

The Judicial Rights of Dhimmis under Islamic Rule in al-Andalus: The Documents of Ibn Sahl al-Asadī (413–486 AH / 1022–1093 CE) as a Case Study

Dr. Baakek Noureddine

Mustapha Stambouli University of Mascara, Algeria.

Email: baakeknoureddine@gmail.com

Received: 28.12.2025 ; Accepted: 15.06.2026 ; Publishing: 29.06.2026

Abstract

This study aims to shed light on the conditions of the dhimmis—non-Muslim subjects under Islamic protection—in Islamic al-Andalus through an analytical reading of the juridical and documentary sources. Drawing on the rich body of legal records preserved in Andalusian jurisprudence, the research examines the historical data that illuminate the nature of the relationships between the dhimmis and the Muslim community within a society characterized by religious plurality and social diversity. The study further seeks to demonstrate the pivotal role played by juridical compilations in documenting cases involving dhimmis, and to elucidate how Islamic legal rulings structured their presence within the social fabric of Andalusian society.

The research addresses multiple dimensions of dhimmi life in al-Andalus, encompassing their religious practices, family and social rights, engagement in economic activity, and participation in political and administrative affairs. The documentary evidence simultaneously reveals the decisive role of jurists and judges in regulating and overseeing this relationship, ensuring the protection of the Islamic domain while maintaining a judicious balance between the principle of religious tolerance and the requirements of the legal order.

Keywords: documentary jurisprudence, al-Andalus, legal rulings, judges, dhimmis.

Introduction

Judicial documentary jurisprudence (*'ilm al-watha'iq*) constitutes one of the most significant branches of the Islamic legal tradition. Its purpose was to record and regulate the various transactions and dealings occurring among individuals, and to establish the legal rulings arising from them in recognized documents and registers that could be consulted whenever necessary, thereby safeguarding rights and organizing relationships in accordance with Islamic law. This function was undertaken by a cadre of jurist-judges who assumed responsibility for recording proceedings, drafting contracts, and registering the rulings issued in relation to them—a body of work that over time accumulated into historical material of exceptional significance for understanding diverse aspects of life within Islamic societies.

A particularly prominent figure in this context is Judge Abu al-Asbagh 'Isa ibn Sahl ibn 'Abd Allah al-Asadi, regarded as one of the foremost Maliki jurists of al-Andalus, widely renowned for his vast knowledge of legal precedents (*nawazil*), his mastery of adjudication and legal rulings, and his rigorous application of the dictates of Islamic law. He immortalized a substantial portion of his judicial

and scholarly output in his work *al-Ahkam al-Kubra*, also known as *al-I'lam bi-Nawazil al-Ahkam* (Notification of Legal Precedents). This text serves as the primary source for the present study—especially regarding rulings pertaining to dhimmi adjudication—owing to the wealth of documentary material it contains, which illuminates significant aspects of the religious, social, financial, and judicial structure of Andalusian society. In addition, and in keeping with the research's need for complementary source material and a broader scope of inquiry, use has been made of several other documentary compilations, including the registers of Ibn al-'Attar, *al-Muqni'* by al-Tulaytuli, *al-Ahkam* by al-Barzali, and *al-Watha'iq al-Mukhtasara* by al-Gharnati, all of which serve to reinforce the scholarly approach and to encompass the various dimensions of the study's subject matter.

This study endeavors to analyze a selection of juridical documents with a view to examining the actual conditions of the dhimmis within Andalusian society, disclosing the nature of the status they occupied within its social structure, and highlighting the positions adopted by jurist-judges toward the various contemporary cases and legal precedents related to them. This, in turn, allows for a deeper understanding of the nature of the relationships that governed the coexistence of Muslims and non-Muslims under the prevailing legal system of the period.

Arising from the study's engagement with the field of judicial documentary jurisprudence as a primary source material capable of reflecting and illuminating the historical phenomenon in its multiple dimensions, the central research question addresses the extent to which this documentation contributed to revealing the actual conditions of the dhimmis in al-Andalus, highlighting their status within society, and clarifying how judges and jurists engaged with the various cases related to them in the light of the prevailing Islamic legal provisions.

In addressing this question, the study rests on a number of subsidiary inquiries, the most significant of which are:

- What is meant by judicial documentary jurisprudence, and what is the nature of its role in preserving facts and recording rulings within Andalusian society?
- How did Islamic adjudication handle cases involving the dhimmis, and to what extent did the principles of justice and equity manifest in dealings with them?
- What was the nature of the religious and social relationship that bound the dhimmis to the Muslims within Andalusian society, and how did the principle of religious tolerance find expression in the patterns of coexistence between the two parties?
- How did juridical rulings regulate the various financial and economic aspects concerning the dhimmis—particularly matters of commercial transactions, financial rights, and their position within the economic structure of Islamic al-Andalus?

To address these questions, the study adopts an analytical-descriptive historical methodology, grounded in the investigation and tracing of historical events and facts, followed by their analysis in light of their historical significance and evidentiary bases, with the aim of deriving their various implications and uncovering the outcomes they produced within their historical context.

In accordance with the nature of the subject and the questions posed, the research methodology required dividing this study into a series of complementary sections. These begin with a preliminary introduction that defines the general framework and significance of the topic, followed by a section

defining judicial documentary jurisprudence as the epistemological field that contextualizes the primary source material. Subsequent sections present a biographical introduction to the author—Judge Abu al-Asbagh 'Isa ibn Sahl—with a focus on his scholarly and judicial standing within the Maliki school of al-Andalus, an introduction to his work *al-Ahkam al-Kubra* or *al-I'lam bi-Nawazil al-Ahkam*, and an assessment of its historical value as a documentary and juridical compilation reflecting a significant dimension of Andalusian life. The study then proceeds to examine the content of the work and analyze its themes in light of the cases it addresses, culminating in a conclusion dedicated to the principal findings of the research.

