The Islamic Conquest of the Maghreb through the book"Nuzhat al-Anzar fi Ajaib al-Tawarikh wa al-Akhbar" by Mahmoud Maqdish (d. 1228 AH)

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Abstract:

The subject of the Islamic conquest of the Maghreb has been extensively explored in the writings of medieval historians, spanning from the early eras of Islamic history to more recent times. Their works vary between Eastern and Western perspectives, with some chronicling the Maghreb region as an independent topic, while others include it within general history books or texts on the history of the Islamic East, often in the context of relevant events. An example of a historical book that covers the Maghreb region is Nuzhat al-Anzar fi Ajaib al-Tawarikh wa al-Akhbar (The Delight of the Gaze in the Wonders of Histories and News), which serves as a primary source for our research material. Although the author relies on a limited number of sources specific to the period of study—no more than five—his historical material is rich and nearly encompasses most aspects and stages under examination.

Keywords: Islamic Conquest, Maghreb History, Medieval Historians, Nuzhat al-Anzar, Historical Sources.

Introduction:

The author was born in 1154 AH in Sfax, in a house of knowledge. He dedicated most of his life to seeking knowledge, embodying a self-made spirit and defiance against the challenges he faced. His journeys to Zaytouna and Al-Azhar significantly shaped his personality and elevated his stature in the field of science. Ultimately, he returned to his homeland as an independent teacher and author. Rising above aspiration for sultanic positions, he traveled to Kairouan, where he settled and passed away in 1228 AH, leaving behind a cultural legacy represented by his numerous writings.

His diverse background, along with a predominant religious orientation stemming from his education, influenced his work. In his book Nuzhat al-Anzar, he diverges from his usual specialization to explore themes he considers unfamiliar.

Amid the desire of his countrymen to document the news of the Islamic conquests of the Maghreb throughout its historical eras, they encouraged him to record information about these battles. However, he felt unqualified for this task and believed the timing was not right, as many people were reluctant to seek knowledge and more focused on earning a living. Despite repeated insistence from his peers, he struggled to find justifications for his reluctance. Eventually, he began this work, but like before, he faced numerous obstacles, including a scarcity of scientific material essential for

completing his project and the plague that ravaged narrators, severing a vital link in the oral history chain. Nevertheless, despite these challenges, he managed to produce an important source that significantly contributes to the field of medieval history.

Amr ibn al-Aas's Campaign on The Maghreb:

After Amr ibn al-Aas conquered Egypt and Alexandria, he entered Morocco in the year 22 AH¹ with his army, aiming to capture the city of Tripoli², which was occupied by the Romans. He camped on its outskirts and besieged the city for a month, attempting to breach its defenses. However, his efforts were unsuccessful because the Romans had sought assistance from the Nefoussa Berbers, who had converted to Christianity. Nevertheless, Ibn al-Aas remained determined to find a way into the city.

Eventually, some of his men discovered a weak point in the defenses along the western shore, where there was no wall. They exploited this vulnerability, surprising the Romans in the dead of night and storming the city³. Most Romans either fled or were captured, leading to Tripoli's defeat. In response, Amr ordered the demolition of the city's walls to prevent any remaining Romans from regrouping. However, he ultimately left the area without completing his campaign. ⁴ One reason that may have influenced Umar ibn al-Khattab's decision not to allow further Muslim advances into Ifriqya was his concern that the armies could venture too far into the vast deserts.

However, the author provides an incomplete and abbreviated account of this period. He simply mentions the conquest of Tripoli, overlooking many significant events. For instance, he fails to discuss the reconnaissance campaign that Amr ibn al-Aas ordered, sending his commander Okba ibn Nafi to conquer Zuwayla and Barqa. After Okba's victories, Amr ibn al-Aas himself traveled to Barqa and made peace with its inhabitants. The author only states, "His conquests are famous..." without offering further detail. Among the events, too, was the sending of Basr ibn Abi Arta'ah to invade Wadan during Amr's siege of Tripoli, where he captured it, and its inhabitants inclined towards reconciliation. Then Amr campaigned to the Nafusa Mountains, where he conquered the region after fierce battles. He then began to prepare for the continuation of his journey towards Ifriqya and consulted Umar ibn al-Khattab, who did not approve of his request. Additionally, he neglects to mention the mission of Busr ibn Abi Arta'ah, who was sent to conquer Waddan during Amr's siege of Tripoli. Busr successfully took control of Waddan, leading the village's people to seek peace. The account also misses Amr's campaign into the Nefoussa Mountains, where he achieved control after fierce battles. Following these successes, Amr began preparing to advance further into Ifriqya and consulted Umar ibn al-Khattab, who ultimately did not agree to his request.

¹ Mahmoud Maqdish, *Nuzhat al-Anzar fi Ajaib al-Tawarikh wa al-Akhbar*, edited by Ali Al-Zawari, Muhammad Mahfouz,1st editionDar Al-Gharb Al-Islami, 1988 AD, Vol. 1, p. 204

²Tripoli: is an African city on the coast, ten stages away from Sirte (a stage is a day and a night's journey in a caravan, at normal walking distance). It is surrounded by a great stone wall and has many ribats where ascetics and the righteous seek refuge. See: Al-Hamdani, Al-Rawdh Al-Mu'tar, p. 389 - Zakariya bin Muhammad bin Mahmud Al-Qazwini, Athar Al-Bilad wa Akhbar Al-Ibad, Dar Sadir, Beirut, n.d., p. 408.

