

22 Ekim 2018

- 6436 FISHER, Greg & WOOD, Philip J. Writing the history of the "Persian Arabs": the pre-Islamic perspective on the "Naşrids" of al-Ĥirah. *Iranian Studies*, 49 ii (2016) pp. 247-290. On Persia's Arab allies, the so-called "Naşrid" or "Lakhmid" dynasty of Arab leaders at al-Ĥirah in Iraq. *Lakhmid*

YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
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5.5. *ʿAmr b. Hind (554–569)*

Zum religiösen Bekenntnis dieses Königs liegen keine Nachrichten vor, und von einer Taufe, die sicherlich in den christlichen Quellen gefeiert und in den islamischen Quellen erwähnt worden wäre, wissen wir nichts. Die oben zitierte Inschrift des Klosters Dayr Hind al-Kubrā, das von seiner Mutter *Hind bt. al-Hārīt* unter seiner Regierung gegründet wurde, legt allerdings nahe, er sei Christ gewesen, denn sie bezeichnet sich selbst als „Braut Christi (*amat al-Masīh*), Mutter Seines Dieners (*umm ʿabdihi*) und Tochter Seines Dieners“.²²⁶ Vermutlich hegte er als Sohn einer Christin Sympathien für die Christen und tolerierte sie, wie es zuvor andere Lahmiden getan hatten, verzichtete aber auf eine formelle Taufe, die einen hochpolitischen Akt bedeutet hätte.

5.6. *An-Nuʿmān III. b. al-Mundir (580–602)*

Dieser König ist ohne Zweifel derjenige der Lahmidenkönige, zu dem die meisten Nachrichten vorliegen. Im Folgenden soll der Schwerpunkt auf drei zentralen Themen liegen, die sein Verhältnis zum Christentum berühren, nämlich die Thronbesteigung, die Taufe und das Ende seiner Herrschaft.

5.6.1. *Die Thronbesteigung*

Als al-Mundir IV. b. al-Mundir (reg. ca. 576–580), der dritte gekrönte Sohn des al-Mundir III b. Māʿ as-Samāʿ (nach ʿAmr b. Hind und Qābūs) ungefähr im Jahre 580 verstarb, gab es Schwierigkeiten mit seiner Nachfolge, obwohl er viele Söhne hinterlassen hatte. Die Machtposition der Dynastie befand sich in einer gefährlichen Krise: Einer verheerenden Niederlage gegen die Gassāniden im Jahr 570 war 578 ein direkter Angriff der Gassāniden auf al-Hīra gefolgt, bei dem die Stadt sogar geplündert und in Brand gesetzt wurde. Al-Mundir IV. b. al-Mundir war in diesem Moment abwesend, was ihm zum Vorwurf gemacht wurde. Der König, der als schwacher Führer galt, soll selbst im Kampf gegen den Gassāniden Hārīt gefallen sein, als dieser den Tod seines Sohnes rächen wollte, den ja al-Mundir III. b. Māʿ as-Samāʿ hatte töten lassen.²²⁷

Schon zu Beginn der Herrschaft von al-Mundir IV. b. al-Mundir (ca. 576) waren Unruhen in der unzufriedenen Bevölkerung ausgebrochen, und

²²⁶ S.o. 180.

²²⁷ Abū l-Baqāʿ, *Al-Manāqib al-Mazyadīya*, 144–147.

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nur der mächtigste Mann der *ʿibād* und sein engster Berater, Zayd b. Hammād von den Banū Ayyūb, hatte den König vor dem Zorn der Aufständischen retten können. De facto war von nun an dieser mächtige Christenclan an der Macht, der eng mit den Sassaniden kooperierte;²²⁸ al-Mundir IV. b. al-Mundir regierte nur noch nominell. Diese Schwäche der Dynastie veranlasste den persischen König (wohl Hormizd IV., 579–590), nach dem Tod von al-Mundir IV. b. al-Mundir im Jahr 580 eine endgültige Absetzung der Lahmiden zu erwägen und zu planen, das Land unter direkte persische Verwaltung zu stellen. Von Neuem engagierte sich ein Mitglied der Banū Ayyūb erfolgreich für den Erhalt der lahmidischen Dynastie, und zwar diesmal der brillante Sohn des inzwischen verstorbenen Zayd b. Hammād, nämlich der Dichter, Sekretär und Lebeamann ʿAdī b. Zayd. Die Bevölkerung von al-Hīra bot ihm angeblich sogar selbst zunächst die Krone an, er lehnte aber ab und zog es vor, sich für den Prinzen an-Nuʿmān, der in seiner Familie aufgewachsen war, einzusetzen.²²⁹

Die Hintergründe zur Thronbesteigung an-Nuʿmāns werden sehr detailliert in den arabischen Quellen geschildert²³⁰ und gehen größtenteils auf den Hauptüberlieferer Ibn al-Kalbī zurück. Die Geschichte ist sicherlich in der vorliegenden Form nicht gänzlich historisch und als typische arabische Anekdote (*ḥabar*) literarisch ausgeschmückt und fikionalisiert, gibt aber einen guten Einblick in die internen Machtverhältnisse in al-Hīra:

Demnach hatte der verstorbene König al-Mundir IV. b. al-Mundir zwar viele Söhne hinterlassen, aber offensichtlich keine klare Nachfolge getroffen, zumal es keine eindeutigen Richtlinien über die königliche Erbfolge gab. Dies erstaunt nicht, gab und gibt es doch traditionell im arabischen Stammesrecht kein Erstgeborenenvorrecht.²³¹ Im Übrigen scheint die Legitimität der Dynastie inzwischen so sehr vom Wohlwollen der Sassaniden abhängig gewesen zu sein, dass die Entscheidung vor allem Sache des persischen Oberherrn war, der unter mehreren männlichen Kandidaten der Dynastie den geeigneten auszusuchen und zu krönen hatte. Hier

²²⁸ Zayd stand ja selbst lange im Dienst der Sassaniden, und die enge Beziehung zwischen den Banū Ayyūb und den Sassaniden kam schon mehrfach zur Sprache. Zayd regierte in enger Zusammenarbeit mit einem persischen Gouverneur namens Suhrāb. S. Rothstein, *Dynastie der Lahmidien*, 105f.; al-Isfahānī, *K. al-Aḡānī*, S. 100f.

²²⁹ Al-Isfahānī, *K. al-Aḡānī*, II, 104. Dieselbe Geschichte (Angebot und Ablehnung der Krone) wird auch von seinem Vater Zayd b. Hammād erzählt; inwieweit sie historisch ist, lässt sich schwer beurteilen. Meines Erachtens ging es dem Überlieferer vor allem darum, das besondere Prestige der Familie Ayyūb zu betonen, die „fast Könige waren“.

²³⁰ Abū l-Baqāʿ, *Al-Manāqib al-Mazyadīya*, 387–390.

²³¹ Joseph Henninger, „Zum Erstgeborenrecht bei den Semiten“, in *Festschrift Werner Caskel*, hg. v. H. Erwin Gräf (Leiden 1968), 162–183.

kulturell zu vermitteln, da sie als *lingua franca* und Prestigesprache sämtliche Gruppen erreichen konnten. In al-Ḥira waren dies die christlichen *ʿibād*.

So lässt sich festhalten, dass sich die sprachliche Situation in al-Ḥira nicht grundsätzlich von der im restlichen spätantiken Syrien und Mesopotamien unterschied, wo weithin Arabisch gesprochen und Aramäisch als Prestigesprache geschrieben wurde.⁵¹ Eine Besonderheit bildete aber dort die starke Präsenz urbanisierter und alphabetisierter arabischer Christen, die sich kulturell sowohl an Syrien als auch am Iran orientierten und teilweise sogar trilingual waren. Die zunehmende Verwendung des Arabischen als Kanzlei-, Inschriften-, Dichter- und vielleicht auch als religiöse Sprache, die von einer funktionellen Erweiterung und zunehmenden Vereinheitlichung des Arabischen zeugt, könnte auf deren Einfluss zurückgehen. Insofern hat die einheimische Tradition, welche die Entstehung der arabischen Schrift irrtümlich in al-Ḥira lokalisiert, hier ihren wahren Kern.

01 Temmuz 2019

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⁵¹ S. „Language and Identity“, 184 (über die Antike im Nahen Osten): „Arabic was widely spoken in the region. Nevertheless, it remained primarily a vernacular, employed by non-literate peoples and by those who, for whatever reason, preferred to write in other languages.“ Aramäisch war bei diesen Arabern die beliebteste Schriftsprache (185f.), nur gelegentlich vom Griechischen (in Palästina, Transjordanien und Südsyrien) verdrängt. Die Beliebtheit nahm durch die Christianisierung noch zu: „Aramaic became the preferred language of literacy among the Christians of this region from the fourth century AD or even earlier.“

Laḥmiler

120027

DER KÖNIG UND DIE STÄMME

Während die aramäische Bauernbevölkerung im *sawād* von al-Ḥira den Laḥmiden keinerlei Probleme bereitete und die *ʿibād* erst am Ende des 6. Jh. an die Macht drängten, bildeten die Nomadenstämme in der Steppe westlich von al-Ḥira eine ständige Gefahr, die es zu beherrschen galt.¹ Die dauernden Interessenkonflikte zwischen dem König und den angrenzenden Stämmen führten sogar dazu, dass der Kampf gegen die vermeintlich despotische Herrschaft der Monarchen zu einem Ideal für die Beduinen wurde, dem zu folgen als ein Akt des Heroismus betrachtet wurde, als eine *makrūma*.² Die effektive Kontrolle und Sicherung der Loyalität der Stämme war deshalb ein zentrales Anliegen der Laḥmiden und bildete neben der guten Beziehung zu den Sassaniden die wichtigste Grundlage ihrer Machtposition. Es ging dabei auch immer wieder um die Wahrung ihrer arabischen Königshere:³ Nur eine kluge Stammespolitik konnte ihr Prestige als Kriegsherren und als geschickte Diplomaten unter den ostarabischen Stämmen auch jenseits ihres unmittelbaren Einflussgebiets sichern. Außerdem hing die unverzichtbare militärische und finanzielle Unterstützung durch die Sassaniden direkt davon ab, wie erfolgreich sie für diese das fruchtbare Ackerland und die Karawanenwege vor Beduinenangriffen schützen konnten.

I. DIE GRUNDLINIEN DER STAMMESPOLITIK DER LAḤMIDEN

Eine der wichtigsten Strategien war die kluge Nutzung intertribaler Konflikte zum eigenen Vorteil, indem der König z. B. die Unterstützung der Feinde des jeweiligen Gegners suchte. Wichtig war zudem, über das Schüren dieser Rivalitäten die Vereinigung größerer Verbände zu verhindern,

125-127

¹ Zu den grundsätzlichen Problemen einer vorislamischen Stammesgeschichte s. Robinson, „Tribes and Nomads“, 431: „Tribesmen before Islam“.

² Khalil Athamina, „The Tribal Kings in pre-Islamic Arabia: a Study of the Epithet Malik or Dhu al-Taj in Early Arabic Traditions“, in *Al-Qantara: Revista de Estudios Arabes* 19 (1998), 36f., mit zahlreichen Belegen.

³ S. unten 133–141.

- HIRE
- LAHM (Ken. Lahim)

LAHMIDS:

26 KASIM 1005

ROTHSTEIN, G.: Die Dynastie der Lahmidin in al-Hira; eine Versuch zur arabisch-persischen Geschichte zur Zeit der Sasaniden von... Gustav Rothstein. Berlin, Reuther, 1899. VI, 152 p.

"LAHM"

ITM

F.M. Donner, "The Early...", S. 105-106

"LAHM KABİLESİ"

X

Watt, "Muhammad...", S. 111-112

"LAHMİLER"

X ITM

(Hireliler)

P.K. Hitti, "History...", S. 81-82

11346 DEVRESSE, R. Arabes perses et Arabes romains. Lakhmides et Ghassanides. *Vivre et penser* 2 (1942), pp. 263-307

X Lahmiler
- Ghassaniler

15 HAZİRAN 1993

LAHMİLER

X

el-Mufassal fi tarihi'l-Arab, III, 162, 165, 169-170, 215-217, 290-292, 333-335, IV, 241-245, 463-464

321-322

DEĞER 2004

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

مجلة كلية الآداب / جامعة البصرة / العدد ١٦ / ١٩٨٠

تاريخ السلالة النخعية

مؤلف: مؤتايه

ترجمة: الدكتور منذر البكر



تاريخ السلالة النخعية *

إذا أردنا أن نأخذ ملوك الحيرة فردا فردا يجب أن ينسبنا جهدينا بطبيعية الحال على ترتيبهم ترتيبا زمنيا . كما أن المعلومات التاريخية التي قدمها هشام لا تفيدنا الآن بشيء إذا لم يكن لنا منطلق ثابت ، وؤية واضحة . وقد سبق لنا أن تطرقنا الى التاريخ التقريبي الذي تكونت فيه دولة الحيرة وهذا هو التاريخ الذي نتناول ان نطلق منه . ومن هنا يبدو لنا أخيرا ان السلسلة التاريخية لملوك النخعيين تستمر مع ملوك الدولة الساسانية ، كما ذكرها هشام . وسما يوسف له أن هشام قد عمد الى استخراج قائمة بالملوك الساسانيين في بداية الأمر ليكملها منسجمة مع قائمة ملوك الحيرة (Nöldeke, Sa. 401f) ومن خلال هذا العمل ضاعت بطبيعة الحال أهمية التسلسل التاريخي . ويظهر عدم دقتها من خلال الفترة . وسنأخذ الامراء حتى النعمان الاول كما رتبهم هشام :

١- عمرو بن عدى : حكم في فترة الملك أردوان [من ملوك الفترة التي تعرف عند الاخباريين العرب باسم ملوك الطوائف] ٩٥ سنة . وفي فترة الملك أردشير الاول ٤١ سنة و ١٠ أشهر وفي فترة الملك شابور الاول ٨ سنوات وشهرين .

٢- امرؤ القيس البندى : حكم في فترة الملك شابور الاول ٢٢ سنة وشهر واحد . هرمنز الاول سنة واحدة و ١٠ أيام . بهرام الاول ٣ سنوات و ٣ أشهر و ٢ أيام . بهرام الثاني ١٨ سنة . وعند الطبري سقط التسلسل التاريخي الى ما بعد شابور الثاني « باختلاف ما موجود من اعداد عند الطبري » موجوده عند حمزة ،

Die Dynastie der Lah miden in al-Hîra * من كتاب :

Geschichte der Lah midischen Dynastie PP. 60-87. الفصل :

وقد راجع الترجمة الدكتور نوري العوادي رئيس قسم اللغات في كلية التربية

صورة النعمان بن المنذر في الشعر الجاهلي

حمدي منصور*

Human b. Muzgar
Lahmlev

ملخص

حكم الملك النعمان بن المنذر الحيرة مدة نيفت على عقدين من الزمن، وكان للشعراء صلة وثيقة به، إذ كانوا ينادمونهم في مجالسه، ويقصدون بلاطه، طمعاً في جوائزه أو لقضاء حوائج قبائلهم، وكان الملك يوليهم عنايته ورعايته، فجاء هذا البحث للكشف عن صورة الملك في أشعار هؤلاء الشعراء. وتوقف عند أربعة موضوعات هي: المدح والهجاء والاعتذار والرتاء. وخلص أن الشعراء رسموا للملك صورة جليلة في كل واحد منها. فهو في المدح كالنهر في تدفقه وفيض عطائه، وفي الهجاء تبدو الصورة قبيحة منفرة ملؤها الخيانة والغدر. أما في الاعتذار فصورته مخيفة مفزعة لما لها من سطوة وجبروت، وتبدو صورته في الرثاء حزينة مظلومة، تثير الشفقة عليها والتعاطف معها.

