

**The Affection of Berbers towards the Policies of the Military Leaders of Al-Araby  
Conquests in al-Maghrib (21–96 AH/642–715)**

柏柏尔人受到征服摩洛哥伊斯兰军队领导人政策的影响 (伊历21年-96年 \ 公元642年-715年)

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**Abstract**

Three waves of conquest were launched from al-Mashriq, Medina and Damascus to bring al-Maghrib and its inhabitants under Islam. The first wave was during the period of al-Rāshidūn, and the second and third waves were during the Umayyad Caliphate, particularly in the reigns of Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān (41–60 AH/661–680) and Marwān I (64–65 AH/684–685) and their respective dynasties.

This conquest achieved many victories in al-Maghrib, but the Muslims also faced obstacles and defeats. Scholars have not paid attention to the affection of some Berbers towards the policies of the Islamic military leaders after the latter captured Berber cities. Therefore, this research analyses these leaders' policies to attract Berbers to their side during and after their campaigns and highlights the mistakes made by some of these leaders against the Berbers and the impact on some of their campaigns to capture cities in al-Maghrib. Consequently, it discusses the affection of the Berbers to the military leaders' policy from the beginning until the completion of conquest. This study uses historical methods to analyse several primary sources to illustrate the military leaders' policies that attracted the Berbers onto their sides.

**Keywords:** Berbers, Tribes, Leaders, Policy, Affection, al-Maghrib

تأثر البربر بسياسة قادة فتوح الجيش الاسلامي في المغرب (٢١ هـ - ٩٦ هـ / ٦٤٢-٧١٥)

مشعل العنزري أستاذ مساعد في جامعة الكويت

**الملخص**

انطلقت ثلاث موجات من الفتوحات الإسلامية من المدينة المنورة ودمشق لفتح المغرب. كانت الموجة الأولى في عصر الخلفاء الراشدين، أما الموجتان الثانية والثالثة فكانتا في عصر الأمويين، ولا سيما في عهد معاوية بن أبي سفيان (٤١ - ٦٠ هـ/٦٦١-٦٨٠) وعهد مروان الأول (٦٤-٦٥ هـ/٦٨٤-٦٨٥) وسلالة كل منهما. تلك الموجات من الفتوحات الإسلامية حققت العديد من الانتصارات العسكرية في المغرب، ولكن في فترات متقاربة واجهت بعض الصعوبات وتعرضت لبعض الهزائم. لم يلتفت الباحثون إلى تأثير بعض البربر تجاه سياسة هؤلاء القادة العسكريين بعد أن استولوا على مدنهم. لذلك، يحلل هذا البحث سياسات القادة العسكريين لجذب البربر إلى جانبهم وبعد حملاتهم العسكرية ويسلط الضوء على الأخطاء التي ارتكبتها بعض هؤلاء القادة العسكريين ضد البربر وتأثيرها على حملاتهم للاستيلاء على بعض مدن المغرب. وبالتالي، فهو يناقش تأثير البربر بسياسة قادة الفتح الإسلامي في المغرب من بداية الفتح حتى نهايته. تستخدم هذه الدراسة الطريقة التاريخية لتحليل عدة مصادر أولية لتوضيح سياسة قادة الفتح الإسلامي في المغرب التي جذبت البربر إلى جانبهم.

**الكلمات الرئيسية:** البربر، القبائل، القادة، التعامل، التأثير، المغرب

## 1- Introduction

Al-Maghrib extended from present-day Libya to present-day Morocco. The inhabitants of al-Maghrib comprised the Byzantines, who were centred in the *Ifrīqiyā* region (which made up a significant part of al-Maghrib, including Tunisia, the far northwest of Libya and northeast Algeria), al-Afāriqah and Berbers, who were the native inhabitants of al-Maghrib and formed the majority. The Berbers were divided into al-Barāns and al-Batar. Al-Barāns were divided into seven tribes: Aūrbah, Ṣinhājah, Maṣmūdah, Aūrīghah, Azdājah, Kutāmah and Jazūlah (Ibn Khaldūn, 1959, 6:90). Some of these tribes, particularly Aūrbah, had a hostile attitude towards the second wave of Al-Araby conquests due to the persecution of its military leaders during the reign of the second Umayyad caliph, Yazīd (60–64 AH/680–684). Al-Batar were divided into four tribes: Ḍarīсах, Nafūsah, Adāsah and Luwātah (Al-Nāṣirī, 1954, 1:65), a few of which were opposed to the Muslim conquest, whereas others were more welcoming due to Byzantine persecution.

