

AL-ḤĪRA

Some notes on its relations with Arabia

BY

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THE RIVALRY between the Persian and Byzantine Empires over the control of the regions of the Arab Peninsula at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century is reflected in a number of traditions attributed to the Prophet and recorded in some commentaries of the *Qur'ān*. Qatāda (died 117 AH)¹ gives a description of the sad situation of the Arab population of the Peninsula before they embraced Islam, commenting on *Qur'ān*, VIII, 26: "And remember when you were few and abased in the land and were fearful that the people (*al-nās*) would snatch you away"². He describes their sorrowful economic situation, their going astray and their weakness, and states that they were "confined on a top of a rock between Fāris and Rūm" (*ma'kūfīna 'alā ra'si ḥaḡarin bayna Fārisa wa-l-Rūmi*)³. "The people" (*al-nās*) mentioned in the verse of the *Qur'ān* are said to refer to Persians and Byzantines⁴. A ḥadīṭ reported on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās (died 68 AH) states that the Prophet interpreted *al-nās* as

1. See about him IBN ḤAḠAR : *Tahdīb al-tahdīb*, VIII, 355 (Hyderabad 1327 AH); AL-ḌAHABĪ : *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, III, 385, No. 6864 (ed. AL-BIḠĀWĪ, Cairo 1963).

2. Translation of A. J. ARBERRY : *The Koran Interpreted*, p. 172 (London 1964).

3. AL-SUYŪṬĪ, *al-Durr al-manṭūr*, III, 177 (Cairo 1314 AH); ṬABARĪ'S *Tafsīr*, XIII, 478 (ed. Maḥmūd Muḡ. ŠĀKIR and Aḡmad Muḡ. ŠĀKIR, Cairo 1958) contains the comment of Qatāda, but the mentioned phrase is inserted by the Editors with variants: "between the two lions (*asadayni*) Fāris and Rūm" and "mak'ūmina" instead of "ma'kūfīna"; AL-ŠAWKĀNĪ, *Faṭḥ al-Qadīr*, II, 287 (Cairo 1932—but the phrase is omitted); IBN KAṬĪR, *Tafsīr*, III, 303 (Beirut 1966—the phrase is omitted); AL-SAMARQANDĪ, *Tafsīr*, Ms. Chester Beatty, I, f. 252b (*kānū bayna asadayni bayna Qayṣara wa-Kisrā*).

4. AL-SUYŪṬĪ, *op. cit.*, ib.; AL-ṬABARĪ, *op. cit.*, ib.—but al-Ṭabarī prefers another interpretation, according to which "*al-nās*" refers to Qurayš, ib. p. 379; AL-FAYRŪZABĀDĪ, *Tanwīr al-miqbās*, p. 138 (Cairo 1290 AH) records that *al-nās* refers to Qurayš; AL-SAMARQANDĪ, *op. cit.*, ib.: *al-nās* refers to Persians, Byzantines and "Arab" who dwelt around Mecca; AL-BAYḌĀWĪ, *Tafsīr*, I, 183 (Cairo 1355 AH) . . . *wa-qīla li-l-'Arabi kāffatan fa-innahum kānū aḡillā'a fī aydī Fārisa wa-l-Rūmi*.

referring to Persians¹. Whatever the interpretation of the phrase in the verse discussed above, these early commentaries seem to mirror the apprehensions felt by the people of the Peninsula concerning the power of the two rival Empires and to bring out the impact of this rivalry on the life of the communities in the Peninsula.

The struggle between the two Empires, in which the two vassal-kingdoms of al-Ḥīra and Ġassān took active part, was closely watched by the unbelievers and Muslims in the different stages of their context. According to the commentaries on *Qurʾān*, XXX, 1-2, the sympathies of the unbelievers of Mecca were with Persia whereas the Muslim community inclined towards the Byzantines². The victories of the Byzantines, it is stressed, coincided with the victories of the Prophet³.

The efforts of Persia to gain control over the region of al-Ḥiğāz were noticed by R. Růžička, who assumed that the waning of the influence of Tamīm and the rise of the influence of Ġaṭafān were caused by the action of Persian policy performed through the medium of the Laḥmid kingdom in order to get a foothold in this region⁴.

A tradition recorded by Ibn Saʿīd in his *Našwat al-ṭarab*⁵ reports

1. AL-SUYŪṬĪ, *op. cit.*, ib; but in ṬABARĪ'S *Ṭafsīr*, p. 478 the comment is attributed to Wahb b. Munabbih.

2. AL-ṬABARĪ, *op. cit.*, XXI, 16 (Cairo 1954, printed by Muṣṭafā al-Bābī AL-ḤALABĪ); AL-QURṬUBĪ, *al-Ġāmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, XIV, 1 seq. (Cairo 1945); IBN KAṬĪR, *op. cit.*, V, 342-43; ABŪ NUʿAYM: *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, p. 296 (Hyderabad 1950); ABŪ ḤAYYĀN: *Ṭafsīr al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, VII, 161 (Cairo 1328 AH); ABŪ L-MAḤĀSIN YŪSUF B. MŪSĀ AL-ḤANAFĪ, *al-Muʿtaṣar min al-muḥtaṣar*, II, 189-190 (Hyderabad 1362 AH); and see M. HARTMANN, *Der Islamische Orient*, II (Die arabische Frage), pp. 50-51, 511-514 (Leipzig 1909); R. BLACHÈRE, *Le Coran*, I, 418-20 (Paris 1920); MUḤ. HAMIDULLAH, *Le Prophète de l'islam*, I, 18 (Paris 1959).

3. AL-QURṬUBĪ, *op. cit.*, XIV, 1-5; AL-ṬABARĪ, *op. cit.*, XXI, 16 seq.; IBN KAṬĪR, *op. cit.*, V, 348; of interest is a record reported by al-Qurṭubī: when the tidings of the victory of the Byzantines arrived many people embraced Islam, *op. cit.*, XIV, 2; and see F. ALTHEIM and R. STIEHL: *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*, pp. 158-60 (Frankfurt am Main 1957).

4. R. RŮŽIČKA: *Duraid b. aš-Šimma*, I, 55 (Praha 1930): "Zda se, že v zaniknutí nadvlády Tamimovcu a v převládnutí vlivu Ġaṭafanovcu třeba spatřovati účinky politiky perské, jež se snažila prostřednictvím politicky vládnouti" . . . ["Il semble qu'il faille voir dans la disparition de la prépondérance de Tamīm et la montée de celle de Ġaṭafān les effets de la politique perse, qui s'efforçait d'assurer sa domination en mettant en œuvre de petits moyens" (N.D.L.R.)].

5. Ms. Tübingen, f. 96 v. (See F. TRUMMETER, *Ibn Saʿīd's Geschichte der vorislamischen Araber*, Stuttgart 1928; and see G. POTIRON: *Un polygraphe andalou du XIII^e Siècle*, in *Arabica* 1966, p. 164).

an interesting attempt of Persia to cast its power over Mecca. When Qubād embraced the faith of Mazdak¹ and deposed the Banū Naṣr who refused to accept it, al-Ḥārīṭ al-Kindī followed suit. Qubād, the story relates, ordered al-Ḥārīṭ to impose this faith on the Arabs of Nağd and Tihāma². When these tidings reached Mecca some people embraced the faith of Mazdak (*fa-minhum man tazandaqa*) and when Islam appeared there was a group (scil. in Mecca-K.) of people who were indicated as former Mazdakites³. There were however people who refrained from embracing this faith. Among them was ‘Abd Manāf, who gathered his people and stated that he would not abandon the religion of Ismā‘īl and Abraham and follow a religion imposed by the sword. When al-Ḥārīṭ came to know about it he reported it to Qubād. Qubād ordered him to rush upon Mecca, to destroy the Ka‘ba, to kill ‘Abd Manāf and to abolish the leadership of the Banū Quṣayy⁴. Al-Ḥārīṭ was not willing to comply with the order; because of his partisanship of the Arabs he prevented Qubād from it and Qubād was busy with other people than Qurayš⁵. The tendency of this tradition is obvious: it tries to lay a heavy stress on the behaviour of ‘Abd Manāf who remained faithful to the religion of Qurayš, the *dīn Ismā‘īl*. The tradition may be spurious, but it points to the contacts which seem to have existed between al-Ḥīra and Mecca.

Ibn Ḥurdāzbeh in his *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*⁶ records a tradition according to which the *marzubān al-bādiya* appointed an *‘āmil* on al-Madīna, who collected the taxes. The Qurayza and the Naḍīr—says the tradition—were kings who were appointed by them on al-Madīna, upon the Aws and the Ḥazrağ. A verse to this effect by an Anṣārī poet is quoted. It says:

1. *fī zamāni Qubāda sulṭāni l-Fursi lladī tazandaqa wa-ttaba‘a maḥhaba Mazdaqa.*

2. *wa-amara l-Ḥārīṭa an yaḥḍa ahla Nağdīn wa-Tihāmata bi-dālika.*

3. See ĞAWĀD ‘ALĪ, *Ta’rīḥ al-‘Arab qabla l-Islām*, VI, 287-88 (Baghdād 1957); he assumes that these “*zanādiqa*” of Qurayš embraced the *mağūsiyya*; this passage of *Naṣwat al-ṭarab* seems to give a new interpretation of the well known tradition about the “*zandaqa*” of some Qurayš. And see the list of these “*zanādiqa*” of Qurayš in IBN ḤABĪB’S *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 161 (ed. Ilse LICHTENSTÄDTER, Hyderabad 1942).

4. *“fa-amarahu an yanḥada ilā Makkata wa-yahdima l-bayta wa-yanḥara ‘Abda Manāfin wa-yuzila ri’āsata bani Quṣayyin”.*

5. *“fa-kariha dālika al-Ḥārīṭu wa-dāḥalathu ḥamiyyatun li-l-‘Arabi fa-dāra’a anhum wa-ṣūgila Qubādu bi-ğayrihim”.*

6. p. 128 (ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1889).

“You pay the tax after the tax of Kīsrā: and the tax of Qurayza and Naḍīr”¹. Yāqūt quotes the tradition that the Qurayza and Naḍīr were kings driven out by the Aws and Ḥazrağ; the Aws and Ḥazrağ used formerly to pay tax to the Jews².

W. Caskel doubts whether Ibn Ḥurdāqbeh had had another source than this verse of one of the Anṣār³. Caskel’s assumption can however hardly be accepted. The record given by Ibn Ḥurdāqbeh and Yāqūt seems to be based on a separate tradition to which the verse was attached. This verse attributed here to an Anṣārī poet occurs in the well-known poem of Ibn Buqayla; in the poem this verse has quite a different connotation⁴.

This tradition was discussed by H. Z. Hirschberg in his *Yisrael be-‘Arav*⁵. Hirschberg does not accept the tradition as valid, arguing that this report is not confirmed by another independent source. He maintains that the people of al-Madīna were free (*bnei ḥorin*) with regard to Persia and Byzantium. It is not plausible—argues Hirschberg—that the ‘*āmil* of the *marzubān* of Hağar, whose power was so weak in Baḥrayn, could have levied taxes in the North of Ḥiğāz.

