FROM AL-ANDALUS TO KHURASAN

Documents from the Medieval Muslim World

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ROMANCED DOCUMENTS, BILINGUAL DOCUMENTS AND BOOKS OF *HABICES*¹

Camilo Álvarez de Morales

In this paper, I will present the documents written in Castilian (Spanish), but whose contents refer to matters related to the Naşrid kingdom of Granada, as well as other documents with bilingual texts. In the case of the Romanced documents, they were translated from a previous source written in Arabic, while the *habices* (*aḥbās*) were written directly in Castilian from an oral source, which was also Arabic. The bilingual texts are true to their name, with dual texts in Arabic and Castilian.

The existence of these documents is a clear proof of the fact that the arrival in Granada of the Catholic Monarchs did not mean a complete break from Muslim tradition in the city. Christian Granada continued to enjoy its Naşrid inheritance for a considerable length of time. Apart from the tangible evidence of its inheritance represented by its historical monuments and palaces, crowned by the emblematic Alhambra, the stamp of Muslim culture could also be seen in their handicrafts, in the fields with their highly perfected watering system, in the water tanks and systems of the cities, and in their clothing, as well as in many other less visible aspects, such as their language, food and some of their customs.²

Similarly, several institutions rooted in the Naşrid economy were maintained, and among them was the income from the *habices* and from the *farda* taxes, the latter being related precisely to the bilingual documents.

Romanced documents

When the Christians settled in the city and in the lands which previously formed the Naşrid kingdom of Granada, there started a process whereby

¹ This paper is part of the activities of the research project 'Estudios sobre la Granada nazarí a través de las fuentes documentales,' financed by the Ministerio de Ciencia y Tecnología of Spain.

² Álvarez de Morales & Jiménez Alarcón 2001.

one of the most important steps taken by the new authorities, and by the Muslims who still resided there, was the identification of the property, especially real estate. In some cases it was required that the former owners establish the legality of their ownership. In others, the purchase by the Castilians from the Mudejars (later Moriscos) demanded, likewise, that the seller justified by means of a written document that he was the owner of the land or the house that was for sale. On other occasions the process dealt with the water used for the irrigation. The ownership of the water rights also had to be declared, since not only the use of water, but also its title deeds could be negotiated, as the latter could also be sold. All in all, it meant a process of transfer of hereditary estate and property rights of Muslims and Christians.

It was very useful to the Christians to understand the traditional Naşrid model of irrigation methods and the use of water, since this was considered better than theirs and therefore was worth maintaining. This was something which particularly interested the Crown of Castile from the outset, given the utmost importance of water for supplying both urban and rural needs, and with the consequent important impact of agriculture on the economy of Granada. The Catholic Monarchs realized the importance of the system and wanted to maintain it in order to guarantee the continued efficiency proved over many centuries. Apart from making special mention of this in the text of the *Capitulaciones* established with Boabdil, the fact that the water court was created in 1501³ is proof of their interest, later continued by their grandson, Charles V, in the byelaws of 1538.⁴ These were focused on the city and on the use and maintenance of the irrigation channels and water tanks, especially those existing in the Albaicín quarter, but also on the use of the water taken from the rivers for irrigation purposes.⁵ All of this allowed the survival of the Naşrid legacy into sixteenth century Granada.

The Castilians' lack of knowledge of the Arabic language, as well as the need for the new administration to gather all of that documentation, required the documents written in the Naşrid period to be translated into Castilian (*romancearse*) so that they might be understood. For

³ Kept in the Granada Municipal Archives, file 4659, p. 6. For specific studies, consult Diego Velasco 1984, Osorio Pérez 1991: 102–3.

⁴ Otero & Compañía (eds.) 1865.

⁵ The issue of water rights and irrigation systems in this period has produced a good number of studies. The classical work is Garrido Atienza 1902: 12, 26, esp. 62, dealing especially with the water court and byelaws. More recent studies are: Orihuela Uzal & Vilchez Vilchez 1991, Barrios Aguilera 1992. For the legal aspects, see Vidal Castro 1995, Trillo Sanjosé 2002–03, Trillo Sanjosé 2003.

this purpose, a corps of officially nominated *romanceadores* was created, formally belonging to the Castilian institutions and even to the crown itself. The name of each of them was mentioned in the documents they translated. They are usually referred to as *romançador*, meaning the person who transcribes a text into Romance language, or as a *tru-jamán*, translator, using in this case an Arabic word. They were usually Moriscos, because of their knowledge of the language, and they were proud of such a title and made social use of it. This was the case of Alonso del Castillo (d. 1610),⁶ the well-known Morisco from Granada who enjoyed official recognition by Philip II (r. 1527–98), and who was later involved in the affair of the leaden books from Sacromonte,⁷ and who referred to himself as physician and *romançador* every time he appeared in a document.

