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DİA

HERAKLEİOS

Madde Yayınlandıktan Sonra Gelen Doküman

21.08.2017

Pouzet, Louis

Le hadith d'Héraclius: une caution Byzantine à la prophétie de Muhammad .-- Institut Français de Damas, Damascus, 1992 : La Syrie de Byzance a l'islam, VIIe-VIIIe siècles. Actes du Colloque international . . . 1990. Publiés par Pierre Canivet et Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais , pp. 59-65,

Hadīth | Byzantium | Prophet Muhammad; Muhammad, the Prophet ; Hērakleios / Ērakteios / Heraclius, Byzantine Emperor

931:737 (043.5) HERAKLIYUS - HIRAKL (Blevis Imperator) (243)
 DIMASSI-BOUSQUET (Bernadette).
 La Révolte d'Heraclius 608 5 oct. 610: étude numisma-
 tique et historique/Bernadette Dimassi-Bousquet ; dir.
 Ammar Mahjoubi.- Tunis: Faculté des Lettres et des
 Sciences Humaines, 1982.- 107 p. ; 31 cm.
 C.A.R.: Hist.: Tunis: 1982.

٣١٦٧ - حديث هرقل وكتاب رسول الله إليه
دراسة وتعليق إبراهيم إبراهيم هلال.. القاهرة: دار الصحوة،
١٤٠٧ هـ، ١٠٣ ص
— Heraklios

Heraklius, 287.44/Dir.H
 WEB H

Nebhani, Huccetulloh, 153

297.44
 WEB H

Heraklius

HIRAKL - Imperator HERAKLIUS 86-961451
 Ismā'il, Laylā 'Abd al-Jawwād.
 (Dawlah al-Bizantiyyah fi 'asr al-
 Imbrāṭūr Hiraql wa-'alāqatuhā bi- al-
 Muslimīn)
 الدولة البيزنطية في عصر الإمبراطور هرقل
 وعلاقتها بالمسلمين / ليلي عبيد
 الجواد اسماعيل . - [Cairo] :
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29 MAYIS 1993

2309 DONZEL, Evan. The dream of Heraclius and
 Islam in an Ethiopian source. *Proceedings of the
 Symposium on Bilād al-Shām during the
 Byzantine period ... 1983. Vol. II - (English
 section). Ed. Muhammad Adnan Bakhit [&]
 Muhammad Asfour. Amman: University of
 Jordan & Yarmouk University, 1986. pp.206-211*

Heraklius

297.27/R12-T

Rasit Riza, Tefsirul-Menar, c.III,
 s. 329

31. M. C. Hernandez: *Historia de la filosofía española. Filosofía Hispano - Musulmana*; Madrid, 1957; p. 116.
32. Cf. M. L. Gauthier: "Une réforme"; op. cit., p. 506.
33. W. Wieland: *Die aristotelische Physik*; Göttingen, 1970, p. 215.

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رسالة النبي الكريم الى هرقل ملك الروم سهيلة الجبوري

تعتبر الكتابة ابرز علامة من علامات تقدم الامم ورقبتها وذلك لحاجة الامة في تدوين علومها وثقافتها وكل ما يتعلق بامورها السياسية والاجتماعية والاقتصادية وغيرها. وكيفينا نخر ان قطونا الحبيب تتميز بهذه العلامة منذ منتصف الالف الرابع قبل الميلاد ولنا اعتزاز وفخر ايضا ان امتنا العربية كانت قد اتخذت لها خطا متميزا منذ القرن الاول للميلاد (١) شكل (١) والذي عرف بالخط النبطي (٢) نسبة الى اصحابه الانباط (٣) ولم يتوقف العرب عندها الحدبل اهتموا في تطوير بعض اشكال حروفهم نحو الابساط وابتكار بعضها الاخر بشكل تلاحم وتطور كتاباتهم وما يتعلق بها من حيث الفصل والوصل، كما تبين واضحا في نقش النمارق المؤرخ سنة ٣٢٨ م (٤) شكل (٢) واستمر العرب في تطوير خطهم لبلوغ الاحسن والاجمل، وتعتبر الفترة بين منتصف القرن الرابع والسادس الميلاديين مرحلة تطور وابتكار لبعض الحروف النبطية كي تتناسب والاصول الصحيحة والجديدة (٥) ذلك هو الخط العربي الذي نشأ في عصر ما قبل الاسلام والذي تمثل بنقوش اربعة هي نقش ام الجمل الثاني (٦) شكل (٣)، نقش زيد (٧) شكل (٤) نقش اسيس (٨) شكل (٥) نقش حران (٩) شكل (٦)

لقد كان العرب في الجاهلية يعنون بتسجيل الاحداث اليومية التي لها علاقة وثيقة بشؤون الناس لتسجيل العقود وكتابة المواثيق وتثبيت الاحلاف (١٠) كذلك اهتموا بتوجيه شكل ظاهري لتثبيت الصكوك التي كثيرا ما استعملت في حساب الاعمال التجارية والحقوق (١١) اضافة الى اهتمهم بكتابة الرسائل المتبادلة فيما بينهم (١٢) ولا يغرب عن البال ايضا ان هناك ضربا اخر من المدونات المتعارف عليها وهي ما سميت به (مكاتبة الرقيق) (١٣)

غير ان للدين الاسلامي بشكل عام وللنبي الكريم بشكل خاص اثرا عظيما في انتشار الكتابة في فجر الاسلام نتيجة للاهتمام الزائد عصره في تعليم الكتابة و

081065

HERAKLEİOS

1 EMİNE DEMİL, Hadis rivayetlerinde Herakleious, Ankara Üniversitesi, Yüksek Lisans, 2008

26 Ağustos 2015

Heraclius (081065)

THE FORMATION OF THE CLASSICAL ISLAMIC WORLD

General Editor: Lawrence I. Conrad

Volume 1

Late Antiquity
on the Eve of Islam

edited by
Averil Cameron

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	234310
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ASHGATE
VARIORUM

8

RECRUITMENT IN ROMAN ARMIES FROM JUSTINIAN
TO HERACLIUS (ca. 565–615)

Michael Whitby

8. Recruitment in Roman Armies from Justinian to Heraclius
(ca. 565–615)
Michael Whitby

277-340

1 Introduction

THE NATURE of Roman armies in the sixth century¹ is rightly regarded as important for an understanding of military and administrative developments in the seventh century, when late-Roman arrangements were eventually superseded by the Byzantine system of military organization based on the themes: there may be disagreements about the date of the change and about whether it was a grand reform instituted by a particular saviour of the state or a gradual and piecemeal transformation, but it is accepted that change occurred. For the sixth century there is a relative abundance of evidence concerning warfare, not just in the Greek historians Procopius, Agathias, Menander Protector, and Theophylact Simocatta whose classicizing works

¹ The dates of my title are approximate, a convenient half century, but it is not my intention to describe in detail the armies of Justinian (for which see A. Müller, "Das Heer Justinians nach Prokop und Agathias", *Philologus* 71 (1912), 101–38; K. Hannestad, "Les forces militaires d'après la guerre gothique de Procope", *Classica et Medievalia* 21 (1961), 136–83; John L. Teall, "The Barbarians in Justinian's Armies", *Speculum* 40 (1965), 294–322) nor to grapple with the problems of possible military reorganization by Heraclius, which are being examined by others. Relevant material from outside these limits will, however, be examined. Thanks are due to all participants in this Workshop for a series of stimulating sessions as well as for specific comments on an earlier version of this paper, to Peter Heather and Mary Whitby for reading the paper even though they could not attend the Workshop, to Mark Whittow for acting as discussant, and to Averil Cameron as organizer of the Workshop as well as editor of the proceedings.

THE FORMATION OF THE CLASSICAL ISLAMIC WORLD

General Editor: Lawrence I. Conrad

Volume 1

Late Antiquity on the Eve of Islam

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Averil Cameron

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Den. No:	234310
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ASHGATE
VARIORUM

26 Ağustos 2015

Heraclius (081065)

9

HERACLIUS' PERSIAN CAMPAIGNS AND THE REVIVAL OF THE EAST ROMAN EMPIRE 622–630

James Howard-Johnston

9. Heraclius' Persian Campaigns and the Revival of the East Roman Empire, 622–630

James Howard-Johnston

341 - 384

The East Roman empire seemed doomed to destruction in the winter of 621/2.¹ From the outbreak of war in 603, the armies of the Sasanian Shah Khusro II had advanced slowly but remorselessly into the heavily defended frontier provinces south and north of the Taurus.² By the winter of 609/10 they had broken down the Romans' elaborate system of defence-in-depth and stood on the banks of the Euphrates. They breached this innermost line of defence and penetrated into Syria in 610.³ In the north they did likewise a year later, thrusting deep into Anatolia, where they seized Caesarea in Cappadocia.⁴ The new emperor Heraclius flung all his forces into a final, desperate bid to halt the Persian advance. He expelled them from Anatolia in 612 but was then decisively defeated outside Antioch in 613.⁵ Thereafter the

¹ Sources are cited in translation wherever possible. Page or chapter references given by the translator will guide the reader to the relevant passage in the original text.

² The series Translated Texts for Historians (cited henceforth as TTH) may be singled out for the range of texts made available to a wide readership and the quality of the accompanying commentaries.

³ Fulltest coverage of the early phases of the war is to be found in a seventh century Armenian history formerly attributed to Sebeos (trans F. Macler, *Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évêque Sébeos* (Paris, 1904), pp. 56–63; a new English translation by R.W. Thomson is in preparation for TTH); there is supplementary material in the Syriac *Chronicle to the Year 724* and *Chronicle to the Year 1234* (trans. A. Palmer, in *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles*, TTH 15 (Liverpool, 1993), pp. 17–18, 119–43). The only recent works on this last great war of antiquity are A.N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century 1: 602–634* (Amsterdam, 1968), a compendium of surviving source material and secondary authorities, which does not subject the primary sources to the rigorous critical scrutiny which they demand, and B. Flusin, *Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VII^e siècle II: Commentaire* (Paris, 1992), an account focused on the life of a seventh-century Don Quixote (ed. and trans. in vol. 1, *Les textes* (Paris, 1992), pp. 40–91).

⁴ *Chronicle to 724*, p. 17; *Chronicle to 1234*, p. 127 (and related texts cited in n. 287).

⁵ Sebeos, pp. 63–4; *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, trans. A.-J. Festugière (Brussels, 1970) II, p. 129.

Anatolia: Sebeos, p. 65; *Vie de Théodore*, pp. 123–4; Nicephorus, *Breviarium*, ed. and trans. C. Mango, *Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople Short History*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 13 (Washington, DC, 1990), pp. 37–41. Antioch: Sebeos, p. 67.

Michael Cook

Studies in the Origins of Early
Islamic Culture and Tradition

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	234324
Tas. No:	909.297 COO.S

Ashgate

VARIORUM

2004

THE HERACLIAN DYNASTY IN MUSLIM ESCHATOLOGY

Herakleios
081065

1. Tiberius in Islamic tradition

By far the richest source for the early history of Muslim eschatology is the unpublished *Kitāb al-fitan* of Nu'aym ibn Ḥammād (d. 228/843).¹ In it we find the following tradition ascribed to the Prophet:²

It is at the hands of the fifth of the family of Heraclius (*āl Hiraql*) that the Wars (*malāḥim*)³ will take place. Heraclius may rule (*sic: wa-qad yamliku Hiraql*); then after him his son Constans (*Qusṭa*) son of Heraclius; then his son Constantine (*Qusṭanṭīn*) son of Constans; then his son Justinian (*Uṣṭmān*) son of Constantine; then the kingship of the Romans (*Rūm*) moved (*sic: kharaja*) from the family of Heraclius to Leo (*Liyūn*) and his son after him. But the kingship will return to the fifth of the family of Heraclius, at whose hands the Wars will take place.

¹ For a general discussion of the work, see J. Aguadé, «La importancia del "Kitāb al-Fitan" de Nu'aym b. Ḥammād para el estudio del mesianismo musulmán», in Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, *Actas de las Jornadas de Cultura Árabe e Islámica* (1978), Madrid, 1981, drawn to my attention by M. I. Fierro. For three recent studies based largely on its materials, see W. Madelung, «The Sufyānī between tradition and history», *Studia Islamica*, 63 (1984); id., «Apocalyptic prophecies in Ḥimṣ in the Umayyad age», *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 31 (1986); and S. Bashear, «Apocalyptic and other materials on early Muslim-Byzantine wars: a review of Arabic sources», *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, third series, 1 (1991). An edition of the *Fitan* has been prepared, but not yet published, by Lawrence I. Conrad.

² Nu'aym ibn Ḥammād (d. 228/843), *Kitāb al-fitan*, ms. British Library, Or. 9449, f. 130b.8. Hereafter I shall refer to this work as *Fitan*, and designate this particular variant «F2». In this and the following translation I have emended the names where corrupt; details are given below, notes 43f. This tradition is cited by Bashear («Apocalyptic and other materials», 189, n. 112).

³ Here and below, I use the terms «War» and «Wars» to translate the Arabic *malḥama*, plural *malāḥim*. In eschatological contexts the reference is normally to infidel attacks on the Islamic lands.

08 Temmuz 2015

1364 GADOR-WHYTE, Sarah. Christian-Jewish conflict
in the light of Heraclius' forced conversions and the
beginning of Islam. *Religious conflict from early
Christianity to the rise of Islam*. Ed. Wendy Mayer
and Bronwen Neil. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter,
2013, (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, 121),
pp. 201-214.

Heraclius
081065

YAYIMLANDIKTAN
KÜMAN

Folia Orientalia, 8/1-2, 29-42, 1961 Krakow

MUHAMMAD HAMIDULLAH

UNE AMBASSADE DU CALIFE ABŪ BAKR AUPRÈS DE L'EMPEREUR HERACLIUS ET LE LIVRE BYZANTIN DE LA PRÉDICTION DES DESTINÉES

Dans les rapports diplomatiques de l'Islam avec l'empereur Héraclius¹, il y a une épisode qui, malgré l'abondance de détails, n'a pas, à ma connaissance, encore attiré l'attention des chercheurs. Cela d'autant plus étonnant que, avec des différences de forme le récit se retrouve dans les sources arabes aussi bien que byzantines. Les deux récits semblent être tendancieux. Mais laissons-les parler d'abord, avant de chercher à les élucider.

DONNÉES BYZANTINES

Dans son ouvrage *Civilisation byzantine* (Paris 1950, p. 291—2), Louis Bréhier met en relief les faits suivants:

„Livres Prophétiques. — Il existait dans la bibliothèque impériale un livre qui prédisait les destinées de Byzance, avec des peintures représentant les empereurs. L'existence d'une élucubration de ce genre est attestée par des étrangers auxquels on l'a montré (cf. Léon VI, empereur, *Discours et oeuvres diverses*, P. G. 107, Leg. 39). D'après Antoine [arch]évêque de Novgorod, Léon le Sage avait copié un livre pareil sur un rouleau qu'il découvrit dans le tombeau du Prophète Daniel (cf. Antoine, *Le*

¹ Voir aussi mes articles: *Friendly Relations of Islam with Christianity and How they Deteriorated* (dans: „Journal Pakistan Hist. Society“, January 1953, p. 41—45); *La lettre du Prophète à Héraclius et le sort de l'original* (dans: „Arabica“, 1955, p. 97—110); cf. en général mon livre *Le Prophète de l'Islam* (Paris 1959), chap. *Byzance*.

7 AGUSTOS 1995

Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 66, 1973 München

NEW EVIDENCE ON THE EARLY REIGN OF HERACLIUS

W. E. KAEGI, JR. / CHICAGO

The excellent new edition of the Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon by A. J. Festugière offers important new information on the end of the reign of Phocas and the first three years of Heraclius' government. Th. Joannou utilized only the Marcianus manuscript, and by consulting the Athens and, especially, the Patmos manuscript, Festugière has been able to produce a complete scholarly edition of the Vita for the first time, adding twenty-two hitherto unknown chapters.¹ Several of these newly edited chapters are of special relevance for an improved understanding of the obscure political and military history of the early seventh century. Although he includes a commentary on the new text, Festugière concentrates in it primarily upon religious and philological topics. There remain a number of items of political, military and social significance which deserve further elucidation. It is, however, not my intention to discuss here the many additional useful details of religious, social and economic history which this new edition provides. This study, rather, will concentrate on political and military history.

The single most important new item of political history which the Festugière edition provides is the revelation in chapter 152 that even after the seizure of Constantinople by Heraclius, after the slaying of Phocas and of his brother Domentziolos the *magister* (? *officiorum*) and of Leontios the sacellarius and of the General Bonosus, Heraclius did not immediately succeed in extinguishing all resistance by those authorities and troops who had been loyal to Phocas during the civil war from 608 to 610.² According to the monk George, who composed the Life, a "Komentiolos brother of

Phocas" (Κομεντιόλου) began a rebellion after he brought his army from the east to Ancyra for winter quarters (line 19). This "Komentiolos" held the rank of *patrikios* (lines 29–30, 37, 65).

There is no modern authority, to my knowledge, who mentions a brother of Phocas by the name of Komentiolos. His name appears only in chapters 152 and 161. In this Vita, much confusion exists in the primary sources concerning other relatives of Phocas. One should at least consider the possibility that "Komentiolos brother of Phocas" is an error for "Domentziolos", nephew of Phocas, who was *patrikios* and *curopalates*, and who had been mentioned in the immediately preceeding lines 10–18 of the same chapter 152, being called Δομνιζιόλου τοῦ κοροπαλάτου (sic). Only the Patmos manuscript exists for this section of the Vita, and Festugière has clearly noted that it contains many errors. Festugière himself does not attempt to discuss this "Komentiolos" in his commentary. The Patmos manuscript is very inconsistent in its spelling of Domentziolos; it contains many variations.³ In chapter 161, line 187, the Patmos manuscript once again refers to the death of "Komentziolos" with this slightly altered spelling. If "Komentiolos" is an incorrect form, the error is a very old one, for the eleventh-century Paris abbreviation of the Vita (Paris ms. 1534 = BHG 1749b) also contains this name "Komentiolos" (but does not explain his relationship to Phocas).⁴ The incorrect substitution of "Komentiolos" for "Domentziolos" or "Domnentiolos" or "Domnitiolos" has occurred in other texts.⁵ Domentziolos, the nephew of Phocas (and presumably son of

¹ A.-J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore Saint de Sykéon* [Subsidia Hagiographica, 48.] (Brussels 1970) I xxiv–xxix. Th. Joannou published an edition of the Life of St. Theodore in his *Μνημεῖα ἀγιολογικά* (Venice 1884) 361–495. All of my citations from the Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon refer to the Festugière edition. The first volume contains the text, the second volume contains a translation, commentary and the text of two abbreviations.

² *Vie de Théodore*, c. 152, lines 19–67 (I 122–123 Festugière), for the description of the revolt; cf. c. 161, line 187 (I 144 Festugière). Execution of Phocas and his closest collaborators: *Chronicon Paschale* (ed. L. Dindorf, Bonn 1832) I 699–701; John of Antioch, frg. 110, in *Constantine VII, Excerpta de insidiis* (ed. C. De Boor, Berlin 1905) 150; Nicephorus, *Historia syntomos* (ed. C. De Boor, Leipzig 1880, 5). Previously known historical background: N. H. Baynes, *The Military Operations of the Emperor Heraclius*. *United Service Magazine*, N. S. 46 (1913) 526–533, 659–666; 47 (1913) 30–35.

³ On the poor quality and numerous errors of the Patmos (P) manuscript: Festugière I xxv–xxvi. Festugière prefers the spelling Δομνιζιόλος throughout the text, although there are varied spellings of this originally Latin name, especially in the Patmos manuscript: Δομνιζιόλου, c. 120, line 2 (I 96 Festugière); Δομνιζιόλου, c. 128, line 1 (I 103 Festugière); Δομνιζήλου, c. 148, line 27 (I 117 Festugière). The spelling of the name of Domentziolos the *magister* and presumed father of Domentziolos the *curopalates* also varies in different texts: Δομενζιόλον, in Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A. M. 6102 (ed. C. De Boor, Leipzig 1883) I 298; Δομνιζιόλον in John of Antioch, frg. 110 = *Const. VII, Exc. de insid.* (150 De Boor); Δομεντιόλον in Nicephorus, *Hist.* (5 De Boor). Phocas appoints his nephew Domentziolos (probably son of Domentziolos the *magister*) as *patrikios* and *curopalates*: Theophanes, *Chron.* A. M. 6096 (292 De Boor). For warnings against confusing Domentziolos the brother with Domentziolos the nephew: J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene* (395 A. D. to 800 A. D.) (1st ed. London 1889) II 199 n. 1; P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam* (Paris 1951) I 197 n. 4. On *curopalates*: E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (Paris 1949) II 739–746; J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* [British Academy Supplemental Papers, I.] (London 1911, r. p. New York n. d.) 33–35.

⁴ *Vie de Théodore* c. 161, line 187 (I 144 Festugière). Paris abbreviation: *Vie de Théodore* II 297–298. The form Komentziolos appears once in c. 161, line 187 (I 144 Festugière). Domentziolos ceases to appear in the text after its citation at the beginning of c. 152, line 10 (I 122 Festugière).

⁵ In the case of another Domentziolos earlier in the sixth century, Menander frg. 5 = *Constantine VII, Excerpta de legationibus* (ed. C. De Boor, Berlin 1903, 188 and notes) the correct spelling is Δομεντιόλου. Yet this same Domentziolos is mistakenly spelled

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Revue Des Etudes Byzantines, 37 (1979), 221-227
 Paris 1978

TWO NOTES ON HERACLIUS

Walter Emil KAEGI, Jr

I. ANOTHER ALLUSION TO THE RESISTANCE OF KOMENTIOLOS

The *Chronicon Paschale* contains the text of an official Byzantine letter, which was ostensibly written on behalf of the senate, to the Persian King Chosroes II, asking for peace between the Byzantine and Persian Empires¹. 615 is the date in the *Chronicon Paschale*, a sensible one that gains additional credibility from the contemporaneity of that source, although it is also possible to make a case for 616². The military situation was serious. The Persian General Shahin, who had penetrated as far as Chalcedon, conferred with and accepted gifts from Heraclius and then explained to him that he did not have the authority to make peace, however, that Heraclius could secure peace by sending an embassy to Chosroes himself. Heraclius accordingly sent the following envoys with the letter: Olympios, the Praetorian Prefect, Leontios, the Prefect of the City, and Anastasios, the presbyter and synkellos of St Sophia. The letter contains an elaborate introduction and a summary of the events that led to the accession of Heraclius (Phocas's corruption of the Byzantine army in Thrace, his murder of Maurice, the deterioration of the empire under Phocas, and the successful re-

1. *Chronicon Paschale* : Bonn, p. 707-709.
2. On the chronology of the letter : *Chronicon Paschale* (Bonn, p. 705-707). Also, A. STRATOS, *Tò Byzántion stón Z' alōwa*, I, Athens 1965, p. 248-251, 283-293 ; F. DÖLGER, *Regesten*, n° 166 ; N. H. BAYNES, *The Military Operations of the Emperor Heraclius*, *The United Service Magazine*, N.S. 47, 1913, p. 318-320.

