

---

# *Journal of Religious Culture*

## *Journal für Religionskultur*

Ed. by / Hrsg. von  
**Edmund Weber**  
Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main

in Association with / in Zusammenarbeit mit  
Matthias Benad, Mustafa Cimsit, Natalia Diefenbach, Martin Mittwede,  
Vladislav Serikov, Ajit S. Sikand, Ida Bagus Putu Suamba & Roger Töpelmann  
in Cooperation with the Institute for Religious Peace Research / in Kooperation mit dem  
Institut für Wissenschaftliche Irenik  
Assistent Editor/ Redaktionsassistentin Susan Stephanie Tsomakaeva

ISSN 1434-5935 - © E.Weber – E-mail [e.weber@em.uni-frankfurt.de](mailto:e.weber@em.uni-frankfurt.de);

<http://publikationen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/solrsearch/index/search/searchtype/series/id/1613>;

<http://www.irenik.org/journal-of-religious-culture/blog-post/>

---

No. 270 (2020)

Byzantium and the pre-Islamic Arabs:  
a preliminary bibliography

By

Maria Vaiou

I. ‘Abbās, *Ta’rikh Bilād al-Shām min qabla l-Islām ḥattā bidāyat al-‘aṣr al-umawī, 600–661* (Amman, 1990).

Kh. Abd el-Badea Radwan Mahmoud, ‘Tanukhs in Syria and their relationship with the Roman empire between the third and seventh centuries’, in A. al-Helabi, et al., *Arabia, Greece and Byzantium. Cultural contacts in ancient and medieval times. Proceedings of the International symposium on the historical relations between Arabia, the Greek and Byzantine world (5<sup>th</sup> c.BC–10<sup>th</sup> c. AD)*, vol.ii (Riyadh, 2012). 404.

A. ‘Abd al-Ghani, *Ta’rikh al-Hirah fi al-Jahiliya wa al-Islam* (Damascus, 1993).

F. M. Abel, ‘L’ Îsle de Iotabe’, *RB* 47 (1938), 510–38

R. Abujaber, ‘Changes and challenges in Arab life in Transjordan during the three centuries before Islam 380–638’, in *Changes and challenges. 11th international conference on the history and archaeology of Jordan* (Paris, 2010).

J. ‘Alī, *al-Mufaḍḍal fi ta’rikh al-‘Arab qabl al-Islām* (Beirut, 1969).

A. Alt, ‘Die letzte Grenzverschiebung zwischen den römischen Provinzen Arabia und Palästina’, *ZDPV* 65 (1942), 68–76.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Beiträge zur historischen Geographie und Topographie des Negeb, V: Das Ende des Limes Palestinae’, *JPOS* 18 (1938), 149–60.

F. Altheim, R. Stiehl (ed.), *Die Araber in der Alten Welt*, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1964–8).

A. Rahman al-Ansary, *Qaryat al-Fau. A portrait of pre-Islamic civilisation in Saudi Arabia* (Riyadh, 1982).

G. T. Armstrong, ‘Fifth and sixth-century church building in the holy land,’ *GOTHR* 14 (1969), 17–30.

T. Asad, 'The Bedoin as a military force: notes on some aspects of power relations between nomads and sedentaries in historical perspective', in C. Nelson (ed.), *The Desert and the sown; nomads in the wider society* (Berkeley, 1973), 61–73.

Kh. Athamina, 'The tribal kings in pre-Islamic Arabia. A study of the epithet *malik* or *dhū al tāj* in early Arabic traditions', *al-Qantara* 19. 1 (1998), 19–37.

P. Auchterlonie, 'Pre-Islamic period (pre-7<sup>th</sup> century AD)', in *Yemen* rev.ed. (Oxford, 1998), 80–91 [WBS 50].

M. Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land from the Persian to the Arab conquests (536 B.C. to A.D. 640) : a historical geography* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1966).

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Jews under Roman and Byzantine rule: a political history of Palestine from the Bar Kokhba War to the Arab conquest [translated and adapted by the author]* (New York, 1984).

