

Chapter IV

Monetary Transactions in the Vellum Contract Documents

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Most of the vellum contract documents in the Toyo Bunko consist of a document whose main deed is a deed of purchase. The purchase deed naturally includes descriptions about the payment of money, but this is sometimes difficult to understand, especially for those who are not familiar with the monetary situation and customs of this period. In this chapter, monetary transactions in the vellum contract documents are explored from two aspects: the units of money used and the actual methods of payment.

1. Overview of the Coinage in the Sa‘did and ‘Alawid Period

The Sa‘did and ‘Alawid period, during which the vellum contract documents in the Toyo Bunko were written, were far from a period of stability in regard to the monetary system.¹ This section gives an overview of the coinage of both dynasties to

¹ General overview of coins in the Morocco region can be found in: J. D. Bréthes, *Contribution à l'histoire du Maroc par les recherches numismatiques*, Casablanca: Imprimerie les annales marocaines, 1939; Stephen Album, *A Checklist of Islamic Coins*, Santa Rosa: Stephen Album, 1998 (2nd edition). Harry W. Hazard, *The Numismatic History of Late Medieval North Africa*, New York: American Numismatic Society, 1952 is a useful reference for the coinage of medieval north Africa, but it does not include the Sa‘did and ‘Alawid dynasties’ coins. Henri Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale. II. Espagne et Afrique*, Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1891 (Reprint in Bologna, 1977) contains data for coins of the Islamic dynasties in the West, including inscriptions and weights.

On the coinage of the ‘Alawid period, the three-volume corpus by D. Eustache, *Corpus des monnaies ‘alawites: collection de la Banque du Maroc et autres collections mondiales, publiques et privées* (Études sur la numismatique et l’histoire monétaire du Maroc 6), 3 vols, Rabat: Banque du Maroc, 1984, is the most important work, based not only on numismatic evidence but also on various historical sources, including foreign travellers’ accounts from the period concerned.

On the coinage of the Sa‘did period, no comprehensive study exists. Eustache mentioned in his corpus of ‘Alawid coins that the preparation of a corpus of the coins of this period was in progress, but it has not yet been published. cf. Eustache, *Corpus des monnaies ‘alawites*, vol.

provide an understanding of the units of money and the methods of payment.

After the abolition of Wattāsīd line, the second ruler of the Saʿdi dynasty, Muḥammad al-Shaykh (r. 923–964/1517–1557), followed the coinage of the preceding dynasties and issued round gold coins and square silver coins, which had originated in the Muwaḥḥid dynasty. Subsequent rulers stopped issuing the square silver coins and issued ordinary round silver coins whose weight standard of 1.45g was slightly reduced from the Muwaḥḥid one.² The *dīnār* and *dirham* and fractional coins of them (half and quarter) were issued according to the same standard until Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad’s reign (986–1012/1578–1603). After Aḥmad’s reign, the Saʿdid dynasty fragmented and coinage was not so strictly regulated.

After an interregnum period, the ʿAlawid dynasty was established in the 1070s/1660s. The only extant coins of the first ruler of the dynasty, Moulay al-Rashīd (r. 1075–1082/1664–1672), was a silver coin called *mawzūna*, weighing 1.15g. The second ruler of the dynasty, Moulay Ismāʿīl (r. 1082–1139/1672–1727), began to issue coins with a new standard: a gold coin called *bunduqī*³ and a basic unit of silver coin called *mawzūna*, approximately 0.94g, which corresponded to 1/4 *dirham*. Between 1139/1727 and 1171/1757, a very few coins were issued by various rulers, but they have not been studied enough to reconstruct their issue in detail.

Regular coinage was resumed when Sidi Muḥammad III (r. 1171–1204/1757–1790) consolidated his power. During his long reign, he issued various types of coins. (1) Gold coins: *bunduqī* (3.5g), light *bunduqī* (originally 3.12g in 1188, but falling to 2.5g in the mid-1190s), and *khumāsī* (1.95g, often as low as 1.7g). (2) Silver coins: *mawzūna* (0.88g, in 1172–1179), *dirham* (2.93g), *mawzūna* (0.73g, equal to 1/4 *dirham*), 10 *dirham*, 5 *dirham*, 2.5 *dirham*; *dirham* (2.73g in 1200–1204) and *mawzūna* (0.68g). (3) Copper coins: *fals* (3.53g theoretically, but various weights in reality) and 1/2 *fals*. In the short reign of his successor al-Yazīd b. Muḥammad (r. 1204–1206/1790–1792) the weight standard of the silver coins issued by Mouley Ismāʿīl was retained.

In the reign of Mouley Sulaymān (r. 1207–1238/1793–1822), gold coins were issued according to the standard of *al-bunduqī*, and silver coins of various weights were issued successively. The *dirham* was 2.74g in 1206–07, 2.44g in 1207–13, 2.25g in 1213–1216, 2.15g in 1216–1218, 2.93g in 1218, and finally 1.95g in 1221–1238. In addition, he issued multiple kinds of copper coins. He ad-

1, p. 57, n. 43.

