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# دور الحاكم في تحقيق الأمن الغذائي للرعية من خلال نماذج من تاريخ أمتنا

# The Governor's contribution to the food security of the population through models of the history of our nation

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ماجستير في التاريخ الإسلامي .

طالب دكتوراه تحت إشراف الأستاذة بن موسى

المدرسة العليا للأستاذة - بوزريعة .



الملخص: الأمن الغذائي من أحد أكبر التحديات التي تواجهها أمتنا اليوم. وقد اخترنا تجارب قادة من تاريخنا بذلوا جهودًا لتحقيق ذلك. تجربة النبي يوسف صلى الله عليه وسلم في مواجهة المجاعة التي عصفت بمصر، بتشجيع الزراعة وتوفير الحبوب لمواجهة السنوات العجاف. بالإضافة إلى تجربة الخليفة عمر بن الخطاب الذي تبنى إجراءات مالية شجع من خلالها الزراعة بالسماح للناس بامتلاك الأراضي لإصلاحها، وعمل على تأمين مورد ثابت للخزينة العامة من خلال أموال الخراج. ووسّع نظام المساعدة المالية للمسلمين، و في عام الرمادة، أنشأ بيت الدقيق لتوزيعه على الفارين من الجوع. كما حثّ الناس على التوبة والاستغفار حتى يخفف الله عنهم المصائب. التجربة الثالثة هي تجربة الخليفة عمر بن عبد العزيز الذي أعاد توزيع ثروات الخلفاء الأمويين، وحرص على جمع أموال الزكاة وتوزيعها على الفقراء. كما خصص بيتا لإطعام المحتاجين. وشجع الزراعة بإلغاء الضرائب على المزارعين ومساعدتهم على إحياء الأرض. كما وضع قواعد على أموال الخراج حتى لا يضر الفلاحين وملاك الأراضي. و بفضل سياسة عمر بن عبد العزيز ، ساد الازدهار في جميع أنحاء الخلافة الإسلامية

إن أمتنا اليوم بحاجة ماسة إلى الإستفادة من تجارب أسلافنا للخروج من حالة التبعية الغذائية للدول الأجنبية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الأمن الغذائي - دور الحاكم - العدل - الزراعة - التخزين.

#### Abstract:

One of the biggest challenges that our nation has faced is food security. We chose the experiences of rulers from the history who made efforts to achieve it. The experience of prophet Joseph, peace be upon him, who faced the famine that affected Egypt by encouraging agriculture

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and saving grains to meet the lean years .In adition the experience of Caliph Omar bin Al-Khattab who adopted financial measures in which he encouraged agriculture by entitling people to possess land to reform it..He ensured a steady resource for the state treasury through the Kharaj funds, and expanded the system of financial aid to the Muslims. Also, in the year of Al-Ramadah, he established a Flour House to distribute flour to those fleeing from hunger. In addition, he urged people to repent and seek forgiveness so that God may relieve the disasters. The third experience is that of Caliph Omar bin Abdul Aziz who redistributed the wealth of the Umayyad caliphs, and who was keen to collect zakat money and spend it on the poor. He also allocated a house to feed the needy. He encouraged agriculture by abolishing taxes on farmers, and helping them revive lands. He further set rules on the money of the Kharaj so as not to oppress the farmers and the landowners. Thanks to his policy, prosperity prevailed throughout the Islamic caliphate.

Our nation today is really in need to emulate the experiences of our ancestors to get out of the state of food dependency on foreign countries.

**<u>Key Words</u>**: Food security - Governor's role – Justice – Agriculture – Storage

#### **INTRDUCTION:**

One of the greatest challenges that countries and peoples have faced and are still facing today is Food security. The Arab countries today are mostly unable to achieve real food security to their peoples despite the material and human resources they possess. This led to food dependency on foreign states. If this is the case of the Arab and Islamic nation today, how was it in the past?, and how has the nation been unable to achieve the sustainable food security to its people? We will try to answer the questions through three past model experiences. The first is mentioned in the Quran In Surat Yusuf, it is the experience of the prophet Joseph peace be upon him, while the second is that of the Caliph Omar ibn al-Khattab, and the third experience is that of the Umayyad caliph Omar bin Abdul Aziz. So what were the actions taken by these officials in an attempt to provide food to their populations and achieve food security in normal and difficult times.