The names of other translators who appear in the documents are Bernardino Xarafi, Ambrosio Xarafi, Alonso de Mora, Alonso Hernández de Mora, Hernando de Sosa, Diego Trestan and Miguel Pedrosa, who belonged to the first generation of ‘romancers,’ shortly thereafter followed by Alonso del Castillo, previously mentioned, and Juan Rodríguez. All of these translators worked between 1498 and 1527.⁸

The translations were quite consistent with the original Arabic texts, with respect to both substance and form, and the personality of each *romançador* was noticeable in his translation. Except for the fact, maybe, that there was a certain imprecision in converting Islamic and Christian dates, and, what seems more logical, in the transcription of Arabic proper names, places or months, the translators were very precise in their jobs. The *basmala* was respected, the names of the Muslim months were transcribed, and of course, the names of all those who took part, as well as the places cited. In some of these cases, for example in the translation of the *basmala*, and in the formulae accompanying the name of a city (“May God protect and honour it...”) or in the way specific

⁶ Among the numerous studies on this central figure, the most complete is Cabanelas Rodríguez 1965.

⁷ Research into this strange matter of the leaden books, which fascinated Granadan society, the Crown and the Church, has recently increased and been updated thanks to the fifteen papers written by different specialists, edited by M. García-Arenal in *Al-Qantara* 23 2002: 343–543 and 24 2003: 295–573, under the title “En torno a los Plomos del Sacromonte.” These studies and several others were also published together in Barrios Aguilera & García Arenal 2006.

⁸ About these translators, see Molina López & Jiménez Mata 2004. See also a review of the scholarship in Feria García & Arias Torres 2005.

geographical points are referred to (“east wind,” “easterly,” “north wind”), the personal translation of each *romançador* could be detected, as each one used his own terminology, basically the same in all cases, with individual nuances.⁹

At the end of each document the name of the *qāḍī* (judge) was written, using the phrase “it is enough,” sometimes accompanied by the term “fulfilled,” usually included if there existed any later ratification or proceedings. Thus, only the language was changed, whereas the content was the same, which followed the line of the romanced documents.¹⁰

Each document was accompanied by another one attached to it, written directly in Castilian and specifying who had translated it, who submitted the romanced document and its purpose.

The value of the romanced documents is considerable. If they appear together with the original in Arabic, as occasionally happens, this allows a better reading of the original, and in all cases, apart from giving specific information about the registered deed, they provide data about persons who had functions in the Naṣrid jurisprudence (*ʿulamāʾ*, *qāḍīs*, *muftīs*) and provide a range of varied information on onomastics, toponymy and economy. Regarding the latter aspect, the romanced documents allow us to establish the equivalence between the Naṣrid and Castilian coins. Therefore we know that one silver *dirham* in common use (*almoeted*) was equivalent to one *pesante* and to one *metical*; one silver *dirham* was equal to one *dinero* and equal to one silver Castilian *real*; at the same time, one silver *real* was equal to 34 *maravedis*; one gold *dīnār* was worth 7,5 silver *dīnārs* and 75 *díneros*; one gold *dobla zayén* was equal to two gold *dīnārs*, to fifteen *pesantes*, to fifteen silver *dīnārs*, to 150 *díneros* and to 450 *maravedis*. In the documents, the most frequently used coin was the silver *dīnār*.¹¹

⁹ Cf. Fera García & Arias Torres 2005: 169–74.

¹⁰ The fact that these documents are written in Spanish has allowed access to them for non-Arabists, specialists in both medieval and modern history. In particular, it has been the specialists in medieval history, either with or without the help of Arabists, who made the best use of these documents. See Peinado Santaella 1993, 1996–7, Espinar Moreno 1993, 1996–7, 1997, Espinar Moreno & Quesada 1993, Trillo Sanjosé 1992, 1995, Malpica Cuello 1992, 1995, Martín Quitantes 2001, Osorio Pérez & Peinado Santaella 2002. Among the *romanceado* versions transcribed by Arabists, see González Palencia 1940, Osorio Pérez & Santiago 1986, Santiago 1987, Jiménez Alarcón & Álvarez de Morales 1996–7, Álvarez de Morales & Jiménez Alarcón 2001.

