

Loyalty of the Umayyad Governors in Al-Maghrib after Completing the Conquest: 97–132AH/715–750CE

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Abstract

In 45AH (665CE), Mu‘āwīya ibn Abī Sufyān (41–60AH/661–680CE), the first Umayyad caliph, continued the efforts of the Rashidūn Caliphate in conquering Al-Maghrib by dispatching multiple military leaders to conduct campaigns in the region. The Umayyad conquest was ultimately completed under the sixth Umayyad caliph, Al-Walīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik (86–96AH/705–715CE), who appointed the first Umayyad governor of Al-Maghrib in 58AH (678CE). This paper explains the most important factors that the Umayyad caliphs relied on in appointing their governors in al-Maghrib after completing the conquest. It also examines the relationship between the factors for selecting leaders during the conquest of al-Maghrib and those for appointing governors. These factors show the extent of the loyalty of these governors to the Umayyad Caliphate. Previous studies have discussed various aspects of the history of al-Maghrib during and after the conquest. However, they have not paid attention to the elements of this research. This research consulted primary sources which had discussed various aspects of the Umayyad and al-Maghrib history.

Keywords: Governors; Leaders; Loyalty; Umayyads; Al-Maghrib

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ولاء ولاية بني أمية في المغرب بعد إتمام الفتح (97-132هـ/715-750م)

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ملخص

في عام 45هـ/665م، استكمل أول خلفاء بني أمية الصحابي معاوية بن أبي سفيان (41-60هـ/661-680م) جهود الخلافة الراشدة في فتح المغرب بإرسال أكثر من قائد عسكري للقيام بعمليات عسكرية هناك. واكمل الفتح في عهد الخليفة الأموي السادس الوليد بن عبد الملك (86-96هـ/705-715م) الذي عيّن أول والٍ للخلافة الأموية في المغرب، وكان مقر إقامة هذا الوالي مدينة القيروان، التي بناها أحد القادة العسكريين للأمويين؛ ألا وهو عقبة بن نافع (58هـ/678م).

يوضح هذا البحث أهم العوامل التي اعتمد عليها الخلفاء الأمويون في تعيين ولايتهم في بلاد المغرب بعد إتمام الفتح، كما يبحث في العلاقة بين معايير اختيار القادة أثناء فتح المغرب، ومعايير تعيين الولاة بعد الفتح؛ حيث تبين هذه المعايير مدى ولاء هؤلاء الولاة للخلافة الأموية. وقد ناقشت الدراسات السابقة جوانب مختلفة من تاريخ المغرب أثناء الفتح وبعده، إلا أنها لم تهتم بعناصر هذا البحث. وقد اعتمد هذا البحث على العديد من المصادر الأولية التي تناولت جوانب مختلفة من التاريخ الأموي والمغرب.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الولاة، القادة، الولاء، الأمويون، المغرب

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1. Introduction

During the al-Rāshidūn Caliphate, particularly the reign of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (13–23AH/634–644CE) and ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān (23–35AH/644–656CE), the Arabs captured Iraq, Persia, Al-Shām, and Egypt. The Muslims also expanded their conquest to Al-Maghrib and seized some of its territories, including Burqah and Ṭarāblis in Libya, *Ifriqiyā* in Tunisia, and some parts of northeast Algeria. Al-Maghrib extended from what is now known as Libya to become the Kingdom of Morocco.

Then, during the Umayyad Caliphate, the Umayyad armies captured all the territories of Al-Maghrib except one city, Cetua (Sabtah). Al-Rāshidūn and then the Umayyads’ military operations to conquer Al-Maghrib took more than half a century for several reasons, including the murder of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān in 35AH/656CE and the strife that occurred afterward, the killing of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in 40AH/661CE, and the establishment of the Umayyad state and the threats that arose after it (Malūlī & Daḥmān 38).

After the Umayyads captured Al-Maghrib, a new era called the era of governors (‘Aṣr al-Wulāt) began (Mu’nis 92). The Umayyads divided Al-Maghrib into four sections, and the governors of the Umayyads stayed in the second section. The first section was Burqah and Ṭarāblis. The second section was Near Maghrib, or *Ifriqiyā*, which was called the nearest because it was closer to the Arab lands and the caliphate in the Ḥijaz and the Al-Shām. The third section was Central Maghrib, which included most of present-day Algeria. The fourth section was the farthest part of Al-Maghrib from the abode of the Islamic Caliphate. It is currently known as the Kingdom of Morocco (Al-Ḥamawī 5/188-196). This separation was merely a conventional division of political and administrative necessity due to the vast area and diverse terrain (Malūlī & Daḥmān 13-15).