1. Defining Documentary Jurisprudence ('Ilm al-Watha'iq)

1.1 Linguistic Definition

The term *tawthiq* (documentation) in the Arabic language is a verbal noun derived from the expression *wathiqā bihi*, meaning to trust someone, and *awthaqahu*, meaning to bind something firmly with a contractual bond. *Tawthiq* thus denotes something sound and firmly established.¹

The meaning most appropriate to documents (*watha'iq*) refers to the signatures, written text, testimonies, and other elements contained within them that constitute evidence of their authority and validity. A document, in this sense, functions for the holder of a right like a covenant or a bond by which that right is secured.²

1.2 Technical Definition

Documentation, as a technical concept, refers to the act and process performed by those responsible for notarization and the drafting of legal instruments. Hajji Khalifa defined it as "a discipline that investigates the manner in which rulings established by a judge are to be recorded in books and registers in a form admissible as legal proof after the original witnesses have departed, whose subject matter consists of such rulings insofar as they are subject to written record, and some of whose principles derive from jurisprudence, others from the art of composition (*'ilm al-insha'*), and others still from conventions, customs, and matters of juristic preference."³

From the foregoing—whether the linguistic or technical definition—it is evident that documentary jurisprudence is concerned with recording and giving formal validity to covenants and decisions made between people in their various daily transactions, as well as with registering judicial rulings in registers that may be consulted in the resolution of disputes and the establishment of rights. The sources from which the discipline draws its authority are similarly apparent: jurisprudence (*fiqh*),

¹Al-Jaziri, 'Ali ibn Yahya ibn al-Qasim, *Al-Maqsad al-Mahmud fi Talkhis al-'Uqud* [The Praiseworthy Goal in Summarizing Contracts], ed. Fayiz ibn Marzuq ibn Burayqi al-Sulami, doctoral dissertation, Department of Shari'a Studies, Umm al-Qura University, 1412–1422 AH, p. 30; al-Mutarrizi, Abu al-Fath Nasir al-Din, *Al-Mughrib fi Tartib al-Mu'rib*, ed. Mahmud Nakhuri and 'Abd al-Hamid Mukhtar, 1st ed., Aleppo: Maktabat Usama wa Ibn Zayd, 1979, vol. 2, p. 341; Ibn Manzur, Abu al-Fadl Jamal al-Din Mahmud ibn Mukarram, *Lisan al-'Arab*, ed. 'Abd Allah 'Ali al-Kabir, Muhammad Ahmad Hasab Allah, and Hashim Muhammad al-Shadili, Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arif, 1st ed., n.d., vol. 6, p. 4764.

²Al-Gharnati, Abu Ishaq Ibrahim ibn Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman (d. 579 AH), *Al-Watha'iq al-Mukhtasara* [Concise Documents], ed. Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al-Sahli, Islamic University of Medina, 1432 AH/2011, p. 30; Ibn Manzur, op. cit., vol. 10, pp. 371–372.

³Al-Gharnati, op. cit., p. 31; Hajji Khalifa Mustafa ibn 'Abd Allah, *Kashf al-Zunun 'an Asami al-Kutub wa-al-Funun* [Revealing the Obscurities of Book and Art Titles], corrected by Muhammad Sharaf al-Din Bilkah al-Kalas, Beirut: Dar Ihya' al-Turath al-'Arabi, n.d., vol. 2, pp. 1045–1046.

which imparts a religious character and ensures conformity with Islamic legal provisions; the art of composition ('ilm al-insha'), which lends stylistic elegance; and, in addition, praiseworthy customs and conventions recognized among people.

2. Biographical Introduction to the Author

Abu al-Asbagh 'Isa ibn Sahl ibn 'Abd Allah al-Asadi al-Jayyani al-Maliki (413–486 AH / 1022–1093 CE) was of Jayyani origin.⁴

He settled in Córdoba, where he received his education in jurisprudence, studying under a number of distinguished scholars including Muhammad ibn 'Attab, Hatim al-Atarabulus, Yahya ibn Zakariyya al-Qulay'i, Judge Ibn Asad al-Tulaytuli, and Ibn Rafi' Ra'sahu. He composed a highly regarded work on legal rulings, exercised leadership in Ceuta, and among his students were the judges Ibn Muhammad ibn Mansur, Ibrahim ibn Ahmad al-Nasri, and Abu Muhammad ibn al-Jawzi, as well as others. He also served as judge of Granada.⁵

He was counted among the foremost scholars of his era—possessed of exceptional memory for legal opinion, extensive knowledge of legal issues and precedents (nawazil), sound judgment in rulings, and unsurpassed mastery of them. He compiled all of this in a valuable and excellent work, from which the judges derived benefit and upon which they relied. He also served as notary to Judge Abu Zayd al-Hasha' in Toledo, then to Judge Abu Bakr ibn Manzur in Córdoba, where he served as a legal consultant for a period before assuming judicial office in the territories of the opposite shore (al-'Adwa), and subsequently being entrusted with judicial authority in Granada.⁶

He died after having been relieved of that office, on a Friday, and was buried on Saturday, the fifth of Muharram in the year 486 AH. He was born in the year 413 AH. Abu al-Qasim ibn Bashkuwal described him as follows: "He was among those endowed with outstanding qualities and complete knowledge, and participated in various branches of learning."⁷

Ibn al-Sayrafi wrote of him: "... he was among the people of knowledge and discernment, combined with virtue, piety, soundness of faith, and abundant generosity; his handwriting was refined, his composition eloquent, and his mind ever alert ..."⁸

⁴Jayyān: a city in al-Andalus with a vast administrative district, adjacent to the district of Elvira and situated northeast of Córdoba at a distance of seventeen farsakhs. It comprises numerous villages and towns. For further details, see: Yaqut ibn 'Abd Allah al-Hamawi, Mu'jam al-Buldan, vol. 2, Beirut: Dar Sadir, 1397 AH/1977, p. 195.

⁵Ibn Farhun al-Maliki (d. 799 AH), Al-Dibaj al-Mudhahhab fi Ma'rifat A'yan 'Ulama' al-Madhab [The Golden Brocade in Identifying the Eminent Scholars of the School], ed. and annotated by Muhammad al-Ahmadi Abu al-Nur, Cairo: Dar al-Turath, n.d., vol. 2, biography no. 3, p. 70.

⁶Al-Dhahabi, Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Uthman (d. 748 AH/1374), Siyar A'lam al-Nubala' [Biographies of Noble Scholars], ed. Shu'ayb al-Arna'ut, Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risala, 1st ed., 1405 AH/1984, vol. 19, biography no. 15, pp. 25–26.

⁷Ibn Bashkuwal, Abu al-Qasim (494–578 AH), Al-Sila fi Tarikh A'immat al-Andalus [The Link in the History of Andalusian Imams], ed. Bashshar 'Awwad Ma'ruf, vol. 2, Tunis: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1st ed., 2010, biography no. 942, pp. 56–57.