Theophanes' Account of the Reign of Heraclius

Byzantine Papers, 1st Australian Byzantine Studies Conference (Abern. 17-19 May 1980)
Jenny Ferber
Canberra, 1981, 32-42

The basic reference work on Byzantine historical writers still remains that of Krumbacher. He defined, or invented, a series of fundamental differences between history and chronography which link the writer's social background to the method he uses for composition, the form he chooses to write in, the subject matter his work covers, the style in which he writes and finally the public who reads the work.¹ This all-embracing bipartite system of categorizing Byzantine historical writing has more recently been examined from various angles and its overall validity called into question. The central questions of the relationship between chronography and the other forms of historical writing, whether chronography can be distinguished from history, and if so on what grounds, have thus been reopened.

Beck in his article on the Byzantine "monk's chronicle" firstly questioned Krumbacher's idea of the social division between the writers and readers of history and chronography and concluded that the chroniclers' social origins were not as Krumbacher had assumed. That is, they were not written by lowly monks for an ill-educated audience and thus distinct from histories written by men of high culture and social position.² This led Beck to examine the type of the Byzantine monk and the nature of monkish writing, looking for evidence of social differences in the works themselves. He concluded that there will be different degrees of "monkishness" between different monks' chronicles.³ In Theophanes' case, Beck argues, an examination of his writing shows that, far from representing the Studite monks' party which arose in the eighth and ninth centuries, he opposed it on a number of issues⁴ and stood by his high social position and ties.⁵

Beck also examined Krumbacher's judgement on the content of chronographical writing, questioning the view that church interest is paramount. He concluded that the examples show that the more or less theologically coloured tendencies of the chronicles do not obscure the view of the reign as a whole or the imperial majesty.⁶ Indeed he suggested that interest in imperial majesty is in some cases paramount.⁷ In dealing with Theophanes' treatment of Heraclius I hope to show that at least for this reign the two areas of religion and imperial majesty are inextricably interrelated.

Beck concluded that while chronography is a uniform genre there is no firm ground for distinguishing it from real history. In the genre of history the concentration of the historian on a particular period of time forces the annalistic elements into the background in the interests of a united and continuous presentation of the phases of one reign. In the case of Theophanes' *Chronographia*, although the annalistic elements predominate, there remains, I believe, a cohesive account of each reign.

This assessment must depend on the degree to which one sees the task of chronography as one of pure compilation, as was suggested originally by Krumbacher and re-stated recently by Proudfoot, or the degree of historical

interpretation one allows to chronography. Proudfoot sees Theophanes as an "unoriginal compiler" and states that "the only accurate assessment of the *Chronographia* which is fundamental must be based on knowledge of his sources" and that "Theophanes apparently used all the information available to him and therefore it is a reasonable assumption that his work represents the sum total of historical sources from the seventh century, that is, an indication of the general state of Byzantine literature from the seventh century to the ninth".¹⁰ However, there are elements in both the content and structure of Theophanes' work which show historical interpretations peculiar to Theophanes and not mindlessly lifted from his sources. It must be recognized that the way an historian (or chronographer?) uses his sources will be determined by his own system of categorization and choice of points of focus. At the same time his opinion of what makes the study of a period meaningful will, of course, have been reached in the light of his sources. While the evidence which we have might suggest, as Proudfoot claimed, that Theophanes used all available sources, any approach to chronography which allows the chronographer any faculty of interpretation must also allow the possibility of other sources available to him being rejected, on whatever grounds, and the possibility of sources being juggled and distorted in line with his views.

One scholar who by implication allows chronographers this interpretative faculty is Tinnefeld in his study of Byzantine "Kaiserkritik".¹¹ He argues that Theophanes' criticism of emperors grows more intense the closer it gets to his own time, culminating in his account of Nicephorus I. It may be partly because what Tinnefeld is looking for is "categories" of criticism that this progression in intensity of criticism is so obvious. He points to this progression in a few areas we can assume would have concerned Theophanes — e.g. Iconoclasm and hence Monotheletism, Arabs and Bulgars in the Empire and perhaps fiscal policy. If one looks only for criticism of an emperor, applying this too narrow perspective, one ignores — in Tinnefeld's case intentionally — the other aspects which contribute to Theophanes' judgement of each emperor's reign. Rather than being a purely derivative "innocent" or "objective" account taken uncritically from the sources, punctuated occasionally with criticisms in line with specific interests relevant to his life-time, Theophanes' account of Heraclius' reign is carefully structured and the sources edited to show both positive and negative features. An intensification of criticism as it approaches contemporary history should not be taken as implying a lack of evaluation and unwillingness to make a judgement in more distant history.

Another way of looking at the source question is to say that it is our lack of knowledge of the "perspective" of a chronographer that causes us to miss the fact that he is interpreting his sources. This is an alternative to saying that he gave no interpretation, on the assumption that he had only the sources we can identify.

An examination of Theophanes' account of one reign, that of Heraclius, suggests that his work is in fact a meaningfully categorized whole, and not a patchwork of sources. In doing this I have not gone into any detail on his use of even the sources which are available to us, in particular George of Pisidia, but have taken his text as it stands and, in order to elucidate some of the issues which appear to have been of concern to Theophanes, I have for the sake of time and clarity made some bold judgements about his purpose. I have sometimes made

-Heraclius

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→ Krumbacher and re-stated recently by Proudfoot, or the degree of historical

Ariens. Celui-ci acquiesce immédiatement. Eusèbe de Nicomédie presse l'affaire d'Arius. Constance veut à nouveau réhabiliter complètement Arius. Alexandre de Constantinople s'oppose fermement à ce projet. Grâce à sa prière persévérante, Arius meurt avant la réconciliation, dans une latrine publique».

On vient de lire un condensé de *BHG* 1279 ou, si l'on préfère, du *cod.* 256. Rien ne prouve pour autant que Gélase de Césarée ait situé la mort d'Arius sous le règne de Constance II.

Tout travail de restitution d'une œuvre perdue est une entreprise difficile et périlleuse. Il est, en particulier, une erreur méthodologique dont il faut se garder. L'exploitation d'un détail isolé n'autorise jamais à déduire que l'emprunteur a prélevé le morceau entier. En d'autres termes, nous ne sommes pas du tout sûrs que, hormis la mort d'Arius, les autres péripéties du «fr. 34» aient rien à voir avec Gélase de Césarée.

L'ensemble des données du récit s'analyse selon une combinatoire facile à schématiser. Les axes sont

- A Samedi
- B Dimanche
- C Constantin
- D Constance II

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On aura : AC Athanase-Socrate-Sozomène

BC Gélase de Césarée

BD Rufin-*BHG* 1279-*cod.* 256-*Histoire de l'Église d'Alexandrie*

Dans un système clos joue la loi d'entropie : ce qu'une narration gagne en virulence, elle le perd en vraisemblance. C'est ce qui explique la lente dérive caractérisée plus haut. Mort le samedi, Arius est la victime malheureuse d'un concours de circonstances et surtout de l'âge canonique qu'il a atteint. Après le concile œcuménique de Constantinople, la *Propagandaabteilung* de Théodose et de la faction nicéenne triomphante avait tout intérêt à le présenter comme frappé par la vengeance divine (BC). À un stade ultérieur (BD), le même office a jugé bon de mettre en exergue le rôle d'Alexandre de Constantinople et de fustiger celui de Constance II. Opération utile, car, du même coup, on soulageait de sa dernière palinodie la mémoire de l'empereur Constantin, l'Ἰσαπόστολος. On ne peut assez répéter que l'histoire est toujours celle des vainqueurs.

Byzantion, 57, 1987 Bruxelles.

HERACLIUS AND THE THEME SYSTEM : NEW LIGHT FROM THE ARABIC

This is the first of two articles which address the much vexed question of the origin of the Theme System in the Middle Byzantine period. It is an entirely new approach to the old problem as will be seen from a perusal of its contents.

The phrase, *Byzance après Byzance*, coined by the Roumanian scholar, Iorga, is a felicitous and fruitful one. Its field of application can with great profit to both Byzantine and Arab history, be transferred to the Diocese of Oriens, south of the Taurus, which in Arab-Islamic times was called Bilād al-Shām. In a communication addressed to the Symposium on Bilād al-Shām, held at the University of Jordan in Amman, 1983, the present writer has noted that Arab historians and historians of the Arabs are agreed that the Jund system, according to which Bilād al-Shām in Byzantine times was divided from the very beginning of Arab-Islamic rule, was inherited from Byzantium ; and he has argued that the Jund system was none other than the Theme system which Byzantium had applied to Bilād al-Shām in the short period that elapsed from the Persian withdrawal from Oriens in A.D. 628 until the arrival of the Muslim Arabs on the thirties and the battle of Yarmūk in A.D. 636. In the history of Arab-Byzantine relations, this is the most outstanding example of institutional assimilation.

The second article that follows will assemble the data relevant to the Theme System and its association with Heraclius and will re-interpret them in the light of the conclusions reached in this article. A wide range of problems, new as well as old, related to "Heraclius and the Theme System" will also be examined. The fundamental article, however, is this first one since it is the foundation on which the second is built. Hence the desirability of having it published in a Byzantine periodical so that Byzantinists may carefully examine it.

This first article has already appeared in the *Proceedings of the Symposium on Bilād al-Shām during the Byzantine Period*, edd. M. A. Bakhit and M. Asfour (Amman, 1986), vol. II, pp. 45-52. I should

82, 66 (1973), 308-330

—Heraclios

NEW EVIDENCE ON THE EARLY REIGN OF HERACLIUS

W. E. KAEGI, JR. / CHICAGO

The excellent new edition of the Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon by A. J. Festugière offers important new information on the end of the reign of Phocas and the first three years of Heraclius' government. Th. Joannou utilized only the Marcianus manuscript, and by consulting the Athens and, especially, the Patmos manuscript, Festugière has been able to produce a complete scholarly edition of the Vita for the first time, adding twenty-two hitherto unknown chapters.¹ Several of these newly edited chapters are of special relevance for an improved understanding of the obscure political and military history of the early seventh century. Although he includes a commentary on the new text, Festugière concentrates in it primarily upon religious and philological topics. There remain a number of items of political, military and social significance which deserve further elucidation. It is, however, not my intention to discuss here the many additional useful details of religious, social and economic history which this new edition provides. This study, rather, will concentrate on political and military history.

The single most important new item of political history which the Festugière edition provides is the revelation in chapter 152 that even after the seizure of Constantinople by Heraclius, after the slaying of Phocas and of his brother Domentziolos the *magister* (? *officiorum*) and of Leontios the sacellarius and of the General Bonosus, Heraclius did not immediately succeed in extinguishing all resistance by those authorities and troops who had been loyal to Phocas during the civil war from 608 to 610.² According to the monk George, who composed the Life, a "Komentiolos brother of

Phocas" (Κομεντιόλου) began a rebellion after he brought his army from the east to Ancyra for winter quarters (line 19). This "Komentiolos" held the rank of *patrikios* (lines 29-30, 37, 65).

There is no modern authority, to my knowledge, who mentions a brother of Phocas by the name of Komentiolos. His name appears only in chapters 152 and 161. In this Vita, much confusion exists in the primary sources concerning other relatives of Phocas. One should at least consider the possibility that "Komentiolos brother of Phocas" is an error for "Domentziolos", nephew of Phocas, who was *patrikios* and *curopalates*, and who had been mentioned in the immediately preceding lines 10-18 of the same chapter 152, being called Δομνιζιόλου τοῦ χοροπαλάτου (sic). Only the Patmos manuscript exists for this section of the Vita, and Festugière has clearly noted that it contains many errors. Festugière himself does not attempt to discuss this "Komentiolos" in his commentary. The Patmos manuscript is very inconsistent in its spelling of Domentziolos; it contains many variations.³ In chapter 161, line 187, the Patmos manuscript once again refers to the death of "Komentziolos" with this slightly altered spelling. If "Komentiolos" is an incorrect form, the error is a very old one, for the eleventh-century Paris abbreviation of the Vita (Paris ms. 1534 = BHG 1749b) also contains this name "Komentiolos" (but does not explain his relationship to Phocas).⁴ The incorrect substitution of "Komentiolos" for "Domentziolos" or "Domnentiolos" or "Domnitiolos" has occurred in other texts.⁵ Domentziolos, the nephew of Phocas (and presumably son of

¹ On the poor quality and numerous errors of the Patmos (P) manuscript: Festugière I xxv-xxvi. Festugière prefers the spelling Δομνιζιόλος throughout the text, although there are varied spellings of this originally Latin name, especially in the Patmos manuscript: Δομνιζιόλου, c. 120, line 2 (I 96 Festugière); Δομνιζιόλου, c. 128, line 1 (I 103 Festugière); Δομνιζήλον, c. 148, line 27 (I 117 Festugière). The spelling of the name of Domentziolos the *magister* and presumed father of Domentziolos the *curopalates* also varies in different texts: Δομενζιόλον, in Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A. M. 6102 (ed. C. De Boor, Leipzig 1883) I 298; Δομνιζιόλον in John of Antioch, frg. 110 = Const. VII, Exc. de insid. (150 De Boor); Δομεντιόλον in Nicephorus, Hist. (5 De Boor). Phocas appoints his nephew Domentziolos (probably son of Domentziolos the *magister*) as *patrikios* and *curopalates*: Theophanes, Chron. A. M. 6096 (292) De Boor. For warnings against confusing Domentziolos the brother with Domentziolos the nephew: J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene* (395 A. D. to 800 A. D.) (1st ed. London 1889) II 199 n. 1; P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam* (Paris 1951) I 197 n. 4. On *curopalates*: E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (Paris 1949) II 739-746; J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* [British Academy Supplemental Papers, I.] (London 1911, r. p. New York n. d.) 33-35.

⁴ Vie de Théodore c. 161, line 187 (I 144 Festugière). Paris abbreviation: Vie de Théodore II 297-298. The form Komentziolos appears once in c. 161, line 187 (I 144 Festugière). Domentziolos ceases to appear in the text after its citation at the beginning of c. 152, line 10 (I 122 Festugière).

⁵ In the case of another Domentziolos earlier in the sixth century, Menander frg. 5 = Constantine VII, *Excerpta de legationibus* (ed. C. De Boor, Berlin 1903, 188 and notes) the correct spelling is Δομεντιόλου. Yet this same Domentziolos is mistakenly spelled

¹ A.-J. Festugière, *Vie de Théodore Saint de Sykéon* [Subsidia Hagiographica, 48.] (Brussels 1970) I xxiv-xxix. Th. Joannou published an edition of the Life of St. Theodore in his *Μνημεία ἀγιολογικά* (Venice 1884) 361-495. All of my citations from the Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon refer to the Festugière edition. The first volume contains the text, the second volume contains a translation, commentary and the text of two abbreviations.

² Vie de Théodore, c. 152, lines 19-67 (I 122-123 Festugière), for the description of the revolt; cf. c. 161, line 187 (I 144 Festugière). Execution of Phocas and his closest collaborators: *Chronicon Paschale* (ed. L. Dindorf, Bonn 1832) I 699-701; John of Antioch, frg. 110, in *Constantine VII, Excerpta de insidiis* (ed. C. De Boor, Berlin 1905) 150; Nicephorus, *Historia syntomos* (ed. C. De Boor, Leipzig 1880, 5). Previously known historical background: N. H. Baynes, *The Military Operations of the Emperor Heraclius*. *United Service Magazine*, N. S. 46 (1913) 526-533, 659-666; 47 (1913) 30-35.

-Heraclius

List of Abbreviations

B	Byzantion
BS	Byzantinoslavica
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn)
DIEE	Δελτίον 'Ιστορικής και 'Εθνολογικής 'Εταιρείας
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
EEBS	'Επετηρίς 'Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
JGR	J. & P. Zepos, <i>Jus Graecoromanum</i>
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i> (or <i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>)
MPG	J. P. Migne, <i>Patrologia series Graeco-Latina</i>
REB	<i>Revue des Etudes Byzantines</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Etudes Grecques</i>

BMGS, 1 (1975), 1-9

£, 1975

A Chronological Note on the First Persian Campaign of Heraclius (622)

N. OIKONOMIDÈS

The main sources concerning Heraclius' first campaign against the Persians are: (a) The poem of George Pisides, known under the Latin title *Expeditio Persica*;¹ Pisides, an eyewitness, composed and read his panegyric poem shortly after the end of the campaign, when the emperor returned to Constantinople.² (b) A chapter of the Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor (†818) concerning the events of the year 622;³ the first part of this chapter, concerning the preparations and the beginning of the campaign (p. 302, l. 32-p. 303, l. 17) is based on sources that have not been preserved; the second part (p. 303, l. 17-p. 306, l. 8) depends almost completely upon the poem of Pisides.⁴ Of the

1. Ed. with Italian translation and important commentary by A. Pertusi, *Giorgio di Pisidia, Poemi, I: Panegirici Epici* (*Studia Patristica et Byzantina*, 7: Ettal, 1959), pp. 84-136 (text and transl.), pp. 136-75 (commentary). In the following, we use the abbreviations: *Pisides* in order to refer to the text; and *Pertusi* in order to refer to the commentary.

2. Pertusi, p. 15; L. Sternbach, *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejetności, Wydział Filologiczny*, 2nd Ser., XV (Krakow, 1900), 295-6.

3. *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, I (Leipzig, 1883), pp. 302, l. 32-306, l. 8 (in the following referred to as *Theophanes*).

4. In the margins of his edition of Theophanes De Boor has given references to the corresponding lines of Pisides. A very close comparison of the two texts shows that Theophanes has followed Pisides so closely, that he eventually repeats himself; e.g., the army manoeuvres organized by Heraclius before the beginning of the operations, are described twice: on p. 303, ll. 12-17, following Theophanes' unknown source, and on p. 304, ll. 3-11, following Pisides. The important elements of information concerning the campaign itself, ignored by Pisides and provided by Theophanes, are: the name of the

THE MISSION OF DIHYA AL-KALBĪ
AND THE SITUATION IN SYRIA

Suliman Bashear

Dihya al-Kalbī is usually described in Islamic sources as an early convert and a companion closely associated with Muḥammad through family ties. He is said to have been a wealthy merchant who often gave the Prophet presents, and a handsome man in whose image the angel Jibrīl was seen conferring with Muḥammad or even fighting on the side of the Muslims. But above all, Dihya is known for being the Prophet's messenger to the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, and for exhorting the emperor to convert to Islam.

However, no agreement seems to prevail on any of these issues. The reports on Dihya's personality, his relationship with Muḥammad, his record in early Islam and his mission in Syria are obscure and full of contradictions. Some scholars have even cast doubts on his reported *nasab*. Others have considered him a legendary figure, and wide disagreement prevails concerning the historicity of his mission. The present study is an attempt to contribute to the debate on this last issue.

The legend

In spite of the extensive coverage of Dihya's personality and activities in a wide range of early as well as late sources, the information available regarding him is insubstantial and highly obscure. Furthermore, his personality and role in early Islam are shrouded in complete mystery.

The very name "Dihya", which is non-Arabic, and probably of Latin/late Greek origin, has a distinctly "angelic" ring to it, and harmonizes with reports on the strong resemblance popularly perceived

between its bearer and the angel Jibrīl.¹ Dihya's *nasab* points to Banū 'Āmir b. 'Awf, a minor branch of the powerful tribe of Banū Kalb, which adopted Monophysite Christianity and played a major role in the history of Syria during the transition from the late Byzantine and early Islamic periods.² But the complex reshuffling of tribal formations and the emergence of new groupings and leaderships under Mu'āwiya³ may possibly account for the fall of Dihya and other members of his branch into oblivion.⁴ This could probably explain the conflicting reports concerning the role of different Kalbite branches and

- 1 It means "chief", and is conceivably an Arabic distortion of *dux*. More on the Dihya-Jibrīl resemblance will be said below. The angelic association of this name is clear from the tradition often adduced in lexical and biographical sources, which says that every day 70,000 *dihyas* enter the Celestial House, each of them accompanied by 70,000 angels. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, Cairo 1341 H., 18/276-7; Suhaylī, *Rawḍ*, Cairo 1970 6/325; Ḥalabī, *Insān*, Cairo 1320 H. 3/272. Cf. the title "archangel" conferred on Michael in *The Letter of Jude*, 9. Examples attesting to the currency of the name Dihya among the Qudā'i Christian tribes of Syria occur in Ibn al-'Adīm, *Ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, Damascus 1951 1/44; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, Cairo 1977, 105; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, Fez 1936 4/268.
- 2 The source for Dihya's genealogical line is usually Ibn al-Kalbī's *Jamhara*; it is reproduced with minor variations in subsequent sources. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, Beirut 1959, 4/249; *Jamhara*, 458, *Ibar* 2/23; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usḍ* Cairo, 1285 H. 2/130; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, Cairo n.d. 2/461; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1971 2/384; Ibn Badrān, *Tahdhīb*, Damascus 1332 H., 5/218. On Banū Kalb, see: J.W. Fück, s.v. "Kalb", *EJ*. 2 4/495; M.J. Kister, s.v. "Qudā'a" *EJ*. 2 suppl. 315-8, *idem*, "Mecca and the Tribes of Arabia", typescript, 16, 20, 28.
- 3 Y. Ḥasson, *Sugiot Nivharot* . . . , unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1983, 61-65.
- 4 The most prominent among them is Usāma b. Zayd who, like Dihya, quickly disappeared from the scene. Dihya is said to have died around the middle of Mu'āwiya's reign. Ibn Sa'd, 2/251; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, Göttingen 1850, 168; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, Cairo n.d., 185; *Istī'āb* 2/461; Sakhāwī, *Tuhfa*, Cairo 1957 2/41; Khazrajī, *Khulāṣa* Cairo 1322 H., 95; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, Cairo 1957 2/396 and *Ta'rīkh*, Cairo 1368 H., 2/222; *Iṣāba* 2/384; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, Wiesbaden, 1982 17/5. Cf. Ibn Badrān 5/219, where he is said to have died in Egypt. This probably led Goldziher to assume that Dihya died without descendants. *The Zahiris*, Leiden 1971, 164. Evidence to the contrary occurs in Tabarī, ed. de Goeje 2/1794, 1805, 1836; cf. also P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, Cambridge 1980, and Dhahabī, *Siyar*, *ibid*.

Pierre CANIVET et Jean-Paul REY-COQUAIS

LA SYRIE DE BYZANCE A L'ISLAM, Damas. 1992.