This research aims to measure the extent of the loyalty of the governors of the Umayyad state in al-Maghrib to the Umayyad caliphs after completing the conquest from 97 to 132AH through several questions, including why the governors of the Umayyad state in al-Maghrib did not take over rule of al-Maghrib and did not break from Damascus, the capital of the Umayyads? This paper also analyzes the criteria for the Umayyad caliphs’ selection of governors to be appointed to rule al-Maghrib and to refute or prove that this selection was based mainly on tribalism, selection of individuals from the Umayyad clan and individuals from different clans loyal to the Umayyads or whether it was the Umayyads’ choosing leaders to complete the capture of the remaining territories of al-Maghrib.

2. Literature Review

Scholars have not paid attention to the extent of the relationship between the governors of the Umayyad state in al-Maghrib, who ruled that area after the conquest and sent booty of al-Maghrib to Damascus, and whose military and urban accomplishments were achieved in the name of the Umayyad caliphs. They have also not clarified the impact of these accomplishments and wealth in the eyes of these governors. In addition, they have not analyzed the caliphs’ dealings with these governors through support or punishment during events or problems that occurred in al-Maghrib. An analysis of the support and punishment of the caliphs would reveal whether a personal relationship between the caliph and his governor in al-Maghrib existed. However, scholars have discussed various aspects of Al-Maghrib after the Arabs completed its capture. For example, Ḥasan al-Shāyqī clarified the factors that helped spread the Arabic language in North Africa after the completion of the Arab conquest there. He affirmed that

the tolerance shown by the Muslims towards the local population of al-Maghrib was a decisive factor in their acceptance of the language of the conquerors, as well as the spread of the Islamic religion and the memorization of the Holy Qur'ān (al-Shāyqī 123-150). 'Abd al-Razāq al-Quwayḏī concentrated on immigration to Al-Maghrib due to its important effects on the region, and he argued that al-Maghrib witnessed three major migrations (al-Quwayḏī 179-186). In addition, Sa'ad Shamīṣah focused on the economic aspect of al-Maghrib after the Umayyad conquest (Shamīṣah 145-167). He aimed to study the trade and financial system in Burqah, located in what is now known as Libya, during the Islamic conquest. Na'imah Ramaḍān addressed the dismissal of governors in Al-Maghrib at the beginning of the reign of each Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd caliph. However, she did not explain the reasons that led these caliphs to do so (Ramaḍān 115-134).

Other scholars have concentrated on the architecture and urban planning in Al-Maghrib during the conquest, after the conquest, and the eras that followed. Al-Bashīr Bū Qā'idah discussed the role of the the Umayyad armies in building and developing the city of Kairouan (Bū Qā'idah 113-147). 'Azīz L'Uwaysī described the ingenuity of the Almohads, Amāzīgh dynasty, who had ruled Al-Maghrib from the 12th century to the second half of the 13th century, in construction, especially of the mosque (L'Uwaysī 49-54).

3. Overview of the Relationship between the Umayyad Caliphs and the Leaders of Military Operations in Al-Maghrib

The Umayyad state resumed military operations in al-Maghrib during the reign of Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān to recover the lands that the Arabs had conquered during the Rashidūn Caliphate. The Byzantines had recaptured them, taking advantage of the Arabs' preoccupation with the murder of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. The Umayyads aimed to complete the conquest of other regions in al-Maghrib, so Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān restricted the selection of leaders of the conquest of al-Maghrib to certain criteria that served the aim of the Caliph and which were in the interest of the Umayyad Caliphate. (Alenezi 1-11) Those who came after Mu'āwiya followed this approach even after the conquest of al-Maghrib was completed. The criteria were military, tribal, and social. The caliphs relied on all, some, or one of these. Many of the Umayyad caliphs' primary selection criteria were tribal.

In the 40sAH (661-671CE), the Byzantine Empire sent an army to al-Maghrib and recaptured *Ifriqiya*. Consequently, the first Umayyad caliph, Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, sent an army led by Mu'āwiya b. Ḥdayj al-Kindī (d. 58AH/678CE, the first military leader of the Umayyad Caliphate in al-Maghrib, for military and tribal reasons (Ibn 'Athārī 1/17). Al-Kindī was a companion of the Prophet Muḥammad and narrated some *aḥadith* from the Prophet. He participated in Islamic conquests in al-Shām and Egypt during the Rāshidūn Caliphate (Kaegi 180); this was the military reason. Regarding the tribal reason, al-Kindī was loyal to the Umayyad dynasty. He resisted the revolt that took place in Egypt, led by Muḥammad b. Abū Ḥuthayfah (d. 36AH/657CE) against the third Rāshidī caliph, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, and his governors (Ibn Taghribardī 1/92). Muḥammad ibn Abi Hudhayfah took advantage of the absence of the governor of Egypt, 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad (d. 36AH/657CE) and revolted. Both 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ad and al-Kindī tried to help 'Uthmān during the siege of the revolutionaries in al-Madīnah, but they arrived after 'Uthmān was killed (Khaṭṭāb, Qādat Faṭḥ Al-Maghrib 1/83). Al-Kindī

was deeply affected by this, and his feelings of sympathy and love for the Umayyads increased after this incident. Therefore, al-Kindī fought in Mu‘āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān’s army against Caliph ‘Alī. Abī Ṭālib (35–40AH/656–660CE). Al-Kindī also killed Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (d. 38AH/658CE), who was one of the murderers of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān (Ibn al-Athīr, *Asad al-Ghābah* 4/324).