³After the conquest of Tripoli, Amr ibn al-Aas wrote:toTo the Caliph Omar bin Al-Khattab, he asked him for permission to invade Ifriqya, and he said: "Allah has opened Tripoli for us, and there are only nine days between us and Ifriqya. If the Commander of the Faithful sees fit to invade it and Allah opens it through his hands, he will do so." But the Caliph's response was completely contrary to Amr's aspirations, and he received a refusal. See: Abd al-Rahman bin Abdullah bin Abd al-Hakam, The Conquests of Ifriqya and Andalusia, edited by Abdullah Anis al-Tabbaa, Library of the School and Dar al-Kitab al-Lubnani for Printing, Beirut, Lebanon, 1964, p. 33.

⁴- Maqdish, Op. Cit., Vol. 1, p. 204.

The Campaign of Abdullah ibn Sa'd ibn Abi Sarh (27 AH / 647 CE):

After the death of Omar ibn al-Khattab, Othman ibn Affan succeeded him as caliph, and Abdullah ibn Sa'd ibn Abi Sarh took charge of the mission to invade Ifriqya in 27 AH. ⁵ Abdullah marched with an army of twenty thousand, including seven companions Abdullahs, intending to confront the Romans and their king, Gregory, who had occupied the land of Morocco. Abdullah and his forces camped east of Kairouan. ⁶,⁷.

When the Muslim army reached Tripoli, its defenders fortified themselves as reinforcements arrived from all sides to support the city. Numerous correspondences occurred between the Roman leader Gregory and the Muslim army, with attempts to invite him to convert to Islam. However, Gregory consistently dodged the offers, refusing to accept any alternative to his religion. ⁸ He even offered to pay a yearly tax, but Abdullah ibn Sa'd stated, "If you asked me for a single dirham, I would not do it." Exhausting all diplomatic solutions, Abdullah had no choice but to resort to war. The two armies clashed in Sbeitla, seventy miles from Kairouan, in an unequal battle, where one hundred thousand Christians faced twenty thousand Muslims. Gregory initiated the duel, facing Abdullah ibn al-Zubayr and Marwan ibn al-Hakam. The Muslim army emerged victorious, killing and capturing many of the enemy troops, including their leader, Gregory. ⁹ The remaining forces surrendered and requested terms for peace. A treaty was concluded, with Abdullah ibn Sa'd accepting it in exchange for a tax of one million dinars. The Muslims seized a significant amount of ¹⁰ spoils, which Abdullah ibn Abbas was responsible for distributing¹¹ among the Companions May Allah be pleased with them. Following the victory, Ibn Abi Sarh and his army remained in Sbeitla. ¹²

The Romans could not accept their defeat and the death of their leader, so they regrouped their forces in an area called Qasr al-Jam, hoping for revenge. When Ibn Abi Sarh learned of the Roman assembly, he grew concerned about the spoils he possessed, which had not yet been transported to Egypt. ¹³ He sent a message to his caliph in Egypt requesting ships to assist in the transport of the spoils, and his request was fulfilled. Prepared for the next encounter, he set out again with his army, which instilled fear in the Romans once more. They sought a peace treaty, which Ibn Abi Sarh accepted in exchange

⁵- Ibn Taghribirdi Jamal al-Din Abu al-Mahasin Yusuf al-Atabaky, The Shining Stars of the Kings of Egypt and Cairo, 1st ed., Egyptian National Library, Cairo 1448 AH, 1929 AD, pp. 78, 97.

⁶- Kairouan was not called by this name because it had not been founded yet, but it was mentioned thus so that the reader would know the place only. Al-Abbadi Ahmad Mukhtar, in the History of Morocco and Andalusia, Dar Al-Nahda Al-Arabiya, Beirut, n.d., n.d., p. 36.

⁷- Maqdish, Nuzhat al-Anzar, p. 205. Abdul Aziz Salem, History of the Greater Maghreb, Dar al-Nahda al-Arabiyya, Beirut, 1981 AD, Vol. 2, pp. 76, 77.

⁸⁻Ibid., p. 206

⁹It was said that Ibn al-Zubayr was the one who killed Jarjir, and it was said that they killed him together. Maqdish, Nuzhat al-Anzar, p. 207 - al-Nuwayri Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (d. 733 AH), Nihayat al-ALord in the Arts of Literature, edited by Hussein Nassar, Cairo, 1983 AD, Vol. 24, p. 12

¹⁰- Every soldier had his share.YThe Muslims took three thousand dinars from the spoils for the horsemen and one thousand dinars for the foot soldiers, and one-fifth of these spoils amounted to four hundred thousand dinars.Op. Cit., p. 207

¹¹- The share of each Muslim soldier from the spoils was three thousand dinars for the cavalry and one thousand dinars for the infantry, and the fifth of these spoils amounted to four hundred thousand dinars.

¹²- Maqdish, Op. Cit., p. 206

¹³-Ibid., p. 208

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for 300 quintals of gold. After concluding the agreement, he departed and headed to Egypt, bringing the spoils with him to present to Caliph Othman ibn Affan 14

Campaign of Muawiyah ibn Khadij (Hudayj) (45H/666M):

Othman ibn Affan, may Allah be pleased with him, was martyred, and Ali ibn Abi Talib, may Allah be pleased with him, took over after him. The political scene in the Islamic Maghreb remained the same; however, when Muawiyah ibn Abi Sufyan assumed the caliphate, he removed Abdullah ibn Saad ibn Abi Sarh from the governorship of Egypt and Ifriqya and decided to revive the project of invading Ifriqya. He assigned this task to his commander, Muawiyah ibn Khadij al-Kindi. ¹⁵ Sources mention that he invaded Morocco three times, which not many people know about. The first invasion occurred during the time of Caliph Uthman ibn Affan in the year 34 AH.