Scholars have discussed various aspects of the history of al-Maghrib before and during the Arab military campaigns in al-Maghrib. For example, Bashīr Yazīr examines the role of the Berbers' religion in the resistance of the Byzantines before the Arab conquest of al-Maghrib (Yazīr, 2020). In his book, Vassilios Christides discusses the reasons and consequences of the loss of the Byzantines to the region of *Ifrīqiyā* (Christides, 2000). 'Abd al-Jalīl Qaryān explains the military strategy of Abū Muhājir al-Dīnār (d. 63 AH/ 683) to capture the cities of al-Maghrib (Qaryān, 2012). Khālid Ḥamūm discusses the role of al-Kāhinah Dīhyah (d. 82 AH/701), a Berber military woman who formed the resistance against the Arab conquest of al-Maghrib

(Ḥamūm, 2019). Aḥmad ‘Amrūsh illustrates the Arab conquest of al-Maghrib from the perspective of the French Orientalism vision (‘Amrūsh, 2020). However, these authors do not pay attention to the affection of some Berber tribes towards the policies of the military leaders after the latter captured Berber cities.

## 2- The Berbers and the First Wave of Al-Araby Conquests

In 13 AH/634, ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (13–23 AH/634–644) became the caliph; during his reign, the Muslims launched the first wave of campaigns to capture territories of al-Maghrib under the leadership of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, a companion of Prophet Muḥammad (21–24 AH/642–645). ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ decided to seize Cyrenaica (Barqah) in the east of Libya, which was considered an extension of Egypt (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, 1948, 34), wanting to protect Egypt from any attempts by the Byzantines to recapture Egypt. Therefore, it can be argued that, according to Al-Sayed ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Sālim, a specialist in the history of al-Maghrib, the Muslims went to conquer Cyrenaica to obtain loot (Sālim, 1999, 54).

‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ went to Cyrenaica in 21 and captured it without any resistance from its inhabitants, the Luwātah tribe, who wanted an end to Byzantine rule, as they had forcibly imposed high taxes on the tribe. It is possible that the Luwātah had heard about how the Muslims had dealt with the inhabitants of the occupied territories in Egypt, the Levant, Iraq and Persia. ‘Amr imposed a simple tribute on the Luwātah tribe, which was one dīnār for each adult man (Ibn ‘Athārī, 1983, 1:8), as he wanted to attract the tribe to Islam. The tribe committed to paying the tribute; also, several members converted to Islam and became part of the Islamic army in the conquest of al-Maghrib. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ did not appoint a tribute collector in Cyrenaica. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ then decided to conquer Tripoli (Ṭarābulus) in northwest Libya, which was considered the closest city to the *Ifriqiyā* region and was under Byzantine domination (Al-Balāthrī, 1957,

1:266). This act aligns with the possible intention of ‘Amr to remove the Byzantine threat from Cyrenaica and its inhabitants.

Consequently, ‘Amr directed his half-brother, ‘Uqbah ibn Nāfi‘ (d. 63 AH/683), to Zuwaylah village, located in present-day southwest Libya, to make sure its inhabitants, the Hūwārah tribe, which was related to Aūrīghah, would not support the Byzantines and their Berber allies in Tripoli during the Muslims’ siege. The inhabitants of Zuwaylah welcomed the Muslims, and Zuwaylah become an Islamic zone, in which the Muslim inhabitants paid al-Zakāt, the third pillar of Islam, while non-Muslim inhabitants were committed to paying a tribute (1957, 1:264–265). It can be assumed that the inhabitants of Zuwaylah preferred Islamic rule over the domination of the Byzantines.

