain belonged to a structure that was much more vast and enduring than itself. Such is the mercantile-tribute formation of the Arab world. When not understood as part of this structure or as



The discussion on this point notwithstanding, the theoretical debate has continued to progress in recent times. An important book by Haldon³⁹ led to a monograph issue of the journal *Hispania*⁴⁰ and a publication by Eduardo Manzano on the early period of al-Andalus.⁴¹

It is important to recognize that the works of Manuel Acién were an attempt to classify the society of al-Andalus in more complex and scientific terms. An initial article on the *ḥuṣūn*, castles,⁴² was followed by his book on 'Umar ibn Ḥaḥṣūn.⁴³ For Acién, the problem of the fitna is explained by the struggle between different social formations. Speaking of those that were in conflict during the period of the fitna, he mentions that the "Islamic social formation" was triumphant. Although he is aware that problems can arise from this terminology, he does not hesitate to state that:

*No se trata de postular la multiplicación de modos de producción o de formaciones sociales, como en ocasiones se ha hecho de forma lamentable, sino de intentar definir teóricamente, y por tanto, diferenciar, una formación social como la islámica con una vigencia cronológica de casi un milenio y medio, aunque tenga en común con otras las extracción del excedente mediante el impuesto y la pervivencia del Estado.*⁴⁴

He identifies the characteristics of said Islamic social formation. One of these is the hegemony of the private:

following its dynamic, Al-Andalus appears to have a historical autonomy that it did not have". It appears as a false entity Pastor de Togneri, Reyna. *Del Islam al cristianismo...*: 11.

39. Haldon, John. *The State and the tributary mode of production*. London: Verso, 1993.

40. Haldon's own articles appear here as well, as a presentation of the debate (Haldon, John. "Presentación: El modo de producción tributario: concepto, alcance y explicación". *Hispania*, 58/200 (1998): 797-822), along with a valuable contribution on early Islam and Byzantium in Haldane, John. "La estructura de las relaciones de producción tributarias: estado y sociedad en Bizancio y el islam primitivo". *Hispania*, 58/200 (1998): 841-880; also included are the collaborations of Vicent García, Juan Manuel. "La prehistoria del modo tributario de producción". *Hispania*, 58/200 (1998): 841-880, 823-839; Manzano Moreno, Eduardo. "Relaciones sociales en sociedades precapitalistas: una crítica al concepto de 'modo de producción'". *Hispania*, 58/200 (1998): 881-913, and Acién Almansa, Manuel. "Sobre el papel de la ideología en la caracterización de las formaciones sociales. La formación social islámica". *Hispania*, 58/200 (1998): 915-968.

41. Manzano Moreno, Eduardo. *Conquistadores, emires y califas: los omeyas y la formación de Al-Andalus*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2006.

42. Acién Almansa, Manuel. "Poblamiento y fortificación en el sur de al-Andalus. La formación de un país de ḥuṣūn", *III Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española: Actas. Oviedo, 27 marzo-1 abril 1989*. Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo. Vicerrectorado de Extensión Universitaria, 1992: I, 137-150.

43. Acién Almansa, Manuel. *Entre el feudalismo y el Islam. 'Umar ibn Ḥaḥṣūn en los historiadores, en las fuentes y en la historia*. Jaen: Universidad de Jaen, 1994. A second edition, with a comprehensive prologue Acién Almansa, Manuel. *Entre el feudalismo y el Islam. 'Umar ibn Ḥaḥṣūn en los historiadores, en las fuentes y en la historia*. Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 1997: I-LIII.

44. "This is not a postulation on the multiple modes of production or social formations, as has been done in a regrettable manner on occasion, but rather an attempt to theoretically define, and therefore differentiate, a social formation like the Islamic one that was relevant for almost a millennium and a half, despite the commonalities of the extraction of surplus through taxation and the endurance of the State" (Acién Almansa, Manuel. *Entre el feudalismo y el Islam...*: 107. Future citations are of the 1st edition unless otherwise noted).



En el mundo islámico, a diferencia del feudal, existe la separación entre público y privado, y, a diferencia del capitalismo, lo público está subordinado a lo privado, siendo por ello por lo que se puede hablar de hegemonía de lo privado en la formación social islámica. Dicha hegemonía está garantizada por el fiqh, que no se elabora desde el Estado y la población en términos contractuales, mediante la bay'a, y por tanto, en términos privados. Intentar encontrar alguna semejanza entre el fiqh y su teoría con el feudalismo sería totalmente ilusorio.⁴⁵

Another characteristic is the urban life:

el lugar por excelencia donde tiene lugar esa práctica contractual, y de todo tipo, basada en lo privado es el mundo urbano, y de ahí el acuerdo prácticamente unánime entre historiadores de todo tipo de escuelas en identificar el islam con la vida urbana.⁴⁶

The definition of these cities is fundamental in understanding the Islamic world. Acíén stresses:

la enorme semejanza en la vida de unas ciudades y otras, por alejadas que se encuentren, y, por el contrario, la absoluta diferencia entre esa misma vida urbana y la de las tierras al margen de los límites de las murallas.⁴⁷

This subject was previously addressed by Acíén,⁴⁸ and he has continued to analyze it in several studies that deserve mention.⁴⁹ In the first of the cited works, which discusses the creation of the palatial city of Madīnat al-Zahrā' by the first caliph of al-Andalus, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, he highlights how in al-Andalus in the period immediately prior (the Umayyad emirs), especially during the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, "there was an undeniable encouragement from this direction, as we can see from the expansion of the jurisdiction of the Qaid through the valley of the

45. "In the Islamic world, in contrast to the feudal one, there is a separation between the public and the private. In contrast with capitalism, the public is subordinate to the private. For this reason one can speak of the hegemony of the private in the Islamic social formation. Said hegemony is guaranteed by the fiqh, which is not elaborated between the State and its people in contractual terms, and through the bay'a, and thus is on private terms. Trying to find any similarity between feudalism and the fiqh and its theory would be totally illusory" (Acíén Almansa, Manuel. *Entre el feudalismo y el Islam...*: 108).

46. "The location par excellence where this contractual practice takes place, along with any other practice based in the private sphere, is in the urban world. Hence the almost unanimous agreement among historians of all types of schools to identify Islam with urban life" (Acíén Almansa, Manuel. *Entre el feudalismo y el Islam...*: 108).