² Album, *A Checklist of Islamic Coins*, pp. 41–42.

³ *Bunduqī* means “Venetian”. It shared the weight standard of the Venetian ducat (3.5 g, approximately), as the *Ashrafī* gold of the Mamlūks and the Ottoman *Altun* or *Sultānī* did. On the spread of the ducat standard to the Islamic dynasties in the 15th century, see Peter Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 351–356.

opted the hexagram design known as the seal of Solomon for many of the coins, in reference to his own name.⁴

Mouley ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (r. 1238–1276/1822–1859) also issued *dīnār al-bunduqī* and silver coins of various weights: 2.74g in 1238–1239, 1.95g in 1240–1246, 1.66g in 1247–1261, 1.46 in 1261–1268 and 2.15g in 1268–1276.

Later, Sidi Muḥammad IV (r. 1276–1290/1859–1873) restored the old standard of the *dirham*, 2.93g, while machine-struck coinage begun in 1299/1882-3 under his successor Mouley al-Ḥasan I (r. 1290–1311/1873–1894), though this is out of the scope of our study.

2. Units of Money Used in the Vellum Contract Documents

In the vellum contract documents, the amount of money in the purchase deeds and other deeds that include monetary transactions is shown by money of account. Some deeds specify how the payment was made but others do not mention it.

In this section, standard units of money of account used in the vellum contract documents are illustrated in the first part, and then an interpretation of “the old standard” is explored in the second part.

(1) Standard units of money of account used in the vellum contract documents

In the vellum contract documents, the evaluation and calculation of money was done by using money of account, instead of reckoning according to actual coins in circulation. The following explanation of the units of money of account used in the vellum contract documents almost perfectly matches the explanation given in al-Ṣanhājī’s manual for notaries in the section concerning inheritance documents.⁵

The most fundamental unit of payment in the vellum contract documents was *ūqīya* (pl. *awāqī*), equivalent to the English ounce. In Islamic law, *ūqīya* is a unit of weight, approximately equal to 3.1g. In the vellum contract documents, *ūqīya* was used when an amount of money was written down, even when the actual payment would be made by other means. It is therefore very plausible that *ūqīya* was regarded as the standard unit of money of account in monetary transactions in Fès.

Mithqāl (pl. *mathāqīl*) in the vellum contract documents was used as a unit equal to 10 *ūqīya*, though it was originally used as the unit for gold, approximately equal to 4.25g. According to Aḥmad al-Tawfīq, *mithqāl* was set as 10 *ūqīya* in the time of Muḥammad III,⁶ but in the vellum contract documents, *mithqāl* was equal

⁴ Album, *A Checklist of Islamic Coins*, p. 43.

⁵ al-Ṣanhājī, *al-Tadrīb ‘alā tahrīr al-wathā’iq al-‘adliya*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, pp. 245–246.

⁶ Aḥmad al-Tawfīq, *al-Mujtama‘ al-maghrib fī al-qarn al-tāsi‘ ‘ashar*, Rabat: Manshūrāt

to 10 *ūqīya* even in the time of Moulay Ismā‘īl (VI-2, XI-2-2).

As for smaller units, *mawzūna* (pl. *mawzūnāt*) was equal to 1/4 *ūqīya*. Actually, in most cases, *mawzūna* was a silver coin in circulation, but was rarely referred to in the vellum contract documents as a monetary unit (XI-2-3, X-8).

Fals, the copper coin, was worth 1/96 of *ūqīya*, though the fraction of the *ūqīya* was usually used if it was convenient. As shown in Chapter V of *The Vellum Contract Documents, Part I*, 1/8 *ūqīya* was used as a unit between *ūqīya* and *fals* in the case of the distribution of inheritance.⁷

It is not clear when *ūqīya* became a basic unit for monetary transactions in this region, instead of using simply the words *dirham* or *dīnār*, for example writing “10 *darāhim*.” However the *ūqīya* standard prevailed there by the coming of the Sa‘did Dynasty to Fès at the latest, judging from descriptions in the vellum contract documents. In addition, according to al-Garsīfī, the author of a 12–13th/18th century treatise on money, the custom of weighing money prevailed in the 9th (late Ma‘rīnid or Waṭṭāsīd?), 10th, and 11th centuries AH (approximately from the 15th to the 17th centuries).⁸ It could be said that the decline of a regular coinage based on fixed standards made the custom of weighing coins a more common way of evaluating money, instead of simply counting coins.

(2) *darāhim qadīma*

The expression *darāhim al-qadīma* appears frequently in the vellum contract documents. Its first attestation is a deed written in 1087/1676, as *ūqīya darāhim bil-ḥisāb al-qadīm*. In later periods, the phrase *ūqīya darāhim qadīma* prevailed, with some variations (see Table 1).

The full interpretation of this phrase is not illustrated in al-Ṣanhājī’s manual for notaries or in any other sources, as far as I could find.