⁸Ibn Sahl al-Asadi (d. 486 AH), Al-I'lam bi-Nawazil al-Ahkam al-Ma'ruf bi-al-Ahkam al-Kubra [Notification of Legal Precedents, Known as the Major Rulings], ed. Nura Muhammad 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Tuwajiri, 1st ed., 1415 AH/1995, vol. 1, p. 22.

3. Introduction to the Work

The documents in question are the work of Abu al-Asbagh 'Isa ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Sahl al-Asadi (d. 486 AH / 1093 CE), edited by Dr. Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhab Khallaf. They have furnished us with precise information concerning the religious communities that shared various aspects of daily life with the Muslims on one hand, and with one another given the plurality of their religious laws on the other. They thus provide a vivid illustration of the climate of religious coexistence within a single land. Ibn Sahl organized this work as a collection of cases—approximately sixteen in total—presenting their headings according to their themes and elucidating their content by means of the original documents and rulings.

These documents were drawn from a source of the utmost importance known as al-I'lam bi-Nawazil al-Ahkam or al-Ahkam al-Kubra—a large volume of 426 pages that constitutes a rich source of information on Andalusian society during the fifth century AH (eleventh century CE). Through it, one gains access to a substantial body of contracts covering various domains of Andalusian life. The documents offer vivid representations of lived reality in that period, in which Judge Ibn Sahl demonstrated his capacity to record rulings, authenticate contracts, and resolve the ambiguities surrounding them—shedding light on events that had previously remained unknown. He based his rulings on the principle of collegial consultation then prevalent among the jurists of the various regions in addressing the cases submitted to them, to such a degree that some rulings were issued by the unanimous agreement of senior judges, representing the collective outcome of their scholarly endeavors rather than the sole interpretation of any single jurist. He expressed this in the following terms:

"By the grace of God toward me and His abundant favors upon me, and with His gracious assistance during the period of my exercise of adjudication and rulings, and the time of my recording of rulings from judges and magistrates, there came before me legal precedents in which I sought the counsel of whatever senior scholars and men of learning I encountered; and legal questions presented themselves to me in which I consulted the foremost scholars, for they held the highest station in such matters ... some of these consultations were in person, and others were conducted in writing."⁹

4. The Historical Value of the Work

The historical significance of the work manifests in the distinguished position held by its author as a judge, consulting jurist, and notary in the city of Córdoba—offices that granted him direct access to the documents left behind by the judges of the city and enabled him to draw upon them in compiling his material. The rulings encompass cases that address multiple facets of social and economic life in al-Andalus, and the work is supplemented by biographical notices on the jurists, judges, and transmitters whose opinions were cited or consulted prior to the issuance of legal judgments.

The work is distinguished by its close engagement with lived reality: it does not merely present the views of the judges and their disagreements on any given case, but also includes references to dates

⁹Ibn Sahl al-Asadi (d. 486 AH), *Watha'iq fi Ahkam Qada' Ahl al-Dhimma fi al-Andalus Mustakhraja min Makhtutat al-Ahkam al-Kubra* [Documents on Juridical Rulings Concerning the Dhimmis in al-Andalus, Extracted from the Manuscript of the Major Rulings], ed. Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhab Khallaf, reviewed by Mahmud 'Ali Makki and Mustafa Kamil Isma'il, Cairo: al-Markaz al-'Arabi li-l-Duwal li-l-I'lam, 1980, pp. 1, 8–9.

and the names of the litigants and disputants, a feature that lends it considerable documentary value. On this basis, Ibn Sahl's legal opinions may be regarded as far removed from hypothetical legal scenarios, since they reflect actual events and specific historical circumstances. The work accordingly represents a source of the greatest importance for Arab and foreign researchers engaged in the study of the history of al-Andalus, particularly in the domains of adjudication, jurisprudence, social relations, and religious coexistence. It occupies a prominent position among the sources of social and cultural history, and contributes to the revision of many conceptions that have previously lacked documentary corroboration or have been marked by a degree of bias.

The work also constitutes fundamental material for understanding the nature of the relations between Muslims and the dhimmis, and for illuminating the practices of justice and religious tolerance. It thus highlights the civilizational and humanistic dimension of Andalusian society, characterized as it was by an intertwining of interests and an interconnection of relationships within a framework of equity and fairness.

5. Analysis of the Work's Content

These documents illuminate numerous aspects of life within Andalusian society and highlight the nature of the Islamic judicial system in achieving justice between Muslim and non-Muslim alike, without discrimination. They offer a clear picture of the reality of coexistence in al-Andalus and the balance and tolerance that characterized relations among the various communities. The cases they encompass span the principal domains on which the structure of states and societies was founded, namely:

- The religious domain, including conversion to Islam by dhimmis and apostasy from it, religious tolerance, rights and duties, and the application of prescribed legal penalties (hudud);
- The social domain, addressing issues of marriage, child custody, personal honor, and the details of festivals and religious observances, reflecting the nature of social relations between the various communities;
- The financial domain, covering property disputes and financial transactions between dhimmis and Muslims;
- The political domain, including the appointment of dhimmis to police functions, relations with the Christian principalities to the north, and participation in translation activities.

5.1 The Religious Domain

5.1.1 Conversion to Islam and Apostasy

Within the framework of religious tolerance accorded to the dhimmis in al-Andalus, their conversion to Islam was entirely voluntary and free of coercion. They were guaranteed the right to retain their original religious beliefs, provided they adhered to the terms of the covenants they had concluded with the Muslims—whether at the time of the conquest of their lands or upon their entry into the Islamic domain. The conversion of a dhimmi was not left unregulated; rather, it was subject to documented procedures attesting to this transformation, overseen by the jurists and judges under clearly defined conditions that secured the convert's rights and specified his obligations. The profession of Islam was publicly made before the judge of the city or the head of its police force, or alternatively before the official responsible for legal rulings, and always subject to verification that the

individual was of sound mind and rational capacity, and that the choice had been made freely and of his own accord.¹⁰