# 1 - Definition of food security:

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Food security is a modern term<sup>1</sup> that can be studied as an economic and human phenomenon with the assistance of other sciences such as Demography 2 and Statistics. It is difficult to study the subject in Islamic times due to the lack of ( or sometimes) the inexistence of figures and statistics such as the amount of production or the number of population. Fortunately, there are other sources that can be used to study the subject, including the books of Hisbah<sup>3</sup>, Calamities, Classes, Dictionaries and others . We will first try to give a concept of food security based on modern definitions, then find definitions applied in the same sense through historical sources. Food security means the state's ability to provide basic food with the desired quantity and quality required for its citizens on a regular basis, either in normal or emergency circumstances <sup>4</sup> ,either from local sources or through importation <sup>5</sup>. Thus, food security is two types: absolute and relative. As for The absolute, it is the production of food, equivalent or exceeding domestic demand, and this level is identical to the concept of Self-sufficiency. Ibn Khaldun referred to this, in his Introduction, by saying that to be able to have sufficient or abundant quantities of food for everybody there should be a great number of peolple with different skills and crafts working in cooperation to get surpluses in foodstuffs. <sup>6</sup> What Ibn Khaldun reported is the concept of food security that can be achieved through local production or the so-called selfsufficiency, but its realization is extremely difficult due to the intervention of several factors. Hence, another type of food security emerges, Known as relative food security, which is the ability of the state to provide the needs of its members of food both locally produced and imported <sup>7</sup>. Islam also adds another element to the concept of food security. In addition to the material reasons, it focuses on the ideological dimension, which is that God The Almighty is the (continual) Provider, and that asking for forgiveness and supplication bring the sustenance, and the fear of God nurtures and increases it 8. God has linked, in the Qur'an, between personal security and food security on the one hand, and worshiping God on the other. In other words, there is no peace for a nation suffering from hunger and deprivation, nor is there food

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safety for a nation lacking obeyance to God, or a nation with frequent wars and internal turmoil.

#### Allah (God) said in Surat An-nahl:

(And Allah presents an example : a city [i.e., Makkah] which was safe and secure, its provision coming to it in abundance from every location, but it denied the favors of Allah. So Allah made it taste the envelopment of hunger and fear for what they had been doing.).

# 2- Experiences from the history of our nation to achieve food security:

# - The experience of our master Joseph peace be upon him:

Human history has many examples of measures and actions taken by some rulers and officials to ensure food for the population, and this was manifested in the story of our master Joseph peace be upon him.

# Allah (God) said in Surat Yusuf:

[Joseph] said, "You will plant for seven years consecutively; and what you harvest leave in its spikes, except a little from which you will eat.(verse 47.)

Then will come after that seven difficult [years] which will consume what you advanced [i.e., saved] for them, except a little from which you will store.(verse 48.)

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Then will come after that a year in which the people will be rain and in which they will press [olives and grapes]." 49.

The verses have referred to the importance of agricultural production in achieving food security, and the need for the rationalization of consumption, and avoiding improvidence so as to prevent food shortages and starvation, and this was achieved( in the case of Joseph) through a planning that had extended fifteen years, starting with the first step, the cultivation of grain for seven years

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$$^{11}$$
 (قال تزرعون سبع سنين دأبا) قال تعالى :

(Joseph) said, "You will plant for seven years consecutively;). And this according to the customs of the Egyptian people at that time. Then comes the second step which is to keep the grain that they harvested in its chaff.

$$^{12}$$
 ( فما حصدتم فذروه في سنبله إلاّ قليلا ممّا تأكلون ) قال تعالى:

(and what you harvest leave in its chaff,) In this way the grain will not decay <sup>13</sup>. Rencent scientific studies have shown the effectiveness of this method in the conservation of wheat ,where the surrounding crusts prevent the attack of harmful insects and external air effects.<sup>14</sup> The third step is to reduce what they eat –

(except a little from which you will eat.)-

in the fertile years to save what was better for the years of drought. <sup>16</sup>The fourth step, when the drought years would come they would eat the grains

تاريخ الإرسال: 2021/03/25 تاريخ القبول: 2021/07/07 تاريخ النشر: 2021/03/25 stored in their chaff , and only a few remained to be used in their agriculture

. (.. except a little from which you will store.)