In the section “[deed for] selling immovable [property]” in al-Ṣanhājī’s manual, he wrote down the text of a sample purchase deed: “the amount of money for the above-mentioned quarter [of the land] is such and such silver coins of the date” (*bi-thaman qadr-hu lil-rub ‘al-madhkūr kadhā darāhim sikkat ta`rīkh-hi*). He added commentary on *kadhā*, “indirect expression of the amount of *mithqāl* with which the purchase was done at the time of the author” (*kināya ‘an ‘adad al-mathāqīl*

Kullīyat al-Ādāb wal-‘Ulūm al-Insānīya bil-Ribāṭ, 2011 (3rd edition), p. 259.

⁷ See Manabu Kameya, “Fāsī Numerals in the Vellum Contract Documents”, in *The Vellum Contract Documents in Morocco in the Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, Part I, Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 2015, pp. 134–144.

⁸ Abū ‘Umar ‘Abd Allāh al-Garsīfī, “Risāla fī tahrīr al-sīkāt al-maghribīya fī al-qurūn al-akhīra”, in ‘Umar Āfā, *al-Nuqūd al-maghribīya fī al-qarn al-thāmin ‘ashar: Anzīmat-hā wa awzān-hā fī minṭaqat Sūs*, Rabat: Kullīyat al-Ādāb wal-‘Ulūm al-Insānīya bil-Ribāṭ, 1993, pp. 121–122. On al-Garsīfī, see ‘Umar Āfā, *al-Nuqūd al-maghribīya*, pp. 15–18.

allatī waqa ‘a bi-hā bay ‘fī zaman al-mu ‘allif),⁹ and on *darāhim sikkat ta ‘rīkh-hi* he wrote “This must be done because the coins, if they were changed to other coins and [the amount of money for] the sale was demanded from the hand of the purchaser, then it is given to the seller by the value of old coins” (*hādhā lā budda min-hu li-anna al-sikka idhā tabaddalat bi-sikkat ukhrā wa-staḥaqqā al-mabī ‘min yad al-mushtarī fa-inna-hu yurja ‘u ‘alā al-bā ‘i ‘bi-qīmat al-sikka al-qadīma*).¹⁰ We may therefore understand, according to this explanation, that the amount of money should be calculated based on the value of the coins at the time of the contract.

The phrase *ūqīya darāhim qadīma* or its variations, however, can be interpreted in another way. It is noteworthy that it appeared in almost all purchase deeds after 1087/1676, though sometimes the term *al-qadīma* was omitted in the second instance and after.

Because of the lack of the documents from the period between 1062/1652 and 1087/1676, we cannot specify the exact date of the adoption of this phrase by the notaries of Fès as a standard phrase in the documents. If we consider the historical context, the most important event around this time was the ‘Alawid conquest of Fès in 1077/1667. This marked the change of the ruling dynasty from Sa‘did to ‘Alawid, a possible moment for a change in the standard. Another possibility is that it had something to do with the issue of new silver coins by Mouley Ismā‘īl, which changed the standard weight from 1.17g to 0.94g.¹¹ According to numismatic evidence, the issue of the new coin began in 1083/1672–3.¹²

The documents just after the appearance of this phrase (XI-1-10 in 1088/1677, V-1-3 in 1096/1685 and V-1-9 in 1097/1686) had the variation *ūqīya darāhim bil-ḥisāb al-qadīm rub ‘al-ūqīya fī kull thamāniya*. This means that the calculation of the value of money was based on “the old way of calculation”. It strongly suggests that there was a new standard but the old standard of evaluating money was still used in the documents.

Unfortunately, it is not clear to me what this “old standard” was and what the “new standard” was, if there was one. According to ‘Umar Āfā, before 1071/1660, coins called “old coins” (*al-sikak al-qadīma*) were in circulation in Sūs.¹³ He considered this referred to the Sa‘did dynasty and the interregnum period before the

⁹ Here, “author” (*al-mu ‘allif*) refers to Muḥammad Bennānī (d. 1261/1845–6), to whose book *al-Ṣanhājī* added commentary.

¹⁰ *al-Ṣanhājī, al-Tadrīb ‘alā tahrīr al-wathā‘iq al-‘adliya*, 1: 167.

¹¹ Eustache, *Corpus des monnaies ‘alawites*, vol. 1, p. 82. Eustache cited ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī as writing “le dirham Ismā‘īlī comptait 19 1/5 ḥabba”. It is possible that its change of the standard had something to do with the adoption of the standard of Spanish Eight real, real de a ocho. On real de a ocho, see below p. 144, esp. n. 21.

¹² Eustache, *Corpus des monnaies ‘alawites*, vol. 1, p. 82. Eustache indicates in the endnote no. 19 that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī wrote *mawzūna Ismā‘īliya* had been issued on 24 Ṣafar 1085, but the coins with the year 1083 and 1084 are attested, though rare.

¹³ ‘Umar Āfā, *al-Nuqūd al-maghribīya*, p. 100–101, esp. n. 202.