تمهيد

تولى الملك النعمان بن المنذر حكم الحيرة في أواخر القرن السادس الميلادي، وبقي في الحكم إلى أن نقم عليه كسرى أبرويز فحملة إلى خانقين فلم يزل في سجنها إلى أن مات^(١). وذلك انتقاماً لمقتل عدي بن زيد العبادي كاتب

(*) قسم اللغة العربية، كلية الآداب، الجامعة الأردنية. تاريخ استلام البحث ٢٠٠٠/١١/٢ وتاريخ قبوله ٢٠٠١/٦/٣.

(١) اختلفت المصادر في سبب وفاة النعمان، ففي معظمها أن كسرى أبرويز سجنه ثم طرحه تحت أرجل الفيلة فوطئته وقتلته، انظر: أحمد بن يوسف الكاتب: المكافأة وحسن العقبي ٨٠، اليعقوبي: تاريخ اليعقوبي، ٢٦٣، ابن قتيبة: الشعر والشعراء، ١٤٨، الحميري، الروض المعطار، ٤٥، ياقوت الحموي، معجم البلدان، ج٣، ص ١٨٧، ابن قتيبة، المعارف، ٦٥٠، الجاحظ، الحيوان ج٥، ص ٣٣٢. قال سلامة بن جندل

هو المدخل النعمان بيتاً سماؤه

نحور الفيول بعد بيت مسردق

ديوانه، ١٨٤

وذكرت بعض المصادر أنه مات بالطاعون، انظر:

الطبري: تاريخ الطبري، ج ٢، ص ٢٠٦، ابن الأثير، الكامل في التاريخ ج ١، ص ٤٨٧.

ابن سعيد الأندلسي، نشوة الطرب، ج ١، ص ٢٨٤، النويري، نهاية الأرب ج ١٥، ص ٣٣٠.

١٥٩-١٦٥

كسرى وترجمانه الذي كان النعمان بن المنذر قد قتله في سجنه في قصة مشهورة^(٢)، وكانت مدة حكم الملك النعمان قد امتدت نيفاً وعشرين سنة^(٣).

وكان الملك النعمان كما تذكر المصادر التاريخية والأدبية أبرش أحمر قصيراً دميماً قبيحاً^(٤)، وصفه أبو زيد الطائي وكان أناه وجالسه بقوله: (كان أحمر أزرق أبرش

وصممت مصادر أخرى فلم تذكر السبب، انظر:

حمزة الأصفهاني، تاريخ سني ملوك الأرض والأنبياء، ص ٩٥، البكري، معجم ما استعجم، ص ٤٨٤. المرزباني، معجم الشعراء، ص ١٠.

واختلفت مصادر أخرى في ذكر سبب وفاته ولم تحسم الأمر، انظر:

الاصفهاني، الأغاني، ج ٢، ص ٤١٢، البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف، ج ١، ص ٧، ٢٣٣، جمل من أنساب الأشراف، ج ١٢، ص ٣٩٥.

(٢) ابن الأثير، الكامل في التاريخ ج ١، ص ٣٨٤، أبو عبيدة، نقائص جرير والفرزدق، ج ٢، ص ٦٣٩ اليعقوبي، تاريخ اليعقوبي، ص ٢٦٢، المرزباني، معجم الشعراء، ص ٨٠، أحمد بن يوسف الكاتب، المكافأة وحسن العقبي، ص ٨٠، ابن سعيد الأندلسي، نشوة الطرب، ج ١، ص ٢٨٠، النويري، نهاية الأرب، ج ١٥، ص ٣٢٣، جواد علي، المفصل، ص ٢٦٧.

(٣) الطبري، تاريخ الطبري، ج ٢، ص ٢١٣، حمزة الأصفهاني، تاريخ سني ملوك الأرض والأنبياء، ص ٩٥، ابن الأثير، الكامل في التاريخ، ج ١، ص ٤٩١، ابن حبيب، المحبر، ص ٣٦٠، ابن سعيد الأندلسي، نشوة الطرب ج ١، ص ٢٨٠، البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف، ج ٧، ص ١٠٣، جمل من أنساب الأشراف، ج ١، ص ١١٣، النويري، نهاية الأرب، ج ١٥، ص ٣٢٢، شوقي ضيف، العصر الجاهلي، ص ٤٦. ويخلط الصيرفي في سنوات حكمه فهي من ٥٨٥-٦١٣م في ديوان المتقب العبدى، ص ٢١٧، وإلى سنة ٦٢٣م في ديوان عمرو بن قبيصة، ص ١٧٣.

(٤) انظر: الاصفهاني، الأغاني، ج ٢، ص ٣٩٩، ج ١١، ص ١٢، ج ١٢، ص ٣٦١، ج ٢١، ص ٧، ابن الأثير، الكامل في التاريخ، ج ١، ص ٤٨٣. البلاذري أنساب الأشراف ١: ٧٠: ٤١٢. ابن قتيبة، الشعر والشعراء، ٩٩، النويري، نهاية الأرب، ج ١٥، ص ٣٢٣، ابن سعيد الأندلسي، نشوة الطرب، ج ١، ص ٢٨٢، اليعقوبي، تاريخ اليعقوبي، ص ٢٥٩. المرزباني، معجم الشعراء، ص ٥٩. الجاحظ، الحيوان، ج ٥، ص ٣٣٢، الجاحظ، البرصان، ص ٢٠٨.

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موسوعة القبائل العربية

انسابها، وقائعها، مآثرها، شعراؤها

الجزء الأول

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ВИЗАНТИНОВЕДЕНИЕ И СМЕЖНЫЕ ДИСЦИПЛИНЫ

Ср. 111

10 августа 1960 г., утреннее заседание
 Председатель Н. В. Пигулевская (Ленинград),
 потом Д. Моравчик (Будапешт).

ДЬЮЛА МОРАВЧИК (Будапешт): ВИЗАНТИЙСКО-МАМЛЮКСКИЕ
 СНОШЕНИЯ В XV в.

Вследствие экономических, политических и церковных интересов Византийская империя находилась в тесных дипломатических отношениях с египетским мамлюкским султанатом начиная с середины XIII в., и Византия с Каиром часто обменивались посольствами. Подробности сношений XIII и XIV вв. нам достаточно известны по арабским и византийским источникам, но относительно сношений XV в. сохранились только скудные исторические сведения. Этот пробел восполняет до сих пор неизвестная греческая грамота одного из египетских султанов, отправленная к императору Иоанну Палеологу, которую сохранила для нас греческая рукопись № 1170 Парижской Национальной библиотеки.

Тщательное исследование этого документа привело к выводу, что он был отправлен султаном-мамлюком Барсбаем византийскому императору Иоанну VIII Палеологу между 1425 и 1438 г. Из содержания грамоты, написанной на языке, засоренном вульгаризмами, которую докладчик опубликует в ближайшем томе «Византийского временника», явствует, что византийский император отправил своего посланника Андроника Палеолога, чтобы вступить за интересы христиан и особенно патриархов, живущих под мамлюкской властью. Ответ, который содержит упомянутая грамота, был очень вежлив и даже льстив, и султан уверял императора в исполнении его просьбы. О подобных дипломатических переговорах нас подробно осведомляют и предыдущие грамоты, как, например, грамота, отправленная в 1349 г. султаном Малик Насир Хасаном императору Иоанну VI Кантакзину, и грамота, адресованная в 1411 г. императором Мануилом II Палеологом султану Фараджу.

Но, судя по дружественному тону грамоты султана Барсбая и общему политическому положению, следует заключить, что обмен посольствами кроме упомянутой имел и другую цель. Опасность со стороны османов одинаково угрожала и византийцам и мамлюкам. Известно, что султан Мурад II в 1432 г. оказал энергичное давление на султана Барсбая в интересах претендента на престол Кипра. По всей вероятности, к этим годам относится и грамота султана Барсбая. Видимо, в Константинополе и в Каире возникла мысль об объединенных действиях против общего врага.

Во всяком случае мы можем установить, что прежнее мнение, согласно которому сношения между Византией и Египтом после

появления османов совсем прекратились, не оправдывается. Наоборот, грамота наша доказывает, что, как высказался проф. М. Сапарт, Византия вплоть до ее падения осуществляла моральный протекторат над христианами мамлюкской империи.

По докладу выступила Н. В. Пигулевская.

S. DER NERSESSIAN (Washington): ФРЕСКИ КЕХРИЕ-ДЖАМИ
 В КОНСТАНТИНОПОЛЕ

Текст доклада не представлен.

По докладу выступили В. Н. Лазарев, Е. Э. Липшиц и Д. Моравчик.

N. PIGOULEVSKAYA (Leningrad): LES ARABES A LA FRONTIERE DE BYZANCE
 AU IV^e SIECLE

Bien avant que Constantinople ne fût devenu le centre de Byzance les États arabes de Pétra et de Palmyre, qui avaient pris naissance sur les voies commerciales, étaient déjà formés. Pétra possédait les positions-clefs sur les voies menant à Hedjâz et, plus loin, vers l'Arabie du sud, ainsi que vers l'ouest en Afrique. Palmyre prospérait tout contre les frontières de l'Empire, sur "la route de Dioclétien" qui unissait les villes les plus importantes de la côte phénicienne, du désert de la Syrie et de la Mésopotamie. Sous la pression le Rome ces États disparurent — Pétra d'abord, et puis ensuite, en 273, c'est Palmyre qui fut détruite. Vers cette époque, après la chute de l'État d'Odeinath et de Zénobie et lors de l'affaiblissement de l'Iran pendant le dernier quart du III^e siècle, les tribus arabes des déserts sentirent l'autorité et la force de leurs nouveaux seigneurs, appartenant aux Lakhmides, originaires de Hira. Ils ne dépendaient pas des Perses et aspiraient à s'établir fermement aux frontières de l'Empire, où les Ghasanides ne s'étaient pas encore saisi d'une position stable.

Au IV^e siècle les Arabes ne jouaient pas encore le rôle bien défini de force tampon pour les puissances de l'Asie antérieure; néanmoins leur participation aux guerres, leur volonté d'y consentir ou non, créaient déjà leur interdépendance avec ces puissances.

Une inscription arabe de Nemāra témoigne aussi de ce que les Ghasanides et les Lakhmides n'occupaient pas de position stable en tant qu'alliés de l'Iran ou de l'Empire. Cette inscription, rédigée en écriture nabatéenne, dit ce qui suit: «[1] Ceci est le sépulcre d'Amroulqais, fils d'Amr, roi de tous les Arabes, qui portait un diadème, [2] subjugué Asad et Nizār avec leurs rois, mit en fuite Mahidj jusqu'à ce jour, s'en alla [3] pour soumettre Nedjrān, ville de Shamir, conquit Maad, partagea entre ses fils [4] les tribus, les donna à Peras et à Roum. Aucun roi n'atteint sa puissance [5] jusqu'à ce jour. Il mourut en l'an 223 le septième jour du keshoul. Que ses descendants connaissent la prospérité!». La date de l'épithaphe est donnée d'après la chronologie adoptée à Bosra, dans laquelle le commencement de l'ère correspondait à l'année 105 de l'ère nouvelle; l'an 223 doit donc correspondre à l'an 328 de l'ère nouvelle. Amroulqais ibn Amr ibn

*"Bizans"
 "Arabistan"
 "Lakhmide"
 "Ghasanide"*

МАМЛЮКОВЕДЕНИЕ
 ВОНДРА И ЕГО СОСЛАВ

Not: Ocean "Bizans" desyaznitsy

*Edif. B.G. Coturova, Trud. Dvarka t Pyofogo Mez dulozno-oloso Kozgras...
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Gustav Rothstein

Die Dynastie der Lahmiden
in al-Hîra

Ein Versuch zur arabisch-persischen Geschichte
zur Zeit der Sasaniden

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HILDESHEIM

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مِ مَدَارِجِ الْحَسَنِ الْقَوْمِيِّ فِي فَنَةِ

النِّعْمَانِ بْنِ الْمُنْدَرِ مَلِكِ الْحَيْرَةِ

(٥٨٥ - ٦١٣ م)

ابراهيم محمد علي
جامعة الموصل / كلية التربية

المقدمة :

ليس البحث في جانب من جوانب التاريخ العربي في فترة ما قبل الاسلام من الامور السهلة ، وذلك لقلة المصادر الاساسية المعاصرة وقلة البحث الاتاري عن هذه الفترة بالذات . -

ان ماجامنا من روايات قد تناقلت عبر أجيال مختلفة قد لعبت بها الالهواء والتحيز ، حسب ميول الرواة ، لذلك على الباحث ان يتوخى الدقة والحذر عند اخذ هذه الرواية او تلك في كتابة أي بحث .

ان الذي شجعني لتناول هذا الموضوع - مؤشرات في الحسن القومي عند النعمان بن المنذر - هو انه من خلال الروايات الادبية والتاريخية قد انتهج سياسة مستقلة تختلف عن سابقيه من ملوك الحيرة تجاه الدولة الساسانية التي كانت تحتل العراق ، كما انه حاول جمع جهود القبائل العربية ودعاها الى انهاء خلافاتها لانه يرى انه في استمرارها خدمة للعدو ، كما انه اعترف لما ان وجوده مرتبط بوحدهم وما يتخوف من ناحيتهم ، فهو بذلك اراد مواجهة الفرس بفعل جماهي منظم متكامل ، لكنه مالبث ان دفع حياته ثمناً لحسه القومي .

- (29) Wiseman, D.J.: op. cit. p. 3, Oppenheim, A.L. P. 241.
- (30) Encylopeadia of Library and Information Science. Vol II. P.659
- (31) Shera, J sse H: The Classified catalog; Basic principles and precties chi ago American Library Assosation 956 P.8 .
- (32) الامين، عبد الكريم وآخرون : مبادئ الفهرسة والتصنيف ج ١ ، بغداد الجامعة المستنصرية (١٩٧١) ص ١٨ .
لامين، عبد الكريم : نفس المصدر السابق ص ٢٠ .
- (33) Dunkin, paul S.: Cataloging USA., Chicago. American Libary Assosation, 1969-P. 23.
- (34) الامين، عبد الكريم : نفس المصدر السابق ص ٢٦ - ٢٧ .
- (35) كريم، صموئيل : من الراجح ص ٤٢٠ .
- (36) Taylor, Kanadry: Subject Catalog VS Classified catalog Newyork, Columbia University, 1953. P. 102.
- (37) Oppenheim, A. Leo, op. cit. P. 18.
- (38) Sayers .W.C. Berwick: Introduction to Library Classification; Theoretical and practical: 8thed London. Grafton Co., 1950. P. 78.
- (39) Ibid. 73.
- (40) Oppenhiem, A. Leo.: op. cit. p. 242.
- (41) Ibid. P. 16.
- (42) Norris, D.M.: op. cit. pp. 2 -
- (43) كريم، صموئيل : كتبوا على العطين ص ١٩١ .
- (44) Bushnell, G.H.: op. cit. pp. 13 - 14.
- (45) كريم، صموئيل : السورويون ص ٢٣١ .