¹¹ For different aspects of Naṣrid economy and data about the types and equivalences of money, see Rodríguez Lorente 1983, Vallvé 1984. See also Molina López & Jiménez Mata 2004: 41–2. Both authors, in collaboration with J. Aguirre Sádaba, are preparing a comprehensive study on the economy of the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada, within the research project already mentioned (cf. n. 1).

Finally, with respect to the romanced documents, it should be mentioned that there are historical documents in the municipal archives housed in the Colegio de San Bartolomé y Santiago, in the archives of the Royal Chancellery of La Zubia, in the municipal archives of Baza, and outside the city and province of Granada in the general archives of Simancas. A considerable part of the collections of documents is generally kept in the convents and churches which correspond to former mosques. This means that the information contained in them might be related to a specific urban or rural area which belonged to the jurisdiction of the mosque.

Bilingual documents

The Arabic-Castilian bilingual texts refer to very short texts containing receipts and payments of real estate and poll taxes. In sixteenth century Granada, the word *farda* was generally used with the meaning of an indirect tax or duty, derived from the Arabic stem *fɾd*, meaning “to impose” or “to prescribe.” This was the designated name given to the well-known tax which only the Moriscos were obliged to pay. However, some Morisco families, the ones ‘collaborating’ with the Christians and therefore well established in the new Christian society, not only paid them, but also collected the taxes, and could even hold the title of tax collector.

In general terms, the *farda* has been grouped in two large sections, according to the purpose of the money collected: the greater *farda*, which included payments for the Spanish troops, money for the construction of Charles V’s palace in the Alhambra, and other special needs of the crown, and the lesser *farda*, also called “of the sea,” which covered expenses related to coastal defence.¹² All of these payments were managed by the civil authorities and, apart from the purposes mentioned above, were aimed at compensating old Christians and Moriscos from the oligarchy, as previously mentioned.

Together with these taxes levied by the crown, the church, through its parishes, also received an income from the believers of the parish. The sums were fixed according to the economic situation of the tax payer. The money collected was used to maintain each of the parishes and also to help the members of the Church who might be in need.

¹² See Vincent 1985: 81–122.

The receipts mentioned above could refer to payments made by the Moriscos to the parish where they were registered,¹³ or as proof of their real estate property.¹⁴ In both cases, we have found them in the documentation related to lawsuits between different people. The tax payers justified their payment by means of receipts, which at the same time were used by the tax collectors to reclaim such payments.

The use of both languages, Arabic and Castilian, was justified because a large number of inhabitants of Granada only knew Arabic, whereas those who acted as judges in the lawsuits were Christians and they needed to know the content of the receipts, which therefore required a Castilian version. This is the same as had happened in the romanced documents.

The Maghribī writing used in these documents is much deteriorated syntactically and omits symbols. It uses dialectal forms and has many doubtfully transcribed romance words, particularly with reference to proper names, both anthroponyms and toponyms.

In these receipts, the name of the owner is always mentioned as well as the parish in which he was registered, the real estate for which he had to pay, and the amount involved. The Arabic version heads the receipt and the romance version is written underneath. The numbers used for the amounts of money and for the dates are *rūmī* numbers,¹⁵ which would appear, in the first case, in the top margin of the receipt, and in the second case at the end of the Arabic text, usually after the word *ām*.

The monetary equivalences represented are: one *pesante* equals one *metical* or one silver *dīnār*; one *dinero* equals one *dirham*.

With regard to the format, we are usually dealing with small file cards, documents, sewn on some occasions into larger dossiers, probably used as documentary proof in a lawsuit.

The documents have an exceptional value as linguistic testimony, as they provide information about different aspects of the Arabic dialect of Granada. As in other cases, the toponymy and the records of property

¹³ Four of these, kept in the archives of the Alhambra, are edited by Álvarez de Morales 1997–8.

¹⁴ Twenty-two of these have been the subject of studies by Martínez Ruiz 1987 and 1991.

¹⁵ On the origin, identification and data in general about these figures, see González Palencia 1930: IV, 48. See also Sánchez Pérez 1935, Labarta & Barceló 1988 and Martínez Ruiz 1991: 603–4.

and of parishes also provide additional information on Granada in the sixteenth century.