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VII^e-VIII^e SIÈCLES

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SYR.B

LE HADITH D'HÉRACLIUS : UNE CAUTION BYZANTINE À LA PROPHÉTIE DE MUHAMMAD

PAR

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Heraclius

L'islam naissant, on le sait, a senti la nécessité d'asseoir son influence et sa crédibilité, aussi bien vis à vis de lui-même que des peuples qui s'y rattachèrent, en soulignant que la religion nouvelle comportait ce que nous pourrions appeler des "pierres d'attente" dans les grands mouvements religieux ou civilisations qui le précédèrent. Mais également sur le plan politique, en cherchant une caution dans les paroles ou les attitudes des "décideurs" contemporains de la venue du Prophète. Deux exemples peuvent être rappelés ici; l'un très connu, la reconnaissance par le moine de Buṣrā des signes de la prophétie sur le corps du Prophète alors adolescent, telle qu'elle nous est rapportée selon de nombreuses relations, dans les *Ṭabaqāt* d'Ibn Sa'd¹; l'autre relatif à un événement plus tardif²: la confirmation apportée par un moine des environs de Bagdad au calife al-Manṣūr, du bien-fondé de la construction de sa future capitale à cet endroit même³.

Le texte que nous allons étudier se situe dans la même ligne et rejoint ce "genre littéraire", avec cette différence cependant qu'il est plus long, qu'il fait partie — comme hadith rapporté par des garants sûrs et inclus dans le *Ṣaḥīḥ* de Bukhārī — de la Tradition islamique elle-même, et qu'enfin il se rattache à l'un des personnages les plus marquants des débuts de l'islam, l'empereur Héraclius lui-même.

Il ne s'agit en effet ici rien moins que de la reconnaissance confirmée par des témoignages dignes de foi et d'autres séries de preuves, du caractère prophétique de la personne de Muḥammad, par l'empereur byzantin. Reconnaissance éclatante, disons-le tout de suite, mais non suivie d'effet ni par un engagement personnel de l'empereur, ni par la conversion à l'islam des principaux officiers de sa cour.

1. Cf. l'annonce faite, en saint Jean, de la venue de Muḥammad, en jouant sur le mot de "Paraclet".

2. T.I, p. 150 et suivantes.

3. Cf. *al-Kāmil fī t-Tārīḥ* d'Ibn al-Aṭīr, *in loco*. Le moine, interrogé par al-Manṣūr lui répond que, d'après ses "livres", un certain Miqlās doit venir fonder une ville en ces lieux. « C'est, lui répond le calife, le sobriquet que l'on me donnait durant ma jeunesse. »

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TZIKERT in 1071. David Komnenos, brother of the ruler of TREBIZOND, took Herakleia Pontike in 1205 and made it capital of his domain, called Paphlagonia; he lost it in 1214 to Theodore I Laskaris, who made it a major frontier bulwark. Thereafter it was usually called Pontoherakleia. The Genoese had a colony there after 1261 and bought the city from the weakening empire in 1360; they held it until the Ottomans captured it after 1453.

Late antique Herakleia Pontike occupied a high hill by the sea and spread into the adjacent plain; it withdrew to the hill after the 7th C. The city's walls, rebuilt by David Komnenos, and its Laskarid citadel, are preserved as well as a basilical church perhaps built by Theodosios II.

(For Herakleia Lynkestis, see PELAGONIA.)

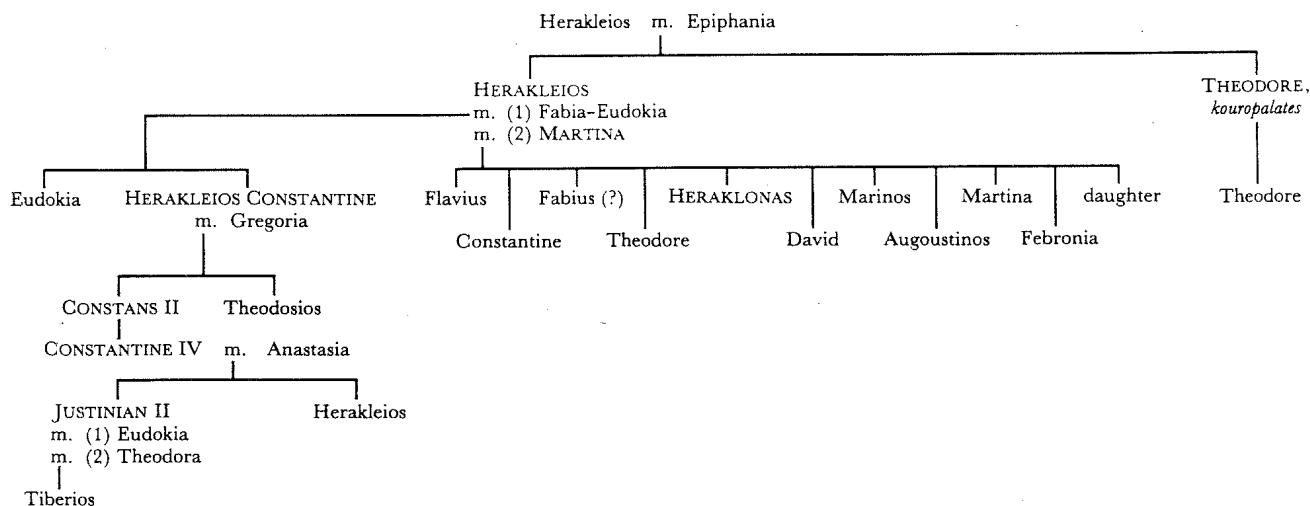
LIT. W. Hoepfner, *Herakleia Pontike* (Vienna 1966). Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 150f. —C.F.

HERAKLEIOS (Ἡράκλειος), emperor (from 5 Oct. 610); son of the exarch of Carthage; born ca. 575, died Constantinople Feb. 641. Herakleios seized power when he arrived with an African fleet to overthrow the "tyrannical" PHOKAS (G. Rösch, *JÖB* 28 [1979] 51–62). The Greens and Patr. SERGIOS I supported the overthrow. Herakleios found the empire in trouble: the Slavs and Avars were invading the northern Balkans; the

Persians exerted severe pressure on the eastern frontier. The general KOMENTIOLOS revolted against Herakleios in Ankyra, and in Antioch the partisans of Phokas were still at the helm (Kaegi, "New Evidence" 308–30). The first years of Herakleios's reign witnessed a new Persian offensive, commanded by SHAHRBARĀZ and SHĀHĪN, which resulted in the Persian capture of Jerusalem in 614 and occupation of Egypt from ca. 619 to 629. Herakleios entertained the idea of transferring the capital to Carthage but gave up the plan at the request of Sergios and the population of Constantinople.

Unable to fight on two fronts, in 619 Herakleios concluded a truce with the Avars. After reorganizing the army (reinforcement of cavalry and light-armored archers), in 622 he mobilized his forces in Asia Minor, won several victories, and invaded Armenia. The crucial battle took place in 626, when SHAHRBARĀZ reached the Bosphoros and together with the khan of the Avars besieged Constantinople. The attack on 7 Aug. failed; both the Avars and the Persians retreated. In 627 Herakleios was able to invade Persia, inducing panic: CHOSROES II was overthrown and KĀVAD-SHĪRŪYA signed a peace treaty. This victory has been seen as the occasion celebrated in the series of DAVID PLATES. As a result Herakleios was able to recover the TRUE CROSS, which had been captured by the Persians. The success was but temporary: in 634

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF HERAKLEIOS



Based on Grumel, *Chronologie* 362.

HERAKLIDS

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FRANÇOIS RIGOLOT

[See also French Literature: After 1200.]

HERAKLIDS, an imperial Byzantine dynasty descended from Heraklios the Elder, prominent general and exarch of Africa, who was of Armenian extraction, and his son, Emperor Heraklios (r. 610–641). The dynasty, which included such energetic soldier-emperors as Constans II (641–668) and Constantine IV (668–685), terminated with the execution of the controversial and impulsive Justinian II (685–695, 705–711) and his son Tiberius in 711. Scholars have exaggerated the social and economic reforms of the Heraklids, but the empire owed its survival, in a period of grave external Persian and Arab threats in the east and Slavic and Avar threats in the Balkans, to the stubborn, persistent efforts of these emperors.

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WALTER EMIL KAEGLI, JR.

[See also Byzantine Empire: History; Constans II, Emperor; Constantine IV; Heraklios; Justinian II.]

HERAKLIOS (ca. 575–11 February 641), Byzantine emperor (r. 610–641), was born in Cappadocia, the son of Heraklios, a prominent general and exarch of Africa, who was of Armenian extraction. He was

HERAKLIOS

chosen emperor after his successful rebellion against and execution of Phokas. He initially faced a multitude of crises: political rivals, financial exhaustion of the state, and the military threats of Slavs and Avars to the Balkan provinces and of Persians to the eastern provinces. Heraklios eliminated his domestic rivals and engaged in austere financial retrenchment and emergency borrowing from the church. He failed at first, however, to halt the Persians, who overran Roman Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, and wasted much of Anatolia. He finally succeeded in reforming his armies after rereading old strategic manuals and imposing new discipline and exercises. He broke precedent by personally engaging in campaigns while emperor.

Heraklios raised new troops, made alliances, and invaded Persia which in 628 was compelled to accept his peace terms, including restoration of Byzantine territories and the alleged relics of the true cross, and the selection of an acceptable Persian king. He personally restored the cross to Jerusalem in 631 and was the only reigning Byzantine emperor to visit Jerusalem. His efforts to find a satisfactory compromise formula for Christology failed; he first accepted Monoenergism, then Monotheletism in 638 with the *Ekthesis*. Although he compelled many Armenians to give a grudging assent to his policies, many Chalcedonians and hard-line Monophysites throughout the empire refused. He assumed the imperial formula *Pistos en Christo Basileus* (Pious in Christ emperor). More serious, Heraklios failed, despite strenuous efforts, to defend Syria and Palestine, which the Arabs overran between 634 and 638, and Mesopotamia between 639 and 640. His uncanonical second marriage to his niece Martina, and his sons by that marriage, caused serious dynastic conflict at the end of his reign. It is improbable that Heraklios engaged in any major program of comprehensive social and economic reform, but his efforts to create a viable defense against the Arabs probably contributed to the ultimate emergence of the Byzantine themes. Basically, he was a bold and shrewd military commander rather than a social reformer.

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c. 14, 1991 Jerusalem. s. 84-118.

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THE MISSION OF DIHYA AL-KALBĪ AND THE SITUATION IN SYRIA

Suliman Bashear

Dihya al-Kalbī is usually described in Islamic sources as an early convert and a companion closely associated with Muḥammad through family ties. He is said to have been a wealthy merchant who often gave the Prophet presents, and a handsome man in whose image the angel Jibrīl was seen conferring with Muḥammad or even fighting on the side of the Muslims. But above all, Dihya is known for being the Prophet's messenger to the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, and for exhorting the emperor to convert to Islam.

However, no agreement seems to prevail on any of these issues. The reports on Dihya's personality, his relationship with Muḥammad, his record in early Islam and his mission in Syria are obscure and full of contradictions. Some scholars have even cast doubts on his reported *nasab*. Others have considered him a legendary figure, and wide disagreement prevails concerning the historicity of his mission. The present study is an attempt to contribute to the debate on this last issue.

The legend

In spite of the extensive coverage of Dihya's personality and activities in a wide range of early as well as late sources, the information available regarding him is insubstantial and highly obscure. Furthermore, his personality and role in early Islam are shrouded in complete mystery.

The very name "Dihya", which is non-Arabic, and probably of Latin/late Greek origin, has a distinctly "angelic" ring to it, and harmonizes with reports on the strong resemblance popularly perceived

(Heraclius maddesi ish)
Prof. M. FAYDA BAY' E
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The Mission of Dihya al-Kalbī

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between its bearer and the angel Jibrīl¹ Dihya's *nasab* points to Banū 'Āmir b. 'Awf, a minor branch of the powerful tribe of Banū Kalb, which adopted Monophysite Christianity and played a major role in the history of Syria during the transition from the late Byzantine and early Islamic periods² But the complex reshuffling of tribal formations and the emergence of new groupings and leaderships under Mu'āwiya³ may possibly account for the fall of Dihya and other members of his branch into oblivion.⁴ This could probably explain the conflicting reports concerning the role of different Kalbite branches and

- 1 It means "chief", and is conceivably an Arabic distortion of *dux*. More on the Dihya-Jibrīl resemblance will be said below. The angelic association of this name is clear from the tradition often adduced in lexical and biographical sources, which says that every day 70,000 *dihyas* enter the Celestial House, each of them accompanied by 70,000 angels. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*, Cairo 1341 H., 18/276-7; Suhaylī, *Rawḍ*, Cairo 1970 6/325; Ḥalabī, *Insān*, Cairo 1320 H. 3/272. Cf. the title "archangel" conferred on Michael in *The Letter of Jude*, 9. Examples attesting to the currency of the name Dihya among the Qudā'i Christian tribes of Syria occur in Ibn al-'Adīm, *Ta'rikh* Ḥalab, Damascus 1951 1/44; Ibn Ḥazm, *Janhara*, Cairo 1977, 105; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, Fez 1936 4/268.
- 2 The source for Dihya's genealogical line is usually Ibn al-Kalbī's *Janhara*; it is reproduced with minor variations in subsequent sources. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, Beirut 1959, 4/249; *Janhara*, 458; *Ibar* 2/23; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usḍ* Cairo, 1285 H. 2/130; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isīṭāb*, Cairo n.d. 2/461; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1971 2/384; Ibn Badrān, *Tahdhīb*, Damascus 1332 H., 5/218. On Banū Kalb, see: J.W. Fück, s.v. "Kalb", *EJ.* 2 4/495; M.J. Kister, s.v. "Qudā'a" *EJ.* 2 suppl. 315-8, *idem*, "Mecca and the Tribes of Arabia", typescript, 16, 20, 28.
- 3 Y. Hasson, *Sugiot Nivharot* . . ., unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1983, 61-65.
- 4 The most prominent among them is Usāma b. Zayd who, like Dihya, quickly disappeared from the scene. Dihya is said to have died around the middle of Mu'āwiya's reign. Ibn Sa'd, 2/251; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, Göttingen 1850, 168; Nayawī, *Tahdhīb*, Cairo n.d., 185; *Isīṭāb* 2/461; Sakḥawī, *Tuhfa*, Cairo 1957 2/41; Khazraji, *Khulāṣa* Cairo 1322 H., 95; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, Cairo 1957 2/396 and *Ta'rikh*, Cairo 1368 H., 2/222; *Iṣāba* 2/384; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, Wiesbaden, 1982 17/5. Cf. Ibn Badrān 5/219, where he is said to have died in Egypt. This probably led Goldziher to assume that Dihya died without descendants. *The Zahiris*, Leiden 1971, 164. Evidence to the contrary occurs in Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje 2/1794, 1805, 1836; cf. also P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, Cambridge 1980, and Dhahabī, *Siyar*, *ibid*.

ments (Studies in the Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, Volume III), Oxford, 2001; = *Corpus Inscr. Iran., Pt. II. Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia. Vol. VI.* (esp. Glossary, p. 193, s.v. ηποδολογγο adj. "Hephthalite;" ηποδολο noun "Hephthalite," etc.).

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(A. D. H. BIVAR)

HERACLEIDES OF CYME (fl. ca. 350 B.C.E.), Greek author of a "Persian History" (*Persika*) in five books, which survives only in a few fragments. These fragments are collected by Jacoby (*Fragmente IIC*, no. 689). In the first two books, bearing the particular title *Paraskeuastika*, the land and people of Persia were described in detail. The work is exploited by Plutarch in his "Life of Artaxerxes," but it is above all the verbatim citations preserved in Athenaeus that provide interesting glimpses into life at the Achaemenid royal court under Artaxerxes II. In Frag. 1 (Athenaeus 12.8), there is mention of the three hundred women who guard (*phylasousai*) the King and at night sing and make music under brightly burning lamps; the ruler is said to choose from their ranks the concubines (who *inter alia* accompanied him on the hunt). Next, Heracleides introduces the one thousand "Apple Bearers" (*mēlophoroi*), Persian aristocratic members of the royal bodyguard, drawn from the elite band of the so-called "Immortals." In addition, the citation contains items of information about the royal throne of gold (set beneath a sort of purple baldachin) and also about the Great King's special customs when

moving about, whether within the palace (on foot but always over carpets from Sardis) or outside (by carriage or on horseback).

The still more impressive Frag. 2 (Athenaeus 4.26) gives details of Persian feasts and the luxury of the table. It treats the political, social, and economic dimensions, in effect the "ideology," of royal and aristocratic banquets and drinking parties (*symposia*). Particular attention is given to the relationships and encounters between ruler and aristocrats, especially the "royal table companions" (*syndeipnoi*), as expressed in specific forms of repasts taken in common. It further describes the connection between provisioning the king and reciprocal royal munificence and between service to the king and the awarding of honors by him. Finally, in Frag. 5 (Athenaeus 2.31) there are detailed accounts of the royal honors and rewards bestowed on meritorious Greeks (Entimus of Gortyna, Timagoras of Athens, and Antialkidas of Sparta) through the granting of material benefits and proximity to the ruler.

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(J. WIESEHÖFER)

HERACLEITUS OF EPHESUS, Greek philosopher traditionally credited as the first to have written on the magi. Heracleitus, son of Blosson, may be regarded as Ephesus' most eminent native son during the early Persian period. He flourished ca. 500 B.C.E. (Diogenes Laërtius 9.1), and came from a venerable aristocratic line with whom the sacerdotal office of *basileus* was hereditary; but he is said to have relinquished this rank in favor of his brother. Further biographical details are derived from traditions of questionable historicity. Thus, he is credited with having called upon the tyrant Melankomas to resign (Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 1.65.4 St.); he is said to have declined the request of Darius I to introduce him to Greek culture (the [alleged] correspondence between them, which probably first appeared in the second century C.E., is to be found in Diogenes Laërtius 9.13 f.).

Heracleitus's philosophical reflections were set down in a prose work, usually quoted in later times by the title *peri physeōs*. It is said to have consisted of three parts: one on the Universe, one on Politics, and one on the Gods (Diogenes Laërtius 9.5 f.). Tradition has it that he himself deposited it in the Temple of Artemis. There are many indications that the work as a whole bore the char-

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HERACLIOS AND THE INTERNAL SITUATION
IN BYZANTIUM

With this Chapter we begin the reign of Heraclios' dynasty, which is to terminate with the death of his great-great-grandson Justinian II.

A new period commences for Byzantium with the definite dissolution of Justinian I Roman Empire, which from now becomes Greek. The emperors themselves never wished to admit this historic fact and always were to try and maintain the shadow of the Roman Empire.

When Heraclios came to the throne, the state of the empire was really hopeless. The State presented a picture of decomposition and its moral collapse was unprecedented.

1

Heraclios, as we have already mentioned, came of rich and distinguished lineage. His family originated from Cappadocia¹, although Ducange and others allege that it was of Armenian descent².

Many of his ancestors had distinguished themselves throughout the history of Byzantium. During the reign of Leo I (457-474 A.D.) one of them had been sent with an army into the desert and after beating the Vandals conquered Libya and Tripoli³. We have already described his father in Chapter V.

Heraclios was born in about 575 A.D. and when he ascended the throne was 35 or 36.

Byzantine chroniclers describe him as middle-aged (middle age came very early in those days) with an upright carriage, a flat chest and beautiful blue eyes. He was of medium height with a fair skin and blonde hair.

¹ Constantin Manasses, I. 3664 - Jean de Nikiou, Ch. 109 - Amantos I. 288.

² Ducange, *Historia* etc., p. 117 - Grousset, *Arménie* etc., p. 273 - Diehl, *L'Afrique* etc. - Pernice, *l'Imperatore* etc. p. 25.

³ Theophanes p. 117.

He had a thick beard which he wore cut "in the royal pattern". Strange to relate, on coins he appears sometimes clean shaven, sometimes with a short beard and on other occasions with a long one. He had an athletic figure and was extremely strong⁴. Ephraemios calls him a second Hercules in strength.

Opinions are greatly divided over Heraclios' character. The continual changes which are apparent throughout his reign have given rise to many views.

Pisides gives a picture of it which is, however, not entirely clear. In his view, Heraclios was a perfect human being. All the virtues united in his soul, both courage and wisdom. Quoting Aristotle, he likened him to the perfect geometrical figure, the square (tetramorphos)⁵. But it must be borne in mind that Pisides was an enthusiastic admirer and friend of Heraclios.

Heraclios was extremely highly strung, with great bursts of enthusiasm and fits of deep depression. We cannot tell whether the laws of inheritance played an important part in his make-up. He was subject to a strange allergy, fear of water. He was terrified of dying by water and his friend Stephen had prophesied that he would die in this manner. On this account he built dykes round all the cisterns in the City and turned them into paradises of vegetation. It must be remembered that all his descendants showed a certain lack of balance. The last of them Justinian II, was subject to crises which indeed were little short of lunacy.

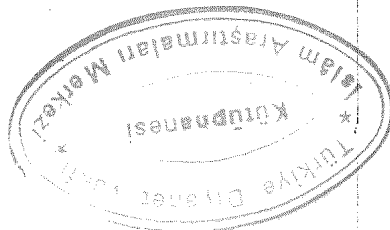
There was a sensitiveness about his character which was stronger than either his intellect or his will-power. He was both generous and humane, proclaiming that imperial power must be reflected more through love than fear⁶. He was a good organiser and very industrious. But here we see the contradiction which occurs in his character, for he often seemed to be both sluggish and hesitant, as if there were some other force inside him. In tight corners this energetic person would seem indolent and indifferent and in search of compromise solutions, as if he had no desire to impose his will but merely come to an agreement.

As a soldier Heraclios was brave and often over daring. He always set an example, fighting in the front line and eventually became an experienced general, though he was not a commander of genius as has been

⁴ Cedrenos, 714 - Leo the Grammarian p. 147 - Manasses, I. 3667 - Ephraemios, *Cesars*, p. 1346.

⁵ George Pisides, *Exp. Pers.* I. 81.

⁶ George Pisides, *Exp. Pers.* II. 88/90.



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bitterly and bravely. The wives of the Arabs²⁶¹ also were active in the engagement. They had removed the pegs of the tents and with these forced those who wished to withdraw back into the carnage. It was a fight to the finish.²⁶² Some 40,000 Byzantines and 35,000 Arabs took part. According to Nicephorus (p. 24) many imperial troops and officers perished. Sébéos records that 2,000 officers were slain. All the sources describe the defeat and the massacre of the Byzantine army. The Sacellarius Theodore fought heroically and fell in the heated struggle. Vaanes also fought bravely, and one source states that he was killed,²⁶³ whereas another version records that, afraid to face the wrath of Heraclius, he sought refuge in a monastery of Mt. Sinai where he took the vows and became a monk under the name Anastasius.²⁶⁴

The Ghassanid Djabalah survived the battle and embraced Islam.²⁶⁵ Nicetas, son of Sahrbaraz,²⁶⁶ also survived. A lengthy romanticized story has been constructed round the latter.

been accepted by all scholars. Caetani, *Annali*, III, 608; Goeje, op. cit., p. 121; Marçais, op. cit., p. 192; Bréhier, *Vie et Mort* etc., p. 56; Becker in *C.M.H.*, II, 344; Lambros, *History* etc., V, 714-715; Hitti, op. cit., p. 152; Lammens, op. cit., I, 56; Huart, op. cit., I, 235; Honigsmann, in *E.I.* old ed., V, p. 1223.

