



**ARABIZATION IN LIBYA IN THE MIDDLE AGES
IN THE PERIOD FROM THE ISLAMIC
CONQUEST UNTIL THE SEVENTH CENTURY
AH/THIRTEENTH CENTURY AD. (22 AH - AD
643 / 700 AH – 1301 AD)**

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THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that in my opinion the thesis submitted by Jamal Abuazzoum Alsalih ALBASHER titled “ARABIZATION IN LIBYA IN THE MIDDLE AGES IN THE PERIOD FROM THE ISLAMIC CONQUEST UNTIL THE SEVENTH CENTURY AH / THIRTEENTH CENTURY AD. (22 AH - AD 643 / 700 AH - 1301 AD)” is fully adequate in scope and in quality as a thesis for the degree of Ph.D. thesis.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own work and all information included has been obtained and expounded in accordance with the academic rules and ethical policy specified by the institute. Besides, I declare that all the statements, results, materials, not original to this thesis have been cited and referenced literally .

Without being bound by a particular time, I accept all moral and legal consequences of any detection contrary to the aforementioned statement.

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FOREWORD

The importance of this topic comes because it discusses the historical formation of Libyan identity and its most prominent joints and components, which is Arabization. That is, the transformation of the local language into the language of the Arab conquerors. Therefore, this transformation during that period had its effects on the region's transition to Arab culture, and the Arabization of most of the region's population up to the present time.

I am pleased to extend my thanks and gratitude to the Professor who supervised this dissertation, Prof. Dr. Murat AĞARI, to the members of the respected discussion committee and to: Prof. Dr. Barış SARIKÖSE and to all faculty in the history department Karabuk University.

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ABSTRACT

The Islamic conquest movement had a great impact on Islamic society, as the inhabitants of the conquered countries learned Arabic, Arabic literature, and the sources of Islamic legislation, spreading Arabic and helping these peoples adapt to the new religion. Despite different nations and religions, the Arabic language Islam spread with the conquests and assimilated the civilizations and cultures in these environments. In A.H. 22/ A.D. 643, the process of Islamic conquest of the region began. This process is considered an important period in Libya's cultural and social history, especially in identity transformation. During the mentioned period, the migration of Arab tribes to conquered countries played an important role in the Arabization process, and the geography of North Africa was also affected by this migration. Research shows that there is a direct link between religion and language. Accordingly, racial identity is not the only element of defining identity. From this point of view, language is an important identifying element. Arabization was a cultural and social movement that established a strong and solid relationship between Arabs and other nations. Therefore, detailing this movement and evaluating its dimensions, conditions and results will be an effort that paves the way for future studies. Because this study will trace the cultural and social transformation that occurred as a result of the Arabization of Libya's geography and population and the emergence of a new identity. In order to achieve this, we benefited from historical texts, evaluated these texts and tried to reach analytical results.

Key Words: Arabization, Libya, Medieval History, Islamic Conquests.

ÖZ

İslami fetih hareketi, fethedilen ülkelerde yaşayanların Arapçayı, Arap edebiyatını ve İslami mevzuatın kaynaklarını öğrenmesi, Arapçanın yayılması ve bu halkların yeni dine uyum sağlamasına yardımcı olması nedeniyle İslam toplumu üzerinde büyük bir etkiye sahipti. Farklı milletlere ve dinlere rağmen Arap dili İslam fetihleriyle birlikte yayıldı ve bu çevrelerdeki medeniyetleri ve kültürleri özümledi. H. 22/ M. 643 yılında, bölgenin İslami fetih süreci başladı. Söz konusu süreç, Libya'nın kültürel ve sosyal tarihinde, özellikle kimlik dönüşümünde önemli bir dönem olarak kabul edilir. Bahse konu dönemde Arap kabilelerinin fethedilen ülkelere göçü Araplaşma sürecinde önemli rol oynamış ve Kuzey Afrika coğrafyası da bu göçten etkilenmiştir.

Yapılan araştırmalar göstermektedir ki, din ile dil arasında doğrudan bir bağ bulunmaktadır. Buna göre ırki kimlik, kimliği tanımlamanın tek unsuru değildir. Bu bakış açısıyla dil önemli bir kimlik tanımlayıcı unsurdur.

Araplaştırma, Araplar ile diğer milletler arasında güçlü ve sağlam bir ilişki kuran kültürel ve sosyal bir hareketti. Dolayısıyla bu hareketi detaylandırmak, boyutlarını, koşullarını ve sonuçlarını değerlendirmek bundan sonraki çalışmaların önünü açan bir çaba olacaktır. Zira bu çalışma, Libya coğrafyasının ve nüfusunun Araplaşması ve yeni bir kimliğin ortaya çıkması sonucu oluşan kültürel ve sosyal dönüşümün izlerini sürecektir. Bunu gerçekleştirme adına tarihi metinlerden istifade ettik, bu metinleri değerlendirdik ve analitik sonuçlara ulaşma gayreti güttük.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Araplaştırma, Libya, Ortaçağ Tarih, İslam Fetihleri.

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ABBREVIATION

(PBUH) : Prophet Muhammad Peace be Upon Him

HA : Islamic Calendar

AD : After Death

IN : Investigation

TR : Translation

D.T : No publication date

SUBJECT OF THE RESEARCH

The Islamic conquests started from the Arabian Peninsula towards North Africa at the beginning of the first century AH, and the process of direct contact and friction began between the Arabs, in their capacity as conquerors and arrivals to this region, and its peoples, including Berbers, Africans, Roman remnants, Byzantines, and others. This communication resulted in a change in the knowledge structure of the population of this region, including the phenomenon of Arabization, which affected the tongue and culture of the Libyan population in that period. The Arabic language is the language of the Holy Quran, and therefore it dominated the cultures of the Islamic world for a long time.

PURPOSE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE RESEARCH

It may be useful to point out that the topics of social groups and their historical identity, and the problems around them historically, are among the Modern topics that some historical and philosophical works researched and discussed it in some scientific studies and articles. The least in the history of Libya - according to the study and research of most recent historical writings related to the history of medieval Libya. Accordingly, the importance of this topic comes as it discusses the historical formation of the Libyan identity and its most prominent joints and components, which is Arabization; That is, the transformation of the language speaking the local language into the language of the Arab conquerors. Therefore, this transformation during that period had its effects in the transformation of the region into Arab culture, and the Arabization of most of the region's population until the present time.

Arab and historical library in particular is almost devoid of these writings and studies on Arabization and its relationship to identity and the emergence of social groups, their fusion and integration, and the social texture of countries and regions constitutes an important part of Islamic societies in its western geographical part, which is the region of North Africa and Maghreb.

METHOD OF THE RESEARCH

This study relies on the historical narrative approach to analyzing, criticizing and approaching texts. It is based on tracing historical facts related to social groups in the Libyan regions in the Middle Ages. Since the social sciences are closely related to each other, the study has benefited from anthropological theories that have provided the study with a good reading in Tracing the origins, cultures and religions of the population in the period under study.

HYPOTHESIS OF THE RESEARCH / RESEARCH PROBLEM

The study assumes that Arabization in Libya took place in its entirety voluntarily and optionally by the population after the Islamic conquest, through interest in Sharia sciences and the study of the Arabic language, not to mention the procedures of some princes in Arabizing offices and administration at various stages.

Another hypothesis at the heart of the research is the relationship of language to history, which is a primary engine in the research process. Specialists in the science of language classification relied on adopting a double reading of language and history together, each one in the light of the other, as long as historical events - especially migrations and foreign invasions - had great effects on the borders and spread of languages, and therefore the Arab migrations, especially the Hilalian migration in the middle of the fifth century AH / the eleventh century AD, a major role and an important factor in the identity transformation of the population of North Africa and Maghreb in general.

SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS / DIFFICULTIES

The researcher encountered several difficulties in dealing with this topic represented by the scarcity of writings on this issue, whether in sources or references.

The share of the Islamic Maghreb from the first writings of Muslim historians of different races and genders is of little importance or deliberate neglect. Most of the Arab historical annals in the Middle Ages were confined to political history - the

history of states revolutions and strife - and refrained from dealing with issues of social groups and their roles and status.

1. LIBYA BEFOR THE ISLAMIC CONQUEST

"Cultural anthropological reading"

The first topic : The meaning of the name Libya.

The second topic: Geography of the Libyan regions.

The third topic : The Population of Libya Before the Islamic Conquest.

The fourth topic: Religions in Libya before the Islamic conquest.

1.1. The Meaning of the Name Libya: the Linguistic Meaning/the Geographical Meaning

1.1.1. Linguistic Meaning

Names have meanings by which they are known, and some of them are local and limited, then it grows and spreads until a large continent like Africa is named after them, and some of them are the name of a continent until it diminishes and becomes a name for a limited region and a specific people, such as Libya(Shaira,1958: 5).

The appearance of the name (Libya) and its circulation in the ancient Egyptian inscriptions clearly indicated the Libyan tribes that inhabited Mount Barqa and the western desert of Egypt. They were mentioned on the stele of King Merneptah, as well as in the Karnak Temple and Gabriel confirms the appearance and use of the name for the first time among the Egyptians since the second millennium BC, and it is intended for the peoples who inhabit the countries west of the Nile (Camp,n.d: 35). According to a recent hypothesis, the Aegyo-Cretan sailors gave a collective name to the inhabitants of the southern bank of the western Mediterranean (Libuses) in exchange for the name Ligures, which they called the inhabitants of the northern bank of the Mediterranean, so it would be (Liguses = Ligures). If this approach is correct, then The Aegean's have classified the inhabitants of the Mediterranean coasts into two classes: white people and black people; Any based on skin color (Deroy,1955: 87) Gabriel criticizes this assumption, confirming the classical hypothesis in the face of other hypotheses - albeit seductive ones - which are based - that is, the classic - on the Egyptian inscription documents that prove that the name (Liby) is originally a name

for the African people and that the Greeks expanded the scope of its use. Therefore, the name (Libo) or (Rebo) is a real name that does not need to be assumed, and it was used from the fifth century BC by the Egyptians. (Camp.n.d:37). Therefore, the presence of the names of the ancient Libyan tribes in the ancient Egyptian inscriptions gives the first clues to what the name (Libya) is, and this is consistent with what can be assumed that the largest tribes that had interactions and communication in some way with their Egyptian neighbors, is the (Libyo) tribe or (Repo) and the difference that appears in the difference between the two letters (Lam - Raa) is due to the fact that they alternate in the ancient Egyptian language(Suwaili ,2009: 23).

Historically, it appears to have been derived from the ancient Egyptian word (repo) or lipo, and its correspondence in Greek (lipos), which corresponds to it in Arabic, Libya. The name lipo or Libya was mentioned in an ancient Egyptian inscription dating back to the reign of Ramses II (1298-1232) BC On one of the military divisions that worked in the Egyptian army at the time and participated in the campaigns against the countries of Palestine and Syria. On the other hand, the Greeks, who derived from the Egyptians their name for the region (Libya) from the original designation of the (Libo) tribe, bestowed the Libyan adjective on a specific people that sometimes-included North Africa in general, and at other times was confined to the inhabitants of Cyrene in particular(Abu Sowa,2012:204) "There are those who believe that the Greeks are whoever gave the name (Libya) to the parts that they got acquainted with from the areas located in western Egypt, and he believed that the name was derived from the word (Libyan), which meant the peoples who inhabit the common borders between Libya and Egypt, and therefore it is possible that this name was derived from the name (Latta, Lbtata, Lipo). (Rossi,1991:24).

It is clear that the Libyans were the ones who contacted them in the first place, in the era of King Ramses VI of the Twentieth Dynasty, then the name moved to Libya, where the Phoenicians took it before their migration to North Africa, and multiple Phoenician inscriptions were found in which this word (Libya) was mentioned, and soon it moved to the Greeks the inhabitants of present-day Greece, during the Bronze Age, sparked their imaginations, and they are fond of myths and legends, so they began to weave myths about Libya. An example of this is what was mentioned in Homer's Odyssey, where it was mentioned in the word what it means (that whoever eats the lotus from non-Libyans will forget his homeland and live in

Libya to spend his life eating the lotus) He is also Herodotus in his talk about the two Libyan tribes (the Lutofagi and the Makhilans) that they live on the lotus fruit and benefit from it (Herodotus,2001: 362). Rather, the revelation of the Delphi priestess explicitly indicates that the Greeks were aware of the name of the region from which the name of its inhabitants was derived before they left Greece (Abu Sowah,2012 : 231).

The Libyan historian Mustafa Baayou is unique in saying that the correct pronunciation of the word Libya is (Lubia) and not Libya as used in the common writings and terminology, and he believes that all ancient Arabic sources mention the name (Lubia) when talking about this country currently called (Libya), and he cites Ibn Abd Al-Hakam in his book (The Conquests of Egypt and Maghreb), passing through Ibn Rustah in his book (Al-Aghlaq Al-Nafisa), Al-Maqrizi in his (Khattah), and Jalal Al-Din Al-Suyuti in his book (The Good Lecture in the News of Egypt and Cairo); As they all wrote Libya with the letter “Waw” (Lubia) and not “Ya” (Libya), and that the Linguistic Assembly in Cairo exposed this word and documented it and adopted it in its geographical dictionary with the letter “Waw” (Lubia). Many scholars and historians who are known for their scientific accuracy in their writings have responded to this correction. And that this distortion came from what was mentioned in the Latin sources, which are themselves among themselves (i.e. the European languages) differ in the form of writing the word even in the wrong form for them, and the reason for this error is due to ignoring the fact that the Arabicization of the Greek letter (y) is waw as It is in the origin of the Greek language, and in it the plant known as “Lobia” was named, and not the “yaa” as it was quoted from.

Western source (Baayou,1953:10-13). There are those who underestimated this opinion and saw that there is no need to drift behind it. It is not an attack on the researcher, but rather on the necessities of language. The issue of “the waw or the ya’ and the controversy around them is one of the issues of linguistic jurisprudence, and it is an issue that the modern naming of the ya’ cannot affect, regardless of the opinion of the scholars of jurisprudence with or against the waw... The controversy over the waw or the ya’ is a controversy over the drawing, added to the debate over the name .(Shaira,1958: 3-4). And there are those who believe that the name Libya was taken from the Berber family (Lawata) or Bani Lwa, and it was used by the Greeks as a comprehensive name for all of North Africa known at that time. Herodotus also

mentions that “the Greeks think that Libya acquired its name from a woman from the country (Herodotus,2001:310). Another states that there are those who attributed the reason for the name to the books of the Old Testament, which mentioned the relationship of brotherhood or race between each of (Felshtim) = Palestinians, (Misraim) = Egyptians, and (Lubim) = Libyans. And that this last name was mentioned in other forms, such as (Luhayyim) and (Lhayyim), because the first Arab languages, including the Hebrew dialect, used the plural (yam) for the plural and nomenclature or attribution, and in modern Arabic the (yum) was replaced by (yen), The combination is useful (Suwaili ,2009:23).

1.1.2. The Geographical Meaning of the Word Libya in history

In his book *The Geographical Guide*, Ptolemais mentions that the term Libya includes all of the continent of Africa, which he divided into twelve provinces or territories. Libya (present-day) is located in only two regions of them (Afriki "Africa" second map - Kyreniaki "Kyrenia" third map)(Ptolemy,2004:21-62). The historian Strabo tells us that Libya is the area extending along the coast from Cartagena to (Kivalay) and the land of (Al-Masassili), where the Phoenician Libyans are located; That is, Strabo believes that Libya starts from Cartagena (present-day Tunisia), known in the past as Ifriqiya, and he differentiates between it and the country of the Libyan Phoenicians; It is the current geography of Libya in part(Khashim,1975,81). Procopius mentions in his book *Al-Amair* that the land that lies to the left of the Nile is called Libya until it reaches the Oceanus (meaning the Atlantic Ocean), which shows the boundary in the west between the two continents, and he gives the rest of Libya several different names, each region is most likely named after the people who live in it, and he admits in the end, according to that date, that only part of Libya is the only region that is called (Libya), which in his view is the region that extends from the borders of Alexandria to the city of Cyrene Comprehensive (the five cities)(Khashim,1975:174). As one historian points out, the ancient Greeks used to “call all of North Africa to the west of Egypt (Libya) and the only occasion before the twentieth century when the name Libya was given to certain regions was 300 years ago when Emperor Diocletian formed the two states of Upper Libya (LIBYA Superior) Libya the world (Libya Inferior) in the northern part of Barqa, but the word Libya has always been accepted as

a geographical synonym for Tripolitania or the country of the Berbers to denote the central part of North Africa. The state of Tripolitania and the state of Barqa were not unified except in 1934 AD when the Italians completed their occupation of them and called it the colony of Libya (Libya). (Barghouti, 1971: 6). Likewise, according to the opinion of one of the historians, the fact that historians do not disagree with is that the land called (Lubya) is the land that lies between the western borders of Matrouh and the eastern borders of Barqa, and in this region was the capital of Lubia, and in it the Lubyans used to live (Zawy, 2004: 16). Herodotus, Abu al-Tarekh, who visited Libya in the second half of the fifth century BC, mentioned Libya in several places, and he meant the entire continent of Africa. Thus, the general geographical similarity between Asia and Libya has been demonstrated (Herodotus, 2001: 309).

That is, the name Libya was given to the entire continent of Africa, and it divided Libya into two parts: The Libyans in the north and the Afyoubis in the south, meaning that Libya meant to him at that time the whole of present-day Africa. The view of the Egyptians is what is located directly west of the valley and extends to the Atlantic Ocean, and in this sense, Herodotus defined it as well, as it extends from where the western borders of Egypt end. Sallust Herodotus contradicts his view that (the Libyans are all the inhabitants of Africa of the white race, distinguished from the Phoenicians and the Greeks); He gives the ethnic name (Libyan) a narrow connotation, in comparison with Herodotus, because he makes the name of the Libyans restricted to coastal residents only (Camp, n.d.: 34). And the geographical approach to the meaning of the name according to its occurrence or the direction of its inhabitants in the ancient Egyptian terrain; The Egyptian inscriptions mention all the tribes located west of the Nile by their names sometimes, such as (Al-Tahno or Al-Tahmou, and Al-Ribo or Al-Libo), and at other times they call them all by the name (Ement), a term that became clear after its explanation that it means (right) by virtue of the presence of the Libyans on the right of the Nile when the Egyptian stands. The old one is opposite the source of the Nile, and Libya comes to its right (Suwaili, 2009: 23).

As for the Romans, they took the name of Libya from the Greeks without distortion, with the rationing of the geographical area for that, so that it became indicative for them of the lands located west of Egypt from Barqa to Tripoli, and they called Cyrene the name of Upper Libya, which is the area that extends from the west of the current city of Derna to the east of the city of Sirte and the region from the east

of Derna Even the delta near the Nile Valley was known to them as Lower Libya or (Marmariday), which was known to the Arabs as Maraqia.). After the name of Libya in pre-Roman times included the entire North African region with the exception of Egypt, it was abbreviated in the Roman and Byzantine eras. And that from the first century BC until the seventh century AD, in the border area separating Libya from Egypt (Abu Sowa,2012:204-205).

And when the Muslim Arabs came, Lubyia and Maraqiyya were a name for two Kurtans from the western region of Egypt, where Ibn Abd al-Hakam mentions that “Lubiya and Maraqiyya Kurtan are from the western district of Egypt, and he defined them as what they drink from the sky and the Nile does not reach them (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d,1: p.229). He also mentions that in the governorship of Hassan ibn al-Nu`man, Anatolia, Lubiyyah, and Maraqiya to the borders of Ajdabiya were among the works of Hassan (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d,1: p.270). Al-Yaqoubi also mentions them in his description, “Then the province of Lubyia, then the province of Marakia, and these two provinces are on the coast of the Salty Sea” (Yaqoubi,2002:138). Muslim historians and geographers have a special detail in mentioning and describing these areas, since in Islamic times they used to call the area that lies west of the Barqa region the name Ifriqiya (Baroni,2005:44). It was called Ifriqiya in relation to the Africans who inhabit it, and they were named - the Africans - because they were the descendants of Fariq ibn Baysar, and this Fariq had acquired for himself some land between Barqa and Ifriqiya (Ibn Abd al-Hakam ,n.d:1: 248). And one of the historians mentions that the name Ifriqiya began to appear among the Latin writers since the dawn of the second century BC. and it was a limited name given to a tribe in the regions of (present-day Tunisia) called Avri, and when the Romans seized what was around Cartagena, when they annihilated the Punic sovereignty, they made it a flag for these regions and named what they seized as the African region (Provincia Africa). (Shaira,1958: 8). The old name of Libya had faded and was obliterated from memory for a long period of time, until the name “Lubia” was resurrected in Egypt to denote Western Egypt, and the name of Libya with a specific geographical affiliation was not specified until the beginning of the current century, and therefore “this name was not used with an accurate geographical definition.” Except for the year 1911, when Tripolitania was called the West and Barqa (Rossi,1991:24). Perhaps the first specific mention of Libya is what the Italian geographer (F. Minotelli) wrote in his book

(Geography of Libya) printed in Toronto in 1903 AD to indicate the Turkish state that includes Tripolitania and Barqa. Then Italy (Libya) took an official name for the state of Tripoli after declaring Italian sovereignty over it. In June 1924, and since that time, the name Libya has been widely used all over the world, including Tripolitania, Barqa, Fezzan and its oases.

1.2. Geography of the Libyan Regions

Location: The geographical location of Libya in the past was not confined to the modern geopolitical entity, but rather exceeded it to more than that. The ancient Greeks and those who came after them called all of North Africa to the west of Egypt by the name of Libya, in the coastal part of Libya or eastern Libya specifically. It was fragmented by the Greek / Phoenician presence into five cities in the east and three cities in the west. As for the country of Fezzan in the south, it was under local rule run by the Germans (Abu Sowa, 2012: 179).

The Arab Islamic sources that dealt with the history of the states of Libya and the Islamic Maghreb in an early period faced a problem and confusion about defining the geographical borders between Egypt and the Maghreb, in an accurate and clear manner. Ibn Khordadbeh (Ibn Khordadbeh, n.d: 85). writes on several pages that he devotes to the road from Barqa to Maghreb, from which it is understood that the boundary separating Egypt and Maghreb is Barqa, before that, Ibn Abd al-Hakam and al-Baladhuri had expelled Egypt from the Maghreb. The first mentioned that the boundary between the two regions is Lobia Marakia (Ibn Abd al-Hakam, n.d:1: 229). The second mentioned that when Amr ibn al-Aas conquered Alexandria, he marched his army to Maghreb (Baladhuri, 1991: 314). However, he did not mention the dividing line between the two regions, as is the case with most Arab works in that regard (Gordo, 2011:10). Ibn Hawqal proved in calculating the distances of Maghreb that from Egypt to the far reaches of Maghreb is one hundred and eighty stages (Ibn Hawqal, 1992: 64).

In the periods after the Islamic conquest, we find, for example, the linkage of some Libyan regions with the Islamic Maghreb region and its states, especially in the period of independent states.

1.2.1. Barqa

A large, ancient city between Alexandria and Ifriqiya, six miles between it and the sea It was inaugurated by Amr Ibn Al-Asi, may God be pleased with him, in the twenty-first year of the Hijri, and it is the first pulpit that the qasid descended from Egypt to Kairouan (Humairi,1984:146). It is a medium city, neither big, luxurious, nor small, and it has a rich and immersive core, and it is in a spacious area, its journey is a day and a fraction in the same, and it is surrounded by a mountain on all its sides (Humairi,1984: 69).

Barqa remained in the hands of the Greeks since the year 631 BC. until it was subjected to the authorities of Persian rule in Egypt, and several revolutions took place in the Cyrene cities, where the people were always waiting for the opportunity to revolt to regain their lands from the Greeks, and chaos continued there until the reign of Alexander the Great in the year 333 BC (Suwaini ,2009: 25).

And after the Islamic conquest, the Arabs, after their conquest of this region, continued to use the old name (Bantabulus) for a while, so it was called Anatolus, which is its old name, as al-Yaqoubi mentions (Yaqoubi,2002:184). Then it was replaced by naming to Barqa to the most important cities in the region, from which the Arabs took a base to gather armies to conquer Maghreb (Bolbeid,2009:15-16). Therefore, the first conquest of Barqa at the hands of the Arabs was considered a natural continuation of the conquest of Egypt according to the Byzantine administrative custom that had lasted for several centuries when Islam came (Shaira,1958:16). And al-Abdari, in his journey that he began in the year (668 AH / 1289 AD), mentions that Barqa is an ancient city built by the Romans, and its name was Antabulus, which means five cities in the Greek language (Abdari,2007:134).

During the rule of the Rustamid State, which ruled part of Libya, one of the Ibadhi historians mentions that “the boundaries of the homes of the people of the call are from Tripoli, Qasr Manu, and from Maghreb, Zanata, and from the sea, Sicily, and from Qibla and Argelan” (Shamakhi,1987:2: 226). Of course, we do not forget that what is meant by the people of the call are the followers of the Ibadis, as they describe themselves in this way in their sources and correspondences, and since the Ibadis in a period of periods were the pillar and strength of the Rustamid State, what their historian meant here is the borders and jurisdiction of this state , There is a further

detail of the borders of the Rustamid State mentioned by the references in a clearer and clearer way than them and in a more specific way for the state of Tripoli as a state belonging to the Rustamid State. in the Matmata Mountains' (Baroni,2005:198). It is noted from this text that the regions of Fezzan and Barqa were not within the borders of the jurisdiction of the Rustamid State during the reign of Abd al-Wahhab ibn Rustam. It states that the first division between Barqa and Tripolitania was when the Persians seized Barqa and annexed it to Egypt, the second and most important division: when the Dorians settled in Barqa in the seventh century BC. And when the Nubians landed in Cartagena: And the coast of Tripoli, and it follows from this historical equation that Libya, with its Barqa and Tripolitania, is affected by its unity and division by the conditions of its neighbors from the east and west sides and from the sea side, and the reason for all of this is that whenever two external powers quarrel, this happens (Shaira ,1958: 9-10).In this century - the seventh BC - the emergence of Tripoli in history was associated with the confirmation of Phoenician control, and the subsequent centuries (the tenth and ninth centuries BC), in which the expansion of Cartagena and its control over the center, which is characterized by its great commercial importance, appeared, and the Greeks began at the same time (630 BC) by colonizing the coasts of Barqa and establishing Barqa. Accordingly, (the current territory of Libya) was divided between two different authorities and civilizations in the period (the sixth century BC), and the boundary between them was identical to the boundary between Tripolitania and Barqa until recently: It is based on historical traditions and natural and geographical conditions (Rossi,1991: 30).

Another mentions that Cyrene united with Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy I (Soter), who ruled between 323-285 BC. until the Romans came and separated Cyrene and made it an ally in 95 BC. and they made it in 88 BC. a Roman province and then united it into one province with Crete (Khashim,1975: 83). And one of the researchers mentions a description of the geographical limit of Barqa , which seems objective in that period, which is that its border "is from the area extending from the great Aqaba in the east, which represents the western border of Egypt, to Suwaiqa Matkoud (the city of Zliten)(Zliten: A city of western Tripoli, located about 158 km east of Tripoli, and about 54 km west of Misurata. Two prayers , (Zawy,1968:170). current to the west (Bolbeid,2009: 5). In the era of Ibn Khaldun, it has a description that he mentions, "As for Barqa, its landmarks were studied, its cities were ruined, and its affairs became

extinct, and fields returned to the Arabs after they were a home for the wata, Hawara, and other Berbers" (Ibn Khaldun,2000: 6: 135). And Barqa during the period that Al-Abdari visited in (the middle of the seventh century AH) he wrote about it, "For people, the name of a land is not the name of a city, and the Maghrebans call it Marit Ain Aqyan from the west of Ajdabiya to Alexandria, and that is from about forty stages, and as for the Arabs of that land, I saw them not being named in it, except Mared Al-Hasabi, they mention except Al-Aqabat in the east to the land of Barneq in the west (Abdari ,2007:135-136).To distinguish between Barqa of the region and Barqa of the city; Al-Yaqoubi, when he talks about Barqa and that it has (many regions), and that it has cities: Barnaiq and Ajdabiya, and that the Torgha located west of the current Sirte is one of Barqa's works, and that it is (the last border of Barqa), so here he talks about (Barqa the region), and when he talks about the inhabitants of Barqa and that they are (a mixture of people) and that most of them are foot soldiers:(Old Soldiers: They are the Byzantine divisions that settled in the country and inherited the army there (Tulaimat,1968,p.6). And children and offspring have come to them.) He is only talking about (Burqa al-Madinah) (Tulaimat,1968:105-106). This is not excluded, since even in our contemporary period there are countries that are named after their capitals (Tunisia - Algeria).

1.2.2. Tripoli

It is one of the African cities, and it is a large, eternal city on the coast of the sea, and it is built into its wall, and it is of great stone from the first building. It was said and interpreted that Tripoli is three cities, and it was said that the city of people (Humairi,1984: 600).And naming three cities in the Greek and Roman languages, and the Greeks called it Trabelita, and that in their language also is three cities, because Tura means three and Balita is a city. It was mentioned that Ashbarus Caesar was the first to build it (Hamwi,1977: 4: 25). Ibn Hawqal mentions that Tripoli in the past was a work of Ifriqiya a white city made of white rock on the sea coast (Ibn Hawqal,1992:71). Tripolitania was also known by this name (Tripolitania) for the first time in the third century AD, and before that it was known as (Syrtica) and it includes the area between the two Gulfs (Gulf of Sirte and Gulf of Gabes) (Due Sirti), and this name was used only Rarely - Sirtika - came from the three cities (Sabratha, Leptis and

Oea) and when Leptis and Sabratha collapsed, the name stuck to the city (Oea)· Only which is the current city of Tripoli, and the Arabs followed this common usage, so they called it Tripoli or (Tripoli), and this designation was limited to this city and did not include the neighboring regions (Rossi,1991:25). The history of the establishment of the cities of the Tripoli region (Lipda - Oea - Sabratha) goes back to the period of the first Phoenician migrations coming from Palestine, then these countries later became Carthaginian colonies (Rossi,1991:32). It is likely that this happened in the year 795 BC. where the Carthaginian influence included between the coasts of Gabes and the Gulf of Sirte, and he - the Carthaginians - established the ports of Sabratha, Oya (Uiat-Oea), and Leptis Mania (Lipda), and these ports were linked with caravan routes linking this region to Ifriqiya, and with Cartagena by a coastal road that reaches its length is 512 km (Zawi,2004:49). It is believed that these three cities (Lipda - Oya - Sabratha) formed a union during the Carthaginian rule (Rossi,1991:33). These accounts contradict what was previously stated that Ashbarus Caesar was the first to build it, along with other data indicating the Phoenician presence on the coasts of Libya since ancient times and the historical relationship between these cities and the Kingdom of Cartagena.

In the Almohad period, al-Marrakshi informs us that Abd al-Mu'min al-Muwahhid annexed Ifriqiya to the Kingdom of Maghreb, and during his life he ruled from Tripoli in the West to the far Sousse of the country of the Masamida and most of the island of Andalusia (Marrakshi,1962:200). And in another text, the first "border of African countries and Maghreb is the aforementioned city of Antilles, which is called Barqa " (Marrakshi,1962:431). To increase clarification at the beginning and end of the borders, and the subordination of the Libyan regions during the period of the independent states, the city of Antipolis, known as Barqa, is the last border of the Egyptian country following Maghreb (Marrakshi,1962:431). The question here is: Is Antablus (Barqa) included in the African borders, or does it border African countries while it is outside it?

During the Ottoman era, it was called (Tripoli of the West) because the Ottomans were controlling Tripoli, the Levant, so they had to add it to the West to distinguish between the two countries. Before this era, it was called Tripoli without adding it to the West (Zawy, 1968:28). And another opinion believes that when the Ottomans seized Tripoli in 1551 AD, the word Tripoli meant to them all the region

over which they extended their control, including Barqa (Rossi, 1991, p.25). As well as some correspondence that was between the European consuls in a period of periods was called Tripoli (Tripoli Berbers) (Rossi, 1991:30). This designation is not devoid of references and stereotypes about the region and its inhabitants, by Europeans, politicians and researchers, as how can this designation be limited to one race, when it contains many races and ethnicities, especially during the era of European consuls, which is the beginning of the modern era.

It is clear to us from the previous texts, and his description of African cities, in which he says that “the first African city in the world is Tripoli, Maghreb” (Marrakshi, 1962:424). And he said that “the first country in the Maghrib is on the coast of the Rumi Sea, the city of Antablus, known as Barqa (Marrakshi, 1962:439).” How can Antablus be the first in the Maghreb, and Tripoli in the Maghrib being the first African city? From this contradiction and ambiguity in the narrations, we deduce from it one of the two possibilities: Either that the end of the borders of the Egyptian country is the city of Anatolus (Barqa) and that the borders of the Almohad State start from Tripolitania, Maghreb, and therefore in that period the state of Barqa may have been independent from both sides (the Egyptian country - and the Almohad state), or that Barqa is actually part of Maghreb, but it is not necessarily affiliated with an Ifriqiyan State, but Al-Bakri tells us that “the boundary of Ifriqiya is from Barqa in the east to the green city of Tangier in the west, and the name Tanga is Mauritanian, and its width is from the sea to the sands, which is the country of Sudan, and it is the mountains of the sands Great connected from west to east” (Bakri, 1992:2: 671). Another historian disagrees with the previous interpretation, as he indicates that “the border of Ifriqiya extends from Barqa in the east to the city of Tangier in the west” (Maghul, 1986:111-112). and another mentions that “the border of Ifriqiya from the east, Qasr Ahmed, is a village that is the last work of Ifriqiya, from which the wilderness enters Barqa alone from the west of Tangier... Know that Tripoli is from Ifriqiya and the eyewitness to that (Ibn Ghalboun, n.d:216-217). Here, too, there is a problem, since the borders of the Ifriqiya State, as indicated by some Islamic sources, do not exceed the region of the Middle Maghreb (present-day Algeria) and therefore do not reach Tangiers. To the borders of Barqa, and the Kingdom of Tripoli is the first of its cities from what follows Barqa, and the last of its cities lies from what follows the middle west, and only from the south is the desert separating it from the country of

Genoa inhabited by nations from Sudan. From the east is the last border of Tripoli, which is included in the border, and from the north is the Levantine Sea, this contradiction in the narratives about the borders of the states is due to the divergence of time periods between historians and geographers and the lack of agreement on a single description of the borders of the states, and to the changing political conditions from the control of the states and the extent of their influence and control, and its reflection on the writing of geographers and historians. It is noted that when we want to extract the borders of Maghreb from the texts are that we are facing a rule which is: that apart from Egypt is Maghreb, as it was except for Egypt is the continent of Libya. Accordingly, the borders of Maghreb on the side of Egypt differed according to the administrative work of Egypt and according to the administrative traditions.

According to this interpretation, the sunset boundary is once at Dhat al-Hamam, once at the west of Maraqiya, and once at the west of Barqa (Shaira,1958:16).

The establishment of an African state and the extension of Roman sovereignty over it was in the year 146 BC. And this was immediately followed by the annexation of Tripolitania. As for Barqa, it devolved to the Romans after that in the year 96 BC. And accordingly narrowed name meaning Libya (Shaira,1958:8).

1.2.3. Fezzan

Meaning of the name: Al-Hamwi mentions that it was called Fezzan bin Ham bin Noah, peace be upon him (Hamwi,1977:260). As for al-Yaqoubi, when talking about Fezzan, he says, "And a race known as Fezzan is a mixture of people who have a president who obeys them, a vast country, and a great city (Yaqoubi,2002:184). And at another, he sees that a people from the Berbers is called Ajar Fezzan and classifies them from the Zanata tribes. Here the name in its pronunciation and meaning is attributed to a person - who is Fezzan bin Ham bin Noah, peace be upon him - as mentioned by Al-Hamwi, or a people or a group of peoples who inhabited this region, which is what Al-Yaqoubi indicated that it is a race that brings together mixtures and groups of people who inhabited this region or relative to a tribe of the Berbers, as is the case with Ibn Hawqal. As for the Romans they defined the Fezzan region as Pazzania. And at the time of the decline and deterioration of the Roman State, the name

“Phazania”(Huwaidi,2010:65). disappeared, only to be mentioned again after the conquest of North Africa at the hands of the Arabs(Dinasuri,n.d:13). It is possible that the name Fezzan was derived from the name (Tafasseena) of Tariq origin, which means (edge) due to the large number of edges that distinguish the aspects of the surface of Fezzan, and this word is pronounced by the inhabitants of the Ghat oasis from the Tuareg (Tafassana), and when you delete the first ta’, which is the feminine sign in the Berber language, we have 3 consonants (F S N) (F Z N), which are the letters that make up the word Fezzan. Others say that it is a local word that acquired a Latin character when it was circulated by the Romans (Dinasuri,n.d:11).

In the Arab historical and geographical sources, clear indications of the name Fezzan were not found, but there are descriptions of the name Fezzan mentioned in some texts (Qaid,2020:44).

The borders of the region: The borders of the Fezzan region change and are distinguished with the passage of time in terms of shrinking and expanding, sometimes expanding to the north, and diving into the far south at other times, depending on the course of political and social events, and it did not witness a border stability between it and other regions. And this region meant for the ancients the region that extends between lines 29 and 22 and lines 8 and 19 east, and when Pliny referred to it, he mentioned that it was located off the Gulf of Sirte, while Herodotus designated its location as being connected to the homes of the Nasamonians who were staying on the coasts of the Gulf of Sirte (Dinasuri,n.d:13).

In terms of the Arab Islamic sources in their geographical description of the Fezzan region, we find them talking about multiple observations, although they are often truncated and short, and they are similar in some descriptions and there is no significant difference between them, in terms of nature, terrain, and geographical borders.

Al-Hamwi, in his book *The Dictionary of Countries*, mentions that it is a vast state between Fayoum and Tripoli, and it is in the first region, with many palm trees and many dates, and its city is Zuweila Al-Sudan Mostly black people (Hamwi,1977:4: 260).

In his explanation of the image of the regions of the earth, Ibn Hawqal mentions that “facing Tripoli at the bottom of the image is Fezzan, and between them

reads Wadi al-Rimal or Qasr ibn Aswad". (Ibn Hawqal,1992:67). Al-Idrisi states that it is in the second region: (Idrisi,2002:1: 109). As he "included in his share of the two lands the rest of the desert of Nisir and the whole of the land of Fezzan" (Idrisi,2002:1: 109) . Regarding the topography of the region, Al-Istakhari mentions that "the desert region extends from the oases of Egypt to Barqa to Zuweila, to the lands of the Fezzan region to Sijilmasa to the surrounding sea to the west, and is interspersed with water springs in most of it, and oases are spread throughout it" (Astakhari,2004:36) (In other words, Fezzan is a desert region that starts from the west of Egypt, and is interspersed with oases until now.

In the past, the area of the Fezzan region extended to Qurayyat and Abu Najim in the north, which are considered border points between the regions of Tripoli and the Fezzan region, and end at the Tibesti Mountains in the south (Andrei,1986:1: 414). And the exact geographical description of the Fezzan region, as reported by a specialized geographer, who believes that Fezzan "is a region scattered with a group of oases that is an extension of the oases of the central part of the Sahara Desert " (Dinosauri,n,d:31). Therefore, it contains clear geographical borders and topography, which are considered its edges in most eras. It extends from Jabal Al-Suda and Hamada Al-Hamra in the north, while in the northeastern corner, the black Haruj is one of the distinctive features separating it from the Sirte Basin, while the border hesitates in the southeast between Sarir Tibesti and Jabal Naqi, and the Tibesti Mountains in the far east and between Jabal Bin Ghanima to the west of that (Dinosauri,n,d:31).

In terms of observations and descriptions, Al-Idrisi fascinates us with a long text about Fezzan, and this description varies between describing cities, agricultural activities, and others. The land of the Zaghawa is followed by the land of Fezzan, and there are from the country the city of Garma and the city of Tsawah, and Sudan they call Tsawa Garma Al-Sughra, and these two cities are close to each other and between them towards a stage or less. Their destiny is in the bone and the abundance of the inhabitants is the same, and their water is from the wells, and they have date palms, and they grow corn and barley, and they water them with water, using machines that they call the Anjaqa, and in the countries of the Maghreb this machine is called the Khatara, and they have a silver metal in a mountain called Jebel Jojis, and its interest is little (Idrisi,2002:1: 112). And Ibn Khaldun, in his talk about African cities, mentions

that "Fezzan and Wadan, the qiblah of Tripoli, are many places with palm trees and rivers, and it is the first thing that Muslims conquered from an African land when Umar ibn al-Khattab and Amr ibn al-Aas invaded it, then the oases, the qiblah of Barqa... and beyond all of these in the south are deserts and sands that do not produce seed or pasture (Ibn khaldun,2000:6: 132).

From the foregoing, it is clear that the Muslims preserved the name of Fezzan and did not change it with the change of culture. and political, and a third category described through economic phenomena, especially the manufacturing industries, and there are those who described it from the perspective of the science of social history (Qaid,2020:46).

Historically, it is mentioned that the area of distribution of drawings and engraved images of chariots with wheels drawn by horses, which extends along the Great Desert region at the Mediterranean coast at Tripoli, Libya, passing through Tassili Al-Hajjar, and the Al-Hajjar Region to the Middle Nile, It shows the existence of a confirmed connection between North Africa and the desert in the middle of the first millennium BC, which confirms that the desert region was never devoid of people, but was a region with its own detailed history (Karkhi,2014:76). Therefore, the Fezzan inhabited in different stages of history, races and ethnicities, and indigenous peoples and other expatriates. Fezzan was inhabited in an ancient time by a group of black dwarfs, whom Herodotus called the Gitul (Herodotus,2001,p.360). (They used primitive weapons and lived on hunting, and their time period in Fezzan cannot be accurately determined, but they shrank and diminished after the advent of the Ethiopian shepherds, who are tall and dark in color, and used long-horned cows (Daniels,1991:9).

Then comes the Garamantes, who were described by Herodotus as being numerous in number, working in agriculture, and they owned chariots drawn by four horses, with which they used to chase the Ethiopian cave dwellers, so that they could pursue the people who are characterized by the speed of running, and whose language has no similar languages. They sound like the sounds of a bat (Herodotus,2001:364). The Germans established the city of Germa and took it as the capital and built an ancient civilization, known as the criminal civilization, which was contemporary to the Greeks in Cyrene (Shahat) in the Green Mountain, and to the Phoenicians in the region

of Tripoli, and military wars occurred between them and the Romans, when Rome tried to annex their country to it by force in the year 19 BC. but this campaign failed because of the power enjoyed by the Kingdom of Crimea (Daniels,1991,p.11).And there are those who believe that the Garamantes appeared on the scene of events in North Africa in the period between the years 1500 BC. and the year 1000 BC (Karkhi,2014:164).

During the Reign of Emperor Augustus, Cornelio Balbo campaigned on the Fezzan region, as this campaign was aimed at subjugating the Garamantes, but it failed in that, and the Garamantes participated in their war against the Romans, in the form of a guerrilla war, after the barbarian rebel (Tacfarinas) revolted against the Romans in the years During the years 17-24 BC. but no sooner had the rebel been subjugated and controlled, than the Garamantes hurried to ask for peace, and sent a delegation to the Roman capital from the inhabitants of Fezzan, who were a source of astonishment and astonishment (Rossi,1991:37).

The Libyan geographical regions are divided into three regions (Tripoli - Barqa- Fezzan) is an old issue, and it has a deep historical dimension. For example, this tripartite division was mentioned by Al-Yaqoubi, and as previously presented by texts and narrations from geographers and historians, it became clear to us through the description of cities. Places and the distances between them and their inhabitants and their economic activities. When a geographical source mentions that in Fezzan there is such-and-such, and in Tripoli there are cities or villages, and in Barqa the so-and-so tribe spreads and finds such-and-such city, this means that there are major regions and each region contains a number of cities, villages, places and their inhabitants from tribes and others. This geographical division into three administrative regions : Barqa Region, Tripolitania Region, Fezzan Region, attributed by one of the historians to the political factor that had a role in defining the geographical regions of Libya (Abu Sawa,2012:155).

Therefore, "the transformation of historical Libya into contemporary Libya has undergone complex, overlapping, and slow processes that have graduated over the ages" (Abu Sawa,2012:181). Accordingly, the picture of the current geographical entity, as it is known, is as follows: Libya is located in the center of North Africa and occupies about two thousand kilometers from the southern shores of the Mediterranean

basin, and is located between Egypt from the east, Tunisia and Algeria from the west, and the latter extends and shares part of its southern borders with Libya as well, then it is bordered to the south by Chad, Niger and Sudan, and the last of these three countries lies within its borders in part of Libya's southeastern borders.

Topography: The environmental topography in Libya varies, so we find the coastal strip that extends for a long distance of about two thousand square kilometers, and at a distance not far from this coast there are some mountain heights such as the Western Mountain and the Green Mountain, and the plateau and desert constitute the greatest blackness of the environmental formation of the region and permeate these plateaus and deserts a number of valleys and oases.

Climate: The climate is characterized by moderation in spring and autumn, with hot summers and relatively cold winters. It is diverse, dominated by a Mediterranean and semi-desert climate in the central north, and a desert climate in the south, i.e., cold in winter, hot in summer, and rarely rains. The temperature does not exceed 30 degrees Celsius, and the winter sometimes reaches the point of freezing, which results in snowfall in some cities.

In general, the Libyan climate is mostly characterized by a tropical desert climate, as it is dominated by drought as a result of several factors related to the nature of the atmosphere, the surface and the geographical location.

1.3. The Population of Libya Before the Islamic Conquest

1.3.1. The Ancient Libyans

The ancient Libyans can be identified through two parts of the archaeological and historical sources: the ancient Egyptian sources that extend from the pre-dynastic era until the advent of the Greeks to the Green Mountain Region and its environs in the seventh century BC, and the Greek, Roman and Byzantine sources that extend from the advent of the Greeks, until the Islamic conquest Arab in the 7 th AD, and we notice through these sources - especially the first sources - that they were written from one side, which is the non-Libyan side, and thus they are not devoid of exaggeration and bias, especially since the archaeological excavations in the first period, which is the period related to the ancient Egyptians, did not provide us with valuable information

that we can Through writing a sequential history of this region, while the second sources, which are the Greek and Roman sources, although they were also from the Greek and Roman side only, the archaeological excavations proved many important issues from the history of this region in that period.

1.3.1.1. The Ancient Libyans Through Ancient Egyptian Sources

Through our narration of the ancient Egyptian sources, we can divide the ancient Libyan groups mentioned in these texts, according to their historical sequence, into the following groups:

Al-Tahnu: The country of Al-Tahnu is located to the west of the course of the Nile Valley, because it is always mentioned in different texts when mentioning the names of the countries that lie to the west of Egypt. (François Chamoux) saw that the country of Al-Tahnu includes all the regions located west of the Nile Valley, including the southern regions, and the ancient Egyptians knew their neighbors by the name of Al-Tahnu, as it is written in many monuments, the oldest of which are those that date back to the King Mina - Narmer. The founder of the old state around 3000 years BC, and the inscription found in the Fifth Dynasty (2500 BC) provides many data about their physical structure and clothes, and the ancient Egyptians used to color the bodies when they painted themselves according to the type of skin, while they colored their neighbors the southerners are jet black, they color themselves light brown, while the Libyans are white, which means that they are considered a white race (Karkhi,2014:64-65).

Al-Tamhu: Gardner believes that the country of Al-Tamhu extends on the western borders of Egypt to Tripoli in the west and Nubia in the south, while Ahmed Fakhry believes that the Al-Tamhu were stationed in the same homeland as the Al-Tahno after they controlled them, in addition to their control over the oases of fertile land spread to the west of Wadi The Nile believes that they have spread south as far as Darfur. Some historians believe that the erasure are African citizens who made their way from the southwest of the desert heading towards the north and northeast. Some scholars believe that the people whom the scholars called the group (C), and whose

traces were found in the Nuba Region, are a branch of the erasure and that they are Libyans and indicates (Uric Bates) that their remnants are consistent with the remnants of the ancient Libyans. Based on all this, it can be concluded that the erasure, the population of group (C), and the population of Wadi Howr all came from the Sahara Desert after drought had befallen it. They are, according to Egyptian sources, a new ethnic group and not a branch of the Tahnu tribe. According to these sources, they have light skin color and blue eyes, and among them a large percentage of them have blond hair. They live in the Libyan Desert and work in grazing (Moller,1924:38). It is noticeable that these traits spread in Berber groups that trace their origins back to tribes of Zenat origins that lived - before their migration to the Middle Atlas - in the desert extending between Western Libya and Eastern Maghreb. They were engaged in grazing, and they were fierce warriors, and the Middle Empire often had to chase them (Karkhi,2014:66).

Al-Libo or Al-Ribo: Most scholars believe that the Al-Libo or Al-Ribo were inhabiting the current Barqa area, and perhaps their lands extended eastward to the Oasis's Region, especially the Siwa Oasis. For the Lipo or Repo groups, it was during the reign of Ramesses II, and since that date, these groups began to play an important role in the history of the conflict between ancient Egypt and the ancient Libyan tribes.

The Meshwesh: The researchers believe that the Meshwesh lived in the northern regions of the Libyan Desert, and some believe that their homes extended westward to the areas that represent present-day Tunisia. With the beginning of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty, the Mushoosh began to gather around the western borders of Egypt to seek permanent residence around the Nile Valley delta.

The Al-Tahnu, Al-Tamhu, Al-Libo, and Al-Mashwish tribes were among the large, widespread Libyan tribes that played a prominent role in the development of events at that time. The Pharaohs of the Libyans knew three tribes: (Lebu, Mashwesh, and Thehenu) (Shaira,1958:6). Therefore, we find it mentioned in the ancient Egyptian texts in some detail. While the names of other tribes were mentioned in these texts as mere simple signs, perhaps because these tribes did not influence the prevailing conditions in the region at that time, or perhaps because these tribes were affiliated with one of the former major tribes, or because their lands were within the lands of another large tribe. Among those small population groups, we mention the tribes: Al-

Asbat, Al-Qabat, Al-Thaktan, Al-Baqin, Al-Kikish, Al-Sibd, and Al-Qahq. Some considered them part of ancient Egyptian history, especially during the period of the rule of the Pharaohs, because according to their opinion, they did not leave permanent traces except for what was mentioned in the ancient Egyptian documents, and this does not mean that Libya in its broad geographical sense, which included North Africa, no civilizations were established in the sense that is known through research in ancient history, due to the distinctive feature of the type of civilizations established by the ancient Libyans in their vital fields, represented in their social formation, which was in the form of strong nomadic tribes with leaders and systems Private and departments manage their affairs (Suwaili,2009:19). In conclusion, the ancient archaeological and historical sources agree together on the ancient existence of human groups that inhabited North Africa in the past, belonging to different races (white, black, hybrid), and what was reported by these sources and confirmed by archaeological and anthropological data confirms that these human groups are very ancient; It came as a result of continuous and long-term mixing (Karkhi,2014:66).