Altheim and Stiehl consider the tradition sound. The ‘*āmil* of al-Madīna represented the king of al-Ḥīra, on his side stood the “kings” of Qurayza and Naḍīr. This state of affairs—according to Altheim-Stiehl—could endure as long as the Jewish tribes dominated the immigrant Aws and Ḥazrağ, i.e. till the middle of the sixth century. How things went on later with the Sassanid ‘*āmil* is unknown—state the authors⁶.

1. “*Tu‘addī l-ḥarğa ba‘da ḥarāğī Kīsrā: wa-ḥarğin min Qurayzata wa-l-Naḍīri*”.

“*Min Qurayzata*” would mean “for Qurayza”. The variant given in YĀQŪT’s *Mu‘ğam al-buldān*, IV, 460 is “*wa-ḥarğī banī Qurayzata wa-l-Naḍīri*”.

2. YĀQŪT, *op. cit.*, ib.; and see ALTHEIM-STIEHL, *op. cit.*, p. 150, l. 4-5.

3. F. ALTHEIM-R. STIEHL, *op. cit.*, p. 149, n. 63.

4. See the poem AL-ṬABARĪ, *Ta‘rīḥ*, I, 2042; AL-MAS‘ŪDĪ, *Murūğ*, I, 221-222 (ed. BARBIER DE MEYNARD, Paris 1861). A significant variant is given in ABŪ L-BAQĀ’s *al-Manāqib al-Mazyādiyya*, f. 34b (Ms. Br. Mus.): “*ka-ḥarğī banī-Qurayzata*”. Abū l-Baqā’ states that ‘Abd al-Masiḥ composed this poem eulogising al-Nu‘mān, his son and his grandfather and wailing them after Ḥālid b. al-Walīd “imposed (scil. upon his people—K.) the *ğizya*” (*lammā zahara l-Islāmu wa-ḍaraba Ḥālidu bnu l-Walīdi l-ğizyata*).

5. p. 122, n. 99, Tel-Aviv 1946; in this note an additional reference is given: AL-SAMHŪDĪ, *Wafā’ al-wafā*, II, 269 (quoted from Ibn Ḥurdāqbeh, but without the verse).

6. *Op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

Altheim-Stiehl are probably right in their assumption. A significant record of Ibn Saʿīd in his *Naṣwat al-ṭarab* gives important details about the continuity of the Sassanid control of al-Madīna after the Jewish domination had come to an end.

Ibn Saʿīd reports that battles often took place between the two fighting groups (i.e. the Jews, Aws and Ḥazraġ) ¹ and no rule was imposed on them until ʿAmr b. al-Iṭnāba al-Ḥazraġī entered the court of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Munḍir, the king of al-Ḥīra and was appointed by him (as king) on al-Madīna ².

In another passage Ibn Saʿīd furnishes us with further details about this event. The author records that ʿAmr b. al-Iṭnāba was appointed by al-Nuʿmān b. al-Munḍir as king of al-Madīna. The father of Ḥassān b. Ṭābit composed satirical verses about ʿAmr and said:

“*Alīknī ilā l-Nuʿmāni qawlan maḥādṭuhu:*
wa-fī l-nuṣṣi li-l-albābi yawman dalāʾilu
Baʿaṭṭa ilaynā baʿdanā wa-hwa aḥmaqun:
fa-yā laytahū min ġayrinā wa-hwa ʿāqilu”

“Convey from me to al-Nuʿmān a word which
 [I said truthfully
 for in good advise minds will have some day
 [indications
 You sent to us one from us—but he is a fool;
 Lo! Would that he were from an alien people
 [and be a wise man” ³.

Our knowledge of the life of ʿAmr b. al-Iṭnāba is meagre. ʿAmr b. ʿAmir b. Zayd Manāt b. Mālik b. Ṭaʿlaba b. Kaʿb b. al-Ḥazraġ is a well known poet often quoted in literary anthologies ⁴. He is

1. See the interpretation of Hirschberg about the continuous penetration of the Bedouins and their raids against the Jewish population, *op. cit.*, 127 ult., 128 sup.

2. *Naṣwat al-ṭarab*, f. 55 v., inf.: “*illā annahu kānati l-ḥarbu kaṭīran mā taqaʿu bayna l-fariḡayni wa-lam yastaqīm lahum an yastabidda bihim malikun ilā an daḥala ilā l-Nuʿmāni bni l-Munḍiri maliki l-Ḥīrati ʿAmru bni l-Iṭnābati al-Ḥazraġiyyu fa-mallakahu ʿalā l-Madīnati”*.

3. *ib.*, f. 57 v.: *wa-min šīʿrihi fī ʿAmri bni l-Iṭnābati l-Ḥazraġiyyi lammā mallakahu l-Nuʿmānu bnu l-Munḍiri ʿalā l-Madīnati: alīknī—etc.*

4. IBN ḤAZM, *Ġamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, p. 345, l. 17 (ed. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, Cairo 1948); ṢADR AL-DĪN, *al-Ḥamāsa al-Baṣriyya*, I, 3 (see the references supplied by the editor, MUḤTĀR AL-DĪN AḤMAD, Hyderabad 1964); AL-ʿASKARĪ, *al-Maṣūn*, p. 136 (see the references given by the editor ʿAbd al-

described as "the most honoured of the Ḥazrağ" ¹, as the "best horseman of his people" ², as a "king of al-Ḥiğāz" ³. The opinion of W. Caskel that the story of the meeting of 'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba with al-Ḥārīt b. Zālim is of legendary character ⁴ seems to be sound. It is however noteworthy that Abū 'Ubayda stresses in his record that 'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba was a friend of Ḥālīd b. Ğa'far, the leader of the Kilāb, who was in close contact with the ruler of al-Ḥīra and who was murdered by al-Ḥārīt b. Zālim ⁵ at the court of al-Nu'mān. The names of the persons mentioned in the stories about 'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba ⁶ like al-Ḥārīt b. Zālim, Zayd al-Ḥayl ⁷, Ḥālīd b. Ğa'far, al-Nu'mān b. al-Munḍir, help us to fix the time of his life as the second half of the sixth century.

The tradition about the appointment of 'Amr as a "king", which meant in fact as a representative of al-Ḥīra and a collector of the taxes on al-Madīna, by al-Nu'mān seems authentic. Invention can hardly be suspected as there were no prominent men among the descendents of 'Amr who would have been interested to boast of this appointment. The two verses of Tābit, the father of Ḥassān, confirm the authenticity of the story, which is thus complementary

Salām HĀRŪN, Kuweit 1960); IBN AL-ŠAĞARĪ, *al-Ḥamāsa*, p. 112 (Hyderabad 1345 AH); IBN ḤABĪB, *Man nusiba ilā ummihi min al-šū'arā'* (*Nawādir al-maḥtūfāt*, I, 95, 201—ed. 'Abd al-Salām HĀRŪN, Cairo 1951); AL-MUBARRAD, *al-Kāmil*, I, 89, IV, 68 (ed. Muḥ. Abū l-Faḍl IBRĀHĪM, Cairo 1956); *L. 'A.*, s.v. *ḥnb*; S. M. ḤUSAIN, *Early Arabic Odes*, p. 42-44 (Ar. text; and see the references of the Editor; and see pp. 41-42 of the English text—Dacca 1938). One of the descendants of 'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba was Qaraza b. Ka'b b. 'Amr, a Companion of the Prophet. See IBN ḤAZM, *op. cit.*, ib.; and see about Qaraza IBN ḤAĞAR: *al-Iṣāba*, V, 236, No. 7092; IBN SA'D, *Ṭabaqat*, VI, 17 (Beirut 1957); AL-MINQARĪ, *Waq'at Šiffin*, p. 17 (ed. 'Abd al-Salām HĀRŪN, Cairo 1387 AH).

1. AL-MARZUBĀNĪ, *Mu'ğam al-Šū'arā'*, p. 203 (ed. F. KRENKOW, Cairo 1354 AH).

2. IBN DURAYD, *al-Iṣṭiqāq*, p. 453 (ed. 'Abd al-Salām HĀRŪN, Cairo 1958).

3. *al-Ağānī*, X, 28.

4. W. CASKEL, *Ğamharat an-Nasab, das genealogische Werk des Hišām b. Muḥ. al-Kalbī*, II, 170 (Leiden 1966).

5. *Ağānī*, X, 28; about the murder of Ḥālīd b. Ğa'far see *Ağānī*, X, 16; IBN ḤABĪB, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 193; idem, *Asmā' al-muğtālīna min al-ašrāf* (*Nawādir al-maḥtūfāt*, II, 134-135, ed. 'Abd al-Salām HĀRŪN, Cairo 1954); IBN AL-AṬĪR, *al-Kāmil*, I, 338-39 (ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb AL-NAĞĞĀR, Cairo 1348 AH).

6. In the record of the battle of Fāri' (IBN AL-AṬĪR: *al-Kāmil*, I, 409-410) the leader of the Ḥazrağ is "'Āmir b. al-Iṭnāba", which seems to be an erroneous reading for "'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba. (The verses are by 'Amr b. al-Iṭnāba).

7. *Ağānī*, XVI, 53.

to the tradition recorded by Ibn Ḥurdādhbeh and attests the continuity of the Persian control over al-Madīna during the second part of the sixth century.

In order to secure the domination of al-Ḥīra the loyalty of the tribes was essential. Some formations of the tribes fought on the side of the military units of al-Ḥīra, tribal chiefs had to guarantee the security of the caravans sent by the rulers of al-Ḥīra which passed in their territory, rebellious chiefs had to be tamed and trade had to be made safe.

In order to secure the loyalty and co-operation of the chief of the tribe some prerogatives of the ruler were ceded to him. In this way the *ridāfa* was created. The *Ridf* sat—according to tradition—in the court of the king, on his right hand, rode with the king, got a fourth of the spoils and booty of the raids gained by the king and received some payment from the king's subjects¹. The *ridfs* are said to have had at the court the position of the *wazīrs* in the Islamic period². At the court of al-Ḥīra the clan of Yarbū' of Tamīm had the privilege of the *ridāfa*. Chamberlains, *ardāf*, of the kings, are mentioned as well in the tribe of Ḍabba³, in the clan of Taym⁴, in the clan of Sadūs (of Šaybān)⁵ and in the tribe of Taġlib⁶. The institution of the *ridf* is often mentioned in ancient poetry. The Banū Yarbū' of Tamīm boasted that they were the *ardāf* of the kings of al-Ḥīra.

1. *al-Naqā'id*, pp. 66, 299, 809 (ed. BEVAN, Leiden 1905); AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *Ansāb al-ašraf*, ms., f. 992 b; AL-KUTUBĪ, *Fawā'id al-wafayāt*, II, 626 (ed. Muḥ. Muḥyī al-Dīn AL-ḤĀṬĪB, Cairo 1951).

2. *L. 'A.*, s.v. "qsr"; KUTAYYIR 'AZZA, *Diwān*, II, 49 (ed. Henri PÉRÈS, Alger-Paris 1930); and see ROTHSTEIN, *Die Dynastie der Lahmīden*, p. 133.