Adabü'l-Rafideyn , cilt: XVII (1987)

Musul , s. 191-214

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Dergi / Kısap
Etiyopyanada İncelemeler

that in Abraha's expedition the war in Hijāz, Najd (and Tihāma) was fought not between Mecca and Abyssinian Yemen, but between the latter and the Lakhmids, that is, their vassal tribes, then we have to admit that at the time of this war Mecca could have been nothing but an insignificant settlement, primarily a site of pilgrimage, and, as we shall see later, only a transit station of Yemenite (perhaps Byzantine) and Iranian trade, that is to say, at the time of Abraha's expedition there was as yet no independent Meccan trade.

With respect to this question, the interpreters of inscription Ry 506 naturally did not agree, because they approached the question from many angles among which the *historical* study of the development of Mecca was the least important.²⁰³

There are two arguments in strong support of the fact that the "War of the Elephant" in Arabic tradition and Abraha's expedition mentioned by Procopius and by the Murayghān inscription are one and the same: (1) the chronological order of Abraha and his two successors, Yaksūm and Masrūq, make it impossible for Abraha to have led his army in 570, as claimed by North Arabic tradition;²⁰⁴ (2) Arabic tradition too mentions only one expedition which, according to the authentic South Arabic inscription, had taken place in 547.²⁰⁵ Clarification of the chronology is important in order to enable us to determine the time limit when Abyssinian Yemen no longer controlled West Arabia, but the Lakhmids, who followed in Kinda's footsteps, still exercised a certain control over this territory. What is essential, however, is that according to Arabic sources, Yemenite merchants still traded on the incense-route in this period, but Meccan trade—which gained strength and independence after 570—soon finished with the competition of Yemen crushed by the Persian conquest. Certain social consequences of this can be observed in the creation of the famous Hilf al-Fuḍūl.

Abraha's expedition shows clearly Yemen's loss of influence in North Arabia around the middle of the 6th century. The following decades increased the political economic decline and isolation of Yemen. This process culminated in the Persian conquest and, as mentioned already, Khusraw Anōsharwān no longer needed Yemen, consequently, the conquest of the latter by the Persians had no real importance in North Arabian history.

The analysis of Yemen's history in the 6th century in relation to North Arabia can be summed up as follows: up to 525 (i.e. the conquest of Yemen by Abyssinia) helped by the Kindite federation, Yemen was the undoubted ruler of the incense-route, it had a lion's share in the trade towards the Mediterranean and none of the West Arabian stations on the incense-route was capable of gaining strength or independence. In this period Mecca was like any other transit station on the incense-route. The elimination of Yemen was West Arabia's possibility—although not immediately exploitable—to obtain a greater part of the transit trade. The decades following the Abyssinian conquest were characterized first by a struggle between the Abyssinians and the Lakhmids for the former Kindite territories and for influence over North Arabia, and later, from the forties of the 6th century (in some areas immediately after the collapse of Kinda) till the end of the sixties by Lakhmid preponderance.

Köbert Simon
Meccan Trade and Islam, Budapest
1989, s. 55-58. ÖN: ~~23635~~ 23635

Ghassānids and Lakhmids in oriental trade

Instead of analyzing the history and manifold functions of the two buffer-states, let us consider only how their participation in intermediary trade influenced or delayed the political and economic development of West Arabia and how far it was a case of direct political or economic control of the affected territories.

Various data confirm the short-lived political and economic control of West Arabia by the Lakhmids, but there is no evidence of direct influence by the Ghassānids on this territory. The Ghassānids' lack of influence can be explained, among others, with the fact that their territory was only one,²⁰⁶ though in certain periods the most powerful, of the Bedouin phylarchias of Byzantium.²⁰⁷ As we know, Justinian had appointed, at the same time as al-Hārith b. Jabala, Abū Kurib the phylarchos of the Palestinian Arabs;²⁰⁸ and an important passage in Malalas²⁰⁹ lists in detail the eastern *phylarchoi* and *duces*, including al-Hārith b. Jabala, whom Justinian had sent to avenge the Kindite al-Hārith b. 'Amr. We know that after 530 Justinian appointed the Kindite Quays the *phylarchos of Palestine*.²¹⁰ Besides the peremptory report of Johannes of Ephesus,²¹¹ this difference in the power of the Lakhmids and the Ghassānids precludes the correctness of Procopius's statement that Justinian had invested al-Hārith b. Jabala with royal dignity.²¹²

At the same time, after 530, the Ghassānids evidently had an impressive power,²¹³ as confirmed, among others, by the fact that quite often the Ghassānids came out as winners of one or another of the numerous skirmishes between the two buffer-states.²¹⁴ In all probability, they played a significant role in the overland trade of Byzantium, primarily towards Iraq, although, unfortunately, very little is known about it. Our most important source is Menander Protector's already mentioned passage which proves beyond all doubt that around 561 the extent of the trading activity of the two buffer-states was that it interfered with the interests of the two great powers. However, almost nothing is known about the role of the Ghassānids in the trade on the incense-route, except that for some time certain important stations along it (Petra, Bostra, Damascus) were under their control suggesting that in some form or other—at least in the final phases—they also took part in this trade. While Lammens attributes a fairly great importance to the trading activities of the Ghassānids,²¹⁵ according to Paret, their power even over the Syrian section of the route was rather questionable.²¹⁶ We, on our part, conclude from the lack of reference to the trading activities of the Ghassānids in non-Arabic and Arabic sources that it had been of no great importance as far as trade to and from Yemen through the peninsula was concerned. For us it is more important and realistic that after the 561 peace treaty Byzantium became more and more distrustful, and frictions between the great power and the buffer-state multiplied leading to the loss of power of the latter. We know from Michel le Syrien that already Justinian II (565 to 578) was annoyed by al-Mundhir b. al-Hārith and wished to finish with him.²¹⁷ The enmity between Byzantium and the Ghassānid buffer-state broke out under Tiberius (578 to 582) and first al-Mundhir and later his

Bibliography: In addition to sources mentioned in the text, see *Cronica del Moro Rasis*, ed. Diego Catalan and M^a Soledad de Andrés, Madrid 1974, 35-6, 293; 'Udhri, *Fragm. geogr.-hist. de al-Masālik ilā dī'āmi' al-mamālik*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ahwānī, Madrid 1965, index; E. Fagnan, *Extraits*, 64, 210-11; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, 103 (writing *Alḳant*), 566; Ibn Hayyān, *Muḳṭābis*, ed. Antuña, Paris 1937, 118, 130; *Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Hakam II, por 'Isā b. Aḥmad al-Rāzī* (tr. of the *Muḳṭābis* by E. García Gómez, Madrid 1967), 128; Ibn 'Idhārī, ii, 51, 52; Ibn Ḥazm, *Dījamharat al-ansāb*, Cairo 1962, 499; E. Llobregat Conesa, *Teodomiro de Oriola. Su vida y su obra*, Alicante 1973, 30-3; J. Vallvé, *La división territorial de la España musulmana (II). La cora de "Tudmir" (Murcia)*, in *al-And.*, xxxvii (1972), 147, 150, 158; E. Molina López, *La cora de Tudmir según al-'Udri (s. XI)*, in *CHI*, iv (Granada 1972), index; M. Gaspar y Remiro, *Historia de Murcia musulmana*, Saragossa 1905; F. Figueras Pacheco, *Compendio histórico de Alicante*, Alicante 1957; R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane aux temps des Naṣrides (1232-1492)*, Paris 1973, 65 and index; J. B. Vilar, *Orihuela musulmana*, Murcia 1976, index; see also the *Bibl.* to IBN MARDANĪSH.

(J. BOSCH VILÀ)

LAKHM, an Arab tribe, especially influential in the pre-Islamic period. With the exception of the Lakhmid family [see LAKHMIDS] in 'Irāk, so frequently celebrated in the old Arab poetry, the pre-Islamic history of this family is not well-known and is full of legend. According to the traditional genealogy, Lakhm was of Yemenī origin and was the brother of Djudhām and 'Āmila [q.v.]. Yemenis and Ma'addis claimed descent from the powerful Lakhmid dynasty of 'Irāk.

Of the three sister-tribes, Lakhm was undoubtedly the most illustrious and the oldest also. Legend connects it with the descendants of Abraham. A Lakhmid is said to have taken Joseph out of the well into which his brothers had thrown him. But by the eve of the *hidjra*, the vigour of the Lakhm had been sapped, while the 'Āmila and notably the Djudhām, who under the Umayyads played a leading part, had increased in importance. Two centuries before the *hidjra*, the surplus Lakhmid population had spread over the lands in the north of the peninsula in Syria and Palestine and in 'Irāk where they established the Lakhmid phylarchate of al-Hīra [q.v., and also DJADHĪMA], continually at war with the Ghassānids of Syria. In Syria we find the Lakhm settled in the same districts as the Djudhām. Like the latter, they adopted Christianity, which also became latterly the official religion of the Lakhmids of al-Hīra.

However, the al-Namāra inscription, dated A.D. 328, has thrown much light on the history of Lakhm. It fully explains the presence of Lakhm or part of it in Syria after it emigrated from 'Irāk with its king, Imru' al-Ḳays, who went over to the Romans. It was after its emigration to Roman Syria that Lakhm became associated with the "sister-tribes", Djudhām and 'Āmila, and so the genealogy that related the three tribes to one another as descended from one ancestor is fictitious, and is merely the reflection of geographical and political conditions that obtained after the emigration of Lakhm to Roman territory and its settlement in the southern part of Syria, not far from where these two tribes had settled. The separation of Lakhm from the two "sister-tribes" genealogically tips the scales against Lakhm's being

a non-Yemenī or South Arabian tribe and suggests a Mesopotamian origin. The re-appearance of the tribe in 'Irāk, and what is more, in al-Hīra, after a long interregnum may be explained by the possible return of part of it to 'Irāk after its disappointments with the Romans, or by the fact that part of Lakhm had not accompanied its king Imru' al-Ḳays when he went over to the Romans but had stayed on in al-Hīra.

When Islam appeared, the Djudhām had practically absorbed their relatives, the Lakhm of Syria, a peaceful absorption by mutual agreement. In the 1st century A.H. the two tribes were usually named together as forming one group, and even when reference is made to a "chief of Lakhm", we can hardly be wrong in thinking that he also ruled the Djudhām. The *nisba* "Lakhmī" becomes rare in comparison with "Djudhāmī." In the wars of Islam, during the conquest of Syria, at the Yarmūk, at Siffin, and later in the course of the campaigns under Yazīd I against the sacred cities of the Ḥidjāz, the two tribes fought under the same chiefs and under the same banner. "Lakhmī" became practically reduced to little more than a title of honour. Its archaic flavour, the glorious memories which it recalled of the phylarchs of 'Irāk, was socially impressive, but the tribe of Lakhm no longer had a separate existence from the Djudhām. When in the lands to the west of the Euphrates, we find them mentioned alone, the name must be taken to mean the Djudhām, and it is the latter that the chroniclers usually have in mind.

Only a last echo of the aristocratic connotation of the name "Lakhmī" is seen in the claim of the 'Abbāsidis [q.v.], *mulūk al-ḥawā'if* in al-Andalus during the 5th/11th century, to be of Lakhmid stock.

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(H. LAMMENS-[IRFAN SHAHID])

LAKHMIDS, a pre-Islamic Arab dynasty of 'Irāk that made al-Hīra [q.v.] its capital and ruled it for some three centuries from ca. 300 A.D. to ca. 600 A.D. Strictly speaking, the dynasty should be called the Naṣrids after their eponym, Naṣr, Lakhm [q.v.] being the tribe to which they belonged. As semi-independent kings and as clients of the Sāsānids, the Lakhmids were the dominant force in the political, military, and cultural history of the Arabs during these three centuries before the rise of Islam.

1. History. The founder of the dynasty, whose *floruit* may be assigned to the last quarter of the

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القبائل العربية في بلاد الشام

في زمن الخلفاء الراشدين

صالح احمد العلي*

العرب والقبائل العربية:

وردت كلمة عربي في ثماني آيات في القرآن الكريم صفة «اللسان» أو «اللغة» دون تحديد لهوية الناطقين بها أو خصائصهم الاخرى، ولا تنحصر بفئة ذات سمات حضارية محددة، وإنما قد تشمل الجماعات من البدو والاعراب والفلاحين وأهل القرى والأقوام.

والواقع ان اللغة تعبر عن الرابطة العامة الثقافية، وهي وثيقة الصلة بالرابطة العرقية لان الانسان يبدأ بتعلم اللغة منذ الصغر من الام والاسرة وفي المجتمع الذي يعيش فيه. واللغة بتراكيبها ومفرداتها الأساسية هي أبرز مظهر لوجود الامة ودوامها، وان التطورات التي تحدث في المفردات اللغوية من حيث التوسع والازدياد وتطور المعاني تعبر بدورها عن التطور الحضاري للامة، وهذا الكيان المتماك للامة والذي تعبر اللغة عنه، لا يؤثر فيه انتشار استعمال بعض أبناءها للغة أخرى اضافة، لان هذه اللغة الثانية تكون اضافة مرافقة للغة الاصلية وليست بديلا عنها، وهي في الغالب محصورة في فئات معينة من أهل العلم أو التجار أو بعض الموظفين وقلما يتسع امتدادها إلى كافة الناس، وخاصة في الأزمنة السابقة للعصر الحديث حيث كانت وسائل المواصلات صعبة وسيل الاتصال قليلة، فظهور مؤلفات في مجتمع بلغة تخالف اللغة السائدة في ذلك المجتمع، لا يدل حتما على أن أبناء ذلك المجتمع تركوا لغتهم الاصلية، فالكتب المؤلفة بالاغريقية في بلاد الشام وكتابة الدواوين بالاغريقية لا يعني أن أهل البلاد الذين كانت العربية لغتهم الاصلية قد زالوا من الوجود، أو أنهم تركوا استعمالها كما ان تعدد اللهجات لا يعني زوال الامة، لان هذه اللهجات مهما تنوعت واتسعت الفروق بينها فانها تحتفظ بالخصائص الأساسية للغة بمفرداتها وتراكيبها، وتكون الاختلافات فرعية.

ومهما يتصل باللغة في معرفة هوية الامة هو أسماء الاعلام، حيث ان كل مجتمع يعم فيه استعمال أسماء اعلام مستمدة من لغته ومن معتقداته وثقافته، فتكون له سمة مميزة بالرغم من كثرة وتنوع هذه الاسماء وارتباط كثير منها بالمستوى الثقافي للامة.

