

The selection factors of the Leaders for the Conquest of al-Maghrib (41- 91AH/661-710)

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Abstract: The Arab conquest of al-Maghrib began during the reign of the second caliph of the Al-Rashidun caliphs; 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (13–23 AH/634-644) and was completed in the reign of the sixth Umayyad caliph Al-Walid ibn Abd al-Malik (86–96 AH/705-715). Eastern historians have concentrated on the campaigns of the Muslim military leaders in al-Maghrib during the Al-Rashidun caliphs and the Umayyad state. However, the relationship between the Umayyad caliphs and the leaders of the conquest was not their focal point. Among these leaders were; Muawiya b. Hudayj al-Kindi (d. 58 AH/678), 'Uqbah ibn Nafi (d. 63 AH/683), Hassan ibn al-Numan (d. 86 AH/ 705), and Musa ibn Nusayr (d. 97 AH/ 716). Western historians have examined the crises occurring in the Umayyad state, but they did not clarify its impact on the relationship between the military leaders and the Umayyad caliphs. This study aims to analyze the process of selecting the military leaders by the Umayyad caliphs in completing the Arab conquest of al-Maghrib. It discusses the support offered by the Umayyad state to these leaders. This study also illustrates the relationship between the Umayyad state and the military leaders of the conquest. In addition to that, it clarifies the circumstances of the Umayyad state and its effects on the relationship between the Umayyad caliphs and the military leaders.

Keywords: Al-Rāshidūn, Umayyad, Ifrīqiya, Berbers, Byzantines, Kairouan.

عوامل اختيار قادة فتح المغرب (٤١ إلى ٩١ هـ/٦٦١ إلى ٧١٠)

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ملخص البحث: بدأ الفتح العربي للمغرب في عهد ثاني الخلفاء الراشدين عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه (١٣-٢٣ هـ/٦٣٤-٦٤٤) واكتمل في عهد الخليفة الأموي السادس الوليد بن عبد الملك (٨٦-٩٦ هـ/٧٠٥-٧١٥). وقد ركز المؤرخون الشرقيون على حملات القادة العسكريين المسلمين في المغرب خلال خلافة الراشدة، ثم الدولة الأموية، ولكنهم لم يركزوا على العلاقة بين خلفاء بني أمية وقادة فتوحات المغرب، ومن بين هؤلاء القادة معاوية بن حديج (ت. ٥٨ هـ/٦٧٨) وعقبة بن نافع (ت. ٦٣ هـ/٦٨٣) وحسان بن النعمان (٨٦ هـ/٧٠٥) وموسى بن نصير (ت. ٩٧ هـ/٧١٦). وقد تناول المؤرخون الغربيون أزمات حدثت في الدولة الأموية، ولكنهم لم يوضحوا أثر تلك الأزمات على العلاقة بين خلفاء الدولة الأموية والقادة العسكريين. ولذلك فهذا البحث يحلل اختيار الخلفاء الأمويين للقادة العسكريين لاستكمال الفتح العربي للمغرب، ويناقد الدعم الذي قدمته الدولة الأموية لهؤلاء القادة، ويبرز العلاقة بين بعضهم البعض، كما يوضح ظروف الدولة الأموية وتأثير هذه الظروف على العلاقة بين خلفاء بني أمية والقادة العسكريين.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الراشدون، الأمويون، إفريقية، البربر، البيزنطيون، القيروان.

1- Introduction

After the death of Prophet Muḥammad in 11 AH/632, Abū Bakr (11–13 AH/632–634) became the caliph. He launched the Riddah Wars (from 11 to 12 AH/632–633), military campaigns against the apostate tribes in the Arabian Peninsula, and eventually defeated them. Following the Riddah Wars, once the situation in the Arabian Peninsula had stabilised, Abū Bakr launched several military campaigns to conquer Iraq and the Levant, but he died in 13 AH/634, at the beginning of these campaigns. After his death, ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (13–23 AH/634–644) became the caliph, and during his reign, the Muslims captured Persia, Iraq, the Levant and Egypt. The last years of ‘Umar’s caliphate saw the commencement of military campaigns to capture al-Maghrib. Al-Maghrib extended from what is now known as Libya to become what is now the Kingdom of Morocco.

Many scholars and historians have discussed aspects of the Arab conquest of al-Maghrib, such as the efforts of the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (65–86AH/685–705) in recapturing al-Maghrib after the death of Zuhayr b. Qays (d. 76 AH/695) (Jarār, 2015), as well as suspicions about the Arab conquest of al-Maghrib (al-Shaybānī, 2013). In addition to that, they have examined the role of several Berber rulers in the Arab conquest of al-Maghrib (Shatnāwī, 2013) and the consolidation of Islamic rule in this nation (Ghūrdū, 2011). Other scholars have concentrated on the campaigns of the Muslim military leaders in al-Maghrib during the al-Rashidūn era and then the Umayyad era (al-Shūrbajī, 2002). However, they have not paid attention to the relationship between the Umayyad caliphs and the military leaders of the conquest of al-Maghrib.