Ibn Hudayj decided to invade Ifriqiya (The Maghreb), and the Caliph gave him permission. He left Egypt heading there with a group of companions and followers, such as Yahya ibn al-Hakam, Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, Khalid ibn Thabit al-Fahmi, and al-Akrad ibn Hammam al-Lakhmi, accompanied by nobles from the Egyptian army until they arrived in Ifriqya. They headed to Jalula. The army went down to Qamuniyah and then to Jabal al-Qarn¹⁷. Then, they moved to Jalula, where the governor of Gregory, King of Sbeitla, was. The people chose to fortify themselves in their fortress. Ibn Hudayj besieged it until he reached despair from the Muslim army and decided to abandon the siege. However, something unexpected happened. When the army left the siege, a corner of the city collapsed¹⁸, causing a lot of dust, and the rear of the army was close to the place of the collapse. The army advanced towards the dust until they stopped at the city, where part of its fortress had collapsed. They descended through the breach. The two parties met in a fierce fight, and the Muslims won¹⁹. They entered the city and seized a lot of spoils and captives, which Ibn Hudayj sent to Muawiyah ibn Abi Sufyan.

¹⁴One of us might wonder about the value of the money that was reconciled with the Romans and about the large value that is almost an exaggerated number, but what is mentioned in the book under study makes the story closer to believability, which is that after the battle some of the Christians were asked about the money that they possessed and about its quantity, so one of them took an olive branch and pointed from this we gathered it, so the people of the sea and the people of the desert would come to us and buy it from us. "Nuzhat al-Anzar, p. 207."

¹⁵- Magdish, Op. Cit., , p. 209.

¹⁶- Jalula: It is not the city of Jalula that is meant here, but the Tunisian city near Kairouan. Al-Himyari mentions it, saying, "A city from the cities of Ifriqya," except that this one is with a fatha on the "l." It is ancient and has a fortress. It has many trees and orchards. It was conquered by Muawiyah ibn Khudaykh. See: Muhammad ibn Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari, Al-Rawd al-Mu'tar fi Khabar al-Aqtar, edited by Ihsan Abbas, 1st, 2nd ed., Heidelberg Press, Beirut, Lebanon, 1975-1984, p. 168.
¹⁷ It was called Jabal al-Qarn because Ibn Khadij said: "Let us go to that horn." Nuzhat al-Anzar, p. 210. It was said that he settled there in the year 41 AH and stayed there for three years.brownDuring it, houses beforeadoptionThe city of Kairouan, see: Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad al-Ansari al-Asadi al-Dabbagh (605 AH/696 AH), Landmarks of Faith in Knowing the People of Kairouan, edited by Muhammad al-Ahmadi Abu al-Nour, Muhammad Madhur, The Ancient Library in Tunis, 1975, p. 143.

¹⁸- And in the story of collapsetheIt is said that when the army was about to withdraw, a man forgot his bow.It was saidThat the person is Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan. So he returned to search for her and saw the collapse and the dust it caused. So he returned and informed Muawiyah ibn Khadij, Maqdish, Nuzhat al-Anzar, p. 210 - Ibn Adhari al-Marrakushi, Al-Bayan al-Maghrib fi Akhbar al-Andalus wa al-Maghrib, edited by J.S. Colin and Levi-Provesal, 3rd ed., Dar al-Thaqafa, Beirut, Lebanon, 1983, p. 17.

¹⁹- Maqdish, Op. Cit., , p. 210.

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In the same year (45 AH) ²⁰ Muawiyah ibn Khadij continued his military campaigns, which this time targeted Sicily with 200 ships. The Muslims captured a lot of spoils, then returned to the city of Qamuniyah, where he divided the spoils among his soldiers and sent a fifth to Muawiyah, the Caliph in the Levant, who sent him back to Ifriqya with Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, who built wells for his army there, which were named after him, Khadij's Wells.²¹

Ibn Khadij invaded Bizerte and took much booty from it and returned to Qamuniyah. He built it and lived near the horn, naming it Kairouan. Then he traveled from Ifriqya to the Levant, where he surrendered spoils to the Caliph, and then he was removed from the governorship of Egypt; he became corrupt. The field is for Maslama ibn Mukhallad Al-Ansari.²²

The author points out that the companion Okba ibn Amir al-Juhani ²³ invaded Ifriqya when he was the governor **of** Egypt (45 AH/47 AH) after the death of Utbah bin Abi Sufyan, the brother of the Caliph in the East. When Okba ibn Amir invaded Ifriqya, he came to the Qayrawan Valley and told the story of the animals, in which he called for them to leave the jungle so that he could build a city that would be the center of his campaigns. ²⁴ This statement is supported by Al-Waqidi in his book "The Conquests of Ifriqya". ²⁵ The book from which the author quoted his material is "Ma'alim al-Iman" by al-Dabbagh. However, the narration seems weak, as what is meant by "Okbah" here is Okba ibn Nafi'. The story of the construction of Kairouan city ²⁶ is the most famous, and this story is strengthened by its frequent occurrence in historical sources close to the period as well as in sources farther from it. However, what the sources mentioned regarding his conquests is that he was sent by Muawiyah bin Abi Sufyan to conquer the island of Rhodes after taking an interest in shipbuilding and being encouraged to sail the sea. Some accounts even suggest that sending him on this mission was a prelude to his removal from the governorship of Egypt. What confirms this is that he did not return from the conquest of Rhodes. ²⁷ He found Muslima bin Mukhallad as the governor of Egypt, so he obeyed him and remained in Egypt, devoted to spreading knowledge as a man of knowledge. ²⁸

²⁰The book states, ".....and it was said that it was in the year 41 AH." However, by reviewing other sources, we find that they refer to the year 45 AH, which is more likely. This opinion is supported by Ibn Adhari in Al-Bayan Al-Maghrib, Vol. 1, p. 16. ²¹-Ibid., , p. 211.