‘Amr then besieged Tripoli, a coastal city that was walled on all sides except for the coast. During the siege, the Byzantines and their Berber allies in Tripoli appealed to the Nafūsah tribe in Šibrātah, located in present-day northwest Libya (1983, 1:8). In response, ‘Amr sent a battalion to Šibrātah to prevent the Nafūsah from sending supplements to Tripoli. The battalion found that the Nafūsah were fortified inside their city and were not prepared to send aid to Tripoli (1948, 34). It is possible that the Nafūsah wished to remain neutral because some Berber tribes had accepted the expansion of the Muslims into territories of al-Maghrib, particularly in present-day Libya. ‘Amr succeeded in capturing Tripoli after one month of siege. He did not impose a tribute on the inhabitants of Tripoli (1948, 38), possibly because they had already been economically persecuted by the Byzantines. He might also have convinced the inhabitants of Tripoli to convert to Islam. The members of the Ḍarīsah and Aūrbah tribes were part of the society of Tripoli (1959, 6:90). However, he failed in this matter, as evidenced by his attention shifting to *Ifriqiyā*.

After the capture of Tripoli, 'Amr sought permission from 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb to conquer the cities in the region of *Ifriqiyā*, but 'Umar rejected this idea ('Abādī, 2000, 36). 'Umar feared for 'Amr and his soldiers due to the suspected treachery of the Berbers of *Ifriqiyā*. The latter were fickle in their loyalty to the Byzantines, although the Byzantines made the *Ifriqiyā* region rich by selling olives to the Byzantine Empire (1983, 1:16); for this reason, 'Umar described *Ifriqiyā* and its inhabitants as treacherous (1948, 40). It can be concluded that al-Rāshidūn caliphs were aware of the nature of the Berbers and how to deal with them.

In 23 AH/644, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was assassinated by Abū Lu'lu'ah al-Majūsī. The Muslims chose 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (23–35 AH/644–656) as caliph. At the beginning of his reign, he also rejected the idea of invading the *Ifriqiyā* region. Later, however, he changed his mind and approved the invasion under the leadership of 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad, a brother of 'Uthmān through breastfeeding (24–35 AH/645–656). During their time in Egypt, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad, the governor of *Ṣa'īd* (Upper Egypt), launched many expeditions around *Ifriqiyā*, obtaining vast amounts of loot, including Berber captives (Ibn al-Athīr, 1998, 2:480). It can be assumed that 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad launched these expeditions around *Ifriqiyā* to convince al-Rāshidūn caliphs 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and 'Uthmān that they could conquer *Ifriqiyā* and control the Berbers.

Many Berbers of Cyrenaica joined 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad's campaign to conquer Sufetula, the capital of *Ifriqiyā*, under the rule of Gregory the Patrician (646-648/25–27 AH). 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad feared the treachery of some Berbers of Cyrenaica during his battle with Gregory the Patrician in Sufetula in 27 AH/ 648. During the battle, Gregory declared that he would allow any fighter to marry his daughter if he could kill 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad. The latter, therefore, feared for

his life from the coup of Berbers of Cyrenaica who had recently joined Islam (1998, 3:43-44).

However, he defeated Gregory the Patrician and seized Sufetula in 27 AH (Pringle, 1981, 47).

‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘ad then resided in Sufetula for one year and three months to solidify Islam in the hearts of the city’s inhabitants. Some Berbers became Muslims, particularly Wazmār b. Şiglāb (d. unknown), the prince of the Mighrāwah tribe (1959, 6:215–216). To attract the Berbers and al-Afāriqah of *Ifrīqiya* to Islam and to join the Muslim side, ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘ad did not force them to convert to Islam. He also appointed Ḥubāhibah (d. unknown) as the patriarch of Sufetula to manage the affairs of the Christian Berbers and al-Afāriqah of *Ifrīqiya*, who were the majority, as there was a treaty between them and the Muslims (1957, 268); in return, they pledged to pay a tribute of 1,500,000 dīnār to the Muslims (1957, 268).

Following these achievements, ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘ad left for Egypt, where he had been appointed as governor by the caliph ‘Uthmān in 25 AH/646. However, in 33 AH/654, ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘ad was forced to launch a second campaign to Sufetula because several of al-Afāriqah and Berbers, including some members of Aūrbah and Şinhājah, who had been loyal to the Byzantines, breached their covenants with the Muslims (1983, 1:14). ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘ad managed to capture them (Ibn Taghrī bardī, 1962, 1:80).