‘Alawid dynasty.¹⁴ Even if his understanding is right, however, it is still difficult to interpret the phrase “a quarter *ūqīya* in each eight” (*rub ‘al-ūqīya fī kull thamāniya*). In al-Garsīfī’s treatises on money, which ‘Umar Āfā edited in his book, various denominations and their variations were recorded.¹⁵ However, I cannot find any appropriate combination of “old” and “new” standard among them.

Whatever the standard was, it is noteworthy that this “old way of calculation” had been applied for more than a hundred years, until the last quarter of the 18th century. As shown in the first section, the coins in circulation were not particularly uniform, so it seems likely that the custom of weighing coins based on money of account prevailed for a long time.

3. The Method of Payment Seen in the Vellum Contract Documents

In the vellum contract documents, the text sometimes mentions how the actual payment was made. This section illustrates the method of payment and the coins used in it.

(1) *mu ‘āyana* and *i ‘tirāf*.

The purchase deeds should specify the method of payment. Two ways of payment were expected: *mu ‘āyana* and *i ‘tirāf*. In the first example of a purchase document in al-Ṣanhājī’s manual for notaries, the former was explained as “you witnessed receipt of the above-mentioned [amount of money]” (*shāhadta al-qabḍ al-madhkūr*) and the latter as “you did not witness the receipt and rather the seller recognized it” (*idhā lam tushāhid al-qabḍ wa-inna-mā i ‘tarafa bi-hi al-bā’i*). Then “or by a mixture [of the two]” (*fa-aw lil-tanwī*) was added, followed by “this is an expression of the receipt of the amount of money from the purchaser” (*wa-hādhā bayān qabḍ al-thaman min al-mushtarī*).¹⁶ This was a text written for notaries, so his explanation was an instruction – if you saw with your own eyes that the seller had received the money from the purchaser, then you wrote *mu ‘āyana* (seen with your own eyes), and if you did not see with your own eyes but the seller recognized that he had received the money, then you wrote *i ‘tirāf* (by recognition).

The vellum contract documents have 43 instances of *mu ‘āyana*, 16 instances of *i ‘tirāf*, and 6 instances of *mu ‘āyana wa i ‘tirāf*. Thus money, or at least a part of it, was paid in the presence of notaries in more than two-thirds of the cases. This indicates that role of notaries as witnesses still existed; they were not simply writers

¹⁴ ‘Umar said he used documents from this period but offers no examples.

¹⁵ “Risāla fī taḥrīr al-sikak al-maghribīya fī al-qurūn al-akhīra” and “Risāla fī taḥqīq awzān bi-Sūs”. See ‘Umar Āfā, *al-Nuqūd al-maghribīya*, pp. 115–135 and pp. 141–176.

¹⁶ al-Ṣanhājī, *al-Tadrīb ‘alā taḥrīr al-wathā’iq al-‘adliya*, vol. 1, p. 155.

of documents.

(2) Money used in payment in the vellum contract documents

In the vellum contract documents, payment was usually made in *dirham*, silver coins, though sometimes other coins or material was used for payment.

For example, in XIV-4, the amount of money was 195 *ūqīya* but the actual payment was “witnessed as a payment in gold and silver coins” (*mu‘āyana fī dhahab wa darāhim*). In XI-4-1 in 1122/1710, payment of 200 *mithqāl* was done in “Ismā‘īlī gold coins” (*dhahaban sikkat mawlā-nā Ismā‘īl*). The weight of the gold coin issued by Mouley Ismā‘īl was 3.51g, i.e. the *ducat* or *bunduqī* standard. In other cases, payment was not made in cash, but in kind. In X-13, 80 *mithqāl* was paid by a combination of 20 *mudd*¹⁷ of wheat worth 200 *ūqīya*, and the rest (600 *ūqīya*) in silver coins. In XIV-7, 1,300 *ūqīya sikkīya* was “witnessed as a payment in gold and silver coins and excellent jewels” (*mu‘āyana fī dhahab wa darāhim wa hulīy fakhra*). In addition, it was not unusual that payment was offset by debt.

(3) Riyāl

In the vellum contract documents, one more unit of money is attested: *riyāl*. It apparently derived from the Spanish *real*, literally “royal”, the coins first issued by King Pedro I of Castile in the mid 14th century, while the Portuguese kingdom also issued the coin of the same name from 1380.

In X-8, written in 1179/1765, a payment of 1,505 *ūqīya darāhim qadīma sikkat ta‘rīkh-hi* was made in 167 *riyāl* and 8 *mawzūnāt*.¹⁸ Eight *mawzūnāt* is equal to 2 *ūqīya*, as shown above, so 1 *riyāl* must be 9 *ūqīya darāhim qadīma*.

In the time of Muḥammad III, silver coins called *riyāl* were issued by the ‘Alawid administration. According to the corpus of ‘Alawid coins by Eustache, this type of silver coin was first issued in 1180s,¹⁹ just a few years after this document was written (1179/1765). However, this type of *riyāl* had a weight equal to 3 and 2/3 small *dirham*.²⁰ This seems too small to be equivalent to 9 *ūqīya darāhim*.