This study relies on several primary sources, including those who were close to the Arab conquest of al-Maghrib, and others who were not. The importance of these sources lies in their narration of the relationship between the military leaders of the conquest of al-Maghrib and the Umayyad caliphs. These sources detail the achievements of these leaders before and during the Umayyad era. Among these sources are *Futūḥ Ifrīqiyā wa al-Andalus* for Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Ifrīqiyā for Al-Wāqidi*, *Tārīkh Ifrīqiyā wa al-Maghrib* for Al-Qayrawānī, *Riyāḍ al-Nufūs fī ṭabaqāt ‘Ulamāa al-Qayrawān wa Ifrīqiyā* for Al-Mālikī, *Hulat al-Sīrāa for Al-Qudā’ī* and *al-Bayān al-Maghrib fī Akhbār al-Andalus wa al-Maghrib* for Ibn ‘Athārī.

2- The Relationship of the Leaders of the Conquest of al-Maghrib with the Al-Rāshidūn Caliphs

‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ (d. 43 AH/663), a companion of Prophet Muḥammad, earned the approval of ‘Umar due to his military efforts in the Battle of Ajnādīn (13 AH/634) against the Byzantines in the Levant (Ostrogorsky, 2016, 45). ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ also played a vital role in ending the plague of ‘Amwās (18 AH/639) in the Levant, by advising the people not to gather and to stay in the mountains (Dols, 1974, 378). In addition to that, ‘Amr had been the leader of the Islamic conquest of Egypt, where he had achieved decisive victories against the Byzantines in Egypt, particularly in the Battle of Heliopolis (19 AH/640). He also captured several territories of Egypt without any Byzantine resistance, such as Fayoum, Abuit, and Manf (Raymond, 2000, 11). Consequently, in 21 AH/642, ‘Umar appointed ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ as governor of Egypt.

‘Amr succeeded in consolidating the situation in Egypt and then decided to seize Cyrenaica (Barqah) in the East of Libya. ‘Amr realised the importance of capturing Cyrenaica in protecting the western borders of Egypt from the potential dangers posed by the Byzantine Empire in the *Ifrīqiyā* region (huge part in al-Maghrib which included Tunisia, the north-west of Libya and the north-east of Algeria). In 22 AH/ 643, ‘Amr captured Cyrenaica and imposed a 13,000 *dinār* tribute (al-*Jizyah*) on its inhabitants who were from Luwātah, a Berber tribe (Ibn al-Athīr, 1998, 2: 429). He then directed his half-brother, ‘Uqbah ibn Nāfi’ to capture Zuwaylah in the southwestern part of Libya. Consequently, ‘Amr informed ‘Umar that Cyrenaica and Zuwaylah had become Islamic zones, in which the Muslim inhabitants paid al-Zakāt, the third pillar of Islam, while the non-Muslim inhabitants paid the tribute (al-Balāthri, 1957, 1:264-265). In addition, ‘Amr informed ‘Umar that he appointed ‘Uqbah as a governor of these territories (Khaṭṭāb, 1984, 1: 94).

These victories encouraged ‘Amr to head towards Tripoli (Ṭarābulus) in the north-west of Libya. In 22 AH/ 643, he besieged Tripoli for one month, seizing it by accident. Tripoli, a coastal city, was walled on all sides except the coast, and during the siege, ‘Amr and his soldiers had noted that the sea was a flaw. Using it, they broke into the city and seized it (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, 1948, 36–38). ‘Amr then decided to seek permission from ‘Umar to conquer *Ifrīqiyā* and beyond, but ‘Umar rejected this project, fearing that the armies would be collapsed in those areas (‘Abādī, 2000, 36). ‘Umar had known the political situation in *Ifrīqiyā*, where the Berber tribes were fickle in their loyalty to the Byzantines,

which led him to describe *Ifriqiyā* as treacherous (1948, 40).

After the assassination of 'Umar in 23 AH/644, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (23–35 AH/644–656) became the caliph. He appointed his brother-through-breastfeeding, 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad (d. 36 AH/657), as governor of Egypt, replacing 'Amr. A milk kinship between 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad and 'Uthmān was one of the reasons that led 'Uthmān to appoint him governor, another was that 'Amr had delayed in swearing allegiance to 'Uthmān after he had ascended to the caliphate (Ibn Taghrī bardī, 1962, 1:66). In addition, according to Maḥmūd Shīth Khatṭāb, a scholar of the Arab conquests, at the beginning of 'Uthmān's caliphate, 'Amr asked 'Uthmān to depose 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad from the governance of *Ṣa'īd* (Upper Egypt) due to the disagreement between each other regarding al-Kharāj, but 'Uthmān rejected this. Hence, 'Amr decided to leave his position as the governor of Egypt (1984, 1:67).

During 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad's time in Egypt, he launched many expeditions around *Ifriqiyā*, taking vast amounts of spoils of war. 'Uthmān had held fast to 'Umar's opinion that no one should invade *Ifriqiyā*, but the results of these expeditions caused 'Uthmān to change his mind, allowing 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad to conquer *Ifriqiyā*. 'Uthmān even supplied him with troops and weapons for his expedition (Sālim, 1999, 67–68). In addition, according to Al-Sayed 'Abd al-'Azīz Sālim, a specialist in the history of al-Maghrib, 'Uthmān's aim in sending 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad and 20,000 fighters to conquer *Ifriqiyā* was to increase his brother-through-breastfeeding's prestige and earn him glory (1999, 67).