1.3.1.2. The Ancient Libyans from Greek, Roman and Byzantine Sources

The Greek, Roman and Byzantine sources provided us with a lot of information about the ancient Libyan groups that lived in the region known in the past as Libya in its broad sense. Fifth BC. Where it is mentioned, for example, that " the coast of Libya between Egypt and Lake Tritonis is inhabited by nomads, and their food is meat and milk " (Herodotus,2001:305). We will trace the names of the most important Libyan tribes according to these writers, from the days of (Herodotus) until shortly before the Islamic conquest, which are:

The Adromakhidae: The first indication we received about this tribe was through (Herodotus), where he mentioned that it resides very close to Egypt, and their way of life is similar to that of the Egyptians. This tribe spread between the borders of Egypt and the port, which is called Plinos (Herodotus,2001:359-360).

The Gilgamesh: Herodotus says that the territory of this tribe follows the Idromakhidai tribe directly and extends to the Island of Aphrodisias in the west (Kirsia Island - to the west of the present-day city of Derna). Herodotus indicates that the land of the Silvium starts from the land of this tribe to the entrance to the Gulf of

Sirte, and they live the same lifestyle that is known in other tribes (Khashim,1975:33-34).

The Asbestae: Herodotus referred to this tribe, as he mentioned that their lands are located to the west of the Gligamai tribe, to the interior of Kirina (the city of Cyrena); any further than it, because the coastal areas are controlled by the Kerians (Qornites). He pointed out that the Asbestai are famous for their chariots drawn by four horses, and they are trying their best to follow the style of the Kyrians (Qornites) (Herodotus,2001:360).

The Marmariday: The first mention of this tribe was with the historian Skylax, who wrote his description and notes about 320 BC. and gave their name to the region they settled in - which is the region of Marmarica or Marmarik (Khashim,1975:107). He pointed out that the lands of the Marmariday are located to the west of the Adromakhidai tribe, which includes all the internal lands of the city of Barqa (Al-Marj) and extends towards the west until it approaches the Gulf of Sirte. It seems that the lands of this tribe increased in expansion in the Roman era, as it extended towards the east until it reached Marsa Matruh.

Al-Uskhiai: Herodotus indicates that the lands of the Al-Uskhiai tribe are located in the inner regions of the city of Barqa (Al-Marj) and extend towards the west until they are connected to the beach at the city of Yousperides (present-day Benghazi). Herodotus points out that in the middle of the lands of this tribe lies the lands of the smallal-Basaqal clan, whose lands are connected to the sea at the city of Tokhira (Tukra), which is a town belonging to Barqa, and their lifestyle is similar to that of the people of South Cyrene (Cyrena) (Herodotus,2001:360).

The Nesammonians: (Herodotus) indicated that the home of the Nesammonians is located to the west of the home of the Oschesay, without specifying to what extent their home extends to the west, and their numbers are many. Date harvesting at a site called Ujila (present-day Awjilah), where palm trees grow in abundance (Herodotus,2001: 360). On the other hand, we find Skylax explaining that the homeland of this tribe extends towards the west until it reaches the slaughterhouse of the two brothers (Fellaini). The Nesamounian tribe was home around the Gulf of Sirte throughout ancient times.

The Makkai: The land of the Makkai is located to the west of the Nasamunis tribe and ends at the (Kenibes) River (Kaam Valley). And (Herodotus) indicates that the river (Keneps) runs through their lands towards the sea in the north, and that this river comes from a hill called Tal al-Ne'am (Herodotus,2001: 361).

The Gramant: Herodotus explained to us that the home of the Gramant is located ten days' journey west of Awjila and thirty days' journey south of the lotus-eater's home. The Greek historian Herodotus is considered the first to refer to the Gramant, and therefore it is considered our main source on this subject. He pointed out that the Gramamites are numerous in number, work in agriculture, and they own carts pulled by four horses, with which they used to chase the Ethiopian cave dwellers, so that they could chase the people who are characterized by the speed of running, and their language has nothing similar to it from languages, as it sounds like the sounds of the bat (Herodotus,2001: 364).

The Gitul: The Gitul are one of the ancient Libyan groups mentioned by classical historians. It is a group of tribes that were scattered south of the Carthaginian possessions, and the Kingdom of Numidia, which extended south along the edges of the desert from the north.

The Moors: The lands of the Moors are located between the Atlantic Ocean in the west, and the Molucca Valley (Malawya) in the east. It seems that the name Mauritania or Morussia was derived from the name of this widespread tribe. And the name of the Moors remained alive until the Byzantine era, when they were referred to by the Byzantine historian Procopius in his book Al-Amair when he talked about the Moors' victory over the Vandals and their seizure of the Greater Leptis City.

The Asturians: We have received news of this tribe during the era of the late Roman Empire, when referring to the attacks carried out by this tribe against the cities controlled by the Romans, whether on the three cities (Lipda, Oia, and Sabratha), or on the five cities (Cyrena, Barga, Ptolemais, and Tokhira). and Yusperides) or through the alliances that this tribe established with other Libyan tribes against the Byzantine forces stationed in Carthage and the cities that lie to the east and west of this city.

Herodotus concludes by saying that those who inhabit this geographical area in the past are four peoples, not a fifth: the original inhabitants of it are the Libyans and the Ethiopians; The Libyans live in the northern parts of the country, while the

Ethiopians live in the south of it, and as for the arrivals, they are the Greeks and the Phoenicians (Herodotus,2001: 369). It seems to me that this is the first clarification and distinction between the indigenous population and the newcomers, made by one of the most important ancient historians. Some writers come to the conclusion that: the ancient inhabitants of Libya are “Arabists” coming from the Arab East since the first existence of the Paleolithic man, based on the excavations that it proved the existence of a strong resemblance between the ancient Libyan man and the Palestinian man (Suwai,2009: 26). In this conclusion, the writer relies on what one of the historians reported about "the discovery of four skulls: the first in Algeria, the second in Libya, the third in Yemen, and the fourth in Palestine, and a perfect match was found between these skulls" (Saadi,1982:11). Promises to one of those whom Herodotus described as arrivals (the Phoenicians). Herodotus mentions that the Phoenicians originated from the Persian Gulf Region, and that they moved to the eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea (Herodotus,2001:9). And some historians believe that this is unlikely. This is due to the affiliation of the Phoenicians to the Canaanites, which makes the source of their migration within the Semitic migrations, which is the Arabian Peninsula (Fadel,2004:17).

All historians agree that the Phoenicians mixed peacefully with the ancient Libyans, and formed with them the nucleus of a new people, who stood with firmness and strength, in what was known as the Punic Wars against the ambitions of the Romans, and the new Punic people took the path of reconstruction in the area extending between Sirte and Numidia under the leadership of the capital, Carthage, where the Carthaginians did not follow Rather they mixed with its inhabitants through marriage, and on this basis new names appeared in the history of North Africa, such as (the Punic people), (the Punic civilization), and (the Punic language and writing), which are the ingredients of the former eastern civilization established on the coasts of ancient Libya (Suwaii ,2009:24). It can be said that in the era when the Phoenicians established their first colonies, along the coasts of North Africa, there were peoples who lived in Tripoli in the West, and they are the people we agreed to call them Libyans (Rossi,1991:27).

Mixing and mingling between the ancient Libyan tribes and other peoples arriving in the same ancient history is possible and can be assumed to have occurred; The ancient Libyan tribes, although their first ancestors were cave dwellers at the

beginning, where there was safety and fear of the open, this lifestyle did not continue. This led to their mixing with other peoples who came as immigrants across the Isthmus of Suez from the north side (Bahri Face), and through Bab al-Mandab from the south side (Upper Egypt), in addition to their mixing with their Egyptian neighbors. Especially when desertification encroached on the southern region of Libya, the people of these regions migrated to the east, and settled in Upper Egypt, then the Delta. And they all formed the nucleus of the ancient Egyptian dynasties (Rossi,1991:27). Therefore, according to what is available from the information available to one of the historians, it is possible to acknowledge the fact that the ancient Libyans were Bedouin shepherds, and the Phoenician civilization attracted some of them, seducing them with a settled life, agriculture and trade (Rossi,1991:27). In sum, with regard to the population of Libya before the Islamic conquest, we can refer to a specific hypothesis, which is that the human component of "Libya" in the three regions, Barga , Fezzan, and Tripolitania, consists of Romans, locals, Africans, Jews, Copts, and Negroes (Abu Sowa,2012:243). According to one of the historians, "Although Rome did not affect the human race formation of this country, nor did it leave behind in the language and customs the character that it left behind in other countries... It is certain that it left behind many visible landmarks through military constructions, public works, artistic works, and names Among the dozens of sites in western Tripoli, which are known by the terminology (Palace, Tower, and Henshir), many of them suggest that they are ancient constructions, and Roman ones in particular (Rossi,1991:43). But also, one cannot ignore the fact that the population elements coming to Libya before Christ and at its beginning were dependent on the dominant empires at the time; In the sense that the Romans, the Vandals, the Greeks, and others were controlling other parts of the world, and therefore the movement of human groups under the control of this or that empire in all borders and parts of the empire seemed natural, and therefore some sources also refer to the movement of the Berbers to other parts of the Roman Empire, for example. To clarify more and with a brief historical account, after the Roman Empire was divided into eastern and western, the eastern side of the country was exposed to Byzantine influence, and this was accompanied by the influx of new elements from the eastern countries (Turkey - the Balkans - the Russians - the Levant). He was able to establish for himself a state that ruled the country for about a century, and when their state ended with the death of Belzarius over them, the Vandals did not

leave the country, but they continued in it as subjects who were not ruled by the Romans like those who preceded them from the other peoples, until they were melted into the crucible of the barbarian people, and it was the Vandals were the last elements that contributed to the formation of the Libyan people before the Islamic conquest in the beginning of the first century AH / mid-seventh century AD (Bazama,1972:46).

The foregoing can be summed up and described in being the population diversity of the ancient Libyan peoples and peoples, according to what was reported by the ancient Egyptian and Greek sources, which are peoples that perished and disappeared, and historical sources and references exclude the survival of these races and their continuity until at least the period before the Islamic conquest, and their listing and presentation was for prelude and preparation. Its purpose is to draw a historical and civilized picture to introduce this geographical region and its inhabitants in ancient historical times.

1.3.1.3. The Libyans in the Middle Ages, According to What was Mentioned in Arab and Islamic Sources

Arab Islamic sources relied in their classification of North African societies in general on tribal criteria, and the first thing that drew the attention of Arab historians to the inhabitants of North Africa was this tribal structure of societies in the region, and it is noted that Arab sources were hardly devoid of a detailed description of this tribal structure and its various social details (Karkhi,2014: 68). The reason is that these people have a tribal social system, or that they have reverted to the tribal system of life, as described by one of the historians (Karkhi,2014: 68). Due to the collapse of the Roman Empire and the weakness of the Byzantine authority - the heir of Rome - over the region and the collapse of all the great unification projects that followed the Second Punic War between Carthage and Rome, and the region's entry later under Roman control; The tribe was the last resort and refuge for organizing the affairs of daily life and for protection from external dangers, in light of the chaos and the absence of any authority that could carry out these roles and tasks. This description may be a matter of exaggeration and generalization, since it cannot be certain that the entire population of North Africa had an urban social structure. And far from the tribal organization, and that the fall of the Roman Empire had a great impact on the return to

the tribal lifestyle, there is no doubt that this collapse may be a factor among several factors that affected the social structure of the inhabitants of North Africa, especially in cities and metropolises, but we do not forget that during the control of the Romans and the Byzantines and after them, there were revolutions and uprisings of barbarian tribes against these empires, meaning that this tribal organization existed before, during and after these empires

After this simplified presentation, we can address the most prominent population elements in the Libyan regions during the Islamic conquest, which accompanied this conquest, and continued after it, and interacted historically and culturally with it.

Firstly: Africans

Regarding the reason for naming, al-Bakri mentions, "They only named the Africans and their country Ifriqiya because they are the descendants of Fariq bin Masrim" (Bakri,1992:2: 671). In the opinion of Ibn Abd al-Hakam, they are the servants of the Romans, "and the Africans resided and were servants of the Romans on a peace treaty that they would pay to whoever conquered their country (IbnAbdal-Hakam,n.d:1: 229). This refers to stable nations, and mixtures of people gathered from various nations, among them ancient nations and Berber and Frankish elements representing the working class in various facilities (Abbas,1967:10). In his description of Barqa , al-Bakri mentions, "And around the city of Barqa there are tribes of Luwata and Africans" (Bakri,1992:2: 650) Some historians expand this designation to include the Berbers, as they call the Berbers (white Africans) and divide them into five peoples: Sanhaja - Masmouda - Zanata - Hawara – Ghumara (Wazzan,1983:1: 36). This description contradicts many of the accounts reported by historians and genealogists about the inhabitants of Libya in the medieval era, and they distinguish between Berbers and Africans. As stated in the previous text by al-Bakri, he mentioned (Luwata), which is a tribe of Berbers, and sometimes all of the Berbers are called (Luwata). The geographic of the Berbers; They belong to Africa geographically and spatially, not ethnically. On this basis, the Africans, as the Cyrene slave describes them, "are a mixture of people who used to live in the coastal areas, where they worked in agriculture and industry": (Qayrawani,1994:19). There is an opinion that

says that the Africans are of local origins, they speak the local tongue and the tongue of the expatriate (Abu Sowa,2012:240). As stated by one of the researchers: They are among the first Romans who settled in the country at the end of the second century BC, settled it and left their dynasty there (Tulaimat,1968:110). It is likely that they are (a mixture of people) as described by the Cyrene slave, meaning that they are a mixed class of the population; Among them are the Berber, the Rumi, the Coptic, the Negro, and others. They are united by one identity and one bond, and they do not belong to one race or a specific race. A specific person who performs this function and is characterized by them alone.

Secondly: Copts

In more than one of the Arab and Islamic sources, a description of the Copts and their presence in the Libyan regions was mentioned (Bakri,1992:2: 653).

Thirdly: the Berbers

Concerning the meaning of the word (Berbers) and its connotation, the sources differed in defining the meaning of this name, and it is mainly related to the fact that it is a name denoting an ethnic group and a specific social entity, which is represented in the form of tribes that inhabited and still are in the North African region.

The historical sources that dated the conquest of the Maghreb region, or the geographical sources that dealt with the description of the geographical area of Morocco and its inhabitants, were not without dealing with the inhabitants of this country, their origins, and their lineages, and therefore there were attempts to explain the meaning of this name (Berbers) and the reason for the designation for the purpose of identifying and verifying the origins and lineage of this group. He divided the Arab-Berber lineage on the basis of their lifestyle into two main branches: The first branch is: the amputated Berbers; They are the Bedouin Berbers, the sons of the amputee Madghis, and the second branch is the Berbers of the Pyrenees, and they are the Berbers who settled in villages and rural areas, the sons of Prince Ibn Safjo. It is noticeable in this division that it appears to imitate the division of the Arab lineage of

the Arab tribes into two major branches, namely, the Adnanis and the Qahtanites, who are also nomadic and sedentary (Karkhi,2014:67-68).

In his talk about the conquest of Barqa, Ibn Abd al-Hakam mentions that the Berbers were "in Palestine and their king was Goliath, and when David, peace be upon him, killed him, the Berbers left for Maghreb until they reached Lubyia and Maraqia, which are two corners of the western region of Egypt... so they dispersed there, so Zanata and Mughila advanced they moved to Maghreb and settled in the mountains, and Luwata advanced and settled in the land of Antilles, which is Barga, and they dispersed in this Maghreb and spread out in it until they reached the Suss, and Hawara descended to the city of Libda and Nefoussa descended to the city of Sabrat and exalted the Romans in it (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n.d,:1: 229). It is understood from this text that the Berbers came in groups to Maghreb from the land of Palestine, as well as the spread of some of these groups in the Libyan regions; Where Luwata settled in Barqa, and Hawara descended to the city of Libda, and Nafusa descended to the city of Sabrat (the current city of Sabratha), and other sources mention that Nafusa inhabited the mountain known by its name until now later, which is located south of the city of Sabrat mentioned in the text.

Al-Baladhuri agrees with the narration of Ibn Abd al-Hakam about the arrival of the Berbers from Palestine, where he mentions a narration about the Berbers and their lineage, in which he says: "I asked Abdullah bin Saleh about the Berbers, and he said they claim that they are the sons of Barr bin Qais, and God did not give Qais a son called Barr, but they are among the tyrants whom he fought David (peace be upon him) and their homes were at the hands of time Palestine, and they are people of pillars, so they came to Maghreb and procreated with it (Baladhuri,1991:315). Al-Baladhuri's saying (they claim) indicates that the Berbers seek a lineage for themselves from Qais through his son Barr, which explains the meaning of the name, according to their claim. Berber relative to (Bar), but this lineage to Qais we find in another narration cited by Ibn Salam, who is one of the ancient Ibadi historians, and he is a Berber. Omar said to them: Who are you? The Commander of the faithful is the son of Barr bin Qais, and Qais had many children, and he has a son called Barr bin Qais, and in his character there is some prostitution, meaning narrow-mindedness, so he fought his brothers one day, and he went out to the wilderness, so his offspring and his son multiplied there, so the Arabs said: Barbaro, which means they increased (Ibn

Salam,1985:146). And Ibn Khaldun mentions that Ifriqish bin Qais bin Saifi is “the one who called the barbarians by this name because when he conquered Maghreb and heard their rhetoric, he said: How many of them are barbarians, so they were called the barbarians.” Berber in language is a mixture of incomprehensible sounds (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:117). Here, the interpretation of the meaning of the name moves to a description of the output of the name in terms of pronunciation, and not to lineage. The conclusion reached by Ibn Khaldun from the lineage of the Berbers in his lengthy review of the truth about their lineage on several pages of his book (Al-Ibar) is that "there is no disagreement among the lineages of the Arabs that the Berber peoples whom we have mentioned are all of the Berbers except for Sanhaja and Kutama. Yemeni, and if Ifriqish when he conquered Ifriqiya, he brought them down (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6: 127). As for Yaqut al-Hamawi, he believes that the word al-Barbari: a name that includes many tribes in the mountains of Maghreb, the first of which is Barqa, then to the end of Maghreb and the surrounding sea, and in the south to the country of Sudan, and they are countless nations and tribes. The Berbers claim that their origin is from the Arabs, and it is falsehood from them and lies, and the most famous and famous in their lineage is that they are the rest of the people of Goliath. Barr bin Qais bin Ailan was born, and God did not make for Qais a son whose name was Barr, but rather they were among the tyrants who were fought by David and Ttaloat, and their homes for eternity were in the direction of Palestine (Hamwi,1977:1:368). As Al-Idrisi mentions: The homes of the Berbers were Palestine, and their king was Jalut bin Dharis bin Jana, who is the Abu Zanata of Maghreb. A tribe from Sanhaja, Sanhaja, and Lamta are brothers of one father and one mother, and their father is Lamtan Zaz'a'a, from the children of Himyar (Idrisi,2002:1: 222-223). Although the conclusion reached by one historian differs from the other, it is noted that there are common facts in which the two historians meet, namely: the ratio of the Berbers to Goliath, and their migration from Palestine, which shows us that what al-Idrisi mentioned is more likely.

As for Al-Hassan Al-Wazzan, he is unique in another interpretation of the meaning of the word (Berber), where he sees that it is a word derived from the Arabic verb Berber in the sense of whispering, because the African dialect among the Arabs is like the sounds of wild animals. Meaning the desert in the Arabic language, and as Ibn Khaldun mentioned about the connection of this designation, Ifriqish. Al-Wazzan also

refers the reason for the name to that when Ifriqish fled from the Assyrians to Egypt, he found himself unable to resist the enemy, so he consulted his people about any way they should take to escape, and they answered him the Berbers; That is, the desert, and he believes that this interpretation of the word Berber is consistent with the opinion that the origin of Africans is from Yemen (Wazzan,1983:1: 34).

Carret assumes that the name (Berbers) was used by Arab historians as a general description for all the inhabitants of Africa, and it came from the word (Barbary), which ancient geographers referred to all the inhabitants of the coasts of Mauritania (Kamali,1997,p.13). It is supported by another who said that the Arabs were the ones who gave the name Berbers to the indigenous people residing in Libya and Maghreb, and it is a designation that matches the names (Libyan) and (African) in ancient usage (Rossi,1991:26).

One of the historians believes that no one knows for sure the historical background for the emergence of this label, but what is certain is that foreigners were the ones who called this name on the local population and that they did not call it themselves, and that the generalization of this term in North Africa was in the sixth century and beyond (Abu Sowa,2012:208). And the term (Berbers) between lineage and adjective, differentiating between them may bring the distances of understanding and interpretation closer on this issue / Romanian (Abu Sowa,2012:224). Another writer believes that the Berbers are multiple races that united since ancient times. They came to this country from the Mediterranean Region, through two groups. The first group settled in North Africa, where its color tended to be white, and the other group settled in the south, where its color tended to black (Abd al-Latif,n,d:3).

The most prominent Berber tribes: It is known that the Berber tribes are distributed throughout the lands of the Maghreb, from Egypt in the east to the Atlantic Ocean in the west, and we will present in this research the Berber tribes that live in the Libyan regions - according to the field of our study - and we will exclude from this study other tribes outside the borders of these regions, except as required. The need to research from referring to or demonstrating it in an issue, or following a historical fact whose events extend and connect with other barbarian tribes outside these regions.

At the outset, we would like to recall that the Berbers had a great interest in lineages, documenting and tracking them, just as the Arabs do, and they have their

sources in that, and even the Ibadi sources and translations whose scope of discussion and discussion is in doctrinal and jurisprudential matters, are not devoid of often tracing some lineages and referring to them, In this way, Al-Wazzan mentions that the Arabs and Berbers kept writing the genealogical column of their fathers, and this is something that is credited to them and has a great deal of importance (Wazzan,1983:1: 41).

Among the most prominent of these tribes are: Luatah: We received the first mention of the Luatah tribe through the Byzantine historian (Procopius of Caesarea), through his two books *The Architects* and *the Vandal Wars*. We find him referring to them when he talks about the massacre carried out by the Byzantines in the city of Leptis against eighty sheikhs of the notables of Luwata, and in another narration that their number is 28 of the notables of Luwata. The beginning of the matter, however, Luatah resumed the attack again, and pursued (Sergio), who asked for help from Salmon, who was busy fighting the revolutionaries, and Sergio died in the battle as Budzino before him, and Luatah's revolution was the beginning of a continuous and successive revolution, in which the events of victory continued. And defeat n. In the end, this revolution was eliminated in the year 547-548 AD, and among the revolutionaries was the famous Libyan leader (Antala) (Rossi,1991:49-50).

It is worth noting that the Luwata tribes did not end with the end of the Byzantine rule in the region, but rather continued to hesitate in many Arab and Islamic sources. In his description of the city of Barqa , al-Yaqoubi referred to the homes of "the Berbers of Harawa, Farafa, Mus'oubah, Zakuda, and others from the loins of the lowlands" (Yaqoubi,2002:131). Therefore, it can be said that in the Byzantine era and the beginning of the Islamic era, there were two predominant tribes in Barqa and Tripolitania, the Hawara and the Luwata (Shaira,1958:6). The Luwata constituted the most important elements of the population in Barga until the end of the third century AH, and occupied a wide geographical area (Bolbeid,2009:39). It was at the head of the tribes that embraced Islam and its good Islam when Amr ibn al-Aas reached it, which historians agree that he did not find much resistance from the tribes bordering Egypt(Suwaii ,2009:25). The stability of the Luwata tribe in this region helped to extend its influence from Sirte to the city of Ajdabiya, in addition to the extended areas on the coasts of Barga and Tripolitania, as well as the areas extending in the desert that control the caravan trade routes between the Mediterranean and the areas of Sudan to

trade with Egypt in the east (Abd al-Latif,n.d:151). The reports of historians in the late era, which is the sixth century AD, are considered more accurate, and they indicate that the peoples (Luwata) lived in Tripoli in the west, and they were widely spread between the Great Gulf of Sirte and the city of (Oia) in Tripoli (Rossi,1991:27).

It is noticeable in the Arab historical sources when talking about the Berbers in North Africa and the Libyan regions in particular, the description and expression was directed towards the Luwata tribe, which constituted the majority of the Berbers in Barqa. (Bolbeed,2009:40). Al-Idrisi attributed the stability of Luatah in Barqa to the era of the arrival of the Berbers to the Maghreb countries after their emigration from their homes in Palestine (Idriisi,1863:57). Barga, with its cities and its populous regions, is inhabited by Berber sects, circumambulating it from every side (Ibn Hawqal,1992:69). And the city of Ajdabiya, in which many Berber neighborhoods and their settlements are Create a lot (Ibn Hawqal,1992:70). and Sirte, the impregnable city, has Berber tribes, and the number of Berbers in it is more and more abundant than in its neighbourhood They have their capital in the same citadel as Sirte (Ibn Hawqal,1992:70-71).

The Luwata had a prominent role and influence in its territory and the places in which it inhabited. The Luwata tribe was one of the first tribes to start the revolution against the Romans, when it resented the Romans for weakening the tribes of the region, so it attacked the city of (present-day Leptis - Leptis) and other Libyan cities (Bazama,1972:28-29).

Hawara: About the lineage of Hawara, Al-Yaqoubi mentions that Hawara “claim to be from the ancient Berbers.” This is the beginning, then he returns in the same place by saying that “And Hawara claims that they are a people from Yemen whose genealogy is ignorant, and the stomachs of Hawara are proportional to the proportions of the Arabs. Al-Layhan Banu Darsa, Banu Marzban, Banu Warfalla, Banu Misrata, and Hawara houses from the last work of Sirte (Yaquobi,2002:184). And in what Al-Idrisi narrates that Hawar is a brother to Sanhaj and Lamt from a mother, and his father is Al-Muswar bin Al-Muthanna bin Kila’a bin Ayman bin Saeed bin Himyar, but Hawar was told to him because of a word uttered by an Arab prince. His camels got lost in the desert, so he went out looking for them until he crossed the Nile, and he arrived in the country of Maghreb, asking for it, until he reached the

mountains of Tripoli, and he said to his boy, “Where are we from the land?” His boy said to him, “We are in an African land.” The prince said, “We have been reckless, and recklessness in the language of the Arabs is foolishness, so it was called Hawara” (Idrisi,1863:57-58) The author of the book Al-Anees Al-Mutreb believes that Hawara is a tribe of Himyar (the Arab tribe), Yemenis from the son of Al-Sawwar bin Wael bin Himyar, and that among its tribes in relation to Libya is the (Misrata) tribe (Fassi,1972:119-120). The sources here are almost unanimous on the lineage of the Arab Hawara, who belongs to the Yemeni Himyar tribes. Al-Idrisi mentions the place of their first disembarkation: that a group of them descended in the Nafusa Mountains after their emigration from the lands of Palestine, like their brothers Luwata (Idrisi,1863:57). According to one of the researchers, he believes that the tribal affiliation of Hawara remains confusing, as Ibn Khaldun's position on it is shrouded in ambiguity (Karkhi,2014:72).

Sanhaja: The owner of Al-Anees Al-Mutreb mentions that Lamtouna is a thigh from Sanhaja, and Sanhaja is a thigh from Abd Shams bin Wael bin Himyar, and that the King Afrakish bin Abraha bin Dhi Al-Manar bin Al-Harith Al-Raish bin Shaddad bin Al-Maltat bin Amr bin Al-Sawar bin Abd Shams bin Wael bin Himyar, when Himyar reigned he went out as an invader towards the countries of Maghreb and the land of Africa, and when he penetrated into Maghreb, he built an Ifriqiya city, which is derived from his name, and he succeeded in it from the tribes of Himyar Sanhaja to return the Berbers to their form and take their tax and manage their affairs. An African city, and the Arabs descended from their homes in Maghreb, leaving two tribes from Dahata, Sanhaja and Kutama, and they are in them to this day. It is also said, according to his transmission, that Sanhaja is from Himyar, so it is a thigh from Hawara, and Hawara is a thigh from Himyar (Idrisi,1863:57) .This text, along with other texts of other historians, clarifies the sure lineage of Sanhaja in the Yemeni Arab tribes of Himyar. Sanhaja is an Arabic distortion of the word (Iznaken) and they were spread in the Sahara Desert and part of West Africa, as they are present in separate areas of the plains and mountains of North Africa and are considered the most widespread and distributed group in the region, and they are of two types: settled farmers in the northern regions, and settled herders and nomads in the regions southern desert (Karkhi,2014:77-78). They are the builders of palaces in the Yemeni Himyarite style, and therefore they are usually associated with Yemeni Arab origins (Harkat,1998:28).

Zanata: Ibn Idhari mentions two accounts about the lineage of Zanata, the first: that they are the children of Jana bin Yahya bin Saulat, and their lineage goes back to Kadad bin Mazigh, and the second: quoting from Rojar in his book: that the Banu Marin used to live behind Tlemcen, and he is from Zanata from the son of Jana bin Yahya bin Dharis. Bin Liwa bin Nafzaw bin Batr bin Qais Ghilan bin Ilyas bin Mudar, he said: And Banu Marin are from the Sarhian Arabs (Ibn Adhari,2013:10). And Ibn Khaldun mentions in his definition of Zanata that “this generation in Maghreb is an ancient generation known for its eye and impact, and for this era they have taken from the rituals of the Arabs in living in tents, taking camels and riding horses ... and their motto among the Berbers is the language with which they associate each other, and it is famous for its kind from the Arabs.” (Ibn Khaldun,2000:7: 3). The rest of the Berber jargon, and its habitat in all the Berber habitats in Ifriqiya and Maghreb, among them in the land of palm trees between Ghadames and Sous Al-Aqsa, even those villages of Al-Jaridiyya in the desert are among them, and among them are the people of Tulul in the mountains of Tripoli and the suburbs of Ifriqiya. The primacy of the Berbers has existed for a long time, and only God Almighty knows its principle, and they have more peoples than can be counted (Ibn Khaldun,2000:7: 3) During the period of the Islamic conquest, specifically in the state of Hassan ibn al-Nu'man, the Zenata were "the greatest and most numerous of the Berber tribes" (Ibn Khaldun,2000:7: 12). It is well known that when Arab sources mention the description of Ifriqiya, what is meant by it is the regions of Libya and Tunisia, so these important texts of Ibn Khaldun spoke explicitly about the places where the Zanatis were located in Libya, beginning in Ghadames and in the hills of the Tripoli Mountains and their destinations. Therefore, when the Arabs entered North Africa, the Zenatites lived in the eastern districts of Tripolitania and Barga in Libya

According to one of the researchers (Zanata is an Arabic distortion of the word - Iznaten -), and they are mostly shepherds spread in the area extending from western Libya and the eastern Maghreb (including Algeria and Tunisia) (Karkhi,2014:71). And a large part of them migrated to the far Maghreb, under the pressure of the Fatimid advance (Al-Ubaidi). And the migration of Bani Hilal, and historians have noticed a great similarity between them and the Arabs, whether in customs, traditions or lifestyle, and it was usually used to claim or suggest that their origins are Arab.

As we have reviewed many sources, when they mentioned to the population that there was a “mixture of people,” this matter was repeated in more than one place and place in the descriptions of geographers and historians, especially in the first centuries after the Islamic conquest. Modern historians have argued that "there is no people of pure race called Berbers in the regions of Pentapolis and Tripolitania; that is, Barqa and Tripolitania, when the Arabs came to them, but they are a strange mixture of people that began with the Mishwash and ended with the Vandals, and entered into it the Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans and various races. Therefore, the unity of the Berbers was originally a unity. Just a legendary fake and that the fusion of the newcomer into the original lineage, language, and way of life before the conquest was strong (Bazama,1972:46-47).

1.4. Religions in Libya Before the Islamic Conquest

1.4.1. Christianity

There are many texts that talk about the spread of Christianity among the Berbers and the inhabitants of North Africa in general, in the years before Christ, and the conversion of the inhabitants of the Libyan states to Christianity, or (Christianity) Arab sources have also been calling it the adherents of this religion, and the percentage of spread varies from one region to another, depending on the location of this region, its population component, and its relations and struggle with the incoming powers that control the main Libyan cities, especially in the coastal regions.

And the presence of Christianity in the Libyan regions seems to be as old as the Christian religion itself. In a narration by Ibn Khaldun in his talk about the disciples of Jesus, peace be upon him, whom he sent to the regions, “and to the land of Barga and the Berbers, Shamoun al-Qanani” (Ibn Khaldun,2000:2: 173).

In the period of the Islamic conquest, and what the conquerors found in terms of religions in the regions of Libya before they came, it becomes clear to us from the scattered information that reached us, through which we monitor the religions and beliefs of some residents as mentioned in some sources, a narration by Ibn Adhari that Amr ibn al-Aas when he went to Tripoli and besieged it. Its people called for help from a tribe of Berbers called the Nafusa, as they had entered with them into the

religion of Christianity (Ibn Athara,2013 : 30). This text shows the Christian religion of the people of Tripoli, as well as the Berber tribe of Nafusa, where they are united by the same religion, and in the campaign of Abdullah bin Abi Sarh on Ifriqiya during the caliphate of Othman bin Affan, may God be pleased with him, as he "crawled to it with twenty thousand of the Companions and senior Arabs, and dispersed the crowds the Christianity of the Franks, Romans and Berbers (Ibn Khaldun,200:04: 236). And another narration talks about the departure of Uqba bin Nafeh to invade the Romans and the Berbers in the North African region, where it is mentioned that Uqba, may God have mercy on him, went out "invading the Romans and the Berbers, who were then Magians and Christians, in the cities of Baghaya and Cartagena and their environs (Ibn Adhara,2013 : 49). Someone might say, Where are the Libyan regions in this text? In the text of Al-Baladhuri, Cartagena and their environs are mentioned, and this prompts us to assume that Tripoli follows Cartagena, and that it is included in the description (and their environs), and this narration shows that these religions (the Magi and Christianity) were among the inhabitants of Ifriqiya before the Islamic conquest. The Battle of Aqaba is included in the chapter mentioned by Ibn Adhari, entitled (The Conquest of Al-Maghrrib Al-Aqsa), and it is the second campaign to Aqaba that was launched in the year 62 AH. The owner of insight states that Amr Ibn Al-Aas, may God have mercy on him, arrived "to the Nafusa Mountains and opened it, and its people were Christians" (Maghul,1986:144). This is also what we understand from the text of Ibn Khaldun, "The Berbers in Ifriqiya and Morocco before Islam were under the rule of the Franks, and on the religion of Christianity, on which they gathered with the Romans" (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6: 141).

In the beginnings of the conquest, specifically in the first century of the Hijra, and during the period of the rule of Hassan ibn al-Nu'man, the narration indicates that he – i.e. Hassan – had written the tax on the Christians and on those who adhered to the religion of the Christians among the Berbers (Ibn Abi Dinar,1921:32). Another text helps us by saying on the authority of Hassan, "The kharaj was written on the non-Arabs of Ifriqiya and those who resided with them on Christianity from among the Berbers and Persians" (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6: 144). That is, there are Berbers who remained on the religion of Christianity even after the advent of Islam. The matter does not stop at embracing Christianity among the Berbers, but rather follows their high ranks in the degrees of Christianization, as stated in one of the texts that "the

Berbers have become Christianized, so a Berber man had shown diligence in Christianity until he became a deacon (Qayrawani,1994:51). And the saying that “the Berbers have been converted to Christianity” indicates that they were on pagan religions before they were converted to Christianity, and that their attachment to Christianity and their attachment to it was strong until one of them became a “deacon”, which seems to be a significant degree in Christianity.

Gauthier distinguishes between the Pyrenean Berbers and the barbarous barbarians in embracing religions; Where he see that the Barbarians, especially the eastern ones among them, were converts to Christianity when the Muslims arrived - and this is what the previous texts mentioned - and that many of the barbarians were Jews or pagans (Gauthier,2010:125).

The conversion of the population from paganism to Christianity took place with the attempts of the Roman and Byzantine governments. The historian Procopius tells us that the Government of Justinian Christianized the inhabitants of the Awjilah oasis in the second half of the sixth century AD, and before that they worshiped several pagan deities, and their oasis was teeming with priests (Bazama,1972:57-58). One researcher attributes the conversion to the Christian religion, and then the adaptation with the Islamic religion after the Arab conquest in the regions of North Africa, to the adoption - the Africans - of the Punic-Phoenician beliefs that tend to the idea of monotheism, as these beliefs prepared the population for this transformation and distance from paganism (Rossi,1991:34). There is no doubt that what is meant by Africans here, according to the text of the researcher, are the inhabitants of North Africa at that time - Berbers, Africans and others - and we notice how the conversion to Christianity was called (transformation), while the conversion to Islam was called (accommodation). There is a big difference between the two terms, and this is due to the ideological influence, and the stereotypes that are hardly devoid of the writings of some Western historians.

1.4.2. Judaism

Some novels refer to the coming of the Jews in not a few groups, to the east and west of the country in the past as a result of their transfer from Palestine by the Ptolemies and then the Romans, after Palestine was subject to the control of these two governments, and the number of these groups increased until they found within themselves the ability to carry out that devastating revolution known as the Revolution Jews in 115 AD (Bazama,1972:46). After Ptolemy had the opportunity, the Jews began flocking to Barga after 322 BC. and these first Jewish elements, according to what was reported by some sources, were of a military character, and it is likely that the majority of the Jewish soldiers were among the prisoners who were brought by Ptolemy as a result of his repeated invasions of the land of Palestine (Abdel Aleem,1966:171). Archaeological evidence confirms Strabo's view of encouraging the Ptolemies to spread organized Jewish groups in Barqa (Abdel Aleem,1966:172).

In (the middle of the sixth century AH / the twelfth century AD), the author of insight notes the presence of Jews in abundance in the Nafusa Mountains, “and in the middle of this mountain is the city of Jado, it is a large city with many markets and most of its people are Jews, and it is the mother of the villages of Jabal Nafusa (Maghul,1986,p.144). And in Ajdabiya, Al-Idrisi mentions that “its people are mostly Jews and Muslims, merchants, and many lively Berbers roam around it” (Idrisi,2002:2: 311). But are they - that is, the Jews - from the Berbers who embraced this religion, or are they from the Jews belonging to the race and religion of Judaism?

A deep and scrutinizing look leads us to conclude that the inhabitants of this city are Jews who were previously described as most of its people, perhaps they are Jews by race and religion, for two reasons: that this description was in the (sixth AH) century, and this is not consistent with the reality of the situation that talks about the conversion of the people of this region. Rather, their adoption of an external doctrine and their intolerance to it, which is the Ibadism. Secondly, Marrakech describes the city as having busy markets, and we know that the basic and permanent profession of the Jews throughout the ages is trade, and they have been linked to it organically, so that they hardly leave a place or place with trade unless it is the Jews have the largest share in it. In another reference to the cause of the spread of the Jews in the Nafusa Mountains, he attributes the persistence of this spread and its appearance in the Nafusa

Mountains to its occurrence during the period of the Jews fleeing to the Berber areas that the Roman influence did not reach, and he does not believe, accordingly, that the Jewish religion spread among the Berbers widely (Bazama,1972:59). Although the Christian Church has constantly pursued them, and tried to force them to convert to Christianity in all regions, the Jews, it is believed, did not abandon Judaism as a belief, and it is possible that they resorted in Libya to cohabitation with the pagans in the south of the country, far from the Roman authority and the Christian Church (Bazama,1972:59). However, Ibn Khaldun mentions in his history the possibility of the Berbers' religion to Judaism, saying, "Perhaps some of these Berbers adopted the religion of Judaism, which they took from the Children of Israel when their rule increased, due to the proximity of the Levant and its authority from them" (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6: 140). Even in the Fezzan Region in the far south, it is narrated that one of the Ibadi sheikhs entered Ibn Khattab, the ruler of Zuweila, so he approached him, was kind to him, and honored him, and found a Jewish man with him (Abu Zakariya,1982:248). After the Islamic conquest, one of the historians mentioned that the Jews were a minority, and they consisted of some Jewish groups consisting of Berbers who converted to Judaism, and most of their areas spread in the coastal cities and some cities in the interior (Rossi,1991:58).

1.4.3. Idolatry

In ancient periods of history, texts and historical evidence show that the ancient Libyans worshiped several local, Phoenician, Greek and Egyptian deities for decades (Bazama,1972:57).

Among the manifestations of these acts of worship, for example, is that the Bedouins of Libya bury their dead like the Greeks, with the exception of the Nasomnians, who bury their dead in a sitting position, and insist that the dying person remain in this position, and not let him die lying down (Herodotus,2001:366-367). In Garma, southern Libya, the latest excavations indicate that the ancient inhabitants of Garma mastered mummification and organized burial ceremonies. A Libyan/British archaeological mission recently found a mummified mummy buried in the usual kneeling manner among the ancient Libyans (Suwaili ,2009:21).

In his description of the form of worship and its phenomena in Libya and North Africa in general, Axel concludes by saying that the worship of stones did not exist in North Africa before the arrival of the Phoenicians (Axel,2007:206). As for the pagan idolatrous worship, it was certainly subjected to changes caused by the influence of the Semitic Phoenician beliefs, then the Christian beliefs that were later erased by the Islamic call, but some traces of these pagan worships remained in the customs, especially in the celebrations and superstitions that are inspired by natural rituals and seasons (Rossi,1991:28).

Axel also tries to create a state of perception that the people of North Africa worshiped animals, and based on a poem mentioned by the poet Corpus in the sixth century BC, he mentions verses testifying that the (Lawata) tribe, which is one of the tribes of Tripoli, used to worship Karzel who was born of the God Amun and one of the cows, and Karzel this idol reincarnated as a bull sent on the enemies at the beginning of the battle (Rossi,1991:28).

Axel opposes Herodotus' saying that the Libyans offer sacrifices to the sun and the moon, and that the drawings of the two stars that appear on some monuments were found in the places where the Punic and Roman civilizations were consolidated, because it is possible that these effects relate to beliefs of foreign origin (Axel,2007:209-210). As another mentions, Herodotus alone is one of the ancient historians who recorded that Africans worshiped the sun and the moon, and had it not been for the archaeological research that supports him, we would have considered the silence of historians sufficient to doubt his novel (Camp,n,d:33).In this context, it is necessary to recall some of these archaeological researches, which are partly represented in the intense presence of the sun and moon disk in Libyan monuments, in rock-hewn tombs, and in some funerary caves, as well as in funerary pottery, and in the coffins of the dead, and in all images the sun occupies first place (Camp,n,d:34). These contradictory and heterogeneous forms and descriptions of these pagan beliefs is what prompted one historian to believe that “barbarian paganism was a strange mixture of ancient Libyan, Egyptian, Greek, Phoenician, and perhaps Persian beliefs as well, all of which melted in the crucible of time” (Bazama,1972:58).

Summary: The geography of Libya consisted of three regions in the past, and the name Libya had connotations and meanings that were addressed by ancient historians. The population of Libya before the Islamic conquest, as reported by ancient sources - Egyptian - Greek - and Byzantine - consisted of tribes that settled in this region over periods of up to 2,500 years, most of which disappeared and disappeared. As for the Arab and Islamic sources, they talked about the most prominent population elements during and after the Islamic conquest: Africans, Copts, and Berbers.

Regarding the religions that existed before the Islamic conquest, they are: Christianity, Judaism, and paganism. The most widespread of these religions among the Berbers is Christianity, and its presence in Libya is as old as Christianity itself, and this spread varies from one region to another. Then comes paganism, where historical evidence indicates that the ancient Libyans worshiped local, Phoenician, Greek and Egyptian deities. As for Judaism, the narratives indicate that they came in quite a few groups in the past, as they were transported from Palestine by the Ptolemies and then the Romans, but in the wake of the Islamic conquest they were a minority, and more they spread in coastal cities and some inland cities.

2. THE ISLAMIC CONQUEST OF LIBYA (22 AH - 642 AD)

The first topic: The Conquest in the Libyan Regions.

The second topic: The Stability of the First Conquerors in Libya.

The third topic: The Population Distribution After the Islamic Conquest of the Region.

2.1. The Conquest in the Libyan Regions

The intention was to conquer North Africa to track down the Roman control over those parts, where the Roman and Byzantine empires posed a real threat to Islam. The conquest of Ifriqiya was the logical end to the conquest of Egypt, for Amr ibn al-Aas entered Alexandria victoriously in the year 642 AD, then he sent his armies to Barqa , subjugating the Berber tribe of Luwata, then these armies advanced in the direction of Zuweila in the desert, and in the direction of Tripoli, and after four years in the year 646 AD he had to recover Alexandria from the hands of the Byzantines, whose army was expelled under the leadership of Manuel, and therefore these four years (21-26 AH / 642-646 AD) were an area in which intensive Arab military activity emerged in Egypt and on the Libyan coast, and the seizure of Egypt could not be considered certain and definitive until the year 646 AH (Jaait,2008:13-14).

2.1.1. The Conquest of Barqa

Barga was mentioned in the first historical sources as (Antabilis), and we find this, for example, with Ibn Abd al-Hakam in his talk about the conquest of Barga, "Antabilis was conquered by the era of Amr bin Al-Aas' (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1:230). Al-Baladhuri also mentions: "When Amr Ibn Al-Aas conquered Alexandria he marched with his army towards Maghreb until he came to Barga, which is the city of Antipolis (Baladhuri,1991:314). Likewise according to al-Yaqoubi, when he said, "Berqa is called Antabilis , this is its old name" (Yaqoubi,2002:184). And perhaps the difference in naming is due, as indicated by one of the contemporary historians, to the fact that "the reports narrated with a chain of transmission on the authority of Amr ibn al-Aas do not speak of Barqa, but rather of Antipolis only. The

Arabs during the conquest of it is a geographical term used until the end of the Byzantine era. It was used to denote the rest of the region of, Barga not the city of Barqa (Bazama,1972:101).

And by reviewing the march of the conquest of Barqa, we find that Amr ibn al-Aas walked west towards the Libyan regions after he completed the conquest of Alexandria in Shawwal of the year 21 AH - September of the year 642 AD (Bazama,1972:105). Some historians believe that the conquest of Barga was a continuation of the conquest of Egypt, because Barga was part of the state of Egypt .(Mu'nis,2004:34). And Ibn Abd al-Hakam mentions that Amr ibn al-Aas rode "on horses until he came to Burqa, and he reconciled with its people over thirteen thousand dinars, which they would pay to him as a Jizya on the condition that they sell their loved ones among their sons in their tribute" (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1: 229). Al-Yaqoubi also, with his difference in defining the year of the conquest (Yaqoubi,2002:135). Believes that the conquest of Barqa was a treaty, and we find this reconciliation also with Al-Baladhuri (Baladhuri,1991:314). In the same formula, but in another paragraph, despite his emphasis on the issue of selling children in payment of tribute, he contradicts here what he referred to previously and what the sources unanimously agreed upon, as he states in his text that Amr ibn al-Aas Saleh "the people of Antilles and its city Barqa, which is between Egypt and Ifriqiya after he besieged and fought them on tribute (Baladhuri,1991:314). In fact, the historical references did not ignore this discrepancy between saying that Barqa had been conquered by peace, and then deviating from that by saying that its conquest was after siege and fighting, and we are helped in that by what Bazama reported of explaining this confusion by saying that the Romans resisted "Amr ibn al-Aas, then he conquered their city by force, but he died, meaning The Berbers from the inhabitants of the region reconciled with him on the tribute in their lands with conditions.... This is what we understand from the saying of the historians (Saleh of the people of Anatolus) and the fact that he is the righteous of the Berbers and the killer of the Romans means that the Berbers did not support the Byzantines, and this is natural because they were at odds with them in most cases (Bazama,1972:108). Also, the fact that this condition was imposed on the people of Luwata and not others (Abu Sowa,2012:244). In the continuation of the narration that Ibn Abd al-Hakam mentioned about the conquest, quoting from al-Layth ibn Sa'd, "Amr ibn al-Aas wrote to the Berbers in his condition

that you must sell your sons and daughters for what you owe of the tax (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1: 229).

Another problem is clear to us through what was mentioned in the texts about the imposed jizya, which is what was stipulated in it i.e. (the sale of children) in the payment of the jizya, was it dictated by the commander of the Muslim army (Amr ibn al-Aas), or was it an obligation from the Luwata tribe or the people of Antilles to which they were obligated themselves, or is it what was customary at that time?

Some contemporary historians touched on this issue; So we find that Bazama it is denied that these conditions were dictated by the commander of the army of conquest (Bazama,1972:109). And that negotiation must have taken place regarding them between the two parties, and that this matter - the sale of children to pay tribute - did not happen again in any of the countries conquered by the rest of the Muslim armies, and therefore it must have been the Berbers who set this condition and evidence is its continuation after the conquest and the non-revolution against it by them, because it guarantees them freedom of choice in the person who is sold in payment of the tax, while Mahmoud Abu Sowah believes that "the issue of selling children was limited to this incident only, in addition to that it did not include only a part from the Luwata tribe, which supported the Romans (Abu Sowa,2012:244).