If we look at coins struck outside ‘Alawid territory, the Spanish kingdom issued large coins. Eight *real* silver coin, *Real de a ocho*, which were also called “Spanish dollar”, were issued in 1497 for the first time, and continued to be issued throughout the 18th century in various Spanish territories, including Mexico and Peru.²¹ Its weight was around 27g, within the permissible range of an equivalent to

¹⁷ *Mudd* is a unit of volume, approximately 4.32 liters in Fès. cf. W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970, p. 46.

¹⁸ The reading of the number ‘8’ is not so certain in the text, but that is certainly one digit, so it doesn’t make much difference to the interpretation of the *riyāl*.

¹⁹ Eustache, *Corpus des monnaies ‘alawites*, vol. 1, p. 187.

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ On the *real* and *real de a ocho* as international currency, see Rachel Piccolo Moisés,

9 *ūqīya darāhim*.²² It therefore seems plausible that the *riyāl* in the vellum contract documents referred to the Spanish eight *real*, not the *riyāl* of Muḥammad III.²³

4. Conclusion

The description of monetary transactions in the texts of the vellum contract documents are not that informative in themselves, but if we collect data from them comprehensively, we may gain a picture of how people in Fès in those times conducted monetary transactions, i.e. how they made their calculations, the means by which they paid the money, and how customs changed or continued. Further investigation into other documents from these periods, or the periods before and after, will shed new light on the understanding of the economic life of the people living in Fès.

“The Rise of the Spanish Silver Real”, *Sigma: Journal of Political and International Studies* 23, 2005, pp. 69–89.

²² Eustache indicates that *riyāl* was 96 *ḥabba*, i.e. approximately 28.13g and the weight of *mawzūna* issued in the reign of ‘Alawid al-Rashīd was 1/24 of it, that is 1.1724. Eustache, *Corpus des monnaies ‘alawites*, vol. 1, p. 55, n. 35.

²³ Aḥmad al-Tawfīq wrote that at the end of the reign of Moulay Sulaymān, the Spanish *real* was equal to 1 *mithqāl*, i.e. 10 *ūqīya*, as a result of the treaty of 1799. Afterward, the value of the *real* increased gradually. See Aḥmad al-Tawfīq, *al-Mujtama‘ al-maghribī fī al-qarn al-tāsi‘ ‘ashar*, pp. 259–260; J. L. Miège, *Le Maroc et l’Europe (1830–1897)*, 4 vols., P.U.F., 1961, vol. 3, p. 98.

Table 1. List of the references to monetary transactions in the vellum contract documents

No. of Deed	AH	CE	Amount	Unit of money and additional amount	Method of payment, or kind of monetary issue
		1549		Sa'did occupation of Fès	
I-3-1	965	1558	90	<i>ūqīya darāhim ta'rikkhi</i>	<i>mu'āyana</i>
II-2-1	960	1553	155	<i>dīnār min al-dhahab al-darāwī sikkat ta'rikkhi</i>	<i>bi-ḥulūl</i>
II-3	962	1555	160	<i>dīnār min al-ṣifa</i>	
I-5	968	1561	900	<i>ūqīya darāhim ta'rikkhi</i>	<i>bi-ḥulūl</i>
I-9	968	1561	900	<i>ūqīya darāhim ta'rikkhi</i>	assessment
II-9	969	1562	128	<i>ūqīya sikkat ta'rikkhi</i>	<i>mu'āyana</i>
II-10	975	1567	511.5	<i>ūqīya sikkat ta'rikkhi</i>	<i>mu'āyana</i>
II-11	975	1567	171	<i>ūqīya ???</i>	<i>mu'āyana</i>
XIV-1	981	1573	310	<i>ūqīya darāhim sikkīya ta'rikkhi</i>	<i>inqiḍā'</i>
II-13	983	1575	252	<i>ūqīya sikkat ta'rikkhi</i>	<i>i'tirāf-humā</i>
XIV-3	984	1577	315	<i>ūqīya darāhim ta'rikkhi</i>	<i>i'tirāf</i>
XIV-4	985	1578	430	<i>ūqīya darāhim sikkīya</i>	<i>mu'āyana + bi-ḥulūl</i>
XIV-4	985	1578	195	<i>ūqīya</i>	<i>mu'āyana fī dhahab wa darāhim</i>
XIV-5	986	1578	111	<i>ūqīya</i> and 1/8	<i>min-mā bi-ḥaqq-hā dhahaban mushahḥaran, mu'āyana</i>
XIV-6	986	1578	11.5	<i>ūqīya darāhim sikkīya</i>	<i>mu'āyana + i'tirāf</i>
III-1-1	990	1583	1700	<i>ūqīya darāhim sikkīya ta'rikkhi</i>	<i>bi-ḥulūl</i>
III-1-1	990	1583	642.5	<i>ūqīya min darāhim</i>	<i>i'tirāf-humā</i>
III-1-7	991	1583	1050	<i>ūqīya darāhim ta'rikkhi</i>	<i>mu'āyana fī dhahab maskūk al-jārī waqt ta'rikkhi</i>
XIV-7	1006	1597	1300	<i>ūqīya sikkīya</i>	<i>mu'āyana fī dhahab wa darāhim wa ḥulā fakhra</i>