In 35 AH/656, there was sedition in al-Mashriq in Medina, the capital of al-Rāshidūn. The caliph ‘Uthmān had been assassinated. The Arabs were divided over the speed of execution for ‘Uthmān’s killers, which halted the Arabs’ campaigns in al-Maghrib for ten years from 35–45 AH/656–665. Moreover, the fourth Rāshidī caliph, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (35–40 AH/656–660), was assassinated by al-Khawārij in 40 AH. Byzantine Emperor Constans II (641–668/20–48 AH) exploited this crisis and dispatched Aūlimah (d. unknown) as an envoy to Sufetula to demand that the Berbers, al-Afāriqah and their patriarch, Ḥubāhibah, pay him a tax equal to what they

had paid the Muslims. They rejected this demand with the justification that they had paid all their money to the Muslims according to their agreement with ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘ad in 28 AH/649 (1983, 1:17). It can be concluded that many Berbers of *Ifriqiya*, particularly Sufetula had been committed to their covenants with the Muslims. In addition, they wanted to combat the Byzantine domination. Consequently, Aūlīmah expelled Ḥubāḥibah and ruled Sufetula to force its inhabitants to pay the tax (Mu’nis, 2006, 114).

### 3- The Berbers and the Second Wave of Al-Araby Conquests

Following the assassination of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, his elder son, al-Ḥasan (d. 50 AH/670), became temporary caliph. To reunite the Muslims, he conceded the caliphate to Mu‘āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān in 41 AH on the condition that he would not name a successor during his reign (Donaldson, 1933, 66–70). Mu‘āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān established the Umayyad state in the Levant, which lasted for 91 years from 41–132 AH/661–750 and chose Damascus as its capital.

In 45 AH/665, Mu‘āwiya decided to resume Al-Araby conquest of al-Maghrib to legitimise his nascent state in the eyes of the Muslims. He planned to recapture Sufetula and then complete the conquest of al-Maghrib. Subsequently, Mu‘āwiya sent an army of 10,000 to recapture Sufetula under the leadership of Mu‘āwiya b. Ḥudayj al-Kindī (d. 58 AH/678), who had participated in early Al-Araby conquests in al-Mashriq during the reign of ‘Umar (1983, 1:16). Al-Afāriqah and Berbers of Sufetula, including some members of Aūrbah and Ṣinhājah, played a vital role in this task, as they deposed Aūlīmah from Sufetula before the arrival of the Islamic army (1983, 1:16). It can be assumed that the Berbers and al-Afāriqah of *Ifriqiya* preferred Islamic rule over the domination of the Byzantines. In response, in 45 AH, Constans II sent an army of 30,000 under the leadership of Naqfūr (d. unknown) to confront the Islamic army (1983, 1:18). Mu‘āwiya b. Ḥudayj al-Kindī defeated the Byzantine army, and it withdrew to

Sūsah city, located in present-day central-east Tunisia (al-Ḥumayrī, 1974, 366). He then directed ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, whose father was a cousin of Prophet Muḥammad (d. 73 AH/692), to capture Sūsah. Naqfūr and the rest of the Byzantine army escaped from Sūsah to Sicily (1983, 1:16). It is possible that Naqfūr realised that the inhabitants of Sūsah wanted to be under Islamic domination, so he escaped before an alliance might have been formed between them and ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr’s battalion.

Mu‘āwiya b. Ḥudayj then decided to destroy the Jalawlā’ fort, which was considered one of the most powerful Byzantine forts in *Ifriqiyā* (2000, 38). It can be assumed that Mu‘āwiya b. Ḥudayj aimed to eliminate the areas of Byzantine influence scattered throughout *Ifriqiyā* to prevent them from inciting the Berbers against the Muslim conquerors. He might also have wanted to prevent the Byzantines from being able to later recapture the territories of al-Maghrib, which had been seized by al-Rāshidūn and then the Umayyads. Consequently, Mu‘āwiya b. Ḥudayj sent a battalion of one or two thousand soldiers to this fort under the leadership of ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (65–86 AH/685–705), who would become the fifth Umayyad caliph. ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān succeeded in destroying the fort (2000, 38).