The *Ifriqiyā* region had been ruled by Gregory the Patrician (646–648/ 25–27 AH), and its capital was Sufetula. After hearing of the intentions of Arabs under the leadership of 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad to conquer his region, Gregory mobilised 120,000 soldiers (Ibn 'Athārī, 1983, 1:10). The battle between Gregory and the Muslims, which lasted several days, took place in 27 AH near Sufetula, and the outcome of this battle did not make it to the caliph (1998, 2:483). 'Uthmān therefore sent 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (d. 73 AH/692), whose father was a cousin of Prophet Muḥammad, and 12 knights to assess the situation of the Muslims there.

'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr met 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad and found the battle was not over. They agreed to the plan that defeated Gregory and killed him (Pringle, 1981, 47). Hence, the Muslims headed to Sufetula, the capital of region, and besieged it; Sufetula contained the remnants of Gregory's armies

that still remained loyal to him. The Muslims captured the city, taking much money, gold, and silver from inside the city. The city had gained its wealth by selling olives to the Byzantine Empire (1983, 1:16). 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad resided in Sufetula for one year and three months in order to solidify the region and seize the remains of its cities, and before leaving for Egypt, he appointed Ḥubāhibah (d. unknown) as the patriarch of Sufetula after the treaty between the Muslims and the inhabitants of *Ifriqiyā* (1999, 88). The latter paid a tribute of 1,500,000 *dīnār* to the Muslims (1957, 268).

Following these achievements, 'Uthmān ordered 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad to join the campaign of Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, who was the governor of the Levant during that period, to conquer Cyprus in 28 AH/649 (Tinh & Des Gagniers, 1985, 121). It can therefore be said that Al-Sayed 'Abd al-'Azīz Sālim was correct in believing that 'Uthmān's aim was to increase his brother-through-breastfeeding's prestige and earn him glory.

In 35 AH/ 656, the Muslims were thrown into crisis after the killing of 'Uthmān. The Muslims were divided into two parties. The first party under the leadership of the new caliph, 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (35–40 AH/ 656–660), who decided to postpone the execution of 'Uthmān's killers to stabilize the situation in Medina. The other party involved many companions of the Prophet Muḥammad, particularly Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān (41–60 AH/ 661–680), who wanted immediate retribution for 'Uthmān's killers. Consequently, two battles took place between these two parties at the Battle of Camel (al-Jamal) in 36 AH/657 and the Battle of Ṣiffin in 37 AH/ 658. Then, in 40 AH/660, 'Alī b. Abī Tālib was assassinated by the Al-Khawārij. This crisis stopped the Arabs' conquest of al-Maghrib from 35 to 45 AH/ 656–666 (Mu'nis, 2006, 110).

3- Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān -the Leaders of the Conquest of al-Maghrib Relations

In 40 AH/ 660, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (d. 50 AH/670) temporarily became the caliph, but he conceded the caliphate to Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, a year later. The latter subsequently established the Umayyad state in the Levant, which lasted for 91 years from 41 to 132 AH/ 661–750 and chose Damascus as its capital. Mu'āwiya's primary focus was on solidifying his nascent state, however; he paid attention to the conquests of al-Maghrib.

Between 40 and 42 AH/ 660–662, the Byzantine Emperor Constans II (641–668/20–48 AH) exploited the chaos in al-Mashriq. He sent Aūlimah as an envoy to *Ifriqiyā* to demand that its inhabitants pay him a tribute of a similar amount to that which they

had paid to the Muslims. This demand was rejected, so the emperor order his envoy to expel Ḥubāhibah, the patriarch who had been appointed by the Muslims (1999, 90). Constans II appointed Aūlīmāh to rule *Ifriqiyā* and supplied him with an army, weapons, and money.

Consequently, in 45 AH/ 665, Ḥubāhibah fled to Damascus in order to inform Mu'āwiya about the situation in *Ifriqiyā*, and in response, Mu'āwiya decided to send an army of 10,000 under the leadership of Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj al-Kindī (1983, 1: 16). The latter was a companion of Prophet Muḥammad, who participated in early Islamic conquests in al-Mashriq, including in Egypt during the reign of 'Umar (Kaegi, 2010, 180). Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj was chosen for this task on account of his loyalty to the Umayyad dynasty: he was one of the people who had combatted the revolution of Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥuthayfah (d. 36 AH/ 657) in Egypt against 'Uthmān (1962, 1:92). In addition, 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad dispatched Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj al-Kindī to help 'Uthmān in al-Madīnah from the revolutionaries' besiege, but Mu'āwiya arrived after the killing of 'Uthmān (1984, 1:83). Before that Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj participated in the campaigns of 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad in *Ifriqiyā* (1984, 1:78).

The army dispatched to *Ifriqiyā* by Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān was smaller than the 20,000-strong army that had been sent by 'Uthmān under the leadership of 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad to conquer *Ifriqiyā* (al-Mālikī, 1951, 10). Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj, with an army of 10,000 fighters, recaptured *Ifriqiyā* from the Byzantines in 45 AH/665 (2000, 38). He then sent a battalion under the leadership of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (65–86 AH/ 685-705), who would become the fifth Umayyad caliph, to capture Jalawlā fort, which was considered one of the most powerful Byzantine forts in *Ifriqiyā* (2000, 38). 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān succeeded in capturing this fort but only after the martyrdom of many Muslims. It can be deduced that Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj had a strong relationship with other members of the Umayyad dynasty.