47. "the great similarity between the life in various cities, however separate they may have been, and, in contrast, the absolute difference between this urban life and that in the lands outside the limits of the city walls" (Acíén Almansa, Manuel. *Entre el feudalismo y el Islam...*: 109).

48. Acíén Almansa, Manuel. "Madīnat al-Zahrā' en el urbanismo musulmán". *Cuadernos de Madīnat al-Zahrā'*, 1 (1987): 11-26.

49. Acíén Almansa, Manuel. "La formación del tejido urbano en al-Andalus", *La ciudad medieval: de la casa al tejido urbano. Actas del primer Curso de Historia y Urbanismo Medieval*, Jean Passini, coord. Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2001: 11-32; Acíén Almansa, Manuel. "El origen de la ciudad en al-Andalus", *Al-Ándalus, país de ciudades: Actas del Congreso celebrado en Oropesa (Toledo), del 12 al 14 de marzo de 2005*. Toledo: Diputación Provincial de Toledo, 2008: 15-22.



Guadalquivir, or from the construction of mosques.”⁵⁰ However, this movement from the State was not enough, and there were therefore other initiatives. To quote Acién:

*la aparición de ciudades “espontáneas”, o, mejor, surgidas al margen de Córdoba, entre las que se pueden enumerar varias, como las impulsadas por los Bakrís en el SW peninsular y, sobre todo, la ciudad de Baýyāna, de la que ya poseemos la evidencia arqueológica. Pienso que estos ejemplos hay que interpretarlos como el resultado de la difusión de un islamismo en el que prácticamente no ha intervenido el Estado cordobés, explicando asimismo la sorprendente pacificación de al-Andalus por ‘Abd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III.*⁵¹

So, the action of the State is important, but the organization of the social formation itself is definitely the prime mover in the creation of cities. This would explain the increasing generation of urban structures, which should not always be considered of the same evolutionary line. Thus we see a profound change in the 11th century. In other words, we see the change from a hegemonic society to a society in which the pressure of the Christian powers on the Peninsula and in the western Mediterranean were very important. The fundamental role that cities hold, in addition to other elements, can be seen in the economic and social organization of this society.

On the other hand, we must emphasize the analysis done by other historians that highlight the importance of the peasant communities, being a substantial element to the State in the social formation being described. Let us note the previous citation from Barceló, who does not hesitate to point out that the city “was only possible due to the stabilization of local peasant orders, including rural markets.”⁵² No less attention should be paid to some of the contributions of Pierre Guichard, among which we will mention an insistence on the tribal role of Andalusian society and what that meant in the creation of cities,⁵³ particularly following the ideas put forth by Jean Claude Garcin regarding Cairo.⁵⁴

Before continuing on this theme, which is paramount to the present work, it is prudent to follow the lines of discussion that have been generated about the social

50. Acién Almansa, Manuel. “‘Madīnat al-Zahrā’...”: 15.

51. “[...] the appearance of “spontaneous” cities, or rather cities that arose outside Cordoba, among which various ones can be enumerated, such as those encouraged by the Bakrís in the southwestern peninsula and, especially, the city of Baýyāna, about which we already have archaeological evidence. I think that these examples must be interpreted as the result of the spread of a brand of Islam in which the Cordoban State did not intervene. This would also explain the surprising peace brought to al-Andalus by ‘Abd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III” (Acién Almansa, Manuel. “‘Madīnat al-Zahrā’...”: 16).

52. Barceló, Miquel. *Los Banū Ru‘ayn*...: 143.

53. Guichard, Pierre. “Les villes d’al-Andalus et de l’Occident musulman aux premières siècles de leur histoire. Une hypothèse récente”, *Genèse de la ville islamique en al-Andalus et au Maghreb occidental*, Patrice Cressier, Mercedes García-Arenal (collaboration Mohamed Méouakk), eds. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1998: 37-52.

54. Garcin, Jean-Claude. “Le Caire et l’évolution urbaine de pays musulmans”. *Annales islamologiques*, 25 (1991): 289-304.



formation of al-Andalus. Eduardo Manzano⁵⁵ has called into question the characterization of the term Islamic social formation, as used by Acién, and its theoretical content:

*Definir una formación social a partir de un elemento superestructural como es la religión puede conducir a un esencialismo que desvirtúe lo que se quiere sea una interpretación materialista, ya que está convirtiendo en factor determinante un concepto absoluto —“islámica”—, el cual, aunque en este contexto esté caracterizado en términos no religiosos, tiende a ser entendido como una categoría apriorística que condiciona la realidad.*⁵⁶

Acién responds to this idea in the second edition of his work:

Con la propuesta de “formación social islámica” se pretendían fundamentalmente dos objetivos; por una parte, intentar diferenciar una sociedad concreta dentro de las sociedades tributarias, y como se decía en el libro (p. 107), posiblemente con unos rasgos propios y exclusivos, además de los comunes con el resto de las sociedades tributarias. Por otra parte, menos explicitada en el libro, se trataba de introducir un elemento teórico que sirviera para reconocer la complejidad de formaciones sociales que aparece en eso que los manuales denominan como “historia del islam”, “historia de las sociedades islámicas”, “sociedades musulmanas”, “mundo musulmán”, etc., sin ningún esfuerzo de teorización y con la terminología religiosa, aunque no se refieren a la historia de ninguna religión, sino a la de los países o de las gentes por donde se difundió esa religión concreta. Considero que en esas “historias” aparecen formaciones sociales distintas y perfectamente reconocibles, como sociedades tribales, pueblos de las estepas, sociedades tributarias en general, feudalismo ¿por qué no?, pero junto con ellas, otra que normalmente se convierte en dominante, y puede llegar a desplazar y aniquilar, o no, a las restantes, que es a la que llamé cómodamente “formación social islámica”, y apunté como elementos que podrían servir para su definición la hegemonía de lo privado a nivel abstracto, y la preeminencia de lo urbano a nivel concreto (p. 107). En ello lo religioso no es nada determinante...⁵⁷

55. “Defining social formation from a super-structural element such as religion can lead to an essentialism that distorts the desired empirical interpretation. Because an absolute concept —“Islamic”— becomes a determining factor, even though in this context it is characterized in non-religious terms, it tends to be understood as an *a priori* category that conditions reality. Basically in his “Nota crítica” to Manuel Acién’s book, *Entre el feudalismo...*, the former being published in: Manzano, Eduardo. “Nota crítica”. *Hispania*, 118 (1994): 1139-1144.