In Granada, the bilingual documents belong to the archives of the Alhambra. The *Libros de Farda*, which were written in Arabic and which contain the property subjected to this tax, are also preserved in these archives.¹⁶

*Books of Habices*¹⁷

Although it is already known, I would like to recall that *habices* refer to religious Islamic legacies, consisting of some properties whose rents were used as economic assistance for the maintenance of mosques,¹⁸ hospitals,¹⁹ *madrasas* and charitable institutions generally assigned to help poor Muslims, and even to rescue prisoners.²⁰ Occasionally they even contributed to the cost of constructing walls. In some other cases the *habices* were not only a help for the necessities of society, but were also used to protect individuals against the possible manipulations by the state, which was officially supposed to defend public interests. This helps in our better understanding of the concept of 'public' in Granadan society.²¹

The *habices* include real estate properties of varied sorts, because they could be, in the city, shops, corn exchanges, storehouses, houses, baths, mills, kilns, paper factories, etc. In the rural areas they also concern all kinds of agricultural plots and, in some cases the whole village belongs to the *habices*.

Contrary to what happened in the East, where specific treatises were drafted on this type of property, further data related to al-Andalus is gathered from jurisprudence treatises, as in the case of al-Khushanī (d. 361/971), Ibn Rushd (d. 520/1126) or Ibn 'Iyāḍ (d. 575/1179). Other

¹⁶ See Martínez Ruiz 1972: 110–11.

¹⁷ General information related with these *habices* can be found in Espejo 1918–19, Villanueva Rico & Soria Ortega 1954, Villanueva Rico 1961, 1966, Vincent 1985. One of the most recent and best contributions to this subject is now García Sanjuán 2002.

¹⁸ See García Sanjuán 2002: 89, where he specially mentions the financing of the Cordovan mosque in the ninth century.

¹⁹ As far as the destination of these goods is concerned for assistance to the ill, see Franco Sánchez 1999.

²⁰ Espejo 1918–19: 97–9.

²¹ See the remarks, as well as the comprehensive bibliographical summary, in Malpica Cuello 2004.

relevant sources are the notarial treatises, such as those of Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 399/1008), Ibn Mughīth (d. 459/1067) and al-Jazīrī (d. 585/1189), and lastly, and with far less data on the subject, the biographical dictionaries where reference is made to the use of these kind of properties. Finally, most of the data related to this kind of books can be found in the *Miʿyār* by Aḥmad al-Wansharīsī (d. 914/1508).

The religious legacies seem to have a definitely Islamic character and in the case of al-Andalus, it is not possible to see this institution as a continuation of any Visigoth pattern.²² Charitable gifts and legacies were frequent in the whole kingdom of Granada.²³

The *Libros de habices* were written in Granada after the Castilian conquest listing all the property belonging to the *aḥbās*; it concerned a big amount of lands in the kingdom. The Castilian crown was interested in obtaining information about them in order to reorganize a new distribution. Initially, the Catholic Monarchs maintained the religious character of such properties, and applied it to the Christian institution which was similar to the Muslim one, that is, the Church.²⁴ The geographical area which concerned them consisted mainly of the city of Granada, part of the surrounding villages situated in the Vega and the Lecrín Valley, and a large area of the Alpujarras. According to Bernard Vincent,²⁵ all of the property from the *habices* formed a whole, both the properties situated in the city of Granada and the ones located in the surroundings, some of them many kilometres from it. However, they also made terminological distinctions related to specific areas, like the rich valley close to the capital city, etc.

The case of the Almería province is relevant since it established a precedent for Granada. The city was seized from the Naṣrids in 1489, and the oldest parts were redistributed by the Catholic Monarchs who divided up the properties which had belonged to the mosques. This pattern was later followed in the rest of the kingdom.²⁶

The need to draw up an inventory of all those properties, which were not always easy to locate, explained why the crown took a series of meas-

²² See García Sanjuán 2002: 84.

²³ See Castillo Fernández & Muñoz Buendía 2000: 137.

²⁴ This is the case of the church of Santa María de la Alhambra, whose income came almost exclusively from the ancient rents from the '*habices*' from the mosques of Granada. See García Guzmán 1978–9.

²⁵ Vincent 1985: 86.

²⁶ See García Sanjuán 2002: 231. Many documents refer to this area, as in García Guzmán 1982, 1987, Garrido García 1989.

ures it order to facilitate the location of the plots with precision. This inventory was done by a series of commissions appointed by members of the Church, the royal authority and the law. They travelled through the different places and villages in order to make such an inventory.²⁷ The result was the *Libros de habices*. Due to their contents, and even to the procedure followed in making them, the books which refer to rural properties are very similar to the *Libros de apeo y repartimiento* ("Books of Survey and Distribution") which were compiled in the sixteenth century in the kingdom of Granada.