Additionally, in 46 AH/ 666, Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj sent a naval campaign under the leadership of 'Abd Allāh b. Qays (d. unknown) to conquer Sicily Island (1984, 1: 81). This campaign plundered great amounts of gold and silver (1983, 16–18). Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj sent these treasures to Damascus, to revive the Umayyad state's treasury during the era of Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān. The success of this campaign earned an approval of Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān who ordered 'Abd Allāh b. Qays to join the first Arab besiegement of

Constantinople under the leadership of his son Yazīd 54 - 58 AH/ 674 -678 (Ibn 'Asākir, 2012, 18: 87).

Following these achievements, Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān appointed Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj to the state of *Ifriqiyā* in 47 AH/ 667 and then to the state of Egypt in the same year, replacing 'Abd Allāh, the son of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ (1984, 1:86). 'Abd Allāh ruled Egypt after the death of his father, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ in 43 AH/ 663, who had returned to his position as governor of Egypt by Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān in 41AH/ 661 (1998, 3: 311). Later, Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān kept Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj in the state of Egypt, but he assigned 'Uqbah ibn Nāfi' as governor of *Ifriqiyā* in 50 AH/ 670. This was possibly due to Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj's advice to Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān as Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj depended on 'Uqbah ibn Nāfi' in some military tasks, such as confronting the Byzantine raids on the coasts of Egypt in 49 AH/ 669 and eliminating the remnants of the Byzantine resistance in 50 AH/ 670. (1984, 1: 82, 116).

Additionally, 'Uqbah participated in the campaigns of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad in capturing several cities of al-Maghrib, including Cyrenaica, Tripoli and Sufetula. Then, 'Uqbah had been neutral in the Battle of Camel (al-Jamal) in 36 AH/ 657 and the Battle of Šiffīn in 37 AH/ 658. Additionally, 'Uqbah's military prestige and reputation was well known among the Berbers ('Abd al-Ḥamīd, 1990, 132). It can be assured that Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān depended on 'Uqbah to consolidate Islam in the hearts of the Berbers as well as to strengthen the Islamic presence in *Ifriqiyā*. Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān therefore supplied 'Uqbah with 10,000 fighters for this task (1983, 1:19).

'Uqbah realised that while the military leaders during the era of al-Rāshidūn had captured a huge area in al-Maghrib, which extended from Cyrenaica in the East of Libya to Sufetula in *Ifriqiyā* (located in what is now known as Central West Tunisia), they had not built garrisons and cities for the Muslim soldiers. This was a strategic mistake that resulted in the rebellions by Berbers in Sufetula and Tripoli. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad had therefore been forced to launch many campaigns in these cities after they had seized them (1951, 10).

Hence, 'Uqbah decided to build Kairouan (al-Qayrawān) city in *Ifriqiyā*, at a site known as Qamūnyah, which held a small Byzantine fort and a church (1951, 21). Before that, the soldiers of 'Uqbah had suggested building Kairouan city close to the Mediterranean Sea for *al-Jihād* against the Byzantine Islands, particularly Sicily. But 'Uqbah rejected this suggestion out of fear that the fleet of the Byzantine Empire could unexpectedly invade his city (1983, 1:19)

‘Uqbah faced a few obstacles in building his city. The Qamūnyah site was a valley of many trees that sheltered predators, which led to ‘Uqbah’s troops expressing their fears and stopping building. However, this obstacle was solved by setting fire to the valley (al-Wāqidi, 1898, 1: 3). It should be noted that the greatest obstacle ‘Uqbah faced in the building of Kairouan was due to the nature of the site of Kairouan and not the loss of logistic support from the caliph Mu‘āwiya. ‘Uqbah then began to build the city, which contained his palace, a mosque, and houses for his soldiers and the Arab and Berber Muslims (1948, 66).

The construction of Kairouan took five years, from 50 to 55 AH/ 670-675 (1998, 3:243). During the period of construction, many Berbers emigrated to Kairouan and became Muslims (2006, 146). In addition to that, the Berbers in Tripoli and Sufetula did not rebel against the Muslims, as had happened with ‘Amr b. al-‘Aṣ and ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘ad. Kairouan became the first city built by Muslims in al-Maghrib during the reign of Mu‘āwiya.

During the construction of Kairouan, ‘Uqbah launched campaigns in different parts of *Ifriqiyā* and acquired vast treasures, including money, animals and captives that had been utilised in the construction. These campaigns did not add any territory to the frontiers of the Umayyad state in that period, nor did they contribute anything to the treasury of the Umayyad state (Naṣr allah, 2003, 36). In addition, The Egyptian historian, Aḥmad Mukhtār ‘Abādī, a specialist in the history of al-Maghrib and al-Andalus states that Mu‘āwiya deposed ‘Uqbah in 55 AH/ 675 on account of his violence against the Berbers (2000, 39). However, many primary sources indicate that ‘Uqbah only used violence against the Berbers when Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya (60– 64AH/ 680-684) had appointed him again to *Ifriqiyā* in 62 AH/682 (1983, 1: 25–26). Mu‘āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān did not depose ‘Uqbah from *Ifriqiyā* for these reasons (1984, 1: 118).