56. Manzano Moreno, Eduardo. “Nota crítica”...: 1142.

57. “The proposed term, “Islamic social formation”, is intended to have two fundamental objectives: first, to attempt to identify a concrete society from among the tributary societies, and as is stated in the book (p. 107), possibly to identify some unique and exclusive characteristics in addition to those held in common with the other tributary societies. Second, and less explicit in the book, was the introduction of an element of theory that might serve to recognize the complexity of social formations that appear in the manuals referred to as “history of Islam”, “the history of Islamic societies”, “Muslim societies”, “the Muslim world”, etc, with no attempt to create a working theory, and including religious terminology although no reference is made in the history to a religion but only to the countries or peoples where that particular religion spread. I believe that in those “histories” distinct and perfectly recognizable social formations appear, such as tribal societies, steppe villages, tributary societies in general, feudalism (why not?)... But along with them, there is one that usually becomes dominant and that may or may not displace and destroy the others. This is the one that I conveniently called the “Islamic social formation”, and I noted as elements that could be used to define this group: the hegemony of the private on an abstract



In reality, what is important to this discussion, and has been from the beginning, is the definition of the dominant mode of production in the social formation that historically was developed in al-Andalus.

In our opinion, the aspect that takes on particular relevance is the role played by the cities and the countryside. If the manner in which urban life is sustained is fundamental, but taxation is nourished primarily through rural structures, the issue how the transfer from countryside to city was achieved must be explained. Moreover, it is imperative to know how the tributes collected by the State were spent. A key issue is the analysis of the quantity of money in circulation. The degree of penetration of commercial activities to the farms would then be known. The principal purpose of the currency is undoubtedly state control, given that the Cordoban State was the only minter until its destruction in the 9th century. The necessity of paying taxes forces the peasants to enter the commercial circuit and, thereby, create a surplus to sell in exchange for money. This was possible with irrigation, because production was diversified and generally not controlled on the level of the individual peasant. In addition, the State bears the costs of administration and of maintaining an army, which is increasingly professional. It is therefore clear that the countryside could not remain outside urban influence and, despite having defense mechanisms, it would be affected in some way. The interaction between the State and this type of society is fundamental to the explanation of even the political evolution of al-Andalus and, more importantly, fundamental in order to separate foundational elements from the destiny of the State.

2. The city in the Islamic world and in al-Andalus

It is evident throughout the history of al-Andalus that there were important transformations that presume a different relationship between the elements of its economic structure and, therefore, the organization of its population. In fact, this sheds light on the manner in which the evolution of urban life occurred and whether this brought with it a change in the relations with the agrarian structures. Likewise, it would be necessary to be familiar with the evolution of the State and the concept of power throughout the history of al-Andalus. It is clear that we cannot undertake such tasks in this study. We will only say that there are two facts that seem to be confirmed as the investigation advances. First, rural structures are apparently penetrated by commercial actions, although the weight of family groups, which is even noticeable in the kingdom of Granada (13th -15th centuries), remains important. The question is if it is real or if it is simply maintained through a “super-structural” mechanism.⁵⁸ Second, there is a greater density of cities in the different

level, and the preeminence of the urban on a concrete level (p. 107). Religion is not at all a determining factor...” (Acién Almansa, Manuel. *Entre el feudalismo y el Islam...*: VI-VII).

58. In this respect, we refer to our work: Malpica Cuello, Antonio. “Un asentamiento fortificado en la frontera nazarí-castellana: Castril de la Peña”. *Stvdia Historica. Historia Medieval*, 24 (2006): 197-225; and Malpica Cuello, Antonio. “La expansión urbana de la Granada nazarí y la acción de los reyes granadi-



Andalusian territories, to the extent that we see rural centers become urban, or almost urban, in the Almohad and Nazari periods.⁵⁹

Near the end of the caliphate and the beginning of the Taifa a change in evolution can clearly be seen. Urban and commercial development are consolidated, in a concrete sense, without extensive modification of the organization of rural nuclei. Later, in the time that inaugurated al-Mansur, a crisis was produced in the system such that the al-Andalus like that in existence under the Umayyads was never seen again. In Chalmeta's words: "After him there would be no caliphate, great families, surplus or social or ethnic coexistence."⁶⁰

The chronicler Ibn al-Kardabus expresses himself in similar terms, albeit more literary ones:

De esta manera, se extinguió del califato en la Península, los destructores reveses de la fortuna giraron y se echó a perder el estado de los gobernantes y de los gobernados, se elevó todo (ser) desconocido y vil, se sublevaron los facciosos y en cada lugar el fuego se encendió; entonces el enemigo se manifestó en frecuentes apariciones, sobre todo en las fronteras y en la marcas.⁶¹

In any case, if the cities were the center point and the farms, rural settlements that supplied products to the souks, although not all of them of course, independent from the market where certain luxury goods from afar were sold, one could then suspect that the variations detected indicate a different economic organization and pattern of settlement in this new era.

It is not possible to look into each and every one of the points mentioned. We will, by necessity therefore, limit ourselves to those concerning the urban world. It is, however, ever more important to determine the characteristics of the rural centers and their agricultural spaces.

The role of the city in the mercantile-tribute social formations has been clearly indicated:

la articulación del estado tributario precisa del control de las ciudades que, convertidas en centros receptores de renta, desarrollan también la función de mercados pero estrechamente supeditados a las necesidades de dichos estados.⁶²

nos", *Espacios de poder y formas sociales en la Edad Media. Estudios dedicados a Ángel Barrios*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2007: 133-153.

59. Malpica Cuello, Antonio. "Las villas de la frontera granadina y los asentamientos fortificados de época medieval". *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia*, 20-21 (1999-2000): 279-320.

60. Chalmeta, Pedro. "Al-Andalus" ...: 97.

61. "In this way, the Caliphate was extinguished in the Peninsula. The winds of fortune turned destructive, and the state of the rulers and the ruled was lost. All that was unknown and vile rose up, rebels revolted and the fire was lit in every location. Then the enemy became manifest though frequent appearances, especially at the borders and in the Marches" (Ibn al-Kardabus, Abd al-Malik. *Historia de al-Andalus (Kitāb al-Iktifa')*, ed. Felipe Maíllo Salgado. Madrid: Akal, 1999: 91).