A.al-Azmeh, *The emergence of Islam in late antiquity* (Cambridge, 2014).

R. S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700* (Cambridge, 2007).

C. Bailey, 'Dating the arrival of the Bedouin tribes in Sinai and the Negev', *JESHO* 28 (1985), 20–49.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'A reply to F. Stewart's notes on the arrival of the Bedouin tribes in Sinai', *JESHO* 34.1/2 (1991), 110–5.

W. Ball, *Rome in the East: the transformation of an empire* (London New York, 2000).

E. B. Banning, 'Peasants, pastoralists, and *Pax Romana*: mutualism in the highlands of Jordan,' *BASOR* 261 (1986), 25–50.

H. Barnard, 'Sire, il n'y a pas de Blemmyes: a re-evaluation of historical and archaeological data', in J. C. M. Starkey (ed.), *People of the Red Sea: proceedings of the Red Sea Project II* (Oxford, 2005), 23–40 [Society for arabian studies monographs 3; BAR int. ser. 1395].

A. Bausi (ed.), *Languages and cultures of Eastern Christianity: Ethiopian* (2012).

J. Beaucamp, 'Le rôle de Byzance en mer Rouge avant 531. Mythe ou réalité?', in eadem, F. Briquel-Chatonnet et Chr. J. Robin, *Le massacre de Najrân. Regards sur les sources croisées* (Paris, 2010), 197–218.

\_\_\_\_\_, F. Briquel-Chatonnet, and Chr. J. Robin (éd.), *Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie aux Ve et VIe siècles. Regards croisés sur les sources* (Leuven, 2010).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'La persécution des chrétiens de Nagrân et la chronologie yémenite', *ARAM* 11–2 (1999–2000), 15–83.

H. Belçaguy, 'Some remarks on the documents concerning the Blemmyes and the X-group culture', in N.B. Millet, A.L. Kelley (eds.), *Meroitic Studies* (Berlin, 1982), 228–31.

A. Berger, 'Christianity in South Arabia in the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD—truth and legend', in A. al-Helabi, et al., *Arabia, Greece and Byzantium. Cultural contacts in ancient and medieval times, Proceedings of the International symposium on the historical relations between Arabia, the Greek and Byzantine world (5<sup>th</sup> c. BC–10<sup>th</sup> c. AD), Riyadh 6–10 December, 2010*, 2 vols. (Riyadh, 2012), 159–62.

J. P. Berkey, *The Formation of Islam: religion and society in the Near East, 600–1800* (Cambridge, 2003).

G. Bevan, G. Fisher; and D. Genequand, 'The late antique church at Tall al-'Umayrî East. New evidence for the Jafnid family and the cult of St. Sergius in northern Jordan', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 373 (2015), 49–68.

T. Bianquis, 'L' Islam entre Byzance et les Sassanides: éléments pour une analyse comparative des pouvoirs politiques à Byzance, dans le domaine iranien pré-islamique et au début des Omayyades' in P. Canivet, J.-P. Rey-Coquais, eds. *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam VII-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Damascus, 1992), 281–90.

O. Blau, 'Arabien im sechsten Jahrhundert. Eine ethnographische Skizze', *ZDMG* 23 (1869).

On Blemmyes, see [www.scribd.com/doc/37641602/Aswan-in-late-antiquity](http://www.scribd.com/doc/37641602/Aswan-in-late-antiquity)