In 55 AH/ 675, Mu‘āwiya wanted to appoint Maslamah b. Mukhlid al-Anṣārī (d. 63 AH/ 683), a companion of Prophet Muḥammad, to Egypt and *Ifriqiyā* together, given his loyalty to the Umayyads, which he had demonstrated in Egypt by his combat in a revolt by Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥuthayfah against the caliph ‘Uthmān (Kennedy, 1998, 68). Additionally, Maslamah b. Mukhlid had fought beside Mu‘āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān in his conflict against ‘Alī, which lasted from 35 to 40 AH/ 656-660. It is also possible that Mu‘āwiya believed that Maslamah would achieve victories and conquer new areas in al-Maghrib in favour of the Umayyad state.

The first decision issued by Maslamah as a governor of Egypt and *Ifriqiyā* was the appointment of his follower, Abū al-Muhājir al-Dīnār (d. 63 AH/ 683), as governor of *Ifriqiyā* on account of his loyalty to Maslamah (1957, 1: 270). It can be assumed that Maslamah was aware of the military and administrative advantages of Abū al-Muhājir al-Dīnār, which would achieve an advance in al-Maghrib in favour of the Umayyads. Maslamah advised Abū al-Muhājir to be friendly with ‘Uqbah, who resided in Kairouan, due to the latter’s services in favour of the Umayyad state (1948, 66). However, Abū al-Muhājir offended and imprisoned ‘Uqbah (1948, 66). Ḥusayn Mu‘nis, a specialist in the history of al-Maghrib and Al-Andalus urges that Maslamah ordered Abū al-Muhājir to imprison ‘Uqbah because he was jealous of ‘Uqbah’s achievements in conquering *Ifriqiyā* and acquiring spoils of war (2006, 151). This may be refuted by arguing that ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘ad was a leader who conquered *Ifriqiyā*, while ‘Uqbah was only a soldier in his army. Additionally, ‘Uqbah had launched campaigns in *Ifriqiyā* between 50 and 55 AH/ 670 and 675, which aimed to loot and raid rather than capture new territories (1998, 3: 220–221). ‘Uqbah utilised the spoils of these campaigns in the construction of Kairouan rather than for his own purposes.

When Mu‘āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān found out what happened to ‘Uqbah, he ordered Abū al-Muhājir to release him and allow him to flee to Damascus. Mu‘āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān was friendly and generous with his military leaders and deputies in *Ifriqiyā*, so Mu‘āwiya apologised to him and promised that he would reinstate him in *Ifriqiyā* (1948, 68). Mu‘āwiya did not investigate the imprisonment and abuse of ‘Uqbah because he was focused on other issues, including the besiegement of Constantinople under the leadership of his son Yazīd and the appointment of his son, Yazīd as a crown prince. For these reasons, he did not reinstate ‘Uqbah. The latter stayed in Damascus, and he remained loyal to the Umayyad state.

With regards to the efforts of Abū al-Muhājir, he expanded the Islamic movements from *Ifriqiyā* to al-Maghrib al-Awṣat, located in what is now the Republic of Algeria. First, in 56 AH/ 676, he defeated the resistance of the Berbers under the leadership of the king of Berbers Kusaylah (d. 71AH/ 691), who was from the prince of Aūrbah, which was a Berber tribe in the springs close to Tlemcen (Tilimsān), located in what is known as the north-west of the Republic of Algeria. Hence, he allied with Kusaylah, who converted to Islam along with many members of his tribe, and they captured

Tlemcen (al-Nāsrī, 1954, 1:80). Consequently, the frontier of the Umayyad state during the reign of Mu'āwiya involved many parts of al-Maghrib al-Awṣaṭ, except the parts of al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā located in what is now the Kingdom of Morocco.

Abū al-Muhājir returned to *Ifriqiyā* in 57 AH/ 677 to conquer Carthage (Qartāj) a major Byzantine centre in *Ifriqiyā*, but he was unable to capture the city due to the resistance of the Byzantines, which resulted in the martyrdom of many of Abū al-Muhājir's soldiers. (1962, 1:132). However, in 58 AH/ 678, he captured Mila (Maylah), a city in *Ifriqiyā* (2006, 168). He resided in Mila until 60 AH/ 680, the year that saw the death of Mu'āwiya.

4- Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya -the Leaders of the Conquest of al-Maghrib Relations

In 60 AH/ 680, Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya became the caliph of the Umayyad state. At the beginning of his rule, his attention was focused on the revolution of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī that ended with the death of the latter in Karbalā' in Iraq in 61 AH/ 681. In 62 AH/ 682, he shifted his attention to al-Maghrib and decided to reinstate 'Uqbah as a governor of *Ifriqiyā*. We assume that after the killing of al-Ḥusayn, Yazīd wanted to legitimise his reign by dispatching 'Uqbah to al-Maghrib to accomplish military and urban achievements attributing them to Yazīd's reign.

Yazīd's justification for choosing 'Uqbah was the following: 'Uqbah's participation in the conquest of al-Maghrib during the Al-Rāshidūn and Umayyad eras. Furthermore, Yazīd believed that *Ifriqiyā* needed an administration of 'Uqbah (1984, 1: 120). It is also possible that Yazīd respected the efforts of 'Uqbah in the construction of Kairouan, the first Islamic city built in al-Maghrib, and in particular the region of *Ifriqiyā*.