Following these military achievements, the Umayyad caliph, Mu‘āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, appointed Mu‘āwiya b. Ḥudayj as governor of *Ifriqiyā* in 46 AH/666 and, a year later, as governor of Egypt. In 47 AH, Mu‘āwiya b. Ḥudayj sent a battalion under the leadership of Ruwayfi‘ b. Thābit al-Anṣārī (d. 56 AH/676), a companion of Prophet Muḥammad, to capture Jarbah Island, located off the coast of present-day Tunisia, which was a part of *Ifriqiyā* and the domination of the Byzantines. Ruwayfi‘ b. Thābit succeeded in expelling the Byzantines from the island, which then came under Islamic rule (Kaegi, 2010, 180).

In 49 AH/669, Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj left *Ifriqiyā* for Egypt. Some of the Berbers of Sufetula exploited this and became apostates, breaching their covenants with the Muslims (al-Ḥamawī, 1958, 4:420). It can be argued that some Berbers were fickle in their loyalty. Consequently, Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān appointed 'Uqbah ibn Nāfi' as governor of *Ifriqiyā* in 50 AH/670. It is possible that the caliph Mu'āwiya wanted to depend on 'Uqbah to consolidate Islam in the hearts of the Berbers of *Ifriqiyā*. 'Uqbah was residing in Cyrenaica and Zuwaylah ('Abd al-Ḥamīd, 1990, 132). It can be affirmed that he attracted many of them to Islam.

'Uqbah's first mission in *Ifriqiyā* was to kill the remaining Byzantines (1983, 1:19), as he believed they might incite the Berbers against the Muslims. 'Uqbah then decided to build a city in *Ifriqiyā* as a Muslim base to prevent a Berber uprising (1998, 3:231). He built Kairouan (al-Qayrawān) at a site known as Qamūnyah (al-Mālikī 1951, 21). Qamūnyah was away from both the sea and the desert. It can be concluded that 'Uqbah wanted to be away from the sea to avoid Byzantine raids and away from the desert to avoid Berber raids, as Al-Araby conquests had not yet reached some of the Berbers in the desert (2000, 39).

Luwātah and Hūwārah tribes participated in the construction of Kairouan. In addition, many Berbers, including members of the Aūrbah and Ṣinhājah tribes, emigrated from different parts of *Ifriqiyā* and became Muslims, also participating in the construction of Kairouan (2006, 146). This can possibly be attributed to the behaviour of 'Uqbah during the city's construction. The site of Kairouan was in a wooded valley that sheltered predators, so 'Uqbah waited for the predators to leave before setting fire to the valley to complete the building of the city (al-Wāghidī, 1898, 1:3). Furthermore, the Berbers of Tripoli and Sufetula did not rebel against the Muslims during the construction of Kairouan, which took five years from 50–55 AH/670–675. Despite this success, Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān deposed 'Uqbah from *Ifriqiyā* and Mu'āwiya b.

Ḥudayj from Egypt in 55 AH/675. The caliph appointed Maslamah b. Mukhlad al-Anṣārī, a companion of Prophet Muḥammad (d. 63 AH/683), to both Egypt and *Ifriqiyā*. Later, Abū al-Muhājir al-Dīnār, a follower of Maslamah (d. 63 AH/683), was appointed as governor of *Ifriqiyā* by Maslamah. This is because ‘Uqbah did not add any territory to the frontiers of the Umayyad state in that period, nor did he add any booty to its treasury.