Following al-Kindī’s recapture of *Ifriqiyā*, Mu‘āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān assigned ‘Uqbah ibn Nāfi’ as a military leader in *Ifriqiyā* to complete the conquest of al-Maghrib in 50AH/670CE for military and tribal reasons. The military reason was that ‘Uqbah participated in the military campaigns in al-Maghrib during the Rāshidūn Caliphate. The tribal reason was that ‘Uqbah was the half-brother of ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ (d. 43AH/664CE), who fought in Mu‘āwiya’s army against ‘Alī while ‘Uqbah took a neutral position in this conflict (‘Abd al-Ḥamīd 132). However, in 55AH/675CE, Mu‘āwiya appointed Maslamah b. Mukhlid al-Anṣārī (d. 63AH/683CE) as the governor of Egypt and as a military leader in *Ifriqiyā*, instead of ‘Uqbah, to complete the conquest of al-Maghrib.

Al-Anṣārī was loyal to the Umayyads and fought with al-Kindī against the revolution by Muḥammad b. Abū Ḥuthayfah in Egypt (Kennedy 68). Maslamah also fought beside Mu‘āwiya against ‘Alī. Before that, al-Anṣārī refused to recognize ‘Alī’s legitimacy as caliph until he took revenge for ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān’s killing (Al-Aṣbahānī 5/2494). The reason that may have led al-Anṣārī to be loyal to the ‘Uthmān-Umayyad party was that al-Anṣārī was in al-Madīnah when the revolutionaries killed ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān.

In the reign of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya (60–64AH/680–684CE), ‘Uqbah was reinstated as a military leader in *Ifriqiyā* for a possible social reason to complete the capture of the remaining territories of al-Maghrib. After Mu‘āwiya’s appointment of Maslamah, ‘Uqbah was imprisoned in *Ifriqiyā* by Maslamah’s men. Mu‘āwiya apologized to ‘Uqbah and promised that he would reinstate him in *Ifriqiyā* (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam 225). Mu‘āwiya died, and his son Yazīd fulfilled his father’s promise (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam 225).

After Yazīd’s death, the Umayyads’ military campaigns in al-Maghrib stopped until the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (65–86AH/685–705CE). The latter resumed the conquest of al-Maghrib under the leadership of Zuhayr b. Qays (d. 76AH/695CE) to attract him and make him loyal to the Umayyads. Zuhayr was loyal to ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (d. 73AH/692CE) in his conflict with the Umayyads (al-Mālikī 29). ‘Abd al-Malik succeeded in attracting Zuhayr to the Umayyads’ side, and the latter attained a prestigious position among them. The best evidence of this is when Zuhayr died during the Byzantines’ raid in Cyrenaica in 76AH/695CE (Al-Mālikī 29), ‘Abd al-Malik grieved and sent an army of 6,000 from Al-Shām to avenge Zuhayr under the leadership of Ḥassān b. Al-Nu‘mān Al-Ghassānī (d. 86AH/705CE). One reason behind this choice was that he belonged to the Ghassanid tribe, which was loyal to the Byzantines in al-Shām and formed an important part of their army. After the Ghassanids’ conversion to Islam, they became loyal to the Umayyads and formed a part of their army (Kennedy 216).

In the reign of Caliph al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, the army of the Umayyad state completed the conquest of al-Maghrib under the leadership of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr al-Lakhmī (d. 97AH/716CE). Al-Lakhmī is considered the first governor of the Umayyads in al-Maghrib for two reasons. He completed the military operations and became the ruler of the Amāzighs on behalf of the Umayyads. Those who preceded Mūsā carried out military operations that did not culminate in the conquest of al-Maghrib, and they ended up being deposed, killed, or replaced (Al-Dulaymī 181).

There were social and tribal reasons behind the appointment of Mūsā in the era of al-Walīd. Al-Lakhmī was obedient to the Umayyad emirs, particularly ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān (d. 86AH/705CE), the uncle of al-Walīd and the father of al-Walīd’s wife, Um al-Banīn (d. unknown) (Khattāb, Qādat Fath Al-Maghrib 1/226-227). Um al-Banīn probably had a vital role in the confirmation of al-Lakhmī’s appointment.

4. Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik’s Governor in Al-Maghrib

The seventh Umayyad caliph, Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik (96–99AH/715–717CE) assumed the caliphate when all the regions of al-Maghrib were part of the Umayyad state except the city of Ceuta, which was under the rule of Yūlyān (d. unknown), whose origins historians have argued over. Some attribute him to the Goths and others to the Amāzīghs (Al-‘Alawī 77). However, he was loyal to the Umayyad state and contributed to the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula during the caliphate of al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik (Al-Bakrī 45).

One of Sulaymān’s first decisions at the beginning of his caliphate regarding the affairs of al-Maghrib was the dismissal of Mūsā from the governorship of *Ifriqiyā* despite his military achievements in al-Maghrib. The Algerian historian Muḥammad ‘Alī Dabūz claimed that Sulaymān was upset with Mūsā’s policy towards the Amāzīghs. Consequently, Sulaymān deposed him, imprisoned him in Damascus, and confiscated his money (Dabūz 165). Some historians have claimed that, in his last days, al-Walīd asked Mūsā to go to Damascus after he succeeded in conquering the Iberian Peninsula in 96AH/715CE and to bring its booty. Sulaymān was the crown prince, and he instructed Mūsā to arrive late to acquire the Iberian bounties. However, Mūsā arrived in Damascus during al-Walīd’s last days, thus upsetting Sulaymān (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam 238-239; Ibn ‘Athārī 1/45). Sulaymān likely deposed Mūsā because of the latter’s absolute loyalty to Sulaymān’s uncle, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, and Sulaymān’s brother and his brother’s wife, al-Walīd and Um al-Banīn, who attempted to depose Sulaymān from the position of crown prince and appoint their son, ‘Abd al-Azīz (d. 110AH/729CE), instead. Al-Walīd ordered his governors and workers to pledge allegiance to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, but he did not receive any responses except from al-Ḥajjāj (95AH/714CE), the governor of Iraq, and Qutaybah b. Muslim (d. 96AH/715CE), the governor of Khorasan (al-Dhahabī 4/347-348). Sulaymān was presumably angry with Mūsā because the latter did not object to al-Walīd’s attempt to depose Sulaymān. Consequently, Mūsā was removed from the governorship of al-Maghrib. In addition, the seventh Umayyad caliph, Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik dismissed all the governors who did not disagree with al-Walīd (al-Nuwayrī 21/338-344).

Qutaybah b. Muslim was killed by the inhabitants of Khorasan under the leadership of Wakī‘ b. Abī al-Aswad al-Tamīmī (d. 101AH/719CE) because Qutaybah b. Muslim revolted against Sulaymān and declared disobedience to the latter (al-Nuwayrī 21/338-344). Al-Ḥajjāj died a year before Sulaymān came to power. However, Sulaymān ousted al-Ḥajjāj’s follower, Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Thaqafī, from Sindh (d. 98AH/717CE) (Khattāb, Qādat Fath Al-sanad 217). Therefore, social and political reasons were behind Mūsā being removed from *Ifriqiyā*. In addition, Sulaymān likely did not imprison Mūsā in Damascus because the latter’s sons ruled al-Maghrib and al-Andalus on behalf of their father. ‘Abd allāh (d. 101AH/720CE) was in al-Maghrib, and ‘Abd al-Azīz (d. 98AH/717CE) was in al-Andalus. Their father’s imprisonment would have angered them and made them revolt against Sulaymān. Most

likely, Mūsā accompanied Caliph Sulaymān for Ḥajj in 97AH and died on the way in Wādī al-Qurā, and the caliph's brother, Maslamah (d. 121AH/738CE), prayed over him (Ibn Khallikān 5/329). The caliph was then able to depose 'Abd allāh from al-Maghrib in 97AH, while 'Abd al-Azīz was assassinated in al-Andalus in 97 or 98AH.

Different accounts of who was responsible for his assassination exist. Sulaymān was not responsible for the assassination because most historians have described Sulaymān as gentle, not quick to shed blood, and not disdainful of his advisors' advice. He also followed the teachings of the Qur'ān and Sunnah (Al-Ṣalābī 86).

In 97 AH, Caliph Sulaymān appointed Muḥammad b. Yazīd (d. unknown) governor of Al-Maghrib for some possible reasons. The first was a tribal-social reason, as Muḥammad b. Yazīd was a servant (Mawlā) of the Quraysh, including the Umayyads (Ibn 'Asākir, 56/278). Before Muḥammad bin Yazīd was appointed and began his work in Al-Maghrib, Sulaymān sent him to Iraq to release some prisoners who had been detained by al-Ḥajjāj and to intimidate some of al-Ḥajjāj's followers, including al-Ḥajjāj's scribe, Yazīd bin Muslim Al-Thaqafī (d. unknown) (Ibn 'Asākir 56/278). Sulaymān prosecuted Yazīd bin Muslim and seized his savings and possessions. Sulaymān did not find any evidence of Yazīd embezzling in Iraq, so he pardoned him (al-Dhahabī 4/593-594). This is evidence that Muḥammad was an obedient servant of the Quraysh, including the Umayyads (Malūlī, & Daḥmān 54).