- R. C. Blockley, 'Subsidiaries and diplomacy: Rome and Persia in late antiquity', *Phoenix* 39 (1985), 62–74.
- C.E. Bosworth, 'Iran and the Arabs before Islam', in E. Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Iran, III: The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian periods*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1983), I, 593–612.
- W. Bowden, L. Lavan, C. Machado (eds.), *Recent research on the late antique countryside* (Leiden, 2004) [LAA 2].
- G.W. Bowersock, 'Limes Arabicus', *HSCP* 80 219–29.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Hellenism in late antiquity* (Ann Arbor, 1990).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Mavia, queen of the Saracens', in W. Eck, H. Galsterer, and H. Wolff (eds.), *Studien zur Antiken Sozialgeschichte. Festschrift Friedrich Vittinghoff* (Cologne, 1980), 477–95.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Empires in collision in late antiquity (The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures)* (Hanover, NH, 2012).
- \_\_\_\_\_, P. Brown, O. Grabar (eds.), *Late antiquity. A guide to the postclassical world* (Cambridge MA, 1999, 2000).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The throne of Adulis. Red Sea wars on the eve of Islam* (Oxford, 2013).
- E. Bradshaw, J. M. Fossey (eds.), *The Levant: crossroads of late antiquity. History, religion and archaeology=Le Levant: Carrefour de l'antiquité tardive* (Leiden, 2014).
- H. Brakmann, *Die Einwurzelung der Kirche im spätantiken Reich von Aksum* (Bonn, 1994).
- G. Brands, 'Die sogenannte Audienzsaal des al-Mundir in Reṣāfa', *DaM* 10 (1998), 237–41.
- M. D. Bukharin, 'Greeks on Socotra. Commercial contacts and early Christian missions', in I. Strauch (ed.), *Foreign sailors on Socotra. The inscriptions and drawings from the cave Hoq* (Bremen, 2012), 501–39.
- K. O'. Bweng-Okwess, 'Les Négro-Africains dans les relations Arabo-byzantines (V<sup>e</sup>–X<sup>e</sup> s.)', *GA* 3 (1984), 85–94.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'L' Afrique au sud de l' Égypte et du Sahara dans l' Oikoumène byzantin', *JOAS* 20 (2011), 11–8.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'L' Africain subsaharien dans l' iconographie byzantine', *JOAS* 24 (2015), 31–7.

B. Cabouret and P. L. Gatier, C. Saliou, *Antioche de Syrie: histoire, images et traces de la ville antique* (Lyon, 2004).

A. Cameron, *Late Antiquity on the eve of Islam* (Farnham, 2013)

M. Canard, 'Notes on some episodes concerning the relations between the Arabs and the Byzantine empire from the fourth to the sixth century', *DOP* 10 (1955), 306–16.

P. J. Casey, 'Justinian, the *limitanei*, and Arab-Byzantine relations in the sixth century', *JRA* 9 (1996), 214–22.

V. Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la conquête arabe*. [BEFAR 99]. (Paris, 1907).

V. Christides, 'The beginning of Graeco-Nabatean religious syncretism: two stone lintels from Sweydah in Nabatene, 'The judgment of Paris' and 'Athena and Aphrodite with the lion', *GA* 6 (1995), 272–300.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Ethnic movements in southern Egypt and northern Sudan. Blemmyes-Beja in late antique and early Arab Egypt until 707 A.D.', *LF* 103<sup>3</sup> (1980) , 129–43.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'New light on navigation and naval warfare in the eastern Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean (6<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.)', *Nubica* III/1 (1994), 3–42.

\_\_\_\_\_, (ed.), *Interrelations between the peoples of the Near east and Byzantium in the pre-Islamic times* (Cordoba, 2015).

M. P. O' Connor, 'The etymology of "Saracen" in Aramaic and pre-Islamic Arabic contexts', in P. Freeman and D. L. Kennedy (eds.), *The defence of the Roman and Byzantine East, II* (Oxford, 1986), 603–32.

L. I. Conrad, 'Eastern neighbours: the Arabs to the time of the Prophet', in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine empire c.500–1492* (Cambridge, 2019), 173–95.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The Arabs', in A. Cameron, et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History, 14: Late Antiquity: Empires and Successors, A.D. 425–600* (Cambridge, 2000), 678–700.

C. Conti Rossini, 'Les listes des rois d' Aksoum', *JA* 14 (1909), 263–320.

R. Daghfous, *Le Yaman islamique des origines jusqu' à l' avènement des dynasties autonomes (ier–iiièmes./viième-ixème s.)*, 2 vols. (Tunis, 1995) [Publications de la faculté des sciences humaines et sociales Série 4 Histoire 25].