We return to another hypothesis in this matter, was - the sale of children to pay Jizya - a matter of habit or custom or what the barbarian tribes used to do in their dealings with the previous incoming powers - Romans, Byzantines - and Nadal -; Bazama is trying to find an explanation for this and believes that the motive for that condition has ancient precedents and is not born of the hour, and that this calls for "a question about how the royalties imposed on the people of Anatolia were collected from the Berbers in particular before that so that they would beware of the conquering Muslim army by setting this condition that it can only be dictated by the cruelty of the former rulers of their country, the Romans (Bazama,1972:109). More clearly, it alludes firmly to how the Byzantines obtain taxes and royalties imposed on the population, in an attempt to objectively read the condition of selling children in tribute, as it quotes Diehl (Charles,1896:505). That the employees "were collecting taxes with a lot of cruelty in order to carry out the heavy financial demands that were heaped upon them, so that the taxpayer in Corsica was forced to sell his children as slaves,

Based on this, we can go further and say that the collectors of the royalties from the Romans used to seize the sons of the barbarians and drive them as slaves in exchange for what is owed by their relatives from the imposed royalties (Bazama,1972:109-110). In my opinion, the issue of selling children in the condition of paying tribute to the people of Antipolis is not one of the usual conditions that the Muslim conquerors perpetuated. The follower and reader of the march of Islamic conquests east and west, which began in different periods of the first century AH, does not find anything similar to this condition; The Muslims conquered Persia , Khorasan , and Andalusia , so some of them were conquered by peace and some were conquered by force, and they fought wars and conflicts in the course of conquest and conquest. In particular, either by stipulating this condition for the people themselves, or it is what they are accustomed to through the previous authorities that dominated them and used to impose this condition on them in order to collect their taxes and royalties.

Whatever the matter, the conquest of Barqa was not very difficult, and it was easy and facilitating, and this is what we discern from a text by Al-Baladhuri in which he says, “The people of Barqa used to send their tax to the governor of Egypt without any prompting or stimulus coming to them, so they were the most fertile people in Maghreb, and no sedition entered it” (Baladhuri,1991:314-315). In the sense that they were sending what was imposed on them of the tax without being asked to hasten to do so by harshness or leniency, and likewise Al-Baladhuri reports on the authority of Al-Waqidi “And Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-Aas used to say: If it were not for my money in the Hijaz, I would have stayed in Barqa. I do not know a house in which I would be more secure or isolated from it” (Baladhuri,1991:315) Between Zuweila and Barqa, peace be upon them all, with good obedience. He paid their Muslim alms and agreed to their covenants with jizya (Baladhuri,1991:315) . This text shows unequivocally that among the people of Anatolia there are those who have converted to Islam, and this is indicated by the saying (their Muslim paid alms), in addition to the covenants who acknowledged the tribute, and they are the ones who remained on his religion. Likewise, in another paragraph to prove the presence of those who converted to Islam The people of Anatolia in that early period say, “And he commanded all his workers to take alms from the rich and give it back to the poor, and to take the poll tax from the covenant, and it was carried to him in Egypt, and to take a tenth and a half from the lands of the Muslims, and from the people of peace he reconciled them”

(Baladhuri,1991:315) And it is known that charity is taken from Muslims, and the text is also clear by itself (a tenth is taken from Muslim land). The source did not refer to the date of this book from Amr ibn al-Aas to Amr ibn al-Khattab, but it can be asserted that it was after the completion of the conquest or the conclusion of the covenant between him and the people of Anatolia, and this is what the folds of the book bear, which appears to be the letter of the glad tidings of the conquest to the Commander of the Faithful.

2.1.2. The Conquest of Fezzan

Some sources indicate that Fezzan was the second destination for the conquest after Barqa. Ibn Khaldun mentions, “Fezzan and Wadan, the qiblah of Tripoli, have multiple palaces, with palm trees and rivers. It is the first thing that Muslims conquered from an African land when Umar ibn al-Khattab and Amr ibn al-Aas conquered it, then the oases, the qiblah of Barqa” (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:354). And the text of Ibn Abd al-Hakam tells us that Amr ibn al-Aas Direct “Uqba ibn Nafi’ until he reached Zuweila ,and what happened between Barga and Zuweila became for the Muslims” (Baladhuri,1991:315). (And Zuweila at that time was the great city of Fezzan, Al-Baladhuri in his book under the title: Conquest of Barqa and Zuweila mentions that Amr bin Al-Aas wrote to Umar bin Al-Khattab, may God be pleased with him, informing him that he had appointed Uqba bin Nafeh Al-Fihri in Maghrib, and he reached Zuweila, and that between Zuweila and Barqa he greeted all of them with good obedience. And that he placed on the people of Zawila and between him and her what he saw that they could bear him, it is known that this conquest was the first attempt, did the people of this region embrace Islam or did they not? The text is self-explanatory; That there are Muslims who have given alms, and there are covenants who have acknowledged the tribute, and the word (and between it and between it) I think that what is meant by it is the villages, oases, and the inhabitants between the metropolis and between the place where Amr ibn al-Aas resides, which is perhaps Alexandria or Fustat in Egypt, and that he may agree with them on special conditions that they can tolerate, but the lack of response of some of the people of the region to Islam is evident in more than one source; Al-Idrisi, for example, in his talk about Wadan ,it is one of the well-known cities of Fezzan at that time. It is mentioned that

“the land of Wadan, for it is islands of palm trees connected between west and north to the sea side, and it was in the predecessor most of the land for building, and the king was in its people emerging and inherited until the religion of Islam came, so they were afraid of the Muslims, so they penetrated fleeing into the land of the desert and dispersed (Idrisi,2002:37).

In the conquest of Fezzan, there are conflicting narratives about the date of the conquest or the march of conquest. Was it after the conquest of Barqa or after the conquest of Tripoli? We find a reference and an explanation by one of the historians stating that the owner of the conquests of Egypt and Maghreb – Ibn Abd al-Hakam – before he moved “to talk about the conquest of Tripoli, he points out in a remarkable summary to the ease of control of the Islamic armies over the area extending from Barga to Zuweila” and that before he “turned to Tripoli directed Uqba bin Nafeh until he reached Zuweila, and the area between Barga and Zuweila became for the Muslims (Abu Sowa,2012:245).

While one of the historians has another narration about the conquest of Zuweila, the capital of Fezzan, saying, “When Amr Ibn Al-Aas conquered Barqa and Jabal Nafusa, he sent Uqba Ibn Nafeh until he reached Zuweila and conquered it; and what is between Barqa and Zuweila became for the Muslims” (Maghul,1986:146). That is, the conquest of Zuweila after Barqa and Jabal Nafusa, after Barqa , there is no dispute about it, but Jabal Nafusa this place is within the territory of Tripoli, and it was conquered after the conquest of Tripolitania and Sabratha. On the conquest of Zuweila and Wadan and the conquest of the Nafusa Mountains, while he presents a reading that may be clearer for the stages of the conquest, the narration says, “When Amr ibn al-Aas conquered the city of Egypt, Alexandria, he sent Uqba Ibn Nafie to Barqa and Zuweila and their neighboring countries, so it became under the protection of Islam, and Amr ibn al-Aas marched and conquered the city Tripoli, its conquest, and the conquest of the Nefoussa Mountains, and they were on the religion of Christianity. All of this occurred during the time of Omar Ibn Al-Khattab, may God Almighty be pleased with him, in the year twenty-three. In the stay of Amr Ibn Al-Aas over Tripoli, he sent Bisr Ibn Artah, so he conquered Wadan and the Nefoussa Mountains. Egypt as a caravan, may God be pleased with him (Ibn Abi Dinar,1921:22-23). Here he mentions the conquest of Wadan, which is part of the Fezzan Region, during the period of his stay in Tripoli, and from which it is understood that he was during the period in

which Amr ibn al-Aas besieged Tripoli, he sent Busr ibn Abi Artah to conquer the Nafusa Mountains, then he conquered Wadan, and this matter can be understood if we know that the Mountains of Nafusa is located to the south of Tripoli, and also Wadan is located to the southeast of the Nafusa Mountains and therefore it is also south of Tripoli. This is what Bazama referred to by saying, “During the period of the siege of Tripoli, Amr ibn al-Aas marched a number of horsemen under the command of Busr ibn Abi Artah to the Wadan, an oasis located several hundred miles southeast of Tripoli. This means that Omar was not content with besieging Tripoli and waiting for its conquest before to expand his conquests, but during the siege he used to subdue other places in the region as well (Bazama,1972:125). And in the last paragraph, the writer makes a mistake by saying (subduing the other parts of the region) in reference to the conquest of Wadan, and Wadan was part of the Tripolitania Region, and this is inaccurate. As Wadan is part of the Fezzan Region, according to the accounts of ancient geographers and historians.

So, the picture that is closest to the logical explanation after reading the previous accounts about the conquest of Fezzan, to clarify whether its conquest was after the conquest of Barqa and before the conquest of Tripoli, or not? It says: The conquest of Zuweila, which is present in Fezzan and some other cities, was immediately after the conquest of Barqa and before the conquest of Tripoli, while the conquest of Wadan, an important city from the well-known cities of Fezzan at that time, took place after the conquest of Tripolitania or during its siege. Therefore, the process of conquest of the Libyan regions was mentioned according to the chronological sequence of the stages of the conquest, according to what the sources mentioned. On the other hand, the ease of conquest of Fezzan and the absence of significant difficulties were attributed by one of the contemporary historians (Abu Sowa,2012:246-247). To the hypothesis of the center and the periphery; and that is that controlling Egypt is easy to control Barqa, and controlling Barqa is easy to control Fezzan; By virtue of Barqa being located on the coast and its possession of several seaports, this helped it to impose its hegemony over many of the south-eastern oases.

2.1.3. The Conquest of Tripoli :

The sources indicate that Amr ibn al-Aas marched to conquer Tripoli, including what indicates that it was conquered in the year 22 AH, and some that indicate the year 23 AH. Ibn Abd al-Hakam mentions that Amr ibn al-Aas marched “until he came to Tripoli in the year twenty-two (Ibn Abd al-Hakam.n.d:1: 230). And he mentions another narration on the authority of Yahya bin Abdullah bin Bakeer, on the authority of Al-Layth bin Saad, as saying, “Amr bin Al-Aas invaded Tripoli in the year twenty-three” (Ibn Abd al-Hakam.n.d:1: 230). So is Al-Baladhuri (Baladhuri,1991,p.316). And Ibn adhara: (Ibn adhara,2013:7). They also mention the conquest of Tripoli in the year 22 AH, while al-Yaqoubi , It is mentioned that the city of Tripoli was inaugurated by Amr ibn al-Aas during the succession of Omar ibn al-Khattab in the year twenty-three AH (Yaqoubi,2002:135). But it is agreed upon by many sources that the conquest of Tripolitania was after the conquest of Barqa, i.e., after the year 22 AH (Abu Sowa,2012:258).

The conquest of Tripolitania differs from the conquest of Barqa and Fezzan, as it was not conquered by reconciliation or covenant, but rather by force. Al-Baladhuri mentions that Amr ibn al-Aas marched “until he descended to Tripoli in the year 22 and was killed, then he conquered it by force” (Baladhuri.1991:316). But in another paragraph, he mentions an odd narration that differs from what he reported in his previous narration on the authority of Bakr Ibn Al-Haytham, and the rest of the sources mentioned him from the conquest of Tripoli by force, where he says, “On the authority of Al-Layth bin Saad, he said: Our sheikh told me that Tripoli was conquered by the Era of Amr bin Al-Aas (Baladhuri.1991:317). This is what contradicts what the Arab historical narratives are unanimously agreed upon, that it was conquered by force after a siege, and was not conquered by peace (Bazama,1972:129). It is well known in Islamic jurisprudence and legislation that the method of conquest of the regions that the Muslims entered (conciliation or by force) entails regulatory legislative provisions with regard to the provisions of tax and tax collection.

The narration of the conquest of Ibn Abd al-Hakam indicates in some detail the manner in which the conquest took place, although some of the events of this narration are not accepted by some historians (Bazama,1972:130). In terms of weaving imagination into it, and making fate and luck a share in this matter; But it does not

deny the occurrence of conquest by storming the walls of the city. The narration according to Ibn Abd al-Hakam says that Amr ibn al-Aas descended “the dome that is on the honor from its east, and he besieged it for a month, and he could not take anything from them. So, they took the bank of the sea, and the sea was attached to the city wall, and there was no wall between the city and the sea, and the Roman ships were in their anchorage to their homes. So they entered from it until they came from the side of the church and grew up, so the Romans had no fear except their ships, and Amr and his companions saw the basket in the hollow of the city, so he accepted their army until he entered them, so the Romans did not escape except with what was light for them in their boats, and the sheep of Amr were in the city (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1: 230-231). This narration, as I mentioned above, is based on the tendency of the popular imagination in it, as well as the perception that the Muslim conquerors did not have the faculty of leadership and war planning, and that the matter was purely by chance through the wandering of a group that was hiking for the purpose of hunting, so they saw a gap in the city wall, Isn’t it knowing and planning that this group (seven people) was on a mission by the army command after a careful study of the city’s location to carry out this commando action (Bazama,1972:131). This was the conquest of Tripoli in the manner mentioned by the aforementioned sources, and its conclusion: that the conquest of Tripoli was by force, and it came after a month-long siege on it by the Islamic soldiers, and that the Romans were the ones who were holed up inside the walls of the city and they were its masters before the advent of the Muslims, but this incident raises an important question Were the Romans the only ones who were inside the city, or were there some other residents with them? The text of Ibn Abd al-Hakam did not refer, neither from near nor far, to the presence of other inhabitants except the Romans in the city, and this is understood from his saying in the previous text (The Romans had no fear except for their ships... The Romans did not escape except with what was lightened...) but a text Al-Baladhuri about the conquest of Tripoli highlights another fact, perhaps mentioning that after Amr ibn al-Aas made peace with the people of Barqa , he went from there to Tripoli and conquered them after its people sought help from a tribe of Berbers called Nafusa if they had entered with them into the religion of Christianity (Baladhuri,1991:7). Mahmoud Abu Sowa believes that the first reading of this text confirms that “the inhabitants of the interior of the territory of Tripoli did not welcome the Muslims and that they joined in their

fight against the Byzantines besieged in the city of Tripoli.” (Abu Sowa,2012:259). And this analysis is firmly supported by his saying by citing passages from Ibn Abd al-Hakam’s previous narration: “The narration of the conquest of Tripoli is clear in that Umar did not fight except for the Romans, and that is in the phrase (the Romans had no respite except for their ships) and the phrase (the Romans did not escape except with what escaped they have in their boats) As for the Berbers, the narration did not mention them, which makes us assume that they had abandoned the support of the Romans, and did not participate with them in the war against the Muslims (Bazama,1972:126).

2.1.4. The Conquest of Sabratha

Sabratha is one of the historical and ancient cities of Greater Tripoli, and it is called in some Arab historical sources (Sabrat), and it is about forty miles away from the city of Tripoli the narration of Al-Fath around it, as mentioned by Ibn Abd Al-Hakam, “And those of Baspert were fortified”. When he informed them that Amr besieged the city of Tripoli, and that he had done nothing against them and had no power over them, they believed. When Amr Ibn Al-Aas won the city of Tripoli, he stripped heavy horses from his night, And he commanded them to move quickly, so his horses became a city that had sped, and they were heedless, and they opened their doors to release their livestock, so they entered it, and none of them escaped, and Amr’s soldiers contained what was in them and returned to Amr (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1: 231). And in order to make it easier for Amr Ibn Al-Aas to eliminate the remaining Roman force in the west of the region, he made this skillful military move, which indicates his unique ability in leadership and that was by surprising his soldiers in the city of Sabratha (Sabratha) on the same night in which the city of Tripoli was conquered, with the aim of surprising it before the news of the conquest of Tripoli reaches them, so they fortify themselves in the walls of their city (Bazama,1972:132). The text also indicates this conquest that Amr ibn al-Aas throughout the period of his siege of Tripoli, which lasted for two months, his vanguard was roaming the area around Tripoli and the nearby cities, and he was receiving information about its fortifications and means of resistance.

2.1.5. Conquest of the Jebal Nafusa

Jabal Nafusa is a chain of mountains with villages and cities. It is located within the territory of Tripoli. No news of its conquest by Muslims was reported except for some sources, including Ibn Abi Dinar in his book *Al-Mu'nis in the History of Ifriqiya and Tunisia*, where he says: "Amr ibn al-Aas marched and conquered the city of Tripoli and conquered it, and conquered the Nafusa Mountains, and they were on the religion of Christianity, all this during the time of Omar Ibn Al-Khattab, may God Almighty be pleased with him, in the year twenty-three (Ibn Abi Dinar,1921:22). And al-Bakri also said, "Amr ibn al-Aas, may God have mercy on him, conquered Nefoussa and they were Christians, and from Nefoussa Amr returned with the book of 'Umar, pleased with him." (Bakri,1992:2: 656). One historian points out to the hypothesis of a distinction between some of the Nafusa tribes that settled in the coastal region and therefore had to support the Byzantines, and between the Nafusa tribes that settled in the interior – that is, the mountain and the oases – and therefore preferred to cooperate with the army of Omar Ibn Al-Aas (Abu Sowa,2012:262). When Amr ibn al-Aas completed the conquest of Tripoli and Sabra, he sent to Caliph Omar ibn al-Khattab announcing the conquest and asking his permission to invade Ifriqiya (Bazama,1972:136). With the departure of Amr ibn al-Aas from the Libyan lands in the year 23 AH, the interest in this region did not stop on the part of the Islamic caliphate and its leaders. The sources confirm that Amr ibn al-Aas continued to send horse newspapers to the region (Abu Sowa,2012:249-250). And the operations of horse newspapers continued even after the removal of Amr bin Al-Aas from the state of Egypt, and the assumption of Abdullah bin Abi Sarh status (Abu Sowa,2012:250). The latter would "send the Muslims in horse packs, as they used to do in the days of Amr, and they would attack from the outskirts of Africa and take booty." (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1: 246).

2.1.6. Stages and Invasions of Conquest

2.1.6.1. Amr bin Al-Aas Campaign (22AH / 642 AD)

As for the period that it took for the conquest operation led by Amr ibn al-Aas to the regions of Barqa and Tripolitania, it is twenty-one months, from early December

642 AD until late July and early August of the year 644 AD, at least according to the above assumptions (Bazamah,1972:143).

And the Fezzan Region, of course, is included in this period, as it was shown by reviewing the accounts of its conquest, even if this reference did not explicitly refer to it.

The narrations are almost unanimous that the conquest of Tripoli was the last of Amr ibn al-Aas's conquests in the lands of the Maghreb . And Tripoli is an ancient and glorious city... It was inaugurated by Amr ibn al-Aas in the year twenty-three in the caliphate of Omar ibn al-Khattab, and it was the last thing that was conquered from Maghreb in the caliphate of Omar (Yaqoubi,2002:135). And also a narration that says, "Amr ibn al-Aas walked until he landed in Tripoli in the year 22, and he was killed, then he conquered it by force, and he struck many loads of olives with its merchants, so he sold it and divided its price among the Muslims. Commander of the faithful to allow us to invade it did (Baladhuri,1991:316). And here Ibn Adhari says, "In the year 22, after that, he inaugurated the country of Tripoli and wrote to the Commander of the Faithful, Umar ibn al-Khattab – may God Almighty be pleased with him – informing him of what God had bestowed on him of victory and conquest, and that there was nothing before him but African countries and its kings were many and its people were in great number and they rode horses, so he commanded him by turning away from it, Amr ordered the military to leave, convoying to Egypt (Ibn Idhara,2013:7). From this narration, in addition to the evidence for the early return and departure of Amr ibn al-Aas from the territory of Maghreb after the conquest of Tripoli, it also becomes clear to us the skillful ability in leadership represented in tracking news and obtaining information for the regions adjacent to the places he conquered, in his description of the African countries adjacent to the region of Tripoli. And its kings and the numbers of its people and their rides, and that is due to the queen of vigilance with him and the complete readiness always to continue the conquest. And with the conquest of Sharos, the capital of Jeabl Nafusa, the first Arab conquest of Ifriqiya ended, and the mandate of Amr over Tripoli ended, and he returned to Egypt in the year 23 AH and left Uqba bin Nafi in Barqa as ruler over it and Tripolitania. Soon, Tripolitania broke its covenant with Amr, and Barqa remained on its covenant (Zawy,1970:14). Hussein Munis says ,that the conquest of Barga was a continuation of the conquest of Egypt, and that its tribute was part of the general exodus of Egypt (Mu'nis,2004:34). And

therefore the same question is posed ;Was this campaign merely a first foray into the Maghreb, with the aim of securing the conquest of Egypt for the Muslims?, This question is clearly answered by one of the historians by saying, “We tend to take the view that it was a complete conquest and with the intention of joining the two regions together to the Islamic State.” Firstly, because none of the ancient Arab historians said explicitly or insinuated anything other than the idea of a definite conquest, and secondly, because the military events of the years 22 and 23 were not in reality of the kind that we can consider a type of rapid invasion movements that do not entail continued conquest and retention of influence, but rather a real advance whose first and last goal is to annex these countries, which were conquered, to the Islamic State once and for all (Bazama,1972:248).

Whatever the case, the historical events in this region, if we exclude Barqa, show that it has not submitted to the Islamic State since the first campaign led by Amr bin Al-Aas, and therefore the campaign (horse newspapers) that was sent by Abdullah bin Saad bin Abi Al-Sarah continued (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1: 246). who took over the mandate of Egypt after the dismissal of Amr ibn al-Aas, up to the (Foray of the Abadla). Likewise, we do not forget the disciplinary campaign that Uqba led against the cities of Fezzan after some of these cities broke the covenants they made to Uqba in his first campaign, Bazamah points out the strategic importance of the conquest of Tripoli by saying, “The region of Tripoli was formed during the period between the year of the first conquest and the year of the conquest of Ifriqiya, the western border of the Islamic state.”. And by virtue of this special location for it at the time, Tripoli must become a forward center for the Muslim forces from which they attack the Roman forces in Ifriqiya (modern Tunisia), and it must therefore become a theater for the Roman counter-attacks (Bazamah,1972:149).

2.1.6.2. Abdullah bin Abi Al-Sarah Campaign (27 AH / 648 AD)

The second phase of the conquest was led by Abdullah bin Saad bin Abi Sarh, and Amr bin Al-Aas was isolated from the mandate of Egypt after the death of Omar bin Al-Khattab, may God be pleased with him, and the date of Abdullah bin Saad’s assumption was in the twenty-five year of migration (IbnAbdal-Hakam,n,d:1: 235). At

that time, the task of conquering Maghreb and its military leadership was entrusted to the governor of Egypt. That is, everyone who holds the state in it.

As we mentioned before, Abdullah bin Saad continued the operation of the (Jraiyd Alkhiil), which were raided on Ifriqiya from time to time, and they took advantage of its outskirts (IbnAbdal-Hakam,n,d:1: 246).

This invasion was launched towards Ifriqiya in the twenty-seventh year of migration 27 AH, and it is what is known as (the Foray of the Abadillah) under the leadership of Abdullah bin Saad bin Abi Al-Sarah, who is the governor of Egypt, after the army coming from Medina joined him, so the total number of the army was twenty thousand, and its destination was Ifriqiya (present-day Tunisia) to fight (the penguin arugula) who was at that time seizing all of Maghreb (Ibn Adhari,2013:31). On its way to Ifriqiya, the vanguard of the army arrived in Tripoli, and they found boats anchored in its port, so they attacked them (i.e. attacked them) and captured them, and they numbered about a hundred, until Ibn Abi Sarh caught up with them and killed them, and the Muslims took what was in these boats, and the narration indicates that the people of Tripoli barricaded themselves in Medina, they did not confront the Muslim army, and likewise the Muslims did not initiate skirmishes and fights with them (Maliki,1994,1:17). Although Tripoli was under the authority of Jerjir, and it had a road called Jerjir whose authority was from Tripoli to Tangier (Maliki,1994:1: 19-20). This was the first foray into the territory of Tripoli after the mandate of Abdullah bin Abi al-Sarah, and it indicates that the conquest operation had not yet achieved its goal in the region of Tripoli in particular, and that the Muslims were in a state of hit-and-run with the Romans in particular, as the people of Tripoli were often outside the circle of confrontation.

2.1.6.3. Muawiyah bin Hudayj Campaign (34 AH / 655 AD)

The other invasion of Ifriqiya was in the year 34 AH, led by Muawiyah bin Hudayj He opened palaces in it and gained great spoils, although Ibn Abd al-Hakam (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1: 260) , In his transmission of this narration on the authority of Abd al-Malik ibn Maslama, he did not mention a place in the Libyan regions in his talk about this invasion, but its course indicates that this invasion passed through these regions, because it took place before Ifriqiya, and therefore it must have passed

through it and palaces were opened in it and booty was taken from them. And this invasion is mentioned. Al-Maliki that it was during the time of the mandate of Muawiyah bin Abi Sufyan, and that Muawiyah wanted to invade Ifriqiya, so he commanded Muawiyah bin Hudayj, so he left Egypt in the year forty-five AH (Maliki,1994:1: 28). But in the layers of Abi al-Arab, there is what indicates an explanation of this conflict between the dates, so he mentions that “Muawiyah bin Hudayj invaded Ifriqiya three campaigns, the first was in the year thirty-four in the time of Othman, he said, and that invasion is not known to many people, and the second is in the year forty, and the third is in the year fifty (Abu Al-Arab,n,d:15). Likewise, the author of the statement mentions that Muawiyah bin Hudayj had three raids on Ifriqiya, one of which was in the year 41 AH (Ibn Adhari,2013:39).

2.1.6.4. Uqba bin Nafeh’s Second Campaign in (46 AH / 666 AD)

Ibn Abd al-Hakam mentions (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1: 262) , Muawiyah’s exit to Maghreb in the year forty-six AH, and that during his journey he landed in Maghmdash , from Sirte, he reached the obstacle of violating the people of Wadan their covenant and preventing what was Busr bin Abi Artah , He imposed it on them in his campaign in the year 26 AH, so he left behind his army there and appointed Omar bin Ali al-Qurashi and Zuhair bin Qais al-Balawi as caliphs, and he marched with those who were light with him in four hundred horsemen, four hundred camels, and eight hundred skins, until he came and came close, so he opened it and took their possession, cut off his nose, and extracted what Busr bin Abi Artah had imposed on them, which was three hundred and sixty heads, and it seems that Uqba wanted in this campaign to secure the conquest of the Muslims, and to expand the conquest of Fezzan in a way that does not allow the repetition of the breach of the covenant and the banning of tribute by these cities to the Muslims, and therefore the narration indicates that Uqba asked the people of Wadan, is there anyone behind you? He was told Jarma , The great city of Fezzan. He traveled to it a distance of eight days from Wadan, and when he approached it, he sent an invitation to them to Islam, and they responded, so he descended six miles from it, and their king went out in search of an obstacle, and he said: He sent an obstacle of horses that prevented their king from his procession, Then they walked him on foot until he came to ‘Uqbah, and he was cloaked and soft. then he

imposed on them three hundred and sixty slaves, and he directed the obstacle of the man – the king – from his day to the east. Then he proceeds with an obstacle in his destination, opening the palaces of Fezzan, palace by palace, until he reached the end of it, and repeats the obstacle of the same question to the people of this region: Is there anyone behind you? They said yes, the people of Khawar , It is a great palace on Ras Al-Mafaza, in a rugged terrain on the back of a mountain, which is Kwar Kasbah ,that is, in the sense that it is the center or palace of government for the district of Kwar, and it seems that Kwar was similar to the state – and the narration mentions that the journey of Aqaba to it was fifteen nights, and when he reached them, they barricaded themselves, so he besieged them for a month, and he could not lift this siege and moved to the other Kwar palaces, so he conquered them one by one the other until he ended up with their possession, so he took it, and imposed on them three hundred and sixty slaves “.(Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1:262-263). Here we note that the tribute imposed during this campaign was similar in all the palaces and states that Uqba reopened in Fezzan, namely: three hundred and sixty slaves; Which indicates that this was the customary tax before the advent of the Muslims, and we have shown this in the foregoing when talking about the reconciliation that took place between Amr ibn al-Aas and the people of Barqa. The narration of Ibn Abd al-Hakam continues to trace what became of the situation with the people of Khawar who fortified themselves and could not they have a starting hurdle, and it is mentioned that when he passed by them, he passed them and did not expose them, and he walked for three days until they believed and conquered their city, then he returned to them from a different way than the one he came from until he surprised them at night, so he violated their city and their money and killed their fighters, then the narration also mentions that Aqaba Lock back until it came down to the position of Zuweila (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1: 264). This Zuweila is among the regions that were conquered in the first campaign, and it seems that it is still in its covenant with the Muslims, whether those of them who converted to Islam or those who remained on their religion; because the narration does not mention that Uqbah besieged this city or fought its people, as in the previous cities, then he departed from it and returned to his soldiers whom he left in Maghdash after five months (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1:264) And during the completion of his march to Maghreb, Uqbah sends horses to the city of Ghadames and he conquered it, and with

the opening of Ghadames the process of the second conquest and control of the entire region of Fezzan ends.

2.2. The Second Topic: the Stability of the First Conquerors in Libya

The Muslims came in successive campaigns, as shown in the previous section, and these campaigns varied between them in terms of the number of soldiers accompanying them, and between the places they conquered and where conflicts and wars were fought, and also the places that were opened by reconciliation, covenants and covenants on the wide geographical area of the regions of Libya; Therefore, it was important to know whether there was a process of stability and survival for the first conquerors in these regions, all or some of them, individuals or groups, there is no doubt that this stability and the resulting integration and coexistence between the incoming conquerors and the inhabitants of these regions will necessarily constitute a strong and important impetus to the process of Arabization and cultural, social, and demographic change in the regions of Libya under study.

It is indicated that the process of settling the arrivals and their assimilation into the local population in Libya is as old as history. One of the historians mentions that “at the beginning of the first millennium BC, a new people appeared in the country, the Phoenician people.... and during this period, they were the foreign, intruder, emergency element.” On the country, they melted into the Libyans, and a historical name spread after that suggesting the start of fusion in the original element, which is (the Lipophenec) (Bazama,1972:43). Even after the demise of the rule of the Phoenicians and their state, this people, who had taken (Afriqiyah) as their home and residence many centuries ago, did not leave the region after the demise of their state, but rather its individuals and groups continued to inhabit cities, villages, plains and wasteland after that as ordinary subjects of the Romans in Libya (Bazama,1972:44). Also, there is another expatriate people who settled in these regions, especially the coastal ones, and they are the Greeks, who continued to constitute the majority of the city’s population in Barqa , and Greek continued to be the language and civilization of the people until at least the end of the fifth century, and perhaps until the entry of the conquering Arabs into Barqa. This means the fusion of the Greek element in Barqa. The Berbers merged with time..... which leads us to believe that they have completely

assimilated into the original inhabitants of the country (Bazama,1972:45). This vision is contradicted by another historian, who believes that “the Greeks, Greeks, Romans, Vandals, and Byzantines did not mix with the Libyans, and they did not have any trace left on the land of North Africa.” (Suwaili ,2009:25). It can be said that the last of these peoples who settled in Libya before the conquest, and contributed to the Libyan people before the Islamic conquest, are the Vandals (Suwaili, 2009:46).

This simplified presentation about the processes of settlement and assimilation of immigrants of different origins is intended as a prelude to describing and analyzing the stage of stability of the Arab conquerors in this region as well. With the conquering Arabs, and therefore we can hypothetically say that what unites the conquering Arabs with the original inhabitants of the country is similarities that some sources and references alluded to a lot, which facilitates the process of stability and integration for the Arab conquerors; Al-Yaqoubi, for example, talks about some of the stomachs of the Berbers in Libya, saying, “And Hawara claims that they are a people from Yemen whose genealogy is unknown (Yaqoubi,2002:184). The writer Ali Fahmy Khushim also refers to a form of similarity, quoting Strabo, saying, “The people here are very simple in their lifestyles and clothes, but the men have many wives and many children, and they are like Arabs in their aspects of life” (Khashim,1975:60). Another historian also points out that “the region’s social system is dominated by a tribal character, similar to the island’s social system (Abu Sowa,2012:221). And that the eastern blood was pumped into the arteries of the ancient Libyans several times, and they were armed with the culture of their brothers and cousins, the builders of the first human civilization in history:(Suwaili,2009:27). And that this convergence was dictated by the extremely similar lifestyle (Abu Sowa,2012:272). And the process of resemblance meant by their one social background, which is what formed the stereotype in Western works, according to which the easterners and Moroccans, regardless of their affiliations, are savage and uncivilized peoples (Abu Sowa,2012:270).. And we conclude to a conclusion: that the most important elements that the Arabs knew when they conquered these regions were three elements: 1- The Berbers: who are the original people of the country and all those who merged with them from the peoples that mixed with them and fused with them from those we mentioned, 2- The Africans: It is the remaining remnant of the Phoenicians and the Vandals that kept their independent entity that separates them from the Berbers and from the Romans

together. 3 – The Romans: They are the group of European peoples that make up the Byzantine element, which represented the Roman element Westerners and the remnant of Greece who settled in Barga centuries ago” (Bazama,1972:55-56).

The reason for saying that Libya and the region of Tripoli in particular was a destination for the stability of the conquerors; it is that Libya was a forward base for launching towards Ifriqiya and Maghreb, in the continuous campaigns between them and the Romans, and likewise between them and some of the Berber tribes. In a narration by Ibn Abi Dinar, it is mentioned that “Ruwaifa’ bin Thabit was an agent for Muawiyah bin Hudayj in Tripoli in the year forty-six, so he invaded Ifriqiya from Tripoli in the year forty-seven and conquered Jerba, and God knows best (Ibn Abi Dinar,1921:36). Likewise, about Zuhair bin Qais, “Until he was in Badrna, from Tabarka, from the land of Antilles, he met the Romans when he was with seventy men, so he stopped so that the people could catch up with him.” A young man who was with him said to him: You have been cowardly, Zuhair. He said: I was not cowardly, my nephew, but you killed me and yourself. So he met them, and all of Zuhair and his companions were martyred, and their graves there are known to this day (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1: 273). And we find another text that shows the struggle of the first conquerors with the Romans in Anatolia as well, and the Romans raided, after Hassan, on Antilles and its dhimmis were in the hands of the Romans, so they headed it for forty nights until they hastened corruption (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1: 272). The foregoing was for some incidents in Anatolia during the preparation period for the settlement of the conquerors there. As for the region of Tripoli, it left the hands of the Muslims at the end of the year 26 AH This was what worried the caliph of the Muslims, Othman bin Affan, may God be pleased with him (Bazama,1972,p.156). This narration is compared with the text of Ibn Abd al-Hakam, who indicates during the same period that Sultan Jarjir, the king of the Romans, reached from Tripoli to Tangier (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1: 246). Caliph Othman delegated the people to invade Ifriqiya as a result of these events, and the loss of the Muslims of what they had previously conquered, which is the territory of Tripoli. Since the Muslims had not conquered Ifriqiya (present-day Tunisia) until this date. And as we indicated in the previous section about this invasion and that it was called (the Battle of Al-Abadlah), and whatever the matter was, Tripoli returned to the hands of Islam as a result of this invasion, and that this invasion was aimed at securing the borders of the state from the

west (Bazama, 1972:163). Which was the territory of Tripoli represents the end of this limit in that period. In a historical novel in a later period, there is a text in which it is mentioned that one of the governors was in Tunisia He wrote to “Muawiya bin Safwan, his agent on Tripoli, ordering him to go out to him with the people of Tripoli, so he went out until he ended up in Qabes, and he was informed of what was the defeat of Abd al-Wahed and Ukasha, so Hanadhalah wrote to him in Berbers who went out Nafzawa ,and insult the people of her covenant that I go to them. So, he marched towards him with those who were with him, so he fought them, so Muawiya bin Safwan was killed, and Al-Safriya was killed , and he was rescued from what had befallen the people of the dhimmi, so Hanadhalah sent Zayd ibn Amr al-Kalbi to the army of Muawiya, and he went with them to Tripoli (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n.d:1: 300).

Based on these and other narrations, it can be concluded that the location of the Tripoli region on the western border of the Islamic state, and what it represents in terms of being an important gap overlooking Ifriqiya and the Maghreb region in general, that the region of Tripoli was a target for the stability of the conquerors in an early period.

The first settlement attempts to monitor and track it requires knowing whether there were tribes or clans that accompanied the conquest process in its multiple campaigns, or whether the campaigns included groups of soldiers and warriors in their ranks who did not settle in the conquest areas but were performing their military tasks and returning to the places from which they set out. Of which?

In the beginning to discuss this hypothesis, we find some sources that help us with the numbers of some invasions and campaigns, which were many according to the description of these sources. For example, Ibn Abd al-Hakam mentions in his narration on the authority of Suleiman bin Yasar as saying, “Our invasion of Ifriqiya with Ibn Hudayj, and with us from the Muhajireen and Ansar are many people.” (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1: 260). Ibn Adhari also mentions that in the year forty-five, Muawiyah Ibn Hudayj invaded Ifriqiya, and Muawiyah bin Abi Sufyan directed him with ten thousand fighters (Ibn Adhari,2013:40). Also, in another place, quoting Ibrahim bin Al-Qasim, that Uqba bin Nafeh Al-Fihri arrived “in Ifriqiya with ten thousand Muslims, so he conquered it.” (Ibn Adhari,2013:44). Al-Maliki mentions in his talk about (the Battle of Al-Abadilah), which we mentioned earlier, that he set out a group

of companions, “and with each one of them was a group from his people. And he came out from (Aslam) , three hundred men, including Hamza bin Amr Al-Aslami, and Salamah bin Al-Akwa’. And he came out of Muzaina eight hundred men, including Bilal bin Al-Harith Al-Muzani, and the banner was in his hand, and out of (Bani Sulaym) four hundred and fifty men, and others from various tribes. All of them went out with Abdullah bin Saad bin Abi Sarh Al-Amiri in the year twenty-seven of the Hijrah (Maliki,1994:1: 16).

It was also mentioned by Al-Baladhuri regarding this battle and the large numbers of Arabs that went out in it, “And many of the Arabs around Al-Madinah came out in this raid.” (Baladhuri,1991:318). Al-Wazzan mentions that “the army that was sent by Caliph Uthman, the third of the Rightly Guided Caliphs, in the year 24 AH, carried a large number of Arabs to Africa, about eighty thousands of the nobles and others.” (Wazzan,1983:1:40). And what is meant by Africa here according to Al-Wazzan is the regions of present-day North Africa, which include (Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco), and this number that he mentioned may include all the campaigns that took place during the era of the Rightly Guided Caliphs and the first Umayyad caliphs.

This brief presentation includes the campaigns that took place during the caliphate of Othman bin Affan, may God be pleased with him. As for the campaign of Amr bin Al-Aas, which is the first conquest campaign, one of the historians believes that the sources did not address the Arab tribes that accompanied this campaign and ignored the background of the soldiers in it (Abu Sowa,2012:247). However, this does not negate the fact that these tribes moved and accompanied the process of conquest. We find a report of this fact in what Abdulaziz Al-Douri wrote that the movement of the Arab tribes to North Africa was “connected during and after the conquest with the succession of the envoys during the first and second centuries, starting with the entry of Uqba bin Nafie with 10,000 fighters in the year (50 AH / 670 AD) and ending with the advent of Yazid Ben Hatem , Emir of Africa and Maghreb in the year (155 AH / 772 AD) with 60,000 soldiers from the Levant, Iraq and Khurasan (Douri,2009:249). Al-Raqiq Qayrawani mentions that the Abbasid Caliph Abu Jaafar al-Mansur directed Yazid Ibn Hatim al-Muhalabi to Ifriqiya “with thirty thousand from Khorasan and sixty thousand from the people of Basra, Kufa and the Levant, and he proceeded until he became in the district of Sirte, where he met with Jamil bin Sakhr and those with

him from the soldiers coming upon him from Kairouan. He marched towards Tripoli (Qayrawani,1994:92). That is, the stampede of armies composed mostly of Arab tribes took place over a period of no less than a hundred years, which is a relatively long period, interspersed with a stampede and march of the Arab tribes towards North Africa, which reinforces the hypothesis of stability in early periods.

As we have already explained, these invasions, even if their destination is African, they necessarily include the regions of Libya, especially Tripoli, because it is an African entry gate from the east, which was explicitly mentioned in some of the previous texts.

It is also noted, through reviewing the march of conquest, that a number of Berbers joined the army of the conquering Muslims, and their participation with them in a number of incidents and wars against the Romans, Ibn Abd al-Hakam mentions in a narration about the mandate of Hassan bin al-Nu`man ,on Maghreb, he “went on with a large army until he landed in Tripoli, and those who had left Ifriqiya and Tripoli gathered with him, so he directed Muhammad ibn Abi Bakir, Hilal ibn Tharawat al-Lawati and Zuhair ibn Qais to his forefront, so he conquered the country and gained many spoils.” (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n.d:1:269-270).

And in the war that took place between Hassan and the priestess, the narration indicates that “there was with Hassan a group of barbarians, and he appointed Hassan, the eldest of the priestess’s son, to them.” (IbnAbdal-Hakam,n.d:1:271).And the Qairouanite slave mentions more clearly that the Berbers entrusted Hassan to him, “and he did not accept their trust except that they give him twelve thousand from all their tribes, who will be with the Arabs as fighters, so they answered him and embraced Islam at his hands.” So he appointed two brigades for the two sons of al-Kahina, each of them over six thousand, and sent them out with the Berbers touring Ifriqiya fighting the Romans and those who disbelieved among the Berbers: (Qayrawani,1994:49-50). Regarding the Islamic presence in Jabal Nafusa, Abu Sowah believes that it was concentrated in this area – Jabal Nafusa – from an early age, that is, since the campaign of Amr ibn al-Aas, Based on this early presence, some of the inhabitants of this region turned to Ifriqiya within the army of the conquerors and contributed to its conquest (Abu Sowa,2012:261). And that the accession of many (local) barbarians to the conquerors was from the first moment (Abu Sowa,2012:265).

With these aforementioned evidences, from the joining of a number of Berbers, especially the amputated ones, to the army of the conquerors, at an early period, it can be assumed that the conditions and factors were appropriate and encouraging for the early settlement of the first conquerors, albeit in a limited way.

We come to the stabilization process and its evidence, and what is inferred from reading the texts mentioned by some sources, and some references touched upon it, albeit indirectly, about a form of stability for some of the conquerors, as it was mostly the departure of the Arabs for the purpose of stability (Douri,2009:249). And there is a text by Ibn Abd al-Hakam describing what resulted from the fighting between Hassan bin al-Nu`man and the priest, and that “a fierce fight took place between them, so I defeated him and killed some of his companions.” And I captured eighty men from them, and Hassan escaped, and he ran out of his place to Aintabulus,so he descended palaces from the area of Barqa, so they were called Hassan Palaces, and he appointed Abu Saleh as caliph over Ifriqiya, and it was Aintabulus and Lubyā , and Maraḡiat to the extent of Ajdabiyah Hassan’s work (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1: 270). And Al-Baladhuri also mentions about Hassan and his stay in Barga that he came to “palaces in the area of Barga, and he stayed in them, and they are Palaces that are included in the palace of his ceilings, so they were called Hassan’s palaces.” (Baladhuri,1991:321). And this place – i.e., Hassan’s Palaces – is still to this day in that area between (Sirte) and (Misurata) a place called Hassan’s Palaces.

And in the narration reported by Al-Raḡiq Al-Qayrawani about Abd al-Malik bin Marwan assuming Zuhair bin Qais al-Balawi as an Ifriqiya governorship, it is mentioned that Zuhair was residing in Barqa stationed with people from Ifriqiya (Qairouani,1994:44). And also when Zuhair went out to fight Kusayla in Ifriqiya by order of Abdulaziz bin Marwan, and he was the governor of Egypt, and at that time Zuhair was residing in Barqa, and what resulted from this fighting in terms of the killing of Kusayla and those with him, that Zuhair left with a convoy to Barqa(Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d,1:p.269). And in another narration, he “joined his palace in Barqa, and established there stationed under the rule of Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan.” (Ibn Adhari,2013:57). Likewise, what is narrated that Abdulaziz bin Marwan, after the killing of Zuhair bin Qais, sent a boy for him called Talad, after he was set free by his command and he resided in Aintabulus (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1: 273). And this stability, as we believe, was not confined to leaders and governors only, but included

even ordinary individuals. This is a text by Ibn Abd al-Hakam that says; “There was a man in the desert of Anatolia, a man from Mudhamaj, called Attia bin Yarbou, who went out with his son fleeing from the epidemic, and there was a group of Muslims in that wilderness, so he sought their help and rode among the people around him, so seven hundred men gathered to him” (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1:273). This text indicates not only this man from Banu Mudhamj, but also the group of Muslims whose number is estimated at seven hundred men.. On the other hand, Abu Sowah informs us of a narration quoting from one of the historians that “a good number of Muslims were residing in Tripoli in the year 23 AH and penetrated into the Nafusa Mountains.” (Mazhoudi,1996:4: 36-37). The same reference confirms that Uqba bin Nafeh penetrated into the south of the Libyan lands, and took the desert region as his residence (Abu Sowa,2012:253). And it continued for more than a decade, moving between Barqa and Zuweila, and this matter contributed to its stability in this region, and to the integration of Levantine blood with Almaghribii blood.(Abu Sowa,2012:252). Another historian believes that the stability of the men of these armies was after the completion of the conquest in the regions of Maghreb as a whole, and that those who settled early were joined by other groups with the continuation of the conquest movement, which resulted in the establishment of small Arab communities, most of which settled in cities and camps (Qayrawani,1994:20).

And that many numbers of Arab soldiers, as a result of settling in the country and mixing with its people, turned into what became known as the Baladi Arabs ,and whose numbers were constantly increasing until the end of the Umayyad era:(Qayrawani,1994:20). Therefore, since the first half of the first century of the Hijrah, the blood of the Libyans – especially those in the oases – mixed with the Mashreqa, whether in Barqa , Zuweila, and Wadan (Abu Sowa,2012:256).

2.3. The Third Topic: the Population Distribution After the Islamic Conquest of the Region

This topic discusses and reviews the demographic distribution of the population after the conquest, in the regions of Libya, and we will monitor this distribution in this topic, from the conquest until the middle of the fifth century AH, which is the entry of the Arab tribes (the migration of Banu Hilal and Banu Salim), which will be dealt with

in a special section in the next chapter, God willing, given the importance of this migration and its pivotal history in the Arab presence in the regions of Libya, Al-Yaqoubi begins to talk about (Lubiyah) and that it is a Koura From Kor Alexandria, And among the homes of this Koura (Ramadah), which is “the first of the Berber homes inhabited by a people from Mazzata and other ancient non-Arabs, and there are a people from the Arabs of Bala, Juhaina, and Bani Mudlaj, who are mixed.”(Yaqoubi,2002:180). This is the first description of the population demography at the beginning of the Libyan regions in the house of (Ramadah) as it was known at that time, and it is one of the inclusions of the Barqa region, and it is noted that the settlement of this place was from Arabs and Berbers alike, Al-Yaqoubi also describes some aspects of the population spread in the region of Barqa, saying, “Barqa has two mountains, one of which is called the Eastern, in which there are people from the Arabs from Azd, Lakhm, Judham, Sadaf, and others from Yemen, and the other is called the Western, in which there are people from Ghassan , And people from Judham , and Azd , and Tujib and other Arab tribes (Yaqoubi,2002:181). This narration shows the Arab spread in an important area of Barga, which is for tribes from Yemen, Ghassan, and other Arab tribes, However, in the same text, it shows the Berber presence on the same two mountains, as in the aforementioned place (Ramadah), and it is represented in “the villages of the Berber tribes, from Luwata, from Zakuda, Mufartah, and Zanara.” (Yaqoubi,2002:181). What explains this proximity and coexistence between Arabs and Berbers in this place is that in “these two mountains there are running springs, trees, fruits, fortresses, and ancient Roman wells.” (Yaqoubi,2002:181) And another explanation, I think, is the hypothesis of closeness or common origin between the Luwata tribe and one of the other Arab tribes, namely Lakhm , whose name was mentioned in the previous text; Al-Yaqoubi mentioned regarding the lineage of Lawatah: “And the Lawatah tribe say that they are the descendants of Lawatah bin Barr bin Qais Ailan, and some of them say that they are a people from Lakhm, the first of whom were from the people of the Levant, so they moved to this home (Yaqoubi,2002:181).In the first chapter on the origins of the Berbers, we have dealt with this important issue. It is that the origins of at least some of the Berber tribes are due to Levantine Arab origins, this is unanimously agreed upon by most Arab sources, especially with regard to the Luwata tribe, which settled in the region of Barga at an early age, and it is the tribe that the army of Amr ibn al-Aas

found when it came for the first time from Egypt to Barga:(Kamali,1997:20). This also supports the hypothesis that the ease of conquest of the Barga region by Amr ibn al-Aas and his army compared to the Tripolitania Region, through the peace treaty, and that the tax of Barga used to come to the Muslim leaders in Egypt without it coming to them (incited or induced), and most of the leaders of the Islamic conquest praised the peacefulness of the people of Barga, and preferred them to reside in it; in fact, it is due to the hypothesis of the Arab origin of the Luwata tribe.

The previous presentation was to describe the spread of the population in the mountains and the countryside. As for what we will discuss in this part, it is related to the population distribution in the Barqawi cities through what was mentioned from simple fragments cited by the sources.

First, let's start with what was mentioned in the description of the city of Barga – and here we have to distinguish between Barga the region as a whole and Barga the city – where some references indicated and explained that Barga the city intended for is the city (the current almarj), so Al-Yaqoubi mentions that around this city – Barga – “areas inhabited by soldiers and other than the soldiers, and in the houses of the city and the suburbs there is a mixture of people, and most of those in it are foot soldiers, and they have children and heels (Yaqoubi,2002:181). And the soldiers intended for in this text are the soldiers of the Islamic conquest, and they represent, as mentioned, more than one city, and that they have a large period of time, as evidenced by their procreation, to the extent of the presence of descendants after them, which indicates the stability of the soldiers to a period that may reach the first conquerors. And another city mentioned by the same source, which is (Berniq), the city (present-day Benghazi), and this city, its people are a people from the ancient Romans who were its people in the past, and a people from the Berbers from Thalala, Sawa, Mtsus, Magadha, Wahilat and Wijdana (Yaqoubi,2002:181) There is another text, the other city is Ajdabiya, “and its people are a people of Berbers from Zinarah, Ahla, Masousah, Sawa, Thalala, and others, and Jidana, and they are the dominant over it.” (Yaqoubi,2002:181). And it is noted that this city is inhabited by the same tribe of the Luwata tribe that resides in the city of Barneq, and this is clear from the repetition of the same names, and what confirms the affiliation of these bellies to the Luwata tribe is what was reported by the same historian that the last home of the Luwata from the cities is Ajdabiya (Yaqoubi,2002:181).