²²- Maqdish, Op. Cit., p. 211. Abu Abdullah bin Muhammad Al-Maliki, Riyad Al-Nufus on the Classes of Scholars of Kairouan and Ifriqya, Their Ascetics and Hermits, and Biographies of Their Stories, Virtues and Descriptions. Edited by Bashir Al-Bakoush, 2nd ed., Dar Al-Gharb Al-Islami, Beirut, Lebanon, 1414 AH/1994 AD, p. 31.

²³- Okba bin Amir Al-Juhani (d. 58 AH): A noble companion who was a servant of the Prophet.ZWhat is the Prophet's saying, may Allah bless him and grant him peace? Lam, he was driving the beast of burden Solandaccompanied him on his travels, and He participated in his conquests, he participated in the conquests of the Levant during the time of Caliph Abu BakrfriendThe role of Okba was prominent in the conquest of Egypt, along with Amr ibn al-As, and during the reign of Abdullah ibn Sa'd ibn Abi Sarh, when he assumed the governorship of Egypt twice, once when Ibn Sa'd went out to conquer Ifriqya, and once when Ibn Sarh went to...=The Levant and his efforts were crowned withTThe ruler of Egypt. See: Muhammad Zayn al-Abidin Muhammad Marikab, The Political and Cultural Role of Prince Okba ibn Amir al-Juhani in the Early Islamic Period (1-58 AH/622-677 AD), Journal of the Faculty of Arabic Language in Itay Labarud, Faculty of Arts, Tanta University, Issue 34, pp. 2875, 2876.

²⁴- Maqdish, Op. Cit., , p. 219.

²⁵Al-Waqidi Abu Muhammad Abdullah bin Omar (130-207 AH/747-822 AD), The Conquests of Ifriqya, compiled by Abd al-Rahman al-Sanadli, Public Press, National Library, Tunis, 1898 AD, Vol. 1, p. 3.

²⁶- Khalifa bin Khayyat, History of Khalifa bin Khayyat (d. 240), edited by Akram Diaa Al-Omari, 2nd ed., Dar Taiba, Riyadh, 1405 AH, 1985 AD, p. 210.

²⁷Khalifa bin Khayyat, History of Khalifa bin Khayyat, p. 225.

²⁸- Muhammad Zain Al-Abidin Muhammad Marikab, the previous reference, p. 2896.

He also mentions Ruwaifa' ibn Thabit ²⁹ Al-Ansari, who had conquests in Morocco and Ifriqya. He was present in the conquest of Egypt, and Muawiyah bin Abi Sufyan appointed him governor of Tripoli in the year 46 AH. From there, he set out on his conquests. He invaded the island of Djerba in the year 47 AH but soon left it in the same year.³⁰ He delivered a famous sermon which emphasized respect for legal controls regarding captives and spoils.³¹

The First Campaign of Okba ibn Nafi'

The book "Nuzhat Al-Anzar" neglected many historical events in the life of the conqueror Okba ibn Nafi', especially those related to his first conquests with Amr ibn al-As, which began in the year 46 AH during the rule of Muawiyah ibn Khadij.

The author stated that Okba made his second raid ³² into Ifriqya in the year 46 AH. When Abu Al-Muhajir Dinar took over Ifriqiya in the year 55 AH (he was a client of the governor of Egypt, Maslama ibn Mukhallad), he dismissed Okba ibn Nafi' and mistreated him, rendering him a failure. What was the civilization of Kairouan? ³³He moved from it to a city that he planned for himself and named it Takroan, close to Kairouan. Perhaps he settled in Takrouan with the aim of getting closer to the Berbers, winning them over, and influencing them so that they would assist him in his conquests toward the west, while also distancing himself from Okba's supporters in Kairouan. All of this occurred while Okba was imprisoned until the Caliph's letter arrived ordering his release.³⁴

After his release, Okba ibn Nafi' headed to the Caliph to complain about his condition but found that he had already passed away. He then went to Yazid ibn Mu'awiyah and told him what Abu al-Muhajir had done to him, saying, "I opened Africa and built the Djami' Mosque, but you sent the slave of al-Ansar, who insulted me and treated my dismissal disrespectfully."³⁵

²⁹- Maqdisi, A Walk of the Eyes, p. 219.

³⁰-Ibid., p. 220.

³¹- Ibid., pp. 220-221.

⁻ Most likely, the first raid was immediately after Muawiyah ibn Abi Sufyan took over the Caliphate, who reappointed Amr ibn al-Aas as governor of Egypt. Amr decided to continue the jihad, and he did not find an alternative to him in this task, so he delegated him to the conquest operation, which Okba began with the Luwata tribe, which had broken its covenant with the Muslims, so they askedAReconciliation from an obstacleFHe refused this on the grounds that the covenant is not for polytheists. Then he invadedThe Hawara tribe obeyed him, and then he conquered Ghadames. After the death of Amr ibn al-As, Muawiyah ibn Khadij took over the governorship of Egypt, and Okba ibn Nafi continued. MujahidHe accompanied him in Morocco until he was dismissed and Okba ibn Nafi took over the governorship of Morocco. See: Muhammad Mahmud al-Qadi, Okba ibn Nafi, Conqueror of Ifriqya, Dar al-Tawzi' wal-Nashr al-Islamiyyah, Cairo, 1419 AH/1999 AD, pp. 25, 26.

33 The sources did not explicitly mention Abu al-Muhajir's destruction of Qayrawan Okba, as Ibn al-Hakam did in his conquests, and were mostly satisfied with saying that Abu al-Muhajir hated staying in Qayrawan Okba. Ibn Abd al-Hakam, Conquests of Egypt and the Maghreb, Vol. 1, p. 266.

³⁴ - Maqdish, Op. Cit., , p. 212/213.