In some cases the process of describing the properties must have been slow and difficult. Apart from difficulties in locating the exact location of the plots, there was the language problem. Most of the former Muslim owners only spoke Arabic, and hence the presence of interpreters was always required, not only so that they would be understood by the people of the lands they visited, but also to understand the terminology concerning the properties. So these treatises are also relevant from a linguistic point of view.

In many cases, the original preparation was carried out orally, so the scribe wrote down in faulty transcription the words he heard, without bothering to make a full translation into Castilian, as in the case of proper names and specific Arabic terminology. An attempt to give a close phonetic transcription to sounds alien to the mother tongue of the scribe produced considerable uncertainty.

The books referring to the city of Granada provide information on toponymy, urban features (streets, squares, specific buildings), crafts and industries (mills, storage places of earthenware vats, plaster workshops, kilns), commercial life (shops, storehouses, or attic storehouses (*almaceras*) and also social-economic information in general. The books based on rural areas include information related to agriculture, irrigated or non-irrigated lands, garden products (vegetables, olive groves, mulberry trees and others), type of land ownership or partitioning of water, together with other information related to industry (mills, kilns). On few occasions is there any mention of housing.

Water was an essential element. There are details not only of the number of hours of irrigation which correspond to each estate, but also the time when it should start and finish, as well as the frequency. We can observe that it is in this respect that most care is given to the Arabic

²⁷ We can find data about this evaluation in Galán Sánchez 1991: 82–9 and 186–9, including reference to the transfer of these *habices* properties into private hands.

equivalent of the Castilian for the day and hour. There are cases in which the text has a blank space after the transcription of the spoken Arabic, to be filled in with the word written in Arabic, which the scribe probably suspected he had not well understood. This happened for example with *leyla talhamiz*, *leyla talçebte*, *leyla taljuma*, etc. In another case, a certain plot of arable land is said to be irrigated for two hours, “from the *Avemaria* until the *atama*,” and another one only a quarter of the day “*que se dize en arávigo harrova*.”²⁸ We do not know if this enumeration in Arabic of the days of the week could indicate that it was only expressed in this language.

The texts also provide relevant explanations on Arabic terminology: “*un repecho que se dize en arávigo Tel*” or “*una pared alta que se dize en arávigo Jorf*,” etc. Sometimes the same toponym appears with a double denomination, in Castilian and Arabic: Pago del Río (“the plot of the river”) and Pago del Güid. Measurements are also sometimes given in two equivalents: twenty *cadahes*, two *çelemines Moriscos*. We find only the Arabic word *cántara* used for “bridge,” or *tarij* for “way,” because the explanation of a specific word which everyone knows is considered obvious. In contrast, we have the Mozarabic *carreyra*, meaning “track for the cattle.”

The collection of *Libros de habices* from Granada is kept in the archives of the Cathedral and in the Curia of the city, a total of fifteen copies, dating from 1505 to 1721.²⁹ There are also documents referring to *habices* in the general archives of Simancas,³⁰ these ones were written almost at the time of the Christian arrival in Granada and therefore provide specially relevant information on the Naşrid kingdom of Granada.³¹

²⁸ On this issues, see Espinar Moreno, Glick & Martínez Ruiz 1989 and also Martínez Ruiz 1989.

²⁹ See Villanueva Rico & Soria Ortega 1954: 460–1.

³⁰ To be found especially in the section *Escribanía Mayor de Rentas* and *Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas*.

³¹ For works based on this kind of documentation, see Hernández Benito 1990 and Trillo Sanjosé 1994.

*Appendix I*1. *Romanced document*³²

Licence of the *alcaide* Aben Comixa to Ali Cabi in order to fill the water tank in his house and irrigate his lands. Romanced by Juan Rodríguez, interpreter and royal scribe, 12th October, 1537.

Document included in the lawsuit between Juan Abenzayde, proprietor of a pottery in the parish of San Nicolas, and Alonso Abregan, a neighbour, for the rights and ownership of the water belonging to both houses.

Castilian text (3 ff. Court italic writing)

En la muy noble, nombrada e grand çibdad de Granada diez dias del mes de octubre año del nasçimiento de nuestro Salbador Iesuchristo de mill e quinientos e treynta e siete años por ante mi Juan Rodriguez escrivano trujaman de las escripturas aravigas en esta dicha çibdad e reyno de Granada por su Magestad paresçio presente Bernabe el Gordoman bezino desta dicha çibdad e fizo muestra de una escriptura escripta en papel en letra araviga e fymada de dos alfaquies escrivanos publicos segund por ella paresçia e dixo que por quanto a el le conbiene tener la dicha escriptura en letra e lengua castellana para que conste lo en ella contenido e para otras cosas a su derecho convinientes, por tanto que me pidia e pidio que pues yo estoy proveido por su Magestad para la traduçon de las escripturas aravigas, romancee la dicha escriptura e se la de signada e firmada en publica forma para lo que dicho tiene.