²⁶¹ Many Arab women accompanied their men in the latter campaigns.

²⁶² Baladhuri, op. cit., p. 207.

²⁶³ Michael the Syrian, II, 421; Anonymous Chronicle Guidi; Anonymous Chronicle of the year 1234; Mirkhond, op. cit., p. 79.

²⁶⁴ Eutychius, p. 1101; Goeje, op. cit., p. 122.

²⁶⁵ Djabalah was the last leader of the Ghassanid tribe. He soon embraced Islam, but he could not bear the severity of the new religion and the equality of the early Muslims, so he returned to Christianity. It is reported that he settled in Constantinople with many of his followers. According to the tradition, he settled finally at Kharsana, near Melitene in Asia Minor, with 30,000 of his followers (Goeje, op. cit., p. 151).

²⁶⁶ Michael the Syrian, II, 421; Abul Faradj, p. 94; Anonymous Chronicle of 1234, p. 191. According to Michael, the son of Sahrbaraz went over to the Arabs and settled in Emesa when the city was recovered by the Arabs. Another version (Patkanian, *Essai d'une histoire*, etc.) states that he was made prisoner during the battle after which he embraced Islam. Later he wrote Umar suggesting that he be given an army to conquer Persia and subject it to him. Umar appeared to like the idea, but the daughters of Chosroes II, who had been captured and held prisoner in Medina, pointed out the deceitfulness and so on of the family. Following this, Umar commanded that he be put to death by crucifixion.

During the engagement Amir ibn-abi-Wakkas²⁶⁷ had arrived bearing with him the orders of the Caliph Umar to Abu Ubayda by which the latter was to assume complete command in Syria. Amir fell in the battle. Ubayda kept his appointment secret from all the others until the battle ended in order to avoid discord amongst the Arab leaders and not to displease Khalid ibn-Walid who was then generalissimo of the armies (See Note VIII).

The Byzantine cavalry that had survived the massacre of Yarmuk attempted to slow down and halt the Arab advance in the plain of Djabiya, but it failed to do so.²⁶⁸

3.

When Heraclius, who was then at Antioch, learned of the destruction of his army at the river Yarmuk, he realized that Syria was lost to the Empire. He could not quickly assemble a new army. He had required more than 15 months to raise the army that was lost at Yarmuk. Surrounded by an oppressive atmosphere, tired, aged, with no means of recuperating his losses and with the hatred he detected round him, he realized that he could do nothing for the moment.²⁶⁹ Under the circumstances, he decided to return to Constantinople. He was accompanied by Martina and "the child."²⁷⁰ It is recorded that when he was about to cross through the passes of the Taurus range to enter Cilicia, he bade a sad farewell to Syria. Nearly all chroniclers record what he had said. "Peace be with you Syria, what a beautiful land you will be to the enemy."²⁷¹

Heraclius departed in the month of Shaban of the 15th year (September 636).²⁷² According to a Syrian tradition,²⁷³ Heraclius ordered that the whole of Syria be plundered. The Syrian writers

²⁶⁷ Baladhuri, op. cit., p. 208.

²⁶⁸ Dussaud, *Topographie Historique de la Syrie*, etc., p. 333.

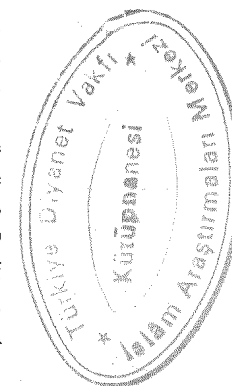
²⁶⁹ Theophanes, p. 337; Cedrenus, p. 745; Mirkhond, op. cit., p. 81; Elie Bar Sinaya, p. 82; Goeje, op. cit., p. 123.

²⁷⁰ Nicephorus, p. 23.

²⁷¹ Baladhuri, op. cit., p. 210; Mirkhond, op. cit., p. 81; Eutychius, p. 1098; The Chronicle of 1234, p. 196; Michael the Syrian, II, 424; Al Makine, p. 29; Goeje, op. cit., p. 123; Caetani, *Annali*, III, p. 609.

²⁷² Goeje, op. cit., p. 123; Eutychius, p. 1098. The latter records the third year of Umar. The third year begins in August 636.

²⁷³ Michael the Syrian, II, 424; Abul Faradj, p. 95.



AIKATERINA CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU

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THE HERACLIAN DYNASTY IN MUSLIM ESCHATOLOGY

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1. Tiberius in Islamic tradition

By far the richest source for the early history of Muslim eschatology is the unpublished *Kitāb al-fitan* of Nu'aym ibn Ḥammād (d. 228/843).¹ In it we find the following tradition ascribed to the Prophet:²

It is at hands of the fifth of the family of Heraclius (*āl Hiraql*) that the Wars (*malāḥim*)³ will take place. Heraclius may rule (*sic: wa-qad yamlīku Hiraql*); then after him his son Constans (*Qusta*) son of Heraclius; then his son Constantine (*Qustanṭīn*) son of Constans; then his son Justinian (*Uṣṭīnān*) son of Constantine; then the kingship of the Romans (*Rūm*) moved (*sic: kharaja*) from the family of Heraclius to Leo (*Liyūn*) and his son after him. But the kingship will return to the fifth of the family of Heraclius, at whose hands the Wars will take place. (*Kitāb al-fitan*, s. 282)

¹ For a general discussion of the work, see J. Aguadé, «La importancia del «Kitāb al-Fitan» de Nu'aym b. Ḥammād para el estudio del mesianismo musulmán», in Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, *Actas de las Jornadas de Cultura Árabe e Islámica* (1978), Madrid, 1981, drawn to my attention by M. I. Fierro. For three recent studies based largely on its materials, see W. Madelung, «The Sufyānī between tradition and history», *Studia Islamica*, 63 (1984); id., «Apocalyptic prophecies in Ḥimṣ in the Umayyad age», *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 31 (1986); and S. Bashear, «Apocalyptic and other materials on early Muslim-Byzantine wars: a review of Arabic sources», *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, third series, 1 (1991). An edition of the *Fitan* has been prepared, but not yet published, by Lawrence I. Conrad.

² Nu'aym ibn Ḥammād (d. 228/843), *Kitāb al-fitan*, ms. British Library, Or. 9449, f. 130b.8. Hereafter I shall refer to this work as *Fitan*, and designate this particular variant «F2». In this and the following translation I have emended the names where corrupt; details are given below, notes 43f. This tradition is cited by Bashear («Apocalyptic and other materials», 189, n. 112).

³ Here and below, I use the terms «War» and «Wars» to translate the Arabic *malḥama*, plural *malāḥim*. In eschatological contexts the reference is normally to infidel attacks on the Islamic lands.

completed occupying old and probably disused camps and positions. Those with experience from the era before the Persian invasions would have suffered from a fifteen-year absence of Byzantine authority. Under those circumstances, the best that the Byzantines could have done would have been, in so far as budget and numbers of troops permitted, to reoccupy the old Byzantine positions until new surveys and strategic decisions could be made about any changes. That would have been the situation at the time of the battle of Mu'ta, in September, 629.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF HERACLIUS

The dating of Heraclius' visit to Jerusalem to 21 March 630 (or, less likely, 631) is important for the history of his reign, for the history of Jerusalem, and, although this has been neglected, for the history of Byzantine resistance against the Muslims in Palestine and Syria.²⁰ Heraclius came to Jerusalem, Palestine, and other parts of southern Syria when the Muslim threat was maturing and growing more evident, at a time when it would have been more difficult for at least some report of Muslim expansion to escape his ears, especially when he was making a personal visit to the area that was about to be threatened. Ibn Hishām reports that Heraclius came to Jerusalem by way of Emesa/Hims, and indeed it is probable that carpets, scented with aromatic herbs, were strewn on the pathway that he personally trod.²¹ Such an act of splendid humility would have impressed itself in the minds of contemporary observers, who preserved it by oral tradition and it thus found its way into Muslim tradition. Any possible planning for an expedition would have possibly created the kinds of rumors about Byzantine concentrations that found their way into al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*. Heraclius' pilgrimage indisputably left a strong imprint on the memory of some Arabs, whose reports found their way into the narratives of some Muslim traditionists.²²

It is conceivable that Heraclius did learn of religious activities within the Arabian peninsula but rejected the risks of some vague military expedition there and instead ordered that the Ghassānid tribal leadership escort him to Jerusalem. His route to Jerusalem in 630 passed through territories that the

²⁰ *Acta M. Anastasii Persae* (12 Usener). A. Frolow revised that date to 630, in an important article, "La Vraie Croix et les expéditions d'Héraclius en Perse," *REB* 11 (1953) 88-105. Grumel proposed 21 March 631, a date that has some logic but was persuasively rejected by Cyril Mango, who prefers 630: V. Grumel, "La Reposition de la Vraie Croix à Jérusalem per Héraclius. Le Jour et l'année," *ByzF* 1 (1966) 139-49; Cyril Mango, "Deux études sur Byzance et la Perse sassanide," *TM* 9 (1985) 112-13. P. Speck, *Das geteilte Dossier* (Bonn 1988) 355-77, unconvincingly argues that Heraclius restored the cross to Jerusalem in 628.

²¹ Ibn Hishām 1: 192; al-Tabarī i 1562.

²² Wāqidī 760.

Ghassānids normally controlled. His elite praesental army probably accompanied him to Jerusalem.²³ The date of 630 for Heraclius' visit to Jerusalem makes more plausible the reports in Iraqi tradition that Heraclius learned of the threat of a Muslim invasion while he was in Palestine (tradition of Azdī, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī and Sayf) or Damascus (according to Ibn Sa'd and Eutychius).²⁴ But even at that date he could scarcely have conceived of the scope of their imminent military campaigns. The clash at Mu'ta is more comprehensible because of the understandable Byzantine desire to secure the area east of the Dead Sea in the second half of 629, in September, before the emperor's personal pilgrimage to Jerusalem the following March. It was necessary to try to avoid any embarrassing beduin raids during that pilgrimage.

Whether or not Heraclius ever delivered a speech of the kind that Azdī reports that he gave in Palestine – certainly there is no Byzantine text that confirms this – it is more possible that he learned something of a threat of Muslim or Arab troubles and threat of invasion, and attempted to make some defensive preparations against it. No contemporary Christian source shows any awareness of a threat of Arab or Muslim invasion or defensive preparations against such an eventuality. Sophronius of Jerusalem in early 634 states that the Muslim incursions hit "unexpectedly."²⁵ Heraclius cannot have begun his major emergency defense measures for the security of Palestine and Syria in early or middle 630. But he may have made provisional military arrangements at that time and may have become aware of potential problems with Arab tribes east of the Dead Sea and of the 'Araba.

Azdī's Iraqi tradition gives no dates, but implies that Heraclius learned of the imminent Muslim threat while on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and there, as well as at Damascus and Hims, began to alert the populace for defense, and finally made his base of operations at Antioch in northern Syria. He did really depart from Jerusalem, after his pilgrimage and restoration of its patriarchate in early 630, and went immediately to Damascus.²⁶ He probably did not return to Damascus until early 634, where he was, according to Eutychius, when he learned of the defeat of the Byzantines 12 miles from Gaza, at Dāthin. The fact that he apparently made this second trip gave him an even

²³ See remarks of John Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians* 173-8.

²⁴ Caetani, *AI* 2. 1: lxvii, erroneously assumed that Heraclius visited Jerusalem in 629 and was restoring the cross there at the time of the battle of Mu'ta, which harmed his understanding of events, their sequence and interrelationships. Heraclius spent the winter of 628-9 at Amida, met with Shahrbaraz at Arabissos in July, 629, returned to Constantinople in September, 629, and brought the fragments of the cross to Jerusalem in March, 630. In 631/2 he participated in the synod at Theodosiopolis, in Armenia. Azdī 28-9.

²⁵ Sophronius, *PG* 87: 3197D.

²⁶ That statement of Azdī and Ibn 'Asākir is confirmed by Eutychius and by version "C" of the Antiochus threnody on the Persian capture of Jerusalem in 614.

Henskius

THE PROBLEM OF BYZANTIUM AND THE EARLY ISLAMIC CONQUESTS



CHALLENGES IN THE SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY: INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The Roman emperors and Augusti were always of the same opinion, which I am telling you, not only those who stayed in Rome, but also those who stayed in Byzantium [Constantinople], including Constantine the Great, Julian, Jovian, and Theodosius. Sometimes they stayed in the east, and sometimes in the west, but they stayed in Byzantium [Constantinople] very little. At that time all the provinces were tranquil including all of Europe and Africa, and the best part of Asia as far as Euphratesia, and the lands of Adiabene, Armenia, Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Egypt, and even the great and much-prized Babylon were subject to the Romans. But from the time great torpor fell on men, rather like an epidemic, nothing good has happened to the Roman Empire.¹

Such was a late eleventh-century Byzantine retrospective diagnosis of the causes for the loss of so many former territories of the Roman Empire. The author, Kekaumenos, simply attributed the downfall of the empire to the proclivity of emperors to avoid leaving the capital for the provinces. This is an inquiry into only a part of the same phenomenon that vexed Kekaumenos: the character and causes of the Byzantine loss of Palestine, Syria, and Byzantine Mesopotamia to the Muslims in the 630s and 640s and the immediate consequences of these developments for the Byzantine Empire, especially Anatolia, for its armies, and for its worldview. The answer, of course, cannot be as easy or tendentious as was that of Kekaumenos, who did not even mention Islam as a possible cause. For some scholars of Islamic history, this subject may appear to be ill conceived, because for them there is no reason why the Muslims should not have defeated and supplanted Byzantium. No adequate Byzantine historical research exists on these

¹ Kekaumenos, *Soveti'i i Razkaz'i Kekaumena*, ed. and trans. by G. G. Litavrin (Moscow: Nauka, 1972) 298.

Walter E. KAEGI

Byzantium and the early Islamic
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s. 1-25. DN: 25571

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uncontested. Though without a philosophical notion it makes intelligence supreme in the direction of things of the supersensible in regard to either God or the soul, and penetrates deeply into the basic moral problem of the common or universal in the incessantly changing circumstances of life. The fragments continue to inspire philosophers, and can always be pondered over with renewed intellectual profit.

See also GREEK PHILOSOPHY.

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HERACLIUS, BYZANTINE EMPEROR

Reigned Oct. 5, 610, to Feb. 11, 641; b. Cappadocia, c. 575. Heraclius, son of Heraclius, Exarch of Africa, who was of Armenian origin, played a principal part in his father's revolt against the unpopular Emperor Phocas (602-610). He sailed to Constantinople with an expeditionary force, overthrew and executed Phocas, and was proclaimed emperor. By his first marriage, to Eudoxia, he had a son, Heraclius Constantine, and a daughter, Eudocia. His second marriage, to his niece Martina (631), brought him both two additional sons, Heracleonas and David, and sharp ecclesiastical criticism.

Heraclius spent his entire reign in a struggle against grave external and internal dangers. In 611 the Persians overran successively Syria, Anatolia, Palestine and Egypt; and in 614 they took Jerusalem and removed the Holy Cross to Persia. In a series of brilliant campaigns (622-628), Heraclius broke the Persian power in Anatolia and Armenia, carried the war into Persia (627), and caused the fall of Chosroes and the accession of Kawadh, who consented (April 628) to restore occupied territory and the Holy Cross to the Byzantine Empire. Heraclius personally returned the Cross to Jerusalem amid popular rejoicing (March 21, 630). However, Heraclius not only was unable to prevent Slavic occupation of much of the Balkans, but also failed to check the Arab conquest of Palestine, Syria, and Egypt in the name of Islam (634-642).

Heraclius may have attempted to generate a renewal of social and cultural aspects of the Byzantine state, including, perhaps, the establishment of the themes, or military districts. To conciliate his Monophysite subjects, he issued an edict (610) that was orthodox in appearance, but that cast doubt upon the Council of *Chalcedon. Patriarch Sergius I of Constantinople induced him to accept monoenergism, which taught a unity of energy and activities in Christ as a consequence of the unity of wills (c. 621-622). Heraclius imposed this doctrine upon reconquered Armenia and other eastern provinces in 626-628, and in 631 persuaded the Jacobite bishops in a synod at Mabbug to accept monoenergism. In 633 he forced the Armenian Catholicos Ezras to accept this concept; and in the same year Cyrus, Patriarch of Alexandria, also agreed to this formula. Nevertheless, Monophysite opposition persisted in Egypt and Syria while the

Chalcedonian position was strongly reaffirmed by Sophronius of Jerusalem and *Maximus the Confessor. In 634 or 635 Heraclius forbade further discussion of the question.

Recognizing the failure of monoenergism, Heraclius officially proclaimed a new formula in his edict *Ecthesis* (638), asserting the doctrine of Monothelitism, which proclaimed a perfect harmony and unity of the divine and human will in Christ. Pope *Severinus refused to accept this explanation; and when, in reprisal, Heraclius's troops seized the papal treasures, Pope *John IV openly condemned Monothelitism. The Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria, Cyrus, accepted the doctrine, but most Copts and Jacobites did not follow him. Heraclius's interventions in ecclesiastical affairs ended in failure.

See also MONOTHELITISM.

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[W. E. KAEGI, JR.]

HERALDRY

Heraldry, the science of hereditary symbolism, is a discipline of modern origin, deriving from the practice of medieval heralds who put together collections of coats of arms—colored emblems or devices that developed from the decorations on the coats of arms of warriors. They are hereditary when the shield is familial, and uniform or constant if they represent an ecclesiastical person. Soon after their origin, armorial bearings were adopted by noncombatants such as ecclesiastics, women, and secular and religious corporations. This article is concerned only with the evolution of ecclesiastical heraldry, its juridical aspect, its characteristics, and its application.

Origins. Heraldry in the Church originated with the seal. Religious seals are nearly contemporary in origin with those of barons, civil officers, and institutions having the right to use seals. The oldest is that of Richard, Archbishop of Bourges (1067). The secular lord was generally represented by his arms appearing on the shield and a little later on the caparison of his horse. The ecclesiastic, on the other hand, whether he was a cardinal, bishop, canon, abbot, or priest, appeared in person on his seal, usually without arms.

Obviously the representation of mitred prelates in the act of blessing, with crosier in hand, is of great interest to the historian of ecclesiastical vestments, such as the chasuble, amice, cincture, stole, pallium, maniple, and gloves. See EPISCOPAL CEREMONY AND VESTURE. As early as the 13th century, however, ecclesiastics are seen bearing armorial devices. Bishops at first had only the heraldic bearings of their rank or see: Miles of Nanteuil (1229), Robert of Cressonsart (1240), and William of Gretz (1261) carried the armorial bearings of the See of Beauvais—a cross cantoned by four keys. But these insignia of ecclesiastical rank were replaced by family arms by, e.g., Guy of Vergy, Bishop of Autun (1223), Guy of Rochefort, Bishop of Langres (1263), and Nicholas of Fontaine, Archdeacon of Valenciennes (1236), who became bishop of Cambray in 1247.

From this time on, the seal and ecclesiastical arms followed a parallel development. Heraldic bearings in-

cept the idea that Dihya probably delivered more than one message or that he was not necessarily sent always with a letter.³⁰⁾

Connecting Tabūk with Dihya's mission is interesting because the reports concerning it may shed some light on that expedition whose aims, nature and circumstances remain a mystery. Concerning Muḥammad's relations with *Hiraql*, Ibn Ḥanbal's report says that the latter wrote to the Prophet in Tabūk saying *innī muslim*.³¹⁾ Ibn 'Asākir brings the above mentioned *Šāmī* tradition according to which Dihya said about *Hiraql*: "*aqarra bi-risālati Muḥammad*."³²⁾ Was this the reason for calling off the expedition? The Islamic sources are completely silent except for denying that Muḥammad received *Hiraql*'s presents in Tabūk since no presents are allowed from a *mušrik*.³³⁾

To sum up there are clear indications of the existence of substantial following of Muḥammad in Trans-Jordan where Dihya probably preached to the extent that such existence could affect internal tribal strife. There is no trace of military role of his, and the idea accepted upon some scholars that he was sent as a "secret agent" by Muḥammad because of his background occupation and the knowledge of Syrian *limmes* does not hold.³⁴⁾ The origin of this idea lies probably in the atmosphere of circulating *mağāzī* traditions towards the end of the second century when, in the absence of any tangible military record of Dihya he was presented as being sent "*sirriyyatan waḥda*" – i.e. one man expedition.³⁵⁾ Note must also be made of the fact that Dihya was said to be one of the *du'āt* (preachers) which the Prophet sent and which are otherwise known as messengers.³⁶⁾ A description which fits the religious nature of the arguments these *du'āt* had with the people they were sent to.

³⁰⁾ Ḥalabī, *ibid*.

³¹⁾ *Musnad* 3/277.

³²⁾ Ibn Badrān 5/220. In Maqrīzī's *Imtā'* 1/308 we read: "*qabbala l-kitāb wa-taraḥa bi-l-nubuwa*." In *Istī'āb* 2/461 and *Usd* 2/130 we read: "*fa-āmana bihi*." In Suhaylī 7/363: "*wa-ittaba'ahu*."

³³⁾ In Ḥalabī 3/277 we read: "*fa-gāla al-nabiyyu: Kaḏaba, innahu 'alā naṣ-rāniyyatihi wa-fī lafẓin: Kaḏaba 'aduucu l-lāhi, wa-l-lāhi innahu laysa bi-muslim. qāla al-ḥāfiẓu ibnu ḥağğarin raḥimahu allah: fa-'alā hādā aṭlaqa saḥibū l-istī'āb [Ibn 'Abd al-Barr] annahu 'āmana ay annahu aḏhara al-taṣdīqa lākinnahu lam yastamirra 'alayh*." More on this debate in Suhaylī, 7/364.

³⁴⁾ H. Lammens and Ch. Pellat, *op. cit.*, *ibid*.

³⁵⁾ Ibn Sa'd 4/250-1; Ibn Badrān 5/220; Ṣafadī 17/5; *Siyar* 2/397; *Iṣāba* 2/384. On others who were also described as such see Balḥī/Muqaddasī 4/222.

³⁶⁾ E.g.: Ibn Ḥaldūn 2/222.

There is of course the difficulty to establish when and how many times was he sent, and his appearance in many locations in Syria and possibly other places.³⁷⁾ But this in itself makes the Hamidulla-Caetani debate over dating irrelevant.

Finally, the reports concerning *Hiraql*'s attitude to Muḥammad in Tabūk may shed some light on the reason why that expedition was called off. However, it is to more reports concerning this attitude that we shall turn now.