³⁵ - Maqdish, Op. Cit., p. 213 - And the wording according to Ibn Abd al-Hakam is: "The lands were conquered...and houses were built...and they submitted to me..." Ibn Abd al-Hakam (257 AH/871 AD), Futuhat Misr wa al-Maghrib, edited by Abd al-Mun'im Amer, Al-Amal Printing and Publishing Company, Cairo 1999, p. 266 - And according to Ibn Adhari: "The lands were conquered and they submitted to me, and houses were built, and a mosque was established for the congregation, and the people settled, then I sent..." Ibn Adhari al-Marrakushi, Al-Bayan al-Maghrib, vol. 1, p. 66.

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When Yazid bin Muawiyah heard Okba's words, he became angry and said, "qrescue it.(The Maghreb) before he destroys it, he hastened to remove Maslama bin Mukhallad from Egypt and appointed Okba over it in the year 62 AH.

From the author's brief mention of the personality of Abu Al-Muhajir Dinar, we find that his period fell between the first and second periods of Okba bin Nafi'. The author passes over it lightly, merely mentioning his appointment and his departure to Morocco, then his dismissal, without addressing his most important achievements, such as the conquest of the island of Sharik and the policy of attracting the Berbers. He crowned his efforts by allying himself with the Berbers and their leader Kusaila, thus securing their loyalty and safety from their treachery. He invited them to Islam, achieving his goal and bringing stability, which made him aspire to expand toward the central Maghreb until he reached Tlemcen, a place no conqueror had reached before him.

Okba traveled to Africa with ten thousand knights until he reached Kairouan. He detained Abu al-Muhajir and stripped him of the money he had, which was estimated at one hundred thousand dinars of gold. He began to repair what had been corrupted in Kairouan and increased its prosperity and population. ³⁶

Okba decided to complete the conquest, so he left Kairouan heading to Morocco and was succeeded by Zuhair ibn Qais Al-Balawi and Omar ibn Ali Al-Qurashi until he reached Baghaya (nowadays' Khenchla), where he besieged the Romans and defeated them. He then advanced toward Tlemcen, which was one of the largest gatherings of Romans supported by the Berbers. The dignity of the Muslims was at stake, and they recounted the battle of Okba, where the Muslims were terrified by the large number of enemies, but victory was theirs. He then moved toward the Zab region, heading to the city of Adana, which was the city of the Roman king there. It is said that it contained 360 villages full of people. When they heard of Okba's arrival, they locked their fortresses and fled to the mountains. The two armies met during the evening, and Okba preferred not to fight them at night. The Muslim army remained awake, not even closing their eyes, so much so that the valley in which they camped was called the Wadi Sahar (Valley of Sleeplessness). In the morning, the confrontation began, and they fought in a battle the Muslims had never experienced before, until they lost hope of victory, but Allah Almighty granted them victory over the Romans.³⁷

Okba marched toward Tahert, where he faced an alliance of the Romans and Berbers. He delivered a sermon to his army, urging them to persevere in the fight and wage war for Allah. His words motivated his soldiers, raising their morale as they entered the battle. They fought fiercely against the Romans, destroying their knights and scattering their strength, causing the remaining Romans to flee.

He then continued his march toward Tangier, landing on the ocean (the Andalusian Sea). He was informed that it was an impossible sea to cross, but he responded, "Show me the Romans and the Berbers." When they pointed out their positions in the lower Sous, he went to them and achieved a crushing defeat. Okba continued his march to Sousse, where the Berbers gathered against him. A

³⁶- Maqdish, Op. Cit., p. 213

³⁷-Ibid., p. 214.

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fierce battle erupted between the two groups, resulting in many casualties on both sides. The Berbers were ultimately defeated, and the Muslims took their women captive. ³⁸As he continued on his way toward the ocean, he entered the sea and shouted at the top of his voice, "O Allah, I bear witness that I have done my best, and were it not for this sea, I would have traveled the earth fighting those who disbelieve in You until no one is worshipped besides You."

Okba intended to go to the central Maghreb, causing the Berbers to disperse in fear of him wherever he went and to fortify themselves in the mountains. When he approached Kairouan, he ordered his companions to disperse into groups. Upon his arrival at Tubna, which was eight days' journey from Kairouan, he allowed those soldiers who had stayed with him to return to Kairouan and headed toward Tehuda with a small army. When the Romans learned of Okba's small army, they sent word to Kusaila to inform him of this, gathering a large army that crept toward Okba at night and surrounded him. When Okba saw the ambush, the Romans and Berbers prepared to fight in an unequal battle, in which the Muslims suffered greatly. Okba and all those with him, including Abu al-Muhajir, who was still bound in chains, were martyred. ³⁹

Kusaila seized the opportunity and marched with his army toward Kairouan. When he reached the outskirts, its people fled from the Berber and Roman hordes. Those who could not escape, such as merchants and dhimmis, remained there and asked Kusaila for safety, which he granted. He entered Kairouan and became its emir. ⁴⁰

The survivors from Kairouan arrived in the Levant, where they found that Caliph Yazid had died and that Marwan ibn al-Hakam had taken over after him, while Abdullah ibn al-Zubair was in Mecca. People gathered around Marwan ibn al-Hakam asking him for support to save Ifriqya and its Muslims. He asked them, "Who do you think is capable of this like Ibn Abi Sufyan?" They pointed to Zuhair ibn Qais al-Balawi, so he sent for him and ordered him to set out with those accompanying him to invade Ifriqya.⁴¹

Campaign of Zuhair ibn Qais al-Balawi

Zuhair ibn Qais wrote to the caliph expressing his need for support and also wrote to the Arab nobles inviting them to gather people and resources. A large number of them quickly assembled to join the jihad and joined Zuhair as they headed to Africa, encamping at Qalshana⁴² in the year 69 AH. News of Zuhair ibn Qais's advance reached Kuseila, who consulted with the senior leaders and suggested that they settle at Mammas out of fear that the remaining people of Kairouan might betray them. He said, 'If we defeat them, we will march with them to Tripoli, and by following their tracks, we will secure control of Africa forever. If they defeat us, we will take refuge in the mountains. ⁴³

³⁸- Maqdish, A Walk of the Eyes, p. 215.