E yo el dicho escrivano de su pedimiento romance la dicha escriptura de que de suso se faze minçion, la qual tornada en lengua castellana dize en esta guisa:

Con el nombre de Dios, Piadoso e Misericordioso. Aviendo Ali fyjo de Mohamad el Cabi metido el agua a su casa al tienpo que la labraba fuele puesto a ello ynpedimento por el alcide ensalçado, hidalgo de linaje Ali hijo de Abdalla Aben Comixa, por quanto la dicha agua es pertenesçiente a su casa, que llaman Abenzamarq. E el eldicho Cabi rogo al dicho alcaide Aben Comixa consyenta que pueda el henchir de noche

³² Granada Municipal Archives, file 3442, piece 1 (dated 1539). See Álvarez de Morales & Jiménez Alarcón 2001, document no. 6.

y no en otra manera la alberca que dizen Mabela, que hizo en su casa. El qual cunplio su ruego en lo que dicho es con que cada y quando el o quien subçediere en la dicha casa despues del para syenpre jamas se la puedan quitar e ynpedir, por razon de lo qual paresçieron los hermanos legitimos e el dicho Ali el Cabi e sus dos hermanos Hamete e Yzmael con el dicho alcayde Aben Comixa e otorgaron por sus personas que en la dicha agua que pasa por sus heredades a la dicha casa no les pertenescẽ ningund derecho a ellos nin alguno dellos e que solamente se an de aprovechar della por obra de consentimiento del dicho alcayde o de quien despues del subçediere en ella e que ninguno que poseyere las dichas heredades no pueda regar con aquella agua sy no fuere de noche y despues de pedir liçençia para ello a quien estuviere en la dicha casa e que cada y quando se la quiseren ynpidir lo puedan hazer quien quier que fuere para syenpre, otorgaçion cunplida que supieron todos los que fazian. E fueron testigos de la otorgaçion de lo que dicho es quien los conosçieron estando sanos e con salud bastante.

Fecha en fyn de la luna de Dulqueda año de ochoçientos e ochenta e lo fyrmaron dos alfaquies que paresçen ser escribanos publicos.

Translation

In the very noble, famous and great city of Granada on the tenth day of the month of October in the year of Christ our Saviour one thousand, five hundred and thirty-six, in my presence, Juan Rodriguez, scribe interpreter of Arabic writings in this same city and kingdom of Granada by his Majesty, appeared Bernabe el Gordoman, inhabitant of this same city, and showed a text written in Arabic letters and signed by two *alfaquies*, public scribes, according to what appeared in it and said that, as far as it concerns him, to have the said text in Castilian letters and language in order to establish what it contains and for other things convenient to his rights, so he was asking me and asked me as I am supplied by his Majesty for the translation of Arabic writings, to transcribe the said text and give it to him initialled and signed in public form for what is said.

And I, the said scribe of his petitioned romance, the said writing which is previously mentioned, which, translated into the Castilian language, says the following:

In the name of God, Compassionate and Merciful. Ali son of Mohamad el Cabi, having put the water in his house at the same time as he was cultivating, was given/sanctioned with an impediment by the exalted *alcaide*, a nobleman by lineage, Ali son of Abdalla Aben Comixa,

by which the said water is pertaining to his house, which is called Abenzamarq. And the said Cabi asked the said *alcaide* Aben Comixa to consent that he might fill by night, and not in another way, the water tank that is called Mabela, that he built in his house. He fulfilled his request in what is said, that each time, and when he or whoever succeeds in the said house after him, could never take away or impede, by reason of which the two legitimate brothers appeared and the said Ali el Cabi and his two brothers Hamete and Yzmael with the afore-mentioned mayor Aben Comixa, and they themselves authorised that in the very water which passes through their inherited property to the house, neither of them has any right to them, and that they can only take advantage of the latter by means of the consent of the *alcaide*, or of who might afterwards succeed him, and that no one who possessed these same properties might irrigate with that water if it were not by night and after requesting a licence for this from whoever was in this said house, and that whenever they wished to impede it, whoever wanted to could do so forever, permission granted known by those involved. And those who knew it, being in good health, were witnesses of the authorisation of what has been said.