Additionally, a possible prime reason behind Muḥammad b. Yazīd's appointment was religious. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik's policy in ruling and appointing his ministers and governors of his provinces was based on consultations with senior religious scholars. Among the religious men he relied on was Rajā' b. Ḥaywa, who was a former advisor to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān ('Aṭwān 46). Sulaymān asked Rajā' to nominate a competent governor with the ambition and ability to govern al-Maghrib. Rajā' nominated Muḥammad b. Yazīd, and Sulaymān agreed without any hesitation (Al-Ṣalābī 85).

A possible justification for Rajā's nominating Muḥammad b. Yazīd was that the latter was likely a jurist well versed in the Qur'ān and Sunnah, which would enable him to rule with justice and attract the remaining Amāzighs to Islam. The rule of Muḥammad over al-Maghrib was characterized by justice and tranquility (al-Dhahabī 4/593-594).

5. Umayyad Governor in al-Maghrib during the Reign of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Azīz

During Sulaymān's reign, 'Umar b. 'Abd Al-'Azīz (99–101AH/717–720CE) was a minister, advisor, and crown prince under the recommendation of Rajā'. Consequently, 'Umar always accompanied Sulaymān during his travels. Sulaymān felt that he needed him in all his affairs, saying, "As soon as this man is absent from me, I will not find anyone who can understand me" (al-Faswī 598). 'Umar played a major role in Sulaymān's decisions regarding the ousting and appointment of governors in the provinces of the Umayyad state. 'Umar b. 'Abd Al-'Azīz convinced Sulaymān to depose the governor of Makkah, Khālid al-Qasrī (d. 126AH/744CE), and the governor of al-Madīnah, 'Uthmān b. Ḥayān (d. unknown) (al-Khar'ān 169). 'Umar b. 'Abd Al-'Azīz did not object to Sulayman's decision to appoint Muḥammad b. Yazīd as governor of Morocco. Possibly, he supported this decision because it was recommended by Rajā'. Muḥammad remained governor until Sulaymān's death, after which 'Umar became the eighth Umayyad caliph. Regarding his decisions in al-Maghrib, 'Umar decided to replace Muḥammad with

Ismāʿīl b. ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Abī al-Muhājir (d. 132 H/754CE). However, Muḥammad remained in al-Maghrib after his replacement. Historians, such as Ibn ʿAthārī and Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, do not mention the reasons that prompted the caliph to make this replacement, but Ismāʿīl's abilities and conduct may have been better than Muḥammad's. Religious, social, and tribal reasons were behind the appointment of Ismāʿīl. Ismail was loyal to the Banū Makhzūm clan of the Quraysh. This is somewhat different from Muḥammad, whose loyalty was absolute to all the clans of Quraysh, including the Umayyads. ʿUmar may have aimed to gain the loyalty of Ismāʿīl as ʿAbd al-Malik did, so he appointed him as a teacher for several of his sons and grandchildren (al-Mazī 3/145-146). In addition, before that, Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān appointed Ismāʿīl's grandfather, Abū al-Muhājir al-Dīnār (d. 63AH/683CE), as a military leader in *Ifriqiya* due to his experience (Radwān 43). Abū al-Muhājir expanded the Umayyad campaigns from *Ifriqiya* to al-Maghrib al-Awṣat, located in what is now the Republic of Algeria (al-Nāṣirī 1/80). Presumably, the Umayyad caliph succeeded in gaining the loyalty of Abū al-Muhājir al-Dīnār and his son Ismāʿīl. In addition, the regions of the Umayyad state, including al-Maghrib were politically, economically, and socially stable during the reign of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Al-ʿAzīz, so he dispersed to spread Islamic teachings in Al-Maghrib.

ʿUmar was familiar with Ismāʿīl's religiosity, as the latter was a jurist and a narrator of the Prophet's ḥadith. ʿUmar may have wanted to use this to attract the remaining Amāzīghs to Islam and deepen Islam in the hearts of those who had reverted. Ismāʿīl steered the Amāzīghs to Islam because of his good conduct and justice towards them (al-Dhahabī 5/213). Ismāʿīl is credited with preventing the entry of religious and philosophical doctrines into al-Maghrib, which could have negatively impacted the Amāzīghs and the Umayyad state, as they were new to Islam. He was against the opinions of Muʿtazilism and Qadariyyah (Ibn Manẓūr 4/358). Ismāʿīl remained as governor of al-Maghrib until ʿUmar's death. It can be concluded that there were no tribal conflicts between the Arab tribes in al-Maghrib during the reign of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik and then ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Al-ʿAzīz because they appointed their governors in al-Maghrib primarily on a religious basis.