³⁹-Ibid., , p. 216.

⁴⁰-Ibid., p. 217.

⁴¹-Ibid., p. 221.

⁴²- Qalshana: The city of Qalshana is twelve miles away from Kairouan, and it is a large city. With itMosque and bathandA group of hotelsTAround twenty, see: Al-Hamdani Al-Rawdh Al-Mu'tar, p. 466

⁴³- Maqdish, Op. Cit., , p. 222.

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Kuseila settled in Mammas, while Zuhair camped in Kairouan, allowing his troops to rest and recuperate. He kept monitoring Kuseila, who was preparing for battle against him. That evening, Zuhair advanced toward Kuseila 's camp, and in the morning, the two armies met in a fierce battle in which the forces of the Berbers and Romans were defeated, and Kuseila was killed. The Arabs pursued the remnants of the enemy until they reached Tabna⁴⁴, where they eliminated the Romans. Following this victory, Zuhair opened the city of Shabennariya⁴⁵ (the present-day town of Kef in Tunisia) and some other fortresses before returning to Kairouan. ⁴⁶

After Ifriqya submitted to him, Zuhair settled there, but he soon reflected on his purpose. He realized he had not come to Ifriqya for comfort and a comfortable life, but rather for jihad to elevate the word of Alah in that part of the world. Unable to bear staying in Kairouan, he decided to return to the East, settling in Barqa, where he fought the polytheists in many places.

When news of Zuhair's departure reached the Romans and Berbers, they mobilized against him, sailing on many boats and launching an attack. They devastated his camp and took prisoners on their boats.

Upon hearing of the Romans' actions in Barqa, Zuhair hurried to gather his forces, hoping to rescue the Muslim prisoners. He ordered his army to take the coastal road, realizing the Romans were entering their ships with the cries of distress from the Muslim children rising around them. The two sides met in a fierce battle, and Zuhair and all the Muslims with him were martyred. The Romans took the spoils and shipped them away in their boats. When the news of Zuhair ibn Qais's death reached the Caliph and the Muslim community, it caused immense grief. ⁴⁷

The Governorship of Al-Hasan ibn al-Nu'man and His Campaigns (74-95 AH / 693-704 AD)

After the killing of Zuhair bin Qais al-Balawi, Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan stated, "I do not know of anyone more capable in Ifriqya than Hassan bin Al-Nu'man Al-Ghassani." He sent Hassan as an emir in Ifriqya in the year 69 AH, accompanied by six thousand soldiers. Upon arrival, he asked the locals about their greatest threat, and they pointed to the Romans in Carthage (a city on the seashore). ⁴⁸ Hassan besieged them, fought bravely, and defeated them, forcing the remnants to flee across the sea to Sicily and Andalusia. He entered and captured the city, destroying it to prevent the Romans from returning and fortifying it. ⁴⁹

The Romans allied with the Berbers and gathered at a place called Sartfourah. They rushed to confront Hassan, and a violent battle ensued, resulting in heavy losses for the Muslims. Thanks to

⁴⁴It is one of the greatest cities of the Zab, near the city of M'sila. It is fortified with a well-constructed stone wall, and is beautiful, with many waters, orchards, and olive trees. ´We mention wheat, barley, cotton, and others... Al-Himyari,The Fragrant Garden, p. 387

⁴⁵- Shaqbanaria: a city in Ifriqya, said to be one of the greatest cities there. See: Al-Hamdani Al-Rawdh Al-Mu'tar, p. 348.

⁴⁶- Maqdish, Op. Cit., p. 222

⁴⁷-Ibid., ,p. 223

⁴⁸- And according to Ibn Adhari: "I do not see," Al-Bayan Al-Maghrib, Vol. 1, p. 33

⁴⁹- Magdish, Op. Cit., , p. 223, 224.

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Allah, the Romans were defeated, leaving them in a dire situation. So the Romans fortified themselves in Beja, and the Berbers in Bouna, and Hassan then went to Kairouan.⁵⁰

Al-Hasan ibn al-Nu'man and the Kahina (Priestess):

In his effort to liberate Africa from Berber and Roman presence, he was directed to a woman who ruled her people in the Aurès Mountains named the Kahina. He resolved to march towards her with his army and encamped at Majjana, which contained a fortress where the Roman army had fortified themselves. He left it behind and proceeded to the Kahina, who, upon hearing of Hassan's approach, immediately descended to the city of Bagai, demolished it, and expelled its inhabitants, believing that Hassan intended to fortify himself there. Hassan then marched toward Wadi Maskiana and encamped upstream of the river, while the Kahina settled downstream with a large army of Berbers. The two armies met in the evening, but Hassan refrained from fighting her at night. In the morning, the two armies clashed in a terrifying scene where Hassan's army was defeated after a heroic battle, and many of his soldiers were killed. ⁵¹ The survivors retreated, and the Kahina pursued them until they reached the borders of Gabes, leaving Ifriqya.

After the defeat, Hassan wrote to Caliph Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, informing him of the calamity that had befallen them. He then moved slowly toward Barqa, hoping to regroup with the surviving members of his army. When the news reached the Caliph, he advised Hassan to stay at the location of the (current) palaces of Hassan in Barqa, where he remained for three days. ⁵² Some sources say he stayed for five years⁵³, allowing the Kahina to consolidate her power over Ifriqya (Lower Maghreb).