And this indicates that it is permissible to monopolize food for future emergencies <sup>18</sup>.

# - Models how food security was achieved during first islamic centuries :

History has recorded considerable efforts by Caliphs to ensure the food needs to their populations. We chose two cases in which rulers were keen to take the necessary measures to ensure food for the populations and to prevent them from starvation. The two experiences are those of the caliph al – Rashidi omar ibn ai- Khattab and the Umayyad Omar bin Abdul Aziz.

#### 1 – Omar ibn al khattab's case:

Omar bin al - Khattab the second Caliph ( successor), ruled Muslims from 12 AH / 634 AD to 23 AH / 644 AD .Omar Ibn Al- khattab realized the importance of work , production and reliance on the self potential of the state in achieving self – sufficiency and ensuring the food security and avoiding famine through several measures .

#### A)- Material measures :

#### 1) Entitling people to possess land to reform it:

Omar bin al - Khattab entitled people to possess land to reform it just as the Prophet did before. One of the most prominent ways to rebuild the earth was to revived it. Omar announced (O people whoever reforms a piece of land and makes it prductive after being barren, the land will be his own)<sup>19</sup>.

In deed, Omar made a great number of the Companions (Sahaba) possess land to reform it and be of benefit to them and to the whole population.<sup>20</sup>

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## 3)The use of alkharaj

When the islamic nation became powerful ,the resources of the House of Property multiplied and its expenses increased .To preseve public interests ,the prudent financial policy was to find a financial resource which should be constant and durable, this resource was Kharaj<sup>21</sup>. The conquerors wanted to divide the spoils of the wars (money and lands), but Omar wanted to keep the land in the hands of the defeated in return for taxes taking into account the rights of future generations <sup>22</sup>. He did not want to divide four-fifths on the conquerors and the land would become their legal property then eventually heritable <sup>23</sup> and ,therefore there would be nothing left for subsequent Muslims. And if the warrior parents deserved it for their jihad, what would distinguish their children and grandchildren from the rest of the Muslims so that the heirs of the warriors would occupy the land without the others, and they all hadn't fought <sup>24</sup>. Imposing Kharaj on the conquered lands was seen by some of the companions against the regulations of spoils of war and as unusual compared to what the Prophet peace be upon him did in the land of Khyber <sup>25</sup>. But the wisdom of this procedure was not to turn the conquerors into peasants, thus weakening their combat capabilities as they would face the Persians in the East and the Byzantines in the West.In addition, by adopting this measure ,Omar linked the old peasants to their land, gained their loyalty, and contributed to the continuation of agriculture creating a large annual resource. He also enabled the state to raise people's standard of living through the system of bestowal<sup>26</sup>. Omar ibn al-Khattab, through the funds of Kharaj, was able to expand in giving to Muslims <sup>27</sup>.

# 4)Benefiting from Zakat Funds:

Omar ibn al-Khattab set up a precise and wise system to collect zakat. He organized and developed the Zakat Foundation and sent workers to collect it in all parts of the caliphate after many of the conquered country's populations entered Islam., And justice in the collection of funds was one of the government's virtues without تاریخ الإرسال: 2021/03/25 تاریخ القبول: 2021/07/07 تاریخ النشر: 2021/03/25 تاریخ النشر: infraction of the rights of the The House of Property  $^{28}$ . Omar recommended that the owners of orchards should be treated compassionately when estimating the fruit harvest .  $^{29}$ And because of the large amount of wheat ,he allowed to pay zakaat al-fitr from it(wheat)  $^{30}$ . This undoubtedly helped Providing food for people.