3. IBN AL-KALBĪ, *Čamhara*, ms. f. 114 b; AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *Ansāb*, ms. f. 952 (Ḥulayla—or Ġulayla—b. Tābit b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā).

4. AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 933 b (The Banū Šihāb).

5. IBN DURAYD, *al-Ištiqāq*, p. 352. IBN QUTAYBA, *al-Ma'ārif*, p. 45 (Cairo 1935); they were the *ardāf* of Kinda; and see ROTHSTEIN, *op. cit.*, ib., n. 2; and see the verse of LABĪD "*wa-ardāfu l-mulūki šuhūdu*" in his *Diwān*, p. 35 (ed. I. 'ABBĀS, Kuwait 1962); *L. 'A.*, s.v. "rdf"; AL-ṬA'ĀLIBĪ, *Ṭimār al-qulūb*, p. 144 (Cairo 1908); YAQŪṬ, *al-Buldān*, s.v. *Ufāqa*; *Naqā'id*, p. 299; ABŪ 'UBAYDA, *Maġāz al-Qur'ān*, I, 315 (ed. Fu'ād SEZGIN, Cairo 1955); for the *ridāfa* of Mālik b. Nuwayra, see NÖLDEKE, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber*, pp. 126-27 (Hanover 1864); and compare the saying of Wā'il b. Huġr al-Ḥaḍramī to Mu'āwiya: "*Mā aḍunnu 'alayka bi-hāḍihi l-nāqati, wa-lākin lasta min ardāfi l-mulūki wa-akrahu an u'ayyara bika*"—AL-ṬABARĀNĪ, *al-Mu'ġam al-šaġir*, p. 242 (Delhi 1311 AH); IBN KAṬĪR, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, IV, 154-55 (ed. Muṣṭafā 'ABD AL-WAḤID, Cairo 1966).

6. MUḤ. B. ḤABĪB, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 204.

These socio-political conditions of the second part of the sixth century gave rise to another institution, that of the *Ḍawū l-ākāl*. Ibn Ḥabīb defines the *Ḍawū l-ākāl* as follows: "The *Ḍawū l-ākāl* are from Wā'il; they are the noble among them. The king used to grant them fiefs" ¹. A description of these *Ḍawū l-ākāl*, stressing their social position, is given by al-A'šā:

"Around me are the men of the fiefs of Wā'il
like the night (i.e. numerous), nomads and sedentary.
(Men) feeding on meat (i.e. the needy and the
[hungry—K.] in winter
and obliging the gambler of *maysir* to care for food
[(of the poor)]" ².

Further the *Ḍawū l-ākāl* are mentioned in another verse of al-A'šā in which the people of the *ākāl* are depicted as noble men serving the army of the king of al-Ḥīra.

"Your army is the inherited one, the excellent of
[the chiefs
The people of the leathern tents and the fiefs]" ³.

Ibn Ḥabīb shows a clear line between the tribes whose chiefs co-operated with Persia or with the rulers of al-Ḥīra and were granted fiefs as a reward and the tribes who pursued a policy of independence towards al-Ḥīra. As to Muḍar—states Ibn Ḥabīb—they were *laqāh*. They did not submit to the obedience of the kings (*lā yadīnūna li-l-mulūki*) except some clans of Tamīm, namely those whose abode was Yamāma and the adjacent regions" ⁴.

The case of fiefs granted by the rulers of al-Ḥīra to the loyal chiefs is well illustrated by the story of Qays b. Mas'ūd al-Šaybānī.

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 253; and see AL-MARZŪQĪ, *al-Azmina wa-l-amkina*, II, 191 (Hyderabad 1332 AH).

2. AL-A'ŠĀ, *Dīwān*, XVIII, 48-49 (p. 107)—ed. R. GEYER, London 1928:

"*Hawlī ḍawū l-ākāli min Wā'ilin:*
ka-l-layli min bādin wa-min ḥāḍiri
Al-muṭ'imū l-laḥma idā mā šataw
wa-l-ḡā'ilū l-qūta 'alā l-yāsiri".

3. AL-A'ŠĀ, *op. cit.*, I, 56 (p. 11) "*Ḡunduka l-tālidu l-ʿatīqu min al-sādāti ahla l-qibābi wa-l-ākāli*"; and see commentary: "*al-tārifu l-tālidu*". AL-BAKRĪ, *Simṭ al-la'ālī*, p. 269 (ed. MAYMANĪ, Cairo 1936); but see AL-ZAWZANĪ, *Nayl al-arab*, p. 185 (Cairo 1328 AH): *ḡunduka l-tālidu l-ṭarīfu min al-ḡarāti ahlu l-ḥibāti wa-l-ukāli*. The expression "people of leathern tents" denotes their high position in the tribe.

4. *Al-Muḥabbar*, p. 253.

Qays b. Mas'ūd was granted the lands of Ṭaff Ubulla by Khusrau II Parwez (after the death of al-Nu'mān III) against a guarantee that Bakr b. Wā'il would refrain from raiding the territory of the Sawād¹. Contrary to Šaybān the Muḍar were independent. And it is noteworthy that one of the strongest tribes of the federation of Muḍar was Tamīm².

Traditions of some importance about the relations between al-ḤĪra and the tribes are recorded by Abū l-Baqā'. Discussing the position of the kings of al-ḤĪra Abū l-Baqā' remarks that the Bedouins (*al-'Arab*), being used to blowing up things and to exaggerate, used to call the rulers of al-ḤĪra "kings". The Chosroes of Persia—states Abū l-Baqā'—granted the rulers of al-ḤĪra some territories as fiefs and as assistance for them in their governorship (scil. on behalf of the kings of Persia—K.). They collected the taxes of these territories and used them for their expenses. They bestowed from it presents on some of their own people and on people (of the Bedouins—K.) whom they blandished and tried to win over. Sometimes they granted them localities from the fiefs presented to them³.

Abū l-Baqā' points out that these fiefs granted by the Persian rulers were restricted to the border-lands in the vicinity of al-ḤĪra. The rulers of al-ḤĪra could not trespass these lands, because the territories (of Persia) belonged to the Dihqāns, who vied among themselves for their possession. Abū l-Baqā' remarks that the fiefs granted by the kings of al-ḤĪra were very meagre in comparison with the flourishing state of the country.

Of some interest is the passage in which Abū l-Baqā' records

1. *Al-Aḡānī*, XX, 132: "*fa-wafada Qaysu bnu Mas'ūdin ilā Kisrā fa-sa'alahu an yaḡ'ala lahu uklan wa-ḡu'matan 'alā an yaḡmana lahu 'alā Bakri bni Wā'ilin an lā yadhulū l-Sawāda wa-lā yuḡsidū fihi; fa-aqta'ahu l-Ubullata wa-mā wālāhā*"; and see ROTHSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 122; E. BRÄUNLICH, *Bistām b. Qais*, pp. 12, 30-33 (Leipzig 1923); W. CASSEL, *al-A'sā*, in *EI*²; W. CASSEL, *Ḡamharat an-Nasab*, II, 461.

2. Comp. ABŪ ZAYD, *al-Nawādir*, p. 61 (ed. Sa'īd AL-ŠARTŪNĪ, Beirut 1894):

*"Fa-inna bayta Tamīmim dū sami'ta bihi:
fihi tanammāt wa-arsat 'izzahā Muḍaru*

3. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *al-Manāqib*, ms. f. 145 a: "... *wa-innamā kānat al-Akāsīratu tuḡti'uhum mawāḡi'a minhu mu'ayyanatan, musammātan, taḡ'aluhā aḡ'imatan lahum wa-ma'ūnatan 'alā 'amalihim. Wa-kānū yaḡtabūna ḡarāḡahā fa-ya'kulūnahu wa-yu'īmūna minhu man šā'ū min ahlihim wa-man kānū yuḡānī'ūnahu wa-yastamīlūnahu min al-'Arabi. Wa-rubbamā aqta'ūhum ayḡan quran min ḡumlati iḡtā'ihim . . .*".

details about the amount of taxes collected by al-Nu'mān from the fiefs granted to him by the Persian king¹: "the sum of (the taxes collected from) the fiefs given by Kistrā to al-Nu'mān was 100,000 dirham. In some of the books of al-Ḥīra it was mentioned, that the lands given by Kistrā as fief were the *rustāq* of Saylahīn, Qatā'i' banī Ṭalḥa and Sanām Ṭibāq. This I have seen (i.e. read it) in a book".

The author identifies the names of the localities mentioned with names current in his time. They were located in the region of al-Naḡaf. The sum of the tax collected was a mere 100,000 dirhams, notwithstanding—as Abū l-Baqā' points out—the fertility of the lands, which yielded a yearly average of 30,000 *karr* in addition to fruits and other produce².

Al-Nu'mān granted some of these lands to some important persons. Sawād b. 'Adiyy (from Tamīm) was granted a place which was named after him "al-Sawādiyya"³. 'Abd Hind b. Nuḡam al-Iyādi got al-Ḥuṣūṣ⁴.

When Khusrau II Parvez appointed Iyās b. Qabiṣa as ruler over al-Ḥīra he granted him 'Ayn Tamr and eighty villages located on the border of the Sawād. Iyās b. Qabiṣa granted Aqsās as a fief to Mālik b. Qays and the place was later known as Aqsās Mālik⁵.

The interrelation between the rulers of al-Ḥīra and the friendly chiefs of the tribes is defined by Abū l-Baqā' as follows: "They

1. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, ib.: "*wa-kāna qadru iqtā'i l-Nu'māni min Kistrā mi'ata alfi dirhamin. Dukira fi ba'di kutubi l-Ḥīrati anna llaḏi kāna Kistrā aqṭa'a l-Nu'māna min al-bilādi rustāqu al-Saylahīn wa-Qatā'i' u banī Ṭalḥata wa-Sanāmu Ṭibāqin. Kadā ra'aytu fi nusḥatin*". For the Qatā'i' Banī Ṭalḥa see YĀQŪT, *al-Buldān*, s.v. *Našāstaḡ*. And see *op. cit.*, s.v. *Sanām*; and see AL-BAKRĪ, *Mu'ḡam*, s.v. *Safawān* and *Sanām*.

2. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 145 b: "*fa-kāna ḥarāḡu dālika yuḡbā li-l-Nu'māni fi kulli sanatin mi'ata alfi dirhamin; hādā mā dukira 'alā 'izami irtiḡā'ihī li-ahlīhi wa-katratī mustaḡallīhi li-mullākīhi; wa-dukira annahu lā yu'rafu fi l-ardi barrīyyatun akḥaru ray'an wa-lā aḥaffu ḥarāḡan wa-lā aqallu ma'ūnatan mīnḥā wa-annahā kānat tuḡillu li-ahlīhā fi kulli sanatin ṡalāḡīna alfa karrin ḥintatan bi-l-mu'addal siwā ḡayrihā min al-ḡallāti wa-l-ṡamarāti wa-sā'iri l-aṣyā'i*.