The other city of Barga is (Sirte), and this city has “people from Mazzata, and they prevail over it, including Al-Farouj, Qasr Al-Atsh, Al-Judaiya, Qasr Al-Abadi, and the city of Sirte, and the people of these houses, and the people of Sirte from Munadasah, Mahnama, Muntas, and others.” (Yaqoubi,2002:182). And from the end of Barqa, the homes of Mazata are cut off, and they become in the homes of Hawara, and the first of these homes is Wardasah, then Libdah, and from the tribe of Hawara, the Banu al-Lahhan, Melilla, and Warstafa, and from the tribes of al-Lahhan the Banu Darsa, Banumurzban, Banu Warfalla, and the Banu Misrata, One of the last work from Sirte to Tripoli is Hawara homes (Yaqoubi,2002:184).

This is our presentation through what Al-Yaqoubi wrote about the population spread in the region of Barqa in its cities, mountains and deserts, and I deliberately started with what was mentioned by Al-Yaqoubi; because he lived in the third century AH, and he is the oldest source that dealt with the population distribution in the Libyan regions in a way that is perhaps closer to directness and clarity, Also, these texts of Al-Yaqoubi – due to his seniority in the sources – clearly explain the spread of Arab tribes and the stomachs of the Berbers, and those who were among the ancient inhabitants before Islam and those who came after it. And one of the researchers sums it up to the fact that: It is possible that there was no significant change in their geographical distribution and spread during the period between the conquest and the reign of al-Yaqubi (Bazama,1972:54).

We come to a source after him, and he described in his book the cities, villages, and places that he passed through, and the inhabitants of these villages and their tribes and clans, and he, like Al-Yaqoubi, did not mention in his mention all the cities, villages, and others to the inhabitants and those who inhabit them, but sometimes he mentions the places and describes them without addressing their inhabitants, which is Al-Bakri ; Al-Bakri lived in the fifth century AH / eleventh century AD, and finished his book Al-Masalak wa Al-Mamlaka From which we will quote texts to monitor the population spread in the regions of Libya – in the year 460 AH / 1058 AD, that is, al-Bakri’s life was about two hundred years after the life of al-Yaqoubi, and therefore this period is worth drawing for us a picture of the state of change and change, or the opposite of that stability and stability in the matter of demographic change in the Libyan regions.

In describing the road from Egypt to Maghreb, al-Bakri mentions the places he passed through. For example, in the west of the ruins of the people at the beginning of the region of Barqa, there is the palace of Abu Maad Nizar bin Khalid bin Yahya bin Baban, who was housed by a relative of Jubair bin Mutam from Quraysh, about twenty houses, and many neighborhoods of Bani Mudlaj (Bakri,1992:2: 648-649). This indicates that some of the Quraysh and many other neighborhoods of Bin Mudlaj were present in Barqa at that period, and therefore, according to the opinion of one of the historians, “the army that penetrated into the Libyan lands and some of them continued to move between Barqa and Zuweila, accompanied by Uqba bin Nafeh, made up most of its members from these tribes (Abu Sowa,2012:249). In this place, too, al-Bakri mentions the presence of some Berber tribes, “And among the Berber tribes there are about a thousand houses from Fadila and Bani Aqida (Bakri,1992:2: 649). Here, too, in this place, the state of coexistence and proximity between Arabs and Berbers is repeated, as mentioned by al-Yaqoubi in other places in this region.

Among the important cities that were mentioned in the sources of history with different names is the city of (Wadan), and Al-Idrisi describes it as the most built-up land in the past, and the king was among its people, emerging and frequent (Idrisi,2002:1:115). And we have gone through a review of the march of the conquest, how the Muslim leaders dealt with it, beginning when it was conquered by Sir bin Abi Artah by order of Amr bin Al-Aas, then the second conquest when he directed to them after they had broken the covenant. Al-Yaqoubi mentions that there are Muslim people in it who claim to be Arabs from Yemen, but he adds that most of the people in it are of its characteristics, and they are dominant over it (Yaqoubi,2002:183). Meaning that its inhabitants are all Muslims and divided between Mazzata Berbers and Arabs from Yemen, although the majority of its inhabitants are from Mazzata, and Al-Bakri confirms this presence of Arab tribes in this city after the passage of about two hundred years – as we indicated, which is the period between the period of Al-Yaqubi and Al-Bakri – where he mentions Al-Bakri that the city of Wadan “has a fortified castle and the city Daroub, which are two cities, in which there are two tribes of Arabs, Sahmiyyun and Hadramiyyun, so the city of Sahmiyyin is called Delbak, and the city of Hadramiyyin is the city of Busa (Bakri,1992:2: 183). This text confirmed important facts: firstly: the presence of two tribes from the Arabs of Yemen, namely: the Sahmiyyun and the Hadramiyyun, as mentioned by Al-Yaqoubi previously, and

secondly: and that this presence continued until the period of Al-Bakri's monitoring of their presence in the middle of the fifth century AH, that is, after about two hundred years. The third: It is that this presence developed and grew from what it is, until it became within the city two cities. The fourth: Al-Bakri did not mention the presence of the Berber tribe (Mazzata) among the residents of this city at that period, despite the majority of them, as mentioned by Al-Yaqoubi, neither by accident nor by hint, which leads to the belief that they may have migrated to another place, and that the city thus became exclusive to the Arab presence in it. And this Arab presence (Yemeni) Abu Sowah did not see it as surprising, because the army that Uqba left in Sirte with Zuhair bin Qais al-Balawi was from Yemen (Abu Sawa,2012: 254-255).

After the city of Wadan to the south, comes the city of (Zuweila), which, like Wadan, is of great importance, and as we mentioned previously, it was considered the capital of Fezzan at the time of the first conquest, and the population spread in it, as we can see from the text of Al-Yaqoubi, that they are "an Ibadhi Muslim people... and there are mixtures of the people of Khorasan from Basra and Kufa, and between Zuweila and the city of Kuwar, and what follows Zuweila to the road to Awjila and Ajdabiya, there are people called Lamta who are more like Berbers (Yaqoubi,2002:183). Here we discern two facts that are indispensable for clarification, first: that the people in Medina are all Ibadhi Muslims, second: that it has another population element apart from the Arabs and Berbers, and they are the people of Khorasan from Basra and Kufa, and another important fact is deduced from the text, which is that the Arab merchants in the East, especially in Iraq, have they managed commercial activities in Zuweila, especially the slave trade, These commercial activities were carried out in cooperation with the Berber Muslim merchants, and for this reason it can be said that the slave trade with the country of Sudan was managed by Arab merchants and Ibadhi merchants, As for Lamta, who are more like Berbers, they may have played a role in the commercial mediation between Zuweila in the north and the country of Sudan in the south, according to their settlement in the area between Zuweila and Kwar. It is possible that those Berbers from Lamta were in contact with Arab traders in the Fezzan desert, and they were not the only ones who had relations with the Arabs in the slave trade. Rather, the Hawara tribes that inhabited the lands of Fezzan at an early age had their share with the Arabs in this trade (Sheikhly,1986,p.43). And another expansion of the Arabs in the city of Awjila, which

Al-Idrisi describes as a small and civilized city, inhabited by many merchants, according to their needs and the needs of the Arabs (Idrisi,2002:2: 312).

These interpretations and a careful reading of the previous texts lead to a fact of great importance, which is that commercial communication; especially in the slave trade, in the desert of Fezzan and the regions of Sudan in the south was a very important factor in the process of penetration of the Muslim Arabs there, and in particular in the regions of Kanem and Borno, and this calls for the assumption that the presence of Arab merchants for a long time in the Fezzan encouraged them to penetrate more into the regions of Sudan and the south, this assumption is in line with al-Bakri's narration, which indicated the arrival of Arab elements at an early period in the Kanem region:(Sheikhly,1986:44). And the aforementioned al-Bakri narration speaks of that between Zuweila and the country of Kanem, beyond the desert of the country of Zuweila, in a place where hardly anyone can reach them, there are idolatrous Sudans, the same applies to those who claim that there were people from the Umayyads who came to this place when they faced the ordeal of the Eabaasiyn, They are dressed like Arabs and their conditions (Bakri,1992,1:p.658). Also, some other signs that can be found about the presence of the Arab element in this city – Zuweila – For example, al-Bakri mentions that in Zuweila is the tomb of Dabel bin Ali al-Khuza'I, and he quotes the poet as evidence:

Death left Da'bala with Zuweila and the land of Barqa Ahmad ibn Khasib (Bakri,1992:1: 657).

It is known that (Khuza'a) is an Arab tribe, and that the death of this poet here may indicate other Arabs with him from his tribe or others.

In a later historical period, after the appearance of the Fatimids, part of Hawara migrated in the year (306 AH / 918-919 AD), under the leadership of their leader, Abdullah bin Al-Khattab Al-Hawari, to Fezzan, where they established the city of Zuweila and settled there, and ruled independently until they were defeated in the year (586 AH). / 1172-1173 A.D.) Arab Dhubab led by the adventurer Qaraqosh (Kamali,1997:21).

Another city mentioned in the sources that dated the date of the conquest, which is (Kuwar), and this city has a people of Muslims from all the neighborhoods, most of whom are Berbers:(Yaqoubi,2002:183). The source did not mention to us who

are other than the Berbers in this city, since the majority are Berbers, so the remaining minority and those who are from other neighborhoods must be of a race other than the Berbers, and if he emphasized the fact that they are Muslims. Another population element mentioned by Al-Yaqoubi lives between Zuweila and the city of Kwar and to the road to Awjila and Ajdabiya from Zuweila, and they are a people called Lamta who are more like Berbers (Yaqoubi,2002:183). This paragraph shows that this population is of another race as well, except for the Berbers, except for the Arabs, because if they were Arabs, the historian would have mentioned that, and if they were of the Berbers, he would not have compared them to them.

In the south, among the historical cities mentioned, is the city of Zillah (the current city of Zillah). This city is inhabited by Mazzata, we have mentioned this tribe and its spread between Barga and Sirte

This place, according to the description, is a vast and sprawling place, and this country (Kanem) is currently outside the Libyan territory. Although it was previously within the borders of the Fezzan region, and based on this consideration, we will take into account the monitoring of this population element and consider it within the field of study, as well as that they exist and behind the desert of Bilad Zuweila, which is likely at least that part of this population is within the Libyan regions.

Al-Yaqoubi also mentions in his book “The Countries” that there is “a race known as Fezzan, a mixture of people who have a president who obeys them, a vast country and a great city.” (Yaqoubi,2002:184). Our Fezzan, as it is known in geographical and historical sources, is a vast geographical region, and it exists so far with its well-known borders. Al-Yaqoubi described the population with the same known name for the region, and this description was repeated by those who came after him, and until now the inhabitants of this region are called by their lineage to the name of the region.

In the Fezzan Region there is an important historical city, which is (Tassawah), near which one of the geographers tells us about the presence of a Berber tribe, “And from the city of Tsawah to a tribe of Berbers in the east, about twelve days, and they are called Azkar, and they are a nomadic people (Idrisi,2002:2: 112). As it is clear in the text, this tribe is barbaric.

Monitoring the spread of population in the Fezzan region shows us in an ancient historical city, which is Ghadames, that its people are Berber Muslims (Maghul, 1986:145). The author who cited this text is an anonymous Marrakech author, from a book of the 6th century AH/12 AD, and what matters to us is that it is from a book of the 6th century AH, and according to his description, there were no Berber Muslims in this city at that time, in the sense that there were no Arab tribes in this city. A deep and scrutinizing study of most of the aforementioned texts about the Arab spread in the Fezzan confirms an important fact, which is that the Muslim Arabs knew the Fezzan Desert at a very early time in Islamic history, this is mainly related to the massive campaign against the Fezzan led by the Arab commander Uqba bin Nafah al-Fihri in the year 46 AH / 666 AD, where he disciplined the scattered tribes in the southern deserts and subjected them to the rule of the Arabs, and enter it to Islam once and for all. That is why it can be said that Uqba, with his campaign, made the Arabs known to the inhabitants of the desert (Sheikhly, 1986:38).

We come to track the population spread in a region of great importance, which is the region of Tripoli with its cities, mountains and countryside.

Al-Yaqoubi describes Tripoli as “an ancient and venerable city on the coast of the sea, full of people and its people a mixture of people.” (Yaqoubi, 2002:184). Here, Al-Yaqoubi talks about Tripoli, the city, not the region. And that it has (mixtures) of people, meaning that they are not united by bloodlines, clans, or race; this is the case for metropolises and capitals to gather multi-ethnic people, Al-Yaqoubi uses this description – a mixture of people – to describe the population in capitals and large cities similar to what is in Tripoli, and we find this, for example, in the description of Kairouan.

Around Tripoli, in a place known as Bani al-Sabri, from a three-day march, Copts dressed as Berbers spoke in Coptic (Bakri, 1992:2: 653). What is meant here is in the suburbs of Tripoli, and this is the first sign that Al-Bakri helps us with in the presence of Copts in the region of Tripoli, even if their appearance and dress are the same as that of the Berbers, and it seems that he recognized them by their ascription to the Copts through the language, and that in Tripoli there are many associations to which the righteous reside, the most famous of which is Al-Sha’ab Mosque (Bakri, 1992:2: 653).

Al-Yaqoubi describes the Berber citizen from Tripoli to the Nafusa Mountains, saying, “And from Tripoli to the Nafusa Mountains, they are the people of non-Arabic tongues, Ibadites.”, all of them.”(Yaqoubi,2002:184). He described them as (non-Arabic), which is a term in Arabic. The Allah says (لِسَانُ الَّذِي يُلَجِدُونَ إِلَيْهِ أَعْجَمِيٌّ وَهَذَا لِسَانٌ عَرَبِيٌّ).(Surt ALnhl : 103) And he continues to describe the spread of the Berbers, starting from the Nafusa Mountains, south of Tripoli, to near Kairouan, as “many tribes and different clans.”(Yaqoubi,2002:185).

As for from Tripoli on the Great Aljada – that is, on the main road adjacent to the sea – to Gabes, its people are a mixture of non-Arabs, Arabs and Berbers. Of the Berbers, two of them are mentioned to us: Zanata and Luwata, in addition to the Africans, who are not Berbers (Yaqoubi,2002:185). And there are those who mention “that the Arabs did not find, at the first conquest, in Tripoli in the West, except the two tribes of Luwata and Nafusa. These two large tribes inhabited Tripoli in the West since time immemorial, which certainly extends beyond the history of the Arab conquest.” (Rossi,1991:61). During the period of the most violent barbarian revolutions, these tribes – the Zanata and Hawara tribes – returned to Tripoli in the seventh and eighth centuries AD, and near the tenth century AD, the movements of these tribes ended and they approached stability and organized themselves in their locations in the region of Tripoli. This return was from Maghreb; These tribes spread after they came from the East and merged with the barbarian tribes there and overcame them, and at this time the camel began to spread in Ifriqiya and was not known before in it (Rossi,1991:61).

And we return to the Nafusa Mountains, which represents a basic pillar in the population spread there, and it has a great historical value, which makes monitoring this spread in it an important research addition, as it has many cities, and there are also Arab and Berber tribes (Maghul,1986,p.144). Al-Bakri describes some of the tribes located in the Nafusa Mountains along its length from east to west, and that some of these tribes have very strong forts, including the Banu tribe, Ramour has a very strong fort that no one can covet, called Tirraqt, and after it the Tadremi tribe, who have three forts (Bakri,1992:2: 655).

Likewise, in this mountain and in the midst of these tribes there is a large city, which is (Jado), which has markets and is inhabited by many Jews (Bakri,1992.2: 656). And this city still exists to this hour, and here the source tells us that there is

another population element in the Nafusa Mountains from the Tripoli Region, and they are the Jews, and this existence is not an emergency or a limited number, but it describes it as a multiplicity. In addition to the city of Jado, there is another city of no less importance, which is the historical (City of Shros), it was at one time the present city of the mountain, and the mother of the villages of Jabal Nafusa, it is a great city with a great population, and its people are Libadia (Bakri,1992:2: 656). And the people who are meant here by the people of this city are the Berbers, who usually adhere to the Ibadhi doctrine, and between the city of Sharos and Tripoli, the fortress of Libda, which is inhabited by a people of Arabs, numbering about a thousand knights, and they are in a permanent state of war with their neighbors from the Berber tribes(Bakri,1992:2: 655). And to the south of the Nafusa Mountains, on the way from it to Zuweila, there are tall mountains called Targhin, from which the one who goes reaches a country called Tamarma, inhabited by the Banu Qaldin and Fazzana (Bakri,1992:2: 656-657) This Fezana may refer to a tribe attributed to the Fezzan Region, as this region is located mainly to the south of the Jebal Nafusa .

Summary

The Islamic conquest of Libya began in the year 22 AH/642 AD, under the leadership of Amr ibn al-Aas. It is considered the first conquest campaign, and the conquest campaigns continued for twenty years after that. Amr ibn al-Aas began by conquering the Cyrenaica region by peace without fighting, then he sent Uqba ibn Nafi to the Fezzan Region in Southern Libya, which in turn opened its regions by concluding covenants between him and the kings of the cities of Fezzan and its villages. Then Amr ibn al-Aas and his army set out to conquer Tripoli, which he conquered by force after a siege that lasted for about a month. It was inhabited at that time by the Romans and some Berber tribes. Then he set off on the same day to the city of Sabratha, which was one of the large and important cities at that time, so he opened it while its people were surprised. Then he sent a company to open the villages and cities of Mount Nafusa.

The first attempts at stability began early after the entry of the conquerors into the Libyan lands, and as the texts reported, the entry of large numbers of Arab conquerors, throughout the first and second century AH, and this stability resulted in

the distribution and spread of large numbers of Arab families and tribes in the three regions of Libya: Barqa - Fezzan - Tripoli. ,, As well as in Mount Nafusa, which indicates that the Arab presence began and continued increasingly over several centuries before the Great Arab Migration in the middle of the fifth century AH.

3. STAGES OF ARABIZATION IN LIBYA

The first topic: The policy of the state and governors and the most important political and administrative actions that contributed to the Arabization.

The second topic: Sharia sciences and their impact on Arabicization.

The third topic: the migration of Arab tribes and its impact on Arabization.

3.1. The Policy of the State and Governors and the Most Important Political and Administrative Actions in the Issue of Arabization

It is known that the authority of the Caliphate was playing its advocacy role in spreading the teachings of the true religion by sending readers and jurists to the conquered regions this matter was the subject of concern and care for the caliphs of the Islamic State in most of the ages, and some of their governors in those regions, since the first period of their era, the rulers have been preoccupied with spreading Islam among the Berbers and establishing Arab sovereignty over Maghrib (Muftah,1978:263).

Among the most prominent governors and reformers who had a prominent impact on the Arabization of the Berbers and the social transformation that accompanied it is Ismail bin Abi al-Muhajir, who was appointed governor of Ifriqiya by the Commander of the Faithful Umar bin Abdulaziz in the year 100 AH, so he was the best prince and the best ruler, and he was still keen on inviting the Berbers to Islam until the rest of the Berbers converted to Islam at his hands, and he is the one who taught the people of Ifriqiya what is permissible and forbidden (Ibn Adhari,2013:76). Ibn Abd al-Hakam mentions his mandate that he took charge of "in Muharram, the year 100 of its war, its tax revenues, and its alms, and he was of good conduct, and on that day no one remained in his mandate but embraced Islam." (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1: 287). And he is still keen on inviting the Berbers to Islam, and that was the period of his tenure in the year 111 AH (Qairouani,1994:61). This is due to the Umayyad caliph Omar bin Abdul Aziz, whose policy was aimed at spreading Islam, and bringing people into it from the people of the conquered countries with kindness, by assigning the mandate of Ifriqiya to Ismael bin Obaidullah bin Abi Al-Muhajir (Qairouani,1994:21) Among the rational and righteous reforms and policies is sending

scientific missions to the people of Maghrib as a whole and Africa in particular. This is something initiated by the central caliphate in Damascus, in addition to the reforms of the governors. Omar bin Abdul Aziz, may God be pleased with him, was sent with Ismail bin Abi Al-Muhajir when he appointed Ifriqiya to him, Ten of the Tabi'een were people of knowledge and virtue, among them: Abd al-Rahman ibn Nafi', Sa'd ibn Mas'ud al-Tujibi and others, and wine in Ifriqiya was lawful, until those Tabi'een arrived, and they explained its prohibition, may God be pleased with them (Ibn Adhari,2013:77). Ismail bin Abi Al-Muhajir was the tenth member of the mission, in addition to his mandate in Ifriqiya, and he contributed greatly to the spread of Islam thanks to his two important jobs (Bin Hawala,2000:106). The members of this mission were distributed in African cities beside Kairouan, spreading their knowledge, and it worked to spread Islam among the Berbers, as provided by the Caliph. And they spread among the people the love of reading the Holy Qur'an and understanding the honorable Sunnah of the Prophet, and they were keen to build mosques in the cities where they visited it, and as a result, the Berbers turned to Islam. They also began to study his sciences, and as a result, generations of Berbers and Arabs appeared, who competed to acquire religious and other sciences (Bin Hawala,2000:103).

Therefore, the era of Ismael bin Abi Al-Muhajir was associated with this delegation of jurists from the Tabi'een of Maghrib and Ifriqiya, who spread throughout the country and guided the Berbers to learn the Islamic religion and the Arabic language (Omar,1971:44).

In addition to this governor - Ismail bin Abi Al-Muhajir - there is the governor, Yazid bin Hatim, who took over the mandate of Ifriqiya from the year 154 AH until the year 170 AH, who brought in a large number of scholars and writers. Those who spread their knowledge and literature, and apprenticed a generation at their hands that was the first nucleus for future generations of Arabs and Berbers (Bin Hawala,2000:108-109).

In another place, the narrations indicate that Musa bin Naseer used "his master, Tariq bin Ziyad, over Tangier and what he ruled over seventeen thousand Arabs and twelve thousand Berbers. He commanded the Arabs to teach the Berbers the Qur'an, and to educate them in religion." and to educate them in religion (Ibn Adhari,2013: 70). Likewise, Musa bin Nuseer left "seventeen Arab men to teach them the Qur'an

and the laws of Islam.” (Ibn Adhari,2013:70). Also, in the same context, when Musa took hostages from the nobles of the tribes that submitted to him, he placed them under the supervision of Tariq ibn Ziyad. For these hostages, jurists and guides were appointed, so that Tangier became like a great school (Laqbal,1981:11). It goes without saying that Tangier is not part of the Libyan provinces or an African state in general, but on the other hand, Musa bin Naseer was the Emir of Maghrib as a whole and an African state affiliated to him. And his reforms and policies of a state will necessarily be reflected in the entire field of his emirate, in addition to that I mentioned this as an example of the keenness of most Muslim rulers after the stability of the conquest to teach the Berbers the principles of their religion and their belief, and therefore the language of this religion, which is - Arabic - as a means of learning it and exploring its meanings. As well as from the governors, witnessed in this regard is Obaidullah bin Al Habhab, Mawla of Bani Salul. “He was a noble leader and a great prince... He built the mosque and the House of Industry in the city of Tunis in the year one hundred and sixteen.” (Qairouani,1994: 66). Even in the era of independent emirates, which emerged after the weakness and inactivity of the central state, and the conflicts that occurred after the transfer of power from the Umayyads to the Ebaasiyn, as well as the expansion of the territory of the Islamic state, and the weakness of the center to follow up what is happening in the periphery; there was interest in this aspect and keenness on it from some of the leaders of these emirates, as the narrations mention that Imam Abd al-Wahhab bin Rustam, who is the imam and leader of the Rustumid State, organized in his council the well-established scholars, jurists, servants and righteous people (Baruni,2005:193). In addition to the official missions by the caliphate, and the governors bringing in reciters, scholars, jurists, and others, there are individual initiatives from the East to Maghrib that entrust their owners to contribute to the education of the people of Maghrib and their insight into matters of their religion , including what Ibn Adhari mentioned (Ibn Adhari,2013:134). In his text, “When the man Hafs bin Humaid came to Ifriqiya, and with him were righteous people from the Jazira, they went to him and preached to him about the matter of religion and the interests of Muslims.” And as a result of the feeling of some scholars of the need of the people of Maghrib to acquire knowledge and religious sciences, the individual resurrection came, and they followed their coming there, and they held study and reading circles, where the people of Maghrib, as well as the

residents of the Arab aljund, came to them (Bin Hawala,2000: 99-100). Among the procedures and policies that had a role in Arabization is the policy of encouraging Arab tribes and families to settle and settle in the countries of the Islamic Maghreb by some caliphs and princes of the Islamic state. As we explained in the previous chapter, the influx of significant numbers of Arab families and tribes to the countries of the Maghreb, which accompanied the process of conquests from its inception and spread in most parts of the Islamic Maghreb, including Ifriqiya, the movement of the Arab tribes to North Africa during and after the conquest was connected to the succession of the envoys during the first and second centuries, starting with the entry of Uqba bin Nafie with 10,000 fighters in the year (50 AH / 670 AD). And ending with the advent of Yazid bin Hatim as Emir of Africa and Maghrib in the year (155 AH / 772 AD) and with him 60,000 soldiers from the Levant, Iraq and Khurasan (Douri,2009:249). And it seems that the departure of the Arabs and their coming to the countries of the Maghreb was mostly with the intention of settling down, as most of the fighters coming from the east settled in Kairouan, Tangiers and Tunisia, and groups of them dispersed in the rest of the cities and castles (Douri,2009: 249). On the other hand, with regard to some caliphs adopting a direct policy in bringing in Arab tribes and encouraging them to come to the Maghreb, it is narrated that when the al-Aqsa Maghreb revolted in the year 123 AH, on the agent of the Caliph Hisham bin Abd al-Malik (Ubayd Allah bin al-Habab) and he was informed of the killing of a number of men and the nobles of the Arabs who had status and esteem, he said wa Allah, I will make them angry with the anger of the Arabs, and I will send them an army whose first is with them and the afterlife is with me. Then I did not leave a barbarian fortress without placing a Qaysi or Yemeni tent next to it (Nuwyri,2004:24: 32). It is also possible to imagine the succession of Arab migrations due to their association with the rulers and the keenness of each ruler to increase his relatives and members of his tribe. It should be noted that this policy was followed by most of the rulers and governors after the succession of the Berber revolutions and the disturbances and disturbances that arose after them. Therefore, politics required an increase in the presence and settlement of Arab tribes to create a balance within the region (Omar,1971:75-76). There were also some Arab groups and homes distributed among the Berbers to teach them the principles of Islam. In addition to these groups and houses, there were preachers of the Kharijites among the Arabs, who were distributed among the barbarian tribes in different parts of

Maghreb, where the external doctrine was in the process of spreading at their hands (Douri,2009: 249-250).

There is an important fact that must be considered, which is that encouraging Arab tribes and families to come to Maghrib and settle there seems to have been no encouragement on the part of Arab rulers and governors only. Rather, it was also on the part of the Berber sultans and princes, In the sense that the sultans of Maghrib (the Berbers) without the Arab governors, who were at the head of the Berber emirates in the era of the independent emirates, were bringing in or inviting the Arab tribes to African cities and states and Maghrib in general. In order to help them in the wars that were breaking out between them. It is also useful to point out that it was not only the Arab tribes who migrated or came to Ifriqiya, but there were other nationalities that came to Ifriqiya. Here is a text by Ibn Adhara (Ibn Adhara,2013:126-127). It is mentioned that Muhammad ibn Muqatil al-Akki, who was governor of Ifriqiya during the reign of Harun al-Rashid in the year 181 AH/ 797AD , and after Tamam al-Tamimi revolted against him in the year 183 AH, he left Kairouan with the safety that Tamimi had granted him, and walked to Tripoli, and a group of people from Khorasan joined him. Among them was Tarkhun, the owner of his shurtatih. Also, in another text, Yazid bin Hatim came to Ifriqiya with every soldier from the Levant, Iraq and Khurasan, so he first descended on Tripoli (Ibn Adhara,2013:113). On the other hand, some governors have been trying to win over the Berbers and introduce them to the new political and social life, breaking psychological barriers and building bridges of trust and coexistence between them and the new immigrants.

In a narration that Hassan bin Al-Nu'man, when he defeated the priestess, the Berbers feared him, "and they trusted him, so he did not accept their trust until they gave him - all their tribes - - Twelve thousand knights will be with the Arabs in the form of jihad, and they answered him to that and embraced Islam at his hands... And he drove them out with the Arabs to conquer Ifriqiya and kill the Romans and those who disbelieved among the Berbers, from that, the plans in Ifriqiya became for the Berbers, so he used to divide the land and the land between them. So improved their obedience to him and condemned him to Africa (Dabbagh,1968:49-50). This was the practice of reformist governors such as Hassan bin al-Nu`man in attempts to win over (the Berbers) with the aim of integrating them into the new political and social life by appointing leaders among them in the conquest operations. And this is what is narrated

that he met with him in Tripoli from Ifriqiya and Tripoli, during his first confrontation with the priestess, and he directed Muhammad bin Abi Bakir and Hilal bin Tharwan, who conquered the country and gained many spoils (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d,1: 269-270). Likewise, after his victory over the priestess, he gave security to the two sons of the priestess, and commanded one of them and appointed him over a group of barbarians who were with him (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1: 271).

And in a narration that “he contracted for my two sons, the priestess, twelve thousand Berbers who had converted to Islam, and sent them to Maghrib to fight in the cause of Allah.” And in a text by Ibn Adhara, In it, he says, “And there was with Hassan a group of Berbers, who trusted him, and he did not accept their trust except that they give him twelve thousand from all their tribes to fight with the Arabs.” (Ibn Adhari,2013: 65). So, they answered him and embraced Islam at his hands. So, he made a contract for liwaladi, the priestess, for each of them six thousand horsemen, and sent them out with the Arabs touring Maghreb fighting the Romans and those who disbelieved among the Berbers.

The phenomenon of cooperation, Abu Sowa (Abu Sawa,2012: 276) , talks about, has resulted in changes at the level of the social fabric in all regions of Libya, these changes began in the first century AH and continued throughout the first three centuries, these changes, I think, are the most prominent, profound and influential of the Arabization of the demographic society in the Libyan regions. Hassan's behavior and policy of equality between Arabs and Berbers in the civil and military administrations; This behavior endeared the souls of the Berbers to Islam, so they embraced it because they were convinced of its tolerance and justice (Laqbal,1981: 74). And he attributes Hussein Munis (Munis,n,d: 286-287). This led to the victory of the Arabs and their elimination of the resistance in it, and as a result the Berbers' turn to Islam increased. Likewise, the Arabs considered the people of Maghrib to be their equals and shared with them armies and donations and allowed them to share the spoils with them. Therefore, it was natural for many of them to accept Islam, and there is no doubt that the policy of settlement between Arabs and Berbers in the spoils and involving them in shouldering the responsibility of leadership and working to spread Islam among their families and their relatives, and this is what Hassan bin Al-Nu'man persevered until the end of his tenure over Ifriqiya (Laqbal,1981: 67). And this is also supported by what I referred to in a previous place from what al-Raqiq al-Qayrawani

narrated (Qairouani,1994: 89). From the fact that Musa bin Naseer appointed Tariq bin Ziyad as his master over Tangier and left with him twenty-seven Arab men and twelve thousand Berber horsemen who had entered Islam with Hassan bin al-Nu`man. He improved their Islam and commanded the twenty-seven men to teach the Berbers the Qur'an and to teach them to understand the religion. And in a narration by Ibn Adhari that Musa, "Moses - may God have mercy on him - went out as an invader from Ifriqiya to Tangier, and he found that the Berbers had fled to the west from the Arabs, so he followed them and killed them utterly. And he captured a lot of them until he reached the lowest Sous, which is the country of Darqa, so when the Berbers saw what befell them, they trusted and obeyed. So, he appointed a ruler over them, and appointed his master Tariq over Tangier, and what he appointed over seventeen thousand Arabs and twelve thousand Berbers. He commanded the Arabs to teach the barbarians the Qur'an and to teach them about the religion. Then Moses went on a caravan to Ifriqiya (Ibn Adhari,2013: 42).

Here we should differentiate between the treatment that the conquering Muslims and their leaders dealt with the inhabitants of the region. The Romans and the Byzantines were treated as opponents, but in fairness and justice, as for the people of the country, Berbers and Africans, they were treated as the son of the country who deserves care, and attention (Bazama,1972: 56-57).

3.1.1. Administrative Work

3.1.1.1. Arabicization of Diwan

It is the most important administrative and civilized step that distinguished the Umayyad Era, which has a direct relationship to the subject of the research, and therefore we will detail it in detail, because its explanation and clarification is of great importance, as it rightly clarifies the political behavior towards the Arabization of the region, it is true that this policy was not directed towards the people of North Africa and Almaghrib in general, Rather, it was a general policy adopted by the Caliph Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan in all parts of the state. It went through stages and developments, which we will briefly mention:

This qualitative shift was associated with the person of the caliph Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan. Before the era of this caliph, the Diwan of Iraq was in Persian, the Diwan of al-Sham was in Romanian, and the book of divans was from the people of the covenant of the two teams (Ibn Khaldun,2005: 218). And each court had its mamluks, ; The Diwan of the Levant is in Roman because it was from the Roman Mamluks, and the Diwan of Iraq is in Persian because it is from the Persian Mamluks (Mawardi,n,d: 253). This situation continued until the end of the era of Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (65-86 AH / 684-705 AD), who saw that keeping the tax office - the dominant one over financial affairs, it is the most important state office that uses non-Arabic languages, which is an anomaly (Abdal-Latif,2008: 484).

There are several accounts and conclusions about the reason for transferring the collections to Arabic. What was narrated about the reason for translating the Levant's Diwan into Arabic, for example, that a man from the Roman writers needed to write something, but he did not find water, so he urinated in the inkwell, Abd al-Malik was informed of this, so he disciplined him and ordered Suleiman bin Saad to transfer the diwan to Arabic, and he asked him to appoint him to pay Jordan's taxes for a year, so he did and appointed him as Jordan's governor (Baladhuri,1991:196-197). Ibn Khaldun believes , that when the caliph Abd al-Malik bin Marwan took over and the matter turned into a king and the people moved from the abhorrence of Bedouinism to the splendor of civilization, and from the simplicity of illiteracy to the skill of writing, and there appeared among the Arabs and their follower's skill in writing and calculating an order for that (Ibn Khaldun,2005:218). And another researcher ,He believes that the reason for Arabization is Abd al-Malik's work to strengthen Arab rule, after everything was corrupted by strife, and in order to find harmony in the administration of the Islamic empire, he commanded, after the matter was established, that the Arabic language alone be the language of all the bureaus (Majid,1998:134). We note the oriental tendency in this description - Arab rule, Islamic empire - which is something that some contemporary researchers have been accustomed to.

As for the Diwan of Iraq, it was transferred from Al-Farsiyya in the state of Al-Hajjaj in the year (78 AH / 697 AD) and its reason is that Salih bin Abd al-Rahman ,he used to write in the hands of Zadan Farrukh, the scribe of al-Hajjaj, and he informed al-Hajjaj after Zadan was killed when he wrote to him in his place, that he could make the divan in Arabic, so the pilgrims resolved to do so, and he imitated Salih to

accomplish this task, and Marad Shah bin Zadan gave him a hundred thousand on the condition that he show his inability to transfer the Diwan, but he refused, He said to him: God cut off your origin from the world as you cut off the Persian root (Baladhuri,1991: 198).

This shows us the profound impact of this step on the influence of the Persian scribes in the Umayyad administration, as well as the Roman scribes, as the same sources tell us (Baladhuri,1991:197).That when Suleiman bin Saad finished translating the Diwan, the caliph Abd al-Malik called its scribe, Sargon al-Roumi, and presented it to him, He was saddened by this, and he went out depressed. Then some people from the Roman writers met him, and he said to them: Seek livelihood without this profession, for God has cut it off from you, we do not really know whether al-Hajjaj transferred the Diwan into Arabic by order of Caliph Abd al-Malik, or was it a personal effort?

Since Al-Baladhuri did not mention that there was an order for that from the caliph, which seems to be even if there was no explicit order for this from the caliph, However, it came as an imitation of Abd al-Malik's step in the Levant, and whether this or that, Arabization in the Levant and Iraq was the important civilizational step, in which Abd al-Malik bin Marwan and his reign were preceded, , although the Diwan of Egypt was delayed to the Era of Caliph al-Walid (Majid,1998:135). Likewise, writing was not transferred from Persian to Arabic in Khorasan except during the caliphate of Hisham bin Abdul Malik (124 AH / 741 AD) at the hands of Ishaq bin Taleeq al-Kateb (Jahshiari,n,d: 67). Therefore, subsequent eras must owe credit to the Umayyads for this achievement, even if some of the reasons behind it were spontaneous and superficial, as mentioned, in the Libyan regions and North Africa in general, the sources did not refer to the process of Arabization in a clear and explicit texts, but the subordination of the province of Ifriqiya to the province of Egypt administratively, as we indicated previously, In the era of Caliph al-Walid and before him, it is covered by this transfer and this Arabization that took place in the Diwan of Egypt during the era of al-Walid, the previous presentation explained to us, according to what was mentioned in the narrations, the Arabization of divans in the Levant and Iraq during the period of the Umayyad Caliphate. But what is the state of blogging in the Arabian Peninsula, especially in the first century of Islam? The management of the affairs of the state and governance was until the caliphate of Othman, may God be pleased with

him , was in the Arabian Peninsula (Al-Madinah Al-Munawwarah), and we know that the bureaus were established since the time of Caliph Umar, therefore, the question that arises is: What is the language used in these collections and the writing process in general, the capital of the caliphate (Madinah al-Munawwarah) in the Arabian Peninsula? One of the historians reports on this by saying, “There is a certain historical fact, which is that the Arabic language was the language of the bureaus inside the island in particular, since the caliphate of Umar ibn al-Khattab.” (Abu Sowa,2012:70). And he inferred this proposition by saying, “The importance of the impact of collecting the Holy Qur’an and distributing it later on the regions – this process that, in turn, it confirms that the Arabs attached special importance to writing / documentation, and since the caliphate of Othman bin Affan - we consider it one of the most important indicators of the positive and documented influence of Arab culture / civilization in open areas (Abu Sowa,2012 :70-71). Speaking of the real conquest of North Africa and Almaghrib, which took place during the reign of Muawiyah bin Sufyan, i.e. around the year 66 AH, and the extent of the impact that this conquest had on Arabization, however, it can be said that the reigns of Hassan ibn al-Nu'man and Musa ibn Nusayr later represented the beginning of the stability of the conquest and the positive and rapid role in the Arabization process, Hassan’s mandate was, as Ibn Abd al-Hakam mentioned it, that he came as “governor of Almaghrib , and Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan commanded him over it in the year seventy-three, he went on with a large army until he landed in Tripoli (Ibn Abdul Hakam,n,d:1: 269). And this stability is what Ibn Ithari described when he said, “In this year, the countries of Ifriqiya became steadfast for Hassan bin al-Nu’man, so he wrote down the collections, made peace on the tax, and wrote it on the non-Arabs of Ifriqiya and on those who resided with them on the religion of Christianity.”.

The Arabization of divans in the Islamic state came in certain historical circumstances, and it is considered a civilizational development that has a far-reaching impact on the future of the nascent Islamic state. It embodied the aspirations and desires of the successors and leaders of this nascent state to be independent from the economic and cultural dependence that was under it at the beginning of its emergence, The process of Arabizing the divans began in the center of the Umayyad Caliphate and the surrounding regions initially. Then it spread to all the regions and states of the country on a wide scale. Arabization is considered the important civilizational step for

which the Umayyad era was famous, and this qualitative shift was associated with the person of the Caliph Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan. So he accepted, the era of this caliph was the Diwan of Iraq in Persian, the Diwan of the Levant in Roman, and the book of divans from the people of the Covenant from the two teams, and each Diwan had its Mamluks; The Diwan of the Levant is in the Roman language, because he was one of the Roman Mamluks, and the Diwan of Iraq is in Persian, because he was of the Persian Mamluks (Mawardi,n,d :253). This situation continued until the end of the era of Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (65-86 AH / 684-705 AD), who saw that keeping the Kharaj Diwan - which dominated financial affairs - and which is the most important state diwan using non-Arabic languages, is an anomaly (Abdal-Latif,2008:484).

Therefore, we believe that the Arabization of divans in Ifriqiya by Hassan may have come in response to the procedures of the Umayyad caliphate in Damascus, in addition to its being a reformist approach by which Hassan intended to bring about social integration and harmony between Arabs and Berbers.

Some narrations indicate that Hasan settled in "the place of Kairouan in Ifriqiya today, and built its congregational mosque, wrote down the bureaus, and laid the tax on the non-Arabs of Ifriqiya, and on those who resided with them over the Christian Berbers (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1: 271). Al-Qirwani mentions , that Hasan "had an Ifriqiyah debt to him, so he wrote down the collections and reconciled the one who laid his hand on the tax" (Qirwani,1994:50). Although the texts speak of Hassan (writing down the collections) without specifying the language in which they were written. But what we believe is that Hassan will not contradict the central caliphate in that and wrote down the diwans in the Arabic language in response to the caliphate's decision in that regard, rather he will respond to that and apply it in his mandate because it is in line with his reform vision and his policies of integrating and assimilating the Berbers, as I explained previously. This opinion also agrees with Musa Laqbal who analyzes this hypothesis by saying, "If the texts in this area are obscene, they do not refer to the language that was used in African collections at the beginning of the transitional period." (Laqbal,1981:73). It is not excluded that Arabic, especially after the comprehensive Arabization movement, was in the interests of the central state in Damascus," especially if we know that the date of recording the Kharaj carried out by Hassan corresponds to the same date that the Caliph Abd al-Malik bin Marwan Arabized the diwans; IbnAbi Dinar mentions that Hassan wrote the tax and donated

Ifriqiya in the year 84 AH (IbnAbi Dinar,1921:34). And there are those who prove this hypothesis and see that the beginnings of the spread of the Arabic language and that the first to start the activity of this movement, and the most famous of them after Aqaba in Maghrib was during the days of Hassan ibn al-Nu`man, one of the African governors, Hassan is the first to Arabize the collections (making the Arabic language an official language in the countries of the Maghreb).

As a result of the increase in the Arabization movement of the state, and the limitation of public jobs and official missions to Arabs or Muslims, this led the inhabitants of the Moroccan regions - Berbers, Africans - to hasten to learn the Arabic language in order to open up job opportunities for them. Or to keep the jobs in their hands, and this Arabization movement was not accompanied by protest, complaining, or non-acceptance by the Berbers. This is because Arabization was a transition from a non-barbaric language to another non-barbaric language (Omar,1971:74).

Even in the era of the independent Emirates and despite the political independence from the Islamic East, it did not have a negative impact on the Arabization process. Instead of political independence leading to a kind of epistemological rupture with the Musharaka and with the Arabization movement in particular, this independence tended and led to the emergence of competition and an active scientific movement represented in the tendency of the rulers of the independent emirates to establish institutes of science and invite famous linguists, grammarians and jurists, and this also led to the emergence of competition Between the Moroccan scientific movement and the eastern scientific movement (Talisi,2003:191). And believes that the economic and political factors had a significant impact on the speed of the Arabization process (Talisi,2003:62).

The power was in the hands of the Arabs who exerted their utmost effort and spared no effort in Arabizing the country and spreading Islam, and this led to important economic results that had a great impact in supporting the Arabic language and raising its status. And that the most important steps in this regard are A - Substituting the Arabic language in place of the Latin or Phoenician language in official bureaus and correspondence. B - Displacement - or emigration - of many Arab tribes to Maghrib in general and to Libya in particular, with the intention of permanent residence. C - Restricting the main jobs in the state to Arabs or Muslims. There is

another important factor related to the actions of the governors and leaders and their actions that helped and contributed to the Arabization process, although not directly, which is the establishment of cities and metropolises by the Arab conquerors. These cities and metropolises were built for the purpose of settling the soldiers and their families in the beginning, and for building centers of command and control, instead of the previous phase of this construction, which was based on movement, strife. And instability in the open areas, which had negative consequences for the process of conquest and the spread of Islam.

Therefore, it is one of the important matters and historical and pivotal achievements that are credited to the leader Uqba bin Nafeh - in addition to the most important of all, which is jihad and conquest - He began building the city of Kairouan in the year 51 AH, and the reason for its construction is as narrated by Ibn Adhara: If an imam enters Africa, they answer him to Islam, but when he leaves it, whoever among them responded to God's religion returns to disbelief, so I see for you, Muslims, that you take a city in it that will be the glory of Islam until the end of time. So, the people agreed on that (Ibn Adhara,2013:44). And that its people be stationed." The "Egyptization of Kairouan played a role in consolidating the Arab entity in Africa and in the stability of the tribes and their mixing with the Berbers, and the activity of the trade movement in it helped in the influx of merchants to it." (Douri,2009:249). And with the construction of this city, there are those who believe that the Arabization movement began in Ifriqiya with the spread of Islam, the Arabic language, the sciences of jurisprudence and hadith, where a group of Berbers entered Islam, and some Berber tribes participated in the construction of Kairouan and converted to Islam. They are: Luwata, Nafusa, and Nafzawa (Qayrawani,1994:20). And Nakour. Rather, some researchers attach great importance to the construction of Kairouan, and that it had the greatest impact on the Arabization of the inhabitants of the African regions and the integration of the Berbers with the Arabs, saying: In fact, Kairouan soon took for itself a prominent position among the cities of the Islamic state, and in Ifriqiya it became the seat of governors and workers, from which the armies of the conquests came out and to which their spoils returned, and from its mosques and schools came messengers, scholars and jurists to support the existence of Islam. In those parts, spreading the principles of this religion among the Berbers, and introducing them to the Qur'an and teaching them its language. This refers us to a very early period in which Arabization

took place, if we adopt this factor as an important indicator of the beginning of Arabization; we find this conclusion also with one of the historians ,Where it is mentioned that "the movement of Islam of the Berbers had started from a very early time, as there is no dispute that a group of them embraced Islam and the Arabs invaded Kairouan, and that the turnout for Islam continued since then." (Munis,2004:285). Also, the city of Tunis, established by Hassan ibn al-Nu`man in the year (82 AH / 701 AD), became the second center for the Arabs in Africa (Douri,2009:249).

Another political behavior that had a prominent role in the assimilation of the Arabs and their integration into the Berber societies, the policies of some rulers, which were aimed at breaking some of the large tribal alliances between the Berber tribes, in anticipation of it, some of them settled the Hilalis among these tribes, for example, the Caliph Abd al-Mu`min al-Muwahdi cut off the Hilalis in several regions of Maghrib, central lands and among the large Berber tribes, with the intention of changing their tribal structure and breaking their alliances, This policy continued and was practiced by most of the successive countries. This policy had far-reaching consequences for the human, linguistic and cultural structure of the North African population. And with the mixing of the Arab element with other previous groups, due to the factors of neighborhood and intermarriage, which eventually led to the complete melting of the Arab element into the human fabric of the population of North Africa (Karkhi,2014:88).

In discussing the issue of the Berbers' knowledge of Islam before the conquests, we must first stand at some data that were recorded in the sources, which speak of the Berbers' knowledge of Islam and Arabic before the era of the Islamic conquests. Examples of this are what we find blogged in books about what is known as the Rigaka novel or the legend of Ragaka. And this narration is that men - it was said seven - from the tribe of Rakarakah were the first Maghrib people to know Islam and they traveled to the Alnabii Salaa Allah ealayh wasalam, at the time of his prophecy, and embraced Islam at his hands. And provide them with a book. They returned to Maghrib spreading the Islamic call. And the narration says: "A man entered the mosque and he did not know the Alnabii Salaa Allah ealayh wasalam , so he asked about him using his tongue, and he did not know Arabic, so the man said in his own language: " ,min diwn 'amazon n rabiyy," meaning which of you is the Rasul Allahi, and in another narration , mataa kun aykan 'arqas n rabiyy, so the attendees did not know

what he said, so the Alnabii said to him, “Ashkd Ur, And the meaning of Ashkad: Come or come, and explain its meaning here, and he made the Alnabii answer him in his own language and the people did not understand, so he accepted Islam and pledged allegiance and left. To his people.” This narration was mentioned in many sources, between affirming it, defending it, and denying it. Many scholars deny these Maghrib people the description of the Companions. And they reject the idea that the Maghrib people had met the Alnabii Salaa Allah ealayh wasalam, during his lifetime, as evidence of this by the fact that the books that counted the Companions did not mention any of the Maghrib people. In addition, the books that recorded the delegations that came to the Alnabii Salaa Allah ealayh wasalam, did not record any Maghrib people delegation. While those who prove this narration respond to those who deny it by saying: The books that were translated by the companions of the Alnabii Salaa Allah ealayh wasalam, were not translated for these Maghrib people, because they did not stay long in the city of prophecy. As for the issue of books that did not record a Maghrib people delegation, they respond to this statement by saying: The Maghrib delegation did not enter upon the Alnabii Salaa Allah ealayh wasalam, except for one or two persons, and therefore it was not given the status of delegation. These provers cling to the saying that the men of Rakkara met the Prophet, Alnabii Salaa Allah ealayh wasalam, and took the call from him, and began to spread it in the countries of Maghrib for a long time before Uqba bin Nafi entered Maghrib as his conqueror. And they present some arguments, some of which we mentioned, in addition to their argument about the place that embraces today the so-called Rabat Shaker (Sidi Shaker), which is located in an area between Marrakesh and Safi near the province of Chichaoua, and this place embraced the first mosque - as they said - established in the history of Al-Aqsa Maghrib by order of from hitch. Which is considered an indication that Aqaba would not have encouraged the establishment of a mosque in Maghrib had it not been for his confidence in Maghribans' knowledge and familiarity with Islam and its requirements. If this narration is correct, then it will be the first seed from which the Arabization tree in Maghrib sprouted. We may deduce from all this that this region had (some knowledge) of Islam before the advent of Uqba and his companions, especially if we take into account what was mentioned in some sources such as “The Brags of the Berbers” and “Kitab Aleibar.” And other than the Islam of some of the people of Maghrib before entering the conquerors. There is no

doubt that this reference that we have mentioned speaks of the far Maghrib, but we believe that this specification can be generalized to the entire territory of Maghrib, including the Libyan regions, because this communication between Maghrib and the East and these delegations, according to what was mentioned in some texts - Although some sources questioned it - the way to go and return must pass through the Libyan lands, which puts the hypothesis and possibility of the inhabitants of the Libyan regions knowing Islam early through these delegations.