Yazīd did not do as his father had done, who had provided 'Uqbah with 10,000 fighters. This is probably due to a number of issues during Yazīd's reign, including the killing of al-Ḥusayn in 61 AH and the opposition of the inhabitants of Medina to his rule. 'Uqbah therefore left the Levant with 25 men, companions of the Prophet Muḥammad (al-ṣaḥābah) (1983: 1:23).

The first mission that 'Uqbah carried out when he returned to *Ifriqiyā* was the imprisonment of Abū al-Muhājir and the confiscation of all his money (al-Qayrawānī, 1968, 40). He also arrested and offended Kusaylah due to the friendly relationship between the latter and Abū al-Muhājir. 'Uqbah then decided to prepare a military campaign that would start from *Ifriqiyā* and progress to al-Maghrib al-Awṣaṭ and al-Aqṣā in order to add new territories to the frontier of Umayyad state (1999, 136). It can be assumed that

'Uqbah's desire to capture many territories during Yazīd's reign was because Yazīd had reinstated him to *Ifriqiyā*, which allowed him to take revenge on Abū al-Muhājir.

In 62 AH/ 682, 'Uqbah left Kairouan to conquer the territories of al-Maghrib al-Awṣaṭ and al-Aqṣā, taking Abū al-Muhājir and Kusaylah in chains with him. Before the departure, 'Uqbah appointed Zuhayr b. Qays (d. 76 AH/ 695), a companion of Prophet Muḥammad, as his deputy in Kairouan (1951, 22). 'Uqbah defeated and killed many Berbers and their Byzantine allies in al-Maghrib al-Awṣaṭ, which led him to believe that al-Maghrib al-Awṣaṭ had become part of Umayyad state (1983, 1:25–26). Consequently, Julian (d. unknown), the Berber governor of the north-east of al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā, particularly Tangier (Ṭanjah) and Ceuta (Sabhah), successfully established a friendship with 'Uqbah by offering gifts (1968, 45). 'Uqbah then headed to the north-west and the south of al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā, defeating and killing many Berbers who resisted him and who refused to obey the Muslims (1983, 1: 27–28). Amid 'Uqbah's movements in these territories, Kusaylah escaped and gathered many disgruntled Berbers together, including the Aūrbah, some of the Ṣinhājah, Maṣmūdah, Aūrīghah and the remaining Byzantines from al-Maghrib al-Awṣaṭ (1983, 1: 29).

In 63 AH/ 683, 'Uqbah decided to return to Kairouan after these achievements. However, before his arrival in Kairouan, he clashed with Kusaylah in an unequal battle in Baskarah in al-Maghrib al-Awṣaṭ, which resulted in the killing of 'Uqbah and Abū al-Muhājir (Yves, 2005, 438). There are three potential reasons for this defeat. Firstly, when Yazīd reinstated 'Uqbah to *Ifriqiyā*, he did not supply him with troops. Secondly, 'Uqbah insulted Kusaylah, who was the prince of the tribe and who was in the line of the Arabs in their conquests in al-Maghrib; this, therefore, led Kusaylah to seek revenge against 'Uqbah (1951, 26). Thirdly, while on his way to Kairouan, 'Uqbah believed that all the Berbers were afraid of him, and so he sent many of his soldiers to arrive in Kairouan before him (Ibn Khaldūn, 1959, 6: 298).

Following the killing of 'Uqbah, Zuhayr b. Qays (his deputy in Kairouan), decided to withdraw to Egypt after hearing news of the strength of Kusaylah's army, which was coming to Kairouan (1999, 145). Consequently, the Umayyad state lost the region of *Ifriqiyā*, which came under the rule of Kusaylah from 63 to 71 AH/ 683 to 691 (Conant, 2012, 280). Yazīd did not react to this event given his concentration on the besiegement of Mecca (Makkah) in combatting the revolt of 'Abd Allāh b.

al-Zubayr (Donner, 2010, 181–182). Yazīd died in 64 AH/ 684.

Deriving a conclusion from this is that the conquest campaigns of al-Maghrib were more successful and the affairs of *Ifriqiyā* were more stable during the reign of Mu'āwiya than during the reign of his son Yazīd given the stability of the situation in al-Mashriq during Mu'āwiya's rule. Additionally, Mu'āwiya's reign was longer than that of Yazīd, which enabled him to appoint several loyal military leaders and governors in Egypt and *Ifriqiyā* who were able to accomplish numerous other achievements.

5- 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān -the Leaders of the Conquest of al-Maghrib Relations

After the death of Yazīd, his son Mu'āwiya II (d. 64 AH/ 684) became the third caliph of Umayyad state, but his rule only lasted for a few months due to his death. The Umayyad state then came under the rule of Marwān I (64–65 AH/ 684-685), a fourth caliph. The Muslims who were loyal to Umayyads in al-Mashriq suggested to the new caliph that he should send troops to release *Ifriqiyā* from Kusaylah. Marwān I was unable to send the troops given his preoccupation with the crisis in al-Mashriq that had been brought about by the revolt of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in Mecca. However, he consolidated some parts of al-Mashriq, particularly Egypt, in favour of the Umayyads. In 64 AH/ 684, he expelled 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Juhdum al-Fahrī (d. unknown), a governor of Egypt, who had been appointed by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, as well as Zuhayr b. Qays, who had been loyal to 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr from Egypt (1984, 1: 162). Marwān I appointed his son 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 86 AH/ 705) as governor instead (Bosworth, 1991, 622). Given its wealth and location between al-Mashriq and al-Maghrib, the re-control of Egypt was one of the factors that helped the Umayyads to recapture *Ifriqiyā*