فالعرب استعملوا أسماء اعلام هي رغب أكثرتها وتنوعها ذات سمات واضحة، فاسم الشخص هو في الغالب دليل على هو بيته، ولا يؤثر في هذا العدد القليل ممن يتسمى باسماء غريبة عن ثقافة الامة كالذي نجده عند بعض المعاصرين الذين يتسمون باسماء شائعة في الامم الاخرى، وقد مرت أزمنة أكثر فيها أهل بلاد الشام من استعمال أسماء الاعلام

* رئيس المجمع العلمي العراقي

- 1- GEMİ
- 2- SURİYE - SAM
- 3- SÜLEYMAN
- 4- TAY
- 5- TENİN
- 6- GASSAN - GASSIÂNİLER
- 7- BEHRÂN
- 8- KAYN
- 9- ZAHM
- 10- CÜZAM
- 11- AMİLE
- 12- AKK
- 13- MISİR
- 14- ARAP(LAR)

Not : Makale ARAP devletine
konusunda dipnotlarında bazı
devlette olduğu belirtilen
Diyadin

Lakhmids

and *ma'nā*, into account. Ibn Qutayba establishes four categories of quality: (1) both are good, (2) both are bad, (3) one is good and the other bad or (4) vice versa. Similarly, though richer in variants and less systematic, in *Ibn Tabāṭabā* (d. 322/934). *Qudāma ibn Ja'far* (d. 337/948), in accordance with the logical layout of his *Assaying of Poetry*, treats the virtues and defects of (a) the words, (b) the meaning, and (c) the combination of the two. The availability of this last category allows him to address, under the first rubric, the qualities of single words (phonetic smoothness, archaicism, and others) rather than the wording of the meaning of a whole verse. It seems that later authors were less circumspect; for we see 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078 or later) waging war against those who thought that *lafz* referred to the dimension of sound only, and proposing instead a *lafz-ma'nā* dichotomy within a larger dichotomy of 'sounds' (*ajrās al-ḥurūf*) and 'intention' (*gharaḍ*). Here *lafz* and *ma'nā* are completely congruent due to a 'form' (*ṣūra*) that shapes the semantic relations on the *ma'nā* side and the syntactic ones on the *lafz* side (slightly simplified). For him this is just an explication of the critical thought of the ancient authorities; *lafz* still takes precedence with him in the evaluation of poetry.

Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī (d. 456/1063 or later) asserts that there were partisans of *ma'nā* as there were partisans of *lafz*. Ibn Rashīq explains, however, that the *ma'nā* in this context is not simply the meaning and the content of the line, but rather the *ma'nā al-ṣan'a*, 'the specific meaning of a line achieved by the application of a figure of speech', thus – with a grain of salt – a 'conceit.' In the mask of *ma'nā*, the *lafz* is still triumphant.

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See also: literary criticism, medieval; rhetoric and poetics

al-Lāḥiqī, Abān see **Abān ibn 'Abd al-Hamīd al-Lāḥiqī**

al-Lāḥiqī, Hamdān ibn Abān see **Hamdān ibn Abān al-Lāḥiqī**

Lakhmids

An Arab tribal dynasty allied with the Sasanians and based at the Iraqi town of Ḥīra from the fourth to sixth centuries. Under their rule the town became not only the main base for military activity in defence of the Iraqi desert frontier, but also a lively cultural centre.

The Lakhmids were a major stimulus to Arabic poetry, and indeed, one unparalleled anywhere else in Arabia. From throughout Arabia, such eminent poets as Imru' al-Qays, Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā, Tarafa ibn al-'Abd, Ḥātim al-Tā'i, al-Nābigha al-Dhubayānī, al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥilliza and Labid ibn Rabi'a came to recite verse in praise of Lakhmid princes or to lament their deaths, and on occasion would mock them in poems. No clash with their enemies was too minor for commemoration in verse, and the amenities of their base at Ḥīra were likewise celebrated. Some of this poetry may have been retrojected from Islamic times, but much of it is so detailed, or devoted to such minor events, that later forgery seems unlikely or pointless.

The Lakhmids were also the object of a number of proverbs, and they may have been responsible for some degree of historical consciousness. The churches and monasteries of Ḥīra are said to have possessed books recording genealogical and chronological information on the Lakhmids. These books must have been Nestorian works written in Syriac, but Ḥīra was a major centre for Arabic culture as well and translations could easily have been made later. The influence of such works is perhaps to be seen in the detailed knowledge of the Lakhmids that one finds in such authors as Ḥamza al-Ḥafḥānī (wrote 350/961).

The Lakhmids were buffeted by several serious incursions by the Ghassānids in the sixth century, and in 602 their rule was brought to an end when their last and most renowned ruler, al-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir, was killed by the Sasanians. Ḥīra, on the other hand, retained at least some of its cultural significance for another three centuries after

reign of Tiberius, as has already been noted. The Ghassānid bishop at Evaria presumably had under his jurisdiction all the other Ghassānid ecclesiastics—priests and deacons who ministered to the Ghassānids in Oriens.

The association of the Ghassānids ecclesiastically with a town such as Evaria is of some relevance to the question of whether or not towns in Oriens were assigned to them, a question that will be raised again in relation to bishop Theodore around 540, and also to their relation as *foederati* to Bostra itself, the capital of the Provincia Arabia.

The Lakhmids: Mundir and Christianity

If Jabala and his Ghassānids were not in evidence within Oriens, Mundir and his Lakhmids were. The latter's raids ranged far and wide along the Oriental *limes*, but what is relevant for ecclesiastical history is an examination of his raids on the Christian establishment in Oriens, especially his notorious abduction of four hundred nuns or virgins from the congregation of the church of the Apostle Thomas,²⁴ his massacring them and offering them as a sacrifice to the pagan goddess al-'Uzzā ("the most powerful"), the Arabian Aphrodite, in 527. He was to repeat this barbarity later in his career when he captured the son of his Ghassānid adversary, Arethas, in the 540s and sacrificed him to the same goddess.²⁵ These barbarities have attracted the attention of anthropologists and historians of religion who were especially interested in them as evidence for the survival of human sacrifice among the pre-Islamic Arabs.²⁶ But Mundir's anti-Christian outbursts are even more important to the student of Arab-Byzantine relations, both secular and ecclesiastical, and the two are interrelated. An examination of what was involved in these barbarities conduces to a better understanding of Byzantine-Lakhmid relations. This has been lightly touched upon in Chapter I on the reign of Anastasius,²⁷ but it deserves a full treatment since it elucidates some important aspects of Arab-Byzantine relations in the reign of Justin.

Mundir's barbarity and anti-Christian outbursts admit of various interpretations, the complexity of which may be stated as follows.

1. Personal. Mundir was the son of that Nu'mān who celebrated his reign over Ḥīra by many blasphemies and violations of Christian shrines. So he was born into a family that had been known for its hostility to Christianity; the death of his father has been attributed, at least in pious thought,

²⁴ Zacharia, *HE*, versio, p. 53, lines 11–17.

²⁵ See *BASIC* I.1, 238.

²⁶ For instance, J. Henninger, "Menschenopfer bei den Arabern," *Anthropos* (1958), 734–38. The older works of leading Orientalists on Arabian paganism are still valuable, such as J. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (repr. Berlin-Leipzig, 1927), and Nöldeke's penetrating article on the religions of the ancient Arabs in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed J. Hastings (New York, 1928), 1, 659–73, especially pp. 665, 669.

²⁷ See above, 708–9.

to a heated altercation he had with a Christian chief in his army, which made his wound swell and as a result of which he died.²⁸ Mundir remembered all this and imbibed hostility toward Christianity from his father.

2. Dynastic. With the exception of Imru' al-Qays and Nu'mān, the Lakhmid kings of the fourth and fifth centuries respectively, the dynasty was solidly pagan. Paganism among the Lakhmids was somewhat institutionalized, and the reign of Mundir became even more so with the various idols in Ḥīra that were associated with the dynasty, such as the two idols called al-Ghariyyān.²⁹ Furthermore, as the ruler of Ḥīra, he had under him an army of Arabs from northeastern Arabia, which in spite of some Christian and Jewish elements in it, must have been fairly pagan. The Lakhmids must have decided that they looked stronger as leaders of a pagan army if they shared its paganism than led it as Christian converts.

3. Mundir's style in warfare was that of a Ghāzī, a raider of the frontier or the *limes*, which offered him spacious opportunities for looting. Christian places of worship, with their treasures, had great drawing power for the rapacious bird of prey that the Lakhmid king of Ḥīra undoubtedly was. Conversion to Christianity would have terminated his career as raider of the Christian churches and monasteries.

Perhaps even more important than all these personal and dynastic considerations were ones that pertain to Persia, both its ruling dynasty, the Sasanids, and to its religious class, the Magi.

1. The Magi were the guardians of the official religion of the Persian state, namely, Zoroastrianism. This was an exclusive, non-proselytizing religion that looked askance at, and was intolerant of, the claims of Christianity in Persia since the latter was a religion with universalistic claims and a mission to convert the *oikoumenē* to its doctrines. Hence the strong opposition of the Magi to Christianity, and their prestige and power in Persian society were great, especially with the Sasanid king.

2. The Sasanids. The Persian kings may or may not have been religious rulers, but Christianity in the fourth century became an especially unacceptable faith to be spread in Persia, because after the conversion of Constantine it became the religion of the secular enemy that had imperialistic claims in the East and was now supported by a religion that, too, had universalistic claims, and whose cross had become the Byzantine military emblem. Hence all Christians in Persia became suspect as a fifth column whose sympathies were with the enemy, Byzantium.³⁰ Mundir's paganism was acceptable to Ctesiphon but not his Christianity.

²⁸ On Nu'mān see *BASIC* I.1, 17–18.

²⁹ See Rothstein, *DLH*, 140–41. On the possibility that Muḥarriq was also a Lakhmid pagan god, see *ibid.*, 142.

³⁰ See A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen, 1944), 267–68.

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Mecelletu Mahadi'l- Mahtutati'l-

Arabiyye, cilt: XXXIX / 1, Kahire, 1416/1995

s. 123-147.



هذا بحث وثيق الصلة ببحث سبقه،
ونشر في مجلة المعهد - المجلد ٣٨.

صاحب البحثين د. كريم حسام الدين،
فقد عرض في الأول للتعريف بشرح اللخمي
لمقصورة ابن دريد ومخطوطاته ومنهجه، وهو
هنا يعرض لنشرة للشرح - صدرت منذ مدة
بالتبعية وتسجيل الملاحظات.

وقد تتبع في: ملاحظات تتعلق بدراسة
مؤلفات ابن هشام ومنهجه، وأخرى بما
أصاب انشرة المتداولة من سقط، وثالثة بما
عرض لألفاظها بسبب انقراء الخاطئة،
ورابعة بما تعرض له من تخريج أبيات الشرح
من خلل، وأخيراً غياب الفهارس الفنية
عنها.

شرح اللخمي للمقصورة

(عود على بدء)

د. كريم حسام الدين^(*)

13 TEMMUZ 1996

(*) أستاذ بكلية الآداب - جامعة القاهرة. له عدد من المؤلفات المنشورة، منها: «أصول تراثية في علم اللغة»
و «التعبير الاصطلاحي» و «الزمان الدلالي» و «الدلالة الصوتية» و «المحظورات اللغوية» ...

entreaties: they begin to grumble and refuse to play the role of financial backers; and then the artist begins to practise blackmail and to resort to diatribes; and then comes the clash. The case of al-Uḳayshir is one example of this. Yet on the other hand he constitutes a link in the long chain of the Asadī poets from Kūfa (Ṭukhaym, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zabīr, al-Hakam b. 'Abdal, Abū Dulāma and Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb) who played a decisive role in the emergence of mainstream innovative poetry in the 2nd/8th century.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. *Dīwān al-Uḳayshir al-Asadī*, ed. Khalīl al-Duwayhī, Beirut 1411/1991; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *al-Akhhbār al-muwaffakiyyāt*, Baghdād 1972, 525; Ibn Kutayba, *Uyūn al-akhhbār*, Cairo 1343/1963, index; Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshah*, Cairo 1385/1965, 247, 282; al-Sarī al-Raffā', *al-Muḥibb wa 'l-mahbūb wa 'l-mashmūm wa 'l-mashrūb*, Damascus, 330, 333-4, 336-9; Ibn Dīnnī, *al-Khaṣā'is*, Beirut n.d., i, 74, iii, 95; 'Alī b. Abī 'l-Faradj al-Baṣrī, *al-Ḥamāsa al-baṣriyya*, Haydarābād 1964, ii, 73, 75, 80, 104, 368, 371, 391; Ibn Shākīr al-Kutubī, *Uyūn al-tawārīkh*, ms. B.N. arabe 1587, fols. 13a-14a; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Cairo 1406/1986, iv, 485, 487-92; Yākūt, *Buldān*, s.vv. al-Taff, Ḳubbayn; Dhahabī, *T. al-Islām*, Beirut 1410/1990, v, 560-1; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar T. Dimashk li-Ibn 'Asākir*, Damascus 1409/1989, v, 182-3; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1929, iv, 52-6.

2. Studies. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 515, with bibl.; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 326-7, ix, 279; Yūsuf Ḳhulayf, *Ḥayāt al-shi'r fi 'l-Kūfa ilā nihāyat al-kān al-thānī li 'l-hidjra*, Cairo 1388/1968, 593-7; al-Ṭayyib 'Ashshāsh, *al-Uḳayshir al-Asadī, akhhbāruhu wa-shi'rūhu*, in *Hawliyyāt al-Djāmi'a al-Tūniyya*, viii (1971), 29-92; Ḥusayn 'Aṭwān, *Shu'arā' al-dawlatayn al-umawiyya wa 'l-abbāsiyya*, Beirut 1981, 306, 338; *Camb. hist. Arabic lit.*, ii, 'Abbasid belles-lettres, 225; 'Aḥīf 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Mu'jam al-shu'arā' min al-'aṣr al-djāhili ḥattā al-'aṣr al-umawī*, Beirut 1417/1996, 26, § 117.

(A. ARAZI)

AL-UḲAYŞIR, an idol of the tribes of Ḳudā'a, Laḳhm, Djudhām, 'Āmila and Ḡaṭafān [*q.v.*], venerated in northern Arabia, across which these tribes ranged, as far as the Syrian borders (Ibn al-Kalbī, 24, 30). Pilgrimage was made to it by devotees with shaven heads; with each lock of hair, a handful of meal was offered, all this thrown into a large trench or a dried-up well (*ḥafī*). The Hawāzin, neighbours of the Ḳudā'a, used to come and collect the meal, either at the time of the offering or after it was mixed with the hair.

The deity seems to have been embodied in several betyltes. The poet Zuhayr "swore faithfully by the shaped stones (*ansāb*) of al-Uḳayşir and by the place where the tufts of hair with their lice were cut off" (*ibid.*, 24; Yākūt, *Buldān*, i, 340). The victims' blood was poured over the sacred stones (Ibn al-A'rābī, in *TA*, iii, 506 ll. 27-8), and ritual processions were made round it to the chanting of praises and joyfulness (Rabī' b. Ḍubay'/Ḍabu' al-Fazārī, in Ibn al-Kalbī and Yākūt, *loc. cit.*). The stones could even be covered with sacred cloths on which oaths could be taken. These stones must have represented the tribes that were grouped around al-Uḳayşir and who regarded the place as the bond of their tribal union. They may have stemmed from some great sanctuaries of the Arabs and have formed the kernel of a primitive pantheon.

It might be doubted whether al-Uḳayşir was a very old deity, given the absence of any mention in the Liḥyānite and Thamūdīc inscriptions in the vast lands occupied in the 6th century by the tribes venerating

it. As the focus of a rudimentary cult, its sanctuary might well have passed unnoticed by the traders, travellers and caravans traversing the region, since these were more evolved, semi-sedentarised, with better-organised cults; but this last mode of life, which crystallised around the urban centres, was not necessarily opposed to the long-range movements of pastoralist tribes who ranged as far as the limits of the Syrian desert.