IX-4	1012	1603	380	<i>ūqīya darāhim ta'rikkhi</i>	payment to another person
IX-7	1012	1603	380	<i>ūqīya darāhim sikkat ta'rikkhi</i>	<i>mu'āyana, fī dhahab wa darāhim wa ḥarīr</i>
II-16	1014	1605	910	<i>ūqīya sikkīya</i>	<i>mu'āyana fī dafa'āt</i>
IX-12	1018	1609	650	<i>ūqīya darāhim sikkīyat al-ta'rikkh</i>	200 <i>ūqīya</i> fī <i>mu'āyana</i> , remaining amount in two yearly installments
II-19	1019	1610	1000	<i>ūqīya darāhim ta'rikkhi</i>	<i>ḥulūl</i>
IX-16	1021	1612	400	<i>ūqīya darāhim ta'rikkhi</i> and 30 <i>ūqīya sikkīya</i>	<i>mu'āyana, fī dhahab sikkī</i>
IV-1	1032	1623	200	<i>ūqīya sikkīya al-ta'rikkh</i>	100 <i>ūqīya min al-ṣifa mu'āyana</i> + 100 <i>ḥulūl</i>
IV-1	1032	1623	10	<i>ūqīya</i>	donation for waqf
III-2	1037	1628	1200	<i>ūqīya sikkīya</i>	<i>mukhāraja</i>
III-2	1037	1628	600	<i>ūqīya sikkīya</i>	<i>mukhāraja</i>
IX-17	1044	1634	550	<i>ūqīya dirham ta'rikkhi</i>	<i>mu'āyana</i> , 450 <i>ūqīya</i> almost all in <i>dirham</i> and small amount in <i>fulūs</i> , 100 <i>ūqīya</i> afterward
III-3	1045	1636	1000	<i>ūqīya sikkīya al-ta'rikkh</i>	<i>tanāqul</i>
III-3	1045	1636	715	<i>ūqīya</i>	<i>tanāqul</i>
III-3	1045	1636	13	<i>ūqīya sikkīya</i>	<i>tanāqul</i>
III-4	1045	1636	300	<i>ūqīya darāhim sikkīya</i>	<i>mu'āyana</i>
III-5	1047	1636	450	<i>ūqīya darāhim ta'rikkhi</i>	<i>mu'āyana</i> + <i>i'tirāf</i>
IV-4	1052	1642	210	<i>ūqīya</i>	settlement of dispute
IV-3-1	1062	1652	520/3	<i>ūqīya</i>	<i>i'tirāf-hi</i>
IV-3-1	1062	1652	18	<i>mithqāl</i>	actual payment of 1/3 of the amount in IV-3-1
		1667		'Alawid Occupation of Fès	
II-22	1087	1676	600	<i>ūqīya darāhim bil-ḥisāb al-qadīm rub 'ūqīya fī kull thamāniya</i>	<i>qāṣṣ</i> 300 + <i>i'tirāf</i> 140 + <i>bāqī</i> 160
XI-1-8-1	1088	1677	360	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i>	assessment
XI-1-10	1088	1677	400	<i>ūqīya darāhim bi-l-ḥisāb al-qadīm rub al-ūqīya fī kull thamāniya</i>	<i>mu'āyana to one</i> + <i>i'tirāf to others</i>