62. "the articulation of the tribute state requires a control of cities that, converted to rent-receiving centers, also develop the function of markets, although they are highly subordinate to the needs of said



However, the problem cannot be stated in such a way as to avoid the idea that we are dealing with cities that superimpose themselves on other productive structures and that do not have a determining role in the general economic organization. Their political autonomy implies a differentiation from the rural structures. The problem lies in explaining how the urban centers were formed and in understanding their development in a society in which the weight of the rural communities was very significant and, in consequence, this development meant a restraint to their configuration.

This is at least a general overview. We will begin by describing in broad strokes what happened in the Islamic world in general, to later outline what could have happened in al-Andalus.

2.1. *The city in the Islamic world*

We can only provide a very general reflection on this topic as it would require much time and space to do otherwise.

We will begin by stating that, in fact, urban life was already established when Islam arose in Arabia. Commerce in the Arabian Peninsula had a specific importance, and it is clear that products from afar were the focus.

They are a clear indicator of the evolution of the sanctuaries, protected by being consecrated to a deity, where exchanges were made, until these slowly became cities by the second half of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th centuries. A few of these sacred places, as is the case with Mecca, consolidated into centers of economic demand, not only for luxury products but increasingly for the necessities of daily life as well. This is due, above all, to the fact that the Bedouin groups were being slowly settled. In this way, a web of influence and complementary economic activities were developed from Mecca.⁶³ Tribal life was in crisis; Bedouin life and moral code were transformed. Mohammad, the Prophet, product of this fast-changing society, looked for a way to move beyond tribal models in crisis due to the spread of individual wealth to the creation of a "super-tribe", the ummah or Islamic community, which he founded through the belief in one God and his messenger. This cohesion was meant to avoid social inequalities. Religious formation preceded that of the State and allowed, at least in theory and for a certain time in practice, that systems of life be maintained in which tribal affiliations continued to be important.

The expansion of Islam propelled and reproduced these realities. They were, naturally, affected by the previous structures and by the populations in which they took hold. There were new cities, created by the Arabs, that grew up around the establishments of the conquering armies. The *amṣār* (plural of *miṣr*) had a notable de-

state" (Manzano Moreno, Eduardo. "Relaciones sociales en sociedades...": 894-895).

63. Kennedy, Hugh. *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates. The Islamic East from the sixth to the eleventh century*. New York: Longman, 1989.



velopment in Iraq with the foundation of Baṣra and Kūfa,⁶⁴ and in Egypt (Fustāt).⁶⁵ The word *miṣr* means “city-camp”, although it also serves to describe a territory. It is proof of the need to evaluate a space after the new urban foundation.

The very characteristics of these urban developments can help us learn about the society in which they were created. Archaeological and textual studies have defined them in the following manner:

*El urbanismo de las ciudades nuevas se caracteriza por un cierto número de rasgos comunes: estructura basada en el grupo tribal, más o menos aislado, administrado por sus propios jefes con la colaboración de los “síndicos” —cuya función adquiere gran importancia ya que conocen las reglas genealógicas de la tribu—. Es una estructura simple que permite la movilización rápida de un pueblo unido, con un aparato jurídico y político muy elemental ya que las cuestiones relativas a la herencia son competencia de la tribu, y un centro religioso e intelectual, la mezquita, en continua efervescencia. Toda esta simplicidad se desvanece poco a poco ante los progresos de una vida económica cuyo objetivo principal seguirá siendo el aprovisionamiento de los grupos urbanos. La organización se complica entonces sin perder su significación fundamental de metrópolis rentista que “digiere el botín”; a esto hay que añadir las rentas de la tierra, constituidas fundamentalmente por los impuestos que los vencidos deben abonar a la comunidad vencedora. En todas estas ciudades se construye la Casa de la Moneda, la Casa del Tesoro e incluso, en Kufa, una Casa del Botín y un arsenal en Basra que, en principio, apunta hacia el Golfo Pérsico y, muy pronto, hacia la India. En Fustat la vida comercial se encuentra anclada en la tradición de los comerciantes locales pero la experiencia de los mekies se desarrolla en torno a un mercado agrícola local que, poco a poco, se alimenta con productos más exóticos, procedentes de la India y de China. Esta transformación de las ciudades cambia, en realidad, su apariencia tribal de forma muy lenta, pero acentúa la diferencias de riqueza entre las grandes “casas” que controlan la dirección de los clanes y los linajes inferiores.*⁶⁶

64. Regarding Kūfa see Djaït, Hichem. *Al-Kūfa. Naissance de la ville islamique*. Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1986.

65. Kubiak, Wladyslaw B. *Al-Fustat: Its Foundation and Early Muslim Urban Development*. Warsaw: Wydawn Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1982; Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1987. These contributions can also be taken into consideration: Scanlon, George T. “Al-Fustat: The Riddle of The Earliest Settlement”, *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East. II. Land use and settlement patterns*, Geoffrey R. D. King, Averil Cameron, eds. Princeton: Darwin Press, 1994: 171-179.

66. “Urbanism in the new cities was characterized by a certain number of common traits: a structure based on tribal grouping, a certain degree of isolation, administration by their own chiefs with the collaboration of the “guilds” —whose function gained great importance as they knew the genealogical rules of the tribe. It is a simple structure that allows for the rapid mobilization of a unified village, with a very basic juridical and political apparatus since any question related to inheritance is under tribal authority and that of the religious and intellectual center, the mosque, in constant fluctuation. All this simplicity gradually vanishes with the progress of an economic life whose primary objective remains the provisioning of urban groups. The organization is complicated then without losing its fundamental role of a rent-collecting metropolis that “digests the spoils”; add to this rents from land, which basically consist of the tributes that the vanquished must pay to the ruling community. All of these cities have a “House of Money”, “House of Treasure”, or even in Kufa, a “House of Spoils” and an arsenal in Basra that, in theory, is directed towards the Persian Gulf and soon towards India. In Fustat commercial life was anchored in the tradition of the local merchants, but the experience of the Mekies was developed from a local agricultural market that gradually grew to include more exotic goods from India and China. This transformation of the cities actually changes their tribal appearance very slowly, but it accentuates the difference in wealth between the great “houses” that control the direction of the clans and the lesser



The example of Fustāt, in Egypt, is very clear. The territory was distributed by lots to the tribes and clans that made up the army, to which were added peoples coming from other parts of the Arab world. These features were well defined through to the end of the Middle Ages, according to some scholars:

Le territoire de Fustat a été distribué sous forme de lots aux tribus et aux clans qui composent l'armée conquérante; plus tard sont venus s'y agréger d'autres Arabes de la Péninsule, et cela de manière continue. Toute l'Arabie est présente à Fustat, du Yémen et du Hadramout jusqu'au Néfoud. Ils laisseront pour certains une trace dans la toponymie, comme par exemple la grande tribu yéménite des Ma'afir, dont on mentionne encore la dār au début du XV^e siècle.⁶⁷

The topographical distribution of those cities would be explained then by the importance of tribal formations, at least in the initial phases. There is no doubt that for some scholars those origins permeate the city and can be seen in the subsequent history.