Hiraql in Syria – The Sources

Dihya was clearly not the only active preacher in Syria as the incident of Ḥārīt B. 'Amr in Buṣrā, mentioned above, testifies. In what follows occasional reference to another "messenger" in Syria, Šujā' B. Waḥb will be made. There is even an indication that Dihya was joined from Buṣrā by a third one, 'Adī B. Ḥātim.³⁸⁾

As for destination the information that we have covers Buṣrā, ʿIlā (Jerusalem), Damascus, Ḥumṣ and possibly other locations. Added to the confusion one also notices that the names and titles given to the man whom Dihya met widely differ from one source to another. They are: *hiraql*, *qaysar*, *malik ar-Rūm*, *'aẓīm ar-Rūm*, *ṣāhib ar-Rūm* or even *usquf'ala naṣārā aš-Šām*.

Such confusion warns of the complexity of Dihya's mission corresponding probably to the situation in different parts of Syria concerning the attitude towards Muḥammad. Thus it is to the contents of traditional reports that one must turn rather than argue whether the visit of *qaysar* to this or that place "historically coincided" with Dihya's arrival in it.³⁹⁾ But first a note of identification must be made on our sources.

³⁷⁾ An isolated Ṣīfī tradition says that Dihya was sent not only to *qaysar* and the Ḡassānids but also to Banū Ḥanīfa. Mağlisī, lithog. ed. 8/20. It is of some interest to note Ibn Ishāq's indication that a Damascene senior religious figure (*arkūn*) was involved in the contacts with Banū Ḥanīfa and even advised their King Hawḏa to follow Muḥammad. Ibn Sayyid an-Nās, 2/270.

³⁸⁾ Ḥalabī, who mentions this, says that 'Adī was sent with him by Ḥārīt whom he describes as both "*'aẓīm buṣrā*" and "*malik ḡassān*." 3/272. Other sources describe Ḥārīt as King of the Ḡūṭa area of Damascus. It is also interesting to note that 'Adī is reported by some sources to have joined the Ḡassānīs during the *rida* wars.

³⁹⁾ As indeed Hamidullah does in *op. cit.*, p. 103.

The Strategy of Heraclius

Walter Emil Kaegi, Jr., The University of Chicago
and The Institute for Advanced Study

14 NISAN 1994
Dergi / Kitap
Sütlühanada Meyveler

The Muslim Conquest have received some quite valuable recent historical inquiry, yet the strategy of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, who reigned from 610 to 641, has received much less. The primary sources in Greek are very poor, and it is difficult to extract reliable conclusions from the non-Greek Christian and Muslim ones. It is nevertheless possible to make some observations. Modern military thinkers may make a tripartite classification of topics of military thought into strategy, military operations, and tactics, but such categories were alien to the Byzantines, who knew of such ones as strategy, tactics, stratagems, poliorcetics or the art of besieging a city, and naval warfare. It is inappropriate here to discuss the substantial Graeco-Roman corpus of military treatises and concepts that the Byzantines inherited, copied and adapted for their own purposes. There was no Byzantine grand strategy. There were collections of axioms, stratagems, narratives of significant military case histories, warnings, and miscellaneous reflections on warfare and craft and other bits of practical advice, none of which was really rigorously organized and developed, although they formed a substantial and unique corpus of military experiences.

Heraclius had acquainted himself with some unidentified Byzantine military manuals. These presumably included the so-called *Strategikon* of Maurice, which was written around A.D. 600. Byzantine military treatises have little to say about fighting the Arabs before the appearance of Islam. Byzantine writers possessed some clichés about fighting the Arabs. The Arabs cannot storm walls, according to Procopius of Caesarea. Evagrius Scholasticus states that it is better to use Arabs to fight Arabs. Heraclius's court historian Theophylact Simocatta, who was himself from Upper Egypt, speaks of the tendency of the Arabs to be unfaithful, namely, to switch from one side to the other. These clichés reinforced more general trends in Byzantine military thought. There was a Byzantine preference to avoid decisive combat on the battlefield, and instead the desire to use clever ruses and stratagems to defeat one's enemy without much bloodshed. Strategists counseled the use of timing, patience, and warfare of manoeuvre and attrition, instead of head-on battle. Yet given the dearth of information in the military manuals about fighting the Arabs or about fighting in the regions where the Muslims invaded, there were few written precedents for warfare, strategy, or operations of the kind that were needed by the Byzantines in the 630s; at least there is no record of any such works having existed.

These tendencies reveal themselves in any close investigation of the activities of the Byzantines in their attempt to resist the Muslims. It is proper to speak of a strategy of Heraclius. Arab historians definitely attribute decision-making responsibility to Heraclius in all critical military matters concerning Byzantine resistance throughout the span of the Muslim conquest of Syria. Heraclius in fact was the first reigning Byzantine emperor to visit Syria since the fourth century. Although his knowledge of Syria was not exhaustive, he had visited key areas of it during his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in early 631. He had some familiarity with its terrain, climate, people, and communications. He was not far away in Constantinople during the key events of the conquest. Although he did not lead troops in person against the Muslims, he was continuously in Syria from 634 to 636, and even before that he had been able to maintain close communications while trying to settle ecclesiastical problems in northern Syria and his native Armenia. His bases of operations, first at Emesa or Hims, and then at Antioch, permitted him to remain in reasonably close contact with the battlefronts. He was not oblivious to the situation. The Muslim sources suggest, in fact, that he was relatively well informed about affairs and they may be right about this.

It is very erroneous to assume that the Muslim leadership was oblivious to the role of sophisticated military thinking. Indeed some Muslim sources, in particular Ibn 'Asakir, indicate a Muslim awareness of the Byzantine propensity to using clever machinations in warfare, and the need to try to avoid being caught by them. A basic strategy of Abu Bakr, according to Azdi, sought an opposite way to victory: seeking to cause the Byzantines to concentrate masses of troops, draw them into a pitched battle, and defeat them decisively. The Muslims wanted decisive battle, presumably because of their numerical superiority, familiarity with the terrain and climate, and their position. The Byzantine leadership did not wish it, except under special circumstances. There was, therefore an asymmetry in strategy and military operations of the two. Whatever the initial goals of the Muslims at the very beginning of their clashes with the Byzantines, their strategy quickly clarified while that of the Byzantine continued to be troubled with various dilemmas. Byzantine strategic perceptions may well have resulted from their own perceived numerical inferiority, as well as from their inheritance of such strategic thought, although in its turn it may have developed out of actual Graeco-Roman numerical inferiority on a number of past occasions.

Both antagonists sought to use military thinking to win. It is incorrect to assume that the Muslims were devoid of it. In addition to the use of rational order of battle as early as the battle of Mu'ta, according to the Arabic adaptation of Aelian's *Tactics*, other Muslim campaigning appears to indicate that rational, military calculation lay behind many moves. This

الامبراطور هرقل ومقاومة الفتح الاسلامي لبلاد الشام

سعيد عاشور

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لم استهدف من هذا البحث التعرض لحوادث الفتح الاسلامي لبلاد الشام بالتفصيل، فهذه الحوادث معروفة في كتب التاريخ، وأوردها القدامى من مؤرخي المسلمين — مثل البلاذري والواقدي والطبري — كما ذكرها بعض مؤرخي الروم المعاصرين مثل ثيوفانيس Theophanes^(١)، ومن الأرمين المؤرخ سيبوس Sebeos^(٢). هذا وإن كانت روايات المعاصرين اتصف معظمها بتداخل الحوادث، وعدم وضوح رؤية التسلسل التاريخي للأحداث، مما يجعلها في حاجة الى قدر من الترتيب والتمحيص. وإذا كنا في ختام بحثنا قد تعرضنا بإيجاز لحوادث الفتوح الاسلامية، لبلاد الشام، فإن هدفنا من ذلك هو القاء مزيد من الضوء على جهود الامبراطور هرقل في مقاومة هذه الفتوح من ناحية، ومحاولة ترتيب المراحل والخطوات التي تمت بها تلك الفتوح من ناحية أخرى، وذلك عن طريق مقارنة الروايات التي وردت في المصادر العربية، بتلك التي جاءت في المصادر غير العربية.

ولكن قبل ذلك — أعني قبل التطرق إلى حوادث الفتوح الاسلامية لبلاد الشام — تواجه الباحث عدة تساؤلات، ما زالت تفتقر إلى إجابات واضحة وحاسمة من المشتغلين بتاريخ تلك الحقبة الزمنية، نظراً لما يترتب عليها من فهم واع للمناخ الذي ساد بلاد الشام طوال المعركة التي دارت بين المسلمين والروم على مسرح تلك البلاد، وما ترتب على ذلك من تغييرات سياسية وحضارية شاملة أملت بتاريخ المنطقة. والواقع أن هذه التساؤلات ومحاولة الاجابة عنها، هي المحور الأساسي، والهدف الرئيسي، من هذا البحث.

لماذا بدأ المسلمون في حركتهم التوسعية خارج شبه الجزيرة العربية بفتح بلاد الشام بالذات؟ وماذا كانت نظرة العرب — عرب شبه الجزيرة — إلى بلاد الشام عندئذ؟ وما

١. Theophanes, Chronographia, ed. de Boor (2 vols.) Leipsic 1883 - 1885.

٢. Histoire d'Héraclius, part Levéque Sebéos, Traduit par F. Macler, (Paris, 1904).

كانت في عداء لعرب الحجاز، وانها ارتدت في بعضها، مما ينفي هذا الاتفاق؛ وأن عرب الشام قاطعوا^(١٣٤) حملات أبي بكر مع الروم، على الشام.

ولا شك أن وقوف الروم من تحركات النبي في برية الشام، ومن بعده، من تحركات أبي بكر فيها، موقف المتفرج، كان سبباً في أن جعل استراتيجية النبي، ومن بعده، استراتيجية أبي بكر، محسوبة وناجحة، فانتشر الإسلام في ربوع برية الشام، وكثر الأتباع فيها، فكانت برية الشام هي طريق الإمداد، لفتح الشام ذاته.

Hankins
14 NISAN 1996

HERACLIUS EMPEROR OF BYZANTIUM

WALTER E. KAEGI

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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quand il vous était loisible d'éteindre le feu de la rébellion! La basse classe, tu le sais bien, est dépourvue de sagesse, et si elle ne trouve personne pour lui faire des remontrances et la mettre en garde contre les actes blâmables, elle ne se préoccupe pas des conséquences fâcheuses que sa conduite lui vaudra! En bref, de cette affaire, c'est toi qui portes la responsabilité; les crimes commis par les sujets, le sort des malheureux dont le sang a été versé, tout cela retombe sur toi, étant donné que tu es un juge musulman, que tu sais quels sont tes devoirs vis-à-vis d'Allāh Puissant et Grand, et que tu sais aussi ce que mérite celui qui rompt le pacte qui le lie à la maison prophétique, c'est-à-dire à Notre Maître Abū l-'Abbās al-Manṣūr.

Cela dit, nous envoyons dans cette région quatre cents soldats en armes, choisis parmi l'élite de l'armée de Notre Seigneur al-Manṣūr, pour y rétablir l'ordre, y éteindre le feu de la révolte et la pacifier. Celui qui y manifesterait des intentions de désordre sera obligatoirement châtié, conformément à la loi du noble Prophète — qu'Allāh le bénisse et le sauve! — Pour ce qui est de toi, je te fais part, par Allāh, de mon mécontentement, assuré que je suis de ton affection pour cette dynastie fortunée. Comment, quand cette agitation a pris naissance, ne nous as-tu pas averti par l'un de tes messagers? car la population de ce pays tout entier vous témoigne soumission et obéissance et se conforme à vos ordres. Si tu avais chargé quelqu'un du pays de venir nous trouver, il n'aurait pu se dispenser de s'acquitter de ce soin. Certains faits, toutefois, se sont manifestés à nous qui nous permettent de trouver votre conduite excusable. Nous n'avons besoin que de vos pieuses invocations en notre faveur et de votre bénédiction qui nous environne. Pour le reste, rassure-toi, s'il plait à Allāh Puissant et Grand, par Sa force et Sa puissance! Si le scorpion revient, nous reviendrons vers lui, avec la semelle de notre chaussure toute prête à l'écraser! D'autant mieux que nous avons comblé de bienfaits les habitants de Tombouctou, nous leur avons remboursé ce qui leur avait été pris injustement. L'armée ayant eu besoin de grain, nous l'avons acheté et payé de notre propre or, par crainte de nous aliéner les cœurs des Tombouctiens; nous avons eu besoin de chameaux, nous les avons achetés eux aussi, tout cela dans notre désir d'épargner la population; nous ne lui avons imposé aucune charge pénible, nous avons évité de la mettre à la gêne en quoi que ce soit. Tous ceux qui se sont réclamés de toi, nous les avons bien traités!

Cela dit, nous envoyons donc Bāmī b. Barūn, en compagnie du qā'id Muṣṭafā, avec quatre cents arquebusiers (rāmī) de l'armée de Notre Maître al-Manṣūr, afin de remettre de l'ordre dans cette région et la pacifier. C'est à toi que revient le soin d'en informer les habitants de la ville et d'apaiser leurs craintes: car leurs actes répréhensibles passés, nous savons qu'ils les ont commis contre leur propre gré; nous leur avons pardonné, et leur en faisons remise par respect pour vous. Salut!

Écrit par l'esclave du Haut Régime: Ma ḥ m ū d — qu'Allāh le traite avec faveur! Ainsi soit-il!

Manuscrit "Muhammed (S.A.)" papier indur.

Arabica, Tome II, 1955, Leiden

15.92-110

- Muhammed (S.A)

- Heraklius.

LA LETTRE DU PROPHÈTE À HÉRACLIUS ET LE SORT DE L'ORIGINAL

PAR

MUHAMMAD HAMIDULLAH

LES auteurs classiques musulmans rapportent que le Prophète adressa, en même temps qu'à certains autres souverains voisins, une lettre à l'empereur Héraclius de Byzance. Il lui écrivit d'abord en 628, pour l'inviter à embrasser l'Islam: la réponse fut négative, mais l'initiative même du Prophète causa un certain remous dans les esprits, surtout parmi les Arabes évangélisés habitant le territoire byzantin, qui la considéraient comme un affront intolérable. Désespérant d'obtenir l'acquiescement de l'empereur et ignorant la réaction violente des Gassānides de Syrie, le Prophète crut devoir se mettre directement en rapport avec les divers chefs arabes de la région syro-palestinienne. Un de ses ambassadeurs, porteur d'une lettre à l'intention du gouverneur de Buṣrā (Ḥawrān), fut arrêté sur le territoire des tribus de Gassān; leur chef, Šuraḥbīl b. 'Amr, le mit à mort, sans se soucier des conséquences de cette violation flagrante du droit international¹.

La petite expédition de Mu'ta, en 629, menée avec une armée de trois mille hommes, constitua la réaction musulmane. Les troupes mobilisées pour la guerre contre les Sāsānides, qui avaient occupé la Syrie et l'Égypte, étaient encore sur place; avec elles, l'Empereur courut au secours de son protégé gassānide. Après avoir subi de lourdes pertes, le détachement musulman rebroussa chemin. Une armée de trente mille hommes fut en conséquence réunie en 630, et le Prophète la dirigea lui-même jusqu'à Tabūk; il s'adressa de nouveau à l'Empereur, pour l'inviter à embrasser la foi islamique, et, au moins, à ne pas intervenir dans la liberté de conscience de ses sujets². En même temps qu'à l'Empereur, le Prophète écrivit une lettre spéciale à un grand évêque de la cour impériale (l'évêque

1. IBN SA'ĪD, 2/I, 92.

2. Pour le texte de cette lettre, voir ABŪ 'UBAYD, *Amwāl*, § 55.



إهداء
إلى استاذنا الجليل الأستاذ
الدكتور محمد ب. ح. قنصاتي
بالتوفيق
٢٨ / ٧ / ١٩٩٦ م

الدولة البيزنطية في عصر الإمبراطور شرق

وعلاقتها بالمسلمين

الدكتورة

ليلى محمد الجندول استاذة

كلية الآداب - جامعة القاهرة

دار النهضة العربية

٢٤ شارع عبد القادر زوت

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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١٩٨٥

Muhammad and Heraclius :

A Study in Legitimacy

Nadia Maria EL-CHEIKH

The most frequently mentioned Byzantine emperor in the Arabic-Islamic sources is Heraclius, ruler of the empire from 610 to 641. He is also the only one to have enjoyed the overwhelming approval of Muslim chroniclers and historians, who bestow upon him distinguished attributes and abilities. The available information on Heraclius in the Arabic-Islamic sources is, however, scattered and does not provide us with either a coherent picture or a consistent body of information. Studies have mostly concentrated on Heraclius' presence in Syria as well as on his role in the defense of this province during the Islamic conquests ⁽¹⁾. By means of an analysis of the Arabic texts pertaining to Heraclius, this paper will study the presentation of Heraclius in a new context as an example of Islamic methods of image-building and the use of this image in an effort to provide legitimacy for the prophetic mission of Muhammad and for the newly established Muslim state. Arguing that Heraclius' image is primarily attached to the legitimizing role that he is made to play, the discussion will first review the characterization of Heraclius' persona in the early Islamic sources. It will then analyze his function as an ideal "witness" to the prophet Muhammad and to the emerging *umma*.

Heraclius was a gifted emperor and as J. F. Haldon has recently noted "Heraclius is popularly and probably quite justifiably regarded by both modern historians and by Byzantines as one of the empire's greatest rulers" ⁽²⁾. He ascended the throne following a revolt against Emperor

(1) W. E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (Cambridge, 1992) and Suliman Bashear in "The Mission of Dihya al-Kalbi and the Situation in Syria," *Der Islam* 74(1997), pp. 64-91.

(2) J. F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 52.

- 17 . P. J. Parr, 'Excavations at Petra, 1958-59', *P.E.Q.* 1960, plates XVIII A and XIX A.
- 18 . For this dating of the paving of the Street, see P. J. Parr, 'A Sequence of Pottery from Petra' (above, note 14), 370.
- 19 . In Dr. Hammond's excavations at the Theatre an apparently similar accumulation of water - and wind-laid soil (his Period V) overlies the destruction debris attributed by him to the 4th century earthquake. Dr. Hammond would see this, however, as evidence for abandonment before the first re-use of the Theatre buildings after the disaster (Period VI), and not (as I have suggested for the colonnaded street) as post-dating the re-occupation in the 4th—5th centuries. There is no reason, of course, why the depositional sequences in these two separate parts of the site should be identical, though some general conformity might be expected. A number of points in Dr. Hammond's interpretation of the Theatre stratigraphy are open to question, however, and this is something I hope to discuss on another occasion. See P. C. Hammond, *The Excavation of the Main Theater at Petra 1961-1962* (1965), pp. 13-19.
- 20 . C. Vita-Finzi, 'Observations on the Late Quaternary of Jordan', *P.E.Q.* 1964, 19-31.
- 21 . It must be stressed again that other interpretations are possible for example, that the weathered debris is the product of a later destruction, and that the occupation level on the paving is to be dated to after the 363 disaster. This seems unlikely to me, for a number of reasons which will be discussed in the final report of the excavations.
- 22 . P. J. Parr, 'Recent Discoveries at Petra', *P.E.Q.* 1975, 5-16.
- 23 . P. J. Parr, 'Recent Discoveries in the Sanctuary of the Qasr Bint Far'un at Petra', *A.D.A.J.* XII-XIII, 1967-68, 5-19.
- 24 . F. Zayadine, 'Recent Excavations at Petra', *A.D.A.J.* XXVI, 1982, 376 .
- 25 . Q.D.A.P. VII, 1938, Plans A and B.
- 26 . P. J. Parr, K. B. Atkinson and E. H. Wickens, 'Photogrammetric Work at Petra 1965-68', *A.D.A.J.* XX, 1975, 40-45.
- 27 . P. C. Hammond, *The Excavation of the Main Theater at Petra*, London 1965, especially 11-21.
- 28 . P. C. Hammond, 'Excavations at Petra 1975-77', *A.D.A.J.* XXII, 1977-78, 88-90.
- 29 . *Ibid.*, 82-84. It is impossible to tell from this brief account what the dating evidence is for Hammond's phasing, and references to 'Byzantine' material, for example, need to be taken cautiously until more evidence is forthcoming.
- 30 . I am grateful to Dr. Khairy for discussing his work with me and allowing me to use the forthcoming first volume of his excavation report.
- 31 . P. J. Parr, 'Excavations at Petra 1958-59', *P.E.Q.* July-Dec. 1960, 129.

Edited by Muhammad Adnan Bakhit - Muhammad Asfour
 Proceedings of the Symposium on Bilād al-Shām
 During the Byzantine Period, vol. II, Amman, 1986,

DN: 627

s. 206-211.

The Dream of Heraclius and Islam in an Ethiopian Source Van Donzel, E.

In 1540 the devastating invasions of Ahmad ibn Ibrāhīm into Ethiopia had reached their culmination point. *Sāhib al-Fath*, also called *al-Ghāzī* — the Ethiopians call him *Grān*, "the left-handed," — had succeeded in forging the various Somali tribes into a redoubtable Muslim army, and had brought Ethiopia almost to its knees. The country was in shambles, and King Lebna Dengel pursued in his own lands. Ahmad ibn Ibrāhīm seemed invincible, and the situation of the Christian kingdom desperate.

At this critical moment, the former superior of Dabra Libanos, one of the most prestigious monasteries of Ethiopia, addressed to Ahmad ibn Ibrāhīm a polemical work written in Ge'ez and called *Anqasa Amin*, or Gate of the Faith. *Enbāqom*, in English Habbakuk, was a Muslim from either Iraq or Yemen, who had been converted to Ethiopian Christendom. In his *Anqasa Amin* he tried to prove to the Muslim conqueror that Christendom is the true religion. His argumentation is partly based on the Qur'an itself. Strange as it may seem, this procedure was well-known to and applied by many a Christian apologist writing in Arabic, like Paul of Antioch (*Būlus al-Rāhib*), Abu Kurra, *Abd al-Masīh al-Kindī* and others.

The *Anqasa Amin* contains a passage in which *Enbāqom* gives his version of the origin of Islam. He first writes at length about the well-known monk Bahīrā, to whose murder by the Quraysh he attributes the interdiction of drinking wine. It may be of interest to remark here that the famous Dutch painter and engraver Lucas of Leiden, at the age of eighteen, made in 1508 a copper-engraving of this event.

Then follows the story of the dream of Heraclius. I shall first summarize *Enbāqom*'s version, then add a few comments.

During the reign of Heraclius — *Harqāl* of *Rom* in Ge'ez, — the Christians provoked God's wrath by committing unjust acts and by waging war among themselves. Therefore, an angel appeared to Heraclius and announced that "a circumcised people shall reign over you". The emperor, thinking that the Jews were meant, sent his soldiers throughout his lands with the order to

The propensity to switch sides worked well with the Byzantine resort to cunning in the search for military victory. Desertion and switching sides had played a very important role in the Byzantine-Persian war between 603 and 628.³⁴ Inducement to desert and treacherous seizure of the enemy leadership typified internal strife early in the seventh century³⁵ and intensified volatility, instability, and lack of cohesion even though their practitioners sought to create cohesion.