V-1-3	1096	1685	350	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma rub ' ūqīya fi kull thamāniya</i>	<i>hulūl</i>
V-1-3	1096	1685	145	<i>ūqīya darāhim min al-šifa</i>	
V-1-3	1096	1685	100	<i>ūqīya min al-šifa</i>	
V-1-9	1097	1686	70	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma rub ' ūqīya fi kull thamāniya</i>	<i>fī darāhim mu 'āyana</i>
VII-1-2	1097	1686	840	<i>ūqīya min al-šifa</i>	
VII-1-2	1097	1686	212	<i>ūqīya and 9 fals</i>	<i>kull dhālika darāhim sikkīya</i>
VII-1-2	1097	1686	121	<i>ūqīya and 1/8 and 3 fals</i>	<i>kull dhālika darāhim sikkīya</i>
VII-1-2	1097	1686	312	<i>ūqīya min al-šifa</i>	<i>fī darāhim mu 'āyana</i>
VII-1-3	1097	1686	18	<i>ūqīya and 12 dirham darāhim sikkīya</i>	<i>i 'tirāf</i>
VII-1-6	1097	1686	277.5	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i>	<i>mu 'āyana</i>
VII-1-8	1098	1687	97	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i>	<i>mu 'āyana</i>
XI-1-4-1	1105	1693	330	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i>	<i>i 'tirāf + qāṣṣ</i>
XI-1-4-1	1105	1693	200	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i>	<i>i 'tirāf</i>
VII-1-9	1106	1695	700	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i>	<i>kull dhālika fī dafa 'a wāhida mu 'āyana</i>
VII-1-9	1106	1695	310	<i>ūqīya darāhim</i>	
VII-1-9	1106	1695	132	<i>ūqīya</i>	
VII-1-9	1106	1695	178	<i>ūqīya</i>	delayed payment
XI-1-5	1107	1696	10	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i>	rent
XI-2-8-1	1110	1698	5	<i>ūqīya</i>	rent
XV-1	1112	1700	30	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i>	<i>mu 'āyana</i>
VII-1-10	1114	1702	1000	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i>	
VII-1-10	1114	1702	400	<i>ūqīya qadīma</i>	<i>mu 'āyana</i>
VII-1-11	1114	1702	600	<i>ūqīya qadīma</i>	<i>mu 'āyana</i>
V-2	1115	1703	100	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i>	inheritance
VII-1-12	1115	1703	550	<i>ūqīya qadīma</i>	<i>i 'tirāf</i>
V-3-1	1116	1706	60	<i>ūqīya qadīma</i>	assessment
V-4	1116	1706	60	<i>ūqīya qadīma</i>	<i>i 'tirāf</i>
XII-1-8-1	1119	1707	250	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma sikkat ta 'rīkh-hi</i>	<i>mu 'āyana</i>
XIII-2	1119	1707	250	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma sikkat ta 'rīkh-hi</i>	<i>mu 'āyana</i>
XII-1-1	1120	1709	60	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma min al-šifa</i>	

XII-1-1	1120	1709	23	<i>uq̄yā</i>	
XII-1-1	1120	1709	12.25	<i>uq̄yā</i>	
XII-1-1	1120	1709	25	<i>uq̄yā</i>	<i>ḥulūl</i>
V-5	1121	1709	650	<i>ūq̄yā darāhim qadīma</i>	<i>qāṣṣ</i>
V-6	1121	1709	1220	<i>ūq̄yā darāhim qadīma sikkat ta' rīkh-hi</i>	85 <i>mithqāl darāhim min al-ṣifa mu'āyana + bāqī ḥulūl (mu'āyana + i'tirāf afterwad)</i>
XII-1-4	1121	1709	300	<i>ūq̄yā qadīma</i>	<i>i'tirāf</i>
XI-4-1	1122	1710	200	<i>mithqāl dhahaban sikkat mawlā-nā Ismā'īl</i>	
V-7	1123	1711	2500	<i>ūq̄yā darāhim qadīma</i>	<i>i'tirāf</i>
V-8	1124	1712	2000	<i>ūq̄yā darāhim qadīma</i>	<i>i'tirāf?</i>
VI-1	1124	1712	500	<i>ūq̄yā dirham qadīma</i>	<i>ḥulūl</i>
VI-1	1124	1712	47.25	<i>mithqāl</i>	<i>darāhim mu'āyana, actual payment of 2/3 of VI-1</i>
VI-2	1124	1712	40	<i>ūq̄yā qadīma</i>	
VI-2	1124	1712	30	<i>ūq̄yā qadīma darāhim sikkat ta' rīkh-hi</i>	<i>mu'āyana</i>
VI-2	1124	1712	70	<i>ūq̄yā qadīma</i>	
XII-1-9	1124	1712	165	<i>ūq̄yā darāhim qadīma sikkat ta' rīkh-hi</i>	14 <i>mithqālan darāhim qadīma sikkat ta' rīkh-hi – 1/2 ūq̄yā darāhim min al-ṣifa + 25+1/2 ūq̄yā ḥulūlan</i>
XII-2	1125	1713	26	<i>mithqāl qadīma</i>	debt
V-10	1126	1714	5200	<i>ūq̄yā darāhim qadīma</i>	<i>mu'āyana + i'tirāf</i>
XI-2-2	1127	1715	12	<i>mithqāl darāhim qadīma</i>	40 <i>ūq̄yā darāhim qadīma mu'āyana + 8 mithqāl i'tirāf</i>
XI-6-1	1127	1715	1071	<i>ūq̄yā and 6 thumn</i>	and 6 <i>thumn</i> , inventory
V-12	1129	1717	3500	<i>ūq̄yā darāhim qadīma</i>	<i>qāṣṣ + mu'āyana</i>
XI-2-3	1129	1716	32	<i>ūq̄yā qadīma</i>	
XI-2-3	1129	1716	29.5	<i>ūq̄yā</i>	<i>mu'āyana</i>
XI-2-3	1129	1716	10	<i>mauzūnāt</i>	<i>ḥulūl</i>
XI-2-9	1129	1717	15	<i>ūq̄yā darāhim qadīma bi-sikkat ta' rīkh-hi – 1/4</i>	rent
XI-2-10	1129	1717	15	<i>ūq̄yā darāhim qadīma</i>	rent
XI-2-13	1129	1717	10	<i>ūq̄yā</i>	inheritance
XI-2-7	1130	1718	40	<i>ūq̄yā qadīma</i>	<i>(mu'āyana) + inqīdā'</i>