There is a similar occurrence in Kairuan, founded in 670 in North Africa. The interior of the city is clearly divided into two areas. Its internal structure, polygonal or circular, is marked by the duality of power space/living space. The districts had an ethnic and denominational character. Here is what M. Sakly notes about the city:

La structure de cet espace intérieur, qui aurait eu une forme circulaire ou polygonale suivant les conjectures des historiens modernes, était marquée, dès le début, par un schéma urbain primitif, caractérisé comme dans les premiers amars irakiens, par la dualité espace de pouvoir/espace d'habitation (La Grande Mosquée contiguë à Dar al-Imara et, au-delà, les lots d'installation), excluant, peut-être dès le début, mais nettement aux IIe/VIIIe, la centralité de l'espace commercial... L'espace d'habitation de son côté, semble avoir gardé jusqu'au IIIe/IXe siècle et au-delà, les traces de la première attribution des lots d'installation (khītat), car les quartiers avaient gardé un caractère nettement ethnique et confessionnel, portant le nom d'un clan ou celui d'un personnage marquant, sans constituer de ghettos isolés. Ils sont désignés dans les sources par les termes: āāra (appliqué aux quartiers compris ou ayant figuré dans l'espace circonscrit par les remparts), rabad (désignant les faubourgs périphériques par rapport au centre) et darb, utilisé, par extension, pour les grandes portes de fermeture des rues et des impasses, qui sont apparues à Kairouan au début du IVe/Xe siècle, caractérisé par les troubles consécutifs à l'arrivée des Fatimides au pouvoir.⁶⁸

lineages" (Bresc, Henri; Guichard, Pierre; Mantran, Robert. *Europa y el Islam en la Edad Media*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2001: 40).

67. "The lands of Fustat were distributed as prizes among the tribes and clans that made up the conquering army; later other Arabs from the Peninsula started coming to settle there. All of Arabia was present in Fustat, from Yemen and from Hadramout to the Nafud. They left their mark on the toponymy, such as the great Yemeni tribe of the Ma'afir, which is mentioned again in the dār at the beginning of the 15th century". Sayyed, Ayman Fu'ad; Gayraud, Roland-Pierre. "Fustat-Le Caire à l'époque fatimide", *Grandes villes méditerranéennes du monde musulman médiéval*, Jean-Claude Garcin, ed. Rome-Paris: École Française de Rome-Diffusion de Boccard, 2000: 135-156, especially 140.

68. "The internal structure of this space, which would have a circular or polygonal shape according to the conjectures of modern historians, was marked from the outset by a primitive urban layout, characterized as in the earliest Iraqi *amsars* by a dual space of power/living space (The Great Mosque adjacent to Dar al-Imara and beyond, the lots of installation), excluding, perhaps from the beginning, but clearly in the second/eighth century, the central role of the commercial space... The living space for its part, seems to



Fez is a city that was founded in North Africa by Idris I. It was he who distributed the urban space to different tribes, Arab and Berber, ordering them to work the land, as is written in the Qirtas:

Cuando acabó la construcción de la ciudad y la rodeó de murallas y la dotó de puertas, estableció allí a las tribus, dando a los árabes qaysíes desde la puerta de Ifriqiya hasta la Puerta de Hierro en el barrio de los kairuaneses; instaló a la tribu de Azd al lado de ellos, y los Yahsub al lado de estos últimos, al otro lado. Instaló a las tribus (bereberes) de los Sinhaya, Luwata, Masmuda y al-Sayjan cada una en su lugar, ordenándoles trabajar la tierra y cultivarla.⁶⁹

Here is the interpretation by P. Guichard regarding these matters:

...les premiers établissements se seraient inscrits dans le cadre d'une société arabe encore fortement marquée par une structure tribale, déterminant d'un type de "ville gentile" auquel se rattacheraient les premiers grands centres fondés (al-Kufa, al-Basra, Fustat, Kairouan, Bagdad) ou même ceux qui sont occupés et revitalisés à l'époque de la conquête (Damas, Alep).⁷⁰

In already existing cities, such as Damascus, a new order is still evident due to the creation of a central pole through the occupation of the governor's palace and its conversion into the palace of the Caliph, and through the creation of the central mosque or *aljama* nearby. It appears that tribal groups were not installed there, although it was possible that there was an aristocracy with a strong tribal component. The result was a veritable urban transformation, well analyzed by Hugh Kennedy.⁷¹

In conclusion, and leaving aside the later evolutions they suffered, the cities, including the *amṣār*, at least from a military and political perspective, arose to control the surrounding territory in favor of the presence of the conquerors and in support

have kept up until the third/ninth century and beyond, the traits of the first layout (*khiṭāf*), because the neighborhoods retained a distinctly ethnic and denominational character, bearing the name of a clan or a prominent figure without constituting ghettos. They are designated in the sources with the terms: *āāra* (applied to areas comprising or included in the space enclosed by walls), *rabad* (designating to the peripheral suburbs from the center) and *darb*, used by extension for large gates closing streets and alleys, which appeared in Kairouan in the early fourth/tenth century, characterized by disorders resulting from the rise of the Fatimids in power" (Sakly, Mondher. "Kairouan", *Grandes villes méditerranéennes du monde musulman médiéval*, Jean-Claude Garcin, ed. Rome-Paris: École Française de Rome-Diff, de Boccard, 2000: 57-85, especially 67).

69. "When the construction of the city was finished, he circled it with walls and he gave it gates; he settled the tribes there, giving the Qaysite Arabs from the Ifriqiya Gate to the Iron Gate in the Kairouanese district; he placed the Azd tribe next to them, and the Yahsub next to this last group, on the other side. He installed the (Berber) tribes of Sinhaya, Luwata, Masmuda and al-Sayjan each in their place, ordering them to work the land and cultivate it" (Ibn Abi Zar. *Rawd al-qirtās*, ed. Ambrosio Huici Miranda. Valencia: Anubar, 1964: I, 89-90).