#### 5) Creating a Flour House:

Omar bin al-Khattab established a Flour House to provide food, which was used during the year of Ramada <sup>31</sup>, and which was distributed to the expatriates coming to the city of Medina before the supplies of foodstuffs came from Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Khorasan<sup>32</sup> The wheat has increased duing the rule of Omar <sup>33</sup>, which helped him to expand the House of Flour to feed the thousands of people who came to the city in Ramadha before people witnessed rain. This indicates Omar's mentality in the development of state institutions, whether financial or otherwise. <sup>34</sup>

Omar relied first on the resources of the House of Property, and on people's generosity. He did not resort to get help from other regions till the supplies had depleted. The dependence on resources after relying on God, or what is now known as the attempt to achieve food security through local production is a good measure, and a reason for the success of Omar's achievement in this ordeal. After the depletion of supplies and foodstuffs, Omar was forced to seek help from governors of other regions in order to save the inhabitants of the city and the surrounding Arab tribes from dying as a result of the hunger that hit the region.

#### 6) Seeking assistance /rescue from other regions:

Omar was keen to provide food for Muslims, especially those who came to Medina because of hunger, and those who stayed in the desert, facing hardship <sup>35</sup>. He went out himself at night to inspect the affairs of the inhabitants and their sufferings. He wrote to Abu Musa al-Ash'ari in Basra and to Amr ibn al-'Aas in Egypt asking them to provide assistance Muhammad's nation. Each of them sent a great convoy of

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food. <sup>36</sup>Abu Obeida also provided the city with four thousand camels carrying food. Omar ordered to distribute the food convoy in the neighborhoods around the city <sup>37</sup>. Omar, may Allah be pleased with him, described his policy towards this stifling crisis saving.

(if people are stricken by drouhgt, I'll spend( from god's money )as much as I could find ,but if I don't find any, I'll oblige each well-off man to help a badly-off one).

Omar struggled to supply the Arabs with wheat and oil from rural areas <sup>39</sup>

## 7) Delaying the payment of zakat in Ramadaan:

Omar was merciful to his people, taking into account their difficult circumstances. He ordered his people not to pay the harvest Zakat in the year of Ramadah <sup>40</sup>. When the famine ended and the land was harvested, the zakaah was collected for the year of Ramadaa, which was considered a debt( to those who were able to pay it) in order to eliminate the deficit of individuals in need, And keep funds in the House of Property after having spent all its money. <sup>41</sup>

It is possible to say that Omar bin Al-Khattab was a responsible leader .He encouraged agriculture and set up economic institutions such as Dar al-Dakik (Flour House).He was also keen to meet people's needs until the economic crisis ended. 42

# B)Lordly Measures:

The food crisis or famine may be a test of God Almighty.

« And We will surely test you with something of fear and hunger and a loss of wealth and lives and fruits, but give good tidings to the patient, Who, when disaster

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strikes them, say, "Indeed we belong to Allah, and indeed to Him we will return." Al bagara verses 155,156)

This is in the sense that God is plaguing his servant with fear and hunger to test his faith. The food problem may be caused by the person himself, and this is confirmed in the Quran, God also said.

And We certainly seized361 the people of Pharaoh with years of famine and a deficiency in fruits that perhaps they would be reminded. S'rah 7 – al-Araf.verse 130

The years in the 45 linguistic sense are years of distress and rought, Therefore, the fear of God is one of the most important factors to solve the problem of food. the Holy Quran has linked, in frequent places, between righteousness on the guidance of God and facilitating the livelihood and the general prosperity, Says God Almighty:

(And whoever fears Allah – He will make for him a way out. And will provide for him from where he does not expect.)

Omar ibn al- Khattab realized the relationship between sins and repentance on one hand and the facilitation of livelihood on the other. This made Omar perform Salat Al-Istisqua (a prayer to ask God for rain), and where he read the verses:

- **9.**Then I announced to them and [also] confided to them secretly 10. And said, 'Ask forgiveness of your Lord. Indeed, He is ever a Perpetual Forgiver.
- 11. He will send [rain from] the sky upon you in [continuing] showers

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12. And give you increase in wealth and children and provide for you gardens and provide for you rivers.

The meaning of the verses is that repenting to God and asking forgiveness is the reason for getting rain in every nation <sup>48</sup>. The narrator said: "We stayed days (after the prayer)then God sent clouds between the Levant and Yemen and it rained, God willing, and the torrents flowed <sup>49</sup>.

#### 2 – The case of Omar bin Abdul Aziz:

Omar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz ruled Muslims two years from 99 AH to  $101\,/\,717-720$  AD .