R. Devreesse, 'Arabes Perses et Arabes Romains, Lakhmides et Ghassānids', in *Vivre et penser*, ser. 2 (Paris, 1942), 263–307.

E. Dhorme, 'Les arabes en Syrie avant l' Islam', *JSav* (1955).

A. Dihle, 'Die Sendung des Inders Theophilos', *Palingenesia* 4 (1969), 330–6.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'L' ambassade de Théophile l' Indien réexaminée', in T. Fahd, *L' Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel* (Leiden, 1989), 461–8.

B. Dignas and E. Winter, *Rome and Persia in late antiquity: neighbours and rivals* (Cambridge, 2007).

J. H. F. Dijkstra, 'I, Silko, came to Talmis and Taphis': interactions between the peoples beyond the Egyptian frontier and Rome in late antiquity', in J. Dijkstra & G. Fisher (eds.), *Inside and out: interactions between Rome and the peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian frontiers in late antiquity (200–800 CE)* (Leiden, 2014), 299–330.

\_\_\_\_\_, & G. Fisher (eds.), *Inside and out: interactions between Rome and the peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian frontiers in late antiquity (200–800 CE)* (Leiden, 2014).

M. H. Dodgeon and S. N. C. Lieu, compiled and edited by, *The Roman eastern frontier and the Persian wars AD 226–363 A documentary history* (London, N. Y., 2005).

F. M. Donner, 'The role of nomads in the Near East in late antiquity 400-8000', in F. M. Clover and R. S. Humphreys (eds.), *Tradition and innovation in late antiquity* (Madison, WI), 73–85.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The background to Islam', in M. Maas, *The Cambridge companion to the age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2005), 510–33.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'State and society in pre-Islamic Arabia', In idem, *The early Islamic conquests* (Princeton, NJ, 1981), 11–50.

A. J. Drewes, 'La question de 'Ezânâ , roi d' Axoum', *Semitica* 52–3 (2002), 125–36.

A. Drost and G. Fisher, 'Structures of power in late antique borderlands: Arabs, Romans, and Berbers', in *Globalizing borderlands. Studies in Europe and North America*, ed. J.W.I. Lee and M. North (Lincoln & London, 2016), 33–82.

R. Dussaud, *La penetration des Arabes en Syrie avant l' Islam* (Paris, 1955) [BAH 59].

M. M. Dziekan, 'The Arabs before Islam—the birth of the new religion', in T. Wolińska, P. Filipczak (eds.), *Byzantium and the Arabs. The encounter of civilizations, from sixth to mid-eighth century* (Łódź, 2015), 38–54.

P. Edwell et al., 'Arabs in the conflict between Rome and Persia, AD 491–630', in Fisher, *Arabs and empires before Islam*, 214–75.

*EPLBHC*, 1, 'Abraham', 21, 'Abu Harib', 31, 'Arethas', 356–7, 'Arethas, St.', 357, 'Axumite dynasty', 471–3; 2: 'Barachia', 25; 'Blemmyes, Dynasties', 119–21; 'Dhu Nuwas (Dimnos, Dunaan, Dhu-Nawas), 338–9; 'Ella-Amida', 388–9; 'Ella Asbeha', 389; 'Esimiphaios', 406; 'Ethiopia, Dynasties', 407–8.

I. Engelhardt, *Mission und Politik in Byzanz. Ein Beitrag zur Strukturanalyse byzantinischer Mission zur Zeit Justins und Justinians* (München 1974).

T. Erickson-Gini, 'Crisis and renewal –settlement in the central Negev in the third and fourth centuries C.E.' (Ph. D. Hebrew Un., Jerusalem, 2004).

A.A. Ezzah, 'The political situation in eastern Arabia at the advent of Islam', vol. 9, *Proceedings of the twelfth Seminar for Arabian Studies held at the School of Oriental & African Studies and Institute of Archaeology, London on 10th– 12th July, 1978* (1979), 53–64.