70. "...The first settlements to be included as part of an Arab society still strongly marked by a tribal structure, determining a type of 'gentile city' which would tie in the first major centres founded (al-Kufa, al-Basra, Fustat, Kairouan, Baghdad) or even those who are occupied and revitalised at the time of the conquest (Damascus, Aleppo)" (Guichard, Pierre. "Les villes d'al-Andalus...": 39).

71. Kennedy, Hugh. "From polis to madina: urban change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria". *Past and Present*, 106 (1985): 3-27.



of their interests, became the expression of the new society that quickly stopped being Arab and became Islamic, as pointed out by Shaban,⁷² through the settling of peoples of all types attracted to the new centers.

For this very reason he says:

*La vida junto a los árabes ayudó a derrumbar algunas de las barreras entre árabes y no-árabes, cuya preservación había sido, en realidad, el propósito principal al construir las ciudades especiales para las guarniciones. El proceso de asimilación empezó en las ciudades de segregación, y al cabo sólo de dos generaciones incluso Hisham tuvo que hacer concesiones a su éxito y declarar a Kufa y Basra desmilitarizadas.*⁷³

The first inhabitants of these cities, the Arabs, preferred to augment their stipends (*ata*) with other new economic activities, both agricultural and mercantile. Change was assured.

As such, in agreement with what we have been saying, we have an issue that appears to have undeniable importance in the opinions of a more or less refined historiographic trend. We refer to the role of the tribe in society in the Islamic world and, therefore, the role of the tribe in the cities. In this sense those urban centers, at least initially, show their own characteristics of tribal organization. Acién has stated the impossibility of accepting this criteria in the formation and maintenance of the city, which is not to say that tribal influence did not exist.⁷⁴

Acién does not believe that it is the State either, isolated from society, that is responsible for the creation and evolution of the city. He writes: "... and the evolution of the traditional city is not due to interventions, small or large, of the State, but to the hegemony of the private. This does not depend on the State, rather the State is a participant in it."⁷⁵

It must not be forgotten that M. Acién has insisted on several occasions that that which dominates Islamic social formation is defined by the tributary mode of production and the simple, small market.⁷⁶ This last concept should be defined more clearly, although we understand that both ideas (the tribute mode of production and the simple, small market) approach the terminology used by S. Amin in his time of the mercantile-tribute mode of production.

72. Shaban, Muhammad Abdulhayy. *Historia del Islam (600-750 d. J.C.)*. Madrid: Guadarrama, 1976: 208-209.

73. "Life with the Arabs helped to bring down some of the barriers between Arabs and non-Arabs, whose preservation had been, in reality, the principal goal in constructing special cities for the garrisons. The process of assimilation began in the segregated cities, and after only two generations even Hisham had to admit to the success and declare Kufa and Basra demilitarized" (Shaban, Muhammad Abdulhayy. *Historia del Islam...*: 209).

74. Acién Almansa, Manuel. "El origen de la ciudad...": 16.

75. Acién Almansa, Manuel. "El origen de la ciudad...": 17.

76. Acién Almansa, Manuel. "El origen de la ciudad...": 16. See also from the same: Acién Almansa, Manuel. "La formación del tejido...": 11-32 and, especially Acién Almansa, Manuel. "Sobre el papel...": 915-968.



It is evident that the engine of that genesis and the changes involved is the economic and social organization. In this sense, it could be understood that the cities arose spontaneously, but not as a result of a social movement distinct from that at the heart of the social formation.

In this respect it is interesting that the geographer Idrīsī, in the 12th century, mentions population centers that do not quite reach the level of cities using the invariable preposition *ka* (= like, similar to) followed by *al-madīna*. Therefore the *ḥiṣn* (fortified settlement or castle), or *qarya* (rural settlement) in question is defined as like or similar to a city.⁷⁷ It is, in fact, a city in the making. Sometimes he speaks of a human settlement that reaches the level of a small city (*madīna ṣaḡī*), as in the case of Adra, on the western coast of Almeria.⁷⁸

In addition to being able to identify the characteristics that define an urban center, putting its political and economic character above, for example, the religious,⁷⁹ we believe that it is important to determine the development of a city from the perspective of an endogenous process.

There is a second question worth addressing, which is that of the continuity between the Late Antique city and the Islamic city. The matter is not at all insignificant for, in spite of a broad historiographic discussion that includes a European dimension,⁸⁰ the endurance of Late Antique urban elements continues to be defended although there are no reasonable grounds for doing so. The fact is that the survival of physical structures does not mean that the same urban function continued to be in force. The principal cities of al-Andalus (Cordoba, Seville, Merida, Toledo and Saragossa) survived precisely because they were far enough from the main Mediterranean circuits not to be affected.⁸¹

However, everything indicates that the evolution suffered by the old city leads to the privatization of public spaces, in so far as the creation of interior islands could favor the implantation of a new city in which the functions of the market and the installation of segmented groups —the cause of segmentation itself being its own problem— are relatively more easily achieved.

It is clear from ongoing research that the formation of the *madīna* developed from different sets of circumstances than previously assumed. One of these is doubtlessly

77. Mazzoli-Guintard, Christine. "Quelques éléments du signifié de *madīna*: l'emploi de *ka* chez al-Idrīsī". *Sharq al-Andalus. Estudios Arabes*, 9 (1992): 187-194.

78. Idrisi, Mamad Ibn Mamad al-Sarif Abu 'Abd Allah al-. *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, eds. Reinhart P. A. Dozy, Michael Johan de Goeje. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968: 198 (Arabic text), 242 (French translation).

79. "... la *madīna* se caractérise par la présence de deux structures indispensables à la vie économique: le marché et le fondouk" (Mazzoli-Guintard, Christine. "Quelques éléments du signifié...": 190.

80. In our context, see Gutiérrez Lloret, Sonia. "De la *civitas* a la *madīna*: destrucción y formación de la ciudad del sureste de al-Andalus. El debate arqueológico", *IV Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española: sociedades en transición. Actas. Alicante, 4-9 de octubre 1993*, Rafael Azuar, Javier Martí Oltra, coords. Alicante: Asociación Española de Arqueología Medieval-Diputación Provincial de Alicante, 1994: I, 13-35. The title calls to mind the previously cited article by Kennedy, Hugh. "From polis to *madīna*...": 3-27.