The building of Kairouan resulted in the consolidation of Islam in the hearts of the Berbers of *Ifriqiyā*, so the new governor of *Ifriqiyā*, Abū al-Muhājir, shifted his campaigns from *Ifriqiyā* to al-Maghrib al-Awṣaṭ, located in present-day Algeria. His friendly dealing with the Berbers during his military campaigns in al-Maghrib al-Awṣaṭ attracted many of them to Islam, and they participated in Al-Araby conquests. One example that supports this view is that, in 56 AH/676, he defeated a crowd of Berbers under the leadership of Kusaylah (d. 71AH/691), the prince of Aūrbah, in the springs close to Tlemcen (Tilimsān), located in present-day northwest Algeria. Abū al-Muhājir captured Kusaylah and treated him well during his captivity, so Kusaylah converted to Islam along with many members of his tribe, and they helped Abū al-Muhājir to capture Tlemcen (1954, 1:80). Kusaylah’s tribe extended from Tripoli to Tangier (Ṭanjah) in al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā located in present-day Morocco. It can be deduced that Abū al-Muhājir followed the policy of Prophet Muḥammad, that is, to attract infidels to Islam through good treatment and kind words. Another policy of Abū al-Muhājir in dealing with the Berbers was to reside in the cities he conquered. An example that supports this view is that he resided in Mila, located in present-day northeast Algeria, for two years after he captured it in 58 AH/678 (1974, 480). It is possible that he wanted to convince its inhabitants, the tribe of Kutāmah, to convert to Islam.

In 60 AH/680, Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān died, and his son, Yazīd, ascended the throne of the Umayyad caliphate. The latter re-appointed 'Uqbah to *Ifriqiyā* in 62 AH/682 after Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān had deposed him in 55 AH/675. The first period of 'Uqbah's reign in *Ifriqiyā* from 50–55 AH /670–675 saw the conversion of many Berbers to Islam. However, during the second period, many of them reconverted for two main reasons. First, he used violence against the Berbers from 62–64 AH/682–684, believing that it would lead to the quick completion of the conquest of al-Maghrib al-Awṣaṭ and al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā and the submission of the remaining Berbers (1983, 1:25–26). Second, 'Uqbah wanted to take revenge on Abū al-Muhājir because the latter had offended him when Abū al-Muhājir had been appointed as governor of *Ifriqiyā* (1948, 66). 'Uqbah arrested and apprehended Abū al-Muhājir and Kusaylah due to their friendly relationship with each other. Abū al-Muhājir warned 'Uqbah against offending Kusaylah because the latter had been the prince of Aūrbah; he had also recently become Muslim (1983, 1:29).

Kusaylah later escaped and gathered many disgruntled Berbers together, including his tribe Aūrbah, some members of Ṣinhājah, Maṣmūdah and Aūrīghah and the remaining Byzantines from al-Maghrib al-Awṣaṭ. Kusaylah clashed with 'Uqbah on his return to Kairouan once his military campaigns had finished in al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā. 'Uqbah was killed in a battle in Baskarah, located in present-day northwest Algeria, in 63 AH/683, and the Umayyad state lost the region of *Ifriqiyā*, which came under the rule of Kusaylah from 63–71 AH/683–691 (Conant, 2012, 280).

#### **4- The Berbers and the Third Wave of Al-Araby Conquests**

'Uqbah's death resulted in the Umayyad state's loss of *Ifriqiyā*; it took the Muslims eight years to respond for two main reasons. First, the Umayyad's caliph, Yazīd, was concentrating on the besiegement of Mecca (Makkah) in combatting the revolt of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (d. 73

AH/692) (Donner, 2010, 181–182). He then died in 64 AH/684. Second, Yazīd's son and successor, Mu'āwiyā II (64 AH/684), ruled for only a few months before his death, and he did not choose a crown prince for the Umayyad state. Consequently, temporary chaos ensued until the Umayyads decided to choose Marwān I (64–65 AH/684–685) as caliph in 64 AH. Hence, the Umayyad state's rule shifted from the dynasty of Mu'āwiyā ibn Abī Sufyān to the dynasty of Marwān I (Bosworth, 1991, 622). Nonetheless, the latter still did not respond to the loss of *Ifriqiyā* due to his early death. His successor, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (65–86 AH/685–705), then concentrated on the revolts against the Umayyads, particularly the revolt of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.

Many Muslim and non-Muslim Berbers in Kairouan, probably the Ṣinhājah and Maṣmūdah tribes, preferred Islamic rule (1983, 1:27–28). They did not withdraw to Cyrenaica, even though Zuhayr b. Qays, a deputy of 'Uqbah in Kairouan (d. 76 AH/695), had led the Umayyad garrison in Kairouan to escape there (2006, 207). Instead, they remained in Kairouan under the rule of Kusaylah and caused disturbances against him there. Therefore, they were most likely able to force Kusaylah to offer safety to the remaining elderly Arab men and women as well as their children in Kairouan (1951, 29).