The Kahina mistreated the captives, except for Khalid ibn Yazid, whom she breastfed ⁵⁵ and made him a brother to her children in a strange Berber tradition. Hassan ibn al-Nu'man seized the opportunity to connect with Khalid ibn Yazid, so he sent a trusted man to inquire about the Kahina's camp. Hassan enclosed his response in a piece of bread and used it as food for the messenger. As soon as the man disappeared, the Kahina emerged, letting down her hair and proclaiming, "...Your kingdom has gone, and your destruction is approaching in what people eat." When Hassan opened the letter, he found Khalid ibn Yazid informing him that the Berbers were scattered and lacked unity, urging him to hasten his march towards them as Emir.

The correspondence between Hassan and Khalid continued, and this time Hassan's messenger carried the response in the horse's stirrup. As soon as the messenger disappeared, the Kahina once again let down her hair and said, '...O sons, your destruction is near because of something from the earth's plants...⁵⁶.

⁵⁰-Ibid., p. 224.

⁵¹ The Muslim prisoners numbered eight men, and some say eighty men, including Khalid bin Yazid Maqdish,. Nuzhat al-Anzar, p. 224.

⁵²- Magdish, A Walk of the Eyes, p. 225.

⁵³- Ibn Adhari, Al-Bayan Al-Maghrib, Vol. 1, p. 36

⁵⁴- Magdish, Op. Cit., , p. 225.

⁵⁵- Magdisi, A Walk of the Eyes, p. 226

⁵⁶-Ibid., p. 226.

The Kahina realized that Hassan ibn al-Nu'man was seeking to seize her authority and desired gold, silver, trees, and cities. She aimed to destroy Africa by commanding the cutting down of trees and the dismantling of fortresses until Africa became a ruin, whereas it had once been a shadow stretching from Tripoli to the farthest Maghreb. Even the Christians denounced her actions and sent their men to Hassan, seeking his help. This coincided with the orders of Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan to march to Africa and stop the Kahina's actions. He decided to go to her and proceeded towards Africa. When she learned of Hassan's approach, she departed from the Aurès Mountains and headed towards Qabis, where its people received him with obedience and gifts. He encountered the Kahina there, defeated her, and she fled, intending to take refuge in the Fort of Bishr, but that castle had been demolished and leveled to the ground. She sought refuge in the Aurès Mountains with her wooden idol. Hassan pursued her, and when she realized that her death was inevitable, she said to her sons, 'I am going to be killed, and my head will be trodden by beasts, sent eastward... and I see it placed before the king of the Maghreb who sent this man to us...' Khalid responded, 'Let us flee and leave the land...' But, fearing the shame of fleeing, she said to him, 'How can I escape when I am a queen? Queens do not flee from death...' She instructed Khalid regarding her children, and they moved towards Hassan. 57

Hassan bin Al-Nu'man led his army against the Kahina's forces, and a fierce battle began. Although the Muslims feared defeat, they achieved victory this time, and the Kahina was killed at a location called Bir al-Kahina, while other sources claim that was in Tabarka. ⁵⁸. ⁵⁹

After the Kahina's defeat, Roman and Berber forces marched against Hassan. Their plans failed, and he successfully routed them and sought security from Hassan. He accepted their request on the condition that they present him with 12,000 knights from all their tribes to support the conquest movement. He secured this agreement, alongside a contract for the two sons of the Kahina to lead 6,000 Berber knights in the campaign until Ifriqya was fully under his control. Hassan then devoted himself to documenting the official records and returned to Kairouan, where he restored the Great Mosque in 84 AH. ⁶⁰

Hassan subsequently campaigned toward Carthage, reaching Tabanda. ⁶¹ After sending his lieutenant Abu Saleh to Zaghouan, which had a fortified population, Hassan confronted the residents. ⁶² Unable to defeat them militarily, Hassan marched toward the city with a large force, ultimately conquering it peacefully and returning to his camp in Tabanda.

The people of Carthage resisted Hassan, but when they could not defeat him, they requested peace in exchange for paying taxes. Hassan agreed, but they deceived him at night. They boarded ships that

⁵⁷-samep. 227.

⁵⁸Tabarka: A fortified city on the Tunisian coast with a wonderful architecture The city is cut by a large river that reaches the Art through which, it was said that the priestess was killed by it. See: Al-Hamdani Al-Rawdh Al-Mu'tar, p. 387.

⁵⁹- Maqdish, Op. Cit., , p. 228.

⁶⁰Magdish, the Op. Cit., , p. 228.

⁶¹- Tabanda: A village in Ifriqya, ten miles from Tunis, called Al-Muhammadiyah. It was said that Al-Khidr, peace be upon him, was born there. Lam Kharq Al-S´A vessel in the sea of Rades and the killing of the boy in Tabanda. See: Al-Himyari, Al-Rawdh Al-Mu'tar, p. 387.

⁶²The examination was named after the commander who camped there, Abu Saleh, the client of Hassan bin Al-Nasser. Óman.

had been prepared beforehand and fled, leaving their city empty. Some made their way to Sicily, while others fled to Andalusia. Hassan then destroyed the city and built a mosque in it.

Hassan bin Al-Nu'man returned to Kairouan, where he settled and began another phase of urbanization and human settlement in Ifriqya. ⁶³ After restoring security across the region, Hassan resolved to return to Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan. ⁶⁴ He brought with him a significant amount of wealth—reportedly 80,000 dinars and 35,000 Berber captives. ⁶⁵

The Governorship of Moussa ibn Nusayr

After the dismissal of Hassan ibn al-Nu'man from the governorship of Ifriqya, Moussa ibn Nusayr took over in the year 89 AH. ⁶⁶ Upon arriving in Ifriqya, he found groups of disobedient individuals on the outskirts of the country who had sought to claim it after Hassan bin Al-Nu'man's departure. ⁶⁷ Moussa decided to subjugate them, ordering his son Abdullah to carry out the mission. Abdullah executed it effectively, returning with one hundred thousand prisoners. His other son, Marwan, also returned with the same number of captives from another direction, yielding a remarkable total of prisoners during Moussa's time, which had not been reached before; ⁶⁸ (reports state that it was one hundred thousand or even thirty thousand.) ⁶⁹

Moussa ibn Nusayr found Ifriqya afflicted by severe drought, so he called on the people to reconcile with one another and to engage in fasting and prayer. He went out with the people, and all livestock moved to the desert to seek sustenance for the needy until everyone was in tears. Then he prayed and delivered a sermon to the people. When someone asked him, "Why did you mention the Caliph in

⁶³- Maqdish,Op. Cit., , p. 229.