Christians were generally known by non-Arabic or deprecatory names; consequently, one of the most prominent rights conferred upon a dhimmi upon his public declaration of Islam was the selection of an appropriate name, particularly in cases where his father's name was unknown. He was also entitled to retain his property and his wife if she was a woman of the Book—whether Jewish or Christian—with the additional option of marrying a Muslim or a kitabiyya woman if he so wished. If the dhimmi woman was unattached to a husband, she had the right to marry with her consent, and the judge before whom she professed Islam would serve as her guardian in that regard. Upon embracing Islam, the first obligation incumbent upon the dhimmi was to pronounce the two declarations of faith and to adhere to the Five Pillars of Islam. He was also required to perform the ritual bath and the prayer on the day of his conversion, and to acknowledge that Islam abrogates all previous religions, pledging not to apostatize. He was further obligated to bring his children into Islam, provided they had not yet reached the age of puberty; if they had attained maturity and discernment in matters of religion, they could not be compelled to do so. If the dhimmi woman's husband was a Zoroastrian or one who did not belong to the People of the Book, the marital bond between them was dissolved should he refuse to embrace Islam—the same ruling that applied to a Muslim female dhimmi convert whose husband declined to enter Islam, in which case the marriage contract was annulled.¹¹

Among the obligations imposed on the dhimmi was adherence to the prescriptions of Islam and avoidance of its prohibitions. Accordingly, he was required to refrain from all forms of prohibited food and drink; any unlawful beverage found in his possession was to be destroyed. He was likewise obligated to pursue only lawful means in all his transactions, whether in the social or economic sphere.¹²

As for the question of apostasy, the documents reveal that its causes were not limited to the influence exercised by the dhimmis on Muslims but extended to other factors as well—most of them connected to some harm suffered by the apostate during his time as a Muslim. The most prominent of these included exposure to injustice and oppression at the hands of an overbearing or tyrannical authority figure, inability to obtain one's rights and claim one's legitimate dues, exclusion and the absence of equitable distribution of war spoils, and a range of other worldly calculations and interests that drove the individual to abandon Islam.¹³

¹⁰Ibn al-'Attar, Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Umawi (330–399 AH / 942–1009), *Kitab al-Watha'iq wa-al-Sijillat* [Book of Documents and Registers], ed. and pub. P. Chalmeta and F. Corriente, Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1983, pp. 405–409; al-Tulaytuli, Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Mughith al-Sadafi (d. 459 AH/1067), *Al-Muqni' fi 'Ilm al-Shurut* [The Sufficient Guide to the Science of Legal Conditions], annotated by Duha al-Khatib, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1st ed., 1420 AH/2000, pp. 218–219.

¹¹Ibn al-'Attar, op. cit., pp. 406–407; al-Tulaytuli, op. cit., p. 219.

¹²Ibid., p. 219.

¹³Ibn Sahl, *Al-'Ilam bi-Nawazil al-Ahkam*, vol. 2, p. 848; Ibn Farhun, *Tabsirat al-Hukkam fi Usul al-Aqdiya wa-Manahij al-Hukkam* [The Judges' Enlightenment on the Foundations of Adjudication and Judicial Methods], reviewed by 'Abd al-Ra'uf Sa'd, Cairo: al-Matba'a al-Haditha, 1st ed., 1406 AH/1986, vol. 2, p. 211.

5.1.2 Religious Tolerance

The dhimmis, in all their diversity of religious communities, were accorded a significant degree of tolerance by the Muslims; they integrated with them across the various spheres of life and conducted transactions with them in its manifold dimensions. Nevertheless, the jurists' concern with protecting Muslims from influences that might compromise their doctrinal and spiritual integrity led them to document a number of transactions related to the religious dimension, in order to preserve the Islamic religion and consolidate its creed—while simultaneously refraining from depriving the dhimmis of the right to practice their religious rites. These documents stipulated a number of regulatory principles governing this aspect, the most prominent of which was the prohibition of open proclamation of unbelief. This is illustrated by a legal case recorded by Abu al-Asbagh ibn Sahl concerning a Christian woman who denied the divinity of God and rejected the prophethood of the Prophet. These rulings also aimed at blocking the means that could lead to the apostasy of Muslims under the influence of the dhimmis—particularly those who were directly subject to their authority, such as servants and slaves, whether originally Muslim or having reverted to unbelief after embracing Islam.¹⁴

In the same context, the dhimmis were prohibited from striking church bells if their dwellings were situated among those of Muslims, for fear of the influence this might exert on children and those of weak understanding. The construction of churches and other places of worship, as well as the conduct of religious rites, were subject to a range of precise regulations. The dhimmis were forbidden from renovating existing structures or constructing new ones without a document issued by the sultan or the judge explicitly authorizing them to do so. When their communities were multiple and their religious laws diverse, each community was allocated the right to construct one single place of worship, on the condition that they were not residing in proximity to Muslims. Nor was it permissible for the members of different communities to intermingle in their places of worship—Jews were not to enter the churches of Christians, nor Christians the synagogues of Jews. These documents further emphasized the obligation to preserve and protect Muslim cemeteries from any defilement or desecration that might be occasioned by the dhimmis.¹⁵

5.1.3 Rights and Duties

The juridical documents highlight the status that the dhimmi held within Andalusian society—a status that rested, in one of its dimensions, on the principle of judicial parity with the Muslim. This is clearly evident in the cases of disputes and litigation that these documents record, along with the mechanisms for resolving them in accordance with the dictates of justice, without favor or bias. One of the most illustrative examples of this is a case addressed under the heading "The Claim of the People of Baṭalyaws Against Asma' Bint Ibn Hayyun," which concerns a complaint filed by the people of the

¹⁴Ibn Sahl, *Wathā'iq fī Ahkām Qada' Ahl al-Dhimma*, p. 70; Nabil Qurhili, "Dawr Ahl al-Dhimma fī al-'Alaqat al-Dakhiliyya wa-al-Kharijiyya bi-al-Andalus (238–366 AH / 852–976)" [The Role of Dhimmis in the Internal and External Relations of al-Andalus], *Majallat Silsilat al-Adab wa-al-'Ulum al-Insaniyya*, Tishreen University, vol. 40, no. 5, 2018, p. 178.