The Byzantine troops stationed on the eastern frontiers had a long heritage of military unrest. Problems of provisioning that seriously irritated civilians and soldiers in the fourth³⁶ and sixth centuries³⁷ accompanied the late sixth-century concentration of troops in northern Syria and Mesopotamia.³⁸ Some of these restive soldiers from upper Mesopotamia probably brought their restlessness and readiness to mutiny along with themselves when they came to help defend Syria and Palestine.

Fears about the cohesion of their own armies and dangers of unrest appear to have acted as a restraint on the employment of Byzantine troops and as a restraint on the freedom of their commanders to undertake certain military operations. The dangers of unrest were quite real. Nervousness about the risk of betrayal heightened tensions within the Byzantine armies, often at critical moments.

Both Byzantine and Muslim armies were vulnerable to volatility. The recent Ridda wars (local resistance movements in the Arabian peninsula that opposed the Islamic government at Medina) had demonstrated the potential fragility of the political loyalties of tribes, although hardly any tribe reverted to polytheism.³⁹ Byzantine leaders probably distrusted all Arabs and were on the watch for desertion, whether from their own side or from that of the opponents. They may well have hoped, through negotiations and playing for time, to have found ways to induce some Arabs to break away from others, as they and their predecessors had previously experienced. It is doubtful that Heraclius, in the light of such sentiments, ever placed complete reliance even on Christian Arabs for the defense of Syria.⁴⁰ The *Miracula* of St. Anastasius the Persian confirm that on the eve of the Muslim invasions there remained

a mortal hostility between some Samaritans and Byzantine soldiers, although other Samaritans reportedly fought alongside Byzantines against Muslims when Sergios was defeated near Gaza in 634.⁴¹

MILITARY LEADERSHIP OF HERACLIUS

Heraclius continued to be an energetic emperor, the embodiment of the empire, at the beginning of and throughout the 630s. It is incorrect to assume that illness had decisively incapacitated him. Although he visited Syria, Palestine, and Byzantine Mesopotamia, he – like other Byzantine emperors – never visited Egypt. However, he had a much better acquaintance with topography, roads and communications, availability of food, climate, and weather conditions in Syria, Palestine, and Byzantine Mesopotamia than had any emperor since the end of the fourth century. He was both the first emperor since Julian the Apostate to use Antioch in Syria as his base of operations⁴² and the first emperor to take personal command of armies in the field since Theodosius the Great.⁴³ Antioch was a good base for monitoring and safeguarding communications between Byzantine troops in Syria and Palestine and those in Anatolia and Byzantine Armenia. His presence there underlined his personal interest in and commitment to a successful defense of these threatened areas. He may also have consulted memoranda or summaries of memoranda of earlier emperors and their military advisers on how to fight various enemies, including the Persians.⁴⁴ Heraclius reportedly studied earlier military precedents from antiquity, but those were more relevant for fighting the Persians than Arabs. Thus earlier Roman and Byzantine precedents for concentrating troops at Antioch were probably of little or no relevance, especially because Antioch had previously served as a base of operations against the Persians to the east, not against Arabs coming from the south and southeast.

Heraclius was the only reigning Byzantine emperor to visit Jerusalem. He was familiar with the principal roads to Palestine, the formidable Taurus mountain range, and the roads of northern Syria and Mesopotamia. His cousin Niketas probably gave him first-hand reports on the problems of leading armies from Egypt into Palestine and Syria, problems that Niketas encountered in 610 and 613. Part of the time between 631 and 634 Heraclius

³⁴ Shahrbaraz: Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ miṣr* (35–7 Torrey); Theoph., *Chron.*, A. M. 6118 (323–4 De Boor); cf. Thomas Artsruni, *History of the House of the Artsruni* (Detroit: Wayne State, 1985) 162–3; Stratos, *Βυζάντιον* 2: 635–42; Cyril Mango, "Deux études sur Byzance et la Perse sassanide," *TM* 9 (1985) 105–17. ³⁶ Kaegi, *BMU* 120–49.

³⁵ G. Downey, "The Economic Crisis at Antioch under Julian the Apostate," *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of A. C. Johnson* (Princeton 1951) 312–21. But, J. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch* (Oxford 1972) 80–117.

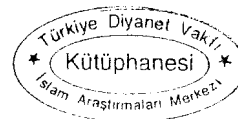
³⁷ Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle*, c. 92–5, ed. and trans. by W. Wright (Cambridge 1882) 71–73. Joh. Ephes. *HE* 3.3.6.28 (252 Brooks); S. Eutychii *Patriarchae Constantinopoli Vita*, PG 86: 2344. ³⁸ Kaegi, *BMU* 64–88. ³⁹ Donner, *EIC* 85–9.

⁴⁰ Theophylact Simocatta, *Hist.* 3.17.7 (151 De Boor).

⁴¹ Samaritan poisoning of Byzantine soldier: *Miracula, Acta M. Anastasii Persae* c. 13 (25–6 Usener). But Samaritans (allegedly 5,000) aided Byzantine defense: *Chronicon Anonymum ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, trans. by J.-B. Chabot (CSCO, Scriptores Syri, ser. 3, T. 14: 189–90 Versio); Palmer, *Chronicles*, part 2, text 13, sect. 49.

⁴² G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton 1961) esp. 380–97. ⁴³ Kaegi, *BMU* 20–3, 126, 146–8.

⁴⁴ Earlier military memoranda: Kaegi, "Constantine's and Julian's Strategies of Strategic Surprise against the Persians," *ASRB*.



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Heraklios erkennt den Propheten

Ein Beispiel für Form und Entstehungsweise
narrativer Geschichtskonstruktionen

Von STEFAN LEDER, Halle (Saale)

Die gelehrte Beschäftigung mit der altarabischen Poesie wird in den ältesten erhaltenen Quellen nicht nur dokumentiert, sondern auch reflektiert. Die Formel, Dichtung sei das „Archiv der Araber“ (*aš-ši'ru dīwānu l-'arab*),¹ umschreibt, dass man in der Poesie das Vermächtnis der Araber verwahrt sah, „in deren Sprache der Koran offenbart wurde, von deren Sprachgebrauch die arabische (Hoch-) Sprache abgeleitet wird, und die ein Vorbild für Weisheit und Sitte darstellen“.² Für die narrative historische Überlieferung, welche den reichsten und wichtigsten Quellentypus für die Kenntnis der frühislamischen Geschichte bildet, ist zwar keine vergleichbar schlagwortartig formulierte Inwertsetzung aus alter Zeit bekannt, doch artikuliert sich ein Selbstverständnis der historischen Überlieferung gelegentlich. In der Rahmengeschichte der *Aḥbār 'Ubaid*, welche Umstände und Ablauf der Begegnung zwischen Mu'āwiya und 'Ubaid ibn Šarya darstellt, wird die Erwartung des Kalifen an die Unterweisung durch den geschichtskundigen 'Ubaid als der Wunsch nach einem Erzieher (*mu'addib*), abendlichen Erzähler (*samīr*), Berater (*muqawwim*) und Wesir (*wazīr*) formuliert.³ Dieser Auffassung entspricht, dass in der Bildungsliteratur des *adab*, wie auch in der Historiographie, gerne der sittlich und intellektuell bildende Wert von historischen Erzählungen hervorgehoben wird.⁴ Tatsächlich ist die narrative Darstellung aber mehr als ein Vehikel von Bildungsinhalten. Für die identitätsstiftende Vergewisserung der in Stammesgruppen und Clans, in traditionellen Wertvorstellungen, religiösem Weltbild und islamisch-politischen Sinnbezügen verwurzelten Menschen war die in Erzählung strukturierte Erinnerung an bestimmte dramatisch

¹ Vgl. 'Ubaid ibn Šarya: *Aḥbār 'Ubaid*, S. 352; vgl. auch R. G. KHOURY: „Poésie et prophétie“, S. 243–258; A. ARAZI: „Al-Ši'ir“, S. 203–205.

² al-Qurašī: *Ġamharat aš'ār al-'arab*, S. 3.

³ *Aḥbār 'Ubaid*, S. 313.

⁴ Ibn Qutaiba: *Uyūn*, I, S. kāf; al-Mas'ūdī: *Murūğ*, I, S. 12.

entende ! Comprends (et) que ton cœur saisisse ! Ta nation et toi-même, vous ressemblez à un roi qui a choisi une résidence (*dār*), y a construit une salle (*bayt*) et y a dressé une table (*mā'ida*) ; puis, il a envoyé un messenger (*rasūl*) pour convier les gens à sa table. Certains ont répondu à l'invitation, d'autres se sont abstenus. Il en ressort que Dieu est le roi, la résidence est l'Islam, la salle est le paradis et toi, Muḥammad, l'Envoyé. Quiconque répond à ton invitation, ô Muḥammad, entre dans l'Islam, quiconque entre dans l'Islam entrera au paradis et quiconque entre au paradis mangera ce qu'il y trouvera » (1).

Ce qui caractérise ce songe, c'est que le contenu symbolique et l'interprétation en sont donnés concurremment. Il ressemble aux rêves symboliques de Joseph (*Gen.* 37,5-8 ; 9-10) dont la signification paraît évidente (2). Dans ce cas, le rêve et son interprétation forment une unité indivisible, à tel point que le *Talmud de Babylone* les compare à une lettre cachetée (3).

Songe d'Héraclius

Parfois, le rêve symbolique induit son interprète en erreur ; mais Dieu qui le révèle, en fournit la clef. Le songe attribué à Héraclius, empereur d'Orient (610-641), en est un exemple typique : Après la reconquête de la Vraie Croix qui avait été enlevée par les Perses en 614, Héraclius se rendit de Hims jusqu'à Jérusalem à pied, pour rendre

1. IBN SA'D I, 1, p. 113 (tradition de Ḡābir b. 'Abdallāh). À noter ici les récits relatifs à la multiplication de la nourriture, rapportés par le même biographe (*ib.* p. 123 : le Prophète rend abondant le lait de la brebis d'Umm Ma'bad qui répond

à ceux qui lui demandaient qui est l'auteur de ce miracle : *هذا واللات الصابي* ; p. 124 : Fāṭima se plaint à 'Alī que toute la famille avait couché sans dîner et qu'il n'y a rien pour déjeuner. 'Alī est allé acheter de la farine et de la viande pour un *dirham* ; elle prépara le pain et cuisina. Quand tout était prêt, elle l'envoya chercher son père ; il le trouva étendu dans le sanctuaire, épuisé par la faim. Mahomet s'appuya sur 'Alī et vint avec lui. Arrivé, il vit bouillonner la marmite et dit à sa fille : « Sers 'Ā'īṣa ! » Elle remplit une écuelle ; puis, il lui dit : « Sers Ḥaṣṣa ! » Elle fit de même jusqu'à servir ses neuf épouses. Puis, il lui dit : « Sers ton fils et ton mari ! » Ce qu'elle fit. Il lui dit alors : « Sers-toi et mange ! » Elle se servit, puis elle souleva la marmite ; elle débordait encore. Nous avons mangé, conclut 'Alī, tant que Dieu a voulu » (*Comp. I Rois*, 17, 7 sqq. : Élie chez la veuve de Sarephta ; *Luc* 11, 10 sqq. ; *Mc.* 4, 31 sqq. ; *Mt.* 14, 13 sqq. ; *Mc.* 8, 1 sqq. ; *Mt.* 15, 32 sqq.).

2. Sur ce genre de songes, cf. EHRLICH 58 sqq. ; OPPENEHEIM, 206 sq.

3. *Berakot*, 55*, cité ap. OPPENEHEIM, 206.

grâces à Dieu de sa victoire (4). « On étendit les tapis à son passage et on y étala les fleurs. Quand il parvint à Aelia, il fit ses prières en compagnie de ses patriciens et des hauts fonctionnaires des Byzantins. Le lendemain, il parut préoccupé, interrogeant le ciel de son regard. Ses patriciens lui dirent : « Ô Roi, vous vous êtes réveillé ce matin préoccupé. — Oui, répondit-il ; j'ai vu en songe (*uritu*) cette nuit que le « Royaume de la Circoncision est sur le point de paraître » ! Ils lui dirent : « Ô Roi, nous ne connaissons d'autre peuple qui pratique la circoncision que les juifs ; or, ils sont sous ta domination et ton autorité. Ordonne à tous tes représentants dans l'Empire de couper la tête à tous les juifs se trouvant sous ton autorité. Ainsi, tu seras débarrassé de ce souci » (2). Juste à ce moment, alors qu'ils étudiaient ce projet, arriva le maître de Bostra, amenant captif un Arabe — Les rois avaient coutume d'échanger des informations — ; il dit : « Ô Roi, cet homme est un Arabe appartenant aux tribus moutonnières et chamelières ; il parle d'un événement étrange qui s'est produit chez eux ; interroge-le » ! Alors, il le fit approcher d'Héraclius qui dit à son interprète : « Demande-lui de raconter ce qui s'est passé dans son pays » ! L'interprète le lui demanda. « Il est apparu parmi nous, dit l'Arabe, un homme qui prétend être prophète ; des gens l'ont suivi, d'autres se sont opposés à lui ; il y a eu entre les deux partis plusieurs batailles ; je les ai laissés dans cet état ». L'empereur ordonna de le faire déshabiller ; ce qui fut fait. Il vit qu'il était circoncis ; « c'est ce que j'ai vu en songe s'exclama-t-il, et non ce que vous avez dit » (3) !

La figure de Waraqa b. Nawfal apparaît, par rapport à Mahomet, comme celle de Jean le Précurseur, par rapport à Jésus (4). Sa recon-

1. Cet événement eut lieu en 630, alors que Ṭabarī place ce récit dans la chronique de l'an 6/627-8 ; la trêve dont il est question dans le texte, peut aller de l'an 5/626 (après la bataille d'al-Ḥandaq) jusqu'à la Prise de la Mekke (fin 8/629 - début janvier 630). Mais avant, en août 8/629, il y eut la bataille de Mu'ta, en territoire byzantin, dans al-Balqā' (IBN HIṢĀM, 794) ; ce qui pourrait rendre vraisemblable la capture de l'Arabe et le déplacement du gouverneur de Bostra, chef-lieu du district du Ḥawrān, afin de faire entendre son récit à Héraclius.

2. À noter que les Romains prohibaient la circoncision aux Arabes de leur royaume (cf. réf. ap. WELLHAUSEN, *Reste*², 174-5) ; ce songe permet de conclure que cette prohibition était encore en vigueur.

3. ṬABARĪ, I², 1561 sqq. (récit d'Abū Sufyān qui aurait été interrogé à la suite de cet événement par Héraclius lui-même, lequel découvrit, à partir des réponses d'Abū Sufyān, alors ennemi de Mahomet, tous les signes de la prophétie de ce dernier !)

4. On lui fait dire (*Ag.* 3, 14) : هذا الناموس الذي انزله الله تبارك

﴿هَرَقْلُ﴾

انظر أيضاً : الكتابُ

* اجتماعُ بَابِي سَقِيمَانِ وَتَصْدِيقُهُ بِأَنَّ

مُحَمَّدًا صَ هُوَ النَّبِيُّ الْمَوْعُودُ —

بخ - ك ١ ب ٦ ؛ ك ٢ ب ٣٨ ؛

ك ٦ ب ٧ ق ك ٥٢ ب ٢٨ ؛

ك ٥٦ ب ١١ و ٧٦ و ١٠٢ ق

١٢٢ ؛

ك ٥٨ ب ١٣ ؛

ك ٦٥ سورة ٣ ب ٤ ؛

ك ٧٩ ب ٢٤ ق ك ٩٣ ب ٤٠ ؛

ك ٩٧ ب ٥١

مس - ك ٣٢ ح ٧٤

حم - أول ص ٢٦٢

* جَوَابُهُ عَلَى كِتَابِ النَّبِيِّ ص —

حم - ثالث ص ٤٤١

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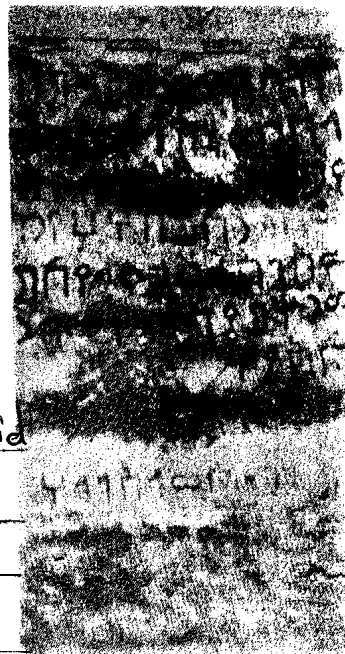
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KISALTMALAR:

بخ= صحيح البخاري، مس= صحيح مسلم، بد= سنن أبي داود، تر= سنن الترمذي، نس= سنن النسائي، مع= سنن ابن ماجه، مى= سنن الدارمي، ما= موطأ مالك، ز= مسند زيد بن علي، عد= طبقات ابن سعد، حم= مسند احمد بن حنبل، ط= مسند الطيالسي، هش= سيرة ابن هشام، قد= مغازي الواقدي.



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THE PROPHET'S LETTER TO THE BYZANTINE EMPEROR HERACLIUS

SUHAILAH AL-JABURI

The art of writing is the most prominent milestone that shows the advancement of nations and their values. This is why a nation needs this art for recording its sciences, culture and all that concerns their political, social and cultural affairs.

It is a matter of pride for our beloved region that it has been distinguished in this art since the middle of the fourth millenium B.C. We also take pride in the fact that the Arabs had adopted a distinct script from the first century A.D.¹ (Plate I). It is known as the 'Nabataean script',² after the people of Anbāt.³ The Arabs did not stop at that but took all care in developing and simplifying the forms of some of their letters, and invented some new forms more apt to their art of writing insofar as *faṣl* and *waṣl*, conjunctive and disjunctive, characters are concerned, as has been made clear in the inscription of al-Namara dated 328 A.D.⁴ (Plate 2). The Arabs endeavoured constantly to improve their alphabet to the best and most elegant form. The period between the fourth and the sixth Christian centuries is considered to be the stage of novelty and development insofar as some Nabataean characters attained new,⁵ correct and elegant proportions and principles in this period. This developed form is the Arabic script which was developed in the age before the advent of Islam and which is

*From the original in Arabic.

VIII

The Reign of Heraclius (610-641)

With the exception of the reign of Justinian, that of Heraclius was the longest during which the Ghassānids served as *foederati* of Byzantium. What is more, it witnessed the restoration of the harmonious relationship between the Ghassānids and the central government that had obtained in its golden period when Justinian ruled in the sixth century. The reign was also the crucial one that terminated the proto-Byzantine period and ushered in the middle period, after the two disastrous wars with the Persians and the Muslim Arabs. The Ghassānids were involved in both wars. Hence the importance of a detailed discussion of their history in this period, especially as their role is either unnoticed or misrepresented by modern historians. Moreover, as the wars of the period are so badly documented in the sources, especially the Byzantine ones, the new data on the Ghassānids, although modest, are a welcome addition to the history of these wars, particularly as they come from contemporary Arabic sources.

The reign is neatly divisible into three periods or decades. In the first, the Ghassānids fight with the army of Oriens against the Persian invader of the diocese; in the second, after withdrawing to Anatolia, they fight with Heraclius during his counteroffensive which ended victoriously with the battle of Nineveh; in the third, they fight in Oriens against the Muslim Arabs and are defeated, together with the imperial army, at the Yarmūk in 636, which virtually brings to a close their role as *foederati* in Oriens.

I. THE FIRST DECADE

This decade of the reign witnessed the advance of Persian arms against Byzantium on all fronts in Anatolia and Oriens. What is relevant to Ghassānid participation in this period is the Persians' advance against Oriens.¹ During

¹ For the course of the war in this decade and the next two, the reader may consult the fairly recent work of N. Stratos, although the old work of A. Pernice (*L'imperatore Eraclio* [Florence, 1905]) has not entirely outlived its usefulness. These works provide the documentation for the general course of the war and also the relevant bibliographies. Hence these do not appear in this chapter, which concentrates on the Arab and Ghassānid profile of the war.

Anatolia receives more attention than Oriens in the sources for this period and in modern

the reign of Phocas, they had made some impressive gains, and at the end of the reign and the beginning of Heraclius', they occupied Armenia, Mesopotamia, and a portion of Syria. A Syriac source² is very specific on the unfavorable military position of Byzantium in 610, when the Euphrates had become the frontier between the two powers and the Persians were in possession of such Euphratesian fortresses as Callinicum and Circesium; and, in August of that year, they captured Zenobia. This posed a direct threat to the Ghassānids, since this occupation brought the Persians perilously near Ghassānland and the limitrophe they were protecting from the Euphrates to Ayla. The Persian advance against Oriens went through two phases: the operations of the year 611 and those, after a lull of two years, of 613/14—and with it the virtual fall of Oriens by 616/17, the prelude to the occupation of Egypt in 616.

1. The first phase: 611. The Persian general Shahrbarāz advanced and captured Antioch,³ then Apamea, and finally Emesa. Conditions were favorable in Oriens, especially after the chaos and disarray caused by the campaign of Bonosus against the Monophysites of Oriens. The sources record a battle. Nicetas rushed from Egypt to stem the wave of the Persian advance, and a battle was fought near Emesa at the monastery of St. Thomas. It is not clear from the sources whether it was a Byzantine victory or defeat. It may have been a draw since the Persians halted their advance against Oriens for two years (611-613), during which a lull prevailed in the fighting.

The sources do not record Ghassānid participation in this phase of the war, but this is not surprising. They are scant, and the participation of the federates would not have been noted in them. The Ghassānids, however, must have participated in this phase and must have given Nicetas every assistance. (a) Nicetas represented the house of Heraclius and the revolt against Phocas, who had recently sent Bonosus to quell the Monophysite revolt in Oriens, which he brutally did. The Ghassānids must have welcomed the defeat of Bonosus by Nicetas in 610 and hailed him as a deliverer from Bonosus and his

discussions; only the siege and fall of Jerusalem receive adequate coverage. This chapter will now provide a few more data for operations in Oriens which will supplement the laconic statements in the sources and will make more intelligible the course of the Persian advance in Oriens. Walter Kaegi has already contributed to a better understanding of the reign of Heraclius when he analyzed two hagiographic works, the *Vitae* of Theodore of Sykeon and Anastasius the Persian; see below, notes 8 and 41.

² See *Chronicon Miscellaneum ad Annum Domini 724 pertinens*, ed. E. W. Brooks, trans. J. B. Chabot, *Chronica Minora*, CSCO, Scriptores Syri, ser. 3, vol. 4 (Paris, 1904), versio, p. 113, lines 11-16.