Among the administrative works that contributed to the Arabization process are the establishment of schools, books, and circles of knowledge, to teach jurisprudence and the Arabic language. The Arabs, "when they settled in Ifriqiya, were very concerned and keen to take for their children small books attached to mosques in which to study the Qur'an, hadith, religion and the Arabic language." (Qayrawani,1994:24). This is also what was narrated about the biography of Yazid bin Hatim, whose reign lasted from 155 to 170 AH, and his reign was a period of stability, and Africa came to knowledge, so schools multiplied in all villages and cities, and mosques became beacons for specialization in Islamic law and Arabic sciences. And dozens of scholars were stationed in it, giving their lessons there (Omar,1971:75).

3.2. Sharia Sciences and Their Impact on Arabization

Sharia sciences are meant: the sciences and knowledge that are related to Islamic law, the fundamentals of religion and belief, and as we have mentioned, the conquerors carried the banner of Islam to spread it throughout the Islamic Maghreb, and this goal is their desire and intent. And this new religion and its sciences and knowledge must be wicia' that carries it and a language that translates its meanings and clarifies its purposes. The Allah says :

(وما أرسلنا من رسول إلا بلسان قومه) (Surt Ibraheem:4). Hence, religions were a means of communication and connection. And this means is only language, Religions are preached, and their principles and origins are received in the language of the chosen people or those who receive them. Language is the bond that brings individuals together and unites them, and forms from them a social structure that has its own characteristics and advantages that nominate it to receive this or that religion (Bishr,1997:170).

And the Muslims did not have the right to fathom the depths of this religion until after the features of the language in which the Noble Qur'an came were revealed to them, as it is no secret that it is not possible to perform the rituals of Islam, except by understanding the language in which it was revealed, at the very least (Ben Hawala,2000:1:86-87). Islam comes as a representative of the summit of interaction between religion and language, keeping pace with each other and being organically linked to each other (Bishr,1997:171). And because of the importance of religion and language as well, according to Kamal Bishr, "Religion is the fertile source that provides the language with the reasons for growth and advancement and factors for prosperity and spread." He is the one who renews its blood, strengthens its roots, and gives it the energy of resistance... And the language, on its part, carries this religion on its wings, spreads it, interprets it, clarifies it, and broadcasts its principles and values that bring people together on the path of righteous behavior (Bishr,1997:168). From here, the brotherhood between religion and language in the social aspect was that they are complementary, they walk side by side, they interact, dialogue, give and take, guidance and guidance, and the discovery of their secrets and energies (Bishr,1997:169). Religion dialogues with the language and pushes it to act in its affairs in order to meet its needs for means of clarification and further clarification, facilitation and simplification for the recipient, and the language looks at religion and tries to extract its meanings and ideas and simplify them in a sufficient way (Bishr,1997:176). The foregoing shows us the connection of religions with language, and that whoever seeks the sciences of these religions must recognize and learn the language that carried the message of this religion.

In this paragraph of this topic, we will track the efforts of jurists and scholars in learning the Arabic language and its literature, or in the field of legal sciences, and necessarily going into this field led to learning Arabic and its sciences and literature.

Ibn Salam mentions in his history that Amr bin Yaqnun was a Muslim scholar, and that he was the first to teach the Qur'an in the Nafusa Mountains. And Ibn Salam here talks about a man who lived in a period before the year 144 AH, because according to the narration, Ibn Yaqnun was killed along with Abu al-Khattab al-Ma'afari in the Battle of Tawergha, by the soldiers of the Abbasid Caliphate led by Muhammad ibn al-Ash'ath in the year 144 AH.(Ibn Salam,1985:149). He also talks about a spiritual man called him Abu Omar Hafsun, and his home is in Batin al-Marj

in a number of Nafusa, and he is a man of jurist, scholar, jurist, critic (Ibn Salam,1985:159). Likewise, he describes a man who is called: Yusuf Fattah, who died in the year 160 AH, and that he is a teacher and an insight into jurisprudence. He learned knowledge in Tahart, and they were about five hundred men in one hawza (Ibn Salam,1985:158) Ibn Khaldun mentions that some Berber tribes "“They had a teacher of the Qur’an named Al-Waleed bin Hisham, who was attributed to Al-Mughirah bin Abd Al-Rahman from the Umayyads. He claimed that he had traces of knowledge in choosing the kingship of his fathers, and before that the barbarians from Mazzata, Zanata and Lawatah” (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:135). Al-Shamakhi (Shamakhi,1978:1:231). the author of the biographer, mentions to us one of the Ibadi scholars, Abu Bakr bin Yusuf al-Nafusi, who was a scholar, jurist, and supplication was answered. There are also some of them who took knowledge about his mineral, Abu Khalil, and benefited from it to his family, He was one of the people of goodness, knowledge and diligence (Shamakhi,1978:1:234). Rather, some of them were knowledgeable in speech, jurisprudence, language, grammar, and documents, and he was extremely knowledgeable and active, meaning Abu Ubaidah al-Araj (Shamakhi,1978:1:167). Shamakhi also reminds us, One of the famous scholars who replaced the belief that was in the barbaric language with the Arabic tongue is Abu Hafs Omar bin Juma’ (Shamakhi,1978:2:200). Among these scholars, among them were those who used to issue fatwas on religious matters, and he was one of the people of investigation, and he is Abu Al-Hassan Janaw Al-Medioni, as well as from the region of Fezzan Bakkar bin Muhammad Al-Fazani (Shamakhi,1978:1:165). And from the region of Fezzan, Abd al-Khaleq al-Fazani, who was in the highest status in knowledge, action, piety, and piety, and he was in a great position and had a well-known author, according to what Abu Mirdas said (I only know the imam and his minister, and this Al-Fazani, I only know him through his book (Shamakhi,1978:1:163). Also from the Fezzan region, Sheikh Idris Al-Fazani, whose status and importance of his books are mentioned by some Ibadi jurists:(Shamakhi,1978:1:165). As Shamakhi mentions ,That from "our sheikhs in Fezzan Abd al-Qahar bin Khalaf, rahimah allah, and he was a scholar and pious mufti," (Shamakhi,1978:1:164). And Abd al-Qahar was from the citizens of the city of Sebha, and he belongs to a family that belongs in its ancient origin to some Arab tribes that came to the region with Jund al-Fatah in their early advance. This is invoked by

the names mentioned in his letter, as he mentions his paternal aunt, his father's sister, as Umaymah bint al-Habab, and his father's name is Khalaf, and these are correct Arabic names that are not tainted by Arabs, just as there are Signs mentioned in some texts in the advanced travel books that some regions of Fezzan, such as Wadan, Zuweila, and others, were inhabited by various tribes of Hadramis and Sahmiyyin, and arrivals from Kufa, Basra, and Khurasan, and therefore we do not rule out the hypothesis that Abd al-Qahar bin Khalaf was of Arab origin (Nami,2017:29). These texts, despite their diversity, indicate the scientific and jurisprudential status of the scholars of Fezzan, and they are a tribute to them from their counterparts in the Nafusa Mountains and the region of Tripoli. This text also shows that the Ibadis are widespread in the Fezzan region. The words of Al-Shamakhi (our sheikhs in Fezzan...) indicate that there are significant numbers of Ibadis in Fezzan, sheikhs or scholars.

Some texts also refer to one of the scholars who had his impact and influence on the Nafusa Mountains, and he is Abu Zakariya al-Tukiti, with whom the Nafusa Mountains were filled with knowledge, work and justice, until it was said about him (Abu Zakariya is the mountain, and the mountain is Abu Zakariya) (Shamakhi,1987:1:155). Likewise, among the scholars and sheikhs are those who took knowledge from - Abu Ubaidah - and he is the one who calls them (the bearers of knowledge) the first ones who went to the east and received knowledge there; Among these scholars and sheikhs: Abu Dawood al-Qibli from the country of Nafzawa, and he was a famous sheikh and scholar, and Imam Abd al-Wahhab ibn Rustam was the prince of the Rustamid state, with his abundant knowledge when he sat in front of Abu Dawood like a boy in front of a teacher (Shamakhi,1987:1:129). And Abu Ubaidah, who was mentioned earlier, someone narrates from him that he was “knowledgeable in jurisprudence, speech, etiquette, and language, and with his religion he had good manners and chivalry. I came to him one day to hear the book *Reforming the Language*, which Abdullah bin Muslim bin Qutaybah wrote on Abu Ubaid (Baroni,2005:297).

Also, in the field of those who delved into the sciences of the Qur'an and language, Al-Shamakhi told us, “Among them is Abu Ya'qub Yusuf ibn Ibrahim al-Sidrati (Shamakhi,1987:2:105). It is a sea of abundant knowledge harnessed for benefit.... The science lesson excelled, and in the sciences of the Qur'an there was a

goal, and in the sciences of the tongue, in terms of grammar, language, and declension, a verse. And in the sciences of consideration, argumentation, logic, and speech, there is an end, and in the science of hadith, transmission of news, years, effects, branches, rulings, knowledge of religious obligations, inheritance, and knowledge of the men of hadiths... a sign.

On the other hand, some scholars added to his knowledge; Those who had disciples, followers, and disciples received knowledge from him, and they had the greatest impact on teaching their community the legal sciences and language from them.” The two sheikhs, the two exemplary imams, Abu al-Qasim Yazid bin Mukhallad and Abu Khazar Yagla bin Ziltaf al-Wasyanyan, may God be pleased with them, had their residence in al-Hama. They learned to speak with Hassanun bin Ayyub, And the rest of the sciences such as language, jurisprudence, interpretation, and all the arts are with Abu Al-Rabee Suleiman bin Zarfun, and he took from them a lot of morals, including Abu Noah Saeed bin Zangil (Shamakhi,1987:2: 33-34). And in another text with Abi Zakariya , they took the issues of syntax, language, and the arts of knowledge from Abi Al-Rabee’ Suleiman bin Zarfun Al-Nafusi. These two texts show how the sciences, including language, were taken by the two scholars, and many morals were taken from them (i.e., students and learners), and this indicates their expansion and spread (Abu Zakariya,1982:205). This Abu al-Qasim is an Arab, not a Berber, as stated in the text, And Abu Tamim said about Abi Al-Qasim, the Arabs did not give birth to someone like him (Abu Zakariya,1982:205). And the large number of students and those who received knowledge, especially language sciences, within the community, indicates the expansion and spread of Arabization. The Berber population was keen to learn, read, and learn from scholars and those who had knowledge of Sharia and linguistics, it is clear in most of the texts, for example: that Abu Yusuf Majdoul al-Nafusi resided after that a son of his and asked him to read and teach after he had read and learned, for eighteen years (Shamakhi,1987:2:22). It is also narrated that Warsfalan bin Mahdi and his father, one of the greatest scholars, entered a palace in which there was a treasury of his souls, and he stayed there for twelve years studying knowledge (Shamakhi,1987:2:19). And what indicates the spread of knowledge and teaching circles is that Abu AR-Rabi` ibn Abi Harun al-Tamlusha'i met some of his students with a group of the people of Tandamirt, and it was his habit, when he prayed the last night prayer and completed his recitation, to make the students

sit in an easier part of the night ,(Shamakhi,1987:2:1-4). Indeed, some of the scholars who had proficiency and eloquence in Arabic were among the Berber population. Quoting Muhammad Al-Baroni, Al-Shamakhi (Shamakhi,1987:2:219). transmits a poem in some of its verses:

There is a disclosure without blasphemy.

Removes every suspicion and immersion.

The study of Arabic and mastery of its knowledge and its origins is witnessed by the texts of more than one scholar among the Berber scholars, rather some of the competition between them is mentioned regarding who masters Arabic more, and in this regard it is narrated that, Sheikh Abu Al-Fadl Abu Al-Qasim bin Ibrahim Al-Baradi Al-Damri, quoting his students, said to the people of the council, “I have not seen anyone more knowledgeable than Al-Baradi.” (Shamakhi,1987:2:210). And we infer from another text about their deepening and mastery of the sciences of the Arabic language, in which one of them says: “My sheikh and I differed, and I was reading the science of language in Yafi’ and Nafi’, so I came to him and found him leaving the mosque, so I asked him about the word Yafi’ or Nafi’. And hardly anyone who memorized it would be asked about a word in the language without chanting on it a verse of poetry (Shamakhi,1987:2:208).

In an incident, one of the texts mentions that dozens of students died in a combat incident. Abu Noah Saeed bin Zangil did not understand them except with knowledge of the language (Abu Zakariya,1982:218).

Likewise, the efforts of scholars in spreading Arabic and its sciences were not limited to a specific region of the regions of Libya at that time, as Abu Zakariyya mentions that Abu Nuh bin Zangil whose name was mentioned previously, and he is one of those who learned the sciences of Arabic from Abi al-Rabee’. He went to Zuweila in Fezzan and entered with Ibn Khattab in Zuweila and was kind to him. The efforts of Fezzan scholars and their eagerness to learn science, including Arabic sciences, are mentioned in more than one text, including in the narration that Amrous is a resident of Jabal Nafusa who copied the blog of Abi Ghanem, some of the theologians from among the scholars who loved us in Fezzan asked him to write a book on the principles, so he wrote the book known as al-Amrousi. And he wrote a letter to him, and when Al-Fazani saw them, and he is the author of the two books

known as Usul Al-Kalam, he said: Al-Nafusi is stronger than me. (Baroni,2005:306). One of them also narrates that he met with some scholars in the district of Zuweila discussing some fatwas (Shamakhi,1987:1:235). Rather, the spread of scholars and jurists extended to include a part of the countries of central Sudan, some of whose cities and villages were in geographical and political unity with the Fezzan region, and the majority of these jurists were from the Ibadites. , which explains the spread of the Ibadī sect in those countries on the first era of Islam, and their activity has expanded until many cities have many mosques, imams and professors studying in mosques, but biographers and biographers neglected most of their names and dates (Bousalem,2020:117).

The creativity and sophistication of some Berber scholars in the sciences of Arabic, grammar and rhetoric are praised by the texts in various places, including this text: “Among them is Abu Imran Musa bin Abi Yusuf.... He said: What is in Tunisia is only from him, i.e., the knowledge of grammar, and in it he read the sciences of grammar, rhetoric, logic and fundamentals. And it was mentioned that he disagreed with some of the sheikhs about it in a matter of grammar, so he brought in its proof nearly twenty witnesses from the Arabs' poetry, then he moved to two poems from Nafousa.... If you sat with him on your day, you would come across a word with melody in which there are no inflections and no inflection... As for the language and the morphology are amazing.” (Shamakhi,1987:2:202).

And there are those among them who wrote a book on classes, and he is Abu Al-Abbas, and this book testifies to his wide breadth in literature, language, jurisprudence, and others (Shamakhi,1987:2:118) And there are those who excelled in the science of interpretation, in addition to their understanding of the types of knowledge, such as reading, knowledge, grammar, and morphology, and deliberately pursued useful sciences from the sciences of the Qur'an, jurisprudence, and linguistics, and their son, Sheikh Abu Yaqoub, carried them (Shamakhi,1987:2:105)

Thanks to these early followers who laid the first seeds of Islamic science and jurisprudence, as the first class of African scholars such as Abu Kuraib Al-Ma'afari, Abdullah bin Abdul-Hakam Al-Balawi, Abi Khaled Abdul-Rahman Bin Ziyad Bin An'am Al-Ma'afari, Abu Muhammad Khalid Bin Imran Al-Tajibi, Saeed Bin Obaid Al-Ma'afari and Abu Zakaria were apprenticed to them. Yahya bin Salam and others,

these educated people from Ifriqiya used to spend some time studying in Kairouan, then they would return to their tribes and districts, so they would assume the positions of the judiciary and religion and teach people the principles and principles of Islam (Qayrawani,1994:24).

In one of the periods, which is the beginning of the third century AH, Jabal Nafusa, located south of Tripoli, was affiliated with the Rustamid Imamate in Tahert. The texts recorded the interest of one of the imams of this emirate in knowledge and education, and he devoted a good amount of his attention and time to him. The imam visited the eastern end of this emirate, which is Tripoli and Jabal Nafusa and its environs, and he took his headquarters in the heart of Jabal Nafusa in the village of Miri in the country of Al-Rajaban today, and built a mosque in it, and gave scientific lectures in it, and he took charge of teaching, praying and adjudicating people's problems (Muammar,2008:1:193). He had a good stay in the Nafusa Mountains, and the most important thing that occupied him was teaching, and his mosque was one of the greatest schools that spread knowledge, and the students' circles used to follow him most of the day and nearer than the night ,(Muammar,2008:1:182). Therefore, the house of the Rustamids, as described by Al-Shamakhi, "contained many sciences of jurisprudence, syntax, language, eloquence, and astrology " (Shamakhi,1987:1:142).

The mixing of the Berber army with Arabs and Muslims and the dominance of the religious spirit over the conquest played an important role in consolidating the Islam of the Berbers and making them prevail over the Arabic language (Munis,n,d:292). And one of the texts shows us how scholars and students of knowledge in Jabal Nafusa used to take Arabic sciences and spread them and teach them to others. In the news of Sheikh Abi Abdullah Muhammad bin Bakr and his sitting in the episode " His teaching was under Sheikh Abi Noah Saeed bin Zangil and with Abi Zakariya Faisal bin Abi Miswar, Rahimahuma Allah... When he reached what knowledge God destined for him and Abu Noah died - may God be pleased with him - he went towards Kairouan and learned grammar and Arabic with it, and when he left Kairouan he sat for the episode (Abu Zakaria,1982:263). This text showed us the status of this scholar, and his interest in learning grammar and Arabic when he went to Kairouan to learn it - and we explained in the previous section the importance of the city of Kairouan and its impact on spreading the Arabic language - and this text supports this opinion, as it was mentioned in the text that he sat in the episode; It is

known that the episode is intended for the meeting of students and seekers of knowledge, and they gather around the sheikh to receive knowledge, and in another place that he “sent to Abu al-Qasim bin Warqun al-Waili informing them of his coming to their neighborhood and that they prepare a cave for him in which the students gather for the episode and determination.” (Abu Zakaria,1982:265). The texts as a whole show, beyond any room for doubt and interpretation, the spread of the phenomenon of learning Arabic and its expansion in several places through the establishment of many teaching episodes in mosques, and the large number of followers of those who receive knowledge and seek it in various regions, as was reported by Abu Zakariya, “And the rest of the students went on to The mountain (i.e. the Nafusa Mountains) and a remnant of them remained. When the disciples returned from the mountain, they returned to Tamoulset and stayed there for their year.(Abu Zakaria,1982:288). Likewise, it is narrated on the authority of Abu Al-Rabee Suleiman bin Yakhlef Al-Mazani that he spent his youth in reading and the rest of his life in reading, and he benefited from a great moral character and his knowledge was famous in the horizons (Shamakhi,1987:2:282).Likewise, Abu al-Rabee’ narrated on the authority of his sheikh, Abu Abdullah, that he went to Kairouan from his sheikh, Abu Zakariyya, to learn grammar and syntax. So, he went to an old man and learned with him, then he said to him: I recommend you to someone who is more knowledgeable than me, so he moved his book to the second one, so he learned in the shortest time.(Shamakhi,1987:2:66-67). And the aforementioned Abu Zakariyya is perhaps Abu Zakariyya Yahya ibn Zakariyya, who used to meet with the students of knowledge from Nefoussa, Djerba, Palmyra, Yafran and Maghrib, and he died and the scholars of Nefoussa and others were satisfied with him, and many students gathered on him, and some sciences were taken from him, then he died in the year seventy-four (Shamakhi,1987:2:204).

Among their scholars were those whose lessons were attended by students from far and separate places. In this regard, it is narrated that Abu Khalil Sal is one of the people of Darkel, may God have mercy on him. It is mentioned in the biographer that he says to the students, “Go to the gatherings, O lazy ones. Those who attended attended them, as what is between him and what is between Gabes and what is between him and what is between Fezzan.” (Shamakhi,1987:1:182). And, in another text that “Abu al-Najat Yunus al-Tamlushaiti was a devout scholar, and he had a ring

and he used to go around with his students in the Nafusa Mountains.” (Shamakhi,1987:2:195). Likewise, the scholar Abu Musa Isa al-Tarmsi, who was famous for his knowledge, piety, and teaching, and because he was engaged in knowledge, never married. He left and bequeathed, for the sake of restriction, what was left behind from the books on the students of Nafusa and its jurists, and some of the godfathers used to say that they married him in the hope that he would leave something similar (Shamakhi,1987:2:193). Also, what confirms the keenness of scholars and jurists among the Berber population to receive science and knowledge, themselves and their students; Abu Salih, Abu Musa, and those with them among the students stayed with Ibn Matus, God willing, reading knowledge, then they moved to Ifriqiya to Salam Lake, where they studied the books for a period of time, then they returned to Ibn Matus and corrected what they read during that period (Shamakhi,1987:2:235).

Out of the keenness of the Berber population to learn the legal sciences and the Arabic language, the narrations mention the travel of some of them to the East to seek knowledge and increase from the legal and Arabic sciences and knowledge. “One of the first to go to Basra, where he met the most famous Ibadhi sheikhs: Muhammad bin Abdul Hamid bin Mughtir al-Nafusi al-Janawi; and his trip was Before the year 135 AH, including Ismail bin Dirar (Odrar) Al-Ghawamisi (Al-Ghadamsi), he moved to Basra, and was a student at the hands of the most prominent Ibadhi sheikhs of his time, who is Abu Ubaidah bin Abi Karima, and he stayed there for five years (Bin Hawala,2000:1:139). Therefore, Ibn Mughtir was the first Libyan who thought of forming scientific missions, and implemented the idea in himself, and others followed him (Muammar,2008:1:148). Some of the Berbers soon went to the Islamic East to acquire knowledge and verify the language, and soon the language spread and was widely used among them, and during the second century groups appeared among them writing in Arabic and composing in it. And helped them and facilitated this for them by the preachers of the Arabs, as previously mentioned, and the books established by the Muslims, and it also helped that the inhabitants of the Berbers were in need of a language in which they could understand each other and write in it, and it would facilitate for them access to the doors of knowledge, so their desire for learning was great (Munis,n,d:298).The reason for this interest on the part of the Ibadhi scholars in Tripoli and the Al-Juraid area is that they used to travel to Basra, where the sheikhs of

their group were, to learn from them and hear from them, and they had trips to Iraq in general. These trips are mostly directed to scholars of readings, hadith, language and grammar, and they were extensive trips, and there were also trips to Iraq by Maghrib poets (Bin Hawala,2000:1:121). The scholars of the readings also had important trips in search of readings and interpretation, and most of their trips were to Egypt because it specialized in a number of prominent and famous people in the sciences of readings and interpretation:(Bin Hawala,2000:1:137) .

The East was and still appeals to Moroccans; This is because of the Hajj; The Maghrib people to the Hijaz did not and will not be interrupted, because the pilgrimage has not and will not be interrupted, and as long as there is a pilgrimage trip, it is natural that there are scholars who perform the pilgrimage, and they receive knowledge from the hands of the Hijaz scholars. Because the Islamic world at that time was an intellectual unit. Faith dyed the activity of Muslims in one formula:(Bin Hawala,2000:1:138) ,As for what can be deduced from the trips of the scholars of the Near Maghrib to the Orient, it is the large number of such trips throughout the second half of the second century until the end of the third century AH. Maghrib was in need of those trips in order to complete what it lacked in knowledge and science in various fields (Bin Hawala,2000:1:122-123) ,Therefore, "the natural result was for the Maghrib to become Arabized after their conversion to Islam, and to learn the language of downloading, which is the constitution of Islam, and the first source of all its rulings and teachings. It is only in Arabic that you understand its origins and branches and establish its laws and rulings:

Pictures of competition among the population in learning the Arabic language are evident in several manifestations and signs, which some texts mentioned, either as an offer or as a hint. The first of these texts, which gives a strong and important indication of the keenness of the Berbers to learn Islamic knowledge and the Arabic language, was reported by Ibn Salam:In his history, "Umar ibn Yaqnun only learned the Qur'an from the way of Mughamdas, in which he received Arab comrades from the East, then he wrote a board of the Qur'an on their behalf. And he goes away, and that learning led him to knowledge and the Qur'an (Ibn Salam1985:149-150). This is due to his eagerness to seek knowledge and the Qur'an at the beginning of Islam. There were few teachers in the countries." According to what was narrated by al-Shamakhi, Amr ibn Yakman was the first to teach the Qur'an in the Nefusa Mountains

in a house called Iftaman (Shamakhi,1987:1:127). And this school, which was opened by Ibn Yaknan, was the first school to teach the Book of Allah,so people used to turn to it with passion and desire, and soon it became a beacon radiating the light of knowledge and faith in the entire Nafusa Mountains, but in the entire southern part of Libya, and it became (Ifatman) since then the headquarters of the people of Science, grace and religion (Muammar,2008:156). In another form of competition, as it seems, "the Arabs who settled in Ifriqiya at that time were keen to take for their children the small institutes attached to the mosques, where they would study the Qur'an, hadith, religion and language, so a group of Ifriqiya people came to them to learn knowledge." (Munis,n,d:297). This shows the keenness of the Berber population to learn Islamic and Arabic sciences at an early age. In a period not exceeding the second century AH, one feels the extent of the spread of the Arabic language and the Berbers' willingness to learn it, due to the arrival of large numbers of scholars, linguists and speakers to Maghrib, which He had a major role in spreading the Arabic language in Maghrib in general and Libya in particular (Moftah,1978:260).

3.3. The Third Topic: the Migration of Arab Tribes and its Impact on Arabization

In the historical narratives, an important historical fact is circulated, to indicate the process of human and linguistic assimilation and fusion, which is that "all immigrant human waves came from approximately the same eastern region, and all belong to what is known as the Afro-Asian branch that has been covering the southern Mediterranean region (the Levant and North Africa) Its effects extended to Europe before the Indo-European migrations (Karkhi,2014:148). And this region - North Africa - was constantly open to new changes that every new migration carried with it, since the advent of the Phoenicians in the eighth century BC. and the Romans in the fourth century BC. and the Vandals in the third century BC, up to the great Arab migrations starting from the 11th century AD, new influences of a Mediterranean nature emerge, and these external migrations, in addition to other internal migrations, had significant effects on the level of language, culture, and writing (Karkhi,2014:151-152).

3.3.1. Reasons and Factors for the Great Arab Migration to North Africa

The Fatimid caliphate arose in the Middle Maghreb and expanded towards Ifriqiya and entered into a struggle with the Umayyads to control Andalusia and the Far Maghreb, then decided, after nearly three and a half centuries of its rule of Ifriqiya and the Middle Maghreb, to shift east to where the Abbasid caliphate is.

The direct reason for the transformation of the Fatimids from Ifriqiya and Maghreb to Egypt lies in changing the strategy and objectives of the Fatimids, in controlling and ruling over other more important regions, and fulfilling their ideological and religious desires, as they aspired to control Egypt and the Levant. And the Arabian Peninsula, because of the latter's religious importance, and therefore it was necessary to direct its spears and weapons at the Abbasid caliphate to overthrow it, and it cannot achieve religious and spiritual control over the sanctities and historical places, except by overthrowing this caliphate and extending its control in its place in the Arab East.

The Fatimids' plan was for the Zirids to act on their behalf in ruling Ifriqiya and the central Maghreb until they were able to resolve the conflict with the Abbasid caliphate, but historical events and facts were the opposite of what the Fatimids and Zirids alike expected.

The beginning was the migration of the Arab tribes from the Arabian Peninsula to Egypt after the defeat of the Qarmatians in the Arabian Peninsula and the Levant; It was stated in one of the narrations that when the Qarmatians were defeated, "and they were defeated from the Levant to Bahrain, Al-Aziz in God transferred those who were with them from Bani Hilal and Sulaym to Egypt, and settled them on the eastern side of the country of Upper Egypt." (Maqrizi,1996:2:216). And the Arab presence, in its simplicity, preceded that, as al-Maqrizi mentions that "the descent of Salim and several tribes from Qais in the land of Egypt in the year one hundred and nine.... and there was no one in the land of Egypt from Qais before that," (Maqrizi,1916:64). meaning that some of the groups of Banu Sulaym were present in the land Egypt at an early period from the great migration of these tribes, or their forcible transfer by the Fatimid al-Muizz, as mentioned in the sources.

The aforementioned sources are almost unanimous that the reason for the migration of the Arab tribes from Egypt to the Maghreb region is mainly due to the bad relationship between the Ubaid rulers of Egypt and the Zirid state in North Africa. It was they (i.e., the Fatimids) who handed over the reins of power to the Banu Ziri in North Africa

The narrations mention that the conflict between the Ubaidis and the Zirids began when the sermon to the Fatimid caliph was cut off in Egypt in the year 440 AH, and al-Muizz ibn Badis, the ruler of the Zirid state in North Africa, ordered that he be called on Ifriqiyān platforms for the Abbasid caliphs, and the invitation of the Fatimid Shiites was cut off (Ibn Adhari,2013:4:79).

And that was during the era of Al-Mustansir, "when he took over the caliphate of Egypt after Al-Zahir bin Al-Hakim, Al-Mu'izz addressed during his days to Al-Qa'im bi-Amr Allah Al-Abbasid." (Nuwayrī,2004:24:116). This shift in attitude and loyalty on the part of Al-Muizz ibn Badis towards the Ubaidis was the result of the instigation of Ibn Abi al-Rijal, the minister of Al-Muizz ibn Badis and his educator; Which indicated the doctrine of Malik and the Sunnah and the community, and it was all of Ifriqiya and Kairouan on the Shiite doctrine and the difference between the Sunnah and the community (Nuwayrī,2004:24:298-299). In another place, contrary to what he mentioned previously, Ibn Ithari mentions that the beginnings of the conflict between the Zirids and the Ubaidis were in the year four hundred and forty-three, and that, "It was the first sedition in Ifriqiya when the matter came to declaring the curse of Banu Ubaid on the pulpits, and Al-Mu'izz ordered the killing of their followers." (Ibn Athari,2013:314), Al-Tijani also mentions, that "Al-Mu'izz is still prejudiced against Bani Ubaid Allah and curses them secretly and harms their supporters, then his command degenerated into declaring, so he cursed them on the pulpits and killed their followers time after time and pursued them in the countries with killing." (Tijani ,1981:19). And it seems that the process of killing the Shiites, persecuting them, and using the sword among them preceded the severing of the call to the Banu Ubaid on the platforms and their loyalties, as there is a text in this that says: "The sword was placed among the Shiites, and more than three thousand of them were killed..... At that time, the cry of death shouted at them, and they were killed in all parts of Africa... Al-Mu'izz was still working his mind to cut off the call for them until it was the year four hundred and forty (Ibn Athari,2013:299).Most of the businesses and regions of

Ifriqiya Province responded to al-Mu'izz's call against the Fatimids and the Shiites, and it reached, for example, Kairouan. Correspondence from Emir Jubara bin Mukhtar al-Arabi from Barqa with hearing and obedience to al-Mu'izz ibn Badis, and he told that he and the people of Barqa had burned the pulpits on which the Fatimids were summoned and burned their banners, and they disavowed them and cursed them on their pulpits, and they called for al-Qa'im bi-Amr Allah al-Abbasid (Ibn Athari,2013:314). The Maliki school of thought was considered compulsory in Maghrib, including North Africa, by order of Al-Mu'izz ibn Ziri, who forbade Shi'ism in Ifriqiya (Kmal,1997:23). It is noticeable here that, despite Barqa proximity to Egypt, the center of the Fatimid caliphate, they sided with al-Mu'izz's call and his turn against the Fatimids and the Shiites in general.

And one of the narrations mentions that Al-Mustansir, after these incidents, wrote to Al-Muizz bin Badis wishing him and intimidating him and saying to him (Would you follow in the footsteps of your ancestors in obedience and loyalty) and threatening him to send armies, so Al-Muizz wrote to him (My fathers and grandfathers were the kings of Maghrib before your ancestors possessed it, and they have over you from Servants are greater than serving, and if they had delayed them, they would have put their swords forward.” (Nuwayri,2004:24:116).

In the event of the migration of the Arab tribes from Egypt to Maghreb, the name of a personality appears that had a great impact in encouraging the Arab tribes and urging them to enter Maghreb, in retaliation for the Zirids' change of loyalty and obedience towards the Fatimid caliphate. Abu Muhammad al-Hasan al-Yazuri, the minister of the Fatimids. Al-Mustansir assigned him the ministry in the year four hundred and forty-two. And his title (the powerful minister, the master of ministers, the crown of princes, the judge of judges, the caller of preachers, the flag of glory, the salvation of the Commander of the Faithful) (Nuwayri,2004:24:116) In addition to the change in loyalty of al-Muizz ibn Badis towards the Fatimids, another reason emerges, which is a personal rivalry between al-Muizz ibn Badis and the Yazuri vizier; Where some accounts say that Al-Yazuri was not one of the people of the ministry or of the writers, Rather, he was from the people of duality and farming in the Levant, and as a result of that, Al-Muizz bin Badis refrained from addressing him as he addressed the ministers before him, so this was too great for the Al-Yazuri minister. It was his reaction to infiltrate the turmoil and winds of intrigues and connected them with Sunni

ties, and he was between the turmoil and the winds of strife and wars. So he sent one of his statesmen to reconcile between them, and promised them supplies and numbers, and ordered them to tamper and destroy, and sent them to Ifriqiya and Kairouan and their possession of everything they conquered, and Al-Yazuri sent a letter to Al-Moez saying in it (As for after, we have sent to you a husky, and we have sent elderly men to it, so that Allah will decide a matter that was definit) (Ibn AlAthir,1987:8:295-296). Al-Yazuri referred to the Fatimid caliphate in Cairo, "by equipping the neighborhoods of Hilal bin Jashim, the Ashruzinis, Riah, Uday, and Rabia to Maghrib, and assigning their sheikhs to Ifriqiyah works, and his advice was accepted." (Maqrizi,1996:216).

The Arabs used to live in Egypt to the east of the Nile, meaning that they did not cross the Nile to the west throughout their stay after they came to Egypt, and they were forbidden to cross it before that(Ibn adhari,2013:314-315). This is also confirmed by Al-Wazzan, that "the Muslim caliphs always prevented the Arabs from crossing the Nile with their families and tents." (Wazzan,1983:1:41). But when the Fatimids and their vizier al-Yazuri wanted to punish the Banu Ziri for their positions and change their allegiance, as we have shown previously, they sent money to the Arab sheikhs, and blessed each one of them who crossed the Nile with a fur and a dinar (Maqrizi,1996:216). As a result, as Ibn Khaldun mentions, "The Arabs were greedy at that time, and they passed the Nile to Barqa, and they descended on it and conquered its cities and violated it, and wrote to their brothers east of the Nile wanting them in the country, so they permitted them after they were given two dinars for each head, so he took from them many times what they took" (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:144). In other words, the Fatimids took twice what they gave previously to the tribes that passed in the first stage when they wanted them to give them fur and a dinar, and it was stated in the text of al-Tijani ,That the Arabs "when they reached African countries and liked them, wrote to their brothers to catch up with them, and al-Jarjara'i did not leave them or pay each passer-by who fled and a dinar, so he took more than he gave." (Tijani ,1981:20). Al-Tijani mentioned here that the minister concerned with this incident is the al-Jarjara'i minister, while he is unanimous in all the sources that dealt with The incident is on Anaa Al-Yazuri; Al-Tijani corrected this and pointed out his skepticism also regarding the attribution of this matter to al-Jarjara'i, and that is in another place where he says, "And some people attributed the permissibility of Arabs to non-Jarjara'i, and he inferred that from what we have presented of the date of al-Jarjara'i's

death. It is Al-Yazuri... and his ministry took place after the death of Al-Jarjarai... It is not far from being the correct one, and Allah knows best." But at the same time it looks like a picture of revenge and retaliation (Tijani ,1981:21-22). The Zirids are the real motive behind facilitating and encouraging the migration of Arab tribes from Egypt to Ifriqiya; At a time when "Ifriqiya severed its ties to the East, it will receive, as a matter of revenge, an ethnic extension, which is perhaps the largest extension it reached during the Islamic era, and it is represented in the horrific invasion that was carried out by the Arabs of Bani Hilal and Bani Sulaym who came from Upper Egypt." (Brunschvik,1988:1:31).

Although it is known historically that the Hilalian and Sulaymian migration to Ifriqiya and Maghrib is the basis, and therefore the Arab migration to Ifriqiya and Maghrib were named after them, and they constituted the largest migratory tribes and their migration was more influential in that era and beyond, but there are other Arab tribes that participated in this migration as well. Ibn Khaldun mentions , And there were among them, without a crescent, many Fazarah and braver than the stomachs of Ghatfan, Jashm bin Muawiyah bin Bakr bin Hawazin, Salul bin Murra bin Sa'sa bin Muawiyah, and the Almaeqil of the Yemeni tribes (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:23). Their entry to Al-Athbaj and Hilal, so they were included in them and became part of their campaign (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:23); In the sense that these tribes were under the leadership and leadership of the Hilalis, who moved collectively and in large numbers towards Ifriqiya and Maghrib. Therefore, this migration was known as the Hilali tribes, a mixture of the Adnan and Qahtani tribes, who had settled in the eastern Hoof of Egypt since the second century AH / eighth century AD (Sheikhly,1986:39).

3.3.2. The March of the Arabs to Maghreb

After Al-Yazuri succeeded in persuading the Arab tribes present in Upper Egypt to migrate to Maghrib, as we indicated, to spite the Zirids, and to punish them for changing their allegiance and revolting against the Fatimids, the rulers of Egypt, the Arabs marched, as some sources indicate, "to Barqa, and conquered its cities, and wrote to their brothers who In eastern Upper Egypt, they wanted them in the country, so they were given two dinars from the state for each one, and they went to their friends (Maqrizi,1996:217). And the spread of the Arabs in Ifriqiya and Maghrib, as al-

Maqrizi mentions, happened to Sulaym al-Sharq, and to the Hilal of the Maghreb... Tribes from Sulaym and their allies established themselves in the land of Barqa; The tribes of Diab, Araq, Zaghb, and all the tribes of Hilal marched to Ifriqiya like spreading locusts (Maqrizi,1996:217). And it is mentioned that this spread was in the form of division among themselves," and the Arabs divided African countries in the year forty-six; And Zaghbah had Tripoli and its outskirts, and Mirdas bin Rabah had Beja and its outskirts, then they divided the country again, and Hilal had from Gabes to Maghreb, and they were Riah, Zaghbah, Al-Maqil, Jishm, Tarnjah, Al-Sabh, Shaddad, Al-Khalat, and Sufyan (Maqrizi,1996:217). And Zaghba and Riah are the sons of Rabia bin Nahik bin Hilal. This is how their lineage was reported by Ibn Khaldun , "And they had pride and abundance when they entered Ifriqiya, and they conquered the areas of Tripoli and Qabes." Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:54). But Al-Maqrizi comes in another place and mentions that Al-Mustansir, the Fatimid caliph, was the one who divided them and determined the place of their deployment. When Al-Mustansir sent them to Ifriqiya, he made Al-Mu'nis bin Yahya Al-Mirdasi the governorship of Kairouan and Beja, and gave Zaghba Tripoli and Gabes, and made Al-Hassan bin Masra in the governorship of Constantine. When they overpowered Sanhaja, each of them owned what was contracted upon him (Maqrizi,1996:218). It is useful to point out that the Crescent presence in Ifriqiya was prior to the Crescent migration, albeit at a small percentage, as Ibn Khaldun mentions. That "and a group of these Hilalis were not among those who permitted the Nile during the reign of Al-Yazuri or Al-Jurjani. Rather, they were before that in Barqa during the days of the Fatimid ruler, and they have news about it with the Sanhajis." (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:23). The sources did not agree on the number of Arabs arriving from the East to Ifriqiya, as Ibn Adhari mentions Their number is seven thousand and five hundred horsemen (Ibn Adhari,2013:320). and this number, in my opinion, is simple and does not correspond to the large number of Arab tribes mentioned by the sources and the legitimacy of their spread in the region. It is difficult to estimate the real number of Arab tribes that emerged during that migration. And one of the researchers (Karkhi,2014:85). states that the number as determined by historians is about two hundred thousand, they moved in masse from land to land, spreading chaos in those areas. These estimates, which historians have mentioned, of the number of Arabs entering the Hilalian migration are the closest to the truth, as a result of what this migration caused of a

wide spread and sweeping of vast areas, which resulted in the displacement of large numbers of barbarian tribes towards the Far Maghrib and the desert regions, as it is not reasonable that, this Demographic change and widespread spread of a few thousand immigrants.

How was the response of al-Mu'izz ibn Badis about the arrival of the vanguards of the Hilalis and their approaching arrival in Ifriqiya? It seems, according to what the narrations indicate, that Al-Mu'izz did not pay attention to this creeping expansion towards his authority, and he underestimated it and did not take it seriously, and therefore he was negligent in taking the most effective means to stop this expansion, as "Al-Mu'izz estimated that the Arabs would return from whence they came, and the matter turned out contrary to his thought (Karkhi,2014:85). It was also that he was not in agreement with his cousins, the Sanhajis, and he wanted to replace them with other allies, and a text was reported by Ibn Ithari , He says, "Al-Mu'izz hated his Sanhaja brothers, loved to replace them, and hated them." (Ibn Athari,2013:315). Al-Mu'izz consulted Mu'nis ibn Yahya al-Riyahi about this, and he was a brave and sane leader among his people. He advised him to take his cousins - i.e., the cousins of Mu'nis of the tribe of Al-Rih - as an army, so Mu'nis advised him not to do that and told him that the people would not submit to obedience and that they would unite on the word, but Al-Mu'izz insisted on that (Ibn Athari,2013:315). In another narration, it talks about al-Mu'izz's mockery of the Arabs and belittling their conquest, in a dialogue between al-Mu'izz and Mu'nis al-Riyahi. The narration mentioned that after the Arabs took over Tripoli in the year forty-six, Mu'nis arrived at al-Mu'izz in Kairouan. Al-Moez honored him and was kind to him, so Mu'nis forbade him to give the Arabs a way to enter Ifriqiya and told him: "They are a people you have no power with." Al-Mu'izz said to him: "They are below that." As a result, Mu'nis went out and joined the land of Tripoli when he saw Al-Mu'izz's mockery of the Arabs (Nuwayri,2004:24:118).

How did the Arabs arrive so easily, and spread and settle in African countries?

We did not find in the sources any indication of the occurrence of confrontations or battles when these tribes entered at the beginning, especially in the Libyan regions. The spread and movement were peaceful. Perhaps with understandings with the tribes and population groups, especially those scattered in the deserts and villages, where the migrating tribes initially avoided entering cities and metropolises,

or they were devoid of residents, as Ibn al-Atheer mentioned ,That the Arabs, when they "swept the land of Barqa and what surrounded it, they found a country full of pastures devoid of people, because the Zanata were its people, so the almaeiza exterminated them, So the Arabs resided in it, so they settled it and lived in the outskirts of the country.”(Ibn al-Athir,1987:8:296). In addition to the population vacuum, there is almost no control on the part of the Zirid state, which facilitated the Arabs’ entry into these regions. And this peaceful entry was confined only to the Libyan regions, but Ifriqiya - Tunisia today - witnessed intense wars and conflicts between the Arabs and the Sanhajis - the Zirids - especially in the vicinity of Kairouan. The Sanhajis, led by Al-Muizz, fought several battles in Kairouan, Raqada, and Mansouriya and its environs, but they were defeated and a great nation of them was killed, and many people were created. The Arabs entered Kairouan in the year 449 AH and plundered it (Ibn Al-Athir,1987:8:296-297).

We also find with Ibn al-Athir (Ibn Al-Athir,1987:8:296-297) that the Caliph al-Mustansir and his entourage "began to send the Arabs to the West, so they reconciled between Zaghbab and Riah, and there were wars and hatred between them, and they gave them money and commanded them to go to the country of Kairouan and gave them ownership of everything they conquered and promised them supplies and numbers, so the Arabs entered Ifriqiya"; in the sense that it was in the form of a mandate from the previous authority based on the matter of these states - Ifriqiya and Maghrib -As stated previously, these states were under the Fatimid rule, then they authorized the Zirids to manage these states on their behalf, but when al-Muizz al-Ziri departed from the authority of the Fatimids and denied them to them, as mentioned in the previous texts, the Fatimids gave up what they considered their right in favor of the Arab tribes, which is what It is evidenced by his saying (Own them all that they conquer), and Ibn Khaldun mentions the beginning of arrival and spread as a form of division between the Arab tribes. And the Arabs divided African countries in the year forty-six, and Zaghbah had Tripoli and its environs, and Mirdas bin Rabah had Beja and its environs (Ibn Khaldun ,2000:6:21-22). While Al-Maqrizi mentions that Al-Mustansir (the Fatimid caliph) was the one who gave the Zughba of Tripoli and Gabes when he sent them to Ifriqiya (Maqrizi,1996:218). Then Ibn Khaldun (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:22). reports again that these tribes divided the country again, without mentioning the date of this division. Then they divided the country again, and there

was a crescent from Tunisia to the west They are: Rayah, Zaghbah, Al-Maqil, Jashm, Qara, Al-Athbaj, Al-Khalat, and Sufyan. In the first spread, what can be seen is that the Bani Sulaym tribe resided in the lands of Barqa, as al-Maqrizi mentions , " "And it happened to Sulaym in the East, and for the crescent of the West, and they destroyed the Red City, Ajdabiya, and Sirte. And the stomachs of Banu Sulaym established themselves in the land of Barqa." (Maqrizi,1996:217) ; What is meant by the east in this text is the east of Ifriqiya, which represents the region of Barqa ; It is a historical and important region of the Libyan regions, which is clarified at the end of the text of the settlement of the stomachs of Selim and their allies in this region, as well as what is evident from the names of its historical cities mentioned in the text, which still retain their names until our contemporary time - Ajdabiya, Sirte - and the red city that is meant by the city Al-Marj is now in eastern Libya. As previously indicated by Ibn Khaldun, al-Maqrizi is also mentioned ,That the tribes of Diab, Araq, Zaghb and all the tribes of Hilal marched to Ifriqiya (Maqrizi,1996:217). This spread and stability of some tribes and tribes does not mean that it was permanent, but there were factors and motives, as we indicated, that changed from time to time the place of residence and settlement of these tribes. For example, after about twenty years of settling (zaghba) in an African land, it is expelled by the (Riah) of their cousins, In the year four hundred and sixty-six, and it was said: Seven: Zaghba was expelled from Ifriqiya; Riah drove them away (Ibn Adhari,2013:329). Likewise, in the year four hundred and sixty-eight, Arabs from Barga arrive in Ifriqiya and encamp around Kairouan and its environs. Therefore, it seems that the movement and spread of the Arab tribes did not reach the stage of semi-stability in specific places, except in late historical periods. This is due, of course, to the conflicts that arise between these tribes at times, and between them and the Berber tribes at other times, as well as their wars in many cases with the ruling authorities in Ifriqiya and Tripoli. Another important factor that must be mentioned and noted is the lifestyle of these tribes. It is that they are nomadic tribes who are ostentatious, caring, and always looking for pasture and pasture, and they are in a state of constant movement and travel, and therefore, at best, they can be classified as semi-stable.