W. Facey, 'The Red Sea: the wind regime and location of ports', in P. Lunde and A. Porte (eds.), *Trade and travel in the Red Sea region. Proceedings of Red Sea project I held in the British museum October 2002* (Oxford, 2004).

T. Fahd, *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel* (Leiden, 1989).

C. Fagan, 'King of All the Arabs' Examining the development of Arab-Roman frontier relations and the role of the *Limes Arabicus* in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries CE' (BA Uni. Missouri).

R. Farioli Campanati (ed.), *La Siria araba da Roma a Bisanzio* (Ravenna, 1989).

G. Fiaccadori, *Theophilo Indiano* (Ravenna, 1992) [Biblioteca di 'Felix Ravenna' 7].

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Gregentius in the land of the Homerites', in *Life and works of Saint Gregentius, Archbishop of Taphar* ed. A. Berger (Berlin-New York, 2006), 48–82 [Millenium Studies 7],

Z. T. Fiema, 'Late antique Petra and its hinterland: recent research and new interpretations', in J. H. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East*, vol. 3 *JRA* (Portsmouth, 2002), 191–252 [Suppl. Ser. 49].

\_\_\_\_\_, L. Koenen, F. Zayadine, 'Petra Romana, Byzantina et Islamica', in T. Weber, R. Wenning (eds.), *Petra: Antike Felsstadt zwischen arabischer Tradition und griechischer Norm* (Mainz, 1997).

G. Findlater, 'Limes Arabicus, via militaris and resource control in southern Jordan', in *Limes XVIII: proceedings of the xviiiith international congress of Roman frontier studies held in Amman, Jordan*, ed. Ph. Freeman (Oxford, 2002), 137–52.

B. Finster, 'Arabia in late antiquity : an outline of the cultural situation in the peninsula at the time of Muhammad', in A. Neuwirth et al., *The Qurʾān in context. Historical and literary investigations into the Qurʾānic milieu* (Leiden, 2009), 61–114.

G. Fisher, *Between empires: Arabs, Romans, and Sasanians in late antiquity* (Oxford, 2011) [Oxford classical monographs].

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Arabia and the Late Antique East: current research, new problems’  
[www.academia.edu/13207868](http://www.academia.edu/13207868)

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Reflections on Arab leadership in Late Antiquity’, L. Nehme, A. al-Jallad, *To the Madbar and back again: studies in the languages, archaeology and cultures of Arabia dedicated to M. C. A. Macdonald* (Leiden, 2018), 489–521.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Rome and the Ghassanids: comparative perspectives on conversion, boundaries and power in Near Eastern borderlands’, in E. Bradshaw Aitken (ed.), *The Levant. Crossroads of late antiquity: history, religion and archaeology* (Leiden, 2014), 273–92 [McGill University monographs in classical archaeology and history 22].

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Kingdoms or dynasties? Arabs, history, and identity before Islam’, *JLA* 4 (2011), 245–67.

\_\_\_\_\_, D. Genequand (eds.), *Regards croisés de l’histoire et de l’archéologie sur la dynastie Jafnide* (forthcoming).

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Emperors, politics, and the plague’, in C. Robin and D. Genequand (eds.), *Regards croisés de l’histoire et de l’archéologie sur la dynastie Jafnide* (forthcoming).

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘The political development of the Ghassan between Rome and Iran’, *JLA* 1 (2008), 311–34.

\_\_\_\_\_ and J. Dijkstra (eds.), *Inside and out: interactions between Rome and the peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian frontiers in late antiquity (200–800 CE)* (Leiden, 2014).

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘State and tribe in late antique Arabia: a comparative view’, in J. Dijkstra & G. Fisher, *Inside and out: interactions between Rome and the peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian frontiers in late antiquity (200–800 CE)* (Leiden, 2014), 281–97.

\_\_\_\_\_ ed., *Arabs and empires before Islam* (Oxford, 2015).