³ Memories of Chosroes I's capture of Antioch in 540 must still have been fresh in the mind of his grandson, Chosroes II, whose megalomania may have driven him not only to emulate but to outdo what his grandfather had done against Byzantium during the reign of Justinian. He obviously succeeded since the deepest penetration that Chosroes I effected in Byzantine territory and in Oriens was the capture of Antioch.

Heraclius

The exarchate of Carthage and Ravenna

treaty gave Byzantium access, in Armenia, to a land rich in the soldiers it desperately needed and, equally important, an opportunity to concentrate on other frontiers where the situation had worsened.

Confronted by a Visigothic resurgence in Spain and by the results of a Lombard invasion of Italy (568), which was steadily confining Byzantine power to Ravenna, Venice, and Calabria-Sicily in the south, Maurice developed a form of military government throughout the relatively secure province of North Africa and in whatever regions were left in Italy. He abandoned the old principle of separating civil from military powers, placing both in the hands of the generals, or exarchs, located, respectively, at Carthage and Ravenna. Their provinces, or exarchates, were subdivided into duchies composed of garrison centres that were manned not by professional soldiers but by conscript local landholders. The exarchate system of military government seems to have worked well: North Africa was generally quiet despite Moorish threats; and in 597 the ailing Maurice had intended to install his second son as emperor throughout those western possessions in which he had clearly not lost interest.

But the major thrust of his efforts during the last years of his reign was to be found in the Balkans, where, by dint of constant campaigning, his armies had forced the Avars back across the Danube by 602. In the course of these military operations, Maurice made two mistakes: the first weakened him; the second destroyed him together with his dynasty. Rather than constantly accompanying his armies in the field, as his 7th- and 8th-century successors were to do, Maurice remained for the most part in Constantinople, losing an opportunity to engage the personal loyalty of his troops. He could not count on their obedience when he issued unwelcome commands from afar that decreased their pay in 588, ordered them to accept uniforms and weapons in kind rather than in cash equivalents, and, in 602, required the soldiers to establish winter quarters in enemy lands across the Danube, lest their requirements prove too great a strain on the agricultural and financial resources of the empire's provinces south of the river. Exasperated by this last demand, the soldiers rose in revolt, put a junior officer named Phocas at their head, and marched on Constantinople. Blues and Greens united against Maurice, and the aged emperor watched as his five sons were slaughtered before he himself met a barbarous death.

The ensuing reign of Phocas (602-610) may be described as a disaster. Khosrow seized the opportunity offered him by the murder of his benefactor, Maurice, to initiate a war of revenge that led Persian armies into the Anatolian heartland. Subsidies again failed to restrain the barbarians north of the Danube; after 602 the frontier crumbled, not to be restored save at the cost of centuries of warfare. Lacking a legitimate title, holding his crown only by right of conquest, Phocas found himself confronted by constant revolt and rebellion. To contemporaries, the coincidence of pestilence, endemic warfare, and social upheaval seemed to herald the coming of the Antichrist, the resurrection of the dead, and the end of the world.

But it was a human saviour who appeared, albeit under divine auspices. Heraclius, son of the Exarch of Africa, set sail from the western extremes of the empire, placing his fleet under the protection of an icon of the Virgin against Phocas, stigmatized in the sources as the "corrupter of virgins." In the course of his voyage along the northern shores of the Mediterranean, Heraclius added to his forces and arrived at Constantinople in 610 to be hailed as a saviour. With the warm support of the Green faction, he quickly bested his enemy, decapitating Phocas and, with him, those the latter had advanced to high civil and military office. There were, in consequence, few experienced counsellors to aid Heraclius, for, among the men of prominence under Phocas—and earlier under Maurice—few survived to greet the new emperor.

menace of the Avars and the Persians, and neither people abated its pressure during the first years of the new reign. The Avars almost captured the Emperor in 617 during a conference outside the long walls protecting the capital. The Persians penetrated Asia Minor and then turned to the south, capturing Jerusalem and Alexandria (in Egypt). The great days of the Persian Achaemenid Empire seemed to have come again, and there was little in the recent history of the Byzantine emperors that would encourage Heraclius to place much faith in the future. He clearly could not hope to survive unless he kept under arms the troops he had brought with him; yet, the fate of Maurice demonstrated that this would be no easy task, given the empire's lack of financial and agricultural resources.

Three sources of strength enabled Heraclius to turn defeat into victory. The first was the pattern of military government as he and the nucleus of his army would have known it in the exarchates of North Africa or Ravenna. As it had been in the West, so it now was in the East. Civil problems were inseparable from the military: Heraclius could not hope to dispense justice, collect taxes, protect the church, and assure the future to his dynasty unless military power reinforced his orders. A system of military government, the exarchate, had accomplished these objectives so well in the West that, in a moment of despair, Heraclius sought to return to the land of his origins. In all likelihood, he applied similar principles of military rule to his possessions throughout Asia Minor, granting his generals (*stratēgoi*) both civil and military authority over those lands that they occupied with their "themes," as the army groups, or corps, were called in the first years of the 7th century.

Secondly, during the social upheaval of the past decade, the imperial treasury had doubtless seized the estates of prominent individuals who had been executed either during Phocas' reign of terror or after the latter's death. In consequence, though the treasury lacked money, it nonetheless possessed land in abundance, and Heraclius could easily have supported with grants of land those cavalry soldiers whose expenses in horses and armament he could not hope to meet with cash. If this hypothesis is correct, then, even before 622, themes, or army groups—including the guards (*Opsikioi*), the Armenians (*Armeniakoi*), and the Easterners (*Anatolikoi*)—were given lands and settled throughout Asia Minor in so permanent a fashion that, before the century was out, the lands occupied by these themes were identified by the names of those who occupied them. The Opsikioi were to be found in the Opsikion theme, the Armeniakoi in the Armeniakon, and the Anatolikoi in the Anatolikon. The term theme ceased thereafter to identify an army group and described instead the medieval Byzantine unit of local administration, the theme under the authority of the themal commander, the general (*stratēgos*).

When Heraclius "went out into the lands of the themes" in 622, thereby undertaking a struggle of seven years' duration against the Persians, he utilized the third of his sources of strength: the religious. The warfare that ensued was nothing less than a holy war: it was partly financed by the treasure placed by the church at the disposal of the state; the Emperor's soldiers called upon God to aid them as they charged into battle; and they took comfort in the miraculous image of Christ that preceded them in their line of march. A brief summary of the campaign unfortunately gives no idea of the difficulties Heraclius encountered as he liberated Asia Minor (622), fought in Armenia with allies found among the Christian Caucasian peoples, the Lazi, the Abasgi, and the Iberians (624), and struggled in far-distant Lazica while Constantinople withstood a combined siege of Avars and Persians (626). An alliance with the Khazars, a Turkic people from north of the Caucasus, proved of material assistance in those years and of lasting import in Byzantine diplomacy. Heraclius finally destroyed the main Persian host at Nineveh in 627 and, after occupying Dastagird in 628, savoured the full flavour of triumph when his enemy, Khosrow, was deposed and murdered. The Byzantine emperor might well have believed that, if

The source Heraclius

Detail the Persian

THE 7TH CENTURY: THE HERACLIIANS AND THE CHALLENGE OF ISLAM

Heraclius and the origin of the themes. The most threatening problem Heraclius faced was the external

Heraklius
Bilans

Gran Tours, Franziska Anshelipedi,
E.Br. C.3, s. 556-558, 1981 (CHICAGO)

NOT: Makalenin devami "BIZANS" posetindedi!

XVI

The Reign of Heraclius (610-641)

The possibility of writing the ecclesiastical history of the Ghassânids during the reign of Heraclius is slightly better than for the reign of Phocas. The reign was long, and Heraclius' policy toward Monophysitism is well documented. It emerges clearly from the sources as it is pursued from the very beginning of the reign till its end. Although the references to the Ghassânids are not plentiful, it is possible to set them against the ecclesiastical policy of the reign and interpret them accordingly. A previous chapter in this volume has treated the role of the Ghassânids in the military history of the reign and has indicated their whereabouts during its three decades; so it has set the stage for writing their ecclesiastical history, the main features of which become clear after a brief survey of the policy of Heraclius toward the Monophysites.

I. INTRODUCTION

The reign of Heraclius is not unlike that of Justinian in that one may follow the emperor's attitude toward solving the religious problem in his realm in all its stages.¹ Heraclius began his reign with an understanding of the importance of the problem posed by Monophysitism, in which he was involved even more than Justinian. The people he belonged to, the Armenians, formed one of the three main groups of Monophysites in the Byzantine East, the other two being those in Oriens and in Egypt. His father, the exarch of Africa, had recently come from the East where he had fought against the Persians, and he was naturally familiar with the problem as it presented itself during the reign of Maurice. Even before his departure from Carthage, Heraclius must have discussed with his father the problem of reconciling the Monophysites of the empire with its Chalcedonians.

His motives in so doing are all easily recognizable. While he himself sailed with the fleet against Phocas in Constantinople, his cousin Nicetas marched overland to Egypt and was to continue his march through Oriens.

¹ For the ecclesiastical policy of the reign of Heraclius, see the account of Frend, *Rise*, 344-52, and the extensive chapter in Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, I, 283-304, with its bibliography. The material presented there has been reorganized in the three following paragraphs; they treat Heraclius' comprehension of the problem, his motives in dealing with it, and the measures he took.

Thus he would be operating in territories in which the Monophysites were powerful, and he needed them for the success of his adventure against Phocas. Moreover, Phocas had alienated the Monophysites as recently as 609 when he instituted harsh measures against them and sent them Bonosus and Cottanas. Immediately after the fall of Phocas, both Heraclius and Nicetas had to fight the Persians in Oriens, also full of Monophysites. Furthermore, this was Ghassânid territory, and the contribution of these seasoned *foederati* would be invaluable in the war with the Persians. Almost a decade later, Heraclius would begin his counteroffensive against Persia in 622, and he begins it from Armenia itself, Monophysite to the hilt, where he recruited troops for his army.

It was then only natural that he should have engaged in a series of efforts throughout his reign in order to conciliate the Monophysites. The highlights of these endeavors were his conferences with their patriarchs and chief ecclesiastics. It was also his cousin, the Chalcedonian Nicetas, who effected the union of the two Monophysite churches of Egypt and Oriens in 616, when he brought the two patriarchs, Athanasius and Anastasius, together. Even after the disastrous defeat at the hands of the Muslim Arabs at Yarmūk, Heraclius issued the Ekthesis in 638. In all these endeavors, he had the support of his patriarch in Constantinople, Sergius, a Syrian himself,² who did most of the theological thinking behind these efforts at reconciliation with his Monoenergism and Monotheletism, with clever emphasis on *Monos* as a sop to the Monophysites.

Such an ecclesiastical policy could only have endeared the new emperor to the Ghassânids, especially after their experiences with the anti-Monophysite outburst of Phocas in 609/10. Even though they may have lost the edge of their enthusiasm for an uncompromising support of the confession after the exile of their king Mundir, they remained Monophysites until the very end of the Byzantine period, and most of them crossed over to Anatolia after the Muslim occupation of Oriens. Their history throughout the reign was that of support for Heraclius, first against Phocas and then against the Persians, and this has been treated in a previous chapter of this volume. With this support must have been coupled their approval of the emperor's friendly gestures toward Monophysitism to which they belonged.

The sources for the Ghassânids on ecclesiastical matters are even less informative than they are on their political and military contributions. Only echoes have survived that can be treated in an ecclesiastical context. Most of these come toward the end of the second decade of the reign, which is under-

² And, according to Michael the Syrian and Theophanes, of Monophysite parentage; see Stratos, *Byzantium*, I, 287, and Frend, *Rise*, 344. On Byzantine contacts with Theodore, the bishop of Phārān in Sinai, and the problems these contacts raise, see below, 983-84.

Edited by
Fuat Sezgin

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GEOGRAPHY

Volume 305

Texts and Studies on the
Historical Geography and Topography
of Africa
Collected and Reprinted

III

2009

Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science
at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University
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Frankfurt am Main

Herakleios (081065)

Eine mittelalterlich-mohammedanische Ausgestaltung der alten Überlieferung von den Säulen des Herakles.

„Säulen des Herakles“ heißen bekanntlich in gehobener Ausdrucksweise bis auf den heutigen Tag die beiden einander gegenüberstehenden Felsen an der Gibraltarstraße, Gibraltar auf europäischer, der Djebel Musa auf afrikanischer Seite. Die Namengebung scheint bereits im 5. Jahrhdt. v. Chr. aufgekommen zu sein. Ursprünglich freilich verband man mit dem Begriff der Herakles-Säulen eine völlig andre Vorstellung als später. Eine Stelle bei Strabo läßt erkennen¹⁾, daß die ältesten westlichen Säulen des Herakles in Gades (Cadix) standen. Säulen wurden von den Alten gern an den äußersten Grenzen eines Gebietes, das besonders gekennzeichnet werden sollte, auch als Grenzmarke — z. B. selbst bei den Chinesen!²⁾ — aufgerichtet. Ein Säulenpaar spielte eine im einzelnen bisher nicht völlig aufgeklärte Rolle im religiösen Kult semitischer Völker, bei den alten Ägyptern, Israeliten, Phöniziern usw., die vor ihren bedeutendsten Tempeln oder in ihnen oft und gern zwei gleiche Säulen aufstellten³⁾. So gab es auch im phönizischen Melkart-Tempel zu Gades zwei ehernen Säulen, und da Gades durch sehr lange Zeit der Endpunkt aller Mittelmeerschiffahrt im Westen war, so kamen diese „Säulen des Melkart“, der bei den Griechen ihrem Herakles gleichgesetzt wurde, in den Ruf, sozusagen das Ende der Welt darzustellen. Als dann etwa ums Jahr 530 v. C. die Karthager Südspanien sich unterwarfen, die einträglichen Handelsfahrten auf den ozeanischen Gewässern monopolisierten und die Passage der Gibraltarstraße allen nichtkarthagischen Seefahrern bei Todesstrafe verboten, so daß die besuchbare Welt am Felsen von Gibraltar für die Schifffahrt zu Ende war, lag es nahe, die beiden Felsen der Meerenge als die vielgenannten Säulen des Melkart-Herakles aufzufassen:

¹⁾ Strabo

²⁾ Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Erdkunde 1889, 61.

³⁾ Herodot II 102. — I. Kön: 7,15—22.

bis hierher sollte Herakles auf seiner Westfahrt gekommen sein, und zum Zeichen dafür hatte er angeblich die Zwillingsfelsen aufgetürmt.

In wie hohem Maße die Geographie der mittelalterlichen Araber, die bekanntlich in all ihrem wissenschaftlichen Denken sehr stark vom klassischen Altertum beeinflusst wurden, diese hellenische Vorstellung in sich aufgenommen hat, beweist am deutlichsten eine Äußerung des um 950 wirkenden großen Geographen Masudi. Dieser meldet über die Gegend der Gibraltarstraße¹⁾:

„An der Grenze, wo die zwei Meere, das Mittelmeer und der Ozean, ineinander fließen, sind Pfeiler von Kupfer und Stein von dem riesenhaften König Herakles errichtet worden.“

Masudi fügt noch hinzu:

„Auf diesen Pfeilern stehen Inschriften und Figuren, die mit den Händen andeuten, daß man nicht weiter vordringen kann.“

Diese Bemerkung bedarf einer besonderen Erläuterung. Masudi kannte die Gibraltarstraße nicht aus eigenem Augenschein, hat also lediglich ein Gerücht wiedergegeben. Die „Pfeiler“ sind natürlich eine Widerspiegelung der „Säulen“ des Herakles. Was aber die angeblichen Inschriften auf eben diesen Säulen betrifft, so handelt es sich hier um eine volkstümliche Ausdeutung der Überlieferung, daß hiermit das Ende der zugänglichen Welt bezeichnet sein solle, eine Ausdeutung, die bereits auf Lukianos zurückzufolgen ist. Dieser in der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jhds. lebende griechische Schriftsteller schreibt nämlich einmal²⁾, es gebe draußen im westlichen Ozean eine Insel in 80 Seelagen Entfernung; auf ihr stehe eine ehernen Säule mit einer Inschrift:

„Bis hierher sind Herakles und Dionysos gekommen.“

Die Gibraltarstraße war i. J. 206 v. C. durch die römische Eroberung Spaniens aus ihrer mehr als 300jährigen Stellung als Ende der für Hellenen und Römer im Westen erreichbaren Welt befreit worden, und einem Lukian war natürlich bekannt, daß man weit in den Ozean hinaus zu segeln vermochte. Er verlegte daher die „Säulen des Herakles“ willkürlich auf eine hypothetische Insel im Ozean. Masudi aber, der stets im Orient, meist in Bagdad, lebte, haftete noch an der altüberlieferten Vorstellung, daß die Gibraltarstraße selbst das Ende der Welt darstelle.

Schon rund ein Jahrhundert vor Masudi hatte der hochbedeutende persische Geograph Ibn Khordadbeh, der lange Generalpostmeister im

¹⁾ Masudi: Meadow of gold and mines, ed. Sprenger, London 1841, 282.

²⁾ Lukianos, vera historia lib. 1.

SIRAT-UN-NABI

[THE LIFE OF THE PROPHET]

(peace be upon him)

Volume II

By

ALLAMA SHIBLI NU'MANI

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17

RULERS INVITED TO ISLAM

(The close of the 6th and the beginning of the
7th year of the Hijra)

Hudaibiya having promised a span of peace, it was time to make the message of Islam known to the world. Hence the Prophet (peace and blessings of Allāh be upon him) one day called together all his Companions and addressed them thus : "Listen, O' people, God has sent me as His Messenger and Apostle of mercy for all the world. Mind that you do not fall into dissensions like the disciples of Jesus. Go and convey the Divine message from me." Then he despatched letters to the Byzantine Emperor, the Emperor of Persia, the King of Egypt, and the Chiefs of Arabia inviting them all to the fold of Islam. The names of those who carried the letters with the names of the addressees are given below :¹

1. Dehyah Kalbī to the Byzantine Emperor.
2. 'Abdullāh Ibn Hudhaifa Sehmī to the Chosroes of Irān.
3. Hātib Ibn Balta'a to 'Azīz (Potipher) of Egypt.
4. 'Amr Ibn Umayya to the Negus of Ethiopia.
5. Salīh Ibn 'Amr to the chiefs of Yamama.
6. Shujā' Ibn Wahb al-Asadī to Hārith Ghassānī, the chief of Syria.

A few years back, the Iranians had invaded the Syrian territory and defeated the Romans of Byzantium. It has

1. Tabarī, Vol. III, p. 1559, and Ibn Hishām.

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been referred to in the Holy Qur'ān in these words : "The Byzantians have been overcome in a nearer land, and they, after the overcoming of them, shall soon overcome. In some few years, Allah's is the command before and after." (30 : 24) Hiracleus of Rome (Byzantium) collected a large force with huge preparations to avenge his defeat, and routed the Iranians. To offer thanks for this victory, he came from Hims to the holy city of Jerusalem, marching in state. As he marched the ground under his feet was covered with carpets and the carpets strewn with flowers all along the route.¹

The Arab rulers of Syria, who held sway under the overlordship of Hiracleus, were the Ghassānides, with their capital at Basra or Busra, in the Damascus region (now known as Hūran). In those days Hārith Ghassānī was the ruler. Dehyah Kalbī delivered the Prophet's letter to Hārith, who sent it to Hiracleus at Jerusalem. On receipt of the letter Hiracleus ordered his men to fetch to him any person coming from Arabia. By chance Abū Sufyān, with some other Arab traders, was in those days staying at Ghaza. The Emperor's men brought them from Ghaza.

Hiracleus held his court with all the display of majesty and sat crowned in the midst of monks, priests and patriarchs lined up on all sides. Addressing the Arabs he asked them who was related to the new Prophet. Abū Sufyān declared that he was his kinsman. After this ensued the following dialogue :

Hiracleus : What is the family status of this Prophet ?

Abū Sufyān : He is of noble birth.

Hiracleus : Did any one else from the family ever claim to be a prophet ?

1. The whole story of Hiracleus has been taken from *Fath al-Bārī*, commentary of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. In *Bukhārī* itself the fact is briefly described. Other details have been taken by Hafiz Ibn Hajar from other sources.

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HERACLIUS AND MAHOMET

THE SPEED AND EXTENT OF THE ORIGINAL ARAB EXPANSION HAS ALWAYS impressed historians. Mahomet died in 632: twenty years later Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Armenia had fallen to the new invader, the remains of the Persian Empire had been obliterated and the new religion had been carried to India. By 697, North Africa had been completely conquered, by 712, Spain; by 720, the Arabs had penetrated into the south of France.¹ Almost as impressive, however, is the way in which this expansion was halted. In the West, the Arabs had travelled far from their centres of origin, their impetus had slackened and their defeat between Tours and Poitiers in 732 was not so decisive an event as has at times been supposed. But, in the East, their armies were continually recruited from bases in Arabia and Iraq and their attacks continued with unabated vigour. It was the Byzantine Empire, weakened by the loss of many territories, particularly by the loss of Egypt, its richest province, which had to withstand the full force of these attacks. After 660, a yearly series of campaigns commenced against Byzantine Asia Minor. Between 672 and 678, Constantinople itself was almost constantly besieged.² In the last years of the century, the imperial succession was disputed and internal disorder was added to the pressure on the frontiers.³ Moreover, the Arabs were not the only enemies of the empire. Previous to the Arab incursions, it had only just begun to recover from a Persian invasion, and, during the whole of the century, it had to maintain its defences against Slavs and Bulgars in the north. Nevertheless, in 718, the Emperor Leo III was able to inflict a crushing blow on the Arabs, Constantinople was saved and the danger of an earlier Islamic penetration of the Balkans, with incalculable consequences for Europe, was averted. How did the empire survive? Part of the answer must be sought in the work of the emperors who reigned for the hundred years before Leo came to the throne and whose work, therefore, has far more than a Byzantine significance.⁴

The fundamental achievement of Heraclius (610-641), the first of these emperors, and one with which all the other developments in the life of the empire during the seventh century were ultimately connected, was a complete reform of the Byzantine army. The essential problem of the later Roman Empire had always been a

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عالم الكتب

Heraklius فصل

— في بعث أبي بكر رضي الله عنه إلى هرقل —

قال ابن الجوزي قلت: وقد بعث أبو بكر رضي الله عنه بعد رسول الله ﷺ إلى قيصر ثانياً. حدثنا سعد الخير بن محمد الأنصاري عن موسى بن عقبة أن هشام بن العاص ونعيم بن عبد الله ورجلاً آخر قد

- (١) كذا في الأصول، وفي أقرب الموارد: البطرك عند النصارى رئيس رؤساء الأساقفة، وعند اليهود العالم، معرب عن باتير ارخوس باليونانية ومعناه الأب الرئيس.
- (٢) في أقرب الموارد: المطران رئيس الكهنة، وهو دون البطرك وفوق الأسقف.
- (٣) سقط من ع.
- (٤) في ع: قرأت.
- (٥) في ع: وضاء لم يكن.
- (٦) زيد في ع: الصديق.