⁶⁴The news of Hassan bin Al-Nu'man's return to the Levant, intending to attack the Caliph, was very brief, as the author omitted many of the events. Sassiya and at the forefront of it came the death of Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan and the accession of al-Walid ibn Abd al-Malik, who gave orders to the governor of Egypt and Ifriqya, his uncle Abd al-Aziz ibn Marwan, to prepare a military campaign consisting of Coptic soldiers to subjugate the Rāj. And those who attacked the port of Rades, and Hassan bin Al-Nu'man was at that time stationed in Rades waiting for Al-Walid's order to go out to them, but the governor Abdul Aziz dismissed Hassan bin Al-Nu'man and ordered him to come to him with forty men from the nobles whom he had sent to him and ordered them to preserve everything he had. See: Al-Raqiq Al-Qayrawani, History of Ifriqya and the Maghreb, edited by Muhammad Zainhum Muhammad Azab, Dar Al-Farjani for Publishing and Distribution, 1414 AH/1994 AD, p. 51.

⁶⁵- Maqdish, Op. Cit., , p. 230.

⁶⁶Most sources agree that the The year in which Moussa bin Nusayr took over is 89 AH, except for a narration mentioned by the author that there is a reference to Al-Hamidi in Jadwat Al-Muqtabas that Moussa bin Nusayr took over Ifriqiya and Morocco in the year 77 AH, but we did not find this date mentioned. Rather, he referred to the date of the conquest of Andalusia in the year 92 AH, saying, "In the year ninety-two of the Hijra...and as for the one who took over its conquest and was the commander of the army that preceded it..." Perhaps the author made a clerical error by writing...77He wants87This is in the introduction to the book "Jadwat al-Muqtabas". See: Al-Hamidi (488 AH), Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Nasr Futuh bin Abdullah al-Azdi, Jadwat al-Muqtabas fi Dhikr al-Wali al-Andalus, Egyptian House for Authorship and Translation, 1966 AD, p. 4. See: Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh, Vol. 5, p. 250 - and Ibn Khallikan, Abu al-Abbas Shams al-Din Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Abi Bakr (608/681 AH), Deaths of Notables and News of the Sons of the Age, edited by Ihsan Abbas, Dar Sadir, Beirut, Lebanon, 1973 AD, Vol. 5, p. 319 - There is a narration by Ibn Abd al-Hakam that mentions the date of the arrival of Moussa bin Nusayr (48 AH), and perhaps he meant the year 84 AH, but in another place he mentions the date of his taking over the affairs of Ifriqya in the year 77 AH. See: Ibn Abd al-Hakam, Futuh Misr wa Ifriqiya, Vol. 1, p. 274.

⁶⁷The sentence between parentheses: See: Ibn al-Athir (d. 630 AH), Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh, reviewed and corrected by Muhammad Yusuf al-Daqqaq, 1st ed., Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, Beirut, Lebanon, 1407 AH, 1987 AD, p. 250. ⁶⁸- Maqdish, A Walk of the Eyes, p. 231.

⁶⁹- Ibn Adhari, Al-Bayan Al-Maghrib, Vol. 1, p. 40 -Ibn al-Athir, The Complete History, Vol. 4, p. 112.

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your supplication?" he replied, "This is a place where no one but Allah is to be supplicated to." After praying for rain, Allah granted their request. 70

He continued his campaign, pursuing the Berbers wherever they fled and inflicting severe casualties upon them. Many were captured, with the lowest forms of resistance failing to withstand him. Soon, no Berbers remained but to request safety, and they surrendered to him. He appointed governors over them, with Tariq bin Ziyad as the governor of Tangiers. Tariq was provided with nineteen thousand horsemen from the Berbers who had converted to Islam, and Moussa left with him from the Arabs those who would teach the Berbers the Qur'an, Arabic, and the principles of their religion. Moussa then returned to Ifriqya, consolidating his control. ⁷¹

After the Maghreb countries were restored to Moussa ibn Nusayr, he settled in Kairouan, where he managed government affairs and devoted himself to recording official records. In the year 92 AH, his governor in Tangiers, Tariq bin Ziyad, successfully invaded Andalusia, and Moussa joined him in the year 93 AH. Together, they continued to conquer the remaining parts of Andalusia, appointing Moussa's son Abdul Aziz to oversee the region. 72

Conclusion

The Islamic conquest of Morocco took nearly eighty years, despite numerous obstacles that hampered the process, such as the significant distance between the East and the West, the unfamiliar terrain to the Arab armies, and the fierce Byzantine resistance to the Islamic forces. Additionally, the Berber character, known for its strength and resistance to foreign entities, presented challenges, regardless of the intentions or objectives in the region. Perhaps the most substantial barrier to conquest was the political situation in the East, including struggles for power, such as the Great Fitna and the conflict between Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan and Ibn al-Zubayr.

However, the conquerors overcame these circumstances, contributing to their success, which resulted in the integration of Arabs and Berbers, as well as the spread of Islam and the Arabic language. We observe that opposing elements began to voluntarily convert to Islam. This trend did not stop; the Berbers became the core of the Islamic army, which went on to conquer distant regions such as Andalusia and Sicily.

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⁷⁰- Magdish, Op. Cit., , p. 231.

⁷¹-Ibid., p. 232.

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