XI-2-7	1130	1718	20	<i>ūqīya</i>	<i>min Khumāsī Baladī wa</i>
XI-2-11	1130	1718	20	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i>	<i>mu'āyana</i> , rent
XI-2-6	1133	1720	25	<i>mithqāl darāhim qadīma</i>	<i>hāza mu'āyana</i>
V-15	1134	1722	5000	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i>	<i>mu'āyana + i'tirāf</i>
XI-7	1135	1722	50	<i>mithqāl darāhim qadīma bi-sikkat ta'rīkh-hi</i>	<i>mu'āyana</i>
XI-8	1136	1724	20	<i>mithqāl darāhim qadīma</i>	
VIII-1-2	1137	1725	10969	<i>ūqīya dirham</i>	inventory
VIII-2	1137	1725			inventory
XI-1-12	1137	1725	30	<i>mithqāl qadīma</i>	?
XI-1-14	1137	1725			<i>mu'āyana</i>
XI-1-14	1137	1725	9	<i>ūqīya qadīma</i>	
XI-1-14	1137	1725	74	<i>ūqīya</i> and 8 <i>fulūs</i>	
XI-11	1138	1725	50	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i>	<i>darāhim mu'āyana</i>
XII-4	1138	1725	100	<i>ūqīya</i>	<i>mu'āyana</i>
VII-2	1139	1726	57.25	<i>ūqīya</i> and 4 <i>fulūs</i>	<i>mu'āyana</i>
X-1-1	1139	1726	19	<i>mithqāl – 5/8 ūqīya</i> and 4 <i>fulūs</i>	<i>mu'āyana</i>
VIII-3-1	1143	1731	90	<i>mithqāl qadīma</i>	assessment
VIII-4	1144	1731	900	<i>ūqīya dirham qadīma</i>	<i>darāhim mu'āyana</i>
VIII-4	1144	1731	500	<i>ūqīya</i>	
X-1-3	1146	1733	22	<i>mithqāl 9 ūqīya</i> and 1/8 <i>ūqīya</i> and 4 <i>fulūs</i>	<i>mu'āyana + i'tirāf</i>
X-2	1146	1734	620	<i>ūqīya dirham qadīma bi-sikkat ta'rīkh-hi</i>	<i>mu'āyana</i> 600 + <i>tatawwa'ā</i> 20
VIII-9-2	1147	1737	500	<i>ūqīya dirham al-ta'rīkh</i>	
VIII-9-4	1147	1737		<i>jamī'an 'adā</i> 30 <i>ūqīya</i>	<i>mu'āyana</i>
VIII-8	1149	1737	900	<i>ūqīya dirham qadīma min sikkat ta'rīkh-hi</i>	<i>mu'āyana</i>
VII-4	1150	1737	102.5	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i>	<i>i'tirāf</i>
X-3	1150	1737	500	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma sikkat ta'rīkh-hi</i>	<i>mu'āyana</i>
X-3	1150	1737	300	<i>ūqīya qadīma</i>	<i>dhimma, qaṣṣ</i>
X-3	1150	1737	50	<i>ūqīya</i>	
X-3	1150	1737	200	<i>ūqīya</i>	
VII-5	1153	1741	50	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i>	<i>i'tirāf</i>
X-5	1155	1743	25	<i>mithqāl darāhim qadīma</i>	<i>i'tirāf</i>

X-6	1176	1762	1200	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i>	
X-6	1176	1762	100	<i>mithqāl + 80 ūqīya</i>	<i>i 'tirāf</i>
X-6	1176	1762	12	<i>mithqāl</i>	<i>tatawwa 'ā</i>
X-7	1179	1765	1000?	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i> and some <i>darāhim</i>	<i>mu 'āyana fī riyāl wa darāhim</i>
X-8	1179	1765	1505	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i> <i>sikkat ta 'rīkh-hi</i>	<i>mu 'āyana fī 167 riyāl</i> and 8 <i>mawzūnāt</i>
VIII-10	1194	1780	252	<i>mithqāl darāhim</i> <i>qadīma</i>	<i>mu 'āyana</i>
VIII-13	1194	1780	360	<i>mithqāl</i>	<i>isqāṭ 50 + mu 'āyana</i>
X-13	1240	1825	80	<i>mithqāl darāhim sikkat</i> <i>ta 'rīkh-hi</i>	<i>mu 'āyana</i> , payment by wheat 20 <i>mudd</i> as 200 <i>ūqīya</i> and the rest (=600 <i>ūqīya</i>) by <i>darāhim</i>
XI-9-1	?	?	1600	<i>ūqīya darāhim qadīma</i>	