#### **Fair Redistribution of wealth:**

Omar bin Abdul Aziz advised the Caliph Sulaiman bin Abdul Malik to respond to grievances so that justice can be done and the conditions of the population improve. When he took over the Caliphate, he sought to redistribute wealth fairly <sup>50</sup>.

He declared the invalidity of the gifts of the former Umayyad princes, and took back what they received and put it in the House of Property. . He began by himself and his household .One day he ascended the pulpit, and said (The people - that is, the umayyads - gave us gifts that we shouldn't have taken and which they should not have given ,and this has become uncontrollable, but from now on, I'm going to put all the gifts back into the House of Property and I start with my own home).<sup>51</sup> Omar criticized Suleiman's distributive policy because he realized that the deprivation suffered by the poor was a result of the unfair distribution of wealth. Omar decided to prevent princes and dignitaries from appropriating wealth.He confiscated unjustly appropriated property, spent on disadvantaged groups and ensured the level of sufficiency through zakat and the House of Property resources .<sup>52</sup> Therefore, Omar often cried for fear of being in his country hungry or unclothed people, as reported by Ibn Abd al-Hakim<sup>53</sup>.

# Distribution of Zakat and Charity Funds:

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When people heard of Omar bin Abdul Aziz, they hastened to perform Zakat al-Fitr, which led to the abundance of money, and the reason for this is his justice and his keenness on the distribution of alms following the Prophet's guidance 54. Omar designed a house to feed the poor and the travellers<sup>55</sup>. His distributive policy aimed at making people reach self sufficiency in all respects, whether food, housing, or furniture, which were basic and necessary<sup>56</sup>. Omar bin Abdul Aziz was keen on justice because he realized that justice ensures stability and welfare to the citizens<sup>57</sup>. And when one of his servants sent him a letter asking him for money to repair his destroyed town, Omar advised him to protect the town with justice and cleanse its ways from injustice <sup>58</sup>. He added that Justice is the real bastion that protects the country and the people from all dangers.

# - Promoting agriculture:

Omar recognized the importance of agricultural activity in providing food to the citizens. Therefore, several measures were taken to develop the sector, including taking care of farmers and eliminating all illegal taxes. He imposed a tax of only 1/10 on crops irrigated with rain water<sup>59</sup>. He abolished all other taxes and considered them as being acts of deception and abuse. God said:

$$^{60}$$
(ولا تبخسوا الناس أشياءهم ولا تعثوا في الأرض مفسدين)

And O my people, give full measure and weight in justice and do not deprive the people of their due and do not commit abuse on the earth, spreading corruption. Surah 11 – Hud .verse 85

Omar didn't only abolish taxes, but put an end to the State House, which imposed taxes on people.61

Omar noted the bad economic impact of the previous unjust distortions, as they made the owners of the land leave their land, and eventually, production weakened 62. He denied those taxes and wrote to his officials to stop collecting them. Omar also provided loans to farmers to motivate them to work the land. Once he wrote to the 2021/10/02 تاريخ الإرسال: 2021/03/25 تاريخ القبول: 2021/03/07 تاريخ الإرسال: 2021/03/25 governor of Iraq (Look for any person who could not work his land and give him loans as assistance).

#### **Reviving dead lands:**

Omar encouraged people to revive the lands that were barren, following what the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him) said: Whoever resurrects a dead land it becomes his <sup>64</sup>. And Omar wrote to one of his servants saying: Anyone who resurrects a dead land by building or plowing, unless it is owned or if the owners revived some and left some, so give your consent to the people who may revive them, either by building or plowing. <sup>65</sup> Revival should be by all means by agriculture, or by erecting buildings, or draining the land if it was swamped to become arable. <sup>66</sup>

Omar bin Abdul Aziz ordered the study of the conditions of the land, and the degree of fertility to determine the extent of the possibility of kharadj <sup>67</sup>. The experts should find out the causes of the damage of the land in order to populate it because reconstruction would increase production and contribute to the food supply of the people. Also, the cultivated land might not give enough crops in a year to require kharadj due to weather conditions or agricultural pests such as locusts, or the decline in their fertility. If this was the case,so kharadj was not to be collected, and if the production was low then only a small amount of Kharaj was imposed so that the farmers wouldn't abandon their land. <sup>68</sup>Omar also ordered to build public utilities, now called infrastructure projects, since development does not happen without these necessary facilities such as rivers, harbors, transportation and roads. <sup>69</sup>