In addition, the presence of these Berbers heightened Kusaylah's fears when 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān supplied Zuhayr b. Qays with an army to release *Ifriqiyā* from Kusaylah. These Berbers forced Kusaylah to withdraw from Kairouan when Zuhayr's army approached as Kusaylah considered them an eternal enemy (1951, 30).

In 71 AH/691, Zuhayr clashed with Kusaylah in the valley of Mams, located in present-day northeast Algeria. Kusaylah was killed and his allies including the Byzantines, were defeated (2006, 224). Following this battle, Zuhayr returned to Kairouan and resided there temporarily to

organise its affairs. He then decided to leave for Egypt in 76 AH/695 and, on his way, discovered that the Byzantines had raided Cyrenaica, captured several Muslims and imprisoned them on ships. He clashed with the Byzantines on the coast of Cyrenaica, which resulted in his death (1983, 1:33).

Following Zuhayr's death, the caliph 'Abd al-Malik appointed Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān (d. 86 AH/705) as governor of *Ifrīqiyā* in 77 AH/696. The latter was from the Ghasān tribe, which had been loyal to the Byzantine Empire in the Levant. He had become a Muslim after the Arabs captured the Levant. Many Luwātah Berbers, including their prince, Hilāl b. Tharwān al-luwātī (d. unknown), joined Ḥassān's army and helped him capture Carthage (Qartāj), a major Byzantine centre in *Ifrīqiyā* (2000, 34). It is possible that members of the Luwātah tribe joined the Islamic army under the leadership of Ḥassān when he captured Carthage because they wanted to show their appreciation for Zuhayr's efforts in attempting to help the Luwātah Berbers who had been captured by the Byzantines when they raided Cyrenaica in 76 AH/695; Zuhayr had died in this attempt (1999, 151). It can be also assumed that the Luwātah Berbers knew of the Byzantine's military tactics, so they would have been able to help Ḥassān capture Carthage.

Although Ḥassān and his allies, the Luwātah Berbers, seized Carthage, which many Muslim military leaders in *Ifrīqiyā* had not been able to do, they were defeated by al-Batar Berbers, including the Ḍarīsah, Nafūsah and Adāsah tribes, under the leadership of al-Kāhīnah Dīhyah in 78 AH/697 (1999, 158). Al-Kāhīnah Dīhyah was a Berber woman related to the Zanātah tribe. She had been chosen by al-Batar Berbers to lead the resistance against the Arabs' military campaigns in al-Maghrib (Kennedy, 2007, 220). Therefore, it is inconclusive to state that Zuhayr's victory against Kusaylah in 71 AH /691 made all of the Berbers afraid to resist Al-Araby conquest (1999, 151).

Following Ḥassān's defeat, al-Kāhinah Dīhyah indirectly led many Berbers, including Ḍarīsah, Nafūsah, Adāsah who participated in defeating Ḥassān, to join the latter's side. She believed that the Muslims came to al-Maghrib to plunder, so she destroyed many territories of al-Maghrib to prevent the Muslims from coming. This act harmed the Ḍarīsah, Nafūsah and Adāsah Berbers (1983, 1:36). Consequently, in 82 AH/701, Ḥassān defeated and killed al-Kāhinah Dīhyah after the caliph 'Abd al-Malik sent him reinforcements (Bayḍūn, 1986, 57).

Following this victory, Ḥassān realised the military role of the Berbers, and he worked to spread Islam among them by bringing jurists from the Levant to al-Maghrib (1954, 1:94).

Subsequently, many Berbers became Muslims during Ḥassān's presence in *Ifriqiyā*.

Notwithstanding these achievements, the brother of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 86 AH/705), the governor of Egypt, appointed Mūsā b. Nuṣayr (d. 97 AH/716) as governor of *Ifriqiyā*, replacing Ḥassān in 85 AH/704. Mūsā was one of 'Abd al-'Azīz's most obedient followers. Although the caliph 'Abd al-Malik was upset by this act, he did not negate the decision; it is possible that the caliph thought that the military leaders his brother had chosen would complete Al-Araby conquest of al-Maghrib.