¹⁵Al-Tulaytuli, op. cit., p. 140; Ibn Sahl, *Wathā'iq fī Ahkām Qada' Ahl al-Dhimma*, pp. 43–81; Ibn Sahl, *Al-I'lam bi-Nawazil al-Ahkām*, vol. 2, p. 774; al-Barzali, Abu al-Qasim ibn Ahmad al-Balawi al-Tunisi (d. 841 AH/1431), *Jami' Masa'il al-Ahkām lima Nazala min al-Qadaya bi-al-Muftayn wa-al-Hukkam* "Fatawa al-Barzali," ed. Muhammad al-Habib al-Hila, Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1st ed., 2002, vol. 2, p. 19.

village of Baṭalyaws against the said woman. Ibn Labbab clarified that the judge required them to furnish proof, a legal argument, or testimonial evidence demonstrating the validity of their claim; if they were unable to do so, the matter passed to the defendant, who was then entitled to present whatever rebuttal would dismiss the claim against her. This case clearly demonstrates that the dhimmis were entitled to judicial treatment founded on equity and fairness, no different from that accorded to the Muslims. The documents also show that they were subject to coercive legal measures when circumstances so required—they could be detained and imprisoned whenever a case concerning bloodshed, destruction, or any other matter likely to cause harm to others so demanded.¹⁶

5.1.4 Prescribed Legal Penalties (Hudud)

The juridical documents demonstrate that the dhimmis were likewise subject to the prescribed legal penalties whenever they committed acts deemed as transgression against religion, just as the Muslims were—a circumstance that reflects the subjection of all parties to the provisions of Islamic law within Andalusian society. Among the most prominent examples of this is the manner in which Andalusian jurists and judges handled the case of the apostate. The first step taken with regard to such an individual was to summon him and confront him with his act, making him aware of the gravity of what he had done and the harm he had thereby inflicted upon himself by abandoning the religion he had entered after leaving the faith of his forebears. Efforts were then made to encourage his return to Islam and to remove the causes and motivations that had led to his apostasy, within the framework of an attempt at rehabilitation and restoration to the faith. In this context, a period of three days was granted during which repentance was sought; if he persisted in his position and did not relent, the marital bond between him and his wife was dissolved, and thereafter the death sentence was carried out in accordance with the applicable legal provisions.¹⁷

Al-Barzali additionally records a number of practices committed by dhimmis that were regarded as injurious to Muslims or as disruptions of public order within the Islamic domain. The most prominent of these included the consumption and sale of alcohol, as well as the violation of honor and the attendant spread of fornication. Those found guilty of such acts were subject to disciplinary proceedings initiated by the judiciary—they were reprimanded and prohibited from repeating the offense as a deterrent and a preventive measure. This process was repeated on three successive occasions; if the individual continued in his conduct without any sign of reform, he was expelled from the premises in which those acts were being carried out, and the building was then set ablaze—a measure reflecting the judiciary's commitment to protecting society and upholding the provisions of Islamic law against any infringement.¹⁸

Another example reflected in these juridical documents is what Ibn al-'Attar recorded in a series of documents bearing the title "Impugnment on Grounds of Enmity." These documents concern cases in which the dhimmis were found to have made statements or adopted positions that constituted an attack on or disparagement of Islam, thereby necessitating legal accountability. In such cases, the Muslims would testify to the acts attributed to them; the dhimmis were then initially admonished and

¹⁶Ibn Sahl, *Wathā'iq fi Ahkam Qada' Ahl al-Dhimma*, pp. 58–59.

¹⁷Ibn al-'Attar, *op. cit.*, p. 407; al-Tulaytuli, *op. cit.*, p. 220; Ibn Sahl, *Wathā'iq fi Ahkam Qada' Ahl al-Dhimma*, p. 46.

¹⁸Al-Barzali, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 392–393.

warned to desist from their conduct. If they persisted and did not refrain from the acts ascribed to them, the applicable prescribed penalty was applied in accordance with the prevailing legal provisions.¹⁹

5.2 The Social Domain

5.2.1 Child Custody

These juridical documents ensured, within the principles of the Islamic faith, a number of rights enjoyed by the dhimmis within Andalusian society—among the most prominent of which were the rights to ownership and marriage and other rights recognized by Islamic law. One of the most illustrative examples of this is a legal case recorded by Ibn Sahl al-Asadi under the heading "The Maternal Grandmother—Even if She is Christian—Has the Greater Right to Custody." This case reflects the attention that Islamic legal rulings devoted to the rights of non-Muslims: despite the disagreements raised by the jurists regarding the order of priority in custody between the father and the Christian maternal grandmother, the case clearly demonstrates that Islam did not deprive this grandmother of her right on account of her different religious affiliation. Rather, it preserved her position and recognized her right to custody in accordance with the child's best interests and the applicable legal provisions—a picture that reflects the expansive scope of justice that encompassed the dhimmis even as they remained in their Christian faith.²⁰

5.2.2 Religious Festivals and Observances

Within the framework of the social justice experienced by the dhimmis in al-Andalus and the religious tolerance afforded to them by Islamic society, they were permitted to practice their religious rites and hold their religious celebrations, as were the Muslims. However, this practice was not unrestricted; rather, it was subject to a number of conditions and regulations imposed out of regard for the inviolability of Islam in its own domain, with which they were required to comply in order to preserve the prevailing religious and social order. These celebrations were, like those of the Muslims, associated with occasions and days of sacred religious significance in their traditions—reflecting the continued presence of their distinctive religious and cultural identity within Andalusian society, within the framework of the coexistence system then in place.

The Festival of Nawruz—known in al-Andalus as the Night of Yanir—was among the most widespread festivals celebrated within Andalusian society, associated with the observance of the Christian New Year. The presence of this festival extended beyond the dhimmi communities to find resonance among Muslims as well, who participated in its celebrations as though it were one of their own special occasions. They would leave their work on its morning, exchange food, gifts, and presents with Christians, and respond to one another's social invitations. A further manifestation of this participation was the custom by which Muslims would offer what was known as the 'idiyya or gift to their children's teachers on the occasion of seasons and festivals.

While the jurists approved such gifts in the context of Muslim festivals—such as Ramadan, the two 'Eids, and 'Ashura—they condemned the giving or receiving of gifts on the occasions of Christian

¹⁹Ibn al-'Attar, op. cit., p. 233.

²⁰Ibn Sahl, Watha'iq fi Ahkam Qada' Ahl al-Dhimma, p. 86.

or dhimmi festivals, whether offered to non-Muslim teachers of Muslim children or accepted by Muslim teachers, on the grounds that this constituted a glorification of the observances of non-Muslims and might result in a diminution of the spiritual value of Islamic festivals. In the same context, Ibn Rushd, in his legal opinions, referred to the participation of Muslims in Christian Nawruz celebrations, whether for purposes of entertainment or economic benefit—such as engaging in trade connected with the goods and crafts required by Christians for their festival, including certain types of pottery and textiles.²¹

Among the festivals that similarly witnessed broad social participation was the Festival of Pentecost ('Ansara), during which Muslims joined Jews in the rites associated with this occasion. These included equestrian activities, dueling, and poetry competitions, as well as the lighting of fires and leaping over them, the preparation of lavish and varied food spreads, with an abundance of cheese dishes and sponge pastries filled with cheese in imitation of Christian custom.