The great antiquity of al-Uḳayşir, considered to be Syrian in origin, may only be deducible from scattered, fragile pointers, it is true, but these are not negligible and allow the deity to be connected with the ancient Canaanite deity Katar (T. Bauer, *Die Ostkanaaner*, Leipzig 1926, 91 l. 26; G. Hoffmann, in *ZA*, xi [1896], 253-8) or Kawthar (Ugar. *kthr*), whose name was variously pronounced in later times (cf. M. Dahood, in S. Moscati *et alii* (eds.), *Le antiche divinità semitiche*, Rome 1958, 81-2). The link could be justified from Kawthar's being linked with music and singing; in Ugaritic there is mentioned a group of professional singers, *kthrat* (cf. Hebr. *kōshārēt*, in Ps. lxxviii. 7). In the verses of Rabī' b. Ḍubay' mentioned above, al-Uḳayşir figures as the originator of all melodies, *naghām*, around whom the poet circles the stone or sanctuary of al-Uḳayşir to songs of praise and joyfulness.

The link between al-Uḳayşir and Kawthar, father of Tammūz, in Aramaic mythology, the equivalent of Cinyras, father of Adonis, in Cypriot mythology, also has in its favour the possibility of a foreign origin for the name, one deformed as it became Arabised. No Arabic etymology of *k-s-r* yields a satisfactory divine name. The facts that, morphologically, it would be the diminutive of *aḳṣar* "the shortest", and that one might derive it from *kaṣr* "torticollis", as Wellhausen translated (*Reste*², 63), or from *kaṣra* "base of the neck", get us no further. But the consonant skeletons of Uḳayşir and Kawthar could conceivably have been originally the same, with dialectal change of the *kāf* into the uvular *kāf*, entailing that also of *tā'* (in Katar) and *thā'* (in Kawthar) into *sād*. The Aramaic form of this name may have lingered on in Arabic in the divine name Kathrā, idol of the Ṭasm and Djadīs [*q.v.*], probably representing the solar disc (cf. Fahd, *Le panthéon*, 109).

The offering of meal (*dakīk*) made to al-Uḳayşir does not seem to have any connection with the divination by means of flour practised by the Greeks and known amongst the Semites (see refs. in *ibid.*, 161). Could it have been originally a question of a gift to the *sādīn* [*q.v.*] or custodian of the shrine, who probably cut the hair of pilgrims as a mark of their sacralisation? This would explain the fact that to each lock of hair there corresponded a handful of meal, which looks like either an equivalent or a payment. With the disintegration of the cult and the absence of a *sādīn*, the offering of meal nevertheless continued, with the meal rendered useless by being mixed with hair. Such an offering does seem strange in the nomadic milieu, and may point to a Canaanite-Aramean, hence agricultural, origin of this deity. Also, the cutting of hair as a sign of *ihram* was usual in Arabian cults, notably at Minā during the Meccan pilgrimage, surviving there till today, and at al-Mushallal, at the shrine of Manāt. Herodotus, iii. 8, links it with Dionysius, and Plutarch, *De Iside*, ch. 4, mentions that the Egyptians cut their hair at the celebration of mourning for Osiris. This places right away al-Uḳayşir in the mythic context of the dying god, of which Tammūz, Adonis and Osiris are clearly similar manifestations.

Kudā'a
Laban
Egypt
Gatufan

Lehrer

٣٧ - حرب بني شيان مع كسرى أنوشروان في شأن الحرمة ابنة النعمان
ابن المنذر بن ماء السماء :

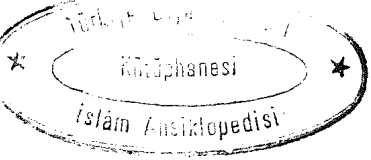
○ القاهرة ، مطبعة نخبة الأخيار ، ١٣٠٥ هـ / ١٨٨٧ م ، ٧٢ ص .

محمد عيسى صالحية، المعجم الشامل للتراث العربي المطبوع،
الجزء الخامس ، القاهرة ١٩٩٥ ، ص .
DIA Ktp. 40818 ، 390

21 EYLÖL 1996

العرب قبل الإسلام

يبحث في أصل العرب وتاريخهم ودولهم وتمدنهم
وأديبهم وعاداتهم من أقدم أزمانهم الى ظهور الاسلام



Dia için faras

M. Demirci

تأليف
عزجي زبدان

Nûman b. Münzir
279-282

18 MAYIS 1991

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| Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi Kütüphanesi | |
| Sayı No. : | 10892 |
| İsmit No. : | 956.3 ZEY.A |

منقورات دار مكتبة الحياة
بيروت لبنان

سيف ابن هند وهو معلق في السرادق وليس هناك سيف غيره، فأخذه وضرب به مضط الحجارة فقتله، وخرج فنادى: «يا آل تغلب!» فانتهبوا مال عمرو بن هند وخيله وسبوا النساء ولحقوا بالحيرة. وعاصر عمرو المذكور كسرى انوشروان.

(١٦) قابوس بن المنذر (٥٧٨ - ٥٨١ م)

هو اخو عمرو المتقدم ذكره، وكان ضعيفاً وفيه لين، وسموه فتنه العرس او «قينة العرس»، وله مع بني يربوع «يوم طخفة» وسيأتي خبره، وقد قتله رجل من يشكر وسلب ما كان عنده وعليه.

(١٧) فيشهرت (او زيد) (٥٨١ - ٥٨٢ م)

ليس له خبر يذكر.

(١٨) المنذر بن المنذر بن ماء السماء (٥٨٢ - ٥٨٥ م)

هو صاحب يوم حليمة الذي تقدم ذكره.

(١٩) النعمان بن المنذر ابو قابوس (٥٨٥ - ٦١٣ م)

كان معاصراً لهرمز الرابع وكسرى ابرويز، وبلغت الدولة في ايامه منتهى الترف والرخاء اقتداء بالفرس. وبعد ان كان الاكاسرة في اوائل الدولة يعجبون بنشاط العرب وانفتهم ويمهدون اليهم بتربية اولادهم وتثقيفهم، اصبح هؤلاء يمهدون بتربية اولادهم الى آخرين. وذلك ان المنذر بن المنذر - والد النعمان المذكور - عهد بتربيته الى رجل من عباد الحيرة اسمه عدي بن زيد، وكان للمنذر ١٢ ولداً يسمون الاشاهب، وكان النعمان من بينهم احمر ابرش قصيراً، وكان قابوس عم النعمان قد بعث الى انوشروان بعدي بن زيد واخوته وهم من اهل الكتابة يعرفون الفارسية والعربية، فكانوا في جملة كتابه ومترجميه. فلما حضرت المنية المنذر بن المنذر لم يمهد بالعرش لاحد من بنيه، فوكل الامر الى الياس بن قبيصة الطائي، فتسولاه أشهراً. وفكر انوشروان فيمن يملكه على العرب بعد المنذر المتوفي، وشاور عدي بن زيد المذكور واستنصحه في بني المنذر فأشار عليه بالنعمان.

(١٤) الحارث بن عمر الكندي

جاء خبره في اثناء خبر المنذر بن ماء السماء، مدة حكمه داخله في مدة حكم المنذر.

(١٥) عمرو بن هند مضط الحجارة (من ٥٣٣ - ٥٧٨ م)

هو عمرو بن المنذر بن امرئ القيس، ويسمونه المحرق الثاني، ويعرف باسم امه هند بنت عمه امرئ القيس الشاعر الشهير، ولدت للمنذر عمراً هذا وقابوساً. وكان عمرو شديد السلطان، وقد غزا بني تميم في دارهم، وقتل من بني دارم كثيرين يوم اواراة الثاني، وبالسخ في العظمة والكبرياء حتى توهم في نفسه الفضل على الناس كلهم، وخيل له انه ليس من امير في العرب لا يخدمه ويتمنى رضاه، وكانت تلك الدعوى سبب قتله - وذلك انه قال يوماً لجلسائه: «هل تعرفون احداً من اهل مملكتي يأنف ان تخدم امه امي؟» قالوا: ما نعرفه الا ان يكون عمرو بن كلثوم التغلبي، فان امه ليلي بنت مهلهل بن ربيعة، وعمها كليب وائل وزوجها كلثوم، وابنها عمرو. فسكت مضط الحجارة على ما في نفسه، وبعث الى ابن كلثوم يستزيه ويأمره ان تزور أمه أمه. فقدم ابن كلثوم في فرسان من تغلب ومعه امه ليلي، فنزل على شاطئ الفرات. وبلغ عمرو بن هند قدمه، فأمر فضربت خيامه بين الحيرة والفرات، و صنع طعاماً دعا اليه وجوه اهل دولته، ف قرب لهم الطعام على باب السرادق. وجلس هو وعمرو بن كلثوم وخواص اصحابه في السرادق، ولأمه هند قبسة في جانب السرادق، و ليلي ام عمرو بن كلثوم معها في القبعة. وكان مضط الحجارة قد قال لأمه: «اذا فرغ الناس من الطعام ولم تبق الا الطرف نحي خدمك عنك، فاذا دنت الطرف استخدمني ليلي ومرها، فلتناولك الشيء بعد الشيء» ففعلت. فلما استدعي الطرف قالت هند لليلى: «ناوليني ذلك الطبق»، قالت: «لتقم صاحبة الحاجة الى حاجتها»، فالحلت عليها، فقالت ليلي: «واذلاه! يا آل تغلب!»، فسممها ولدها ابن كلثوم فثار الدم في وجهه والقوم يشربون. فعرف عمرو بن هند الشر في وجهه، ونهض ابن كلثوم الى

جزء من رسائل الخليفة

في
عصور العرب الزاهرة

Nimous b. Munzir (19-21)

الجزء الاوّل

البصائر الحلي ، عصر صدر الاسلام

تأليف

احمد زكي صمو

وكل كلية دار العلوم جامعة القاهرة سابقا

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| sınıf No. : | 872.703 SAF.C |

المكتبة العلمية
ببغداد

فَلَمَعْرَى لَنْ جَزَعْتُ عَلَيْهِ كَجَزُوعٍ عَلَى الصَّدِيقِ أُسُوفٍ^(١)
وَلَمَعْرَى لَنْ مَلَكْتُ عَزَائِي لَقَلِيلٍ شَرَّوَاكُ فِيمَا أُطُوفُ^(٢)

فلما قرأ أبي كتاب عددي قام إلى كسرى فكلّمه في أمره وعرفه خبره ، فكتب إلى النعمان يأمره بإطلاقه ، ولكن النعمان اغتاله ، وتقدّم إلى رسول كسرى أن يبيته بأنّ عديا قد مات قبل أن يتقدّم عليه^(٣) .

(تاريخ الطبري ٢ : ١٤٩ ، والأغانى ٢ : ٢٦)

٦ - كتاب النعمان بن المنذر إلى كسرى

وندم النعمان على قتل عددي . وعرف أنه احتيل عليه في أمره ، واجترأ أعداء عددي على النعمان ، وهابهم هيبة شديدة ، ثم إنه خرج إلى صيده ذات يوم فلقى ابنا لعدى يقال له زيد ، فلما رآه عرف شبهه فقال له : من أنت ؟ فقال : أنا زيد بن عدى بن زيد ، فكلّمه فإذا غلام ظريف ، ففرح به فرحا شديداً ، وقرّبه وأعطاه ووصّله ، واعتذر إليه من أمر أبيه وجهزه ، ثم كتب إلى كسرى :

الحبر والنمعة ، والمعنى : إن تذهب عني وتفجعي ببعدك ، فإن ما ألقاه بعدك من نعمة - وإن جلت - لن تكون خلفا عنك ، ولن أرى فيها بدلا منك ، وفي الأغانى : « إن يعنى والله إنك فجوع لا يعينك ... » ، وهو تحريف . (١) الأسوف والأسيف : الحزين .

(٢) الشروى : اللئيل .

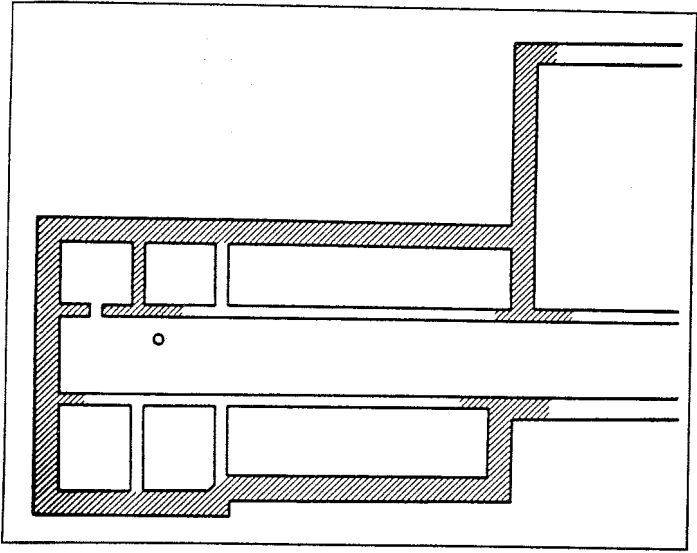
(٣) وذلك أن أبا كان قد تقدم إلى رسول كسرى ورشاه وأمره أن يبدأ بمدى ، وقال له : ادخل عليه فانظر ما يأمرك به ، فدخل الرسول على عدى ، فقال : لى قد جئت برسالك ، فاعندك ؟ قال : عندى الذى تحب ، ووعده عدة سنوية ، وقال له لا تخرجن من عندى ، وأعطى الكتاب حتى أرسله إليه ، فإناك والله إن خرجت من عندى لأقتلن ، فقال : لا أستطيع إلا أن آتى الملك بالكتاب فأوصله إليه ، فانطلق بعض من كان هناك من أعدائه ، فأخبر النعمان أن رسول كسرى قد دخل على عدى وهو ذاهب به ، وإن فعل لم يستبق منا أحدا أنت ولا غيرك ، فبعث إليه النعمان أعداءه فقبضوه حتى مات ثم دفنوه ودخل الرسول على النعمان بالكتاب ، فقال : نعم وكرامة ، وأمر له بأربعة آلاف مثقال ذهباً وجارية حسنة ، وقال له إذا أصبحت فأدخل عليه فأخرجه أنت بنفسك ، فلما أصبح ركب فدخل السجن ، فأعلمه الحارس أنه قد مات منذ أيام ، فلم يجزى على أن نخبر الملك للفرق منه وقد علمنا كراهته لموته . فرجع إلى النعمان فقال : لى قد دخلت عليه وهو حى ! فقال له النعمان ، أبيت بك الملك لى فتدخل إليه قبلى ؟ كذبت ! ولسكنك أردت الرشوة والحبت ، فهدده ثم زاده جائزة وأكرمه ، واستوثق منه ألا يخبر كسرى إلا أنه قد مات قبل أن يتقدم عليه ، فرجع الرسول إلى كسرى فقال : لى قد مات قبل أن أدخل عليه .