3.3.3. Some Features of the Arab Expansion in the Libyan Region Following the Great Arab Migration

Here we are trying to review some texts of some sources close to the migration period or subsequent to it, as these sources help us in some detail, but they often list this distribution and spread without mentioning clear dates for the period of stability and settlement. Ibn Khaldun, for example, mentions the Hilali presence in the districts of Tripoli, saying, “Zagha and Riah are the sons of Abi Rabia bin Nahik bin Hilal bin Amer.” (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:257) . And they had pride and abundance when they entered Ifriqiya and conquered the districts of Tripoli and Qabes, and they killed Saeed bin Kharazun from the kings of Maghrawa in Tripoli, and they did not remain in that state until the Almohads conquered Ifriqiya. Ifriqiya, including Tripoli, of course, in the year 1160 AD, around the middle of the fifth century AH, almost a hundred years after the entry of the Hilalis into Ifriqiya. Al-Maqrizi mentions In Barqa there are neighborhoods of Banu Jaafar, and their sheikh was Abu Zayb and his brother Hamid bin Kumayl, and they are affiliated with the Arabs in Bani Ka’b bin Sulaym, and sometimes in Fazara (Maqrizi,1916:70). Al-Muthaniyya, Al-Yasah, Arara, Al-Azma, Al-Ikma, Al-Mazail, Al-Mu’izzah, and from Al-Ma’za Al-Ja’afirah the group of Ibn Omar, including Al-Badari as well, including Al-Sahawna, Al-Jaldah, and the sons of Hamad, and their homes from Sousse to Bir Sidra, which is the last border of Egypt (Maqrizi,1916:69). Also in Barga, between Alexandria and Greater Aqaba, the community of Fayed, Zinara, Mazzata, Khafaga, Hawara, Sammak and Labid, the group of Salam, Fazara, Mohareb, Qatab, Zaafna, Bishr, Al-Jawashneh, Al-Baajna, Al-Qabais, Awlad Suleiman, Al-Qassasa, Al-Alawneh and their homes from Al-Aqaba Al-Kabira to Sousse (Maqrizi,1916:69). And in the region of Barga also, "Banu Hayb Ibn Bahtha, brothers of Awf bin Bahtha, between Sidra, from Barga to the borders of Alexandria, and Bani Ahmad from them in Ajdabiyah, they have a number and they return to Shamakh and it has pride in Hayeb and from Hayeb Sabal and Muharib, and their leadership in Bani Azaz and Lahayeb in Salim Azza for its seizure of a long territory ruined His cities became the guardianship of their sheikhs, and under their hands were created from the Berbers (Maqrizi,1916:68) From this text it becomes clear clearly the control of the Bani Salim tribe over the region of Barga, by describing it (for its seizure of a long region) and also describing the control as (under their hands a creation of Berbers). In another text by al-Maqrizi, when he talks about the spread of

Arab tribes in Barqa and Ifriqiya, what confirms what we referred to previously about the division of Barqa and Ifriqiya between Bani Sulaym and Bani Hilal. And if the text refuses to explain how this division is, is it in the form of an agreement and understanding between them, or is it a case of accidental conflict that occurred between them over the areas of their spread and influence? Nothing but they came upon it, until they reached Ifriqiya in the year forty-three.” As for Al-Idrisi, he describes the Arab presence in Barqa after a century of the influx of the Hilalis and the rest of the Arab tribes into North Africa and Maghrib, by saying that the city of Barqa “is the first platform to be descended by those coming from Egypt to Kairouan, and it has a kur full of Arabs (Idrisi,2002:2:310). And in another text cited by Ibn Khaldun , he confirms the issue of dividing the places and regions between the stomachs of Bani Hilal and Bani Sulaym, and refers to the descent of “this neighborhood from the Zaghba with the Bani Badin (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:256). After the first division was in Gabes and Tripoli. And they had wars with the children of Khazrun, the owners of Tripoli.” In the sense that one of the stomachs of Bani Hilal and they (Zaghba) retired from their Hilali brothers and migrated to the Middle Maghreb (present-day Algeria), after they were with their brothers in Tripoli and Gabes, which they shared with them previously, and even after their arrival in the Middle Maghreb, one of their princes, who is the Emir of the Rayhin, returned and joined In the country of Tripoli and settled on Zaghba and Dhiab from the tribes of Bani Salim (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:256)And it is most likely for us that the sharing process, as it appears from the apparent texts, was by agreement and mutual consent between them; Where we did not stand in the texts available to us about the occurrence of conflicts and wars among them when they came and settled these areas, and the image of the division of places and countries is evident in the texts that show the division of presidencies and principalities between the sub-tribes and branches of these tribes, for example what was mentioned, for example, that “the leadership of the sons was divided A scarf divided the Egyptians, so the maidservants took over Tripoli and its environs, Zanzour, Gharyan and Maghr, and the Mahamid took over the country of Gabes, the country of Nefoussa and Harb (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:259). However, another state of conflict had the role of the movement of the tribes, their spread and their positioning in some areas, and that this state of conflict was forcing some Arab tribes to move from one location to another, including the sedition of Ibn Ghania and

Qaraqish (meaning Qaraqosh) that occurred in the districts of Tripoli. This was narrated by Ibn Khaldun ,In his text, “When the sedition of Ibn Ghania and Qaraqush al-Ghazi took place in the regions of Tripoli, Qabes and its environs, as we mention in their news, these Banu Salim were among those who gathered to them from among the Arab wolves and young men of the tribes, so they attacked them and they had wars with them, and Qaraqash killed eighty of the alkueub and fled to Barqa, And they cried out with winds from the stomachs of Salim and Dikel from Himyar, so they shouted at them until the ghamama of that sedition became evident with the destruction of Qaraqash and Ibn Ghania after him“ (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:259). With regard to the field of our research, which is the Libyan regions, the existence of these tribes according to this text, Bani Salim is in Barga, as stated explicitly in the text, and Bani Hilal is in Tripoli and its environs, as Ifriqiya, as it is known in that historical period, includes the state of Tunisia, the state of Tripolitania and Jabal Nafusa Which is an extension of Tripoli in some historical periods. In other periods, in some observations and descriptions of some geographers and travelers, even Barqa was called Tripolitania.

The Salim tribe, who are cut off in the desert of Tripoli, produce the dates of these places, and in them they live and to which they seek refuge when they are asked for them , As these places - the desert of Tripolitania - are meant to be the southern oases that lie south of Barqa, and they were and still are famous for the production of dates, As it was mentioned in this text that they (they resort to the dates of these places), and the Arab spread was not limited to the coastal cities and regions only, but their presence and settlement was seen to the south in the depth of the desert; According to the observation and description of Ibn Khaldun (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:260). One of the Arab tribes is mentioned in this country, and they are Bani Jaafar, “They resort to the land of palm trees in the direction of the qiblah, from Awjila, Shintriya, and the oases and beyond that of sand and wilderness to the neighboring country of Sudan. And their country is called Barnaiq, and the sheikh of these Arabs is Burqa, known to this era as Abu Dhi’b from Bani Jaafar. Ibn Khaldun attributes their lineage to being from the remnants of the Ka’ubs in Barqa, and the Hilali lineage claims that they belong to Rabia bin Amer, the brothers of Hilal bin Amer (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:258). Also, in the interiors and in the oases in the direction of the qiblah, there is a tribe called (Dhubab) from the tribes of Nazareth. They return

to Bani Sulaym, their homelands in the countries of Fezzan and Wadan ,(Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:257). And these tribes are what the geographer Al-Idrisi told us about in a clear text by his saying, “All of these two lands belong to the Arabs From Qasr al-Atsh to Qafiz, it belongs to Nasser and Amira, two Arab tribes “ (Idrisi,2002:2:313), Al-Idrisi’s text explains that a number of Arab groups, such as (Nasserah and Umayra), which are offshoots of the Arab tribes of Bani Sulaym, migrated south in parts of the Fezzan to Wadan and Khazzan, sharing those parts with the Berber population, and it refers to the fact that the Arabs flocked to Fezzan after the advent of Hilalian Arabs to Maghrib .(Sheikhly,1986:40). Likewise, Zuweila Ibn Al-Khattab, as noted by Al-Idrisi, is a small city with markets, and the Arabs roam around it and harm its people as much as they can (Idrisi,2002:2:312-313). And Zuweila is the city known as the capital of Fezzan, and Al-Idrisi attributed it to Zuweila Ibn Al-Khattab. Some explain this that the resistance that faced the Bani Al-Khattab when they tried to control Zuweila prompted Abdullah Ibn Khattab, the commander of the battle, to order the destruction and looting of old Zuweila, and the construction of another city bearing the same name (Qaid,2020:95).

And the rule of Bani Al-Khattab continued over the city of Zuweila from (306 AH to 568 AH / 919 – 1173 AD) when it fell at the hands of Qaraqosh the Armenian. This spread and presence in the Fezzan until the sixth century AH / the twelfth century AD gives us a reasonable reason to assume that the Fezzan desert was a meeting between the Arab and Berber Bedouin tribes, and then a base for the launch and orientation of a number of waves and human migrations towards the west and south, which led to the spread of the tribes Arab and Berber widespread in desert areas (Qaid,2020:39). Ibn Khaldun also lists in some detail the distribution and spread of the Arab tribes in Libya over most of its geographical area ,(Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:259). In the Dhubab of these other tribes scattered in the wilderness, And their homes are displaced to the east from the homes of these alwashahayn. Among them are the family of Suleiman bin Heeb bin Rafi bin Dhubab, and their home is Qiblah Maghr and Gharyan, and their leadership is in the son of Nasr bin Zaid bin Suleiman. And the tribe of the other, Al Salem bin Heeb, my brother Suleiman. And their homeland is the country of Misrata to Libda and Maslata. And the people of the family of Salem, these are the Ahmads, the Aleamayim , the Alawneh and the children of Marzouq...and the Alawneh among them are close to Eizat from the Arabs of Barqa”; that is, the spread

and settlement was in most of the Libyan cities and metropolises, It is also mentioned that Dhubab bin Sulaym "their homeland is between Qabes and Tripolitania to Barga, and they have tribes, among them: the sons of Ahmad ibn Dhubab, and their hometown is west of Qabes and Tripolitania to Barga.... and they are four tribes: As-Sahb Biskoon Al-Haa Banu Sahab bin Jaber, Al-Hamadiyah Banu Hamdan, and Al-Kharga Biskoon Al-Ra A tribe from the Suleiman family, from their homeland in Msallata.... And the Al'asabieat are relative to a man with an extra finger, and Al-Tijani was not mentioned in any tribe of Dhubab. Among them are the sons of Nawael bin Amer bin Jaber, and their brothers, the sons of Sinan bin Amer, and their brothers, the sons of Washah bin Amer, and among them is the leadership of this kind of Dhubab, all of them, and they are two great tribes: Al-Mahamid Banu Hamid bin Tawq bin Baqiyeh Washah, and their hometowns are Maine, Gabes, Nafusa, and so on from the suburbs and mountains... Others are Aljawari from Nuhamid bin Jariya bin Washah, and their home is Tripoli and what is next to Tadjoura, Hazaa, Zanzour, and so on (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:259). In Barga and Fezzan, the Arab expansion was evident. From Bani Fazara Al-Arab "in the land of Barga, from them to Tripoli, the tribes of Rawaha and Hieb in Fezzan, and in Ifriqiya and the Maghrib to this era many neighborhoods mixed with its people (Ibn Khaldun,2000:2:366). Of course, we do not forget to recall the period in which Ibn Khaldun monitored, which is the eighth century AH, as Ibn Khaldun was born in 732 AH and died in 808 AH, that is, about four centuries after the advent of the Hilalis and Bani Sulaym and those who accompanied them from the rest of the Arab tribes, and this confirms that development and population increase The Arab tribes were proceeding normally commensurate with the historical period that began with their arrival until the date of writing this text. Among the important observations in monitoring the spread and distribution of the Arab tribes, what was mentioned by Al-Tijani (born between 670-675 AH / 1272-1276 AD) The Arab tribes, mentioned by Al-Tijani (born between 670-675 AH / 1272-1276 AD) on his journey that he started in 706 AH from Tunisia, Ibn Khaldun quoted him in the previous text, saying, in a picture of some of his narrations of the course of his journey, in which he describes some of the lineages of the Arab tribes and their places of residence, that "the sons of Yazid were four tribes of Dabab that allied themselves and were affiliated with the meaning of the increase, not to a man who was distinguished by Yazid and they were, Al-Sahba, Al-Hamranah, Al-Kharjah, and Al-

Asaba. As for Al-Sahba - with the sukoon al-Ha'a - they are from Nusahib bin Jabir bin Fayed bin Rafi bin Dabab, and as for the al-Hamranah, they are from Banu Hamran bin Jaber, their brothers. As for Al-Kharjah - Baskoon Al-Raa - a group from the family of Suleiman bin Rafi bin Dabbab, they were expelled by their kind, the Salem bin Rafi family from their land, so they tended to differ from those and inhabited them in their homes, and their land was a land of musalaatat and what came close to it (Tijani1981:134). And I deliberately extended the transmission of this text because of the importance of this description and this observation, especially by travelers because they narrate as they watch and stand on the truth of the facts more than others. Among the most prominent tribes that settled in Ifriqiya was the direction of Tripoli, specifically since the year 429 AH / 1030. It is the Zaghba al-Hilaliyya tribe, and within its presence in the region extending from Tripoli to Gabes to the borders of the year 580 AH / 1184 AD, after it defeated the Zanata al-Maghrawi (Rahali,2018:119). There is an important issue, which is that the existence of some Arab tribes, or some of their tribes, preceded the famous Arab migration that we presented above, albeit in limited numbers. Ibn Khaldun mentions , “And a group of these Hilalis were not among those who permitted the Nile during the reign of al-Yazuri or al-Jurjani. Rather, they were before that in Barga during the days of the Fatimid ruler.” (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:256). Al-Yaqoubi mentions that there are Arabs who have settled in the region from Tripoli to Gabes, and he describes that by saying, “And from Tripoli on the great avenue to a city called Gabes, great on the salty sea, full of trees, fruits, and running springs, and its people are mixtures Of Arabs, Ajam and Berbers“ (Yaqoubi,2002:136). This observation and this description took place in the middle of the third century AH / ninth century AD by Al-Yaqoubi, during the period of Aghlabid rule. To remind him that in it - that is, this region - “a worker from Ibn al-Aghlab, the owner of Ifriqiya (Yaqoubi,2002:136).This indicates the Arab presence about two centuries before the Great Arab Migration, but more than that, the Arabs began to come in abundance to Andalusia for war and residence, so their passage was in Ifriqiya and their mixing with the Berbers and their companionship with them, and some of them may reside among the Berbers in the hope of their victory and standing by them (Munis,2004:292). And in our study of this first Arab spread, we will assume that the Arab human influx was from the first century of migration to Tripolitania and Barqa (Sheikhly,1986:38).

This presence and early settlement is what helped, perhaps, in the ease and invasion of the Arab tribes in that migration. Therefore, the beginning of a change in the social and cultural fabric of the Libyan regions and the Maghreb region in general, had begun since the first three centuries AH, and that the region did not wait until the Bani Hilal tribes entered in the fifth century AH (AbuSowa,2012:270). Historians and travelers record that this spread was not only limited to the Arab tribes, and the acquisition was not only for the Arabs, but even for some barbarian tribes, despite the density and numbers of the Arab tribes that settled and spread in Libya, it still retained some of its previous positions. Hawara is proportional to its tribes as the Arabs are affiliated with and the origin of their homes from the last work of Sirte to Tripoli (Maqrizi,1916:60). The historian here does not overlook the similarities between the social divisions and ramifications between the Arabs and the Berbers, and there are others who mention images of the similarities between them also in living patterns and some customs and traditions, or as some opinions indicate that the rush of the Arab tribes and the Berbers in the fifth century AH, was the result of their imbibing The Hawara Berber tribes have a large amount of Arab blood, which led to their Arabization in a practical way (Sheikhly,1986:41), here an important hypothesis is presented, which was mentioned by some sources, that some Berbers trace their origins back to the Arab tribes in the past, and among them was the Hawara Berber tribe. This is another important and ramified topic, which we will study and analyze in a timely manner. At the time of the geographer al-Bakri, around (460 AH / 1067 AD), that is, after years of the presence of Bani Hilal, Hawara was and still is residing between Tripoli and Wadan, but the Arabs took control of Wadan and the coastal Libda, where the fighting between them and the city's Berbers prolonged (Kamali,1997:22).

A set of important questions must, in my opinion, be answered by any research process in the migration of Arab tribes and trace their facts and circumstances:

Was the Hilal spread at the expense of the local groups and the previous inhabitants of the region?

Was the Hijrah (Hilal invasion) as described by some sources and references catastrophic and devastating to Ifriqiya and Maghrib in general?

Some data indicate that the advance of Bani Hilal will destroy this relative balance and will lead to a decline in cultivation in favor of pastures and the

desertification of a large number of prosperous areas. And while the Arab conquerors, who were few in number, attended quickly, the huge crowds of the Hilal were unable to abandon the pastoral life and engage in farming (Idris,1992:2:7).

Some sources and references insist on attributing the Arab migration to Bani Hilal only, although it is a mixture of Arab tribes. It is true that the most famous and most numerous immigrant tribes are Bani Hilal and Bani Salim, but why is the disastrous description and destructive and destructive actions attributed to Bani Hilal only?

The great influence of the Hilalian migration on the countries of the Maghreb is almost unanimous in modern references with its various orientations. This camp says that the Hilalian tribes have Arabized a large part of the Berbers (Camp,2014:230). And that Arabization was initially in urban areas without deserts, but after the (Hilali invasion) in the eleventh century AD, real Arabization took place, and as he described it by saying (invasion) he sees that among the factors that facilitated the Arabization process is the blow that these nomads dealt to a life of stability when Berbers, and despite the spread of Arabization among the nomadic Berbers as well, However, it did not include all of them, as there are still many areas in the Berber country where nomads who speak Berber move around, and the language of the mountain dwellers is still Berber (Camp,2014:22-23). It is not hidden from anyone the tone of prejudice and accusation against the Hilalian tribes in the thoughts of Gabriel. This calls for more reading and fair analysis of the effects of the Hilali migration and its consequences on the Ifriqiya region and Maghreb in general.

The Banu Hilal changed the human formation of Ifriqiya, the Middle Maghreb, and then the Far Maghreb, a change according to which Arabism became most of their awareness of barbarism. Some African countries became empty of their first people, and tribes from the Hilalis settled there and multiplied in them, then with the passage of time some Berbers returned to them after their first exodus, and the Arab and Berber peoples mixed completely (Munis,2004:177). One of its direct results was also carrying out the largest process of disruption known to the tribal structure in North Africa since the Roman conquest of the region, as they completely destroyed the Sanhaji tribal alliances on which the Bani Ziri and Bani Hammad alliances were based, as they pushed the Zanati tribes towards Maghreb and the remote desert areas

(Karkhi,2014:85). The direct and effective impact of this migration is that it brought to Maghreb a strong and large element of the Arabs, who had a clear influence on the dynastic composition and the linguistic situation in the region and had a great influence on the political situation in the region, in addition to the disappearance of the Berber element or its elimination at times (Rossi,1991:96).

3.3.4. Criticism of Narratives About the Bani Hilal Disaster

Most sources and references have been accusing the Hilalis of spreading chaos and sabotaging Ifriqiya and destroying its cities and villages, which is what is known and called in some references as (the Hilalian catastrophe), and how Ifriqiya before the advent of the Hilalis was no longer what it was after their advent, did that really happen?

someone denies that the invasion of the Hilalians had some negative effects on life in Ifriqiya, whether on the political or economic level, but attributing everything that happened in Ifriqiya in terms of destruction and decline in the civilized and urban levels to Bani Hilal is a lot of misrepresentation and exaggeration.

It transcends the difficult and destructive historical events that passed through Ifriqiya many years before the advent of the Hilalis, which was indicated by many verified and considered sources that dealt with the history of Ifriqiya and Maghreb in general. This Ibn Idhari mentions that when Al-Kahina took control of all of Maghreb after her defeat of Hassan bin Al-Nu'man in the year(78AH – 697 AD), And It saw that the Arabs were slowing down about It, and It said to the Berbers, “The Arabs only ask Ifriqiya for cities, gold, and silver, and we only want farms and pastures from it, so we only see the ruin of all African countries, until the Arabs despair of it, and they will not return to it until the end of time.” She directed her people to every side, cutting down trees and demolishing forts, so they mentioned that Ifriqiya was one shade from Tripoli to Tangier, connected villages and regular cities. Until there were no more bounties in the regions of the world, nor more blessings, nor more cities and fortresses than the regions of Ifriqiya and the Maghrib, a journey of two thousand miles in the same way, so the priestess destroyed all that, and on that day many Christians and Africans came out, seeking help from what happened to them from the priestess (Ibn Adhari,2013:1:63).

This text clearly shows the extent of the devastation and destruction that affected Ifriqiya by the priestess, who was before that a single shadow from Tripoli to Tangiers, to the extent that many Christians and Africans left the country and distributed them in the countries of Andalusia and the islands of the Mediterranean. Likewise, the Alraqiq Alqayrawani mentions that the priestess preceded Hassan to the city of Baghaia (in present-day Algeria), expelled the Romans from it, and demolished its fortress, thinking that Hassan wanted to fortify himself there (Qayrawani,1994:46). Rather, some texts showed the Arabs' keenness on the safety of Ifriqiya from vandalism and destruction. This is Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, the Umayyad caliph, who sends Hassan to move quickly to the priestess before she destroys it. The narration says Three hundred men of the Christians came out, seeking help from Hasan for what befell them of the priestess, from the destruction of the forts and the cutting down of trees, and Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan had addressed him ordering him to get up to Ifriqiya before the priestess destroyed it (Dabbagh,1968:1:64). Most of the references discuss the validity of the priestess' destruction of Ifriqiya, even the orientalist references among them. This is a Russian Ettore who acknowledges the truth of that by saying, "The priestess was afraid of the return of the Arabs, so she ordered the destruction and ruin of the country... and the barbarian region was actually destroyed, and everything that could be possible was ruined." To arouse the desire of the Arabs to seize (Rossi,1991:67).

Another incident refers to the destruction of Ifriqiya by the Berbers themselves as well, and he was one of the revolutionaries during the time of the Fatimids in the middle of the fourth century AH. Abu Yazid Mukhlad bin Kidad Al-Yafrani , This narration was mentioned in one of the Ibadi sources, which is not separated from the incident by a century, according to Abu Yazid, who is one of them and is affiliated with the Berbers and their sect. He said that “the number of what he destroyed at his hand in Ifriqiya reached thirty thousand villages that have not been inhabited to this day, and he did in Ifriqiya of debauchery, sins and debauchery what he did not inform us about about the Alfaraeina, the Caesars, the Akasira and the Aljababira.” (Rossi,1991:181).

In another incident, it became clear that the presence of the Hilalian in the region was not an outcast and was not welcomed at all; In the year 548 AH / 1153 A.D a great battle took place between the Hilalian Arabs and the armies of the Almohad

state led by Abd al-Mu'min al-Muwahid, which ended in the defeat of the Arab tribes at the hands of the Almohads. And it was a decisive battle between them, and the Masmoudi tribes formed the main pillar of this army. The Almohads stripped the Arabs of the money that they had seized in their previous periods, and their women and children were taken captive. The Almohad army, famous for its experience and discipline in fighting, overcame the enthusiasm of the Arab tribes and the speed of their movement. Historians explain the reason for the defeat of the Arabs to the imbalance between the two teams in favor of the Almohads, who were outnumbering the Arabs. Where the Almohad army numbered about 480 thousand fighters, while the Hilalian Arabs did not exceed 200 thousand fighters, and without expanding on the causes, circumstances and results of the battle, this is not the field of research and does not benefit it. We point out an important fact, which is that the Almohad caliph Abd al-Mu'min, who was famous for his sternness and cruelty towards his opponents, did not expel the Hilalis from North Africa to Egypt from whence they came, but on the contrary, he showed leniency and tolerance towards them.

Historians delved into explaining this situation. The ancient historians saw in this behavior that the caliph Abd al-Mumin was thinking of seeking the help of the Arab Bedouin tribes in his next war in Andalusia, which he had begun planning, while others see that this is not the main reason, but rather a secondary reason. , And there is no other reason represented by Abd al-Mu'min's fear of the large Masmoudi tribes that would revolt against him, especially since he was not in agreement with the sheikhs of these tribes, and therefore he thought of forming an army independent of the small Masmoudi bloc that contributed to the establishment of the Almohad state (Karkhi,2014:86-87). Narrating this story on its importance helps us in the analysis to reach a significant hypothesis, which is that the Hilali tribes have become an effective element and an integral part of the political and social equation, for the North African region and Maghreb in general, and a major and important determinant in the roles of the political authorities ruling the region, that cannot be ignored and bypassed, in addition This is due to its demographic spread and its control over most of the main roads and almasalik , in addition to important metropolises and cities. . As for the Fezzan Region, important political, religious and commercial factors played in the rush of the Arab and Berber tribes to the deserts of Fezzan in the first Islamic centuries. Among these tribes there are Arabized Berber tribes, such as the Hawara

Arabized tribe, which mixed with the early Arabs who settled in the north (Sheikhly,1986:39). And the lineage of Hawara, as we indicated in a previous section, about which the accounts differ, in terms of their Arab origins that some sources referred to, and therefore saying that they are (an Arabized tribe) is a hypothesis that has other opinions that oppose and refute it.

Summary

Arabization in Libya went through several important stages and stages, and the administrative and political reforms that characterized some of the countries and emirates that ruled an African state at that time represented the beginning and an important stage in the Arabization of the region. Among them, for example, is the Arabization of collections that occurred during the era of the Umayyad dynasty, and some other reforms carried out by some governors.

The study of Islamic sciences and the Arabic language, the spread of study circles and books, and the succession of a system of sheikhs and jurists, including teachers and students, also represent an equally important stage in advancing the Arabization process, especially among the general population.

The most important stage is the Great Arab Migration in the middle of the fifth century AH. The tribes of Bani Hilal, Bani Salim, and some other small tribes migrated from Egypt and from the Arabian Peninsula before that, towards North Africa and Maghreb. Most of these tribes spread in the cities and regions of Libya, which is what As a whole, it constituted a large proportion of the geography of Libya's population.

4. ARABIZATION AND ITS CULTURAL AND SOCIAL EFFECTS IN LIBYA DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

The first topic: the decline of the role of local languages in front of Arabic.

The second topic: the scientific and jurisprudential output of the population of the Libyan regions after Arabization.

The third topic: the determinants of the Libyan identity affected by the Arabic tongue.

4.1. The First Topic: the Decline of the Role of Local Languages in Front of Arabic

4.1.1. Firstly the Concept of Language

In the tongue of the Arabs (Ibn Manzoor,n,d:4050). language: it is the tongue alone, it is sounds with which every people express their purposes. Ibn Khaldun says about language, “Know that language in the common knowledge is an expression of what is intended, and that expression is an action The tongue arises from the intent to benefit from speech“ (Ibn Khaldun,2005:3:237) It must become a faculty established in its active member, which is the tongue. It is in every nation according to their term, it is a means of communication, dialogue, and communication between individuals, and language is used by Human to express his feelings. It is also a basic bond in society and its most important constituents, and without it there can be no society or group; It is represented in alfaz with meanings that we exchange, so each of us understands what he meant when he uttered them (Damen,1990:10).

Religion has an important place in the life of human societies, and it needs a social means that spreads it and confirms its pillars, and this means is undoubtedly (the language) that brings people together in a specific society on one tongue, and this appears clearly in the written language in a deeper and closer way (Bashir,1997:83). Language, as described by one of the specialists in philology, is “Allah’s gift to human, granting it to him and exclusive zing it to him, to the exclusion of other creatures, in honor of him and guidance for his role that is destined for him in this life, which is the formation of societies with common interests and mutual benefits, and

these societies cannot imagine their existence and survival except in language.” (Wafi,1973:28). Any language that guarantees people their affection and interdependence ,Language, in its general sense, is inclusive, as it guides and accompanies every human activity in which two or more people participate (Bay,1987:40).

One of the characteristics of the language is its ability to evolve, as it grows and develops and its vocabulary increases, and it accepts new vocabulary, and other vocabulary that is not used in communication and dialogue may disappear from it, and it is developed at the level of the individual and the nation. It is the address of its people, evolving with their development and receding with their regression (Louati,2016:9) .

In order to reveal the existence of kinship relations between peoples who speak similar languages, one of the researchers (Karkhi,2014:125) provided a classification based on the linguistic data extracted from comparisons between these languages, and the most important models of these classifications are: the generative classification, It tries to prove the bond of kinship within a large linguistic family, and it is an attempt to help redraw a map of the peoples and cultures that use languages of one origin. Typical classification: It is based on the process of combining languages between which there are clear similarities or concordances at the level of sentence structure, structures, grammar and common lexical expressions. The third classification is based on comparisons between languages that are close to each other on the geographical level. to clarify the supposed relationships between them.

4.1.1.1. The Arabic Language: Its Origins and Place

Ibn Khaldun (Ibn Khaldun,2005:250-251) describes languages as faculties similar to industry; As it is in the tongue expressing the meanings, their quality and their shortcomings, and by obtaining the complete mastery in the composition of the words, then the speaker attains the goal of an intended statement to the listener, and that the talents do not become possible except by repeating the actions, then the repetition increases, so it becomes a mastery.

(The Arabic language is a living being) Jerji Zaidan (Zaidan,2012:12) presents the Arabic language with this description, in his book titled with the same previous formula, to indicate its importance and status; And his interpretation of this is that language, like traditions and laws, is subject to the laws and phenomena of life, and therefore it is considered one of the phenomena of the life of the nation.

Is it possible to know the first language that a person spoke? What are the stages of development of languages in general and the Arabic language in particular?

It seems that it is difficult to trace the origin of the first language, its place of origin, and who spoke it. The ancient sources did not show that in a clear and systematic manner. There are some indications and explanations about the language of Adam, peace be upon him, and is the language the names that Allah taught Adam by saying, “And He taught Adam all the names, and then He showed them to the angels, and he said:

(وَعَلَّمَ آدَمَ الْأَسْمَاءَ كُلَّهَا ثُمَّ عَرَضَهُمْ عَلَى الْمَلَائِكَةِ فَقَالَ أَنْبِئُونِي بِأَسْمَاءِ هَؤُلَاءِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ صَادِقِينَ) (Surat Al-Baqarah:31) In al-Qurtubi’s interpretation of this verse, they are “the names with which people come to know human being, animal, land, plain, sea, mountain, donkey, and the likes of nations and others.” Are the intended names the language that is now known?

There is no doubt that recent studies of the history of languages have given this issue remarkable attention and have branched out and delved into detailing the history of man, his formation, his upbringing, and his relationships. And modern science witnessed anthropological research that relate to the various details of human life, including languages and their origin, and we do not want to elaborate on that and suffice with some scientific references and facts in this regard.

What modern and contemporary research indicates is that the Arabic language is part or branch of a family that represents the Semitic languages , dating back to an ancient time, and this belief is reinforced by the fact that the Arabic language originated That is, nouns, verbs, and letters were distinguished in it, and most derivations and additions were formed in it, that is, before it separated from its sisters, Chaldean, Hebrew, Phoenician, and other Semitic languages, and the mother of these (Semitic) languages is also called Aramaic; This mother tongue completes its growth, so its verbs, names, letters, derivations and combinations were formed before its

people dispersed or migrated to Phoenicia, the Arabian Peninsula and Mesopotamia, where the language of each people differed after that exodus according to their conditions, and this difference resulted in the birth of the well-known Semitic languages. The Semites who settled in the Arabian Peninsula varied in their language in a way that was commensurate with the conditions surrounding them or the nations that surrounded them, so Arabic was distinguished from its sisters, which are the characteristics of the Arabic language (Zaidan,2012:18).

On this basis, traditional and modern sources agree that the Arabian Peninsula is the cradle of the mother tongue before the writing of the Sumerian boards, and before the inscription of hieroglyphic symbols during the era of the ancient Egyptian kingdoms in the Nile Valley Contemporary Arab scholars have agreed to give this language several different names, but they bear the same meaning: the island language (relative to the Arabian Peninsula), the ancient Arabic language, or the Aleurubia language (Swaie,2009:34). This brief narration of the emergence of the Arabic language and its historical origin, dates back to an ancient time container, which is the pre-Islamic era (i.e. the pre-Islamic era). In this time, several languages were diversified and distinguished, known as the languages of the tribes, and between them there is a difference in pronunciation and composition, such as the languages of Rabia, Tamim, Mudar, Qais, Hudhail, and Quda'a. And others, and the closest resemblance to the original Semitic language is far from mixing (Zaidan,2012:17). Although the date of the emergence of the Arabic language and the beginning of its formation has not been specified, the documents and inscriptions left by the Sumerians, Akkadians, and the general Canaanites confirm that the Arabic language, as a written language, began to be known since the fourth millennium BC (Swaii,2009:59).

The Arabic language is characterized by several characteristics and characteristics that contributed to its survival, growth and continuity. Perhaps the most prominent features of Arabic are what was mentioned by Abu Mansur al-Tha'alabi, who wrote several books and publications about it, the most prominent of which is (Linguistics and the Secrets of Arabic), in which he deals with its vocabulary, structures and rhetoric. In one of the texts of this book he says Arabic is the best of languages and tongues. And the desire to understand it from religion, as it is the tool of knowledge and the key to understanding in religion and the reason for reforming the life and the hereafter.... If only it were not in understanding its characteristics, standing

on its streams and drains, and navigating its clearness and subtleties, except for the strength of certainty in knowing the miraculousness of the Qur'an, and increasing insight in proving Prophecy, which is the pillar of faith, would suffice for both of them, And when Allah the Most High honored her, exalted his name, magnified her, raised her danger and honored her, inspired her to the best of his creation, and made the tongue of his trustworthy one upon his revelation, and his successors in his land (Thaalabi,2008:22). And Ibn Khaldun sees the term (the Arabs) as a basis due to the fact that they are not "still marked among the nations with clarity in speech, eloquence in logic, and delicacy in the tongue, and therefore they were named by this name, because it is derived from the statement because they say that a man expresses what is in his conscience if he expresses it." Among them is his saying, Salaa Allah Ealayh Wasalam: (The married woman expresses herself) and the statement marked them among the nations since they were (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:336).

Modern dialects branched out from the Arabic language, which are descendants of this classical language, and classical Arabic is the mother of these dialects, which arose after the Muslim Arab conquests of the countries bordering the Arabian Peninsula. Allah has willed that the Arabic language will move east and west with these conquests and come into contact with the languages of the conquered countries, such as Coptic in Egypt, Berber in North Africa, and Aramaic in Syria and Lebanon (Jundi,1978:129).

4.1.2. Languages and Dialects in Libya Before the Islamic Conquest

First of all, it is necessary to distinguish between language and dialect, and for this reason linguists usually rely on a basic criterion that they call (the criterion of understanding and exchange), in addition to other less important metrics related to the purely linguistic nature. This criterion is based on a basic fact upon which the basic language function depends, which is communication, and the content of this criterion is based on the fact that if two speakers are unable to communicate, which is the main role of the language, meaning that they could not understand each other; This means that they speak two different languages, even if there are common grammatical and lexical denominators between them. But if they are able to communicate despite the existence of certain differences in lexicon, accent, or method of pronunciation, then

this means that they speak two different (dialects) that belong to the same common language, which is the language of reading, writing, and teaching. That is, the so-called standard language (Karkhi,2014:132).

Historically, it can be said that Libya is an ancient historical country, which witnessed the emergence of a number of ancient civilizations, and its soil was inhabited in ancient historical periods - before and after history - by a number of peoples, peoples and groups, some of which have disappeared and disappeared, and some that exist until now, What is important to us here in this topic is not to monitor or list who the population groups were that existed before the Islamic conquest, as this we have dealt with in the first chapter of this dissertation. Rather, we are interested in the spoken and spoken languages of these population groups before the Islamic conquest, to determine the level of relationship between them and the language of the new conquerors, and the extent of influence and mutual influence between them. However, but as a reminder, we will briefly refer to the most prominent population elements that existed during the Islamic conquest.

1 - Berbers: They are the original people of the country and all the peoples that mixed with them and fused with them, and we have already talked about them in the first chapter.

2 - The Africans: They are the remaining remnants of the Phoenicians and the Vandals, which kept their independent entity and their own characteristics that separate them from the Berbers and from the Romans together.

3 - The Romans: They are the group of European peoples that make up the Byzantine element, which represented the element of the Western Romans, and the rest of Greece who settled in Barqa centuries ago (Bazama,1972:55-56).

Before the advent of the Muslims and the extension of full control over the Libyan regions, it can be said that there was more than one language in Libya with which the population spoke, and they communicated with each other in these languages, and these languages spread and were used according to the same category and population group, and according to the place of its settlement, whether it was in the city, the countryside or the desert..

In sum, it can be said that the languages in Libya were as follows during that period:

First: The Greek language: it dominates the communities of cities and villages in which civilization, culture and Greek continued to dominate

Second: The Phoenician language: It is dominant over the communities of cities and villages that were subject to the influence of Cartagena for a long time, and it was later transformed into the “modern Phoenician” language, and it continued to be alive in circulation alongside Romanian Latin during the era of the country’s subjugation to the control of the Western Romans in the region of Tripolitania without Barqa.

Third: The Latin language: This language was confined to a class of Roman gentlemen, and it was apparently the language of government and bureaucracy, as its use was not widespread among the general population who kept speaking in Greek in Barqa and in Phoenician in Tripolitania.

Fourth: The languages of the people of the country: These, along with the first three languages, continued throughout history in all parts of the country and not only within the cities and villages where the Phoenicians, Romans and Greeks were, but their use extended to where the cultural influence of those peoples did not extend (Bazama,1972:62-63).

As for the Greek language, the reason for its dominance and spread in cities and villages is due; Because the Greeks make the majority of the urban population in Barqa , and therefore it was the language and civilization of the people until the end of the fifth century at least, and it also means the possibility of the Greek element melting into the Berbers by merging with time, This analysis concludes that the Islamic sources did not mention the name of Greece in their documentation of the news of the Islamic conquest, especially the late sources such as Ibn Khaldun, which means the possibility of their assimilation with the original inhabitants of the country, as happened to the Phoenicians in Ifriqiya and western Libya (Bazama,1972:45).

As for Latin, the Berbers persisted in it due to their persistence in Christianity for many centuries, which was converted to under Roman rule (Camp,2014:21). This is because the history of their church - that is, the Berbers - did not know a Phoenician or

Berber translation For the Bible, as it happened in the East, where it was translated into Coptic, Syriac, and Armenian, but it was constantly recited in Barqa in its Greek language, as it was in Tripolitania and Ifriqiya in its Latin translation (Bazama,1972:61). And with the mixing of the Arabs with the population, their integration with them, and their contact with them, so that they became one body, the language of the Arabs became corrupted and became a mixture of African dialects (Wazzan,1983:1:41). This analysis is unique to Al-Wazzan, and is not confirmed by historical facts and evidence, which speak of the dominance of the Arabic language and its spread in the regions of North Africa. Indeed, al-Wazzan himself, in another place in his book, mentions that the inhabitants of the region that extends to the far Maghreb speak a classical Arabic language. It is noted by the European traveler Marmol Karbakhhal in the 16th century AD, Valuable observations about multilingualism in North Africa, where he sees that the language spoken by the people of North Africa now consists of Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and ancient African, and that all the other barbarian Africans who live in the eastern side adjacent to the Kingdom of Tunisia and Tripolitania west to the deserts of Barqa, they all speak an Arabic language. rotten, in addition to the aforementioned languages, those who speak classical Arabic in North Africa are few, but all of them, in their different languages, use in their original writings the letters of the Arabic alphabet that are usually read and written in all the Berber countries, Numidia and Libya (Karbakhhal,1984:1:115).This description of the European traveler was in the sixteenth century AD / ninth-tenth Hijri, and it is not much later than the period under study.

In his description, he talked about multilingualism, beginning in all of North Africa in general, from western Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean, to the Sahara Desert, and he acknowledged two important facts in that period of time with regard to Libya, namely: That (the inhabitants of western Tripolitania and the deserts of Barqa) speak a corrupt Arabic language, and despite the corruption of the language according to his description, he acknowledges the reality of the spread of the Arabic language and its dominance over the rest of the languages, despite al-Abdari on his journey when speaking to the inhabitants of Barqa, When he crossed their places on his famous journey, he mentioned that these inhabitants are more eloquent and sound in the Arabic language than others, whether in the regions of the Maghreb or the East. Today's Barqa Arabs are among the most eloquent Arabs we have seen, and the Arabs of Hijaz are

also eloquent. But the Arabs of Barqa did not receive many people from them, so their words were not mixed with anything else. Until now, they are on their Arabic, and only a few of their words have spoiled them (Abdari,2007:136).

The second fact: The population - North Africa - in different languages - if these languages exist - follow the Arabic alphabet in writing and reading, which indicates the great Arabization of the region and the dominance of the Arabic language over other languages and cultures.

Is the Berber language one language with multiple dialects? Or are they a number of languages, and that is why some references call them “barbarian languages”?

4.1.2.1. The Origin of the Berber Language

Scholars differed about the origins of the Berber language. Whoever claims that she is related to the Egyptian (Chamboleon), and whoever makes her related to the Hellenistic (Bertholone), and whoever claims that she is related to the Sumerian, Turanian and Basque, whoever follows this trend finds it close to the American Indian dialects, and some other proposals appeared that are more coherent. Barbarism refers to the Semitic Hamitic family, in which it meets other languages such as Egyptian and Coptic (Camp,2014:16). On the other hand, the ancient Libyans did not leave written traces guiding their ancient language. Most of the documents that spoke about them were either in an incomprehensible language, such as palm figures, or in the ancient Egyptian language when the Libyans were associated with the Egyptian culture and their adaptation to it for centuries. As for the Punic language after the settlement of the Phoenicians in North Africa, the ancient Libyans were influenced by their Carthaginian culture, along with some other influences that entered the ancient Libyan language from the Greeks and Romans after that in the Barqa region ,(Suwaiyi,2009:81). The multiple Punic writings; And the use of the Punic language alongside Roman and Greek, which represents the Carthaginian civilization, just as the people in the home of Septimus Severus, in the second century AD were and still speak the Punic language, and this indicates that the Punic civilization and the Punic language had penetrated into the Carthaginian colonies in North Africa and included even the neighboring countryside (Rossi,1991:34).

Therefore, archaeologists and researchers have not yet found texts written in languages other than Phoenician and Roman in Tripolitania, and in languages other than Roman in Barqa (Bazama,1972:64). Camp describes the Libyan inscriptions as writings that are difficult to read and understand, despite the many researches that dealt with them (Camp,2014:90). And this is despite finding it more than a century and a half ago (since 1842 AD), no one was able to decipher it completely, despite finding accompanying texts in Punic (Phoenician - Carthaginian) and Latin. This indicates that the differences between the Amazigh languages are not only formal, as if this were the case, that ancient language would have been deciphered quite easily (Karkhi,2014:138-139). The foregoing, in fact, speaks of codified texts - that is, written ones - while other material effects exist, and no one denies that. What is the relationship between the Berber and Libyan languages? Are they the same language? Or two separate languages? While Camp denounces skeptical opinions ,In the existence of a relationship between the Berber and Libyan languages, he acknowledges that they are two separate languages, although the language written in Libyan letters is indeed a form of ancient Berber (Camp,2014:90). The term (Libyan) is applied to the collection of Amazigh (Berber) historical monuments that date back to the previous historical period from the Islamic era, and today there are more than 1300 inscriptions written in ancient Libyan letters in the region of northwest Africa, and besides these inscriptions a large number, Among the inscriptions spread in the desert are written in letters (Tifinagh), some of which are still used today by the Tuareg, and they are spread in the geographical area that extends throughout the region of northwestern Africa and part of the Sahara desert, from the Canary Islands to Libya and from the Mediterranean Sea to the borders of Niger (Karkhi,2014:161).

Another opinion says that the five barbarian peoples, divided into hundreds of races, use one language and call it Awal Amazigh, meaning noble speech, while the Berber Arabs call it. It is the original African language (Wazzan,1983:1:39).

And there are those who see it as multiple languages, as it is noted that the Berber dialects easily adopt many foreign words and give them a barbaric character. We find that the Berber language contained Latin and Arabic words (where the Arabic vocabulary represents 35% in the language of the Kabylie region) (Camp,2014:89). One researcher indicates (Karkhi,2014:136-137) that the Amazigh languages are divided into between 11 and 42 different linguistic branches, according to various

studies in the North African region in general, and in Libya in particular. There are 4 languages: Zawagha, Sakna (Sukna), Awjila, and Tawarkia, in addition to the (Tuareg) in the south.

Camp criticizes the many approximations, which he describes as randomness of barbarism with the various ancient languages, which were brought by amateur scholars or inexperienced researchers (Camp,2014:89). However, on the other hand, in another place, he acknowledges the kinship of Berber with other languages close to it geographically, and that saying this matter appeared at an early date due to the beginning of studies that dealt with the life of the Berbers. He gives an example of this in the text of Champollion, who said, since 1838 AD, that there is a kinship between Berber and the ancient Egyptian language, in his introduction to the dictionary of the Berber language of his author, the author of this study, "Ventur de Paradis", and also that there is a relationship between the Berber language and the ancient Semitic language, Considering that the Berbers in a large family are called the Semitic Hamitic, which also includes the ancient Egyptian, Cushitic, and Semitic languages, and that these language groups each have characteristics that constitute their originality, but there are many elements of kinship between them (Camp,2014:91).

In fact, these convergences are not limited to lexical similarities, but rather extend to the structure of the language itself, with regard to the system of verbs, conjugation, and the tripartite form in the roots of words, although many of the barbaric roots are binary roots, but it is an appearance whose source is phonetic "Albalaa " who fell firmly into barbarism (Camp,2014:92).And this sound source that characterizes the Berbers is confirmed by a text by the Raqiq alqayrawani "Hassan went out until he came out among the fajs and the poets and descended on the river that is called the tongue of the Berbers (balaa)" (Qayrawani,1994:47). And back of linguistic kinship, within the Semitic Hamitic group, between the Berber language, the Egyptian language, and the Semitic language, can only confirm the human data; The outcome reinforces the idea that the Berbers return to their distant origins in the East (Camp,2014:92).

However, it is customary to classify the Amazigh languages within a large unit called (Afro-Asiatic languages), also called the Hamitic-Semitic languages, and its spread extends to all of North Africa, the Middle East and the Horn of Africa, with a

difference about the first geographical origin of this language family; Some of them trace it back to the Middle East (Syria - Palestine - the Arabian Peninsula), while others see it as belonging to the African origin (East Africa or the Sahara Desert) (Karkhi,2014:128-127) Scholars did not agree about the real time for the separation of the Amazigh branch from this Afro-Asian group. Some of them believe that this time dates back to a very close period, which is 200 BC. While other researchers go to another time estimated at 6000- BC (Karkhi,2014:146). And this ancient debate - the hadeeth about the origin of the Berber language, is always in line with the truth about the origins of the Berbers and their affiliation; It highlights the fact that language mixes and interacts with identity.

While one of the historians denies the use of one language in all of the Berber countries, but it is most likely that he was using close dialects, which is what is called idiomatically "Libyan", which is a branch of the Ham family and that it is therefore the source of the Berber dialects (Julian,1983:66). and confirms in another place by saying that the Berbers were speaking Libyan dialects whose distant origin is likely to be the origin of the Semitic languages, And it was and still is with them, that is, the Berbers - an oral language, and that it is unknown that they established a civilization that relied on writing, and that the writing that they were mastering was probably Phoenician, the science of calligraphy preserved its traces ,(Julian,1983:78). And this kinship is indicated by one of the historians also by saying that the language and the written letters that the ancient Libyans circulated at the time of their entry into the historical era during the construction of their Canaanite brothers in the city of Carthage, so that language remained stuck to the mouths of the Berbers of the Maghreb residents in Arabic until today, and this language appears in the form of Thousands of dialects approach and move away from each other, according to each other, according to the locations of their owners (Suwaiyi,2009:20). These two inferences crystallize from another opinion that attributes all the Berber dialects to the ancient Libyan language, which is what makes proving the Berber language an independent language with its own characteristics and being something that may not find objective evidence to prove it.

And Gabriel Camp does not deviate much from this hypothesis - the affiliation of the Berber dialects to the ancient Libyan language - through his assertion that the continuity of the Berber language is mainly due to two important elements: First: the

letters in which the Berbers were written, which are the Libyan letters (Tifnaghat), and they were written in them. The ancient Berber language, with the lack of Berber himself using his language, and the second element is represented in (barbaric art), which is manifested in the decorative minor arts, and this artistic continuity is represented.

Also in ceramic arts; The Maghreb pottery industry is still in progress, according to patterns that do not differ much from their usual images in prehistoric eras (Camp,2014:26). And the ancient Libyan writing in Tifnagh letters is confirmed by Al-Hassan Al-Wazzan, who believes that the Berbers knew the ancient Libyan-Berber writing (Tifnagh) before they switched to the use of Latin letters, after the Roman occupation of Maghreb (Qadri,2005:12).

A number of researchers believe that the modern (Tifnagh) writing used by the Tuareg groups in the Sahara desert is a result of the development of this historical quotation from the Phoenician alphabet starting from the ancient Libyan writing, and they infer that the name itself (Tifnagh) greets the word Phoenix, and this name It is the plural form of its singular (Afniq), and what supports this proposition is the presence of a number of archaeological and historical data that confirm that the Phoenician and Libyan alphabets appeared in the same historical period (Karkhi,2014:164-165). There are those who believe that the Amazigh (Berber) language is an Arab-Qahtani Arab language, and this explains the Arabization of Maghreb in a record short time.

Therefore, you find those tending to assume that the continued survival of the Punic language, which is a Semitic language in the regions of North Africa, helped the spread of the Arabic language, which was able in a few centuries to replace the Berber ones, and of which no wall of isolated islands remained (Rossi,1991:34).

In my opinion, if this relationship or affiliation between Berberism and Arabism is not so simple, then there are different researches and opinions that have been published on this hypothesis, and science and theories of language and its origins have not decided this issue categorically and clearly. Whatever the case, whether the Berber language (Amazigh), belongs to the Semitic elevation, or is independent. It is divided into several languages spread along North Africa and the Sahara desert, such as the languages spread among the various groups (Tuareg) in the desert, and those

spread in particular in northwest Africa, and no evidence has been found so far about the allegations tending to link the Amazigh languages with some European languages; Indeed, linguists abandoned this proposition and considered it part of the European colonial ideological policy in the North African region (Karkhi,2014:130-131). In terms of the ancient Libyan writing, there seems to be a big difference between the proponents of the theory of Phoenician origin and the proponents of the theory of the local origin of this writing.

This dispute entails other dimensions related to the point of view of each party with regard to the issue of linguistic identity, including writing, and the issue of human identity in North Africa in general, which reflects the divergence of positions on the issue of the relationship between the Arab (eastern) and Amazigh (local) components. In what is human identity in North Africa, is it a relationship of connection or a relationship of separation? Supporters of the Phoenician origin of the ancient Libyan writing see in this matter another link evidence added to a group of linguistic, historical, cultural and human evidence, which represents the core of reality between the Arab and Amazigh components, on the basis that communication between them is not just a historical subject. Rather, it is very timely and realistic, linked to the contemporary reality of societies in the region. The long and continuous historical contact between them has led to great fertilization and mixing, which can be described as permanence and continuity (Karkhi,2014:171).

The Amazigh linguistic reality, in fact, indicates that the differences between its languages are not limited to the method of pronunciation only, but rather extend to all other grammatical and lexical levels. This argument can be deduced from the great differences between the language of the Siwa Oasis in Egypt - which is classified as an Amazigh language - with The rest of North African languages, due to the great influence of this language on ancient Egyptian tributaries, whether at the morphological, grammatical or lexical level, The same is true of the Tuareg languages spread in the Sahara desert and affected by geographical and genetic kinship, the Nigerien and Malian languages, more than the Amazigh languages of northwest Africa, which are also similarly affected by the Arabic linguistic structures and the Arabic lexicon to a large extent (Karkhi,2014:138). Therefore, the numerous researches in linguistics conducted in North Africa have led to a growing conviction that there is no such thing as a unified Amazigh language, and that the Amazigh

language branch of the Afro-Asian language family is in turn divided into several different languages that spread throughout the Sahara and the North African region (Karkhi,2014:140).