6. Caliph Yazīd II b. ʿAbd Al-Malik and his Governor in Al-Maghrib

The governors of Sulaymān and ʿUmar attracted many Amazighs to Islam. Ibn ʿAthārī mentioned that Ismāʿīl b. ʿUbayd allāh ibn Abī al-Muhājir was keen to invite the Amāzīghs to Islam until all Amāzīghs in al-Maghrib converted to Islam. Caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Al-ʿAzīz sent ten jurists to teach the people of al-Maghrib what was permissible and what was forbidden (Ibn ʿAthārī 1/48).

With the conversion of these people to Islam, the Umayyad treasury lost one of its sources of income, which was al-jizya (type of taxation). In addition, plenty of money was spent on conquests, especially during the reign of Caliph Sulaymān, resulting in a financial crisis (Blankinship, 1994). After the death of Caliph ʿUmar, the new Umayyad caliph, Yazīd II (101–105AH/720–724CE), probably relied mainly on the economic criterion in appointing his governor in Al-Maghrib. The founder of the Umayyad state, Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, probably relied on the economic factor in dismissing some military leaders in al-Maghrib. For example, he dismissed ʿUqbah b. Nāfiʿ after he spent five years building the city of Kairouan from 50 to 55AH/670–675CE (Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-kāmil fī Al-tārīkh* 3/243). He used some of the bounties he obtained from the raids to finance this construction. Thus, he deprived the Umayyad treasury of this income.

Caliph Yazīd II deposed Ismāʿīl and appointed Yazīd b. Abī Muslim governor of al-Maghrib for purely economic reasons. Before al-Ḥajjāj's death, he appointed Yazīd b. Abī Muslim as his successor in charge of the tax collection in Iraq. Caliph al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik approved of him, saying, "Yazīd b. Abī Muslim is like a man who, if he loses a dirham, replaces it with a dinar" (al-Dhahabī 4/593); the value of a dinar is higher than that of a dirham. In addition, he was honest in financial management, as evidenced by Sulaymān trying him and finding no embezzlement. Yazīd possibly received a huge salary from the Umayyads, so he did not embezzle money in Iraq. Additionally, Yazīd II may have wanted to use Yazīd b. Abī Muslim's fanaticism for the Arab races against non-Arabs to force the Amāzīghs to pay al-jizya, as al-Ḥajjāj had done with the people of Iraq (Radwān 57-58). Al-Ḥajjāj taught his men loyalty to the Umayyad state, including Yazīd b. Abī Muslim when he was in Iraq. However, Yazīd II's efforts failed because the people of al-Maghrib knew about Ibn Abī Muslim's reputation and killed him, claiming that he treated them like Christians (al-Maqlātī 18). After Yazīd b. Abī Muslim's death, Caliph Yazīd II was forced to appoint a governor over al-Maghrib who had administrative experience. Bishr b. Safwān (d. 109AH/727CE) was the governor of Egypt and succeeded in managing its finances after Caliph Yazīd II ordered him to reduce the money given to the tribes there (Kubiak 78). Bishr and his family proved their loyalty and devotion to the Umayyads. As a result, Yazīd II decided to appoint Bishr's brother, Ḥaṇḍalah (d. 130AH/748CE) as his successor in Egypt (Al-Qayrawānī 63). In addition, the caliph rewarded them financially. Bishr b. Safwān exploited Yazīd b. Abī Muslim's assassination by accusing ʿAbd Allah b. Mūsa of being the mastermind; thus, Bishr killed ʿAbd Allah (Ibn ʿAthārī 1/49). The presence of ʿAbd Allah and the members of his family in al-Maghrib since the completion of the conquest of al-Maghrib and al-Andalus under the leadership of his father, Mūsa, made the Umayyad Caliphate fear him. After these events, Yazīd II died, and Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105–125AH/724–743CE) took over the caliphate.

7. Governors of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik in al-Maghrib

Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik confirmed the appointment of Bishr b. Safwān as the governor of al-Maghrib (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam 244). In addition to his loyalty to the Umayyads, three possible reasons were behind retaining Bishr in al-Maghrib. First, he may have wanted to achieve stability in al-Maghrib after a succession of governors with various policies in a short period, from the caliphate of Sulaymān to the caliphate of Yazīd II. The second was his success in eliminating AbdAllah b. Mūsa and some members of his family without any noticeable reaction from the Amāzīghs in al-Maghrib (Ibn ʿAthārī 1/49). The final reason was his revenge on the Byzantines after they attacked the city of Tenes located in what is now known as Algeria and killed many Muslims. Consequently, he sent many campaigns against the Byzantines in Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily from 103AH/721CE until his death in 109AH/727CE (Blankinship 139). After Bishr b. Safwān's death, Hishām appointed ʿUbaydah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 114AH/732CE) governor of al-Maghrib. He was the Umayyad governor of Azerbaijan (Al-Ziriklī 4/199), so the first reason was he had administrative experience. A tribal reason was also behind the appointment of ʿUbaydah, as his brother, Abū al-Aʿwar al-Sulamī (d. unknown), was loyal to the Umayyads. Abū al-Aʿwar al-Sulamī joined Muʿāwiya ibn Abī Sufyān in his conflict against ʿAlī (Al-Qayrawānī 64). In addition, ʿUbaydah was a fanatic for the Arabs against the Amāzīghs and treated