٥ - رد أخيه أبي عليه

فكتب إليه أخوه :

إِنْ يَكُنْ خَانِكُ الزَّمَانُ ، فَلَا تَا جِزُ تَابِعِ ، وَلَا أَلْفُ ضَعِيفِ^(١)
وَيَمِينِ الإِلَهِ ! لَوْ أَنْ جَاوَا ءَطَحُونَا تُضِيءُ فِيهَا السِّيُوفُ^(٢)
ذَاتَ رِزِّ مُجْتَابَةِ عَمْرَةَ المُو ت صَحِيحٌ سِرْبَالُهَا مَكْفُوفِ^(٣)
كَتَفَ فِي تَحْمِيهَا ، لِحَيْثُكَ أَسْعَى فَاعَلَمَنْ لَوْ سَمِعْتُ ، إِذْ تَسْتَضِيفِ^(٤)
أَوْ بِمَالٍ سُنَيْتُ دُونَكَ لَمْ يُسْمِعْ تِلَادًا حَاجِجَةً أَوْ طَرِيفِ^(٥)
أَوْ بَارِضٍ أَسْطِيعُ آتِيكَ فِيهَا لَمْ يَهْلِنِي بَعِيدُهَا أَوْ مَخُوفِ^(٦)
فِي الأَعَادَى وَأَنْتَ مَنِ بَعِيدِ عَزَّ هَذَا الزَّمَانُ وَالتَّعْنِيفِ^(٧)
إِنْ تَفْتَنِي وَاللَّهِ إِنَّا لَنَجُوعًا لَا يُعَقِّبُكَ مَا يَصُوبُ الخُرَيْفِ^(٨)

- (١) الألف : الرجل الثقيل البطيء ، والقف في الكلام (بالتحريك) ثقل وعى مع ضعف ، رجل ألف : أى عيى بضم الكلام إذا تكلم ملاً لسانه فيه ، وفي الأغانى : « باغ » ، وهو تصعيف .
- (٢) جأى التيم كسرى جأياً وجأوا : ستره وغطاه ، وكتيبة جأوا : بيته الجأى ، وهى التى يملوها لون السواد لكثرة الدروع . والطعون : الكتيبة ذات الشوكة والكثرة تلعن ما لقت .
- (٣) الرز : الصوت تسمعه من بعيد أو أغم ، أو صوت الرعد . حنابة : أى مقتنعة مخنقة ، جاب واجتاب منع وخرق . والمعرة : الشدة . والسربال : الدرع ، أو كل ما ليس . وكف التوب : خلط حاضيته ، وهى الحياطة الثانية بعد التل ، ومنه قولهم : « عيبة مكذوفة » : أى مسرجة مشدودة على ما فيها ، وستاقى في كتاب صلح الحديبية .
- (٤) عيت النار كرضى سما وسعوا : اشتد حرها . واستضاف : استغاث .
- (٥) التلاد والتليد والتالد والتلد : المال القديم الأصلى الذى ولد عندك . والطارف والطاريف : المال المستحدث .
- (٦) هاله الأمر : أفزعه ، وفي الأغانى : « بعد بها » .
- (٧) فى الظيرى والتعريف « وأراه محرّفاً ، والسرّاب « والتعريف » كما فى الأغانى . والمعنى : ليس تجدى تمنيننا الزمان ولو منا إياه وعتينا عليه فيما رمانا به من خطوبه وملمانه ، وهو كقول القائل :
أخلى لو غير الحمام أصابكم عتيت ، ولسكن ما على الدهر معتب
أو عز بمعنى غلب (عزه كده : غلبه) والتعريف : بمعنى الإيلام ، أى غلبنا الزمان على أمرنا وقهرنا بؤلمانه وفواجعه .
- (٨) إلفاحال من فاعل تفتى . وجوعاً مبالغة من فاجع . لا يعقبك . لا يخالفك . والحريف : المطرف فى فصل الحريف . وأول المطرف فى أول الشتاء . وصاب المطرف صوبا : نزل ، وكفى بصوب الحريف عن =



Plan of Dayr Dāwūd

The above plan of the Monastery of Dāwūd/David was drawn by A. Musil, who also discovered the monastery and identified it with al-Turkmaniyya between Isriye and Ruṣāfa in northern Syria (see below, pp. 297–300, and Musil, *Palmyrena*, 153–54).

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ميمون بن قيس

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شرح وتعليق
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وَقَالَ يَمْدَحُ النُّعْمَانَ بْنِ المُنْدَرِ :

- ١- أَتَرْحَلُ مِنْ لَيْلِي وَلَمَّا تَرَوِدُ
- ٢- أَرَى سَفَهَا بِالْمَرْءِ تَغْلِيْقَ لُبِّي
- ٣- أَتَنْسِينِ أَيَّامًا لَنَا بِدُحَيْضَةٍ
- ٤- وَيَبْدَأُ تَيْهَ يَلْعَبُ أَلَالَ فَوْقَهَا
- ٥- قَطَعْتُ بِصَهْبَاءِ السَّرَاةِ شَيْلَةً
- ٦- بَنَاهَا السَّوَادِيُّ الرَّضِيخُ مَعَ الْخَلِي
- ٧- لَدَى ابْنِ يَزِيدٍ أَوْ لَدَى ابْنِ مُعَرِّفٍ
- ٨- فَأَضَحَّتْ كَبْنِيَانِ التَّهَامِيِّ شَادَهُ
- ٩- فَلَمَّا عَدَا يَوْمَ الرَّقَادِ وَعِنْدَهُ
- ١٠- شَدَّدَتْ عَلَيْهَا كُورَهَا فَتَشَدَّدَتْ
- ١١- ثَلَاثًا وَشَهْرًا ثُمَّ صَارَتْ رُؤْيَةً
- ١٢- إِلَيْكَ أَيْبَتَ اللَّغْنِ كَانَ كَلَالُهَا
- ١٣- إِلَى مَلِكٍ لَا يَقْطَعُ اللَّيْلُ هَمَّهُ
- ١٤- طَوِيلِ نِجَادِ السَّيْفِ يَبْعَثُ هَمَّهُ

(١ - ٢) اللد واللدن اللو . الخرد الشابة الحسنة الظهر النامة .
(٣ - ٤) الآل السراب . الرازقي نوب أبيض من الكتان . المفسد نوب مخطف في موضع المفسد . الصهبة حمرة مشربة بالسواد . سرة كل شيء خياره . شملة ومروح بمعنى واحد وهن النشيطة . فب كل شيء مقبية وما يليه . الأساد سير الليل كله . السوادى النوى . الرضوخ فصيل بمعنى مغلول من رضوخه أى دقة بالرقعة . الخلى الحشيش . المفسد فهو تعلق به الدواب ، وقدح يكال به .
(٥ - ٧) فت الثور وقتته دقة وكسره بالأصابع . القلذ الوعاء والمخلاة . الكلس الحجارة . الترمذ الأجر (وهو سرب) . الهم ما يشغل البال . يندى يطلق في النداء وهو الصباح المبكر .
(٨ - ١٠) تجرد تنحرف عن الجادة أى الطريق . الرؤية الناقة المبرولة من السير ، وكذلك الطليح . الفرد الذى لا نظير له . المفسد المحمود .
(١١ - ١٢) منه ما يشغل باله وما يدبره من كبار الأمور . الفرائض المهد اللين الوثير . نجاد السيف حملته ، يكنى بطوله من طول قاتنه . القطا طائر في حجم الحمام .

هذه هي القصيدة الوحيدة في ديوان الأعشى ، التي رويت له في مدح النعمان بن المنذر . وقد سقط اسم المدوح من ديباجة هذه القصيدة في الأصل وفي طبعه أوربا . فجات هكذا (. . .) وقدم النابتة وزهير وعلقمة بن عبدة فمدحوه ومدحه الأعشى (لم جاء في نهاية القصيدة) وفضل النعمان يرمض الأعشى عليهم بهذا الشعر (وليس في القصيدة ما يدل على اسم المدوح . ولكننا استدلنا على أنها في مدح النعمان بما جاء في نهاية القصيدة ، وبما جاء في خزنة الأدب للبيدادي ، إذ روى البيت (١٢) من هذه القصيدة ، وقال أنه من قصيدة للأعشى في مدح النعمان بن المنذر . ويقول في هذا البيت (أبيت اللعن) وهي تحية ملوك الحيرة .
والنعمان بن المنذر هو آخر ملوك الحيرة من آل المنذر . وهو الذي غضب عليه كسرى أبرويز بن هرمز ، لكبدة دبرها له زيد بن عدى ، انتقاماً منه لقتله إياه عدى بن زيد قبل ذلك ، فقتله . وقد ، اختلفوا في قتله ، فقيل أنه سجنه في سجن (خاتقين) الذى خنق فيه عدى بن زيد من قبل ، فلم يزل فيه حتى وقع الطاعون هناك فمات . وقيل أنه حبسه في موضع بالمدائن يسمى (ساباط) ، وقيل أنه القاه تحت أرجل الغناة فقتلته . وقلته قصة طويلة فصلها صاحب الأغاني في كتابه (١) .
وكان النعمان متزوجاً من كندة . وكانت له من زوجته الكندية ابنة جميلة اسمها هند ، تزوجها عدى بن زيد . ثم غدر النعمان بزوجهما فسجنه حتى مات . فنزهت هند بعد موته ، وحجبت نفيها في الدير المعروف بدير هند في ظاهر الحيرة . وقد عاشت هند بعد الإسلام بزمان طويل ، وتوفيت في ولاية الخيرة بن شعبة بالكوفة (٢) . وروى أن الخيرة خطبها لنفسه ، فردته حين علمت أنه إنما قصد إلى الفخر ، بعد أن ذهب شبابه وجمالها . وكان النعمان بن المنذر نصرانياً فيما يروى ، نصره عدى بن زيد .

يقدم الشاعر للمديح بثلاثة أبيات في الغزل فيقول :

- ١- أَتَرْحَلُ عَنْ (لَيْلِي) بغير زاد ، وكأنك قضيت من اللهو حاجتك وبلغت المراد ؟
- ٢- إن من فساد رأى الرجل ، أن يعلق قلبه بغانية ناعمة ، كلما دنامنها أمعنت في الصد والبعاد .
- ٣- أتنسرين ما قضينا في (دُحَيْضَةٍ) وبين (البدي) و(تَهْمَد) من أيام الوداد ؟
ثم لا يلبث الشاعر أن ينتقل إلى وصف الصحراء والرحلة للمدوح ، فيقول :
- ٤- كم من صحراء مهضلة ، يلعب فوقها السراب متموجاً ، كأنه كساء الكتان الأبيض المخطط بسواد .
- ٥- قطعتها بناقة حمراء من خيرة النوق ، ترح طول ليلها في نشاط . ثم تصيح مكتملة القوى لم يعثورها الكلال .
- ٦- لم تزل تعلق النوى المدقوق قد خلط . بالحشيش ، وتسقى صاق الماء ، وتطمع الشعير يكال لها بالمكيال .
- ٧- عند (ابن يزيد) أو (ابن مُعَرِّف) ، يفت لها العلف طوراً بأصابعه ، ويحش لها الكلاً تارة أخرى في المخلاة .
- ٨- حتى أصبحت في ضخامتها كبنيان (التهمام) الشامخ ، شيد بالحجارة والآجر والطين والجير .
- ٩- فلما جاء اليوم الذى يرقديه النوم ، وأمضى أنا لما عقدت عليه العزم ، وماتت له من أمر .
- ١٠- شددت عليها الرحل ، فنهضت به مسرعة ، تنحرف عن ظهر الطريق تارة وتعود تارة أخرى للرشد .

(١) والى الخيرة الكوفة سنة ٤١ هـ وتوفى سنة ٥٠ هـ .

to a *shūrā* (consultative council of the leading members of Quraysh that led to the election of ‘Uthmān). After Abū Mūsā publicly announced the agreement, ‘Amr declared Abū Mūsā’s statement invalid and removed only ‘Alī, while confirming Mu‘āwiya in his position (Ya‘qūb, 2:179; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Ibrahīm, 5:71 / ed. de Goeje, 1:2359; Hinds, 93–113). Al-Jāhiz, it should be noted, dismisses much of the story of the arbitration (al-Jāhiz, 371–6). ‘Amr remains a controversial figure type-cast in the role of opportunist: “had it not been for his love of worldly gains he would have been right for the caliphate—he had precedence (*sābiqa*) in Islam, which meant he converted and did the *hijra* to Medina before the conquest of Mecca, which Mu‘āwiya did not” (al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 3:59).

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KHALED M. G. KESHK

‘Amr b. Hind

‘**Amr b. Hind** was a Lakhmid king (r. 554–70 C.E.), son of the more famous al-Mundhir (r. 527–54 C.E.) and the Kindī princess Hind, to whom the matronymic by which he is known refers.

Before his accession as king in 554 C.E., he had been designated by his father to watch over the large Arab confederation of Ma‘add and in that capacity was defeated by Abraha, the Ethiopian ruler of southern Arabia, at the battle of Ḥulubān/Ḥalībān in about 550 C.E. As the Lakhmid client-king of Sāsānid Persia (554–69 C.E.), his most important function was to keep in check the many powerful Arab tribes of northeastern Arabia, such as the Bakr, Taghlib, and Tamīm. There are many references in the Arabic literary sources to his wars against these tribes, and he took part in some of the pre-Islamic battles of the period known as *Ayyām al-‘Arab* (“Days of the Arabs”), such as the second Yawm Uwāra. He appears in these sources as energetic, arrogant, and cruel; for his cruelty he was nicknamed Muḍarriṭ al-Ḥijāra (“the one who makes stones emit sounds”) and Muḥarriq (“the burner”). The peace of 561 C.E. between Byzantium and Persia was supposed to end hostilities between the Lakhmids and the Ghassānids, but as the Greek sources report, the aggressive ‘Amr chose to break the peace with two ineffectual offensives,

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(J. BOSCH VILÀ)

LAKHM, an Arab tribe, especially influential in the pre-Islamic period. With the exception of the Lakhmid family [see LAKHMIDS] in 'Irāk, so frequently celebrated in the old Arab poetry, the pre-Islamic history of this family is not well-known and is full of legend. According to the traditional genealogy, Lakhm was of Yemenī origin and was the brother of *Djudhām* and 'Āmila [q.v.]. Yemenīs and Ma'addīs claimed descent from the powerful Lakhmid dynasty of 'Irāk.

Of the three sister-tribes, Lakhm was undoubtedly the most illustrious and the oldest also. Legend connects it with the descendants of Abraham. A Lakhmid is said to have taken Joseph out of the well into which his brothers had thrown him. But by the eve of the *hidjra*, the vigour of the Lakhm had been sapped, while the 'Āmila and notably the *Djudhām*, who under the Umayyads played a leading part, had increased in importance. Two centuries before the *hidjra*, the surplus Lakhmid population had spread over the lands in the north of the peninsula in Syria and Palestine and in 'Irāk where they established the Lakhmid phylarchate of al-Ḥīra [q.v., and also *DJADHĪMA*], continually at war with the Ḡhassānids of Syria. In Syria we find the Lakhm settled in the same districts as the *Djudhām*. Like the latter, they adopted Christianity, which also became latterly the official religion of the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra.

However, the al-Namāra inscription, dated A.D. 328, has thrown much light on the history of Lakhm. It fully explains the presence of Lakhm or part of it in Syria after it emigrated from 'Irāk with its king, Imru' al-Kays, who went over to the Romans. It was after its emigration to Roman Syria that Lakhm became associated with the "sister-tribes", *Djudhām* and 'Āmila, and so the genealogy that related the three tribes to one another as descended from one ancestor is fictitious, and is merely the reflection of geographical and political conditions that obtained after the emigration of Lakhm to Roman territory and its settlement in the southern part of Syria, not far from where these two tribes had settled. The separation of Lakhm from the two "sister-tribes" genealogically tips the scales against Lakhm's being

a non-Yemenī or South Arabian tribe and suggests a Mesopotamian origin. The re-appearance of the tribe in 'Irāk, and what is more, in al-Ḥīra, after a long interregnum may be explained by the possible return of part of it to 'Irāk after its disappointments with the Romans, or by the fact that part of Lakhm had not accompanied its king Imru' al-Kays when he went over to the Romans but had stayed on in al-Ḥīra.