In 65 AH/ 685, Marwān I died, and the rule of the Umayyad state was passed on to his son, 'Abd al-Malik (65–86AH/ 685-705), the fifth caliph. Although the reign of 'Abd al-Malik witnessed several crises, including the continuation of the revolt of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr against the Umayyads, 'Abd al-Malik decided to release *Ifriqiyā* from Kusaylah due to two reasons. 'Abd al-Malik had participated in the conquest of al-Maghrib, particularly in *Ifriqiyā* under the leadership of Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj during the reign of Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān (1999, 148). It is also possible that 'Abd al-Malik wanted to legitimise his rule, and the recapture of *Ifriqiyā* would have been propaganda

for him to use against his challenger for the Islamic caliphate, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.

Notwithstanding the loyalty of Zuhayr b. Qays to 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, by the end of 69 AH/ 689, 'Abd al-Malik had ordered Zuhayr who had been in Cyrenaica, to recapture *Ifriqiyā*. There are two reasons why Zuhayr was chosen for this task. Firstly, the men in the council of 'Abd al-Malik had suggested sending an army under the leadership of Zuhayr to release *Ifriqiyā* from Kusaylah after the killing of 'Uqbah (1951, 29). Secondly, Zuhayr was 'Uqbah's friend and deputy in Kairouan, so he had a desire for revenge. 'Abd al-Malik provided Zuhayr with 10,000 fighters from the Levant and Egypt, and he ordered his brother 'Abd al-'Azīz, a governor of Egypt, to provide Zuhayr and the troops with money from the treasury of Egypt (1959, 6: 300). Zuhayr prepared for the war in Egypt and Cyrenaica and then headed to Kairouan in 71 AH/691.

The battle between Zuhayr and Kusaylah took place in the valley of Mams situated in what is now the north-east of the Republic of Algeria. The battle witnessed the killing of Kusaylah and the defeat of his army (2006, 224). Following this victory, Zuhayr returned to Kairouan to organise the city's affairs. However, he was an ascetic, and so he decided to not reside in the city, which was characterised by its luxurious lifestyles (1968, 52). It can also be assumed that he did not want to rule *Ifriqiyā* under the authority of the Umayyads. In 76 AH/ 695, Zuhayr left Kairouan for Egypt. On his way to Egypt, the Byzantines raided Cyrenaica, capturing many Muslims, and so he was forced to clash with them in unequal battle, which resulted in his death (1951, 31). The killing of the latter saddened 'Abd al-Malik due to the position of Zuhayr among the Arabs (1984, 1: 163).

The killing of Zuhayr came after 'Abd al-Malik had eliminated a revolt of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in Mecca in 73 AH/ 692, the biggest issue in the Umayyad state since the reign of Yazīd. Following this issue, the Muslims in the Levant asked 'Abd al-Malik to send a seasoned leader to *Ifriqiyā* to consolidate the situation there. Consequently, in 74 AH/ 693, 'Abd al-Malik decided to dispatch an army of 6,000 under the leadership of Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān, who was in Egypt (1983, 1:34). 'Abd al-Malik was aware of Ḥassān's military competence, which would take revenge on the Byzantines and consolidate the situation of *Ifriqiyā* (1984, 1: 173). It is possible that 'Abd al-'Azīz, the governor of Egypt informed 'Abd al-Malik about Ḥassān's military skills. Ḥassān was from the Ghasān tribe that had been loyal to the Byzantine Empire in the Levant.

He became a Muslim after the Arabs had captured the Levant.

‘Abd al-Malik provided Ḥassān with money from the treasury of Egypt to spend on the army (1983: 1:34). ‘Abd al-Malik aimed to prevent the Byzantines from attacking the territories that had been captured by the Muslims. It is also possible that he wanted to prove to his military leaders their importance to him by taking revenge on the Byzantines for killing Zuhayr.

Consequently, Ḥassān first attacked Carthage, capturing it in 75 AH/ 694 after the Muslims had made attempts at seizing it during the reign of Mu‘āwīya (2000, 43). He then chased the remnants of the Byzantines, who had swarmed to the town of Ṣaṭfūrah in *Ifriqiyā*, defeating them and seizing the town (1998, 4: 180). Notwithstanding the capture of Carthage, Ḥassān faced several obstacles in al-Maghrib. He was first defeated by the Berbers under the leadership of the queen of Berbers, al-Kāhinah Dīhyah (d. 82 AH/ 701), who was from the Berber tribe Zanātah, in Miskyānah in the north-east of the Republic of Algeria (Kennedy, 2007, 220). Then, in 79 AH/ 698, the Byzantines sent a strong fleet from Constantinople, which recaptured Carthage (1999, 159).

These events did not lead ‘Abd al-Malik to immediately react, given his preoccupation in eliminating the revolt of the previous leader of the Umayyad army, Ibn al-Ash‘ath (d. 85 AH/ 704), which lasted from 79 to 83 AH/ 698 to 702. Before eliminating Ibn al-Ash‘ath’s revolution, ‘Abd al-Malik sent reinforcements to Ḥassān in 81 AH/ 700 to regain control of al-Maghrib, and in particular, the region of *Ifriqiyā*. It can be assured that the affairs of al-Maghrib were important to ‘Abd al-Malik. Ḥassān was able to defeat al-Kāhinah Dīhyah in 82 AH/ 701 (Baydūn, 1986, 57). He then expelled the Byzantines from Carthage that same year (2006, 260).