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘From Mavia to al-Mundhir. Arab Christians and Arab tribes in the late antique Near East’, in *Religious culture in Late Antique Arabia. Selected Studies on the Late Antique Religious Mind*, ed. K. Dmitriev and I. Toral-Niehof (Piscataway, 2017), 165–218.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'State and tribe in late antique Arabia: a comparative view', in *Inside and out: interactions between Rome and the peoples of the Arabian and Egyptian frontiers*, ed. J. H. F. Dijkstra and G. Fisher (Leuven, 2014), 279–95.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'A new perspective on Rome's Desert Frontier', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 336 (November 2004), 49–60.

J.-L. Fournet, 'The private life of a man of letters: well-read practices in Byzantine Egypt according to the Dossier of Dioscorus of Aphrodite', in S. Fitzgerald Johnson, *Languages and cultures of eastern Christianity: Greek* (Farnham, 2015).

C. Foss, 'The Near eastern countryside in Late Antiquity', in J. H. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East* (Ann Arbor, 1995), 213–34 [*JRA* suppl. 14].

E. K. Fowden, 'An Arab building at al-Rusāfa-Sergiopolis', *DaM* 12 (2000), 303–27.

P. Freeman and D. L. Kennedy (eds.), *The defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, II (Oxford, 1986).

D. French and C. S. Lightfoot (eds.), *The Eastern frontier of the Roman empire*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1989). (BAR Int. Ser. 553).

I. Gajda, 'Hugr b. 'Amr roi de Kinda et l'établissement de la domination Ḥimyarite en Arabie central' [Christian Assyria. Contribution to the study of the history and the ecclesiastical and monastic geography of northern Iraq] *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 26 (1996), 65–73.

P.-L. Gatier, 'Villages du Proche-Orient protobyzantin (4ème–7ème s.). Étude régionale', in G. R. D. King and A. Cameron (eds.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East 2. Land use and settlement patterns* (Princeton, 1994), 17–48.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Les Jafnides dans l'épigraphie grecque au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Les Jafnides: Des rois arabes au service de Byzance (VI<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'ère chrétienne)*, ed. by D. Genequand and Chr.

J. Robin (Paris, 2015), 193–222.

H. Gaube, ‘Arabs in sixth-century Syria: some archaeological observations’, in *Proceedings of the first international conference on Bilād al-Shām*, 20–25 April 1974 (Amman, 1984), 61–6; *BBSMES* 8/2 (1981), 93–8.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Arabs in sixth-century Syria’, *BSMESB* 8 (1981), 93–8.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Ein Arabischer Palast in Südsyrien. Hirbet el-Baida* (Beirut, 1974).

D. Genequand and C. J. Robin (eds.), *Les Jafnides. Des rois arabes au service de Byzance (VIe siècle de l’ère chrétienne)* (Paris, 2015).

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Some thoughts on Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbi, its dam, its monastery and the Ghassanids’, *Levant* (2006), 63–84.

R. Ghirshman, *Iran: Parthians and Sassanians*, tr. S. Gilbert and J. Emmons (London, 1962).

M. Gichon, ‘The strategic conception and the tactical functioning of the Limes Palaestinae after the Diocletian reorganisation’, in *Roman frontier Studies 1995: proceedings of the XVIth international congress of Roman frontier studies*, ed. W. Groenman-van Waateringe (Oxford, 1997).

P. Goubert, ‘Le problème ghassanide à la veille de l’ Islam’, *VIe CÉB Paris 27 Juillet-2 Aout 1948*, t.1 (Paris, 1950), 103–18.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Byzance avant l’ Islam*, 2 vols. in 3 prts (Paris, 1951–65).

D. F. Graf, ‘Zenobia and the Arabs’, in D. H. French and C. S. Lightfoot, *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire*, vol. 1. (Oxford, 1989), I, 143–67.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘The Saracens and the defenses of the Arabian frontier’, *BASOR* 229 (1978), 1–26.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Rome and the Arabian frontier: from the Nabataeans to the Saracens* (Aldershot, 1997).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Defence of the Arabian frontier', in id. (ed), *Rome and the Arabian frontier*.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Arabia before Islam', in S. Schmidtke, *Studying the Near and Middle East at the Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton, 1935–2018* (2018).