When Islam appeared, the *Djudhām* had practically absorbed their relatives, the Lakhm of Syria, a peaceful absorption by mutual agreement. In the 1st century A.H. the two tribes were usually named together as forming one group, and even when reference is made to a "chief of Lakhm", we can hardly be wrong in thinking that he also ruled the *Djudhām*. The *nisba* "Lakhmi" becomes rare in comparison with "*Djudhāmī*." In the wars of Islam, during the conquest of Syria, at the Yarmūk, at Šiffin, and later in the course of the campaigns under Yazīd I against the sacred cities of the *Hidjāz*, the two tribes fought under the same chiefs and under the same banner. "Lakhmi" became practically reduced to little more than a title of honour. Its archaic flavour, the glorious memories which it recalled of the phylarchs of 'Irāk, was socially impressive, but the tribe of Lakhm no longer had a separate existence from the *Djudhām*. When in the lands to the west of the Euphrates, we find them mentioned alone, the name must be taken to mean the *Djudhām*, and it is the latter that the chroniclers usually have in mind.

Only a last echo of the aristocratic connotation of the name "Lakhmi" is seen in the claim of the 'Abbādids [q.v.], *mulūk al-ḥawā'if* in al-Andalus during the 5th/11th century, to be of Lakhmid stock.

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(H. LAMMENS-[IRFAN SHAHID])

LAKHMIDS, a pre-Islamic Arab dynasty of 'Irāk that made al-Ḥīra [q.v.] its capital and ruled it for some three centuries from ca. 300 A.D. to ca. 600 A.D. Strictly speaking, the dynasty should be called the Naşrids after their eponym, Naşr, Lakhm [q.v.] being the tribe to which they belonged. As semi-independent kings and as clients of the Sāsānids, the Lakhmids were the dominant force in the political, military, and cultural history of the Arabs during these three centuries before the rise of Islam.

r. History. The founder of the dynasty, whose *floruit* may be assigned to the last quarter of the

BYZANTINO-ARABICA: THE CONFERENCE OF RAMLA, A.D. 524

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THE Conference of Ramla is, undoubtedly, the most important episode in the diplomatic annals of Arab-Byzantine relations before the rise of Islam. In A.D. 523, Justin I (A.D. 518-527) sent Abraham, son of Euphrasius, his specialist on Arabian affairs, to negotiate a peace with the Lakhmid King, Mundhir, who had successfully campaigned against Byzantium and had even captured the two Roman dukes, Timostratus, son of Silvanus, and John, son of Lucas. The diplomatic mission was successful, and a peace treaty was concluded in February A.D. 524 at Ramla, a locality to the southeast of Hira. In addition to the liberation of the two dukes for a very high ransom, Abraham interceded effectively on behalf of the Diophysites as well as of the Monophysites who were living in Mundhir's jurisdiction. These successes alone would have given Abraham's mission a respectable place in the history of Byzantine-Lakhmid relations; but a new and unexpected development gave that mission a wider significance. During the Conference, an envoy arrived from South Arabia dispatched by the newly established Jewish ruler Masrūq, announcing the massacre of the Christians of Najrān and asking Mundhir and the Persian king to do likewise to the Christian communities in their realms. The arrival of the South Arabian envoy obscured the Byzantine-Lakhmid phase of the Conference and opened a new phase which involved Byzantium in the world of the Red Sea, the Arabian Peninsula, and the Ethiopic-

Himyaritic conflict. This involvement culminated in the contribution of a fleet which transported the Ethiopic expeditionary force across the Red Sea. South Arabia fell and was converted into an Ethiopic dependency, a fact which was to have far-reaching consequences on the history of the Arabs and Arab-Byzantine relations.

I

The material for reconstructing the history of this diplomatic transaction is scattered in secular and ecclesiastical sources of various orders. The secular sources, Procopius and Nonnosus, inform briefly on the main objective of the diplomatic mission, the liberation of the two dukes. It is the ecclesiastical sources, however, notably the *Martyrium Arethae* and the *Letter* of Simeon of Beth Arsham, which supply the most detailed and valuable information and complement the accounts of the secular sources on religious and ecclesiastical matters in which Byzantium, Iran, and the Lakhmids, are involved.¹ Of these two ecclesiastical

¹ For the *Martyrium* in its various versions, see A. Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, (Lund, 1924), p. xxiv, n. 1. Of these the best is the Greek version. The text was first edited by J. Fr. Boissonade in *Anecdota Graeca* (Paris, 1833; photocopy reprint, Hildesheim, 1962), V, 1-62; later in 1869 E. Carpentier published the Greek version again with a Latin translation and a commentary in *Acta Sanctorum*, X, October, 721-59, which will be referred to as ASS. On his manuscript see ASS, p. 721. The Metaphrastic version is included in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CXV (2), cols. 1249-90, accompanied by a Latin version. The Arabic text of the *Martyrium* has not yet been published, for which see Moberg, *Book*, p. xxiv, n. 1, I, d. The Karshūni manuscript referred to in Moberg's note

Lakhmids

and *ma'nā*, into account. Ibn Qutayba establishes four categories of quality: (1) both are good, (2) both are bad, (3) one is good and the other bad or (4) vice versa. Similarly, though richer in variants and less systematic, in *Ibn Tabātabā* (d. 322/934). *Qudāma ibn Ja'far* (d. 337/948), in accordance with the logical layout of his *Assaying of Poetry*, treats the virtues and defects of (a) the words, (b) the meaning, and (c) the combination of the two. The availability of this last category allows him to address, under the first rubric, the qualities of single words (phonetic smoothness, archaicism, and others) rather than the wording of the meaning of a whole verse. It seems that later authors were less circumspect; for we see 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078 or later) waging war against those who thought that *lafz* referred to the dimension of sound only, and proposing instead a *lafz-ma'nā* dichotomy within a larger dichotomy of 'sounds' (*ajrās al-hurūf*) and 'intention' (*gharaḍ*). Here *lafz* and *ma'nā* are completely congruent due to a 'form' (*ṣūra*) that shapes the semantic relations on the *ma'nā* side and the syntactic ones on the *lafz* side (slightly simplified). For him this is just an explication of the critical thought of the ancient authorities; *lafz* still takes precedence with him in the evaluation of poetry.

Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī (d. 456/1063 or later) asserts that there were partisans of *ma'nā* as there were partisans of *lafz*. *Ibn Rashīq* explains, however, that the *ma'nā* in this context is not simply the meaning and the content of the line, but rather the *ma'nā al-ṣan'a*, 'the specific meaning of a line achieved by the application of a figure of speech', thus – with a grain of salt – a 'conceit.' In the mask of *ma'nā*, the *lafz* is still triumphant.

Further reading

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W. P. HEINRICHS

See also: literary criticism, medieval; rhetoric and poetics

al-Lāhiqī, Abān see Abān ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Lāhiqī

al-Lāhiqī, Ḥamdān ibn Abān see Ḥamdān ibn Abān al-Lāhiqī

Lakhmids

Lakhmids

An Arab tribal dynasty allied with the Sasanians and based at the Iraqi town of Ḥīra from the fourth to sixth centuries. Under their rule the town became not only the main base for military activity in defence of the Iraqi desert frontier, but also a lively cultural centre.

The Lakhmids were a major stimulus to Arabic poetry, and indeed, one unparalleled anywhere else in Arabia. From throughout Arabia, such eminent poets as *Imru' al-Qays*, *Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā*, *Tarafa ibn al-'Abd*, *Hātim al-Tā'i*, *al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī*, *al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥilliza* and *Labid ibn Rabi'a* came to recite verse in praise of Lakhmid princes or to lament their deaths, and on occasion would mock them in poems. No clash with their enemies was too minor for commemoration in verse, and the amenities of their base at Ḥīra were likewise celebrated. Some of this poetry may have been retrojected from Islamic times, but much of it is so detailed, or devoted to such minor events, that later forgery seems unlikely or pointless.

The Lakhmids were also the object of a number of proverbs, and they may have been responsible for some degree of historical consciousness. The churches and monasteries of Ḥīra are said to have possessed books recording genealogical and chronological information on the Lakhmids. These books must have been Nestorian works written in Syriac, but Ḥīra was a major centre for Arabic culture as well and translations could easily have been made later. The influence of such works is perhaps to be seen in the detailed knowledge of the Lakhmids that one finds in such authors as *Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī* (wrote 350/961).

The Lakhmids were buffeted by several serious incursions by the Ghassānids in the sixth century, and in 602 their rule was brought to an end when their last and most renowned ruler, al-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir, was killed by the Sasanians. Ḥīra, on the other hand, retained at least some of its cultural significance for another three centuries after

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I. DANISH

Lakhera

Community of India

The Lakkera, minor community in Gujarat, are referred to as Shishgar or Kachera, as they work in glass. They trace their migration from Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh. They are distributed in the Panchmahal and adjacent districts of the state. The community comprises of both Hindus and Muslims. The Muslim Lakhera speak Urdu and use the Perso-Arabic script, while the Hindu section speak Gujarati and use the Gujatatati script. This write up, however, deals with the Muslims Lakhera only. They are non-vegetarian in their food habits.

They have several migratory groups, such as Lohari, Mughol, Peswari and Aguwan (Afghanistan). They belong to the Sunni sect of Islam. Shishgar, Kachera, etc. form separate occupational divisions but belong to the same stock and intermarry with the Lakhera. Shaikh and Bhatiara are some of the common surnames used by them.

Consanguineous marriages between cross-cousins and parallel-cousins are practised. Property is divided equally among the sons. *Sagai* or betrothal is generally performed at the age of ten to twelve years. *Mehar* or guarantee money is promised for future payment at the time of *talaq* (divorce). A male child between three to five years undergoes *sunnat* or circumcision. *Nikah* or marriage rituals are performed at the bride's residence, witnessed by a *maulvi* who recites verses from *the Qur'ân*. The bury the dead and *namaze janaza* is performed as an important death rite. A forty-day mourning period is observed by the community.

The primary and traditional occupation of the Lakhera is making and selling bangles and other items. Presently, they have taken up other occupations, such as selling *paans* and *bidis*. Some are engaged as wage labourers while a few are in service. They visit the shrines (*dargah*) of Pir Nizamuddin, Salim Chisti and other Sufi saints.

Owing to their traditional occupation of selling bangles, they maintain cordial intercommunity relations with their Hindu neighbours. They have a positive attitude towards formal education, health, modern medicines and family planning. Facilities of rural employment programmes and civic amenities are being utilised by the community.

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M.K. MASTER

Lakhm

Tribe of Iraq and Syria

The Lakhm are an Arab tribe, especially influential in the pre-Islamic period. With the exception of the Lakhmid family in 'Iraq, so frequently celebrated in the old Arab poetry, the pre-Islamic history of this family is not well-known and is full of legend. According to the traditional genealogy, Lakhm was of Yemeni origin and was the brother of Judham and 'Amila. Yemenis and Ma'addis claimed descent from the powerful Lakhmid dynasty of 'Iraq.

Of the three sister-tribes, Lakhm was undoubtedly the most illustrious and the oldest also. Legend connects it with the descendants of Abraham. A Lakhmid is said to have taken Joseph out of the well into which his brothers had thrown him. But by the eve of the *hijra*, the vigour of the Lakhm had been sapped, while the 'Amila and notably the Judham, who under the Umayyads played a leading part, had increased in importance.

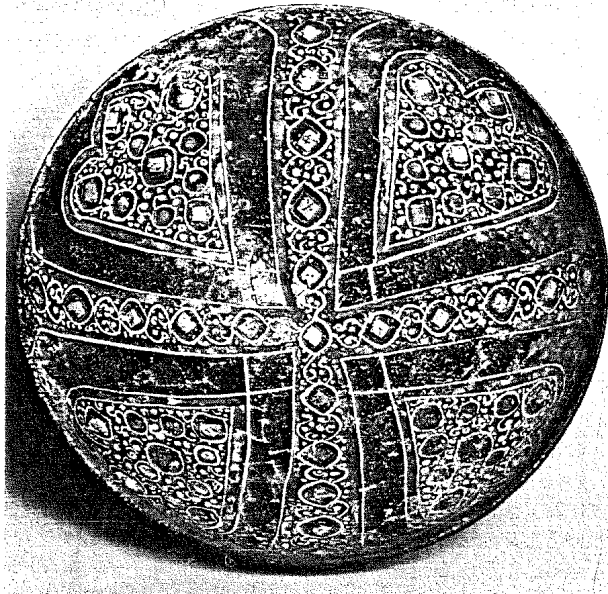
Two centuries before the *hijra*, the surplus Lakhmid population had spread over the lands in

lahm (Ben lahm)

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LAKHMIDS

LAKHMIDS



Lajvardina bowl in dark blue, with red, white, and gold decoration. Kāshān, Iran, 13th century. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, FLETCHER FUND, 1934 (34.151)

lajvardina manufacture, necessitating the use of large amounts of gold, expensive cobalt, and extra work and firings for enamel and gilding, may partially explain its short life of a hundred years. Judging from the introduction of Far Eastern motifs, a fashion that became prevalent during the Mongol period in Persia (1256–1393), and chronological evidence provided by the stratigraphy of excavations at Takht-i Sulaymān in northern Iran, together with literary references (a letter received in 1308 by the vizier Rashīd al-Dīn describing lajvardina dishes as gifts from the sultan of Delhi) and two dated examples from 1315/1316 and 1374/1375, lajvardina production seems to have continued only until the end of the fourteenth century.

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MARINA D. WHITMAN

[See also Ceramics, Islamic; Faience.]

LAKHMIDS, an Arab dynasty that ruled Al-Ḥīra on the lower Euphrates for some three centuries before the rise of Islam and played a decisive role in the his-

tory of the Arabs in that period. Al-Ḥīra and the Lakhmids did not belong to the world of the Mediterranean but were drawn into its orbit because of their clientship to Persia and their consequent participation in the Sasanian war effort against Byzantium.

The founder of the dynasty, Amr ibn Adī (fl. last quarter of the third century), was also the founder of Al-Ḥīra. In addition to his record as a warrior, he appears as the protector of Manichaeism after it was outlawed in Persia. His son, Imru^ḡ al-Qays, also cut a large figure in the military annals of the Lakhmids but went over to the Romans; he died in 328 and was buried at Namāra in the *provincia* Arabia.

Lakhmid history in the fourth century is obscure, but in the fifth it is illuminated by three illustrious names: al-Nu^ḡmān, nicknamed Al-Aswar (“the One-Eyed”) and al-Sā^ḡiḥ (“the Wanderer”), who visited the Syrian St. Simeon between 413 and 420; his son Mundhir (ca. 418–452), who took part in the Byzantine-Persian war of 421–422; and, toward the end of the century, Nu^ḡmān II (498–502), who began a series of operations against Byzantium that may have been a prelude to the Persian war of Anastasius’ reign (502/503–505).

The sixth century witnessed the peak of Lakhmid aggressiveness against Byzantium. The redoubtable Mundhir III (503–554) ravaged the frontier for almost fifty years. In addition to warring continually with the Ghassanids, the Arab clients of Byzantium throughout this period, he conceived the strategy that culminated in the defeat of the Byzantine army under Belisarios at Callinicum in 531. Finally, the Ghassanid Ḥārith turned the tide against him and he died in battle in 554. It was Mundhir’s ubiquitous presence along the Roman frontier that induced Justinian I around 530 to reorganize the Ghassanid phylarchate and concentrate power in the hands of a supreme phylarch.