On the other hand, and looking at tracking this subject historically, we find that the early Islamic sources used to describe the languages that they do not understand in their texts as (jargon), and this description is not limited to barbarism only, but also includes the words that they do not understand. This is Ibn Abd al-Hakam, when he talks about an incident that occurred in one of the regions of Maghreb, and he transmits its narration, When he saw him, he opened the door, so we entered, and no one spoke until he offered me a bed and a bed for my friend, then he turned to my friend speaking to him with his tongue, so he faltered until I thought badly (Ibn Abd al-Hakam,n,d:1:250). Al-Bakri mentions in the exposition of his talk about Sirte, “And they have words that they associate with each other, which are neither Arabic nor Ajami nor Berber nor Coptic, which no one else knows.” (Bakri,1992:652). Another text also says that “the Berbers are in this enemy, and they are its people, and their language is its language, except in the regions only, and they are immersed in the sea of their arrogance and their barbaric language.” (Ibn Khaldun.2000:6;261). And also in a narration that Ibn Khaldun also transmitted about the invasion of Ifriqish bin Qais bin Saifi, one of the successive kings of Maghreb and Ifriqiya, that “when he saw this generation of non-Arabs and heard their bluster... he said: How many of you are barbarians, so they were called Berbers.”. And the Berbers in the language of the Arabs are the mixing of incomprehensible sounds” (Ibn Khaldun.2000:6;261). And in another place, he says about the Berbers, their language is of non-Arabic jargon, distinguished by its kind (Ibn Khaldun.2000:6;261).

4.1.2.2. Manifestations of the Decline of Local Languages in Front of Arabic

It seems clear that the local languages witnessed a noticeable decline in front of the Arabic language, and the main factor in that complete accompaniment (Islam - language) and it was destined for these two elements - thanks to their strength and spiritual and human capabilities - to overcome the religions and languages in this country, and they began to interact And they exchange influence and influence: Arabic

interprets, explains, clarifies, and Islam gives a new supply of words, terms, structures, and meanings that Arabic did not have a common employment or familiarity with (Bshir,1997:172) , Islam without the Arabic language may be tainted by ambiguity or ambiguity in some of its issues and principles, and may even be afflicted with some kind of lack of clarity of vision, and Arabic without Islam narrows its borders, dries up its sticks and disrupts its energies, and some shrinkage and isolation may follow it (Bshir,1997:171). And the Arabic language, in its capacity as the language of the Noble Qur'an, became the common language of Muslims in the Middle Ages, and its superiority was evident in all fields of culture, in the religious and literary fields, in the intellectual and legal fields, and up to the literary methods themselves, while the Arabic language dominated the local dialects in In the western states (the Islamic Maghreb region), Persian remained in circulation in the eastern states, and this does not preclude saying that the renaissance that it witnessed in the tenth century AD was due to the emergence of a new language that was a mixture of Arabic and Persian (Rotvin,2007:38). This linguistic group, which represents the Berber dialects and its ancient Libyan predecessor, has been threatened by other civil languages, and thus has cracked and dispersed into different blocks; The Berber dialects settled in more difficult mountainous regions, while in other regions they succumbed to a language more in line with social necessities. Arabic has invaded the inhabitants of the cities and the plains, and therefore it is wrong to believe that the division between the Arabic-speaking and the Berber-speaking reflects an opposition between an Arab race and a barbarian race (Julian,1983:78). The Arabic language and its spread in North Africa represent the distinctive and most obvious element, especially the texts written in Arabic, which allow knowledge of the history of this country (Marcier,1991:45-46).

The influence of the Arabic language on the countries that Islam entered in the first centuries of immigration is evident. Where the matter did not stop with these languages when they were moved and activated, in fulfillment of the need for accurate translation of the Noble Qur'an and other Islamic religious texts. Rather, the influence extended to the reception of these languages abundant with Islamic expressions and terms that were unable to formulate what corresponds to them or generate what expresses their concepts and connotations. These difficulties were among the most important factors and reasons that prompted people in the East and West (Muslims and non-Muslims) to learn Arabic, as it is the real key to understanding Islam and

comprehending its secrets (Bshir,1997:181). The dominance of the Arabic language over everything else is evident to us through the text of Ibn Khaldun in his talk about the Berber tribes of Yafran, Nafusa, and Nafzawa. The barbarian "was based on Kairouan, and it was during this era domains for the Arabs from Selim, Beyfran and Hawara, and they were vanquished under their hands. It appeared with them, and they forgot the jargon of the non-Arabs, and they spoke in the languages of the Arabs, and they adorned their slogan in all their conditions." (Ibn Khaldun.2000:6:135).

What can be said is that in the first Hijri centuries, especially before the migration of the Arab tribes, Arabic faced difficulties in spreading with the importance of the Arabic language and its absolute connection with Islam, but this does not confirm the ease of its spread and acceptance by the population; This is a text by Al-Yaqoubi in his book *Al-Buldan*, in which he says: "From Tripoli to the land of Nafusa, they are a people of non-Arabic languages, all of them Ibadites." (yaqubi,2002:135), which is a description of the inhabitants of western Libya in the third century AH.

Al-Shamakhi, the historian of the Ibadis, gives us a narration that tells us that a man from the Arabs from the loyalists of Luwata called Saeed went to the desert and ended up in the place of Abu Sahl in the islands of Bani Mazghanan. So he honored him and asked him about the people of the call, so he wrote down for them twelve books of exhortation, reminder and intimidation composed in the Berber language, and he used to improve it as he was a translator for Imam Aflah bin Abdul Wahhab Al-Rustami and Imam Yusuf after him (Shamakhi,1987:1:244). And since Imam Aflah was the third imam of the Rustamid state, and he ruled between the end of the first century AH and the beginning of the second century AH (702 AD / 810 AD), this incident falls within the first centuries of the Hijra that we mentioned previously, in which the spread of Arabic decreased until this date in an African region. and western Libya in particular. What is meant here are the people of the desert who do not know Arabic, so this Arab who mastered the language of the Berbers in addition to his Arabic wrote down for them twelve books on religious preaching, and we also conclude from this text that the imam succeeded mastering Arabic alongside the Berbers and that this Arab who is an interpreter between him and his subjects from the Berbers; This is because the Ibadites of the Nafusa Mountains do not master Arabic until its date, and this is what Al-Baroni explained by saying The imam sent them a letter written on firm oaths in four languages, Arabic, Hadari, Berber and Abyssinian,

because he, rahimah allah, spoke in several languages (Baroni,2005:204-205). Imam Aflah is one of the well-versed and prominent in Arabic, and it seems that the Imam Aflah bin Abd al-Wahhab and his son Yusuf after him had more than one translator, and that some of them belonged to the Berbers, for example, “the chaste ascetic Sheikh Abu Sahl, the owner of many books in the Berber language, because he was the most eloquent of the people of his time.” In it, he was an interpreter for Imam Aflah, then for Imam Yusuf (Baroni,2005:113). This is normal for a country built on an ideological and dogmatic foundation that desires to spread the call and gather supporters among the Berber population of the region. And in a text mentioned by Abu Zakariya that “the book of the imam arrived in Tripoli, its people gathered on it and read it, and they made it wrong for those who appointed a successor and corrected those who stopped appointing him.” (Abuzkarya,1982:120). The intended imam here is Imam Abd al-Wahhab ibn Rustam, the second caliph of the Rustamid state. This text raises the question: In what language was this book sent from the imam to the people of Tripoli? Is it in Arabic or Berber? Where the important thing here and what the answer depends on is the meeting of the people of Tripoli with it and reading it, and the language in which this book is written helps determine the extent of the spread of the Arabic language in this region in that period.

One of the historians mentions to us an important fact, which is that the Arabic language is the official language of the Rustamid state, and that it nevertheless embraced the Berber language and tried to promote it by various means, and that the Rustamids had translators who transferred books from Arabic to Berber to take aspects that did not improve Arabic. Like Berbers who are cut off from the tops of the mountains, their share of knowledge (Omar,1971:76-77). And this behavior by the Rustamid state to preserve the spread of Ibadism and its roots among its subjects, or what they call them (the people of the call), as its influence included the western regions of Libya except for the coastal part of Tripoli, and there is no doubt that this matter has limited and reduced the opportunities for the spread of Arabic in These regions are another fact that is mentioned in one of the sources, which is that just as the Berbers there did not master Arabic at first, and this is a natural matter in which there is no dispute, there are also some Arabs who did not master Berber despite their adherence to the Berbers and their stay among them. In a narration that Walad bin Khalaf addressed one of them, he said to him, “I wish you had not called me a prince,

you ill-wishers of barbarism, so he denounced them, because he is an Arab man who did not improve barbarism.“ (Abuzkarya,1982:153). And behind this is the grandson of Abu al-Khattab bin Abd al-Ilah al-Ma’afari, an Arab of Yemeni origins, and despite their presence with the Berbers and their leaders in a previous period, he was not affected by the barbarism and did not master it, and this is an important issue that must be addressed.

In the book of Al-Shamakhi, which is an important source of Ibadi history, it lists texts for some Ibadi scholars and jurists, saying that they are poems in the Berber language, and this shows that until that period, Berberism was still entrenched in the minds and discourse of the Berbers, despite the competition of Arabic. He quotes, for example, “Among them is Abu Yaqoub Yusuf bin Muhammad, the owner of knowledge and narrations, and he is the author of the restriction in which the barbaric poetry of the sheikhs is mentioned.” (Abuzkarya,1982:147) . As other narrations indicate, and in another place that seems to be in the same historical period, it is mentioned that “Abu Muhammad Al-Qantari was answered in supplications ... and called upon them to force them with barbaric words.” (Shamakhi,1987:1:217). The duality of languages for some does not negate the presence of Arabic and their mastery of it. As another text indicates that Abu Ubaidah hilf biallah, “In every language that he perfects, be it Arabic, Berber, Kanim, etc., I will fight them even if I meet him only with this sword of mine.” (Shamakhi,1987:1:153). The same is the case in a narration that talks about Imam Aflah Abd al-Wahhab bin Rustam, the prince of the Rustamid state, who sent to his followers in the Nafusa Mountains urging them to take over Abu Ubaidah’s affairs there, as the latter had apologized by saying (I am weak, I am weak, so I am not able to do the affairs of the Muslims. So the imam sent them a letter ordering them to use it, and he hilf biallah , in Arabic, and (berdiu) in Hadari (and Abikishen) in Berber, that I do not follow the affairs of Muslims except a man who says (I am weak, I am weak) ,(Abuzkarya,1982:123-124). And according to Al-Shamakhi, he “ ” hilf biallah in the language of the Arabs, the language of the non-Arabs, and the language of the Berbers.” (Shamakhi,1987:1:158).

The foregoing shows the existence of the Arabic language as a language of communication between the state represented by (Imam Aflah bin Abdul Wahhab) and the parish (Ibadi Jabal Nafusa), along with other local languages, although Arabic was not the only language at that early time in the history of the Islamic presence in this

region Likewise, during the Almohad period ,Al-Marrakshi talked about the Almohad caliphs and their description in travel and urbanization, that if they rode in their travels, the reading would be opened by the students of the Almohads behind the caliph, and they would read a part of the Qur'an at the end of the recitation while they were walking in a gentle manner, then some of the hadith, then they would read the compositions of Ibn Tumart in the doctrines with their tongue and with their tongue Arabi (Marrakshi,1962:427). And from this narration, it is clear that the Qur'an was recited first, then the hadeeth in Arabic. As for the compilations of beliefs, they were read in the Arabic and Berber tongues. According to what is required by the requirements of Sharia and the performance of worship, and also another important issue, which is that this duality of languages indicates that there are those who do not understand barbarism and do not master it, and this is what is meant by his saying (in their tongue and in the Arabic tongue). Speaking in several languages seemed to be common, especially among scholars and sheikhs. ; This is a narration according to one of the historians who says, "Abu Ubaidah was one of the governors of Abd al-Wahhab ibn Rustam on Mount Nafusa and one of its famous scholars who could speak several languages well, so he swore to him in Berber and Kanmi." (Baroni,2005:221). The one to whom Abu Ubaidah swore is a man from the remains of Ibn Fandin (and he is the one who rejected the leadership of Abu Ubaidah by Abd al-Wahhab bin Rustam, and this man may not have mastered Arabic at that time. Another question is why he swore to him in Kanim (relative to the country of Kanem south of the Sahara), and the answer :Perhaps this man traces his origins back to people who speak this language, which may be of African origins, and this language has been mentioned in more than one place in the Ibadi sources, and it seems to be one of the local languages that were in Libya before the Islamic conquest, and it is spoken by a small group of population.

And the previous texts on this issue regarding the use of two languages or more than one language in correspondence and sermons, and therefore it was necessary to use the Arabic and Berber languages at the very least, and this explanation shows us that just as Berber and other local languages did not recede and fade away, so too, Arabic has proven Her presence and presence at that early time, It seems that the mixing that took place between the Arabs and the Amazigh society throughout the ages made some Arabic vocabulary enter the Berber language, as confirmed by the testimony of Al-Hassan Al-Wazzan, who provided us with an important opinion,

indicating that this phenomenon in its interaction confirms the validity of the point of view that tends to prove the Yemeni origin of the peoples. Amazigh (Qadri,2005:14).

As we have mentioned about the importance of the Arabic language and its relationship to Islam, and that understanding Islamic teachings and laws cannot be achieved without understanding Arabic, even if it is at its minimum level, one of the Ibadi sheikhs and jurists recommends in his book to one of them that “we have to know seven names in Arabic (Allah, Gabriel, Adam, Muhammad, and the Qur’an, Heaven and Hell), And in the questions of monotheism is a testimony Ann la Iilah 'Iilaa Allah wahdah la sharik lah wa'ana mhmdaan eabduh warasuluh and that what he brought is true, he brings it like this in Arabic, and if he leaves something of it, then it is not sufficient (Shamakhi,1987:2:175).

These correspondences and teachings come within the framework of urging people to learn Arabic, even at its minimum level, in the mountainous regions whose isolation and remoteness from Arab influences we have already mentioned in history Early Islamic. And this early history confirms one of the historians (Abu Sowa,2012:257). that it witnessed a process of change in its social fabric, especially the region of Barqa, and that this change began since the first century of immigration; And because of that change, the sources no longer mention the need for translators, for example, And that many of the inhabitants of the Barqa region traveled to Egypt and to the Levant after that, and that this made some of them lend poetry in the Arabic language since the first century of migration. In the region of Tripoli, a narration by al-Qirwani mentions that Yahya bin Musa, the successor of Harthama bin Ayn, when he came to Tripoli, he prayed People on Eid al-Adha and sermons (Qirwany,1994:122). This prince succeeded Harthama at the end of the second century AH, During the Abbasid caliphate period, this sermon was undoubtedly in Arabic, because this governor represented the Abbasid caliphate in its rule of Ifriqiya and Tripoli, and the official language in correspondence and speeches was Arabic. What was mentioned in some sources, and the explanation given by some historians, leads us to believe that the decline of local languages in front of Arabic began at an early age. It predates even the migration of the Arab tribes, although not in a perfect way, especially among the common people. Some of them took the Arabic language and pronounce it within the limits of what their tongue can pronounce it, and this has led to heart operations in the

Arabic letters to bring them closer to sound, and they abandoned some of the non-Arabic letters because they were not needed (Bazama,1972:67).

As for the other local languages, the conflict between them and Arabic was easy, as the owners of these languages were very few, and their languages were used in limited areas and among certain circles, in addition to being used in the bureaus, and none of them had the characteristics of the general language that had influence and power in various parts of the region. Another reason is that most of the speakers of these languages left the country after the Muslims were in control, and the field became favorable for the conquerors and their language, and thus the field was vacated for the Arabic and Berber languages, which fought a struggle that resulted in the sharing of areas of influence. Berber communities until now, the Arabic language prevailed and spread throughout Libya, but with the extension of its sovereignty over the Berber regions as bilingual regions (Omar,1971:60-61).And this is confirmed by historical facts and evidence, that a few confined areas in the Nafusa Mountains, and a small part of the western coast of the Tripoli region (Zuwara region) have kept their Berber language along with the official language (Arabic) throughout the ages, In some Maghreb regions in general, it is concluded through some references and plucks here and there that the areas of the Berber communities close to the Arab communities; That is, all the regions that formed a line of contact between the Arabs and the Berbers spoke a Berber dialect mixed with many Arabic terms, and in some other regions they spoke a corrupt Arabic language, according to his description. and this corruption of language is likely to be a barbaric language in origin However, it was influenced by Arabic as a result of the migrations of the Arab tribes in the Almohad era, and the resulting Arabization among the Berbers (Qadri,2005:19-20). In any case, it seems that the influence of the Berber language on the Arabic language was clear and obvious in various forms and incidents, whether it was in the form of a complete sweep in cities and urban areas, among the educated and educated elites, and in official state institutions and their dealings, or a partial sweep in the countryside, deserts and areas of contact. With the Arab tribes, which, although they did not preserve their local language, had imbibed a corrupt Arabic language through the mixing of the Arabic and Berber languages. Based on the foregoing, it can be said that the language did not come out without being affected in its struggle with the local languages in the regions after the spread of the Arabs, even if they had conquered them. Rather, the effects of

this conflict began to appear since the end of the first and early second centuries AH. And after their instinct, their tongues softened, and their mixing with non-Arabs increased, so the language of addressing them differed from the language of their writing, and it also differed according to the different regions, especially after the severing of the political unity between the parts of the Arab Islamic state. The emergence of independent regions. It is not hidden that this schism, independence, the expansion of the land that was subject to Arab rule, and the large number of peoples who entered Islam had an impact on the weakening of the central authority and the political disintegration of the state and its division into independent states, the effect on the state of thought and language, as well as the impact of geographical factors represented in the differences between regions or regions one region (King, d:7).

One of the orientalist historians, (Marcier, 1991:46), notes that the Arabic language did not eliminate the Berber language - which is the likely heir to the Numidian and Libyan languages - according to his interpretation, as it still remains to this day in common or difficult-to-penetrate areas such as southern Tripoli and the Aures. And that the Berber language remained the dominant language in the Middle Ages in the mountains and valleys and among the resident and nomadic peasants, and that it was not the language of civilization, and its method was primitive and invalid. And it was only suitable for poor oral literature, and over the ages it became a speech language sufficient for the specific requirements of the undeveloped rural people. With the acknowledgment of Maghrib historian that the Arab conquest brought about a revolution in the linguistic path and resulted in the barbarian leaders' desire to learn the Arabic language. However, according to his opinion, the Berber language retained its weight and weight within the Maghrib social entity, and that Arabic limited its role and scope to religious and literary issues, correspondence and coinage, and its spread remained confined to the cities without the deserts, and proceeded among the public at a slow pace (Qadri, 2005:14). This opinion proves the validity of the penetration of Arabic and its competition with barbarism in the depth of the living and life sphere of the population, as when a language sweeps through cities, official offices, and transactions in its various forms, the role of the other competing language recedes, diminishes, and fades with the passage of time, and its survival in the countryside does not indicate its steadfastness and survival. With the author's own acknowledgment that some researchers disagreed with his opinion by saying that the countryside was a field

for Arabization as well (Qadri,2005:14). The writer finds no room for recognition elsewhere that the process of Arabization began to sweep many of the urban and neighboring areas, and that its influence was no longer confined to the political and intellectual elite, but rather included other social circles. As a result, barbarism began to decline, especially in areas close to the circles Urban area (Qadri,2005:24-25).

The process of scrambling and conflict between the Arabic and Amazigh languages has occupied the interest of some historians in the present era. There are advocates of Arab nationalism and their vision, and there are advocates of Amazigh nationalism, their view and interpretation; Advocates of Arab nationalism look at the existence of a linguistic reality that is characterized by the existence of a unified Arabic language, with the presence of some limited Amazigh dialects, which do not rise to the level of language, while the advocates of Amazigh see the existence of a linguistic reality characterized by the conflict between two main languages, namely Arabic and Tamazight. Two may not differ in the fact that the Arabic language is a unified standard language for the inhabitants of North Africa, but the Amazigh linguistic reality raises a lot of controversy and debates about the limits of the concept of language and the concept of dialect (Karkhi,2014:135). The laws of linguistic conflict often require that the dominant language be affected by some aspects of the dominant language, especially in its vocabulary due to the length of contact between the two languages. The extent of this vulnerability varies according to the circumstances, and it increases when this friction is prolonged, the conflict becomes violent, and the resistance of the defeated language becomes stronger. Manifestations of vulnerability diminish when the duration of the conflict is shortened, its intensity diminishes, or the resistance of the defeated language weakens, Therefore, the barbarism in North Africa and the romanticism in Andalusia hardly left an impact on the eloquent Arabic because the struggle was not violent, and the Arabic did not receive strong resistance from them. Their influence was limited to some matters related to pronunciation, composition, and vocabulary that seemed to be words borrowed from the Arabic from them, in addition to the fact that the speaker of two different languages may be subjected without feeling to using the methods of expression specific to one of them when speaking the other, and he applies to the new language some pronunciation habits that he became familiar with in the abandoned language. Since the Arabic sounds must have undergone some distortion in the tongues

of non-Arab speakers due to their difference in the linguistic family, some of its sounds are not found in other languages, and the Arabs called this change an accent (King,n,d:9).

Therefore, it seems that with the advent of the eighth century AH, the process of Arabization began to sweep many of the urban and neighboring areas, and its impact was no longer limited to the political and intellectual elite, but rather included other social circles. Hence, barbarism began to know some decline, especially in areas close to urban circles (Qadri,2005:24-25). This decline, from a demographic point of view, is evident; amazigh (Berber) is one of the linguistic branches targeted by isolation, and perhaps - by extinction in the long term - in certain regions of North Africa, where it is noticed a continuous decrease in the influence of its areas of spread with the passage of time, both in the short term, as is the case in Tunisia, where the number of speakers is estimated Amazigh (about 60,000 people), Distributed between the island of Djerba and about five villages in the south of the country, and in the medium term, as is the case in Mauritania, whose speakers are about (10,000 individuals), and in the Egyptian Siwa Oasis also about (10,000 individuals), where it is expected that the Amazigh language will continue there for several years due to isolation and geographical distance from the Arabized center. And in the long run, as is the case in Libya (Zawagha region and Jebel Nafusa), the growing sense of Amazigh belonging there has had a positive role in preserving the linguistic specificity of these regions. As for Morocco and Algeria, the situation differs greatly due to the huge spread of the field of Amazigh languages there, and the demographic weight. phenomenal native speakers (Karkhi,2014:131) In the clear interest of the Berbers in learning the Arabic language and their attachment to it, an important fact must be mentioned, which is that the sources did not mention in what I know the Berbers translating the Noble Qur'an into their language, but rather they took the initiative to learn Arabic, master it, and master it. It is known historically that the Berbers were revolting against the Arabs, either because of their desire to pay the tax, or they hoped for independence and expelling the Arabs from their homeland, and they established mini states between Tripoli and Andalusia. However, they did not think of rejecting the language and religion of the Arabs and returning to the Latin language and the Christian religion, so most of their authors in monotheism, jurisprudence and history remained writing their writings in Arabic (Omar,1971:50).

4.2. The Second Topic: the Jurisprudential and Scientific Output of the Inhabitants of the Libyan Region after Arabization

With the middle of the first century of migration, most of the Libyan regions were conquered, despite the conflicts that occurred after that and included all parts of Ifriqiya (North Africa), but it can be said that the spread of Islam proceeded at an accelerated pace, as the population embraced it willingly, and Islam, as we know, came to guide people and urges them to seek knowledge; It was the first surah revealed in the Holy Qur'an :

باسم ربك الذي خلق ، خلق الإنسان من علق، اقرأ وربك الأكرم الذي علم بالقلم، علم الإنسان ما لم يعلم
(Surat Al-Alaq: 1-5)

, and in another verse

(يرفع الله الذين آمنوا منكم والذين أوتوا العلم درجات والله بما تعملون خبير) (Surat Al-Mujadalah,:11) As well as the saying of the Allah:

(هل يستوي الذين يعلمون والذين لا يعلمون) (Surat Al-Zumar: 9). There are many verses that urge the pursuit of knowledge, and that the Muslim will be rewarded and will have a high position, because of his efforts to seek knowledge, and there are hadiths from the Alrasul Salaa Allah Ealayh Wasalam that urge Muslims to learn and teach from them: Anas bin Malik -Radi Allah anhu- ean Alnabii -Salaa Allah ealayh wasalama- that he said: (Seeking knowledge is obligatory for every Muslim). Abdullah bin Abbas Radi Allah anhu- ean Alnabii -Salaa Allah ealayh wasalama-, who said: (Whoever God wants good for, He gives him understanding of religion), And Abu Hurairah - Radi Allah anhu- ean Alnabii -Salaa Allah ealayh wasalama- that he said: (People are minerals like the minerals of gold and silver They are the best in the Jahiliyyah, the best in Islam if they understand, and souls are conscripted soldiers Whatever you get acquainted with, you agree, and whatever you disagree with, you disagree). He said: (Whoever takes a path seeking knowledge, Allah will facilitate for him a path to Paradise), and this hadith shows that whoever steps the path of knowledge and takes it, Allah will facilitate his path to enter Paradise.

And the importance of the Arabic language and tongue is of great importance, as we mentioned above, to understand the purposes of religion, and it is a factor for the

Arabization of Muslim peoples and groups that have entered the religion of Islam. If the Muslim is a non-Arab, then he is commanded to express the secrets of the Noble Qur'an through the Arabic tongue (Abu Hamdeh,1983:51).

The period (2nd AH / 8th AD) is considered a founding stage in the consolidation of the scientific and educational movement, which began to spread and expand with the passage of time, which resulted in the emergence of many students and scholars (Kordi, 2008:105).

And many narrations talk about scholars and jurists from Jabal Nafusa and Tripoli, who excelled and mastered the Arabic language and its sciences, which represents a great cultural shift for the inhabitants of these regions, and confirms the importance of the language and their keenness to master it and explore the depths of its secrets, and thus its spread and rootedness in the Berber society Al-Shamakhi tells us about Abu Ubaidah al-Araj, who was "a scholar of theology, jurisprudence, language, grammar and documents." (Shamakhi,1987:1:190-191). Abu al-Qasim and Abu Khazar al-Wasyanyan learned issues of syntax, language, and the arts of knowledge from Abi al-Rabee Suleiman bin Zarfun al-Nafusi, and that was their case, until they reached a great amount of knowledge. So, they held the episode for those who come to them from among the people of the call, and they learn about them until their affairs become famous and they are mentioned (Abuzkarya,1982:205). The foregoing shows the increase and forefront of one of the Nafusa scholars in syntax and language, and that whoever learns from his hands in that science, they also have a circle that teaches the language and its sciences to their students from the people of the call - and they are the people of the Ibadi sect - until they became famous and became a destination for many students of knowledge. And the large number of students and learners For the sciences of the Arabic language, we also learn it from talking about the incident of the Battle of (Manu) between the Berbers and the soldiers of the Aghlabid prince, where tens of students died in that battle, whom Abu Nuh Sa'id ibn Zafghil taught the jurisprudence of the language (Abuzkarya,1982:218).Their superiority and prowess in the Arabic language is evident for some of them in memorizing and studying the poetry of the Arabs. This is Abu Imran Musa bin Abi Yusuf, who "read the sciences of grammar, rhetoric, logic, and fundamentals... He mentioned that he disagreed with some of the sheikhs on an issue of grammar, so he brought in proving it nearly Twenty witnesses of Arab poetry... and that if you sat with him on your day, you would not find a word

with a melody in which there is no inflection or inflection... As for the language and inflection, it is amazing (Shamakhi,1987:2:202).And one of the jurists of Jabal Nafusa (Abu Ubaidah) was knowledgeable in jurisprudence, speech, documents and language, and he has his fingerprints in spreading the Arabic language. One of them narrates, for example, that he was given the book *Reforming the Language*, which was written by Abdullah bin Muslim bin Qutaybah (Baruni,2005:297). This Ibn Qutayba is one of the scholars of the Levantine Arabs, and this shows us the keenness of the Berber jurists and scholars to know and be acquainted with everything that is related to Arabic. In sum, the governorships of Abi Al-Yaqzan bin Aflah - one of the princes of the Rustamid state - were filled with knowledge, scholars and ascetics, especially in the jebal Nafusa (Baruni,2005:293).

4.2.1. The Activity of the Scientific Movement in Libya in the Middle Ages

It is important to track the spread of Arabic among the population in the Libyan regions, to recognize and monitor the scientific movement in those regions, and what this movement contains of scholars, jurists and students who learned and took knowledge from their sheikhs, as well as the seminars, as the more the teaching and learning process increases, the spread of the seminars and the more The organizers of it are students and students, and this predicts and informs the extent to which the population received the teachings of their religion and its laws in the Arabic language, since the language of jurisprudence and science was mostly taught in Arabic. As a result of the previous factors that we presented , (See: the first topic and the second topic of the third chapter).Which helped spread the Arabic language in Maghrib in general. It can be said that in an early form, some linguists and grammarians began to appear gradually in Libya since the third century AH (Moftah,1978:260).

Do not skimp on the Ibadhi sources by listing a good number of jurists and scholars, who emerged and spread their reputation in that period, and what they influenced in society in terms of teaching, fatwas, preaching and guidance, and the numbers of scholars and jurists predict scientific development and a radical shift in the system of knowledge, values, scientific and cultural life. In an early historical period when Abd al-Rahman ibn Rustam, the emir and founder of the Rustumid state, from

Tripoli and Jabal Nafusa, there were only more than sixty of the greatest scholars and people of virtue and opinion (Baruni,2005:40).

And during the period of the mandate of Abd al-Wahhab ibn Abd al-Rahman Rustam, the second emir of the Rustamid state, and since the Nafusa Mountains and the environs of Tripoli owed him loyalty and obedience, he sent a letter to his governor in the mountain asking them to send him a worthy army. There will be a man with knowledge of the arts of responding to violators, and a man of knowledge of the arts of interpretation (Abuzkarya,1982:205). And in a narration by one of the historians, he asked a hundred scholars in the science of interpretation, and a hundred scholars of theology who stand on the tendencies of the sects and who know ways to respond to them and argue with them, and a hundred scholars who are versed in issues of what is permitted and forbidden (Baruni,2005:171). And this shows the extent of development, progress, and brilliance in the sciences of Sharia and language to the point of the emergence of masters among them in the art of debate and argument, and it is also clear from the foregoing that there is conflict and doctrinal conflict with other doctrines in an African region, and this is a historical fact that cannot be denied; The doctrine of the Rustamiya state is the Ibadi doctrine belonging to the thought of the Kharijites, in the face of other Sunni doctrines (Malikis and Shafi'is). Among the jurists of the mountain in the century (2 AH - 8 AD), the jurist Abu Khalil Sall stands out for us from the people of Drakal, and his fatwas and sayings filled religious and jurisprudential books (Kordi, 2008:107) And in the biographies, he says to the students, "Go to the gatherings, O lazy ones." The one who attended them had what was between him and Gabes and Fezzan (Shamakhi,1987:1:182). Many students studied at his hands, including: Abu Aban, Wassim Al-Wigwi, and Badran bin Jawad; These two sciences that had a prominent role in the scientific movement (Kordi, 2008:107) One of the most prominent jurists and one of the first to take knowledge from the eastern Arabs was Amr ibn Yamktan, for he "learned the Qur'an from the way of Maghamdas, in which he received his companions from the Arabs from the East, so he wrote his Board from the Qur'an on their behalf and left, If he studied what was written and learned, he would return to the document, and the comrades passing by would write his Board and leave, and he would lead that learning to knowledge and the Qur'an... This is due to his eagerness to seek knowledge and the Qur'an at the beginning of Islam. There are few teachers in countries (Ibn Salam,1985:149-150).

And he was the first to teach the Qur'an in the Nefusa Mountains in a house called Ifataman (Shamakhi,1987:1:127). And in this village Amr Ibn Yamktan opened the first school to teach the Book of Allah, so people used to come to him with passion and desire, and soon this village became a beacon that radiates the light of knowledge and faith in the entire Nefoussa Mountain. And even in the southern part of Libya (Muammar,2008:1:156). Among the influential and prominent scholars in the first century of the Hijra, on whom many students gathered, and from whom some sciences were taken, was Abu Zakariya Yahya bin Zakariya, as students of knowledge from Nefoussa, Djerba, Palmyra, Yafran and Maghrib used to meet with him (Shamakhi,1987:2:204). Among the scholars, Abu al-Najat al-Tamlushaiti, had a ring on him, and he was cruising around with his students in the Nafusa Mountains ,(Shamakhi,1987:2:195). Among the scholars for whom the sources recorded their interest in teaching was Sa`d ibn Yfaw, who was diving in the seas of the world to learn the uniqueness, and he wrote a book attributed to his first six students, and they were the first to sit in his hands to learn (Shamakhi,1987:2:55), The scholars were keen to spread knowledge among their students and encourage them. This is clear to us through the translations of some of them; This is Abu Zakaria Faseel bin Abi Maswar Al-Yahrasy, "He addressed his family and his decency so that they would fully care for the interests of the students, and he used to put the dirhams in papers and bundles, then he would hang them on the boards of the students, and he might put them in the containers of their notebooks and between them and their clothes, out of desire to conceal the alms." (Shamakhi,1987:2:51-52), Spending on students seems to have been the habit of many sheikhs, to urge them to seek knowledge. One of them sent a letter to Sheikh Al-Farsta'i, asking him about the favor and zakat that he collects to spend on students and students. Should he give it to others ,(Shamakhi,1987:2:190). And in the incident (Manu), the famous, and when the defeat befell the Ibadis, the sheikhs and students were fleeing behind the people, and dozens of students died in this incident (Shamakhi,1987:2:36-37).

And in a narration by Abu Zakariya, quoting from trustworthy people from the mountain, that the number of those killed was twelve thousand, four thousand from the Nafusa and eight thousand from among the Berbers and others who were with them, including four hundred scholars and jurists (Abu Zakariya,1982:157). Among the jurists are those who are famous for their piety, knowledge and education, and they

never married because they were occupied with knowledge. He inherited the books left behind by the students of Nafusa and its jurists, who is Abu Musa Isa al-Tarmsi (Abu Zakariya,1982:193). And in a narration that shows the spread of the scientific movement, teaching and learning in Jabal Nafusa, that Abu Salih and Abu Musa and those with them among the students stayed with Ibn Matus, Maghllah, reading knowledge, then they moved to Ifriqiya and studied books there for a while, then they returned to Ibn Matus and corrected what they read in that period (Shamakhi,1978:1:235). And the spread of seminars seems to be a common thing in that period and by all means and in various circumstances. He sent "Sheikh Abi Abdullah Muhammad bin Bakr to Abi Al-Qasim bin Warqun Al-Waili informing them of his coming to their district and to prepare a cave for him in which the students gather for the episode and determination." (Abu Zakariya,1982:265). And Sheikh Abi Abdullah Muhammad bin Bakr had taken knowledge from Sheikh Abi Noah Saeed bin Zangil, and when he reached what Allah had destined for him and Abu Noah died, he went towards Kairouan and learned grammar and Arabic with it, and when he left Kairouan, he sat for the episode (Abu Zakariya,1982:263). This text shows us the status of this scholar, and his interest in learning grammar and the Arabic language in general, when he went to Kairouan to learn it, then he came back and taught it to others by describing the text that he (sat for the episode) and it is known that the episode is intended for: the meeting of students from the seekers of knowledge and their gathering around the sheikh to receive knowledge And among those who learned from Sheikh Abi Abdullah Muhammad bin Bakr, Sheikh Abi Al-Rabee Suleiman bin Yakhlef Al-Mazati (Abu Zakariya,1982:281).The one who took knowledge from its pure source and its full mineral, “and he was a goal in the sciences, and he was one of the authors (the investigator in the assets), he spent his youth in reading and the rest of his life in reading, and he benefited a lot, and his knowledge was famous in the horizons.“ (Shamakhi,1987:2:82).

And the phrase (he benefited a lot of morals) delineates for us the reality of the large number of students and seekers of knowledge, as well as those who are eager to know and learn the principles of Sharia and the language, and Abu Al-Rabee returns to Nafusa, where he was born and resided. And he told those who were contemporary with Abu Zakaria that he realized the collection and books of Abi Al-Rabee’, and he had reached knowledge that many of his time had not reached, and his name was

famous and his mention was high, so that people lined up in Qastalia when he came to it, asking about the arts of science, so he answered everyone who asked him (Abu Zakariya,1982:193-194). Among those from whom Abu al-Rabee' learned knowledge was Abu Zakariyya ibn Sufyan al-Lalooti al-Nufusi. Abu Al-Rabee' came to him to learn with him, so he started issuing concessions in his council – that is, the council of Abu Zakariya – Abu Al-Rabi' said this is a lot. Abu Zakariyya said to him, “If you do not reply, stand up.” So, Abu Ar-Rabi' stood up, and Abu Zakariyya said to the students, “Return to him. Reject him if he does not understand, then no one else understands, and knowledge is taken from him by many humans (Shamakhi,1987:2:250-251). The presence of students in Abu Zakaria's council, and the fact that many people took knowledge from him indicates the spread of Islamic and linguistic sciences, and that Abu Zakaria is one of the prominent scholars who contributed greatly in this field. Among those who took knowledge from him were many jurists, Abu al-Rabee Suleiman bin Harun al-Lalooti, the sheikh of knowledge and investigation. And the narration mentions that he, along with his disciples, went out, and the Banu Tejen came across them, and they killed them all (Shamakhi,1987:1:252). And he received knowledge from well-known sheikhs, which also shows us the spread of science and the sciences of the Arabic language, as we mentioned previously. In another place, Abu Maysur al-Yahrasani was the first to be famous for knowledge from among the Yahrasun, and his learning was in the Nefusa Mountains, and he took knowledge from Abu Maarouf and Abu Zakariya al-Sidrati (Shamakhi,1987:1:251). It goes without saying that the sequence of acquiring knowledge from well-known jurists, and within the same environment and region, indicates the expansion and spread of scientific activity, especially in the sciences of language and jurisprudence, and among the examples of the scholar from whom many learned the jurisprudence are Sahnun ibn Ayyub He was a verse in the sciences and a goal in speech, and he quoted from his guidance leaders, including Abu al-Qasim, Abu Khazar, and others who are many in number. His monuments are still preserved in the direction of Tripoli (Shamakhi,1987:1:247).

The time of the transmission of this novel. As it becomes clear when studying some texts, the extent of competition between scholars in learning and exploring the Arabic language. This is Abu al-Fadl Abu al-Qasim bin Ibrahim al-Baradi, some of his students talk about him, He said: I was in Tunisia reading in the presence of al-

Hussein's council, and I encountered an issue, so I spoke about it as I was present, and the sheikh had paused in it. He said: Where did you get it from? I said: From Sheikh Abi Muhammad Al-Baradi. He said to the people of the council: "I have not seen anyone more knowledgeable than Abi Muhammad Al-Baradi." Some of those present got angry at what he said, so he said to Al-Bujairi Abdullah, who was knowledgeable in Arabic, that he shares Arabic with you and increases you in knowledge (Shamakhi,1987:2:210). And in a text by Abu Zakaria, he talks about that the rest of the students went "to the mountain - that is, the Nafusa Mountains - and a remnant of them remained, so when it was time for the students to return from the mountain, they returned to Tamoulset and stayed there for their year (Abu Zakariya,1982:288). This text and others indicate the competition among the population and their eagerness to learn more from Islamic and linguistic sciences, in the form of groups of students who move from one city to another to seek these sciences. And there are scholars who were keen to teach their children the sciences of language and jurisprudence and entrust them with the trust of teaching and disseminating them after him, among them, for example, Abu Yaqoub Yusuf al-Sidrati, who studied the sciences, so he excelled in the sciences of the Qur'an as a goal, and in the sciences of tongue, grammar and morphology a verse, and he had some interpretation of the Book of God that he entrusted. Types of knowledge such as reading, language, grammar and conjugation, and he deliberated on useful sciences from the sciences of the Qur'an, jurisprudence, and the science of linguistics, and his son carried them ,(Shamakhi,1987:2:105). Among the scholars who carried their knowledge and jurisprudence to their sons was Saeed Ibn Suleiman, who and his son Ahmed were both role models and imams, adhering to the method and well-behaved (Shamakhi,1987:2:115).

The most prominent aspects of the scientific and jurisprudential activity is represented in the presence of thousands of books in the famous library of the university treasury of Nefoussa, which is located in the city of Shrouse in the Nefoussa Mountains (Baruni,2005:263). And this indicates the abundance of scientific and jurisprudential production of the scholars of this region, and compared to what it was before the Islamic conquest, this matter represents a quantum leap and tremendous development expressed in one of its indicators the presence of these libraries in this numerical abundance. It is also noted that the Nafusa Mountains are closely linked to Djerba (the island in the Tunisian country), especially with regard to the travel and

destination of the Nafusa scholars and their students to this country to explore the sciences (Abu Zakariya,1982:281). This is understandable and normal; Whereas the people of Djerba follow the Ibadi doctrine, and the libraries of Djerba are still full of manuscripts and mother books of Ibadi.

4.3. The Third Topic: the Determinants of the Libyan Identity Affected by the Arabic Tongue

The images and determinants of the Libyan identity are evident in its new dress, in the medieval era, from the Islamic conquest until the seventh century AH, after the spread of Islam throughout the Libyan regions, and the migration of the major Arab tribes in the middle of the fifth century AH. Since the first century of Hijra, a social texture of a new type began to form, a texture that brought together the newcomers and the inhabitants of the interior regions that had not previously had intimate relations with the newcomer. under this relationship, the name Maghreban and Maghrebans appeared, and it is a new name, but it did not cancel the old names (Berbers, Amazigh, Africans, Romans, and Sudan) (Abu Sowah,2012:268-269). These determinants are manifested and highlighted in images and indicators, the most important of which are:

4.3.1. Arabization of Places and Placements (Abandonment and Evacuation of Barbarian Places and Places in Favor of Arab Tribes)

Therefore, the first trace of this indicator leads us to the fact that "the process of changing the fabric of Libya and other Maghreb regions can be limited on the one hand to the number of Mashreqas who settled in the region, and on the other hand to the large numbers of Libyans and other Maghrib people who moved to the East and resided in it for short, sometimes long stays." another time (Abu Sowah,2012:268-277). Ibn Khaldun mentions "As for Ifriqiya, all of it to Tripoli, it was the home of the Nafzawa, Bani Ifran, Nafusa, and countless Berber tribes. Its base was Kairouan, and for this era it was the domains of the Arabs from Salim, Bani Ifran and Hawara, and

they were vanquished under their hands(“ Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:134-135). The narrations indicate that Qaraqosh inaugurated “Zillah and Ujallah and removed from the country of Fezzan the state of (Bani Khattab) the Hawarites, and their rule was Zuweila, known as Zuweila Bani Al-Khattab ... and he preached in it to Salah al-Din and Taqi al-Din. And he continued on this method, opening the country and addressing those mentioned until he reached Tripoli, where the Dababians gathered around him and rose up with him to the Nafusa Mountains, so he seized him and extracted great money from him, which he pleased with the Arabs (Tijani,1981:112-113), In the sense that the supporters of Qaraqosh and his allies at the beginning were Arabs, and this facilitated their spread and residence in some important places and places in the geography of Libya. And in another text by Al-Tijani that “people from Hawara used to live before this in the palaces known as the palaces of Bani Khayyar, so the Arabs evicted them from them.” (Tijani,1981:85), This text also shows the evacuation of a people from Hawara at the hands of the Arabs who moved to the fort (Moharris in present-day Tunisia), and the area of Qasr Akhyar east of Tripoli still exists until now.

And another picture of the Arabs’ habitation and residing in place of the Berbers in some places. What was mentioned by al-Tijani also is that next to one of the fortresses there is a “populated village with gardens, spacious farms, a mosque and empty markets inhabited by a Berber people who before this lived in the palace of Mellitah from the land of Zuwara. And I saw it, and its mention will come after this, so the Arabs evacuated it and expelled those who settled in this land.” (Tijani,1981:59),These observations of the traveler Al-Tijani are of great importance in showing the demographic distribution and population spread in the Libyan regions, especially since they came in a period following the advent of the Arab tribes (Hilaliyya and Sulaymiyah). Al-Omari, who mentions his observations in the beginning of the eighth century AH, tells us in the chapter almaeanun B (mentioning the Arabs present in our time and their places) on the distribution of the Arab tribes in Libya and the rest of the other regions, the Banu Sulaym, and they are the largest of the Qays tribes, their dwellings are in Barqa, which follows the West, and which follows Egypt (Ibn Al-Omari,2010:4:199) , And he talks about the spread of what he called the Araban tribes from Egypt eastward, and their homes from Aqaba al-Kabira to Sousse, and they are: Salam group: Fazara - Muhareb - Qada'a - Bishr - Al-Jawashneh - Al-Ba'ajna - Al-Qabais - Awlad Salman - Al-Qassas - Al-Alawneh, as

well as the sons of Ahmed and their homes from Sousse To biar Sidra, Al-Mahamala, Banu Badr and Nazareth, and their residences end from Ahmed's palace in Misurata (present-day Misrata) on the coast, ending with the qibla land from Fezzan and Wadan, and among the Arabs are the sons of Suleiman, the group of Ghanem bin Zayed. They have the land from Misrata to the door of the city of Tripoli, then from Tripoli to Gabes dhubab, which collect Mahamid and waljiwari (Ibn Al-Omari,2010:4:200-201).

This description shows us the extent of the wide spread of the Arab tribes in that period, as it is distributed over the entire Libyan coast from the borders of Alexandria in Egypt to Gabes (in the Tunisian lands), and extends south to the lands of Fezzan, which are vast lands, interspersed with the most important cities and metropolises in the past. Until the present time. And it comes with a great deal of importance as well, as it talks about the spread and establishment of the Arab tribes in the Libyan regions after the Hilalian migration - and the Sulaymiyya that we talked about in the previous chapter. This is confirmed by what the author of Foresight mentions, in his description of the area between Alexandria and Sirte, that many Arabs and Berber tribes live in its neighborhoods, and that the city of Sirte is a large and ancient city, its people are of the lowest morals and the worst in their treatment (Ibn al-Omari,2010:4:108). Al-Hassan Al-Wazzan, who recorded his observations in the tenth century AH / fifteenth century AD, notes that all the African cities located on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlas Mountains, people generally speak a fluent Arabic language, while the peoples neighboring Tunisia all speak a corrupt Arabic language (Wazzan,1983:1:40).

We can also rely on another statistic to trace Arabization and its effects, which is the similarity of names or calling them from the Arab East to African regions and Maghrib in general. There is an analysis of one of the historians - who, by the way, is one of the Ibadhi historians in the modern period, says: "There are many places and tribes in Maghrib, especially in the Nafusa Mountains, that are named after places in the East." Perhaps they came at that time - that is, the time of the rule of the Rustamids - and Allah knows best, and from that the Hamran Ibadi tribe in Mount Fusatu in their village called by this name.

Among the social transformation and Arabization of some cities, it should be noted that the transformation of the city of Zuweila into an Islamic city did not

necessitate resorting to Islamic systems, but also necessitated the use of the language of the masters of the world at that time (Abu Sowa,2012:289). Also, the city of Wadan, according to al-Bakri's narration, was inhabited by Yemeni and Sahemian tribes, and despite al-Yaqoubi's skepticism about this matter, what is striking in the rest of the narration is his reference, unlike al-Bakri, to the local element, as its inhabitants are Muslims, but most of them are from the Mazata tribe (Abu Sowa,2012:290). As for the countries of the Maghreb in general, Arabization affected the neighborhoods and paths of the cities, not to mention giving Arabic names to the regions of the Maghreb, which had Latin names (Gordo,2011:79) , Umm Al-Gharaniq: A biar in the land of Sirte. It is attributed to Muhammad bin Ahmed bin Al-Aghlab, one of the princes of the aghlabiat state. He built guards , Along 15 stages on the coast of the Libyan Sea (Zawy,1968:4:40). And in the areas of Tripoli, there is the Hawara tribe, "people and people distributed by the Arabs from Daban in what they distributed among the subjects, and they overpowered them in their affairs... so they owned them as slaves in order to collect from them and increase their numbers in tyranny and war (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:187). This narration by Ibn Khaldun came in the context of his description of the Hawara tribe, which resembled the Arabs and their neighbor in their traditions in terms of affection and love.

The Arabization of places in their names highlights us first: the important change in the names of the most important Libyan cities and cities. We start with the name of the Barga region, where its name was in the Greek language, Tripolitania, which means 5 cities (Maghul,1986,143). Another historian mentions that Anatolia (as he mentioned it begins with alif) refers to the city (Barga) and not the region. "The first country in the Maghreb, which follows the coast of the Roman Sea, is the city of Anatolia, known as Barga," (Marrakshi,1962:439). And in another place, it is "the aforementioned city of Antilles, called Barga, built by the Romans, and it was present in that country." ,(Marrakshi,1962:431).That is, the Romans were the ones who built it and named it by this name before the Islamic conquest, then the Muslims called it after that (Burqa). Bazama indicates that Heraclius, the king of the Romans, left the Pentapolis region in the year 609 AD (Bazama,1972:35). Which indicates the antiquity of this name and its circulation before Islam. (Tripoli) , (Tripuolis) and (Atripoli) are an ancient and eternal city that was called (Awayat), a term that appears to be Berber and his name changed at a time that could not be determined, so he

became Tripoli, and the three cities are (Awa) Tripoli now the capital of the country. the Romans transliterated it to (Awa), meaning in Greek and Roman three cities (Ibn Ghalboun,n,d:y). And in a period of periods, Tripoli became advanced until it became the capital of the whole region, and it was called (Tripolitans), and it appears that with the length of time it changed to (Tripoli), which means three cities, and the Italians at the time of their occupation called every city by its name, so if they wanted the whole region they said: (Tripoli). and word Tripoli, Tripuolis, Atripoli, this is how the Tripolitans pronounce it. This is the correct Arabic name by which it was called since the year 22 AH, when it was first conquered by the Arabs. It came in the book of Amr ibn al-Aas, which he wrote to Omar ibn al-Khattab in Medina (Indeed, Allah has opened “Atripoli” to us, and there is only nine days between it and Ifriqiya.) The book of Amr Ibn Al-Aas clearly states that it is Tripoli, and it is the first Arabic name given to it (Zawy,1968:25). This detail mentioned by Sheikh Al-Taher Al-Zawy removed all ambiguity about the transformation of the name from Latin to Arabic after the Islamic conquest, and in his interpretation of the name (Tripoli of the West) he sees that during the Ottoman era it was called (Tripoli of the West) because the Ottomans were controlling Tripoli of the Levant (currently in Lebanon). They were forced to add it to the west to distinguish between the two countries. Before that, it was called Tripoli only (Zawy,1968:28).