D. Grafton, 'The Arabs of Pentecost: Greco-Roman views of the Arabs and their cultural identity', *Theological Review [Near East School of Theology]* 30 (2009), 183–201.

G. Greatrex, and S. N. C. Lieu (eds.), *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars. Part 2: AD 363–630. a narrative sourcebook* (London, New York, 2002).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Moines, militaires et défense de la frontière orientale au VIe s.', in A. S. Lewin, and P. Pellegrini (eds.), *The Late Roman Army in the Near East from Diocletian to the Arab conquest: proceedings of a colloquium held at Potenza, Acerenza and Matera, Italy (May 2005)* (Oxford, 2007), 285–97 [BAR Int. Ser. 1717].

\_\_\_\_\_, *Rome and Persia at War, 502–532* (Leeds, 1998) [ARCA, Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 37].

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Procopius and Roman imperial policy in the Arabian and Egyptian frontier zones', in Dijkstra & Fisher, 247–62.

A. G. Grouchevoy, 'Trois 'Niveaux' de phylarques. Études terminologique sur les relations de Rome et de Byzance avec les arabes avant l' Islam', *Syria* 72 (1995), 105–31.

F. K. Haarer, *Anastasius I: politics and empire in the late Roman world* (Liverpool, 2006).

T. Hägg, 'Some remarks on the use of Greek in Nubia', in J. M. Plumley (ed.), *Nubian Studies* (Cambridge, 1978).

M. Haiman, 'Agriculture and nomad-state relations in the Negev desert in the Byzantine and early Islamic periods', *BASOR* 297 (1995), 29–53.

L. J. Hall, *Roman Berytus: Beirut in Late Antiquity* (London, 2004).

---

H. Halm, *The Arabs: a short history*, tr. A. Brown and Th. Lampert (Princeton, NJ, 2007).

I. Hasson, 'Judham entre la Jāhiliyya et l' Islam', *SI* 81 (1995), 5–42.

G. Hatke, 'Africans in Arabia Felix: Aksumite relations with Ḥimyar in the sixth Century C.E.' (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2011).

J. F. Healey, 'Pamyra and the Arabian Gulf trade', *Aram* 8 (1996), 33–7.

---

P. J. Heather, 'Foedera and foederati of the Fourth Century', in *Kingdoms of the empire: the integration of barbarians in Late Antiquity*, ed. W. Pohl (Leiden, 1997), 57–74 [The Transformation of the Roman World, volume I].

St. Heidemann, *Die Renaissance der Städte in Nordsyrien und Nordmesopotamien. Städtische Entwicklung und wirtschaftliche Bedingungen in ar-Raqqa und Ḥarrān von der Zeit der beduinischen Vorherrschaft bis zu den Seldschuken* (Leiden, 2002) [IHC 40].

A.al-Helabi *et al.* (eds.), *Arabia, Greece and Byzantium. Cultural contacts in ancient and medieval times, Proceedings of the International symposium on the historical relations between Arabia, the Greek and Byzantine world (5<sup>th</sup> c .BC–10<sup>th</sup> c. AD), Riyadh 6–10 December, 2010*, 2 vols. (Riyadh, 2012).

B. Hendrickx, 'The coronation of king Esimphaios/Abraha of the Homerites, ca. 525 A.D. : an imitation of the Byzantine rite or a Judaic inspired ceremony?', *APB* 8 (1997), 97–105.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Remarks on some geo-political information in texts on Kaleb's reign', *EΦ* 84 (2002), ns13, 189–202.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Pax Aethiopica, diplomatic missions and immunity in Nubia and Ethiopia (2nd–middle 6<sup>th</sup> century AD)', in *Interrelations between the peoples of the Near East and Byzantium in pre-Islamic times* (Córdoba, 2015), 67–78.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Ezana, basileus d' Axoum: quelques considérations prosopographiques et chronologiques', *EΦ* 79 (1997), ns. 8, 124–34.