By late 85 AH/704, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr arrived in *Ifriqiyā* and decided to use violence against the remaining Berbers to complete the conquest of the remaining territories of al-Maghrib. He began by capturing the Zaghwān fort, situated between Kairouan and Tunis, and took 10,000 Berbers as captives (1983, 1:40). The Umayyad state did not react to this violence due to the deaths of 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-'Azīz in 86 AH/705. After their deaths, the Umayyad state came under the rule of al-Walīd (86–96 AH/705–715), who probably applauded Mūsā's policy to complete the conquest of al-Maghrib during his reign, as evidenced by al-Walīd's appointment of Mūsā as governor of *Ifriqiyā*.

In 86 AH/705, Mūsā captured 100,000 members of Ṣinhājah tribe that had been spread in *Ifrīqiyā*, al-Maghrib al-Awṣaṭ, and al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā (Al-Daynūrī, 1967, 2:70). Although we know that Mūsā captured many of them, the total number is unlikely to be 100,000, as he only sent 6,000 soldiers to invade (1967, 2:70). It can also be assumed that some sources created propaganda for Mūsā. He then invaded Sajūmah in al-Maghrib al-Awṣaṭ and captured Kusaylah's daughters who resided there to prevent any potential revolts (Ṣāliḥ, 1954, 224).

This violence resulted in the completion of the conquest of all the territories of al-Maghrib, except for Ceuta, which was under the leadership of Julian (d. unknown), because it received supplies from the Iberian Peninsula during the siege by Mūsā (1999, 171). There are three possible factors that legitimised the policy of violence used by Mūsā against the Berbers. First, he used violence against the few remaining Berbers in the territories that Al-Araby conquests had not yet reached. Second, many Muslim Berbers did not revolt against this violence and, rather, participated in Mūsā's conquests and violence (1967, 2:70). Third, many abused Berbers declared their submission to Mūsā and conversion to Islam. Consequently, Mūsā instructed his Arab soldiers to teach the Berbers about Islam (Al-Qayrawānī, 1968, 69–70). These Berbers would later participate effectively in the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula in 92 AH/711.

According to the Algerian historian Muḥammad 'Alī Dabūz, the Umayyad caliph Sulaymān (96–99 AH/715–718), who ruled the state following the death of his brother, al-Walīd, was upset with Mūsā's policy towards the Berbers. Sulaymān deposed Mūsā from the governance of *Ifrīqiyā*, jailed him and confiscated his money (Dabūz, 1963, 165). However, Mūsā's Berber policy may not be the reason why he was punished by Sulaymān. Mūsā completed the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula in 96 AH/715 while al-Walīd was sick, so the

latter ordered Mūsā to hurry back to Damascus to present the spoils of the Iberian Peninsula to the caliph. The crown prince Sulaymān instructed Mūsā to arrive late. Against Sulaymān's wishes, Mūsā arrived in Damascus during al-Walīd's last days, thus upsetting Sulaymān (1983, 1:41).

## 5- Conclusion

Al-Rāshidūn and then the Umayyads dispatched several armies under the leadership of various military leaders to conquer al-Maghrib from 21–91 AH/642–710. The Berbers were divided into two parties depending on their position on Al-Araby conquest of al-Maghrib. The first party welcomed Al-Araby conquest, and many of them became Muslims and joined Islamic military campaigns to seize the remaining territories of al-Maghrib, owing to the policies of some of the military leaders of al-Rāshidūn and the Umayyads. Some leaders of the latter imposed a small tribute on the Berbers who had not converted to Islam. Some of them were also friendly with the Berbers. In addition, some of them were also circumspect for the souls of the Berbers from the Byzantines. Finally, 'Uqbah built Kairouan as a base for the Muslims in *Ifrīqiya* to consolidate Islamic rule there.

The second Berber party rejected and resisted the Muslims' conquest of al-Maghrib for three main reasons. First, some of the Berbers were allies of the Byzantines. Second, 'Uqbah persecuted the Berbers, including a prince of Aūrbah. Third, some of the Berbers were fickle in their loyalty.

Further studies on the period and area of this research could be undertaken in the future. The Berbers' situation in al-Andalus during the period of the Umayyad governors of al-Andalus has not been analysed well.



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