them harshly. Hishām probably believed that ‘Ubaydah’s policy against the Amāzīghs would force them to pay al-Jizyah. Therefore, Hishām’s criteria were similar to those of his brother, Yazīd II, in appointing governors in al-Maghrib.

Consequently, the Amāzīghs declared their disobedience against the Umayyad state (Sālim 297). However, ‘Ubaydah’s policy was inclined towards collecting money, and this financial policy pleased Caliph Hishām. The latter received many booties from al-Maghrib, including female slaves, horses, money, and gold (‘Abd al-Ḥamīd 278). Hishām likely allocated a share of these spoils to ‘Ubaydah to eliminate any motives to separate from Damascus. Nevertheless, Hishām deposed him after the Amāzīghs and other Arab tribes, Al-Yamāniyah complained that ‘Ubaydah was biased towards his own Qaysiyah tribe against other tribes. However, according to Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam 245), ‘Ubaydah asked Hishām to relieve him of his position without giving any reason. ‘Ubaydah may have felt that his policy in al-Maghrib increased those who opposed him among the Amāzīghs and Arabs, particularly the al-Yamāniyah Arab tribe.

Several events occurred during Hishām’s caliphate that put him in dire need of money, including the Battle of Tours in 114AH/732CE and Zayd b. ‘Alī’s revolution in 122AH/740 CE. Consequently, Caliph Hishām appointed ‘Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥibhāb (d. 132AH/750CE) as governor of al-Maghrib for an economic reason, which was his efficient management of Egyptian taxes since the beginning of Hishām’s reign. ‘Ubayd Allāh was strict in collecting taxes in Egypt. Hishām gave ‘Ubayd Allāh broad powers in al-Maghrib because the latter represented the caliph’s financial policy (Kāshif 208). ‘Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥibhāb possibly played a major role in his excessive loyalty to the Umayyads. ‘Ubayd Allāh was the grandson of a freed man from the Banū Makhzūm tribe (Dozy 126). This social status encouraged ‘Ubayd Allāh to master his administrative work to gain favor with the Umayyads and benefit financially, and also use violence to collect taxes in Egypt and al-Maghrib. He terrorized many tribes in al-Maghrib and took their women captive (Al-Qayrawānī 66). As a result of this policy, the Amāzīghs revolted against the Umayyad state from 122 to 125AH/739–743CE and defeated ‘Ubayd Allāh in al-Maghrib in the Battle of Nobles in 123AH/740 CE. Then, the Amāzīghs deposed ‘Ubayd Allāh (Al-Qayrawānī 66).

Afterward, Caliph Hishām appointed Kulthūm b. ‘Aayād (d. 124AH/741CE), governor of al-Maghrib and supplied him with 30,000 soldiers (Ibn ‘Athārī 1/55). A possible tribal reason was behind the appointment of Kulthūm, as he belonged to the Qaysiyah, who proved their courage and loyalty to the Umayyads in previous battles (Sabry 54). However, he was killed by the Amāzīghs in the Battle of Baqdūrah. This defeat angered Hishām, who said, “By God, I will be angry with them with an Arab anger. I will send an army, the first of which will be with you and the last of which will be with me” (Al-Qayrawānī 66).

Hishām then decided to depend on Bishr’s brother, Ḥaṇḍalah b. Ṣafwān, to end the revolution of the Amāzīghs in al-Maghrib. Hishām likely exploited tribal fanaticism for the benefit of his state. He chose Ḥaṇḍalah, who belonged to the Yamānī tribe. Some members of this tribe had been persecuted by ‘Ubaydah b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, who belonged to the Qaysiyah (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam 244). He wanted to raise the status of the Yamāniyah over the Qaysiyah by appointing a governor in al-Maghrib from the Yamāniyah again and ending the Amāzīgh revolution there through them. It can be assumed

that Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik balanced the satisfaction of Yamāniyah and Qaysiyah and prevented any potential conflict between them in al-Maghrib that would lead to the region’s separation from the Umayyad state. Ḥaṇḍalah thus ended the revolution of the Amāzīghs in 125AH/743CE after the Battles of al-Qarn and al-Aṣṇām (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam 251).