3. See YĀQŪT, *op. cit.*, s.v. *al-Sawādiyya* and *al-Sawāriyya*.

4. See YĀQŪT, *op. cit.*, s.v. *al-Ḥuṣūṣ*; this 'Abd Hind is said to have been a friend of 'Adiyy b. Zayd. (ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 146 a; and see the *Dīwān* of 'ADIYY B. ZAYD, p. 68 (ed. Muḡ. Ḡabbār AL-MU'AYBID, Bagdād 1965). From his descendants is said to have been the judge Abū Du'ād al-Iyādi. (ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 146 a).

5. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, 145 b.; see YĀQŪT, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Aqsās*, where the pedigree of Mālik is given as follows: Mālik b. 'Abd Hind b. Nuḡam b. Mana'a (but the story of the grant is not mentioned).

had governors on the borders of the country from al-‘Irāq till al-Baḥrayn. Each of these governors ruled the Bedouins under his protection in the same way”¹.

But the kings of al-ḤĪra themselves were in fact merely governors on behalf of the Akāsira². The Bedouins did not submit to their obedience. Only clans and tribes dwelling in territories under the control of the rulers of al-ḤĪra were compelled to submit and to pay some taxes (*itāwa*) as they dwelt in their territory. These tribes virtually feared to be crushed by their military forces. When the tribe departed and left the territory, thus being beyond the reach of the rulers of al-ḤĪra, it became unapproachable (*imtana‘ū*). “Obedience—maintains Abū l-Baqā’—did not mean for the tribes more than to refrain from raiding the Sawād and the border territories”³.

Tribes could thus be divided—according to the classification of Abū l-Baqā’—into three groups: a) The independent tribes, *laqāḥ*⁴, who raided the territory of the rulers of al-ḤĪra and were raided by them, b) tribes who concluded pacts with the rulers of al-ḤĪra on certain terms, and c) tribes who pastured in the vicinity of al-ḤĪra and were obedient to the rulers of al-ḤĪra. But even these tribes were blandished by the rulers of al-ḤĪra, who tried to win their hearts. The nearest neighbours of al-ḤĪra were Rabī‘a and Tamīm⁵. For the expression *laqāḥ* Abū l-Baqā’ quotes the verses

1. ABŪ L-BAQĀ’, *op. cit.*, f. 100 a: “*wa-kāna lahum ‘ummālun ‘alā aṭrāfi l-bilādi min al-‘Irāqi ilā l-Baḥrayni ḥakama kullu wāḥidūn minhum ma‘a (sic!) man bi-izā‘ihi min al-‘Arabi fī ḥimāyatihī miṭla ḥādā l-ḥukmi*”.

2. Comp. Naqā’id, p. 299: “*wa-kānū ‘ummāla l-akāsirati*”; AL-YA‘QŪBĪ, *Tarīḥ*, I, 184 (al-Naḡaf 1964).

3. ABŪ L-BAQĀ’, *op. cit.*, f. 99 b.

4. See L. ‘A. s.v. *lqḥ*; and see AL-ĠĀḤĪZ, *Maḡmū‘at al-rasā’il*, p. 59 (*Faḥr al-Sūdān ‘alā l-biḍān*, Cairo 1324 AH): “*fa-l-laqāḥu l-baladu llaḍi lā yu‘addi ilā l-mulūki l-urbāna, wa-l-urbānu huwa l-ḥarāḡu wa-huwa l-itāwatu*”; in the new edition of ‘Abd al-Salām ḤĀRŪN, I, 187 (*Rasā’il al-Ġāḥiz*, Cairo 1964) the word is read “*aryān*”; and see NÖLDEKE, *Delectus*, p. 42, l. 14.

5. ABŪ L-BAQĀ’, *op. cit.*, f. 121 b: “*wa-ammā ḥaddū ‘izzihim fī l-‘Arabi llaḍina kānū fī l-taqḍiri ri‘āyā lahum wa-lahum ismu l-mulki ‘alayhim fa-qad taqaddama ḍikru kawnihim ma‘ahum ‘alā ṭabaqātin ṭalātin: al-laḍāḥi llaḍina kānū yuḡāzūnahum wa-ahli l-ḥudnati llaḍina kānū yu‘āhidūnahum wa-yuwāṭiqūnahum, wa-ḥādīhi mumāṭalatum wa-musāwātum min ahli ḥāṭayni l-manzilatayni li-l-mulūki, hum wa-yyāhum ‘alā ḥaddi sawā’in. Wa-ammā l-tabaqatu l-tāḥiṭatu fa-humu llaḍina kānū yaḍīnūna lahum fa-kānū fī akḥari zamānihim ayḍan yuṣāni‘ūna ahla ḥādīhi l-manzilati istimālatan lahum wa-taqawwiyān bihim ‘alā man siwāhum ḥattā anna l-malika kāna yakūnu ma‘ahum ka-l-muwallā ‘alayhi; wa-kāna aqraba l-‘Arabi minhum dāran*”.

of 'Amr b. Ḥawṭ al-Riyāhī¹ and the saying of Abū Zam'a al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad when he opposed the crowning of 'Uṭmān b. al-Ḥuwayriṭ as "king" of Mecca on behalf of the Byzantine ruler².

As *Laqāḥ* the author mentions Asad b. Ḥuzayma and Ġaṭafān. They were independent in their relations with the kings of al-Ḥīra. Only few of them visited the court of al-Ḥīra as merchants, relatives or visitors³.

To the second group of tribes belonged Sulaym and Hawāzin. "Sulaym and Hawāzin—reports Abū l-Baqā'⁴—used to conclude pacts with the kings of al-Ḥīra. They (nevertheless) were not submissive to them. They used to take their merchandise for them and to sell it at 'Ukāz and in other markets. Thus they got (in these relations) profits with them. Sometimes an individual or a group of them came to the king (of al-Ḥīra), took parts in his raids and shared with him (i.e. with the king) some spoils. Then they (i.e. the people of the tribe) departed. The caravans of the kings with their goods could only enter Nağd and go beyond Nağd with the escort of men of the tribes⁴.

This passage may shed some light on the battles of al-Fiğār caused by the murder of 'Urwa al-Raḥḥāl (from 'Āmir) by al-Barrāḍ (from Kināna)⁵.

The changing relations between the kings of al-Ḥīra and the chiefs of the tribes are reflected in the story of Hubayra b. 'Āmir b. Salama al-Quṣayri of the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a and his son Qurra b.

Rabī'atu wa-Tamīmun. By Tamīm—of course—only some clans are meant, pasturing in the vicinity of al-Ḥīra.

1. See *Naqā'id*, p. 69: "Abaw dīna l-mulūki fa-hum laqāḥun"; (about 'Amr b. Ḥawṭ see W. CASHEL, *Ġamharat an-nasab* II, 176, l. 1 and AL-BALĀDURĪ, *Ansāb al-ašrāf*, ms. f. 992 b).

2. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 100 b; AL-MUṢ'AB AL-ZUBAYRĪ, *Nasab Qurayš*, p. 210 (ed. E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, Cairo 1953); AL-ZUBAYR B. BAKKĀR, *Ġamharat nasab Qurayš*, ms. Bodley, f. 74 b; AL-BALĀDURĪ, *Ansāb al-ašrāf*, IV B, 126 (ed. M. SCHLOESSINGER, Jerusalem 1938); IBN ḤABĪB, *al-Munammaq*, pp. 178-185 (ed. Ḥuršīd Aḥmad FĀRIQ, Hyderabad 1964).

3. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 100 b.

4. *ib.*, f. 102 a: "wa-kānat Sulaymun wa-Hawāzinu tuwāṭiquhum wa-lā tadīnu lahum; wa-ya'ḥudūna lahumu l-tağā'ira fa-yabī'ūna lahum bi-'Ukāza wa-ğayriḥā fa-yuṣībūna ma'ahumu l-arbāha; wa-rubbamā atā 'l-malika minḥumu l-rağulu wa-l-nafaru fa-yašhadūna ma'ahu mağāziyahu wa-yuṣībūna ma'ahu min al-ğanā'imī wa-yaṣarīfūna; wa-lam yakun laṭā'imu l-mulūki wa-tiğārātuhum tadḥulu Nağdan fa-mā warā'ahu illā bi-ḥafarin min al-qabā'ili.

5. See W. M. WATT, *Muhammad at Mecca*, p. 11 (Oxford 1953).

Hubayra. Hubayra is said to have attacked the camp of al-Nu‘mān b. al-Mundir, captured his wife al-Mutağarrida and taken booty and spoils¹. His son Qurra² was entrusted by al-Nu‘mān to guard a caravan to ‘Ukāz against Bedouins who were not obedient to the king of al-Ḥīra (*yahfiruhā ‘alā man laysa fī dīnīhi min al-‘Arabi*). The events took place when al-Nu‘mān was compelled to flee before the Persian king. Qurra seized the caravan for himself. Then the Banū ‘Uqayl came to the Banū Qušayr asking for a share in the seized caravan, arguing that they were afraid of the possible consequences of the action of Qurra. When the Qušayr refused to grant them a share, a quarrel flared up. Hostilities between the two clans were avoided when Qušayr and ‘Uqayl agreed to take as arbiter the famous leader of ‘Āmir b. Ṣa‘ṣa‘a, Mu‘āwiya b. Mālik nicknamed “Mu‘awwid al-Ḥukamā”³.

This passage is instructive: while the father of Qurra is recorded to have attacked the camp of al-Nu‘mān, al-Nu‘mān was compelled to entrust the escort of his caravan to his son. It is an evidence of the weakness of the last ruler of al-Ḥīra and of fickle policy of al-Ḥīra toward the chiefs of the independent tribes of ‘Āmir b. Ṣa‘ṣa‘a. It may be stressed that the ‘Āmir b. Ṣa‘ṣa‘a were in close relations with Mecca and the interests of Mecca might have some bearings upon the attitudes and the actions of ‘Āmir b. Ṣa‘ṣa‘a towards al-Ḥīra.

The clever use of intertribal feuds and hostilities by the rulers of al-Ḥīra to their own advantage is another aspect of the relations of al-Ḥīra with the tribes, analysed with deep insight by Abū l-Baqā’. There was always some fight between tribes—says Abū l-Baqā’. The kings of al-Ḥīra exploited it for their own ends; when they intended to raid a tribe they used to win the hearts of its enemies, to solicit the help of a group against another and “beat one by the

1. *Naqā’id*, p. 404; ABŪ L-BAQĀ’, *op. cit.*, f. 129 a; AL-NĀBIĠA AL-ĠA‘DĪ, *Dīwān* (ed. Maria NALLINO, Roma 1953), pp. 117, 119; IBN ḤAZM, *Gamharat an-sāb al-‘Arab*, p. 272; W. CASSEL, *Gamharat an-nasab*, II, 285.

2. See about him: *Naqā’id*, p. 405; IBN ḤAĠAR, *al-Iṣāba*, No. 7010, vol. V, 238 (Cairo 1907); IBN ḤABĪB, *Asmā’ al-muğtālina (Nawādir al-maḥṭūlāt)*, ed. ‘Abd al-Salām HĀRŪN, VII, 244; IBN ‘ABD AL-BARR, *al-Istī‘āb*, p. 532 (Hyderabad 1336 AH); W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 472; ṬABARĪ, *Ta’rīḥ*, II, 490 (Cairo 1939).