81. Manzano Moreno, Eduardo. *Conquistadores, emires...*: 248-249.



the appearance of spaces dedicated to trade and crafts,⁸² which does not prevent entrance into a broader discussion. The presence of those activities and of the social groups dedicated to them emphasizes the as of yet unmet necessity of studying rural life and its direct relationship with urban life. We will address this as we study the genesis and concept of the Andalusian city.

2.2 The genesis of the Andalusian city

There is little that can be said to date about the fundamental questions regarding the formation, organization and development of the Andalusian *madīna*. We know virtually nothing about the main impetus for their genesis and whether it was sudden or sustained.

However, it seems clear that creation could progress along different tracks, and that it was not contained in a concrete historical period but rather continued and grew over time. And this was not due only to the initiative of state power, which did exist, but because of the social action of groups that organized territorial spaces around centers that later became authentic cities.

From the outset there is one aspect that is evident: the crisis experienced by the old city. There remains much to be studied on the intensity of the crisis and the modalities it adopted. So when the Arabs arrived in Hispania —whether as an invading army, and therefore as a minority, or as a human group with sufficient cohesion to establish, itself is an aspect that must be determined with greater clarity and precision— the state of urban life was in irreversible decline. Studies that have been done on specific cities speak of such crisis, for example, studies on Cordoba,⁸³ Saragossa,⁸⁴ and a few cities in the southeastern Peninsula like the Cora of Tudmír, especially one that appears in the Treaty of Orihuila as Iyyuh that has been identified with the site of Tolmo de Minateda (Hellin, Albacete)⁸⁵ at an advanced stage of excavation, as well as those in Valencia.⁸⁶ Special mention must be made of Mérida,

82. Ación Almansa, Manuel. "El origen de la ciudad...": 19.

83. Ación Almansa, Manuel; Vallejo Triano, Antonio. "Urbanismo y Estado islámico: de *Corduba* a *Qurḍuba-Madīnat al-Zahrā'*", *Genèse de la Ville islamique en al-Andalus et au Maghreb occidental*, Patrice Cressier, Mercedes García-Arenal, (collaboration Mohamed Méouakk), eds. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez-Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1998: 107-136; Ación Almansa, Manuel; Vallejo Triano, Antonio. "Cordoue", *Grandes villes méditerranéennes du monde musulman médiéval*, Jean-Claude Garcin, ed. Rome-Paris: École Française de Rome-Diffusion de Bocard, 2000: 117-134.

84. Corral Lafuente, José Luis. *Historia de Zaragoza. Zaragoza musulmana (714-1118)*. Saragossa: Ayuntamiento de Saragossa, Servicio de Cultura-Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1998.

85. Gutiérrez Lloret, Sonia. "La islamización de Tudmír: balance y perspectivas", *Villes et campagnes de Tarraconaise et d'al-Andalus (VIe-XIe siècles): la transition*, Philippe Sénac, ed. Toulouse: CNRS-Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 2007: 275-318.

86. References and discussion on this topic in a broader context, fundamentally that of the city/country relationship in Guichard, Pierre. "Villes et campagnes aux premiers siècles de l'Islam dans le Sharq al-Andalus", *Villes et campagnes de Tarraconaise et d'al-Andalus (VIe-XIe siècles): la transition*, Philippe Sénac, ed. Toulouse: CNRS-Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 2007: 263-273.



which is a more complex case.⁸⁷ Others are beginning to be analyzed in their territorial context, as is the case with Guadix,⁸⁸ and how Almuñécar became known on the coast of Granada.⁸⁹

As has been established, these are cities of some importance in Antiquity. In all of them, a generation of the *madīna* based on new hypotheses is noticeable. This occurs to such a degree that when we find a case of possible continuity, it promptly comes to an end and the city even disappears through a process of ruralization.⁹⁰

We must point out one other interesting issue, in our opinion. In the two previously mentioned cases, it must be added that the new Andalusian city is not configured on the basis of the old, but rather from a *ḥiṣn*, which was constructed around the 9th century in each case. In both cities, the lack of continuity is an undeniable fact.

It is true that there is a hiatus in some. It depends, of course, on various factors. First of all, it depends on the intensity of the crisis. Such intensity is directly related to the character of the old city from which it comes. Furthermore, Andalusian cities do not develop in all the Late Antique urban centers. In fact, even a few cities founded *ex novo* by the Andalusians disappear after a fairly long period of life, while other cities arise. All of these issues make the examination of urban life in al-Andalus more complex. Research is only in its initial stages, especially if we consider that urban life is not usually studied in relation to the surrounding territories.

Anyway, cases are slowly coming to light that show that the growth of the *madīna* is more common than it might seem. Certain *ḥuṣūn* were perhaps created to establish control over an area of farms, or as a means of defense in turbulent times,

87. The research, primarily archaeological, is advancing at an ever more meaningful level, although the results are not yet integrated. As such, Alba Calzado, Miguel. "Apuntes sobre el urbanismo y la vivienda de la ciudad islámica de Mérida", *Excavaciones arqueológicas en Mérida 2001. Memoria 7*, Miguel Alba Calzado, Teresa Barrientos Vera, Félix Palma García, eds. Mérida: Consorcio ciudad monumental histórico-artística y arqueológica de Mérida, 2004: 417-438, y Alba Calzado, Miguel; Feijoo, Santiago. "Defensas urbanas de la Mérida islámica", *Al-Ándalus, espaço de mudança. Balanço de 25 anos de história e arqueologia medievais. Homenagem a Juan Zozaya Satbel-Hansen*, Susana Gómez Martínez, coord. Mértola: Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 2006: 101-110; Feijoo, Santiago; Alba Calzado, Miguel. "Nueva lectura arqueológica del aljibe y la alcazaba de Mérida", *Al-Ándalus, espaço de mudança. Balanço de 25 anos de história e arqueologia medievais. Homenagem a Juan Zozaya Satbel-Hansen*, Susana Gómez Martínez, coord. Mértola: Campo Arqueológico de Mértola, 2006: 161-170.

88. We have made an initial approach in Malpica Cuello, Antonio. "La ciudad medieval de Guadix a la luz de la arqueología. Reflexiones a partir de la intervención arqueológica en su muralla y en el torreón del Ferro", *Homenaje a Antonio Domínguez Ortiz*, Juan Luis Castellano Castellano, Miguel Luis López-Gualupe Muñoz, coords. Granada: Universidad de Granada-Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Innovación, Ciencia y Empresa, 2008: I, 599-620.