When the Amāzīgh revolution ended, Caliph Hishām died, and the Umayyad Caliphate entered a state of chaos due to the struggle for power between the Umayyads, which affected the Umayyad states.

These revolts can be considered the beginning of threats to separate al-Maghrib from the Umayyad Caliphate, due to the changing policies of the Umayyad governors in al-Maghrib towards the Amāzīghs at the beginning of the reign of some Umayyad caliphs. The latter had chosen their governors in al-Maghrib to implement these policies. It can be affirmed that the policies of the Umayyad governors in al-Maghrib during the reign of Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik and then ‘Umar b. ‘Abd Al-‘Azīz attracted the Amāzīghs to the Umayyad Caliphate. However, the policies of the Umayyad governors in al-Maghrib during the reign of Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik and then Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik incited the Amāzīghs to revolt and secede from the Umayyad Caliphate. After the death of Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, the Umayyad Caliphate, entered a state of chaos. In addition, the situation in al-Maghrib became encouraging for the last Umayyad governor there to remain nominally loyal to the Umayyad Caliphate to prevent any potential revolts by Arab tribes loyal to the Umayyads. The last Umayyad governor in al-Maghrib likely exploited the Amāzīghs’ aversion to the Umayyad Caliphate.

8. Last Umayyad Governor of al-Maghrib

After Hishām’s death, the Umayyad Caliphate came under the rule of Walīd II b. Yazīd (125–126AH/643–644CE), who was fair with all tribes, including the Qaysiyah and Yamāniyah (Sālim 234). He confirmed the appointment of Ḥaṇḍalah b. Ṣafwān as governor of al-Maghrib, particularly for his success in suppressing the Amāzīgh revolution. However, Ḥaṇḍalah b. Ṣafwān’s presence in al-Maghrib did not last long for three reasons. The caliph’s cousins rebelled against him, and Ḥaṇḍalah did not receive support from the caliphate. In addition, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihri (d. 137AH/755CE) rebelled in al-Maghrib and claimed that he could assume the emirate based on two factors. First, he was supported by the Amāzīghs and some Arabs in Al-Maghrib (Sālim 162-163). Second, his family was involved in the conquest of al-Maghrib. His grandfather, ‘Uqbah b. Nāfi’, founded the city of Kairouan, and his father and grandfather participated in many military campaigns in al-Maghrib. Finally, Ḥaṇḍalah b. Ṣafwān was possibly reluctant to continue in this position.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihri became the last Umayyad governor of al-Maghrib in 127AH/745 CE. During this time, the Umayyad Caliphate was ruled by four caliphs in less than two years. After al-Walīd II’s death, the caliphate came under the rule of Yazīd III (126–126AH/744–744CE), then Ibrāhīm (126–127AH/744–745CE), and then the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II b. Muḥammad (127–132AH/744–750CE). Despite the chaos and weakness of the caliphate in Damascus, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihri pledged nominal allegiance to Caliph Marwān II for two potential reasons (Ibn ‘Athārī 1/67). ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihri may have wanted to maintain his friendship with the Umayyads, as they were cousins from the Quraysah, and the Umayyads had treated his father and grandfathers well. In addition, he probably wanted to gain legitimacy from them. However, after the fall

of the Umayyad Caliphate, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihri declared his obedience to the Abbasids (Ibn ‘Athārī 1/67).

9. Conclusion

The Umayyad state sent several military leaders to al-Maghrib to complete its conquest. Mu‘āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān sent three leaders, the first of whom was Mu‘āwiya b. Ḥudayj, followed by ‘Uqbah b. Nāfi‘ and Maslamah b. Mukhlid al-Anṣārī. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān sent Zuhayr b. Qays and Ḥassan b. al-Nu‘mān. The conquest was completed during the reign of al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik under the leadership of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, who is considered the first governor of the Umayyads in al-Maghrib. The main factor in choosing these leaders was the tribal factor, represented by individuals from different clans loyal to the Umayyads. In addition, the Umayyads considered military and social factors in choosing their military leaders.

The tribal factor was also relied upon primarily by the Umayyads to appoint governors. After the conquest, each caliph appointed a governor in al-Maghrib. Caliph Sulaymān’s standards were similar to those of his cousin, Caliph ‘Umar; they relied on religious and tribal factors. After them, Caliph Yazīd II used tribal and economic factors, similar to his brother, Caliph Hishām, in appointing governors in al-Maghrib. The last governor of the Umayyad state in al-Maghrib, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihri took advantage of the chaos in the Umayyad Caliphate after Hishām’s death. He took the governorship of al-Maghrib by relying on a tribal agent. When the caliphate stabilized, he pledged allegiance to the last caliph, Marwān II, again relying on a tribal agent.

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