3. ABŪ L-BAQĀ’, *op. cit.*, f. 38 a; see about “Mu‘awwid al-ḥukamā”, IBN ḤABĪB, *al-Muḥabbar*, p. 458; W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 413.

other" ¹. Considerable forces of a tribe used in fact to rally and join the troops of al-Ḥīra in order to fight together against a hostile tribe or in the hope of getting spoils and booty. After the raid the forces of the tribe departed to their abode and the kings of al-Ḥīra were left with their own forces only.

The co-operation between the kings of al-Ḥīra and the tribes in their military actions is well illustrated by the story of the raid of al-Qurnatayn. According to the report of al-Balāḍurī ² al-Nu'mān equipped his brother (from his mother's side), Wabara b. Rūmānis with strong forces of the Ma'add and others. He sent for Ḍirār b. 'Amr al-Ḍabbī who came with 9 sons, each of whom already experienced in warfare and leadership ³. Another leader of the Ḍabba, Ḥubayš b. Dulaf ⁴, came as well. Al-Nu'mān sent with them to Mecca a caravan and instructed them to attack the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a after they had finished their trading transactions. The cause of this raid is given in the version of Ibn al-Aṭīr ⁵: the forces of al-Ḥīra and their allies were sent against the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a in retaliation for an attack of the Banū 'Āmir on a caravan of al-Nu'mān sent by him to 'Ukāz.

When Qurayš returned from 'Ukāz to Mecca, these forces of the king under the command of his brother attacked the Banū 'Āmir. The Banū 'Āmir, however, having been warned by 'Abd Allāh b. Ġud'ān, fought with great bravery and defeated the forces of the king of al-Ḥīra. Ḍirār b. 'Amr, the leader of the Ḍabba, was rescued by his sons when he was attacked by Abū Barā'a 'Āmir b. Mālik (the brother of Mu'āwiya b. Mālik, the uncle of the poet 'Āmir b. Ṭufayl), one of the leaders of the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a ⁶. Ḥubayš b. Dulaf was captured by a sign of Ḍirār b. 'Amr ⁷. Wabara b.

1. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 100 a: "wa-kānati l-'Arabu ayḍan lā taḥlū fī ḍāti baynihā min al-dimā'i wa-l-ḥurūbi wa-l-muḡāwarāti fimā baynahum . . . wa-kāna l-maliku idā arāda gazwata ḥayyin min al-'Arabi istamāla a'ḍā'ahum 'alayhim . . . wa-istanḡada bi-qawmin 'alā qawmin wa-ḍaraba ba'ḍahum bi-ba'ḍin".

2. AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *Ansāb*, ms. f. 948 b.

3. IBN AL-KALBĪ, *Ġamhara*, ms. f. 112 b; and see W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 242.

4. See about him W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 327.

5. IBN AL-AṬĪR, *al-Kāmil*, I, 391 ("yawm al-Sullān"); and comp. IBN 'ABD RABBIHĪ, *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, III, 335 (Cairo 1935—"yawm al-Sarayān").

6. See IBN ḤAĠAR, *al-Iṣāba*, No. 4417; W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 161.

7. According to the version of IBN AL-KALBĪ, as recorded by AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *Ansāb*, ms. ff. 949 a and 956 b he was killed at the "Day of al-Qurnatayn". (*wa-qāla bnu l-Kalbī: qutila Ḥubayšun fī yawmi l-Qurnatayn*).

Rūmānis was captured by the warrior and poet Yazīd b. al-Ṣaʿīq¹. He freed him after he had paid a ransom of 1000 camels, 2 singing girls and an allotment of his possessions. The defeated forces were led back to al-Nuʿmān by Ḍirār b. ʿAmr. The victory of the ʿĀmir was mentioned in the verses of Yazīd b. al-Ṣaʿīq:

“*Tarakna aḥā l-Nuʿmāni yarsufu ʿāniyan:
wa-ḡaddaʿna aḡnāda l-mulūki l-ṣanāʿiʿā*”

“They left the brother of al-Nuʿmān walking in
[shackles as captive
and mutilated the troops of the kings, the ṣanāʿiʿ”².

An interesting aspect of the battle is brought out in the version of Abū l-Baqāʿ: Yazīd b. al-Ṣaʿīq came to al-Nuʿmān with his brother, the captive, asking the promised ransom. Al-Nuʿmān asked him how it happened that a corpulent man like his brother was captured by a Yazīd b. al-Ṣaʿīq (a man of short stature). Yazīd answered: “His people were absent, my people attended (the battle)”. It is of course a hint, that his tribe, the attacked one (ʿĀmir) were superior in battle to the mercenary troops of the Ṣanāʿiʿ³. The Kalb, the tribe of Wabara, did not take part in the battle; Wabara was a leader appointed by the ruler of al-Ḥīra.

For understanding of the policy of al-Ḥīra it may be mentioned that this very Ḍirār b. ʿAmr—according to a tradition recorded by Abū l-Baqāʿ in his *Manāqib*⁴—attacked the camp of al-Munḍir, the father of al-Nuʿmān. It happened when al-Munḍir returned to al-Ḥīra from his visit to al-Ḥārīṭ b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḍamḍam al-Kalbī⁵,

1. See about him W. CASKEL, *op. cit.*, II, 593; according to the version of AL-MUFADḌAL AL-ḌABBĪ recorded by AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 956 b, he captured Ḥassān b. Wabara, the brother of al-Nuʿmān (from his mother's side) who led the Ḍabba in this raid and who was appointed by his brother, al-Nuʿmān, on the Ribāb.

2. So in the account of ABŪ L-BAQĀʿ, *op. cit.*, ms. f. 126 a, 21 b; in the account of AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, 948 b.

“*wa-ḡaddaʿna Murran wa-l-mulūka l-ṣanāʿiʿā*”.

3. ABŪ L-BAQĀʿ mentions as well another version recorded from the descendants of Ibn al-Ṣaʿīq (“*wa-fi riwāyatīn uḡrā ʿan wulḍi Yazīda bni l-Ṣaʿīq*”), according to which the king of al-Ḥīra was al-Munḍir, not al-Nuʿmān. (About Muʿāḍ b. Yazīd b. al-Ṣaʿīq who opposed the *riḍḍa* see: IBN ḤAḌAR, *al-Iṣāba*, No. 8425; about Yazīd b. Qays b. Yazīd b. al-Ṣaʿīq see AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *Ansāb*, ms. f. 942 b); about Umāma bint Yazīd b. ʿAmr b. al-Ṣaʿīq see IBN ḤABĪB, *al-Munammaq*, p. 8).

4. f. 128 b; another version: AL-ḌABBĪ, *Amṯāl al-ʿArab*, p. 6.

5. See ROTHSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 108, n. 3.

with the gift given to him by al-Ḥārīṭ: the bondwoman Salmā, his later wife, the mother of his son al-Nu'mān. Only by the intercession of al-Ḥārīṭ b. Ḥiṣn—did Ḍirār agree to return the seized property of al-Munḍir, inter alia the bondwoman Salmā.

Some time after the battle of al-Qurnatayn ¹ Ḍirār attended the market of 'Ukāz ². Ḍirār attended the battle as an aged man. He is said to have visited the court of al-Munḍir b. Mā' al-Samā', had quarrelled with Abū Marḥab, Rabī'a b. Ḥaṣaba b. Aznam of the Yarbū' ³ and had cut his forearm. He asked for the protection of the king failed to grant him protection. He was granted the protection of Ğuṣayš (or Ḥuṣayš) b. Nimrān al-Riyāhī ⁴.

Of interest are the relations of Ḍirār with Tamīm; he gave his daughter Mu'āḍa as wife to Ma'bad b. Zurāra ⁵. The version of Ibn al-Aṭīr states that al-Nu'mān summoned with the Banū Ḍabba the Banū Ribāb and Tamīm; they responded and took part in the battle.

Some verses of Aws b. Ḥaḡar ⁶, Labīd ⁷ and Yazīd b. al-Ṣa'iq ⁸ give the impression that the battle was a grave one.

It is noteworthy that Ibn al-Aṭīr stresses in his report (on the authority of Abū 'Ubayda), that the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a were *Ḥums*, kindred with the Qurayš and that they were *Laqāḥ*. (*kāna Banū 'Āmiri bni Ṣa'ṣa'ata ḥumsan, wa-l-ḥumsu Qurayšun wa-man lahu fihim wilādatur*). This points to the connections between Qurayš and the 'Āmir and explains why 'Abd Allāh b. Ğud'ān ⁹ sent to

1. See about the battle: YĀQŪT, *Buldān*, s.v. *Sullān*; IBN ḤAZM, *Ġamharat ansāb al-'Arab*, p. 194; about the location of the place: U. THILO, *Die Ortsnamen in der altarabischen Poesie*, s.v. *Lubān*, 'Uyūn (Wiesbaden 1958).

2. IBN ABĪ L-ḤADĪD, *Ṣarḥ Nahḡ al-Balāḡa*, IV, 308, 362 (Cairo 1329 AH).

3. About Abū Marḥab see: IBN ḤABĪB, *Asmā' al-muġtālīna (Nawādir al-maḥtūtāt)*, VII, 139; about the quarrel between Ḍirār and Abū Marḥab see AL-ḌABBĪ, *Amīāl al-'Arab*, p. 15; about Ḍirār at the court of al-Ḥīra see AL-MAYDĀNĪ, *Maġma' al-amīāl*, I, 44 (Cairo 1352 AH).

4. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 137 b.

5. AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *Ansāb*, ms. f. 948 b, 954 a; IBN ABĪ L-ḤADĪD, *op. cit.*, IV, 308; AL-ĠĀḤIṢ, *al-Bayān*, I, 168 (ed. AL-SANDŪBĪ, Cairo 1932).

6. *Dīwān*, p. 6 (ed. Muḥ. Yūsuf NAĠM, Beirut 1960).

7. *Ṣarḥ Dīwān Labīd*, p. 133 (ed. Iḥsān 'ABBĀS, Kuwait 1962); see note 2 of the editor, who did not identify the battle.

8. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 126 b, inf.: "*wa-naḥnu ġadāta l-Qurnatayni tawāḡaḡat: ḥanādīdu yam'aġna l-ġubāra ḡawā'i'a. Bi-kulli sinānin fi l-qanāti taḡāluḥu: šihāban fi zulmāti l-layli sāṭi'a. [Ṭara]knā Ḥubayšan ḥina arġafa naġḡuḥu: yu'āliġu ma'sūran 'alayhi l-ġawāmi'a*".

9. See about him: IBN HIŠĀM, *al-Sīra*, I, 141 (ed. AL-SAQQĀ, AL-ABYĀRĪ, ṢALABĪ, Cairo 1936); AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *Ansāb*, I, 74, 101 (ed. Muḥ. ḤAMĪDULLĀH,

warn Banū ‘Āmir of the approaching forces of al-ḤĪra, enabling them to prepare themselves for battle. One may assume that there was some co-operation between Qurayš and ‘Āmir, that Mecca had some influence on the actions of ‘Āmir and that this had some bearing on the attitude of ‘Āmir towards al-ḤĪra.