Consequently, during ‘Abd al-Malik’s reign, al-Maghrib witnessed the end of the Byzantine danger and the killing of the two most dangerous Berber leaders, Kusaylah and al-Kāhinah Dīhyah. This was due to ‘Abd al-Malik’s decision to send Ḥassān, a loyal and seasoned military leader, and the reinforcements that sent with him.

Notwithstanding these achievements, Ḥassān swore to not work under the authorities of the Umayyads, after ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, the governor of Egypt, confiscated from him the spoils that he had intended to present to the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik in Damascus (1983, 1: 39). Additionally, in 85 AH/ 704, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz appointed Mūsā b. Nuṣayr as a governor of *Ifriqiyā* instead of Ḥassān (1984, 1: 226-227). The latter was one of the most obedient

followers of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. ‘Abd al-Malik was upset by this act of his brother ‘Abd al-‘Azīz against Ḥassān, but the caliph did not make any decision; it is possible that ‘Abd al-Malik wanted to avoid an internal conflict between him and his brother.

6- Al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik -the Leaders of the Conquest of al-Maghrib Relations

In 85 AH/ 704, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr arrived in *Ifriqiyā*, appointed as governor by an order of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. The latter supplied Mūsā with the troops and money. Mūsā began his task of conquering the territories of *Ifriqiyā* that had not been captured by the previous governors. He captured the Zaghwān fort, situated between Kairouan and Tunis, and took many Berbers as captives. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ordered Mūsā to send a number of these captives to ‘Abd al-Malik (Ibn al-Abār, 1985, 1: 332). It can be deduced that ‘Abd al-‘Azīz wanted to legitimise the appointment of Mūsā by the caliph. Mūsā then invaded Sajūmah in al-Maghrib al-Awṣaṭ to prevent any potential revolts by the daughters of Kusaylah who were residents there (Ṣāliḥ, 1954, 224). This demonstrates Mūsā’s military competence, which was known to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz but unknown to ‘Abd al-Malik.

In 86 AH/ 705, ‘Abd al-Malik and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz both died. The Umayyad state then came under the rule of ‘Abd al-Malik’s son, Al-Walīd, the sixth caliph. Al-Walīd confirmed the appointment of Mūsā as governor of *Ifriqiyā*. It can be assumed that Al-Walīd’s wife, Um al-Banīn, a daughter of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, influenced the confirmation of Mūsā’s appointment given that Mūsā was one of her father’s obedient followers. It is also possible that Al-Walīd applauded Mūsā’s achievements in Zaghwān and Sajūmah.

During Al-Walīd’s reign, Mūsā besieged two vital cities of al-Maghrib al-Aḡṣā, Tangier and Ceuta, which had not been attacked by the previous governors. He seized Tangier, but he was unable to capture Ceuta because it received supplies that arrived from the Iberian Peninsula during the besiegement of Mūsā (1999, 171). Consequently, in 91 AH/ 710, all territories of al-Maghrib became part of the Umayyad state, except the city of Ceuta in the north of al-Maghrib al-Aḡṣā. However, Mūsā established a peace treaty with the governor of Ceuta, Julian, who participated in the Arab conquest of the Iberian Peninsula during Al-Walīd’s reign.

7-Conclusion

The Arab conquest of al-Maghrib began during the era of al-Rāshidūn, and all territories of al-Maghrib, except Ceuta, were captured during the

Umayyad era. The first Umayyad caliph, Mu'āwiyā ibn Abī Sufyān appointed military leaders loyal to the Umayyad state, and he provided them with troops to recapture Sufetula, the capital of *Ifriqiyā* region after its fall to the Byzantines and to resume the Arab conquest of al-Maghrib, legitimising his nascent state in the eyes of Muslims. While these men captured many new territories in al-Maghrib, the conquest of al-Maghrib declined during the era of Mu'āwiyā's successor, Yazīd, because the crises between Muslims in al-Mashriq in Iraq and Mecca prevented Yazīd from providing 'Uqbah with troops. In addition, 'Uqbah had also abused the Berbers during Yazīd's reign.

The peak of the Arab conquest of al-Maghrib can be seen during the reign of the fifth Umayyad caliph, 'Abd al-Malik, where the most dangerous Berber princes (Kusaylah and al-Kāhinah Dīhyah) were eliminated. Additionally, the Umayyad state was also able to capture Carthage, a Byzantine centre in *Ifriqiyā*, after 'Abd al-Malik had appointed competent military leaders, such as Zuhayr and Ḥassān, who were loyal to the Umayyad state and supplied them with troops and money. The completion of the Arab conquest of al-Maghrib can be seen during the reign of the sixth Umayyad caliph, Al-Walīd after he confirmed the appointment of Mūsā as a governor of *Ifriqiyā* due to the obedience of Mūsā to the father of Al-Walīd's wife, 'Abd al-'Azīz as well as Mūsā's achievements in Zaghwān and Sajūmah.

Further research relating to the period and area of the current research could be undertaken in the future. An example of which: the position of the Berbers to the military leaders of the conquest of al-Maghrib from 41 to 91 AH/ 661 to 710 has to be analysed well.

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