Dated at the end of the moon of *Dulqueda* year of eight hundred and eighty³³ and signed by two *alfaquies* who were present as public scribes.

Appendix II

*Receipt of the farda tax*³⁴

*Arabic text with the Castilian 'translation'*³⁵

يدفع جوان فارح وابنه مغيل في شان بلاس ستة و خمسون مثقالا و ستة دراهم عام

Juan Lopez Fireh y su hijo Miguel por la herencia de Isabel Abendaфра paguen en san Blas çinquenta y seis pesantes y seis dineros de los servicios deste año de MD y sesenta.

³³ 26 March 1476.

³⁴ Alhambra Archiyes, L-188–41, A-86–41. This and other similar documents have been summarized by Álvarez de Morales 1997–98.

³⁵ Please note that the translator adds relevant information that is not in the Arabic original. The Spanish translation is made from the Arabic, which has the sixty of the date written in *nūmī* characters.

Translation from the Arabic

Juan Farih and his son Miguel are to pay on the date of St Blas fifty-six *meticals* and six *dirhams*. Year [15]60.

2. *Extract from a Book of habices*³⁶*Castilian text*

Libro de apeamyento de los habizes del alpuxarra, de las tahas de ferreyra, poqueyra y xubiles, que los apeó Benyto de Carrión, escribano 1527.

Habizes de la Yglesia de Meçina de Buenvaron e de las rabitas de Beniejen e de Ravdan e de Abohidar e de Haratalozara e del Laujar e del Gayda e de Haratabogayt desde partido.

Vn moral que hará çinco arrovas de hoja ques destos dichos habizes desta dicha rábita de Abohidar, a las espaldas de la casa de Juan Yahi el Murçi, que alinda la dicha haça de la vna parte con casa de Diego de Murçia el Murçi, e de la otra parte con casa de Juan Çapata Almahizeli.

Vn solar de la dicha rábita de Abohaydar que tiene veynte piés en largo e treze en ancho, que alinda de la vna parte con casa de Juan Abenayt Pulgar, e de la otra parte con la plaça, ques macaber y está enfrente de la casa del dicho Juan de Murçia Yahi.

Vn moral en la dicha plaça, enfrente de la dicha rábita, en la parte alta, que hará dos arrovas de hoja, que alinda con el camino que va a la syerra, y está enfrente de la casa de Diego el Bayrini; es este dicho moral destos dichos habizes desta dicha rábita de Abohidar.

Vna mata de morales de tres piernas, la vna muy gruesa y las otras dos caydas, que harán quatro arrovas de hoja, en haça de Juan Alazerac, en el pago de Abohidar, ques desta dicha mata destos dichos habizes desta dicha rábita de Abohidar, que alinda la dicha haça de la vna parte con haça de Diego el Cordodovi (sic) e de la otra parte con el barranco e de la otra parte con el camino real; está la dicha mata junto al dicho camino real y cahe sobre la dicha haça del dicho Juan Alazerac.

La mitad de vn moral destos dichos habizes desta dicha rábita de Abeniegen, que hará vn arrova y media de hoja, que la otra mitad es de Hernando Abenabó, vezino de Meçina, en vn pedaço de tierra ques del

³⁶ Archives from the Ecclesiastical Curia in Granada, no. 5.

dicho Hernando Abenabó, en el dicho pago de Abohídar, que alinda de la vna parte con el camino de la syerra, e de la otra con haça del dicho Lucas Abohoroz, e de las otras partes con haças del dicho Abohorz; está la dicha mata en la orilla de la tierra que cahe junto al dicho camino e es vn ramón questá muy junto al dicho camino a la parte alta de dicho Hernando Abenabó, y todo lo de la parte baxa es destos dichos habizes.

Vna mata de morales de tres piernas que hará vn arrova y media de hoja destos dichos habizes de la dicha rábita de Alozara, en haça de Juan Alazerac en el dicho pago de Abohídar que alinda con el camino que va a la syerra, e de la parte alta con tierra de Diego el Bayarcali, e de la otra parte con haça del dicho Lucas Abohorz; está la dicha mata cabo vna noguera a la parte del camino.

Vn moral que hará çinco arrovas de hoja, ques destos dichos habizes desta dicha rábita de Abeniegen, en haça del dicho Juan Alazerac, deslindada e declarada en el partido antes deste; está el dicho moral en medio de la dicha haça cabo otro questá algo caydo ques ageno.