It is plausible, that the booty of the raided caravan of the king of al-ḤĪra was sold at ‘Ukāz; a case of this kind is recorded in Ibn Ḥabīb’s *al-Munammaq* ¹.

For understanding of the relations between al-ḤĪra and the tribes the reports about the taxes collected by the kings of al-ḤĪra and the position of the tax-collectors are of some importance. Analyzing the sources of income of the rulers of al-ḤĪra and the position of al-ḤĪra Abū l-Baqā’ mentions the income from the fiefs of al-‘Irāq and states: “That was the amount of their income from al-‘Irāq. But the bulk of their revenues for their livelihood and their profits was gained from trade, from booty of their raids against the Bedouins, against the border lands of Syria, against every territory they could raid and from collection of taxes from the obedient tribes; they collected in this way great quantities of cattle” ².

The rulers of al-ḤĪra appointed the leaders of friendly tribes as collectors of taxes, as military leaders of divisions of their forces and as officials in territories in which they exercised some control. ‘Amr b. Šarīk, the father of al-Ḥawfazān, was in charge of the police troops of al-Munḍir and al-Nu‘mān (*waliya šuraṭa l-Munḍiri wa-l-Nu‘māni min ba‘dihī*),³ Sinān b. Mālik of the Aws Manāt (of the Namir b. Qāsīṭ) was appointed by al-Nu‘mān b. al-Munḍir as governor of Ubulla ⁴.

In the service of ‘Amr b. Hind there was the Tamīmī al-Ġallāq b.

Cairo 1959); IBN KAṬĪR, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, I, 116-117 (ed. Muṣṭafā ‘ABD AL-WAḤĪD, Cairo 1964); AL-MUṢ‘AB AL-ZUBAYRĪ, *Nasab Qurayš*, p. 291.

1. IBN ḤABĪB, *al-Munammaq*, p. 428-29.

2. ABŪ L-BAQĀ’, *op. cit.*, f. 145 a: “*fa-hādā kāna qadra naṣībī l-qawmi min al-‘Irāqi. Wa-innamā kāna ġulla ma‘āšihim wa-aḵṭara amwālihīm mā kānū yuṣībūnahū min al-‘arbāhī fī l-iġārāti wa-yagṇimūnahū min al-maġāzī wa-l-iġārāti ‘alā l-‘Arabi wa-aṭrāfī l-Šāmi wa-kulli arḍin yumkinuhum ġazwuhā wa-yaġṭabūna l-itāwata mimman dāna lahum wa-zafirū bihī min al-‘Arabi; fa-yaġṭami‘u lahum min ḍālīka l-kaṭīru min al-an‘āmi*”.

3. IBN AL-KALBĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 205 a.

4. IBN AL-KALBĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 232 a; W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 513; these Aws Manāt were exterminated by Ḥālīd b. al-Walīd in the wars of the *rida*. (see IBN ḤAZM, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab*, p. 284).

Qays b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Hammām¹. He is mentioned in a verse of Diğāğa² b. 'Abd Qays quoted in the *Ihtiyārayn*³ as a leader of an attacking troop together with al-Ḥārīt b. Bayba⁴ and Ḥāğib⁵. Ğallāq was sent by 'Amr b. Hind to submit the Tağlib; he raided them and killed many of them⁶. This event is mentioned by al-Ḥārīt b. Ḥilliza in his *Mu'allāqa*⁷. According to *Ağānī*⁸ and the commentary of al-Tibrizī⁹ al-Ğallāq was in charge of the white camels (*hağā'in*) of al-Nu'mān¹⁰. According to *Simt al-La'ālī*¹¹ he was appointed by al-Nu'mān who put him in charge of the white camels of the tribes adjacent to his country (*ista'malahu l-Nu'mānu bnu l-Mundiri 'alā hağā'ini man yalī arđahu min al-'Arab*). The report of al-Bakrī indicates that al-Ğallāq was entrusted with collecting taxes. 'Uqfān b. 'Āşim al-Yarbū'ī hid from al-Ğallāq—

1. So IBN AL-KALBĪ, *op. cit.*, and AL-BALĀDURĪ, *Ansāb*, "Ğallāq"; in some other sources "'Allāq"; see W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 271.

2. IBN AL-KALBĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 98; W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 232; AL-WAZĪR AL-MAGRIBĪ, *al-İnās bi-'ilmī l-ansāb*, Ms. Br. Mus., f. 37 b; he was from the Taym b. 'Abd Manāt b. Udd. See AL-BALĀDURĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 929 b.

3. S. M. ḤUSAYN, *Early Arabic Odes*, p. 199, transl. p. 161, commentary p. 320. The pedigree in the commentary: 'Allāq b. 'Abdallah b. Hammām al-Riyāhi (his brother Qays b. 'Abd Allāh mentioned as well). Dū l-Kīr is said to have been al-Ḥārīt b. Munabbih b. Qurṭ b. Sufyān b. Muğāşī'. But Munabbih is a mistake; read: "al-Ḥārīt b. Bayba" (Comp. v. 13 of the poem).

4. This verse:

"Tağarrada 'Allāqun ilaynā wa-Ḥāğibun:
wa-Dū l-Kīri yad'ū yā-la Ḥanzalata rhabū"

is rendered by S. M. Ḥusayn:

"There come helter-skelter to us 'Allaq and Ḥāğib:
and Dū l-Kīr crying: Ho Ḥanzala: ride forth".

About al-Ḥārīt b. Bayba see W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 305, 221.

5. Ḥāğib—obviously Ḥāğib b. Zurāra.

6. IBN QUTAYBA, *al-Ma'ānī al-kabīr*, p. 1012 (ed. F. KRENKOW, Hyderabad 1949).

7. And see IBN AL-KALBĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 72 a and AL-BALĀDURĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 993 b.

8. *Ağānī*, IX, 173.

9. *Şarḥ al-qaşa'id al-'aşr*, p. 275 ("al-Muniriyya" Print, 1352 AH).

10. See T. NÖLDEKE, *Fünf Mo'allaqāt*, I, 76. And see about his son al-'Affāq b. al-Ğallāq, who was killed by the 'Abs: *Naqā'id*, p. 336; AL-ḤUṬAY'A, *Diwān*, p. 323 (ed. Nu'mān Amīn ṬAHĀ, Cairo 1958); AL-BALĀDURĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 929 b.

11. AL-BAKRĪ, *Simt al-la'ālī*, p. 746 (ed. AL-MAYMANĪ, Cairo 1936); and see L. A., s.v. *zlf*; according to al-Balādurī, *op. cit.*, f. 798 b 'Uqfān b. Qays b. 'Āşim came to Arwā bint Kurayz (another version: the visitor was Mutammim b. Nuwayra). A verse of 'Uqfān see IBN QUTAYBA, *al-Ma'ānī al-kabīr* p. 105; and see AL-BALĀDURĪ, *Ansāb*, V, 1 (ed. S. D. GOITEIN, Jerusalem 1936); he is said to have been a companion of the Prophet (see IBN ḤAĞAR, *al-Işāba*, No. 5619).

according to this report—his white camels. When pursued by al-Ġallāq he went to al-Nu‘mān with the herd and asked for his protection. He was in fact granted protection and al-Nu‘mān “did not take anything from his herd” (*wa-lam ya’ḥud minhā*—i.e. *al-ibil—ṣay’an*).

The story of al-Ġallāq illustrates the relations which existed between al-Ḥīra and a chief of a tribal group. Al-Ġallāq was entrusted by the king of al-Ḥīra to subdue the Taglib, he commanded a military unit and it is plausible that he had at his disposal some force for carrying out his task as tax collector. This may explain how the kings of al-Ḥīra could impose their rule on tribal groups in cooperation with friendly chiefs and loyal tribal forces.

A clash between the tax-collector of al-Ḥīra and a clan grew into a clash between tribal units. According to the tradition recorded in *al-‘Iqd*¹ on the authority of Abū ‘Ubayda—the Banū Usayyid (a clan of the ‘Amr b. Tamīm) captured Wā’il b. Ṣuraym al-Yāškūrī (from Bakr b. Wā’il) and killed him. When they killed him they chanted: “*Yā ayyuhā l-mā’iḥu dalwī dūnaka*”². His brother Bā’it, raided the Usayyid, killed a nobleman of this clan and upon his body he killed 100 men of the same clan. This version is also given by al-Bakrī in *Mu’ġam mā sta’ġam*³.

According to another version given by al-Bakrī⁴ Wā’il b. Ṣuraym was sent by ‘Amr b. Hind as tax-collector (*ba‘aṭahu sā‘iyan*) of the Banū Tamīm. They threw him into a well and stoned him. He was killed by the clan of Usayyid.

A more detailed version is given by al-Riyāšī in his commentary of the *Ḥamāsa*⁵. All the clans of Tamīm paid the demanded tax (*al-itāwa*) to Wā’il b. Ṣuraym. When he came to the Usayyid they collected the cattle and sheep (scil. of the tax) and ordered them to be counted. When he was sitting on the side of a well there came an elder of the Usayyid and catching him unaware pushed

1. IBN ‘ABD RABBIHI, *al-‘Iqd al-farīd*, III, 354.

2. See this verse: AL-MARZŪQĪ, *al-Azmina wa-l-amkina*, II, 159; AL-FARRĀ’, *Ma‘ānī al-Qur’ān*, I, 323, (ed. NAĠĀTĪ—AL-NAĠĠĀR, Cairo 1955); L. ‘A., s.v. *myḥ*; AL-ANṢĀRĪ, *Šuḏūr al-ḡahab*, p. 436 (ed. Muḥ. Muḥyi al-Dīn ‘ABD AL-ḤAMĪD, Cairo 1942).

3. *Mu’ġam mā sta’ġam*, s.v. *Ḥāġir*.

4. *ib.*, s.v. *Ṭuwayli*’.

5. AL-TIBRĪZĪ, *Šarḥ Diwān al-Ḥamāsa*, II, 112-13 (ed. Muḥ. Muḥyi al-Dīn ‘ABD AL-ḤAMĪD, Cairo 1938); and see AL-BAKRĪ, *Simṭ*, pp. 286, 476 (see the references given by AL-MAYMANĪ in note 5).

him into the well. The clan assembled and stoned him to death. His brother Bā'it decided to avenge him, and together with his clan the Ġubar of Yaškur, attacked the Banū Usayyid. His vow to fill the well with the blood of Usayyid was fulfilled; when some of them lowered the bucket into the well it came up full of blood.

Poets of Yaškur mentioned the event in their verses. The event is recorded in al-Wazīr al-Mağribī's *Īnās*¹ and Abū l-Baqā's *Manāqib*². The clash lived long in the memory of the two clans, as is evident from the curses in these clans: "*Ta'isat Ġubar, ta'isat Usayyid*"³.