In addition to that, women would also decorate their homes, bring clothing out under the night sky, abstain from their usual daily tasks on that day, cook cabbage leaves and greens, and perform ritual bathing according to specific customs associated with the occasion. As was their custom in seeking to correct social practices they deemed objectionable, the jurists denounced these rites, which they regarded as alien to Islam, forbidding the celebration of this festival and its attendant women's practices. They also warned against the veneration of Sundays and Saturdays and the suspension of work on those days, instructing women to treat them as ordinary days in which to perform their prayers and attend to their households, husbands, and children.²²

The Feast of Saint John was associated with a series of celebratory manifestations, including the staging of games, the formation of gathering circles, and the conduct of jousting. Children would construct water-sprinkled slides, while women went out into the streets and shops to purchase figurines and confectionery—a practice known as al-buruz. In response to the spread of these practices and their impact on the conduct of Muslims, the market inspectors (muhtasibs) intervened to counter them and limit their influence on the Islamic faith. The dhimmis were accordingly prohibited from displaying wine and pork in Muslim markets, from riding horses with saddles, and from wearing attire that conveyed authority and elevated social status. They were required to carry distinguishing markers that set them apart from Muslims—the shakla for men and the jaljal (small bell) for women—so that unbelief might not appear to surpass Islam. Those who violated these regulations were subject to disciplinary measures and punishment.²³

²¹Ibn Rushd, Abu al-Walid Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Qurtubi (d. 520 AH/1126), *Al-Fatawa* [Legal Opinions], ed. al-Mukhtar ibn al-Tahir al-Tilili, Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1st ed., 1407 AH/1987, vol. 2, p. 940; al-Barzali, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 572; al-Wansharisi, Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad ibn Yahya (d. 914 AH/1508), *Al-Mi'yar al-Mu'rib wa-al-Jami' al-Mughrib 'an Fatawa Ahl Ifriqiyya wa-al-Andalus wa-al-Maghrib*, compiled by a group of jurists under the supervision of Muhammad Hajji, Rabat: Dar al-Awqaf wa-al-Shu'un al-Islamiyya; Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1401 AH/1981, vol. 11, p. 150.

²²Al-Wansharisi, op. cit., vol. 11, p. 151; vol. 2, p. 940.

²³Ibn 'Abdun al-Tujaibi, Muhammad ibn Ahmad, *Thalath Rasa'il Andalusiiyya fi Adab al-Hisba wa-al-Muhtasib* [Three Andalusian Treatises on the Ethics of the Hisba and the Market Inspector], ed. Évariste Lévi-Provençal, Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1955, pp. 122–123.

Also widely observed was the occasion known as Laylat al-'Ajuz (the Old Woman's Night), a festival celebrated by both Christians and Muslims lasting five days—some accounts say seven—and falling on the twenty-fifth of February each year. This occasion was associated with a range of social practices; nevertheless, teachers of children and jurists refrained during it from accepting gifts from pupils on the grounds that it did not belong to Muslim festivals, whereas they did accept such gifts on legitimate Islamic occasions. Al-Wansharisi referred to this occasion using the variant term al-Hujuz rather than al-'Ajuz and regarded the forms of Muslim participation in it as reprehensible, leveling sharp criticism at these practices for what he viewed as imitation of the dhimmis and participation in their particular religious observances.²⁴

5.3 The Financial Domain

The documents pertaining to the dhimmis in this domain addressed two principal axes: their transactions with Muslims on the one hand, and their transactions among themselves on the other. As for their dealings with Muslims, these encompassed the various forms of sale and commercial exchange that flourished in al-Andalus at the time, whether involving real estate or movable goods. One of the most illustrative examples is a case recorded by Ibn Sahl in the context of demonstrating the integrity of Islamic adjudication, appearing under the heading "The Contract of Purchase by Monks from Asma' Bint Sa'id al-Maktuba," in which the judge required the parties to the dispute to present their proofs in order for judgments to be issued on a sound legal basis.

Al-Wansharisi also refers to some rulings pertaining to everyday transactions, including the case of one who purchased from Muslims garments worn by Christians, and the requirement to wash them before using them in prayer. In addition to this, specific financial obligations were incumbent upon the dhimmis, among them the payment of the land tax (kharaj) on agricultural lands under their possession, as well as the jizya—paid in exchange for security and protection—estimated at approximately four dinars or forty dirhams, with certain categories exempted, including slaves, children, the infirm, and monks.²⁵

With a view to safeguarding the Islamic domain and protecting it from any harm that might arise from certain transactions, the jurists documented a body of contracts governing the economic relations between Muslims and dhimmis, establishing rules defining what was permissible and what was prohibited in this sphere. These included the prohibition on selling a non-Muslim slave to a non-Muslim if his Muslim owner had taken him into Muslim territory, out of concern that he might reveal to his new master information he had come to know about his first master. The documented contracts also prohibited the purchase of weapons and musical instruments.²⁶

Like the Christians, the Jews also enjoyed stable living conditions under Islamic governance, a circumstance that contributed to their growing numbers and their settlement in a number of Andalusian

²⁴Al-Wansharisi, op. cit., vol. 11, p. 293.

²⁵Ibn Sahl, *Watha'iq fi Ahkam Qada' Ahl al-Dhimma*, p. 58; al-Wansharisi, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 53.