Omar's policy spurred people to work and produce more, trade flourished and Zakat income increased  $^{70}$ . Prosperity prevailed in the country and among its people. Yahya bin Said said (Omar bin Abdul Aziz sent me to Africa to distribute the funds of charity. Once there, I asked for the poor to give them charity, we did not find any. Omar bin Abdul Aziz enriched the people  $^{71}$ . The result was an improvement in the

2021/10/02 تاریخ النشر: 2021/03/25 تاریخ النشر: 2021/03/25 تاریخ النشر: standards of the poor, their purchasing power, and consumption thus increasing demand for products. A man from the sons of Zeid ibn al-Khattab said . (But Prince Omar bin Abdul Aziz governed onlytwo years and a half and he did not die until he made someone come to us with a lot of money for the poor but he went back with his money as there was no poor who deserved to be given to 73.

Thanks to his piety, his justice and his keenness to govern according to what was stated in God's book ( the Quran), Omar bin Abdul Aziz was able to provide his citizens with all the necessities of life. His ruling period became the example of prosperity although he ruled the Muslims only thirty months.

# **Conclusion:**

These leaders were unique models of the rulers who were keen on the interest of their peoples. In conclusion, the Prophet Yusuf(Joseph), (peace be upon him, took effective measures to face the crisis of hunger that Egypt suffered in his time. The two Caliphs Omar ibn al-Khattab and Omar bin Abdul Aziz adopted the wise policy of balancing the material aspect and taking all the reasons that would encourage citizens to work and achieve food security. In addition to that, the spiritual or ideological aspect had an important impact in making people refrain from committing sins and be keen to perform religious duties and good deeds. All this increased production and blessings.

It is noted throughout history that whenever the state's governance was correct, following the guidance of the Lord, and its citizens did not feel injustice, this would motivate them to work hard. But,on the other hand, the farther away from the right path, the financial balance would be disrupted and reflected negatively on all aspects of life. The experiences described in our article can be used to face the food problem that has become a source of concern for some countries and peoples today, especially the Arab countries.

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- <sup>21</sup> Al-Kharaj, as defined by Al-Mawardi, is a right that God Almighty brought to the Muslims from the polytheists. It is money that (all of it) goes to the population and is collected by the end of each year. The amount of money is estimated by Ijtihād.

(Al-Mawardi, Abu Ali Hassan bin Muhammad, Sultani Rulings and Religious States, , Dar Ibn Outaybah Library, Kuwait, 1409 - 1989 AD, 1st Edition, p. 181).

N.B: Ijtihād (Arabic: "effort") in Islamic law, Ijtihād is the independent or original interpretation of problems not precisely covered by the Qur'an, **Hadith** (traditions concerning the Prophet Muhammad's life and utterances), and ijmā (scholarly consensus).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> - Omari, op. Cit., P. 198