W. Caskel denies the historical value of the story⁴. This may be true. But the story faithfully reflects the attitude of the tribes towards the tax-collectors, their hatred towards them and the acts of violence committed against them.

Refusal to pay taxes to the king of al-Ḥīra was the cause of a raid made by the troops of al-Nu'mān against Tamīm. The story recorded by al-Mubarrad⁵ on the authority of Abū 'Ubayda says that Tamīm refused to pay the tax to al-Nu'mān. He sent against them his brother al-Rayyān b. al-Mundir at the head of troops which belonged mainly to Bakr b. Wā'il. They raided the Tamīm, captured children and took their cattle as spoils. Abū l-Mušamrağ al-Yaškuri ('Amr b. al-Mušamrağ) composed a poem in which he described the defeat of Tamīm:

*"Lammā ra'aw ra'yata l-Nu'māni muqbilatan:
qālū alā layta adnā dārīnā 'Adanu
Yā layta umma Tamīmin lam takun 'arafat:
Murran wa-kānat ka-man awdā bihi l-zamanu
In taqtulūnā⁶ fa-a'yārun muğadda'atun:
aw tun'imū fa-qadīman minkumu l-minanu
Minhum Zuhayrun wa-'Attābun wa-Muḥtaḍarun:
wa-bnā Laqīṭin wa-awdā fī l-wağā Qaṭānu"*

1. ff. 28 b-29 a.

2. f. 123.

3. AL-BALĀDURĪ, *op. cit.*, p. 1075 b; AL-TIBRĪZĪ, *Šarḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa*, II, 113; the grandson of Bā'it, 'Amr b. Ġabala b. Bā'it, fought at Dū Qār (see AL-MARZUBĀNĪ, *Mu'ğam al-šu'arā*, p. 225).

4. W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 221, 585. (Bā'it b. Šuraym and Wā'il b. Šuraym).

5. AL-MUBARRAD, *al-Kāmil*, II, 82-83 (ed. Muḥ. Abū l-Faḍl IBRĀHĪM—AL-SAYYID ŠAḤĀTA, Cairo 1956).

6. So AL-MUBARRAD, *op. cit.*, ib., and AL-MAYDĀNĪ, *Mağma' al-amīāl*, I, 439; AL-MARZUBĀNĪ, *Mu'ğam al-šu'arā*, p. 211: "*in taqtulūhum*", which seems to be the correct reading.

“When they saw the banner of al-Nu‘mān advancing
they said: “would that our nearest abode be ‘Adan
May the mother of Tamīm not have known Murr
and been like one destroyed by the (changes of) time”.
If you kill them—they are (merely) asses with cut
[noses,
and if you show grace—since ancient time you have
[shown grace.
From among them are Zuhayr, ‘Attāb and Muḥtaḍar
and two sons of Laqīṭ; Qaṭan perished in the battle”.

The leaders of Tamīm came to al-Nu‘mān asking him to release the captives. Al-Nu‘mān agreed that every woman who wished to return to her relatives should be returned. All the women questioned expressed the wish to be returned to their tribe except the daughter of Qays b. ‘Āṣim who preferred to remain with the man who captured her, ‘Amr b. al-Mušamrağ. Qays then vowed to bury every female child, that would be born to him.

The version of *al-Ağānī*¹ does not mention that the cause of the raid was the refusal to pay taxes, does not contain the verses and records the story as a raid of al-Mušamrağ. But in this version the raid is restricted to the Banū Sa‘d and the name of the captured woman is given: Rumayma bint Aḥmar² b. Ğandal; her mother was the sister of Qays b. ‘Āṣim.

Al-Mušamrağ is mentioned in a short account of al-Balāḍurī³: some clans of Bakr b. Wā‘il raided the ‘Ukl. They were however defeated by the ‘Ukl under the command of al-Namir b. Tawlab⁴. In one of the verses quoted by al-Balāḍurī and attributed to al-Namir b. Tawlab, al-Mušamrağ is mentioned as a captive of the ‘Ukl⁵.

For the assessment of the story of the raid the verse recited by

1. *Ağānī*, XII, 144.

2. In the text “*Aḥmad*”, which is a mistake. Aḥmar b. Ğandal was the brother of Salāma b. Ğandal (See SALĀMA B. ĞANDAL, *Dīwān*, p. 21—ed. CHEIKHO; and see AL-ĠĀḤIẒ, *al-Bayān*, III, 318; AL-BAĠDĀDĪ: *Ḥizānat al-adab*, II, 86; ‘AMR B. KULTŪM, *Dīwān*, p. 3—ed. KRENKOW; AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 1040 a; W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 146).

3. AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 928 a.

4. About him see W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 444.

5. “*Rāḥa l-Mušamrağu li-l-rikābi ḡanībatan:*
fī l-ğiddi ma’sūvan ‘alā adbārihā”
(in text: *Mušamrah, ḡanbiyatan*).

al-Nu‘mān—quoted by al-Mubarrad—is of some importance: when al-Nu‘mān forgave the Tamīm he said:

“*Mā kāna ḍarra Tamīman law taḡammadahā:
min faḍlinā mā ‘alayhi Qaysu ‘Aylāni*”

“What would harm the Banū Tamīm if they
[would be filled
with our favour like the Qays ‘Aylān”¹.

Al-Nu‘mān reminds the Banū Tamīm that by paying the *itāwa*, and by their loyalty they would enjoy the favour of the king. The expression seems to point to the benefits bestowed by the king on the chiefs of the tribe Qays ‘Aylān, appointment of their chiefs as tax collectors, granting them pastures, etc. It is noteworthy that al-Mubarrad renders *itāwa* by *adyān*, pointing to obedience and submission². The verse attributed to al-Nu‘mān reflects the efforts of al-Ḥīra to gain the allegiance of some divisions of Tamīm (evidently the Sa‘d), who tried to free themselves from the dependence of al-Ḥīra. That was manifested by the refusal to pay taxes.

Some light on the relations between al-Ḥīra and Asad and Ḡaṭafān is shed by a story recorded by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb³. These tribes—says Ibn Ḥabīb—were allies, not submitting to the obedience of the kings⁴. ‘Amr b. Mas‘ūd and Ḥālid b. Naḍla⁵ of Asad used to visit every year the ruler of al-Ḥīra, stay with him and drink with him. During one of these visits al-Munḍir al-Akbar suggested that they should accept his obedience. He said: “What prevents you from yielding to my obedience and to defend me like the Tamīm and Rabī‘a?” They refused his offer, remarking: “These territories are not suitable for our herds. Besides (in the present situation) we are near to you; we are here in these sandy lands and if you summon us we will respond”. Al-Munḍir understood that they were not willing to accept his offer and ordered to poison them. Whether Ḥālid b. Naḍla was really poisoned is rather doubtful⁶; the story itself may be spurious. But the tendency of

1. AL-MUBARRAD, *op. cit.*, II, 84.

2. *ib.*, p. 83, l. 2; and see above note 4, p. [11]. (*adyān* is identical with *urbān* and *aryān*).

3. IBN ḤABĪB, *Asmā’ al-muḡtālīna (Nawādir al-maḥṭūṭāt*, VI, 133).

4. *Comp.* p. 12, l. 3 of this paper (note 3).

5. SEE W. CASKEL, *op. cit.*, II, 179, 342.

6. See AL-BALĀDURĪ, *Ansāb*, f. 903 a (with other versions about his death); AL-ḌABBĪ, *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, VII, I (LYALL notes p. 14); AL-QĀLĪ, *al-Nawādir*, p. 195; AL-A‘ŠĀ, *Dīwān*, p. 306 (ed. GEYER—AL-ASWAD B. YA‘FUR, XLIX,

the rulers of al-Ḥīra to widen their influence by gaining the obedience of independent tribes is evident from this story. The answer of the two leaders seems to indicate that the ruler of al-Ḥīra proposed that they should enter territories under his control, but that they refused to do so ¹.

The rulers of al-Ḥīra could impose their sway on the tribes either by granting the chiefs benefits—as mentioned in the stories quoted above—or by force. The rulers based their power on their troops. The troops were, however, not levied from a certain tribe: there was no tribe ruling in al-Ḥīra; it was a family. The rulers of al-Ḥīra had therefore to rely on foreign troops or on mercenary troops. Only occasionally could they use a tribal force against another tribal unit, hostile to the first—as already mentioned.

The problem of the formations of *Dawsar*, *al-Šahbā'*, *al-Waḏā'i'*, *al-Šanā'i'* and *al-Rahā'in* was discussed by Rothstein ². Rothstein, quoting the sources ³ and arguing with Caussin de Perceval arrives at the conclusion that the *Šanā'i'* seem to have been a *Prätorianerschaa* ⁴. This is confirmed by the commentary of the *Naqā'id* ⁵: Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd states that the *Šanā'i'* are people upon whom the king bestows his favours (*yaštani'uhumu l-maliku*) and they remain in his service. Another version is also given there: the *Šanā'i'* of the kings are the helpers of the king, who raid with him, by whom the king is aided. An additional information is given by al-Mubarrad ⁶: most of them are from Bakr b. Wā'il.

The *Waḏā'i'* are defined by Rothstein as *Besatzungstruppen*. Rothstein argues that *Waḏā'i'* cannot refer to certain troops (. . . "dass damit unmöglich eine bestimmte Truppe gemeint sein kann"). He assumes that the *Waḏā'i'* may probably denote the troops of the garrisons and especially the border garrisons. *Dawsar* and *Šahbā'* refer probably—according to Rothstein—to the garrison-troops of al-Ḥīra.

v. 6-7); and see ĠAWĀD 'ALĪ, *Ta'riḫ al-'Arab qabla l-Islām*, IV, 73; ABŪ MIŠĤĀL: *Nawādir*, I, 122-3 (ed. 'IZZAT ḤASAN, Damascus 1961—see the notes of the editor).

1. "... *hādīhi l-bilādu lā tulā'imū mawāšīyanā*" . . . and see the variant of the question of the king (AL-BAGDĀDĪ, *Ḥizāna*, IV, 151): "... *wa-an tadnū minnī kamā danat Tamīmun wa-Rabī'atu*".

2. *Die Dynastie der Laḥmīden*, pp. 134-138.

3. *Al-Ḥamāsa*, *al-Aġānī*, *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, AL-ĠAWHARĪ, *Šaḫāḫ*.

4. ROTHSTEIN, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

5. p. 884.

6. *Al-Kāmil*, II, 83.

The definition of the *Wadā'i* given by Aḥmad b. 'Ubayd is different. *Wadā'i*—says Ibn 'Ubayd—are the troops levied by the king, 100 from every tribal group (*qawm*), more or less according to their number. Another definition quoted in the same source¹ claims that the *Wadā'i* are the forces of the subjects of the kingdom. According to this definition Bevan renders *Wadā'i* in his glossary "levies, troops, raised by the Lakhmite king". Ibn al-Aṭīr, however, defines them as "semi-chiefs"².

The opinion about the *Rahā'in*, the hostages of the tribes is unanimous.