²⁶Ibn Farhun, *Tabsirat al-Hukam*, vol. 2, p. 158; al-Wansharisi, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 53; vol. 2, p. 187.

cities—most notably Córdoba, where a gate came to bear their name, as well as Seville—with large concentrations also established in the city of Ilīsāna.²⁷

The majority engaged in commerce, particularly in the city of Toledo, while some attained high offices within the administrative apparatus of the Islamic state—including ministerial and ambassadorial positions. A prominent example is Isma'il ibn al-Naghralla,²⁸

a figure whose prominence reflects the active presence of Jews in various economic and administrative activities. These documents also address the question of their endowments (ahbas/awqaf), in which they were recognized as having the right to dispose of them through sale and usufruct—even if such sales were to Muslims—provided that the contract was formally documented and witnessed, without the judge having the authority to prevent them from doing so.²⁹

As for the transactions conducted among the dhimmis themselves, these likewise encompassed various forms of property disputes, as well as cases pertaining to legal agency (wikala) and other juridical matters. One illustrative example is a case involving the Comes—their chief bishop—who initiated proceedings against Asma' Bint Sa'id without having established that he possessed legal agency on behalf of the parties he claimed to represent. The jurists accordingly required proof of this agency before the case could proceed, reflecting the precision of the judicial procedures employed in the resolution of disputes.³⁰

Christians were accorded a considerable degree of tolerance and favorable treatment within Andalusian society, to such an extent that some of them were able to assume important functions and responsibilities within the institutions of the Islamic state in al-Andalus. A notable example is the Comes ibn Antunyan ibn Yilyana, who was entrusted with the task of collecting the land tax (kharaj) from the Christians. They also played a significant role as intermediaries between the Muslims and the Christians of the north, a circumstance that led them to engage actively in translation work in the service of the relations between the two parties—as illustrated by the case of Bishop 'Isa ibn al-Mansur.³¹

²⁷Ilīsāna: a city inhabited exclusively by Jews, with no Muslim residents. All its inhabitants were prosperous, and it was fortified with strong walls. It lay approximately forty miles from Córdoba, and Ibn al-Abbar counted it among Córdoba's dependencies. For further details, see: Maryam Qasim Tawil, *Mamlakat Gharnata fi 'Ahd Bani Ziri al-Barbar* (403–483 AH / 1012–1090) [The Kingdom of Granada under the Zirid Berbers], Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1st ed., 1414 AH/1994, p. 63.

²⁸Isma'il ibn Yusuf ibn Naghralla al-Yahudi: historians differ regarding his name—Ibn Hazm refers to him as Ashmu'il ibn Yusuf al-Lawi, known as Ibn al-Naghrall; Sa'id al-Andalusi calls him Abu Ibrahim ibn Isma'il ibn Yusuf, known as Ibn al-Ghazal; while Ibn Bassam designates him al-Naghrilī. He was born in Mérida, or according to some accounts in Córdoba, in 383 AH/993, studied the Talmud in Córdoba, then devoted himself to mastering Arabic. He served as one of the viziers of Habbus ibn Maksan ibn Ziri ibn Manad. For further details, see: Tawil, op. cit., pp. 109–110.

²⁹Al-Wansharisi, op. cit., vol. 6, pp. 67, 79, 80.

³⁰Ibn Sahl, *Watha'iq fi Ahkam Qada' Ahl al-Dhimma*, p. 59.

³¹Bishop 'Isa ibn al-Mansur was a prominent non-Arab Christian leader of Córdoba. For further details, see: Ibn Hayyan, *Abu Marwan Hayyan ibn Khalaf* (377–469 AH/987–1077), *Al-Muqtabis fi Akhbar Bilad al-Andalus* [The Borrower of News from the Land of al-Andalus], commentary by Salah al-Din al-Hawwari, Sidon and Beirut: al-Maktaba al-'Asriyya, 1st ed., 1426 AH/2006, p. 46.

5.4 The Political Domain

At the political level, the Islamic state of al-Andalus enlisted the dhimmis and opened avenues for them to contribute to the management of certain political and administrative affairs. A range of important offices and functions within the state apparatus were entrusted to them, including the office of the police (khitat al-shurta), the task of collecting the land tax, and appointment to embassies and diplomatic missions. This was due in part to their mastery of several languages, which enabled them to play a prominent role in translation activities,³²

particularly in the context of political and diplomatic communication between Muslims and others. The historical sources reveal a number of examples that embody this presence within the institutions of the state. Among these is the recourse of Prince 'Abd al-Rahman al-Dakhil (the Entrant) to Artabas ibn Ghitasha in his service; similarly, during the reign of al-Hakam al-Rubadi, the Comes—the leader of the Christian community—was relied upon for certain official missions. Furthermore, the reign of the Caliph al-Nasir witnessed the appointment of Yahya ibn Ishaq to the headship of a number of functions, including that of the police force—a testament to the standing attained by certain dhimmis within the political and administrative structure of the Andalusian state.³³

Conclusion

This study reveals the profound significance of juridical documents as an authentic historical source that enables the illumination of subtle dimensions of daily life within Andalusian society, far removed from the traditional political narrative that dominated much of the historical record. The documentary material demonstrates the status enjoyed by the dhimmis within Islamic society and the rights guaranteed to them by Islamic law. It shows that the presence of the dhimmis was not confined to the religious and social spheres alone, but extended to the economic and political domains as well: they participated in various commercial transactions and enjoyed rights of ownership and disposal, while some of them assumed important offices and functions within the apparatus of the Islamic state in al-Andalus. Simultaneously, the documents reveal the central role played by the jurists and judges in organizing this relationship through the authentication of contracts, the regulation of transactions, the resolution of legal precedents, and the application of Islamic legal rulings in a manner that ensured the protection of the Islamic domain and the preservation of public order. This study accordingly affirms that juridical documentary sources constitute an epistemological gateway of the greatest importance for understanding the nature of the coexistence and civilizational interaction that distinguished the Andalusian Islamic experience, and highlight a historical model that reflects the presence of justice within Islamic society in the medieval period.

References

- Ibn al-'Attar, Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Umawi (330–399 AH / 942–1009 CE). (1983). *Kitab al-Watha'iq wa-al-Sijillat* [Book of Documents and Registers] (P. Chalmeta & F. Corriente, Eds.). Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura.

³²Ibn Sahl, *Watha'iq fi Ahkam Qada' Ahl al-Dhimma*, pp. 67, 79, 80.

³³Qurhili, op. cit., pp. 178–180.