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- <sup>23</sup> - Al-Qurashi Yahya Bin Adam, Al-Kharaj Book, Investigation by Hussein Mu'nis, , Dar al-Shorouk, Beirut, 1987, I, p 8
- <sup>24</sup> - Al-Muzaini Ahmad Abdul-Aziz, The Financial Resources in Islam, The Publisher with Chains, Kuwait, 1994, edition 1, p. 277
- <sup>25</sup> Al-Muzaini, op. Cit., P. 276
- <sup>26</sup> Al omari Akram Zia, op. Cit., P. 189
- <sup>27</sup> Al-Baladiri, Fouttouh Al-Buldan, Investigator Abdullah Anis Al-Tabbaa and Omar Anis Al-Tabba'a, Al-Ma'arif Foundation, Beirut, 1987, P. 629
- <sup>28</sup> Al-Salabi Ali Mohammed, Biography of the Amir of the Faithful Omar Ibn Al-Khattab, Personality and age, , Iqra Foundation for Publishing and DistributionAnd translation, Cairo, 2005, edition 1,p. 238
- <sup>29</sup> Alomari Akram Zia, op. Cit., P. 214
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid., P. 214
- <sup>31</sup> Al-Ramadah probably occurred in 18 AH / 639 AD. Ibn al-Atheer said: In the year eighteen, people suffered a severe famine, which is the year of Ramadah. Hunger intensified so badly that beasts sought food from humans, and even made the man slaughter a sheep but would disgust it because of its ugliness. (See Ibn al-Atheer, The Complete History, The Investigation of Abi al-Fadah, Abdullah al-Qadi, 1987, A 2, p. 396).
- <sup>32</sup> Salmani Abdullah Taha Obaidullah Nasser, the crisis of the year of economic Ramadah in 18 AH / 639 AD succession of Omar ibn al-Khattab may Allah be pleased with him, College of Mosul University, Iraq, p. 12
- <sup>33</sup> Omri Akram Zia, op. Cit., P. 214
- <sup>34</sup> Salabi, op. Cit., P. 224
- <sup>35</sup> The same reference, page
- <sup>36</sup> Ibn al-Ather, the previous source, c 10, p. 69
- <sup>37</sup> The same source, c 10, p. 70.
- <sup>38</sup> Ibn cheba, Omar bin cheba al-Numayri, History of Medina, Part 1, the investigation of Ali Muhammad Dandoul, and Yasin Saadallah Bayan, Dar al-Kuttab al-Ulmiyya, Beirut, 1417 AH / 1996, p. 394
- <sup>39</sup> The same source, Part 2, p. 738

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- <sup>49</sup> Ibn Shaba, the previous source, part 2, p. 736.
- <sup>50</sup> Kutb Ibrahim Mohamed, The Financial Policy of Omar bin Abdul Aziz, Egyptian General Book Organization, 1988, p. 180.
- <sup>51</sup> Ibn al-Jawzi, biography of Omar bin Abdul Aziz al-Khalifa al-Zahid, House of Scientific Books, 1404, edition 1, p. 1984
- $^{52}$  kutb ibrahim , op.cit , p 35

- <sup>53</sup> Ibn Abd al-Hakam (A Bo Abdullah), biography of Omar bin Abdul Aziz, beyond Imam Malik bin Anas and his companions, copied and corrected by Ahmed Obaid, publisher Wahba Library, Egypt, edition 2, p. 146
- <sup>54</sup> Abd al-Sattar al-Shaykh, Omar bin Abdul Aziz, the fifth Caliphs, , Dar Al-Qalam, Damascus, 1996 , edition 2, p. 295.
- <sup>55</sup> Ibn Saad, op.cit, part 5, p. 378
- <sup>56</sup> The Salafi, the Umayyad State Factors of Prosperity and the Consequences of Collapse, , Dar al-Maarifah, Beirut, 1429, part 2 , p. 309
- <sup>57</sup> Al-Salabi, Omar Ibn Abdul-Aziz, The Characteristics of the Renovation and Reform of Al-Rashidi on the Platform of Prophethood, , Publishing House, Egypt, 2006, 1st edition , p. 63
- <sup>58</sup> Suyuti Jalaluddin Abderrahmane, History of the Caliphs, Dar Ibn Hazm, Beirut, 2003, p. 185

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> - Salabi, op. Cit., P. 217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> - Salmani, op. Cit, P. 10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> - same source, same page.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> - Surah Al - Baqarah, verse 155.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> - Surah Al - A'raf, verse 130

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> - Ibn Manzoor, the previous source, c. 13, p

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> - Surah At-Talaq, verse 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> - Surah Noah, verse 11-12

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- <sup>60</sup> Surat hud, verse 85.
- <sup>61</sup> Al-Salabi, Omar's Finance Policy, p. 113.
- <sup>62</sup> Al-Salabi, ibid., P. 213
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- <sup>67</sup> Ibid., P. 104
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- <sup>70</sup> Salabi, op. Cit., P. 239
- <sup>71</sup> Ibn Abdul Hakam, the previous source, p. 59.
- <sup>72</sup> Qutb Ibrahim Mohammed, op. Cit., P. 41
- <sup>73</sup>- Ibn Abdul Hakam, the previous source, p. 59