And the city of (Sprata), and Sprata is now called Sabra and Zawagha, and the city of (Lebdis) and Lebdis is now called Leptis, and the name of Tripoli was given to the entire country from the borders of Egypt in the east to the borders of Tunisia in the west, and the Greeks called it (Tableta)(Ibn Ghalboun,n,d:y)From the aforementioned book of Amr ibn al-Aas, it is understood that (Tripoli) includes the whole region; Because he wrote it after he conquered Sirte, Libda, Tripolitania, and Sebrata, and reached (Sharus), the capital of Mount Nafusa, from which he wrote the answer, and he crossed the word Tripoli over all of this region (Zawy,1968:26). With regard to the Fezzan region and the transformation and development in its name after the Islamic conquest, it is possible to refer to the region (phazania) as Fazania (at the beginning, that the ancient historians used to refer to the reality between Tripoli in the north and Tibesti in the south, but when the decline began in the Roman state, the name Fazania disappeared, to be mentioned again To be mentioned again on the occasion of the conquest of North Africa at the hands of the Arabs, and it was referred to by Muslim

travelers and historians who used to roam these gaps and remote places in the lands of Islam later on (Danasoori,n,d:13). In the sense that a slight distortion of the name occurred when the Islamic sources dealt with it afterwards, and it is clear in many sources, such as Al-Yaqoubi, Al-Bakri, Al-Idrisi, Al-Hamwi, and other sources that dealt with it either casually or in some detail (Yaqoubi,2002:184. Idrisi,2002:1:112. Hamwi,1977:4:260). Around the ancient city of Tripoli, the Berber tribes of Zanata and Hawara resided, and some of the historic city gates were named after these tribes, There is a door in the city wall from the western-south side, called Bab Zanata, because it leads to the camps of the Zanata tribes and to the southwestern part of the city, and there is a door in the city wall that leads to the east and south of the city It is called Bab Hawara because it passes to the homes of the Hawara tribe, which are located east and south of the city, and this was the time of the Arab conquest and before it As for after him, Zanata and Hawara were evacuated from these areas, and no trace of them remained around the city (Zawy,1968:44-45) On the other hand, and in order to monitor the Arab tribal distribution in Libya after the conquest and the influx of Arabs into this region, it can be said that the Yemenis' predominance of the events of the second century of migration confirms and leaves no room for doubt , An intense Yemeni presence, whether in Tripoli, Wadan, or Zuweila, and the forefront of these could not occur in a tribal society except under a Yemeni presence (Abu Sowa,2012:299). Therefore, it can be said that “this state of relative stagnation will change by the seventh century AD, due to the continuation of mixing and fusion processes throughout the Middle Ages, which is the stage during which I claim that the modern origins of Libya's social fabric were formed.” (Abu Sowa,2012:299). And it was that Arab groups and homes were distributed among the Berbers to teach them the principles of Islam, and the leadership was transferred to some of them and they owned the lands (Douri,2009:249).

4.3.2. Arab and Berber Lineages and Genealogies- the Affiliation of the Barbarian Tribes to the Arab Lineage

It is clear to us in this part that the Berber genealogists imitate what the Arab genealogists did in the binary division from which the tribes descend. Likewise, some Berber tribes fabricated lineages related to them from the Arabs (Omar,1971:50). And

one of the historians mentions about the love of the Arab lineage that “the Berbers’ love of affiliation with the Arabs reached such an extent that we find an ascetic like Bahloul bin Rashid, who was rumored to be a Berber, that he made food for the people when some of them told him that he was of Arab origin, so he celebrated that and thanked Allah (Gordo,2011:80). Al-Maliki mentions the scholar and jurist Al-Bahloul bin Rashid in the third class of scholars, and in his name and lineage he mentions that his name is Al-Bahloul bin Rashid Al-Hajri Al-Ra’ini, and that Ra’een is one of the clans of Dhu Ra’in, from the well-known Himyar tribes (Maliki,1994:1:200). Al-Yaqoubi is alone with a narration that talks about that in Wadan, south of Sirte, there are people “Muslims who claim to be Arabs from Yemen, and most of them are from Mazzata, and they are dominant over it.” (Yaqoubi,2002:183). It is important to note that Mazata's claim of Arab descent is due to the arrival of Arabs or Arabized Berbers to the deserts of Wadan at an early period (Sheikhly,1986:39).

Some of the Berber tribes, whose narrations differ about their lineage, are the Zanata tribe. After he mentioned their lineage, in which it was decided that they go back to Mazigh - that is, the Berber lineage - it is mentioned in another narration that the Banu Marin are from Zanata and the Banu Marin trace their lineage back to Nafzaw bin Batr bin Qais bin Ghaylan bin Elias bin Mudar, and therefore the Banu Marin are from the outspoken Arabs (Ibin Adhari,2013:1:97-98). The description of Zanata and Mazzata as Arabized Berbers is also found by Al-Idrisi, where he mentions in his description of one of the places, “And whoever jumps to Talmitha Al-Halek is from a tribe of Berber Arabs called Mazzata, Zanata, and Fazara (Idrisi,2002:2:313), Perhaps it is necessary to stop at the text of Al-Idrisi, in which he described the tribes (Mazzata, Zanata, and Fazara) as Arabized Berbers, and in which he could not distinguish in his era between the Arabs of Fazara and the Berbers of Zanata and Mzata, and the reason for that is due to the merger of the Hilalian Arabs with the Berbers. In the Fezzan region, to the extent that it is difficult to distinguish between them (Sheikhly,1986:40). Aturi Rossi describes some Berber tribes descended from the Pyrenees branch and residing in the region of Tripoli, that they have been Arabized and have undergone a shift in their dynastic and ethnic composition. (Rossi,1991:59-60).

Among these tribes (Hawara - Kutama - Nafusa - Luwata). In spite of some evidence that gives indications to question the lineage of the Berbers, and in others

there are facts, but some researchers refuse to question the narrations of some Arab sources about the lineage of the Berbers and the controversy around them. The Arab sources - history and genealogy books - some of them attributed a large part of the Berber tribes to Arab origins, and others questioned that as we mentioned in the first chapter, and from that this researcher said that Arab historians and genealogy tried in the past to fabricate linguistic and historical origins for the inhabitants of North Africa Alleged linking them to the Arabs, and making their languages multiple branches of Arabic origin, as a prelude to integrating them into the Arab-Islamic civilization, without presenting a single proof for that (Karkhi,2014:126).

This conclusion ignores many of the narrations and texts reported by most historians and genealogies about the ancient and historical relationship between the people of North Africa and Yemen on the one hand, and the Levant also on the other. We expanded on this in The first Chapter , In the opinion of one of the historians about the relations of lineage and intermarriage, it is likely that there were early lineage and intermarriage relations between the conquering Arabs and the Berbers In his narration, he asks about “How do we explain the appearance of a man like Tariq bin Ziyad, an Arab whose name is of Arab descent, in the year 91 AH, except that his father had married one of the people of the country at such a time that we are talking about, but we set the example with Tariq in order to confirm that the movement of mixing between Arabs and Berbers - with marriage and Islam - were walking side by side with the conquests ,(Munis,n,d:286). This mixing of lineage is often due to the similarity in social lifestyles, intermarriage, integration and intermarriage between the country's residents and the Arab immigrants, which later contributed to the formation of the Libyan identity (Muhammad,2021:13).

At a later stage, a number of old tribal units disintegrated, and new groups were formed, most notably the Saadi tribes, which resulted from a human and social fusion between the Arab groups of Bani Salim and the Libyan Zanati tribes (Karkhi,2014:96). It seems that a generation of Mawlids who mixed the blood of the Arabs and the blood of the Berbers began to play a modest role and establish a bridge between the two sexes whose connection increased, and therefore it can be said that the merger that began since the second half of the eighth century (AD), in which the Berber slave girls played a certainly spontaneous role, But it is a significant role (Talibi,1995:45-46).

4.3.3. Transforming to New Habits and Traditions

Regarding the change of identity, and as a matter of turning to new customs and traditions, Ibn Khaldun talks about the Hawara tribe that some of them settled "between Barga and Alexandria... and they settled with the Harra tribes of Lahath bin Salim in the land of the hills of Ifriqiya... They became among the successful Arabs of Bani Salim in language, attire, living in tents, riding horses, earning camels, practicing wars, and familiarizing themselves with the two journeys in winter and summer in their Hill, They have forgotten the jargon of the Berbers and replaced it with the eloquence of the Arabs, so that they hardly differentiate between them (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:186). There is no doubt that Ibn Khaldun is the undisputed historian of Maghrib, especially in the social field, and he listed in the previous text a set of customs, traditions and lifestyles that the Berbers in the Barga region turned to after the migration of the Hilalis and Bani Sulaym. These traditions, the most prominent of which are clothing, livelihood, the method of housing, acquiring and caring for camels, and the trade profession in its dual form represented in the winter and summer trips, which the Arabs were famous for in the past, as stated in the Noble Qur'an (Surat Quraish). This change in traditions resulted in transform in tongue and language, from Berber to Classical Arabic. And in another place, he talks about the transformation that occurred to the Hilalis, after their settlement in North Africa and their assimilation into the social structure of its population, by saying, "...then they were unable to travel the wilderness and left the camels and took sheep and cows and became among the tribes of the oppressors, and perhaps the Sultan asked them to militarize with him, so they appointed soldiers." (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:134). And in the region of Tripoli, he talks about the Nafzawa, the Bani Ifran and the Nafusa, that they "may appear with them and forget the jargon of the non-Arabs, and speak in the languages of the Arabs, and wear their slogan in all their conditions." (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:135) What is meant by (tbddu) means that they became Bedouin and their way of life is like the desert, and (their slogan...) that is, they practiced the same traditions practiced by the Arabs.

This "country was before the advent of the Hilalis, if we exclude Islam, with the barbarism of language and customs in its depths, and it gradually recovered the barbaric political traditions whenever it got rid of the sultanate of the East."

(Julian,1983:2:97). This hypothesis is criticized by Abu Sowa, as this is the stereotypical ideas promoted by the French thesis during the occupation period. Since the barbaric political traditions that Julian talks about had been initiated since the second century of immigration; With the exception of Ifriqiya, which was ruled by different powers, some of them Maghrib and some of the Levant, after the decline and fall of the Umayyad dynasty, the partisanship of governance in the Middle Maghreb and the Far Maghreb since that date was barbaric (Abu Sawa,2012:331).

Among the indicators of transformation and change, a historian believes that the Berber kings built their palaces on Arab art (Omar,1971:50). Likewise, with regard to the change on a personal level, related to names and epithets, it seems that as someone mentioned, "It is clear that those who were born under Islam used to bear Arabic names accordingly As for the old and elderly men who became aware of Islam and became convinced of it and embraced it, there is no doubt that they also became convinced, and also consciously, that they became Muslims, and that they took Islamic names. They do not view it as an Arab, but as an Islamic one that carries a charge of the new religion (Gordo,2011:79). The importance of this interpretation by the historian Guru lies in the fact that adopting Islamic names was not limited to those who were born under Islam, as this seems natural, but rather included even elderly adults who took the initiative to change their names out of love and enthusiasm for belonging to the religion of Islam, and this shows us the extent of the depth of identity change. to the residents of the area.

How can tribes that differ in custom and even in Iraq have such an effect on the fabric of the people and their language, despite their destruction of the country and the people? (Abu Sowa,2012:333), In fact, the influence on some customs, especially in clothing, may be mutual between the two sexes - Arabs and Berbers - for this Ibn Khaldun mentions that the Arabs are still hesitating every year between the countryside and the desert... ascending and descending over the days. Their slogan is to wear mostly sewn clothes, and to wear turbans as crowns on their heads, they send from their edges sweets, with which some of them, who are the Arabs of the East, wear veils with their grace, and some of them wrap them with lace and deceptions before wearing them, then they cover themselves with what is under their chins from its bounty, and they are the Arabs of the Maghreb who weave with them the turbans of zanatat from the Berber nations (Ibn Khaldun,2000:6:245) And this is an accurate

description from Ibn Khaldun of the way Arabs dress in the Maghreb region. While the Arabs of the East wear the turban in the Levantine way, which they still maintain the way of wearing it as they were, or their ancestors were in the Hijaz, we find that what he called the Arabs of Maghrib wear the turban in a way that imitates and imitates the way they wear it. Turbans for Zanata barbaric. The Berber woman was also influenced by the dress of the hilalia-shaped woman, such as putting a veil on her face when she left the house (Rahali,2018:226).

This change and transformation in the social fabric of Maghrib in general, and Libya in particular, may be due to an early period during the tenure of Hassan ibn al-Nu`man, as one of the historians sees and believes by saying, "Hassan, with his policy of equality between Arabs and Berbers in the civil and military administrations, endeared Islam to the souls of the Berbers. And others embraced him with his eminence, and learned his instrument expressing him and obtained his origins, and spread among them Arab customs and traditions, and Arabic dialects side by side with Islam, and the Arabic mother tongue, and they expanded in building mosques from Barga to Daraa (Laqbal,1981:74), In his description of the city of Tahart, al-Bakri mentions his witnessing a gathering of the Wasiliya and the Zanatiyya Kharijites, numbering about thirty thousand, in houses similar to those of the Bedouins (Bakri,n,d:67). The meaning of the Bedouins here is the Arabs of Bani Hilal, and the house in the Arabic meaning and in the Arab traditions is referred to as the tent, in contrast to the name (Aldaar), which the Arabs call a dwelling that is built of stone and the like. One of the researchers also attributes that the (tent) was not widespread in the lands of the Berbers, as was the case after the arrival of the Arab tribes, but they used to live in mountains, caves and madrasahs, and this matter was until the fifth century AH when the Arabs entered Ifriqiya and settled it with their clothes and tents (Rahali,2018:225).The Berber community was influenced by some other customs of the Bani Hilal tribes. Among them is their going out to war, as the Hilalis used to take their women out with them to war to derive from them their presence They have courage and enthusiasm, a custom that still exists today in some barbarian tribes (Rahali,2018:226).,There are some other Arab traditions that have spread among the Berber tribes, such as raising horses, as they were not known among them before (Ahmed,1982:255-256). The Arabs took from the Berbers - just as the Berbers took from the Arabs - some of the food and foods that they were famous for and

distinguished from each other. The Crescent Arabs were famous for porridge, porridge, and bisays, while the Berbers were famous for eating (couscous), which they have until the present time.

4.3.4. Literary and Cultural Transformation

Poetry occupies a prominent place in the Arab conscience, and it represents for them the main base for building knowledge and culture. In the past, it was said that “poetry is the Diwan of the Arabs.” Since ancient times, Arabs have been accustomed to recording their events, events, and everything related to their lives in poetry, an incident that was not documented by a poet does not have a great share of trust and honesty. This poetry affected him and was affected by all classes and levels of society, the shepherd and the subjects, public and private, and it has many forms of pride and enthusiasm, satire and lamentation. And love and estrangement, and the first two types (pride and enthusiasm) are distinguished by a great position and influence from the rest of the other types, because of which wars and quarrels broke out, and also reconciliations and understandings took place, And how many a poet with a poem or a verse sparked the beginning of wars and disputes, as well as another poet who laid the foundations for reconciliation and harmony and extinguished the flames of strife and wars with a verse or a poem, and the books of history and Arabic literature abound with hundreds of witnesses and events on that that the place does not have the space to mention them.

The Hilali tribes, being the most dominant and widespread, and merging with the political and social reality of Ifriqiya in particular and Maghreb in general, and the conflicts and wars that these tribes waged with other tribes until the matter became stable. And it created for it, after a hard effort, a suitable climate for stability and settlement, in an African region at the beginning, and then that settlement and spread continued until the Middle Maghreb and the Far Maghreb.

There is also what is known as (Al-Taghrebah Al-Hilaliya), whose events revolve around the battles that took place between them and the Zanatis in Tripoli at first and were full of adventures and events. And its news continued to reach their brothers in Egypt, through what their poets organized in the form of Arabic folk stories, the hero of these stories was Abu Zaid al-Hilali and his opponent Khalifa al-

Zanati or al-Zanati Khalifah. This epic is considered one of the most prominent and most beautiful works of Arabic folk literature, characterized by a pure folk character that is unique of its kind (Munis,2004:169).

The European traveler Marmol Karbakhhal in the 16th century AD made valuable observations about multilingualism in North Africa, as he saw that the language spoken by the people of North Africa now consists of Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and ancient African, and that the rest of the African barbarians who live in the eastern side adjacent to the Kingdom of Tunisia And Tripoli in the west to the deserts of Barqa, they all speak a corrupt Arabic language, In addition to the aforementioned languages, those who speak classical Arabic in North Africa are few, but all of them, in their different languages, use in their original writings the letters of the Arabic alphabet that are usually read and written in all the countries of the Berbers, Numidia and Libya (Karbakhhal,1984:1:115). This description of the European traveler was in the sixteenth century AD / ninth-tenth Hijri, and it is not much later than the period under study. In his description, he talked about multilingualism, beginning in all of North Africa in general, from western Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean, to the Sahara desert, and he acknowledged in his viewing two important facts in that time period with regard to Libya, namely And they are: that (the inhabitants of western Tripolitania and the deserts of Barqa) speak a corrupt Arabic language, and despite the corruption of the language according to his description, he acknowledges the fact that the Arabic language has spread and its dominance over the rest of the languages, despite Al-Abdari on his journey when he spoke to the inhabitants of Barqa, when he crossed their places in his famous journey, It is mentioned that these residents are more eloquent and sound in the Arabic language than others, whether in the regions of the Maghreb or the East. Today's Arabs of Barqa are among the most eloquent Arabs we have seen, and the Arabs of Hijaz are also eloquent. But the Arabs of Barqa did not receive many people from them, so their words were not mixed with anything else. Until now, they are on their Arabian, and only a few of their words have spoiled them (Abdari,2007:136), In his description, there are much evidence to correct the Arabs of Barqa for many grammatical and lexical errors in his journey, he rode the alhajj on their way to the Holy Land. It is true that Al-Abdari's journey precedes the observations of Marmol Karbakhhal by about two hundred years, but this period does not spoil the language to this degree of description at Karbakhhal, in addition to that Al-

Abdari explicitly mentions that the inhabitants of Barqa at that time were Arabs and they were the majority of the population, and this result seems It is natural because this description of al-Abdari came after the Great Hilalian migration in the middle of the fifth century AH / eleventh century AD. That is, nearly two hundred years after this migration.

4.3.5. Comprehensive Islamic Civilization

Talking about the role of Islam in spreading the Arabic language is something that does not require much effort, but it cannot be the only factor; Many regions embraced Islam before the conquest of Maghreb, such as Persia, but they kept their language. As for the opinion that its companions say that changing the language and language of the people is related to the invasion of the language of the newcomer, then this is an opinion that cannot be taken for granted (Abu Sowa ,2012:291).The spread of the Arabic language came due to its scientific specificities, and the great similarity between the Arab and Berber environments, and if the process of Arabizing the Berbers was not completely completed and resulted in the existence of the existing Berber minorities, then these minorities have Arabized their tongues and Arabized their thoughts (Ben Hawala,2000:1:94). Julian describes the linguistic influence of Arabic on other languages and dialects by saying, “The Bedouins came with their own language, which can easily be distinguished from the dialects of the people of Medina inherited from the first conquerors, and from the language of the Bedouins branched out most of the rural Arabic dialects used today in North Africa.” (Julian,1983:2:98). Needless to say, this prejudiced description on the part of Julian when he said (the Bedouins came) and (from the language of the Bedouins) reflects the stereotype that echoes in many of the writings of the French Oriental school, although it does not overlook some undeniable facts, but it did not You can get rid of the families of this description and others, When talking about what is related to the Arabs and their entry and settlement in Ifriqiya, and the Maghreb region in general. But the inevitable historical fact is the linguistic influence of Arabic on other dialects, which he did not overlook in the text of his speech, and another historian praised it by saying that this linguistic influence extended to the compliance of some of these foreign languages with quite a few of the rules of conjugation and the structure of words, as prescribed in

Arabic in this regard. This extension also appeared in the adoption of the Arabic writing system in other languages, as is the case in the Urdu and Persian languages (albeit with some modification), and as it was in the Turkish language until recently (Bshir,1997:173).

Through our tracking and monitoring of the Arabization and its effects, Al-Zawi reminds us that there is a Berber city called (Arzaqia) from within the Awjalah oases, and the last of these are from, This city is inhabited by Berbers, and they still speak the Berber language as they speak and write Arabic, because Berber is a spoken language, not written, and it is the only town in Barqa whose people speak Berber (lingo). It is common among its residents that it contains the tomb of the companion Abdullah bin Saad bin Abi Al-Sarah, who was appointed by Caliph Othman bin Affan radi allah eanh as governor of Egypt in the year 25 AH and chose him to conquer Ifriqiya in the year 29 AH. And Allah has opened a clear conquest through his hands (Zawy,1968:4:42). And here two important facts stand out for us that are indispensable for their clarification: First, that the Arabic language and writing have a degree of importance for the Berber population. They do not abandon it alongside their original language, because Arabic is the language of science and they cannot write without it, the second: that Barqa as a whole does not have people who speak Berber except in this small city, which is part of the Awjila oasis, which indicates the spread of Arabic and the Arabization of Barqa completely. With regard to the role of non-Arabs in enriching Islamic civilization and charging it with various works and scientific literature, it is clear and obvious, and only the denier denies it. Many early scholars and historians noted this contribution, and early historians; This Ibn Khaldun praises the non-Arabs in the adoption of knowledge because the Arabs "realized this civilization and its market and went out to it from Bedouinism, so they were preoccupied with leadership in the Abbasid state and what they were pushed to do with knowledge and look at it (Ibn Khaldun,2005:3:231). Generations of the people of this country appeared - such as the Persians and the Turks - for example, who were brought up in the bosom of Islam, and walked on the guidance of God and His pleasure, and became a Muslim by embracing the religion, So he learned Arabic, and even mastered it, and began to create and write with it what he and his fathers used to write in their original languages, Their writings were correct in structure, deep in meaning, and sound in composition, to a degree sometimes exceeding their writings in the writings

of their Arab counterparts. Perhaps this is due to their pride in the new religion and its culture, and to an important factor, which is their combination of two cultures, one of which fertilizes the other and adds to it, and history records and testifies to the virtue of these generations. Arabic and its virtue in enriching the Islamic library in various sciences and arts (Bshir,1997:174).Languages are “rather than two interpreters of what is in the pronouns of these meanings, which some perform to each other orally in debate, education, and the practice of research in the sciences in order to acquire their ability.” (Ibn Khaldun,2005:3:233). The steadfastness and continuity of the local culture over time, and its non-extinction, lies not only in the ability of the local population to preserve the specificity of the culture, but also in their interaction with the cultures of other peoples who passed through the country or settled in it (Abu Sowa,2012:228).

Then, "the Islamic community, when its dominion expanded, and the nations entered into it, and the sciences of the ancients were studied by its prophecy and its book, and it was illiterate inclination and slogan, so the king and the glory and the slogan took it, so the king and the glory took it, and the nations subjected them to civilization and refinement, And they made their legal sciences an artefact after it was a transmission, so the faculties occurred to them, and collections and compilations multiplied, and they looked at the sciences of nations, so they transferred them by translation to their sciences, and emptied them into the mold of their views, and stripped them of those foreign languages to their tongue... And those notebooks that were spoken by the non-Arabs remained forgotten. And all the sciences became in the language of the Arabs, and their books were written in their handwriting (Ibn Khaldun,2005:3:234). The stability of Arabic in some open countries to become the national language left its imprints clearly visible, and its influence was effective in the languages of the people of these countries, their cultures, their ways of thinking and the directions of their visions. You may see these imprints and effects in a number of European, Asian and African countries, where it emerges as a living reality in the languages of these countries, such as Spanish, Persian, Turkish, Hindustani, Malay, and Hausa, this is represented in many of the Arabic linguistic phenomena that these languages acquired and welcomed and became local national elements that constitute important building blocks in their linguistic structure (Bshir,1997:173).

On the other hand, the Levantine Arab culture cast a shadow over the various aspects of social life in the Maghreb region, and its influence was clear and evident, which made someone wonder about the extent of the dominance of the incoming culture over the population. Is it the official culture or the popular culture, and is (the city) the domain of the dominance of (official) culture, as opposed to (the desert) the domain of (popular) culture? Do we consider (official) culture to be the culture of scholars and jurists, while limiting popular culture to the public? Likewise does popular culture Is it what we find among the common people coming from the countries of the Levant, or is it the culture of the Berbers who converted to Islam? (Gordo,2011:72) Of course, the attempt to separate between what is official and what is popular in the context of culture shows a lack of understanding of the reality of the deep-rooted and established relationship between the eastern expatriates and the Berbers, and that there is nothing mentioned that can differentiate between the official and the popular. On the other hand, the incoming culture is the one that produced mosques, seminaries, scholars, and sheikhs, and therefore it is not a popular culture in the negative way that the writer referred to, and therefore he speaks with the same racism, which obscures him from careful reading and accurate description. And this is what we see in him in another place in the book, where he describes the issue of the Arabization of the country of Maghrib as not a matter of military, religious, commercial, civil or other conquest, because it is all these elements combined, and that the great achievement in society occurs when its members are convinced that their values are transcendent. They embrace the values of the invaders and everything they have (Gordo,2011:72) And the writer did not provide an explanation for this hypothesis that he mentioned, which represents the secret of the identity transition from one gender to another, and from a marginalized civilized minority that suffered woe from the Romans, the Vandals, and the previous nations in their colonization. To a comprehensive civilization, its members became effective people in this civilization, including leaders, scholars and jurists.

And Al-Hassan Al-Wazzan mentions in his observations and descriptions in the tenth century AH that “all the African cities located on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlas Mountains, people generally speak a classical Arabic language.” (Wazzan,1983:1:40). And the Arabization in the coastal cities is also confirmed by Camp, who maintained that some of the coastal cities of the Maghreb kept preserving

an Arabic language closer to the classical, which is considered a reflection of the first Arabization that occurred (Camp,2014:230). Some references mention that the "Berber" tribes preserved their cultural specificity, unlike other races. "Nations entered Islam, such as the Berbers and the Turks, and they are warlike nations, strong in strength, and firmly attached to their nationalism. They accepted Islam as their religion, but they did not accept Arabic as their nationality." (The Circle of Islamic Encyclopedias,1969:4:457). Although this expression indicates the cultural specificity of the "Berbers", it tries to paint an old picture of the ethnic dissonance between the "Arabs" and the "Berbers", and this is not supported by historical facts. When the "Barbarians" resisted the Islamic conquest for long periods, they were rejecting Islam and whoever brought it, because they were loath to submit to any authority whatsoever, and when they converted to Islam and improved their Islam, they merged with the Arabs, so that they participated in the campaigns to conquer Andalusia. And most of the conflicts that occurred after that in the Maghreb region were sectarian and political conflicts, so it is a contemporary projection in contemporary terms - nationalism - and it represents one of the orientalist visions of the history of the "Berbers".

4.3.6. Alliance with the Arab Tribes and the Arab Emirates in the Region

Some texts provide pictures of some manifestations of cooperation and alliance of some barbarian tribes with the Arabs, whether that was in an early period of the days of the Islamic conquest, for example, or in later periods that were with some independent Arab emirates in North Africa that appeared after the lack of control of the Abbasid Caliphate in the East over the regions of Maghrib. Or at another stage after the arrival of the Hilali Arabs and Bani Sulaym to the region.

Ibn Khaldun mentions that the Zanatis were the first to ally with the Hilalian Arabs after their sweep of the region, and he attributes this to the great similarity between them in the tribal structure and in the way of living and traveling, which greatly facilitated their integration with the Arabs (Karkhi,2014:73). Also, when Uqba bin Nafeh went with his forces as a conqueror to the Maghreb, the Zenatites supported him with him and formed a squad from his army, following up with him the conquests

to the west (Karkhi,2014:74). Another form of integration that facilitated the process of Arabization of the region, and became a determinant and an indicator of it, is the cooperation of some Berbers and their affiliation with them in the various official state institutions, even in sect and ideology. Ibrahim ibn al-Aghlab was able to form a large military force from the Mozarabic Berbers who served as soldiers in the Aghlabi army (Qayrawani,1994:29).

There are also some tribes that share some characteristics with the Arabs, which helped to define the identity of their Arabization, these tribes, as mentioned by one of the historians, are the Luwata, the Nafusa, and the Hawara. That is, they are Bedouins, and in the events that followed after that, this group of Berbers was supportive of the Arabs and supported them from the beginning and continued on that for a long time, and that its men were guiding the Arabs on the paths and roads of the country (Munis,n,d:284) It can also be said that the actual Islam of Ifriqiya began with the numerous southern tribes resembling the Arabs, who tend to migrate, and their lives are divided between placement and residence. That is to say, the movement of Islam in Ifriqiya began with the transcendent tribes first, as for the civilized tribes, it seems, according to the narrations, that their conversion to Islam was a little delayed (Munis,n,d:284).

On the other hand, the conquest of Andalusia was precipitated by the Islam of the Berbers, and whether the Islam of those who participated in the conquest was based on a belief or other aspirations, the predominance of the religious spirit over the conquest, and the mixing of the Berber army with the Muslim Arabs led to the consolidation of the Islam of the Berbers and their prominence over the Arabic language, and with a large number of passages. The Arabs who used to come to Andalusia for war or residence, so they frequently passed through Ifriqiya and mixed with the Berbers and accompanied them, and then the opportunity was provided for the Berbers to learn the principles of Islam from the Arabs, (Munis,n,d:292). It is also known that the length of time during which the Arabs ruled and its continuity helped this factor to enable Islam to take hold and for Arabia to prevail (Omar,1971:64).

Summary:

Arabization in Libya in the Middle Ages had important effects and transformations. It brought about a major change in the lives of Libyans after the Islamic conquest and Arabization of the region.

Before the conquest, several local languages and others belonging to other peoples who came to Libya in early historical periods were widespread in Libya, including: Greek, Phoenician, Latin, and others. As a result of Arabization, these languages receded and diminished in front of Arabic, due to many factors that we discussed above.

Many sects, intellectual, doctrinal and jurisprudential schools and schools of thought and scholarly works have also appeared in Libya and in the Ifriqiya Province in general. Arabization also resulted in a shift and change in customs, traditions, and lifestyle, and interest in poetry, literature, and folk stories also emerged.

Also, the residents and elites of this region became part of the comprehensive system of Islamic civilization. This is represented by the presence of scholars, jurists, and leaders of intellectual and sectarian schools, who contributed with their writings to enriching Islamic civilization.

CONCLUSION

The Libyan geographical regions in the Middle Ages were in a state of expansion and shrinkage in some cases, It was not a picture of the modern geographical structure of the contemporary Libyan state, as it was the region of Tripoli, for example, It sometimes extends to reach the borders of (Gabes) in present-day Tunisia, and the Fezzan region was in some periods deep south to the middle of the state (present-day Niger), and Barqa was in some historical periods It belongs to Egypt, and this is all due to the state of stampede and conflict witnessed by these regions with their surroundings, and also to the demographic diversity of the population and its extensions by virtue of the spread of tribes and families in the area of their settlement, and this matter continued until the emergence of the modern national state and the demarcation of the borders between countries.

In terms of population, the Libyan regions witnessed the presence of many ancient Libyan tribes, and through the study of three types of sources: ancient Egyptian, Greek, and Arabic Islamic, the study revealed to us a population map deep in the past, starting from the year 2500 BC. according to ancient Egyptian sources, passing through Greek sources that monitored some ancient Libyan tribes dating back to the fifth century BC, this long historical march resulted in evident images of integration, fusion, and intermingling between the ancient Libyan tribes and other expatriate peoples in the same ancient history. This population diversity of the ancient Libyan peoples and tribes According to what was reported by the ancient Egyptian and Greek sources, it foretells an important fact, which is that they are peoples who Peoples vanished, and historical sources and references exclude the survival of these races and their continuation until at least the period before the Islamic conquest.. Then, finally, the Arab-Islamic sources that dated this region refer to the population component before and during the Islamic conquest in the Libyan regions, where these sources mention two main types of population: Berbers and Africans, in addition to other types that are not as numerous in number as the two main types are distinguished, namely: the Romans, And the Copts, and the Jews, and the Negroes.

In the year 22 AH / 643 AD, the process of the Islamic conquest of the region began, and this is considered a major historical shift, and a pivotal period in the cultural and social history of the Libyan regions, and necessarily the identities shift for

them, and therefore we had to elaborate on this stage and discuss its dimensions, circumstances, and results in order to pave the way for tracing the real beginnings For the cultural and social transformation represented by the Arabization of the population and the emergence of a new identity for the region It is known that the Libyan regions are the first geographical regions of the Maghreb region from the east, crossed by those entering the conquest, or the successive migrations of the Arab tribes and families throughout history, whether those of them settled in the Libyan regions or those who crossed them to what is after that, whether in Ifriqiya or Maghreb Middle or farthestmost Maghreb , and until Andalusia.

In the research and study of the topic (Arabization in Libya in the Middle Ages), reached the following results:

The large Arab spread in North Africa had the Libyan regions the largest share of it, given that it is the first stop, and the first eastern interface for the Maghreb and North Africa region, in addition to the fact that the Libyan regions south of the coast are Most of them are deserts and valleys that lack population density, So it is demographic spread and human settlement of the Arabs In Libya, it was decisive and specific, and resulted in a change in the composition of the population and the exclusion of most of the other local components, their extinction and migration.

The legal sciences, the sheikhs, the jurists, and the teachers who teach the sciences of Sharia and the Arabic language, and the spread of the study circles to which many students and students of knowledge were affiliated in the Libyan regions, had a great role in Arabization and the transformation of identity in the Libyan regions. Pupils and disciples in many circles of knowledge, and they, in turn, passed on to other learners after them in a historical series that stretched back decades, in which the region witnessed countless circles of lessons and Schools teaching the Holy Quran and Sharia This led to the result of the spread of Arabic and the Arabization of a large part of the population in the early period of the Middle Ages, especially in the regions of Jabal Nafusa and Fezzan.

Arabization and the conversion to the Arabic language among most of the local (barbarian) tribes played a major and major determinant role in the identity transformation of the region's population, and comes second after the demographic spread and population settlement of the Arab tribes in these regions; That is, the rest of

the regions in which the Arabs did not fully spread and settle, the identity of the inhabitants of these regions changed to the Arab identity Linguistic Arabization.

The Great Arab Migration (Bani Hilal, Bani Salim, and some other tribes) in the middle of the fifth century AH is considered a pivotal period in medieval Islamic history in the Maghreb region in general, and in the Libyan regions in particular. The massive spread of these tribes in Barqa and Tripolitania.

The population presence of the local tribes, which later bore a dual identity, combining the Amazigh tongue and the Arabic tongue, was confined to some areas of the Jebal Nafusa and the western coastal region of Tripoli, specifically in the city of Zuwara , Where it was not noticed as reported by the Ibaddi (Berber) sources - and what historical facts monitor throughout the ages and until our present time, the ignorance of these residents and their lack of knowledge of the Arabic language, but they were and still speak alongside the Amazigh tongue, the Arabic The vernacular Arabic dialect to the general public among them, and the classical Arabic language Among the educated and intellectuals among them, rather, many writers, scholars, and poets emerged from them who excelled in many areas of poetry and literature in the classical Arabic language, and there are many examples of that.

Through the research, an important fact was revealed, which is the link between language and identity. Reliance on race or gender is no longer the only framework for identifying identity. The study of social phenomena and the formation of identities highlights another important determinant, which is language. In the case of Arabism, there are those who call it the nationalism of nationalities because it has absorbed all those entering it from other civilizations.

The change of identity of the population of the Libyan regions as a result of Arabization is represented in several determinants and indicators, including the change of the Berber lineage; Where some tribes claimed their affiliation with the Arab tribes, as was evident in the transformation to Arab Habits and traditions, which were manifested in the way of living, in food and housing, and the acquisition and care of camels Among them is also the construction of some Berbers for their palaces on the Arab form or model, as is evident for some in naming them with Arabic names, although what is meant here is to take Islamic names - the name of the Prophet Muhammad - salaa allah ealayh wasalam - and grant him peace, and the names of the

great companions and followers - but it is considered a tangible change. It was also evident in the change of the names of some cities, villages and places from Berber names to Arabic names.

Berbers as Arabs and all other races, have become, due to Islam, within the system of the inclusive Islamic civilization, and many non-Arabs have contributed to enriching the Islamic civilization with various sciences, works and scientific innovations, and therefore the Arabic language was the tool and means upon which this civilization was based and was one of its important components; The stability of the Arabic language in some open countries to remain the national language of these countries left its imprints clearly visible, and its influence was effective in the languages, cultures and ways of thinking of the people of these countries. This civilization produced mosques, scholars, sheikhs, study circles and scribes, and it did not exist before.

The great similarity between the Arab and Berber environments, and the common patterns of living between them, made it easy and to a great extent for the Arabization of the region. It was not the entry of Islam alone that helped in that. There are other peoples who entered Islam before the Berbers, such as the Persians, and yet they kept their language, and only a few of them were Arabized And this brings us back again to the existing controversy - ancient and modern - about the true affiliation of the Berbers to the Arab origins in the past, as historians and genealogists delved into it and dealt with it extensively and in several books and compilations. Despite the existing controversy, the sources almost agree on the affiliation of two great branches of the Berbers, namely Sanhaja and Katama belong to the ancient Yemeni Arab tribes.

Also, the old-modern debate about the origin of the Berber language is always in line with the truth about the origins and affiliation of the Berbers. It highlights the fact that the language mixes and interacts with identity. There are some opinions that believe that the Berber language (the ancient Libyan) belongs in one way or another to the ancient Canaanite language, and therefore it has some connection with the Arabic language in the past, and some of them see that it is a Qahtani Arab language, and language theories have not resolved this. controversy so far. But what can be said in this aspect is that the population - North Africa - in different languages - if these languages exist - follow the Arabic alphabet in writing and reading, which indicates

the great Arabization of the region and the dominance of the Arabic language over other languages and cultures.

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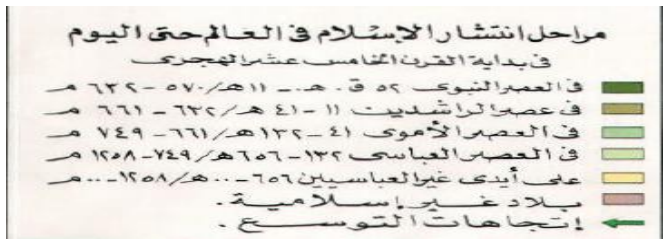
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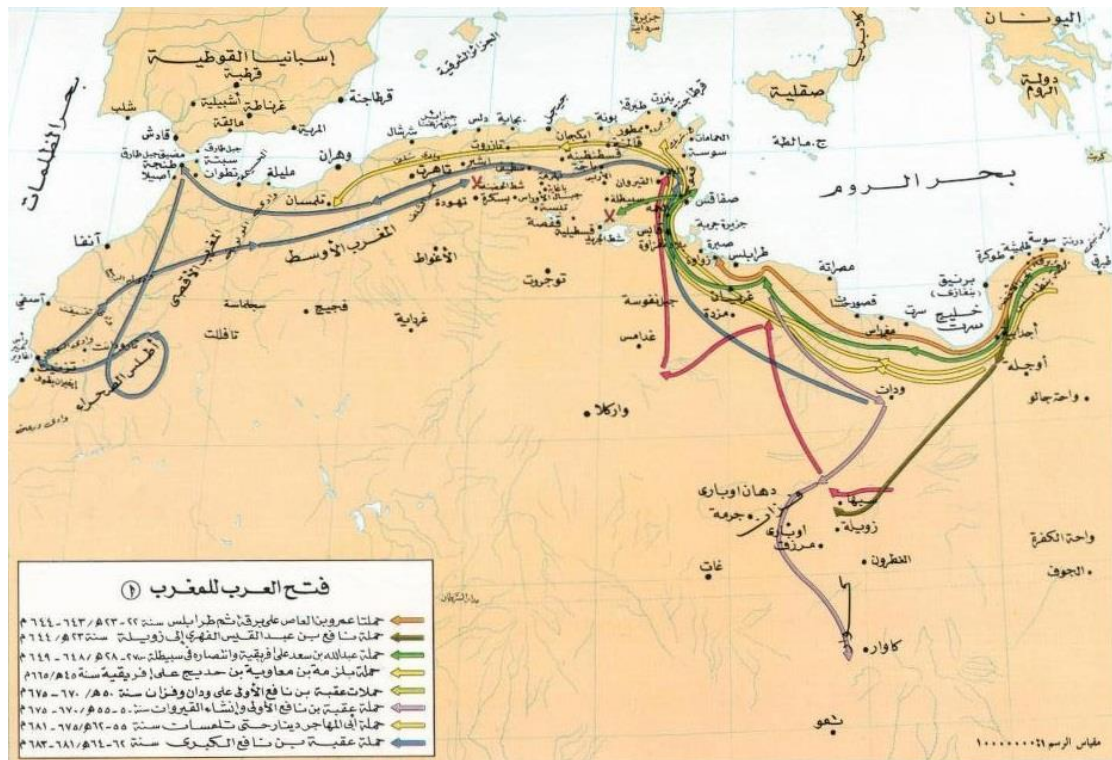
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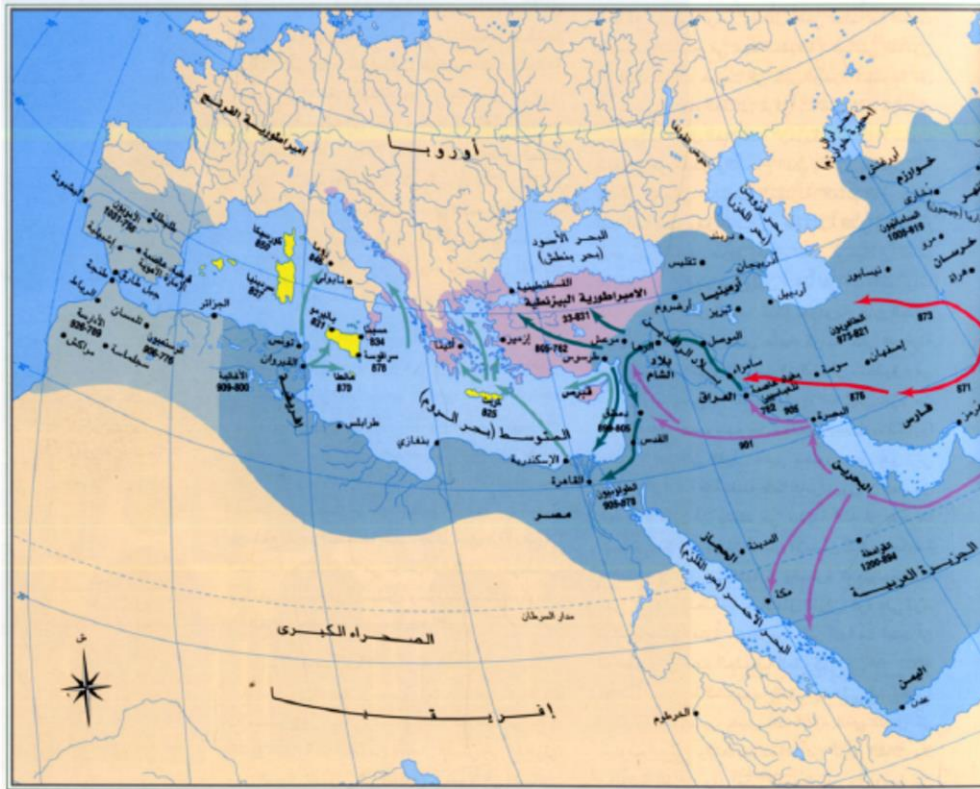


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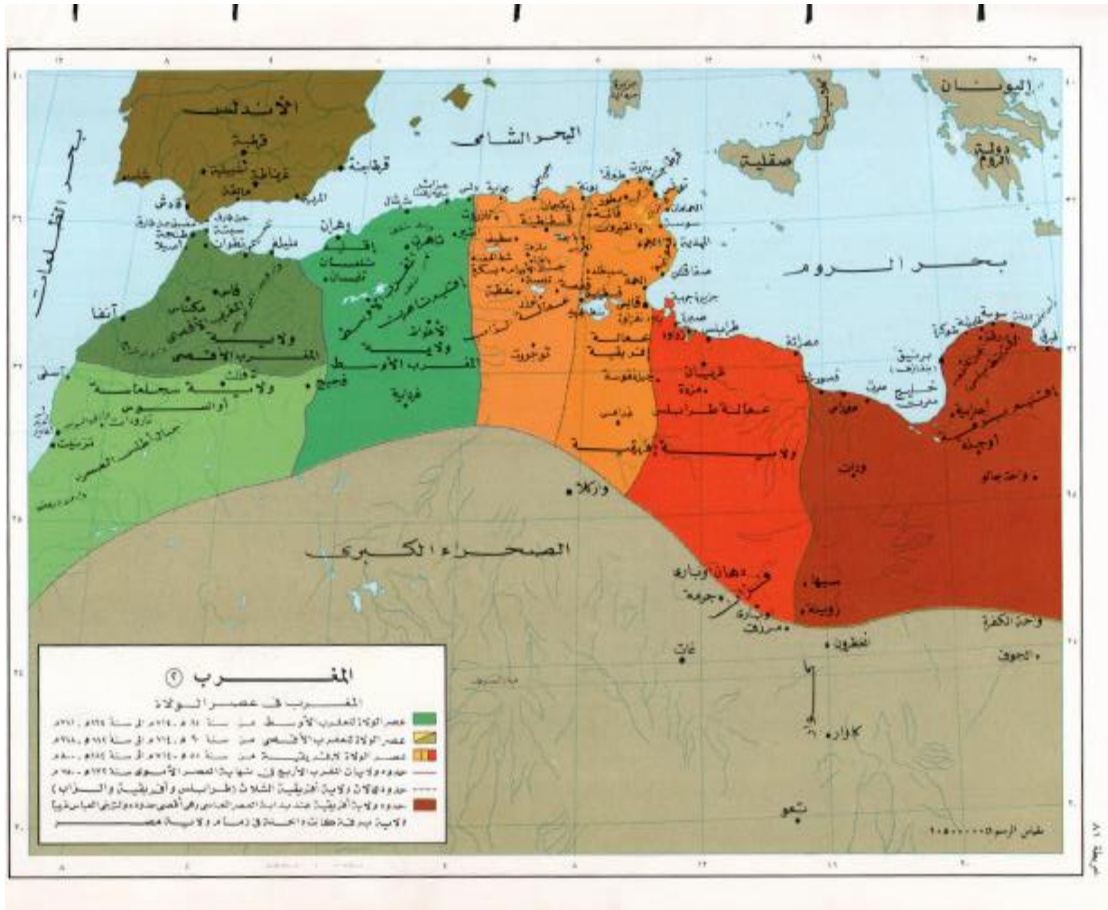


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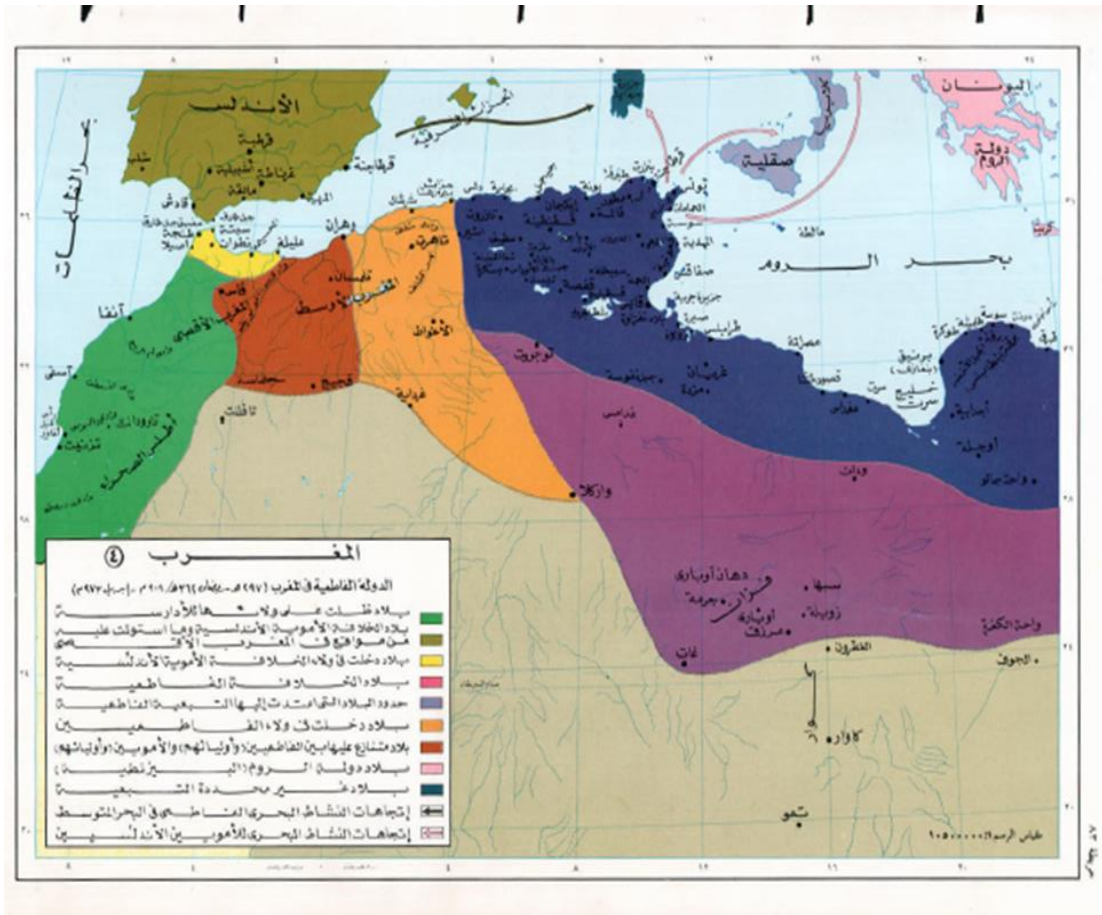
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