- Ibn Hayyan, Abu Marwan Hayyan ibn Khalaf (377–469 AH / 987–1077 CE). (2006). *Al-Muqtabis fi Akhbar Bilad al-Andalus* [The Borrower of News from the Land of al-Andalus] (S. al-Din al-Hawwari, Commentator). al-Maktaba al-'Asriyya. (Original work composed 5th century AH)
- Ibn Rushd, Abu al-Walid Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Qurtubi (d. 520 AH / 1126 CE). (1987). *Al-Fatawa* [Legal Opinions] (al-Mukhtar ibn al-Tahir al-Tilili, Ed.). Dar al-Gharb al-Islami. (Original work composed 6th century AH)
- Ibn Sahl al-Asadi (d. 486 AH / 1093 CE). (1995). *Al-I'lam bi-Nawazil al-Ahkam al-Ma'ruf bi-al-Ahkam al-Kubra* [Notification of Legal Precedents, Known as the Major Rulings] (Nura Muhammad 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Tuwajiri, Ed.). (Original work composed 5th century AH)
- Ibn Sahl al-Asadi (d. 486 AH / 1093 CE). (1980). *Watha'iq fi Ahkam Qada' Ahl al-Dhimma fi al-Andalus Mustakhraja min Makhtutat al-Ahkam al-Kubra* [Documents on Juridical Rulings Concerning the Dhimmis in al-Andalus, Extracted from the Manuscript of the Major Rulings] (M. 'A. al-Wahhab Khallaf, Ed.). al-Markaz al-'Arabi li-l-Duwal li-l-I'lam. (Original work composed 5th century AH)
- Ibn 'Abdun al-Tujaibi, Muhammad ibn Ahmad. (1955). *Thalath Rasa'il Andalusiiyya fi Adab al-Hisba wa-al-Muhtasib* [Three Andalusian Treatises on the Ethics of the Hisba and the Market Inspector] (É. Lévi-Provençal, Ed.). Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Ibn Farhun al-Maliki (d. 799 AH). (n.d.). *Al-Dibaj al-Mudhahhab fi Ma'rifat A'yan 'Ulama' al-Madhhab* [The Golden Brocade in Identifying the Eminent Scholars of the School] (M. al-Ahmadi Abu al-Nur, Ed.). Dar al-Turath.
- Ibn Farhun. (1986). *Tabsirat al-Hukkam fi Usul al-Aqdiya wa-Manahij al-Hukkam* [The Judges' Enlightenment on the Foundations of Adjudication and Judicial Methods] ('A. al-Ra'uf Sa'd, Reviewer). al-Matba'a al-Haditha al-Qahiriyya. (Original work composed 8th century AH)
- Ibn Manzur, Abu al-Fadl Jamal al-Din Mahmud ibn Mukarram. (n.d.). *Lisan al-'Arab* [The Arab Tongue] ('A. 'A. al-Kabir, M. A. Hasab Allah, & H. M. al-Shadili, Eds.). Dar al-Ma'arif.
- Ibn Bashkuwal, Abu al-Qasim (494–578 AH). (2010). *Al-Sila fi Tarikh A'immat al-Andalus wa-'Ulama'ihim wa-Muhaddithihim wa-Fuqaha'ihim wa-Udaba'ihim* [The Link in the History of Andalusian Imams, Scholars, Hadith Transmitters, Jurists, and Literati] (B. 'Awwad Ma'ruf, Ed., Vol. 2). Dar al-Gharb al-Islami.
- Al-Barzali, Abu al-Qasim ibn Ahmad al-Balawi al-Tunisi (d. 841 AH / 1431 CE). (2002). *Jami' Masa'il al-Ahkam lima Nazala min al-Qadaya bi-al-Muftayn wa-al-Hukkam "Fatawa al-Barzali"* [Compendium of Legal Rulings on Cases Presented Before Muftis and Judges: "The Legal Opinions of al-Barzali"] (M. al-Habib al-Hila, Ed.). Dar al-Gharb al-Islami.
- Al-Jaziri, 'Ali ibn Yahya ibn al-Qasim. (1412–1422 AH). *Al-Maqsad al-Mahmud fi Talkhis al-'Uqud* [The Praiseworthy Goal in Summarizing Contracts] (F. ibn Marzuq ibn Burayqi al-Sulami, Ed.) [Doctoral dissertation, Umm al-Qura University, Department of Shari'a Studies].
- Hajji Khalifa, Mustafa ibn 'Abd Allah. (n.d.). *Kashf al-Zunun 'an Asami al-Kutub wa-al-Funun* [Revealing the Obscurities of Book and Art Titles] (M. Sharaf al-Din Bilkah al-Kalas, Corrector). Dar Ihya' al-Turath al-'Arabi.

- Al-Dhahabi, Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Uthman (d. 748 AH / 1374 CE). (1984). *Siyar A'lam al-Nubala'* [Biographies of Noble Scholars] (S. al-Arna'ut, Ed., Vol. 19). Mu'assasat al-Risala.
- Al-Tulaytuli, Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Mughith al-Sadafi (d. 459 AH / 1067 CE). (2000). *Al-Muqni' fi 'Ilm al-Shurut* [The Sufficient Guide to the Science of Legal Conditions] (D. al-Khatib, Annotator). Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya.
- Al-Gharnati, Abu Ishaq Ibrahim ibn Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Rahman (d. 579 AH). (2011). *Al-Watha'iq al-Mukhtasara* [Concise Documents] (I. ibn M. al-Sahli, Ed.). Islamic University of Medina.
- Tawil, M. Q. (1994). *Mamlakat Gharnata fi 'Ahd Bani Ziri al-Barbar* (403–483 AH / 1012–1090 CE) [The Kingdom of Granada under the Zirid Berbers]. Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya.
- Al-Mutarrizi, Abu al-Fath Nasir al-Din. (1979). *Al-Mughrib fi Tartib al-Mu'rib* [The Westerner in Arranging the Arabicized] (M. Nakhuri & 'A. al-Hamid Mukhtar, Eds., Vol. 2). Maktabat Usama wa Ibn Zayd.
- Qurhili, N. (2018). *Dawr Ahl al-Dhimma fi al-'Alaqat al-Dakhiliyya wa-al-Kharijiyya bi-al-Andalus* (238–366 AH / 852–976 CE) [The Role of the Dhimmis in the Internal and External Relations of al-Andalus]. *Majallat Silsilat al-Adab wa-al-'Ulum al-Insaniyya — Tishreen University Journal for Research and Scientific Studies*, 40(5), 175–185.
- Al-Wansharisi, Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad ibn Yahya (d. 914 AH / 1508 CE). (1981). *Al-Mi'yar al-Mu'rib wa-al-Jami' al-Mughrib 'an Fatawa Ahl Ifriqiyya wa-al-Andalus wa-al-Maghrib* [The Explicit Standard and Comprehensive Compilation of the Legal Opinions of the Scholars of Ifriqiya, al-Andalus, and the Maghrib] (M. Hajji, Supervisor). Dar al-Awqaf wa-al-Shu'un al-Islamiyya; Dar al-Gharb al-Islami.
- Yaqut ibn 'Abd Allah al-Hamawi, Shihab al-Din. (1977). *Mu'jam al-Buldan* [Dictionary of Countries] (Vol. 2). Dar Sadir.