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- (٣) من ع وم، وفي الاصل: ندرا.
- (٤) من م، وفي الأصل، فانبد، وفي ع: فابيد - كذا.
- (٥) سقط من ع.
- (٦) زيد في ع: و.
- (٧) زيد في ع: تعالى.
- (٨) في مشارق الأنوار ١/ ١١٨.
- (٩) من م ومشارق الأنوار، وفي الأصل، القوذة التادني - كذا، وفي ع: التوذة الثاني.
- (١٠) من ع وم ومشارق الأنوار، وفي الأصل: ابتد وتود.
- (١١) من مشارق الأنوار، وفي الأصول الثلاثة: الباء.
- (١٢) في ع: التود.
- (١٣) من ع وم، وفي الأصل، فتنا.
- (١٤) زيد هنا في ع: البر ويقال الماء.

Diğer İslâmî Eserleri

المصباح المصطفى

Heraklîyus

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كتاب النبي الأتي ورُسُلِهِ إِلَى
مُلُوكِ الْأَرْضِ مِنْ عَرَبِيٍّ وَجَعَلِي

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المتوفى سنة ٧٨٣ هـ - ١٣٨١ م

الشيخ الشافعي

صَحَّحَهُ وَوَضَعَ عَلَيْهِ
الشيخ محمد طه الدين

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi Kütüphanesi	
Kaynak No. :	2255-2
Faenif No. :	

عالم الكتب

Heraklîyus

فصل

في بعث أبي بكر^(٦) رضي الله عنه إلى هرقل

قال ابن الجوزي قلت: وقد بعث أبو بكر رضي الله عنه بعد رسول الله ﷺ إلى قيصر ثانياً. حدثنا سعد الخير بن محمد الأنصاري عن موسى بن عقبة أن هشام بن العاص ونعيم بن عبد الله ورجلاً آخر قد

- (١) كذا في الأصول، وفي أقرب الموارد: البطرك عند النصارى رئيس رؤساء الأساقفة، وعند اليهود العالم، معرب عن باتير اريخوس باليونانية ومعناه الأب الرئيس.
- (٢) في أقرب الموارد: المطران رئيس الكهنة، وهو دون البطرك وفوق الأسقف.
- (٣) سقط من ع.
- (٤) في ع: قرأت.
- (٥) في ع: وضاء لم يكن.
- (٦) زيد في ع: الصديق.

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- (٣) من ع وم، وفي الاصل: ندرا.
- (٤) من م، وفي الأصل، فانبد، وفي ع: فاييد - كذا.
- (٥) سقط من ع.
- (٦) زيد في ع: و.
- (٧) زيد في ع: تعالى.
- (٨) في مشارق الأنوار ١/١١٨.
- (٩) من م ومشارق الأنوار، وفي الأصل، القوذة التادني - كذا، وفي ع: التوذة الثاني.
- (١٠) من ع وم ومشارق الأنوار، وفي الأصل: ابتد وتود.
- (١١) من مشارق الأنوار، وفي الأصول الثلاثة: الياء.
- (١٢) في ع: التود.
- (١٣) من ع وم، وفي الأصل، فتنا.
- (١٤) زيد هنا في ع: البر ويقال الماء.

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ويقومون الليل! قلنا: نحن والله هم^(١)؛ قال^(٢): فكيف صومكم؟ فوصفنا له صومنا؛ قال: فكيف صلاتكم؟ فوصفنا له صلاتنا. قال: فالله يعلم^(٣) لقد غشيه سواد حتى صار وجهه كأنه قطعة طابق - قال الجوهري: هو الأجر^(٤) الكبير، فارسي معرب، وقال - يعني جبلة: قوموا، فأمر بنا إلى الملك، فانطلقنا فلقينا الرسول بباب المدينة فقال: إن شئتم أتيتم بيغال، وإن شئتم أتيتم ببراذين! فقلنا: لا والله! لا ندخل عليه إلا كما نحن. قال: فأرسل إليه^(٥) أنهم يأبون، قال: فأرسل^(٦) أن خل سيبلهم، فدخلنا معتمين متقلدين السيوف على الرواحل.

فلما كنا بباب الملك إذا هو في غرفة له عالية، فنظر إلينا، فرفعنا رؤوسنا وقلنا: لا إله إلا الله! فالله يعلم لنفضت الغرفة كلها حتى كأنها عذق نفثته الريح - قال الجوهري: العذق - بالفتح: النخلة بحملها، ومنه قول الحباب بن المنذر في يوم السقيفة: أنا عذيقها المرجب^(٧). والنفض بالفاء: التحريك، يقال: نفثت الشجر إذا - حركته لينفض؛ و^(٨) يشدد للمبالغة. والإنقاض - بالقاف: صُويت^(٩) مثل النقر، وأنقض الجمل^(١٠) ظهره - أي أثقله، وأصله الصوت؛ والنقيض: صوت المحامل والرحال. قال: فأرسل إلينا الملك أن هذا ليس لكم أن تجهروا بدينكم

- (١) في ع: هو.
- (٢) سقط من ع.
- (٣) في ع: اعلم.
- (٤) في ع: الأجور.
- (٥) من ع وم، وفي الأصل: إليهم.
- (٦) زيد في ع: إليه.
- (٧) في ع وم: المرجب. انظر الطبري ٣/٢٠٩.
- (٨) في ع: أو.
- (٩) كذا في الأصل وم واللسان (نقض)، وفي ع: صوت.
- (١٠) في ع: الجمل.

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الإمام

بمن وافق حكمه للمغرب

استهلال المائتين عام

د. عبد الهادي التازي

وهرقل ذلك هو الذي بعث إليه نبي الإسلام محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم بدحية الكلبى في مطلع السنة السابعة من الهجرة (مايه 628) يحمل رسالته التاريخية المشهورة التي تدعوه إلى اعتناق الإسلام. في أعقاب حروبه مع ملك الفرس. وهكذا رأينا أنه عندما كانت السنة الأولى للهجرة. كان المغرب تحت حكم هرقل... وكان واليه على البلاد هو كريكوريس أو جرجير. وعلى ذكر خطاب النبي إلى هرقل. نذكر أن الناصر الموحدي آل إليه ذلك الخطاب... كما نذكر أن السلطان مولاي إسماعيل ابن مولاي الشريف ملك المغرب (1082 - 1139 = 1671 - 1727) عندما كانت علاقاته جيدة بلويس الرابع عشر ملك فرنسا كان ينسب إلى هرقل عظيم الروم «الذي كتب له جدنا وسيدنا عليه الصلاة والسلام» ولكنه عندما توترت العلاقات ذات يوم مع ملك فرنسا بسبب محاصرته الثغور المغربية (سنة 1114 = 1702) قال له السلطان مولاي إسماعيل. «ما أنت من ذرية هرقل على كل حال ياجماع الأجناس ولكنك من ذرية جرجير الذي كان بإفريقية وقتله عبد الله ابن الزبير» !!



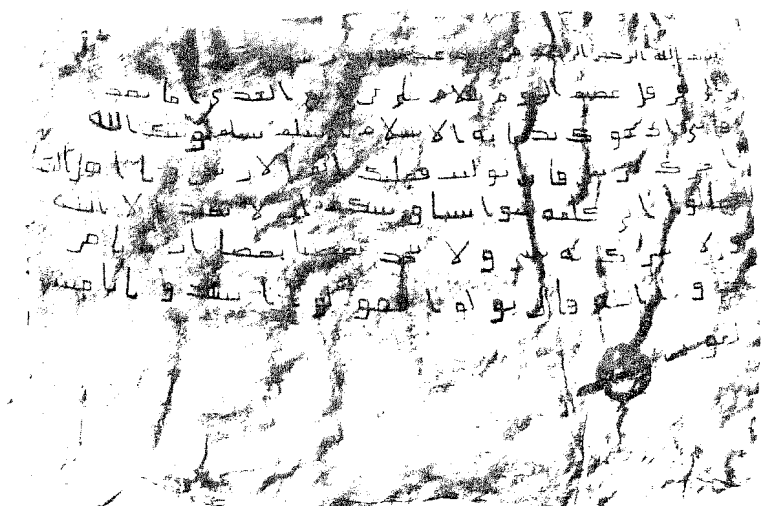
(1) هرقل : (هيراكليوس)

610 م - 641 م - 12 هـ - 20 هـ

(كان اليوم الأول للقرن الهجري الأول، هو الجمعة الموافق 16 يولييه 622).

اعتلى القيص هرقل عرش بيزنطة عام 610 ميلادية، واستمر حتى 641... كانت المقاطعات البيزنطية في إفريقيا تحت حكمه - ومنها المغرب الأقصى وجزر البليار. وكانت تنعم على عهده ببعض الهدوء والرخاء.

بيد أنه لم يلبث أن أخذ يواجه الصراع الذي شب في الشمال الإفريقي حيث أعلن البطريق كريكوريوس الثاني الذي تسميه المصادر التاريخية العربية، «جرجير» ثورته على الحاكم العسكري الذي كان يشاركه في الحكم. وهكذا انفصل كريكوريوس عن قيصر بيزنطة، واستبد بالشمال الإفريقي بسيطة (جنوب غربي القيروان)... قبل أن تجهز عليه طلائع الفتح الإسلامي...



صورة خطاب النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم إلى هرقل، وقد كان حكمه يمتد إلى المقاطعات البيزنطية في إفريقيا، بما فيها المغرب الأقصى، فالرسالة إذن كانت موجهة إلينا أيضا !

Herakleios, 93-97



PROF. DR. W. BARTHOLD

İSLÂM MEDENİYETİ TARİHİ

PROF. DR. M. FUAD KÖPRÜLÜ

Tarafından BAŞLANGIÇ'la İZAH ve DÜZELTMELER
Kısmı İlâve Edilmiştir.

Geniş İzah, Düzeltme ve İlâvelerle

ALTINCI BASIM

ARISAN Matbaacılık * 29 75 39 - 29 05 54 - ANKARA

1984

Ortaçağ'da, muhtelif zamanlarda, muhtelif sâhalarda tesadüf edilen bu düalist akıdeli zümrelere türlü türlü isimler verilmekle beraber, en umumî isim olarak Maniheen —yâni Maniheizm mensubu— tâbiri kullanılıyordu. Bunlar hakkında umumî ve inanılabilir bir eser olarak şu kitabı söyleyebiliriz: S. Runciman, *Le Manichéisme médiéval*, Paris 1949. Maniheizm'in Garb'ta Roma İmparatorluğu sâhasında yayılması hususunda toplu malûmat veren şu eseri de unutmamak lâzımdır: E. O. de Stoop, *Essai sur la diffusion du Manichéisme dans l'Empire Romain*, Gand Üniversitesi Felsefe ve Edebiyat Fakültesi çalışmaları, c. 38, 1909. Büyük âlim Fr. Cumont'un *La Propagation du Manichéisme dans l'Empire* adlı makalesi (*Revue d'Histoire et de littérature religieuse* 1910) ile, P. Alfarié'nin *Ecritures manichéennes* (Paris, 1918) adlı eserinin birinci cildinin muhtelif bahisleri de unutulmamalıdır.

İslâmlar arasında daha ilk zamanlardanberi *Zındık* diye anılan —bu kelime bugün bile Türkçe'de "Akidesi bozuk,, mânasına *Zındık* diye kullanılmaktadır— Maniheenler'in İslâm dünyası ile münasebetleri hakkında şunlara bakınız: H. H. Schaeder, *Manihäer und Muslim*, ZDMG, LXXXII, 1928, 76-81. G. Vajda, *Les Zindiqs en pays d'Islam au début de la période abbaside* (*Rivista degli Studi orientali*, xvii, 1937, p. 173-220).

Mânî'nin ölümünden sonra daha yüzyıl geçmeden, Çin'den ve Şarkî Türkistan'dan Kart'a'ca'ya, yâni Pasifik'ten Atlantik'e kadar büyük bir sâhaya sür'atle yayılmak kudreti gösteren Maniheizm, en parlak devrini ve en uzun zaman devlet dini olmak imtiyazını, Şarkî Türkistan Uygurları arasında te'min etmiştir. Mânî akidelerini kabul eden Uygur Türkleri'nin dinî-edebî eserleri ve türlü türlü san'at mahsûlleri, Türk medeniyeti tarihinin eski ve emsalsiz yadigarlarıdır. Şarkî Türkistan'da 1000 tarihlerinde altın devrini idrâk eden Maniheizm, Şimalî Afrika'da Vandallara'nın istilâsı ile ortadan kalkmış, fakat Suriye ve Mezopotamya'da Hristiyan kilisesini uzun müddet tehdit etmiştir. Onbir-oniki asır kadar uzun bir tarihî devre içinde, türlü türlü tecellilere uğrayan Maniheizm, Müslüman İran ve Türk kültür an'anelerinde *Mânî-i-nakkâş* ve *Nigâr-hâne-i-Mânî*, *Erteng* veya *Erjeng* (An'aneye göre, Mânî'nin yaptığı resimleri ihtiva eden mecmuanın adı, 'Abbâs İkbâl tarafından neşredilen *Ebu'l-Ma'âli*'nin *Beyân-el-Edyân*'nda, bu mecmuanın

Gazneliler devrinde Gazne sarayında mevcut olduğu yazılı ise de, bunun aslı olmadığı pek tabiidir) gibi birkaç tâbir bırakarak ortadan kalkmıştır. XX. Asır Garp âlimlerinin Şarkî Türkistan'da meydana çıkardıkları divar resimleri, minyatürler, tezhibler, resimler ve heykeller ile süslü ibadethâneler, bize bu gün bu tâbirlerin hakikî mânasını büyük bir açıklıkla anlatmaktadır.

8. HERAKLIUS VE SÂSÂNİLER

622-628 seneleri arasında Sâsânîler'e karşı üç muvaffakiyetli harb yapan Heraklius (Héraclius), 617 sonunda Musul civarında büyük ve kat'î bir zafer kazandı. Bunun neticesi olarak Husrev'in hal'i ve katli üzerine şulh imza edildi. Bu sûretle Suriye, Filistin, Mısır tekrar Bizans hâkimiyetine geçmiş oldu ve Heraklius ilk defa olarak resmen *Basileus* ünvanını aldı (629); çünkü, o zamana kadar, bu ünvanı taşımağa salâhiyeti Bizanslılar tarafından dahi tasdik edilen Sâsânî hükümdarları, artık bunu taşıyamıyacaklardı. Kur'an'da dahi zikredilen bu galebe, Yukarı Ortazaman tarihinin mühim bir hâdisesidir: Asırlardanberi Şark hâkimiyetini elde etmek için birbirleriyle çarpışan iki büyük kuvvetten biri, artık hemen hemen yıkılmış gibiydi. Diğer taraftan, Bizans'ı Tuna hududunda epey zaman danberi tehdit etmekte olan Avar Türkleri'nin İmparatorluğu da sür'atle çökmekte idi. İşte, bu sûretle, 629'da Bizans yeniden bütün haşmetiyle, rakipsiz olarak, Yakın Şark'ın en muazzam siyâsî ve askerî kuvveti gibi görünüyordu. Maamâfi, hiç beklenilmeyen yeni bir hâdise, İslâmiyet'in zuhuru ve *Arap istilâsı*, Heraklius'un sekiz senelik son saltanat yıllarında, İran zaferinin semerelerini onun elinden aldı [Tafsilât için: A. A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'empire byzantin*, Paris 1932, Vol. I, P. 260-264, 275-279. Burada, Bizans'ın dahili vaziyeti bilinmedikçe ilk bakışta bir mucize gibi görünen bu istilâyı kolaylaştıran bütün âmiller izah edilmiş ve bu hususta en mühim tetkikler zikrolunmuştur].

*

§ Héraclius (610-641)'un uzun süren saltanat devri, onun dahili idarede yaptığı esaslı ıslâhat hareketlerinden başka, Sâsânîler'le ve



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Letter of Prophet MOHAMMAD to Hera

Edited

by

Muhammad Adnan Bakhit

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Heraclius

The Strategy of Heraclius

Walter Emil Kaegi, Jr., The University of Chicago
and The Institute for Advanced Study

The Muslim Conquest have received some quite valuable recent historical inquiry, yet the strategy of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, who reigned from 610 to 641, has received much less. The primary sources in Greek are very poor, and it is difficult to extract reliable conclusions from the non-Greek Christian and Muslim ones. It is nevertheless possible to make some observations. Modern military thinkers may make a tripartite classification of topics of military thought into strategy, military operations, and tactics, but such categories were alien to the Byzantines, who knew of such ones as strategy, tactics, stratagems, poliorcetics or the art of besieging a city, and naval warfare. It is inappropriate here to discuss the substantial Graeco-Roman corpus of military treatises and concepts that the Byzantines inherited, copied and adapted for their own purposes. There was no Byzantine grand strategy. There were collections of axioms, stratagems, narratives of significant military case histories, warnings, and miscellaneous reflections on warfare and craft and other bits of practical advice, none of which was really rigorously organized and developed, although they formed a substantial and unique corpus of military experiences.

Heraclius had acquainted himself with some unidentified Byzantine military manuals. These presumably included the so-called *Strategikon* of Maurice, which was written around A.D. 600. Byzantine military treatises have little to say about fighting the Arabs before the appearance of Islam. Byzantine writers possessed some clichés about fighting the Arabs. The Arabs cannot storm walls, according to Procopius of Caesarea. Evagrius Scholasticus states that it is better to use Arabs to fight Arabs. Heraclius's court historian Theophylact Simocatta, who was himself from Upper Egypt, speaks of the tendency of the Arabs to be unfaithful, namely, to switch from one side to the other. These clichés reinforced more general trends in Byzantine military thought. There was a Byzantine preference to avoid decisive combat on the battlefield, and instead the desire to use clever ruses and stratagems to defeat one's enemy without much bloodshed. Strategists counseled the use of timing, patience, and warfare of manoeuvre and attrition, instead of head-on battle. Yet given the dearth of information in the military manuals about fighting the Arabs or about fighting in the regions where the Muslims invaded, there were few written precedents for warfare, strategy, or operations of the kind that were needed by the Byzantines in the 630s; at least there is no record of any such works having existed.

 MAJLIS YALIMLANDIKAN
 SONRA QILIN YERIMAN

The Strategy of Heraclius

Walter Emil Kaegi

These tendencies reveal themselves in any close investigation of the activities of the Byzantines in their attempt to resist the Muslims. It is proper to speak of a strategy of Heraclius. Arab historians definitely attribute decision-making responsibility to Heraclius in all critical military matters concerning Byzantine resistance throughout the span of the Muslim conquest of Syria. Heraclius in fact was the first reigning Byzantine emperor to visit Syria since the fourth century. Although his knowledge of Syria was not exhaustive, he had visited key areas of it during his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in early 631. He had some familiarity with its terrain, climate, people, and communications. He was not far away in Constantinople during the key events of the conquest. Although he did not lead troops in person against the Muslims, he was continuously in Syria from 634 to 636, and even before that he had been able to maintain close communications while trying to settle ecclesiastical problems in northern Syria and his native Armenia. His bases of operations, first at Emesa or Hims, and then at Antioch, permitted him to remain in reasonably close contact with the battlefronts. He was not oblivious to the situation. The Muslim sources suggest, in fact, that he was relatively well informed about affairs and they may be right about this.

It is very erroneous to assume that the Muslim leadership was oblivious to the role of sophisticated military thinking. Indeed some Muslim sources, in particular Ibn 'Asakir, indicate a Muslim awareness of the Byzantine propensity to using clever machinations in warfare, and the need to try to avoid being caught by them. A basic strategy of Abu Bakr, according to Azdi, sought an opposite way to victory: seeking to cause the Byzantines to concentrate masses of troops, draw them into a pitched battle, and defeat them decisively. The Muslims wanted decisive battle, presumably because of their numerical superiority, familiarity with the terrain and climate, and their position. The Byzantine leadership did not wish it, except under special circumstances. There was, therefore an asymmetry in strategy and military operations of the two. Whatever the initial goals of the Muslims at the very beginning of their clashes with the Byzantines, their strategy quickly clarified while that of the Byzantine continued to be troubled with various dilemmas. Byzantine strategic perceptions may well have resulted from their own perceived numerical inferiority, as well as from their inheritance of such strategic thought, although in its turn it may have developed out of actual Graeco-Roman numerical inferiority on a number of past occasions.

Both antagonists sought to use military thinking to win. It is incorrect to assume that the Muslims were devoid of it. In addition to the use of rational order of battle as early as the battle of Mu'ta, according to the Arabic adaptation of Aelian's *Tactics*, other Muslim campaigning appears to indicate that rational, military calculation lay behind many moves. This

16 EYLÜL 2008

911. Hamidullah, Muhammad. *Corpus des Traites et Lettres Diplomatiques de l'Islam a l'Epoque du Prophete et des Khalifes Orthodoxes*. Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve; 1935; 141pp.

MEKTUP

Copies of diplomatic treatises concluded during the period of the Prophet and Khulafa ar-Rashidun, from the collections of Muhammad Ibn Sad (d. 230/845) and Abu Jafar Muhammad ibn Jarir at-Tabari (225-310/840-923), are included.

912. ———. 'Discovery of another Original of a Letter of the Prophet'. IC; 1942; 16(3): 339-42.

MEKTUP
- NECAT I, ADHA
ME

With reference to the Prophet's letter to Negus, the ruler of Ethiopia.

913. ———. *Documents sur la Diplomatie Musulmane a l'Epoque du Prophete et des Khalifes Orthodoxes*. Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve; 1935; 244pp.

MEKTUP
- MUKFAY-I RA
SIDIN

Originally the author's doctoral thesis, University of Paris.

First investigative research on certain diplomatic documents dating back to the period of the Blessed Prophet and Khulafa ar-Rashidun.

914. ———. 'A Letter of the Prophet in the Musnad-script Addressed to Yemenite Chieftains'. HI; 1982; 5(3): 3-20.

MEKTUP

A detailed study of three letters of the Prophet; Arabic text, with reproductions of Musnad-script and its transliteration in Arabic script.

HERAKLIYUS

915. ———. 'La Lettre du Prophete a Heraclius et le Sort de l'Original'. AREA: 1955: 2: 9-111.

MEKTUP
- HERAKLIYUS

Arabic text with French translation of a letter of the Prophet addressed to Heraclius.

916. ———. 'Original de la Lettre du Prophete a Kisra'. RSO; 1965; 40(1): 57-63.

MEKTUP
- KISRAH

917. ———. 'The Prophet's International Call'. Markaz; 1978; 1(1): 9.
An account of letters of the Prophet, addressed to the rulers of Abyssinia, Alexandria, Bahrain, Damascus, Oman, Yamama, and the Roman empire.

MEKTUP