A detailed account about the troops of al-Ḥīra is given by Abū l-Baqā'³. Imru' l-Qays al-Badan⁴—records Abū l-Baqā'—was the man who, imitating the division of the troops of Kisrā, divided his troops and gave them names, which remained till the end of the kingdom of al-Ḥīra. People next in kinship to the king were called *Ahlu l-rifāda*. There were leaders of the troops marching in front of the troops in battles and raids⁵. The commanders of the divisions of the troops were the *Ardāf*⁶.

A special division of the army of al-Ḥīra was levied from among the Laḥm. This troop was called *al-Ġamarāt* or *al-Ġimār*. As soldiers of this troop are mentioned the Urayš b. Irāš b. Ġazila⁷ of Laḥm. Another version claims that this troop was formed from people levied from Laḥm and other groups. Mentioned are Banū Silsila from Ġu'fi, Banū Māwiya from Kalb⁸ and groups from Banū Salamān b. Ṭu'al⁹ of Ṭayy.

The *Ṣana'i* were a troop of outlaws from different tribes—records Abū l-Baqā'. Driven out from their tribes as murderers or culprits—they were protected by the king of al-Ḥīra and gained

1. *Naqā'id*, p. 884.

2. See ĠAWĀD 'ALĪ, *Ta'rīḥ al-'Arab qabla l-Islām*, IV, 92 ("al-wadā'i wa-humu llaḍīna kānū šibha l-mašāyih").

3. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 21 a, seq.

4. See ĠAWĀD 'ALĪ, *op. cit.*, IV, 31; and see S. SMITH, *Events in Arabia*, in *BSOAS*, 1954, p. 430, Table A.

5. The word denoting the title of these leaders cannot be deciphered. It is written والعرامي.

6. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 21 a: "wa-l-ardāf wa-hum 'urafā'u l-ḡundi wa-zu'amā'uhum wa-quwwāduhum wa-azimmatuhum".

7. See IBN ḤAZM, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

8. See W. CASKEL, *op. cit.*, II, 405.

9. See IBN DURAYD, *al-Ištiqāq*, p. 386.

safety. They attended his battles and raids ¹. The other version about the *Ṣana'i'* is given as well, they were men from Bakr b. Wā'il, from the Lahāzim, from Qays and 'Abd al-Lāt and from Ṭa'laba b. 'Ukāba. Abū l-Baqā' prefers the first version.

The *Wadā'i'*—says Abū l-Baqā'—were a Persian unit, sent by Kistrā to the kings of al-Ḥīra as reinforcements. They counted 1000 mounted soldiers (*asāwira*) and stayed a year at al-Ḥīra. After a year's service they used to return to Persia and were replaced by another troop sent from Persia. They formed in fact the strength of the ruler of al-Ḥīra and through their force the ruler of al-Ḥīra could compel the people of al-Ḥīra as well as the Bedouin tribes to yield obedience to him. Without these forces the rulers were weakened, so that they had to fear the people of al-Ḥīra ².

The people of al-Ḥīra consisted of three divisions *Dawsar* (or *Dawsara*), an elite troop of valiant and courageous warriors; *al-Ṣahbā'*, (but according to a contradictory tradition this was the troop of the *Wadā'i'*); *al-Malhā'*, so called because of the colour of the iron (i.e. their coat-of-mail) ³.

The *Rahā'in* were youths from Arab tribes taken by the kings of al-Ḥīra as hostages guaranteeing that their tribes would not raid the territories of al-Ḥīra and that they would fulfil the terms of their pacts and obligations between them and the kings of al-Ḥīra. They counted—according to a tradition quoted by Abū l-Baqā'—500 youths and stayed 6 months at the court of al-Ḥīra. After this period they were replaced by others ⁴.

These forces—of the people of al-Ḥīra and the Persian troops—formed the strength, upon which the rulers of al-Ḥīra relied. They fought with the rulers of al-Ḥīra in obedience to Kistrā, in order to defend their abode, their families and possessions; they could not forsake them ⁵.

1. Two verses are quoted as evidence: the verse of Yazīd b. al-Ṣā'iq (see above, n. 2, p. [15]) and the verse of ĠARĪR:

"*Ḥamaynā yawma Dī Naḡabin ḥimānā:
wa-ahraznā l-ṣanā'i'a wa-l-nihābā*"

see his *Dīwān* (ed. AL-ṢĀWĪ), p. 68, l. 1.

2. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 99 b, seq.

3. *ib.*, f. 22 b; ABŪ L-BAQĀ' records the opinion of ṬABARĪ, that these two troops (*Ṣahbā'* and *Dawsar*) were Persian troops sent to al-Ḥīra.

4. *ib.*, f. 21 b; ĠAWĀD 'ALĪ, *op. cit.*, IV, 93.

5. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 99 b: "*wa-kāna ḡundahum Uḏāina bihimi mtinā'uhum wa-'izzuhum ahlu l-Ḥīrati l-musammawna bi-tilka l-asmā'i l-muqaddami dīkruhā; fa-kānū yuḥāribūna ma'ahum ṭā'atan li-Kistrā wa-*

When the king of al-Ḥīra left with his troops for a military action, the people of al-Ḥīra afraid of an attack of the raiding Bedouins, used to stay in their fortified fortresses till the king returned with his troops. Sometimes the king concluded agreements with the neighbouring tribes—mainly from Bakr b. Wā'il and Tamīm—that they would not raid al-Ḥīra in his absence ¹.

A peculiar aspect of the relations of the tribes with the rulers of al-Ḥīra is brought out by Abū l-Baqā': tribes pasturing in regions adjacent to the kingdom of al-Ḥīra were compelled to get their provisions (*al-mīra wa-l-kayl*) from the kingdom of al-Ḥīra and therefore had to submit to the obedience of its rulers ².

The rulers of al-Ḥīra were well acquainted with the situation in the tribe itself and used to intervene in the internal affairs of the tribes. A case of this kind is illustrated by the story of Laqīṭ b. Zurāra, who was convinced by al-Munḍir b. Mā' al-Samā' to return the children of Ḍamra b. Ġābir al-Nahšalī ³. His children were given as hostages to Laqīṭ for the children of Kubayš and Rušayya ⁴ and the Banū Nahšal requested the king to intervene ⁵. Ḍamra himself was respected and liked by the king ⁶. His son, Ḍamra b. Ḍamra, was favoured by al-Munḍir and al-Nu'mān. He was one of his boon-companions and the king entrusted him with the care of his white camels ⁷.

Instructive is the case of Ḥāğib b. Zurāra with the Banū 'Adiyy

hiḡzan li-baydatihim wa-ahlihim wa-manāzilihim wa-ḡimāyatan li-anfusihim wa-amwālihim wa-lā yumkinuhum ḡidlānuhum wa-lā l-taḡallufu 'anhum.

1. *ib. f.* 102 a.

2. *ib., f.* 100 a; for the necessity of getting provisions comp. the story of "Yawm al-Mušaqqar".

3. He was the father of the famous Ḍamra b. Ḍamra. The name of Ḍamra b. Ḍamra was in fact Šiqqa b. Ḍamra; his mother was Hind bint Karib b. Šafwān, one of the leaders of Sa'd. About Ḍamra b. Ġābir see W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 241; about Šiqqa b. Ḍamra, *ib.*, II, 530.

4. Al-Kalb b. Kunays (or Kubayš) b. Ġābir, the son of Kunays and Rušayya married the mother of al-Ḥuṭay'a (see ABŪ L-FARAĠ, *al-Ağāni*, II, 43; *ZDMG*, XLIII, p. 3, n. 2).

5. AL-ḌABBĪ, *Amṡāl al-'Arab*, pp. 7-9; AL-MUFADḌAL B. SALAMA, *al-Fāḡir*, p. 53 (ed. C. A. STOREY, Leiden 1915); AL-MAYDĀNĪ, *Mağma' al-amṡāl*, I, 136.

6. See the sources given in the preceding note and see AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, f. 986 b.

7. AL-BALĀḌURĪ, *op. cit.*, 987 a: "wa-ḡa'alahu min ḡuddāṡihi wa-sum-mārihi wa-daḡa'a ilayhi ibilan kānat lahu fa-kānat fī yadihi wa-hiya ḡaḡā'inuhu wa-ḡaḡā'inu l-Nu'māni bnihi ba'dahu, wariḡahā 'an abīhi; wa-kānat min akrami l-ibili . . .".

b. 'Abd Manāt¹. These 'Adiyy were in the service of Ḥāğib and Ḥāğib intended to turn them into his slaves by a writ of al-Munđir².

Chiefs of tribal divisions co-operating with the rulers of al-ḤĪra took part in their expeditions against Syria, visited their court and were favoured and respected. There was, however, no general line of continuous loyalty and allegiance to the rulers of al-ḤĪra. Contending leaders of clans revolted against the agreements concluded by their chiefs with al-ḤĪra from which they could not get the desired share of profit. There was continuous contention between chiefs on the favour of the ruler, which strengthened the feeling of lack of confidence. Sudden changes in the policy of Persia towards the rulers of al-ḤĪra further enhanced the feeling of instability. The application of the method of "divide and impera"³ as a means to control the tribes and the lack of sufficient and steady support for the loyal tribes—all this created a feeling of disappointment and bitterness.

The successful raids of small units of clans against al-ḤĪra undermined the prestige of its rulers. 'Uşayma b. Ḥālid b. Minqar⁴ could oppose the orders of the king al-Nu'mān, when he demanded to extradite the man from 'Āmir b. Şa'ş'a to whom 'Uşayma gave shelter. When raided by the troops of al-Nu'mān 'Uşayma summoned his people by the war-cry "*Kawṭar*" and defied the king. Directing the spear to the mane of his horse he said: "Go back, you wind-breaking king! Would I like to put the spear in another place—I would put it⁵. The Banū 'Amr b. Tamīm when attacked by the forces of the king al-Nu'mān succeeded in defeating his army and in plundering his camp⁶. The cases of the victory of Bedouin tribes over the royal troops of al-ḤĪra were sufficient proof of the weakness of the vassal kingdom of al-ḤĪra, presaging its fall.

It was concurrent with the rise of Mecca to authority and power.

1. Probably the 'Adiyy b. 'Abd Manāt b. Udd; see W. CASSEL, *op. cit.*, II, 137.

2. IBN RAŞĪQ, *al-'Umda*, II, 174 (Cairo 1934).

3. W. CASSEL, *Die Bedeutung der Beduinen in der Geschichte der Araber*, p. 15 (Köln 1953).

4. Apparently 'Işma b. Sinān b. Ḥālid b. Minqar as in IBN AL-KALBĪ'S *Ġamhara*, f. 78 b and in AL-BALĀḌURĪ'S *Ansāb*, f. 1030 a; see ṬUFAYL AL-ĠANAWĪ, *Diwān*, p. 59 (No. 19), éd. F. KRENKOW; see W. CASSEL, *Ġamharat al-Nasab*, II, 359 ('Işma b. Sinān).

5. MUḤ. IBN ḤABĪB, *al-Muḥabbat*, p. 354.

6. ABŪ L-BAQĀ', *op. cit.*, f. 126 a.