89. Gómez Becerra, Antonio. "Almuñécar en el tránsito de la Antigüedad a la Edad Media". *Florentina iliberritana: Revista de estudios de antigüedad clásica*, 6 (1995): 175-201; Gómez Becerra, Antonio. *El poblamiento altomedieval en la costa de Granada*. Granada: Grupo de Investigación "Toponimia, Historia y Arqueología del Reino de Granada", Universidad de Granada, 1998.

90. See in this sense Acién Almansa, Manuel. "El origen de la ciudad...": 21, note 43. This note refers to the work of Gutiérrez Lloret, Sonia. "Madīnat Iyyuh y la destrucción de espacio urbano en la Alta Edad Media", *Castrum 8. Le château et la ville. Espaces et réseaux (VI-XIII^e siècle)*, Patrice Cressier, ed. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008: 199-222.



which generally coincided in the previous period with the lengthy process of configuration of the caliphal state.

This mechanism required that the groups installed in the territories where pre-urban and defensive structures were built worked together with the state power.⁹¹ This can be seen, for example, in Calatayud⁹² and in Loja. In the latter case, the emir, ‘Abd Allāh, built the Castle of Loja in 893 with the consent of the important group, the Banū Jālib. So, his first commander was a member of that important tribal group based in the area of Loja when the *ḡundīes* arrived.⁹³ Everything seems to indicate that the placement of defensive structures to maintain that territory in the face of the revolt initiated by ‘Umar ibn Ḥaḥṣūn permitted the creation of a proto-urban organization which later, in the 11th century, became the *madīna*.⁹⁴

The division of the primitive *ḥiṣn* into two parts made this easily possible without creating large problems. Remember that the existence of a public space and a space dedicated to power in the *madīna*, as mentioned by Jean-Claude Garcin,⁹⁵ parallels the division of space in the castle. As such, the upper area, where the commander and his garrison were located, would logically be allocated to power, in so far as urban space could be established in the fortress shared by the inhabitants of the rural centers in the territory. This idea is reinforced if, as we have pointed out, these cities are the fruit of an agreement between the State and the most prominent groups in each area. Of course this does assume a hierarchy at the heart of the so-called rural communities, which brings us away from the egalitarian image we may have. In this regard, both the Andalusian State and the communities themselves have an interest in the existence of stable centers of trade and control of surplus. This possibility is confirmed yet again in those cases where we see that the cities were founded from rural settlements. This is what we see happen, according to the available information, in Madīnat Ilbīra in the 9th century at the latest, during the reign of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II. The basis was a collection of separate farms, including the core of a Late Antique settlement. This grew to become a fortress situated in El Sombrerete, the space of power, with an *aljama* mosque at its feet, becoming in turn the rudiments of a city with an artisanal district.⁹⁶ And we have a newly created *madīna* before us.

91. We have addressed this topic in Malpica Cuello, Antonio. “Castillos, alquerías y ciudades en al-Andalus. Un debate partiendo del análisis arqueológico”, forthcoming.

92. Souto, Juan A. “Calatayud: una madina en su contexto (siglos IX-X)”, *De la Tarraconaise à la Marche Supérieure d’al-Andalus (IV-XI): les habitants ruraux*, Philippe Sénac, ed. Toulouse: CNRS-Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 2006: 121-144.

93. For more on this tribal group and their role in the area of Loja see Jiménez Puertas, Miguel. *Linajes de poder en la Loja islámica: de los Banu Jalid a los Alatares (s. VIII-XV)*. Loja: Fundación Ibn al-Jatib de Estudios de Cooperación Cultural, 2009.

94. Jiménez Puertas, Miguel. *El poblamiento del territorio de Loja en la Edad Media*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002: 112-114, 154.

95. Garcin, Jean-Claude. “Les villes”, *États, sociétés et cultures du monde musulman médiéval. X^e-XV^e siècle. Tome 2. Sociétés et cultures*, Jean-Claude Garcin, dir. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2000: 129-171.

96. Various works, apart from the collective reports from the different excavations, allow the most recent investigations to be followed, each one signed “La ciudad de Madīnat Ilbīra” by the director of the archaeological undertaking. Those that started in 2005 had previous training. As such, see Malpica Cuello,



The formation of the city of Pechina, or *Madīnat Bayyāna*, is similar, yet different. Basically, a city was generated from the two farms of *Bayyāna* and *Mūra*, or *M.wra*. A mosque was built in the former, and the center of power was established there. The new city began to control the neighboring territory and even more distant areas. But the impulse was born of the conjunction of the interests of the peasantry and a new power that was not exactly the State but rather the *people of the sea*.⁹⁷ The Umayyad State undoubtedly sanctioned the situation. However, the city did not arise through spontaneous generation, but rather through the dynamic of the mercantile-tribute social formation.

The Andalusian *madīna* became, over the course of its development, a center of population in which economic activities related to trade and artisanal production were fundamental. It was the receptor of agricultural products and of their reissuance and redistribution through mercantile activity. Because of this, the *madīna* appeared and became consolidated in a powerful and autonomous urban group that was able to impose conditions on state power. In the great crisis of the 11th and 12th centuries this is quite clear. Later, development continued and numerous urban centers were formed.

Antonio. "El paisaje rural medieval en la Vega de Granada y la ciudad de Ilbīra". *Arqueología espacial. Arqueología espacial: Espacios agrarios*, 26 (2006): 227-24; Malpica Cuello, Antonio. "La formación de una islámica: Madīnat Ilbīra", *Ciudad y arqueología medieval*, Antonio Malpica Cuello, ed. Granada: Alhulia, 2006: 65-850; Malpica Cuello, Antonio. "Mundo urbano y mundo rural en al-Andalus. El ejemplo de Madīnat Ilbīra", *Homenaje al Profesor Andrew M. Watson*, forthcoming.

97. Regarding the people of the sea (=baḥriyyūn) of Pechina see Ballestín, Xavier. "La segmentación de grupos clánicos bereberes y la actividad de los baḥriyyen (gentes del mar) en el Mediterráneo Occidental durante la Alta Edad Media (al-Andalus, al-Magreb, Siqiliyya)", *De la sociedad islámica a la feudal. Veinte años de Al-Andalus, Homenaje a Pierre Guichard (Granada-Valencia, mayo 1996)*, forthcoming.