Vna mata de morales de tres piernas que hará dos arrovas de hoja, questá cabo vn nogal ques destos dichos habizes desta dicha rábita de Abenegen, en tierra de Juan Abenhiexin, en el dicho pago de Bohídar, que alinda de la vna parte con el açequia e de la otra parte con haça destos habizes desta dicha rábita e con haça de Diego el Bayarcali.

Vna haça de riego mas no tiene agua suya de dos marjales, es en dos vancales con vn moral que hará tres arrovas de hoja e ques esta dicha haça e moral e árboles destos dichos habizes desta dicha rábita de Abeniegen en el dicho pago de Abohídar, que alinda de la vna parte con haça de Juan Abeniexim e de la otra parte con haça de Gonzalo Recmil e de la otra parte con el barranco.

Translation

Book of survey of the *habices* of the Alpujarra, of the regions of Ferreyra, Poqueyra and Xubiles, which were surveyed by the scribe Benyto de Carrión, in 1527.

Habices of the church of Meçina de Buenvaron and of the hermitage of Beniejen and of Ravdan and Abohídar and Haratalozara and Laujar and Gayda and Haratabogayt of this judicial district.

A mulberry tree which will give five *arrobas* (1 *arroba* = 11.5 kg) of leaves, which is of these same *habices* of this hermitage of Abohídar, at the back of the house of Juan Yahi el Murçi, which is adjacent to the *haza*

(portion of farm land) on one side with the house of Diego de Murçia, and on the other side with the house of Juan Çapata Almahizeli.

A plot of land of this same hermitage of Abohaydar which is twenty feet long and thirteen wide, which borders on one side with the house of Juan Abenayt Pulgar, and on the other side with the square, which had been a cemetery, and is opposite the house of Juan de Murçia Yahi.

A mulberry tree in the same square, opposite the chapel, on the high part, which will give two arrobas of leaves, which is adjacent to the path which leads to the mountains and is opposite the house of Diego el Bayrini; it is this mulberry tree of these *habices* of this hermitage of Abohidar.

A grove of mulberry trees with three trunks, one very thick and the other two at an angle, which will produce four arrobas of leaves, in the *haza* of Juan Alazerac, in the lands of Abohidar, which is of the same grove of these *habices* of this hermitage of Abohidar, which is adjacent to the *haza* on one side of the *haza* of Diego de Cordodovi (*sic*) on another side with the ravine and on another part with the royal path; this orchard is adjacent to the royal path and gives on to the *haza* of the aforementioned Juan Alazerac.

Half of a mulberry tree of these same *habices* of the afore-mentioned chapel of Abeniegen, which will produce one and a half arrobas of leaves, of which the other half is of Hernando Abenabó, inhabitant of Meçina, on a small piece of land which is of this same man, Hernando Abenabó, in the lands of Abohidar, adjacent on one side with the path to the mountains, and on the other side with the *haza* of Lucas Abohoroz, and on the other sides with the *hazas* of the cited Abohoroz; this same orchard is on the bank of the land which is to be found beside this path and is a large branch which is very close to the same path of the high part belonging to Hernando Abenabó, and all of the lower part is of these aforementioned *habices*.

A grove of mulberry trees with three trunks which will produce one and a half arrobas of leaves from these *habices* in the said hermitage of Alozara, in the *haza* of Juan Alazerac in the lands of Abohdar which is adjacent to the path which leads to the mountains, and on the higher side with land of Diego de Bayarcali, and on the other side with the *haza* of the said Lucas Abohorz; this same orchard is near a walnut tree in the part towards the path.

A mulberry tree which will produce five arrobas of leaves, which is from these *habices* from the same hermitage of Abeniegen, in the *haza* of the afore-mentioned Juan Alazerac, demarcated and declared in the

judicial district previous to this: this same mulberry tree is in the middle of this *haza*, near another one which is somewhat at an angle and which is not his.

An orchard of mulberry trees with three trunks which will produce two *arobas* of leaves, which is near a walnut tree which is of the said *habices* of the hermitage of Abenegen, in the land of Juan Abenhiexin, in the afore-mentioned lands of Bohidar, which is adjacent on one side with the irrigation channel and on the other side with the *haza* of these *habices* of this same chapel and with the *haza* of Diego el Bayarcali.

Another *haza* of irrigation of two *marjales* (measurement of land) does not have its own water, is in two terraced fields with one mulberry tree which will produce three *arobas* of leaves and which is in this *haza*, and trees of these same *habices* of this hermitage of Abeniegen in the afore-mentioned lands of Abohidar, which is adjacent on one side with the *haza* of Gonzalo Recmil and on the other with the ravine.

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