Lesser kings succeeded Mundhir—three of his sons—but in 580 Al-Ḥīra had a capable ruler in the person of his grandson, Nu^ḡmān III. After a reign of some twenty years (580–602), during which he reasserted the prestige of the Lakhmids with the Arabs and the Persians, Xusrō II Parvīz had him killed, and with his death Lakhmid rule over Al-Ḥīra came to an end. The fall of the Lakhmids was fraught with disaster for the Sasanians, since they were the latter’s shield against the Arabs of the Arabian Peninsula. When those Arabs appeared in the 630’s as Muslim conquerors, the Lakhmid shield was no more.

The significant role they played in the history of

Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya's favourite al-Akhtal [*q.v.*], but freely expressed his opinion on the insult offered to his fellow-tribesmen.

After Yazīd had come to the throne in 60 Radjab/April 680, he nevertheless left al-Nu'mān in office; but the latter did not long remain there. Al-Nu'mān is described as an ascetic, and he knew the teachings of the Qur'ān thoroughly. But his asceticism was not of the strictest type, and his interest in musical entertainments was regarded as evidence of lack of dignity. In policy he proved very tolerant so long as it did not come to an open rising. When Muslim b. 'Aqīl [*q.v.*], al-Husayn's partisan, appeared in al-Kūfa to ascertain the feelings of the people and he found a number who were ready to pay homage to al-Husayn, al-Nu'mān adopted a neutral attitude and took no steps to check the vigorous propaganda. As a result, the followers of the Umayyads in al-Kūfa wrote to the caliph and called his attention to the fact that the threatening situation demanded a man of vigour who would be able to carry out the government's orders, while al-Nu'mān, out of real or feigned weakness, was letting things take their course and only urging people to keep calm. When Yazīd was discussing this with his councillors, notably the influential Ibn Sardjūn, the latter showed him a document signed by Mu'āwiya shortly before his death, containing the appointment of the then governor of al-Baṣra 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*] to the same office in al-Kūfa. In spite of his antipathy to the proposal, Yazīd carried out his father's wish and made 'Ubayd Allāh governor of al-Kūfa without removing him from his post in al-Baṣra, whereupon al-Nu'mān hastened back to Syria. When the people of Medina rebelled at the beginning of the year 63/682 and drove all the Umayyads out of the town, Yazīd wished to see what tact would do before resorting to arms and sent a mission to Medina under al-Nu'mān to show the people the futility of armed resistance and to bring them to their senses. The mission was also instructed to go on to Mecca to induce the stubborn 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr to pay homage. Al-Nu'mān's warnings and threats had no effect on his countrymen, however, and there was nothing left for the caliph but to subdue the rebels in the two holy cities by force of arms [see YAZĪD B. MU'ĀWIYA]. After the death of Yazīd in Rabī' I 64/Nov. 683, al-Nu'mān, who had in the meanwhile become governor of Ḥimṣ, declared openly for 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. In Dhū 'l-Ḥiǧǧja of the same year/July-Aug. 684 and Muḥarram 65/Aug.-Sept. 684, however, the latter's leading follower al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Fihri [*q.v.*] was defeated at Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*], and thus the fate of al-Nu'mān was also decided. He attempted to save himself by flight but was overtaken and killed. According to the Arab historians, the town of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān [*q.v.*] takes its name from al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr.

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(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

AL-NU'MĀN (III) B. AL-MUNDHIR, the last Lakhmid king of Ḥīra [*q.v.*] and vassal of Sāsānid Persia. He was the son of al-Mundhir IV [*q.v.*] and Salmā, the daughter of a Jewish goldsmith from Fadak. In the annals of the Lakhmids [*q.v.*], his reign (ca. A.D. 580-602) was the most memorable after that of his grandfather, al-Mundhir III (d. 554). His accession to the throne of Ḥīra he owed to 'Adī b. Zayd [*q.v.*], the famous Christian poet and statesman of Ḥīra, and the Sāsānid Hormuzd celebrated that accession with an especially splendid crown.

Al-Nu'mān was an assertive and strong ruler, and his reign witnessed tensions within Ḥīra and wars with the Arab tribes. The Ḥīra clan of the Banū Marīna had opposed his accession, and finally, the very friendly clan of the Banū Ayyūb was ranged against him. In addition to friction with the Taghlib tribe, he tried to withdraw the privilege of *ridāfa* (divisional leadership in battle) accorded to Yarbū'c, a subdivision of the tribe of Tamīm, from them and transfer it to another subdivision, namely Dārim. Yarbū'c contested this, and in a bloody encounter at Tikḥfa, the Yarbū'c were victorious. Al-Nu'mān's brother Ḥassān and his son Ḳābūs led the Lakhmid troops but both were defeated and captured, and al-Nu'mān had to ransom them for 1,000 camels.

The fall of the Ghassānids [*q.v.*] from grace ca. 580 brought about disarray in Ghassānid-Byzantine relations and with it a diminution of the Ghassānid military role in Byzantium's war with Persia in the 580s. Hence Lakhmid-Ghassānid encounters receive no mention in the sources, and these record only an echo of an expedition by al-Nu'mān against Byzantine Circesium (Ḳarḳisiyā [*q.v.*]). The conclusion of the Persian-Byzantine peace which lasted till the death of the emperor Maurice in 602 ruled out any serious Lakhmid military designs against Ghassānid or Byzantine territory. But before that peace was concluded, al-Nu'mān had fought with Parwīz [*q.v.*], Hormuzd's son and successor, at the battle of al-Nahrawān against the rebel Bahrām Cūbīn.

During the reign of al-Nu'mān, Ḥīra continued to develop as the greatest centre of Arab culture before the rise of Islam. In addition to the poetry of its most famous poet, the Christian 'Adī b. Zayd, the splendid panegyrics of al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī [*q.v.*], one of the poets of the *Mu'allakāt* [*q.v.*], were composed on this al-Nu'mān. The earliest collection of Arabic poems are associated with his name, sc. panegyrics of various poets on members of the Lakhmid dynasty. The king converted to Christianity after most of his ancestors had resisted the temptation. But the Nestorianism to which he was converted was acceptable to Sāsānid Persia, and Parwīz himself had become well disposed towards Christianity after his marriage to the Christian Shīrīn and the peace with Byzantium in 591, which thus becomes the *terminus post quem* for al-Nu'mān's conversion. Ḥīra became, even more than before, the centre of Arab Christianity in Sāsānid Persia, whence the Nestorian Church propagated Christianity among the Arabs of the Persian Gulf and Eastern Arabia.

The reign that started so auspiciously with the crown from Hormuzd ended disastrously for al-Nu'mān, who, after harbouring suspicions towards 'Adī b. Zayd to whom he owed his accession, had him incarcerated and put to death. 'Adī's son, influential at the court of Parwīz, plotted against al-Nu'mān in revenge for the murder of his father; al-Nu'mān fled

القبائل العربية في بلاد الشام

في زمن الخلفاء الراشدين

صالح احمد العلي*

العرب والقبائل العربية:

وردت كلمة عربي في ثمانى آيات في القرآن الكريم صفة «اللسان» أو «اللغة» دون تحديد لهوية الناطقين بها أو خصائصهم الاخرى، ولا تنحصر بصفة ذات سمات حضارية محددة، وإنما قد تشمل الجماعات من البدو والاعراب والفلاحين وأهل القرى والأقوام.

والواقع ان اللغة تعبر عن الرابطة العامة الثقافية، وهي وثيقة الصلة بالرابطة العرقية لان الانسان يبدأ بتعلم اللغة منذ الصغر من الام والاسرة وفي المجتمع الذي يعيش فيه. واللغة بتراكيبها ومفرداتها الأساسية هي أبرز مظهر لوجود الامة ودوامها، وان التطورات التي تحدث في المفردات اللغوية من حيث التوسع والازدياد وتطور المعاني تعبر بدورها عن التطور الحضاري للامة، وهذا الكيان المتماكس للامة والذي تعبر اللغة عنه، لا يؤثر فيه انتشار استعمال بعض أبناءها للغة أخرى اضافية، لان هذه اللغة الثانية تكون اضافية مرافقة للغة الاصلية وليست بديلا عنها، وهي في الغالب محصورة في فئات معينة من أهل العلم أو التجار أو بعض الموظفين وقلما يتسع امتدادها إلى كافة الناس، وخاصة في الازمنة السابقة للعصر الحديث حيث كانت وسائل المواصلات صعبة وسبل الاتصال قليلة، فظهور مؤلفات في مجتمع بلغة تخالف اللغة السائدة في ذلك المجتمع، لا يدل حتما على أن أبناء ذلك المجتمع تركوا لغتهم الأصلية، فالكتب المؤلفة بالاغريقية في بلاد الشام وكتابة الدواوين بالاغريقية لا يعني أن أهل البلاد الذين كانت العربية لغتهم الأصلية قد زالوا من الوجود، أو أنهم تركوا استعمالها كما ان تعدد اللهجات لا يعني زوال الامة، لان هذه اللهجات مهما تنوعت واتسعت الفروق بينها فانها تحتفظ بالخصائص الأساسية للغة بمفرداتها وتراكيبها، وتكون الاختلافات فرعية.

ومهما يتصل باللغة في معرفة هوية الامة هو أسماء الاعلام، حيث ان كل مجتمع يعم فيه استعمال اسماء اعلام مستمدة من لغته ومن معتقداته وثقافته، فتكون له سمة مميزة بالرغم من كثرة وتنوع هذه الاسماء وارتباط كثير منها بالمستوى الثقافي للامة.

فالعرب استعملوا اسماء اعلام هي رغم كثرتها وتنوعها ذات سمات واضحة، فاسم الشخص هو في الغالب دليل على هويته، ولا يؤثر في هذا العدد القليل ممن يتسمى باسماء غريبة عن ثقافة الامة كالذي نجده عند بعض المعاصرين الذين يتسمون باسماء شائعة في الأمم الاخرى، وقد مرت أزمنة أكثر فيها أهل بلاد الشام من استعمال اسماء الاعلام

* رئيس المجمع العلمي العراقي .

- 1- GEMİ
- 2- SURİYE - SAM
- 3- SÜLEYM
- 4- TAY
- 5- TEVÂH
- 6- GASSAN - GASSANILAR
- 7- BEHRÂN
- 8- KAYN
- 9- LAHM
- 10- CÜZAM
- 11- AMİL
- 12- AKK
- 13- MISIR
- 14- ARAP(LAR)

Not : Makale ARAP peşine
komisyon raporlarında
peşine olduğu belirtilen
Beyan

LAKHMIDS, a pre-Islamic Arab dynasty whose early history is so deeply veiled by myths, that it is difficult to discern the facts in the mass of fiction. They were descended from the banu-Lakhm, a clan of the Judham* confederation of tribes, which had its pasture grounds in the Syrian desert. It seems that about the middle of the 3rd century A.D. the Lakhm gained ascendancy over the town of al-Hīrah* (near ancient Babylon) and, radiating from here, over the country south and west of the lower Euphrates. This region was inhabited by parts of various Arabian tribes immigrated hither at an unknown period, the most numerous of which was a branch of the strong banu-Azd*. They

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RONART, Stephan and Nandy,
CEAC, s. 310, 1959 (AMSTERDAM)

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formed a kind of confederation under the common name of Tanūkh*, and turned to agriculture in some of the fertile districts where they established tent camps that gradually developed into permanent settlements, the most important of which was al-Hīrah whose people, the so-called 'Ibād* (servants of God) early embraced Christianity, and built up a comparatively high urban civilization.

Arab historians mention two Azdite chieftains, Mālik ibn-Fahm al-Azdī and his son Jadhīmah al-Abrash*, said to have ruled this rudimentary state as vassals of the first Sāsānid King of Persia, Ardashīr Bābakān (226-241). Jadhīmah seems to have been succeeded by his nephew 'Amr ibn-'Adī ibn-Lakhm, appointed King of the Arabs in Babylonia (Iraq) by Shāpūr (241-272). But around 328 an inscription found at al-Namārah, south-east of Damascus, calls 'Adī's son, Imru'al-Qays, a feudatory of Rome. Then there is a gap of about a hundred years in Lakhmid history. Not before the Arab annals reach Nu'mān I al-A'war, the One-Eyed, (ab. 400-418) can they be considered as resting on firmer than legendary grounds. Nu'mān I is known as the builder of the castle of Khawarnaq*, praised by his contemporaries as a wonder of art. At his court at al-Hīrah and under his protection, Bahrām Gōr, a Persian of noble descent and pretender to the throne of Persia, spent his youth, completely adopting Arab appearance, customs and manners; with Lakhmid support he was indeed subsequently elected and crowned in the face of powerful rivals. Towards the end of his reign Nu'mān seems to have been moved by a mystical urge, and renouncing all worldly possessions to have turned to the life of a wanderer in the desert. Of the events falling in his son's Mundhir I long reign (ca. 418-462) there has been transmitted only a heavy defeat in 421 suffered from the Romans in one of the many Roman-Persian conflicts.

Among the subsequent Lakhmid kings the warlike Mundhir III ibn-Mā' al-Samā' (Son of the Water of Heaven, his mother's nickname), who reigned from ca. 505 to 554, is particularly extolled by poets and chroniclers. Having smashed his powerful neighbours, the confederation of the Kindah* tribes, and put their king Hārith ibn-'Amr with some fifty of his relatives to a cruel death (529), he led his troops into Syria, then a Byzantine province, destroying everything on his way as far as Antioch. In order to stem his attacks Emperor Justinian incited his rival, the Ghassānid* king Hārith ibn-Jabalah, called the Lame, against him, with the result that the two houses became involved in a struggle which lasted until the end of both of them. In one of the numerous skirmishes Mundhir captured one of his enemy's sons and sacrificed him to the goddess al-'Uzza* - to the same goddess he sacrificed also 400 Christian nuns - but some years later was decisively beaten and killed by Hārith's men in the so-called Battle of Halīmah*. Two more Lakhmid princes were rendered famous by the panegyrics of the bards whom their munificence attracted to their court - 'Amr ibn-Hind* (554-569) and Nu'mān III abu-Qābus (ca. 580-602), who was the first and only Christian among the Lakhmid Kings. They made al-Hīrah a home for many poets of repute: Tarafah*, 'Amr ibn-Kulthūm*, Hārith ibn-Hillizah*, Nābigah al-Dhubyānī* and 'Adī

— Amr b. Hind ? kontrol

‘AMR ibn-HIND, ruler of the Lakhmid* kingdom (VIth cent.). He was a great warrior and liberal patron of poets and bards many of whom gathered at his court, extolling his exploits in battle. He was feared for his cruelty and his exaggerated pride, which are illustrated by many stories still current. Among the best-known are those relating how he had the poet Tarafah* treacherously murdered because he thought himself ridiculed by him; and those dealing with his own death at the hands of the poet ‘Amr ibn-Kulthūm*, whose mother Layla he had offended by his haughty manners. King ‘Amr’s mother Hind, was a Christian, famed for her piety.

RONART,
Stephan and
Wandy, CEAC

S. 41, 1959

(AMSTERDAM)

06 Temmuz 2014