Y. Hirschfeld, 'Imperial building activity during the reign of Justinian and pilgrimage to the Holy Land in light of the excavations on Mt. Berenice, Tiberias', *Revue Biblique* 106, no. 2 (1999), 236–49.

- K. G. Holum, 'Constructing the past in the cities of Byzantine Palestine', in D. R. Clark and V. H. Matthews (eds.), *100 years of American archaeology in the Middle East. Proceedings of the American Schools of Oriental Research Centennial celebration Washington, DC, April 2000* (Boston MA, 2003), 351–64.
- R. G. Hoyland, 'Late Roman Provincia Arabia, monophysite monks and Arab tribes: a problem of centre and periphery', *SC* 2 (2009), 117–39.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Arabia and the Arabs: from the bronze age to the coming of Islam* (London, 2001, 2002, 2003).
- J. H. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East 3* (Portsmouth, RI, 2002), 55–89.
- B. Isaac, 'The army in the late Roman east, the Persian wars and the Byzantine provinces', in A. Cameron (ed.), *The Byzantine and Islamic Near East 3: States, resources, armies* (Princeton, 1989), 125–55.
- N. al-Jallad, *People from the desert: pre-Islamic Arabs in history and culture: selected essays* (Wiesbaden, 2012).
- F. Scott Johnson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2012).
- W. Kaegi, 'Byzantium and the early trans-Saharan gold trade. A cautionary note', *GA* 3 (1984), 95–100.
- T. Kapitan (ed.), *Archaeology, history and culture in Palestine and the Near East: Essays in Memory of Albert E. Glock* (Atlanta, 1999).
- I. Kavar, 'The patriciate of Arethas', *BZ* 52 (1959), 321–43.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Arabs and the peace treaty of A.D. 561', *Arabica* 3 (1956), 181–213.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Byzantium and Kinda', *BZ* 53 (1960), 57–73, 59–61.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Arethas, Son of Jabalah', *JAOS* 75:4 (1955), 205–16.
- H. N. Kennedy, 'Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia', in *The Cambridge Ancient History Vol. 14: Late antiquity: empire and successors, A.D. 425–600*. Ed. A. Cameron, and B. Ward-Perkins, and M. Whitby (Cambridge, 2000), 588–611.

- D. Kennedy, 'Greek, Roman and native cultures in the Roman Near East', in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East, vol. 2 Some recent archaeological research* (Portsmouth, 1999) [JRA Supp. 31].
- M. J. Kister, 'The campaign of ʿulubn: a new light on the expedition of Abraha', *Mus.* 78 (1965), 427–28.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Al-Hīra: some notes on its relations with Arabia', *Arabica* 15 (1968), 144-49.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Studies in Jahiliyya and early Islam* (London, 1980).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Society and religion from Jahiliyya to Islam* (Aldershot, 1990).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Concepts and ideas at the dawn of Islam* (Aldershot, 1997).
- K. Klein, 'Arabs', in *Encyclopedia of ancient history*, ed. R. Bagnall (Oxford, 2013), 601–5.
- M. Konrad, *Der spätrömische Limes in Syrien: Archäologische Untersuchungen an den Grenzkastellen von Sura, Tetrapyrgium, Cholle und in Resafa* (Mainz, 2001).
- H. Lammens, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l' Hégire* (Beirut, 1928).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie Occidentale', *Beyrou, Univ. St. Joseph: Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale* 2 (1926), 39–173.
- N. de Lange, 'Jews in the age of Justinian', M Maas. *The Cambridge companion to the age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2005), 401–26.
- J. P. Laporte, 'Zabi, Frikli: notes sur la Maurétanie et la Numidie de Justinien', *AT* 10 (2002), 151–67.
- J. Lauffray, *Halabiyya-Zenobia, place forte du limes oriental et la Haute-Mésopotamie au VIe siècle, I: Les duchés frontaliers de Mésopotamie et les fortifications de Zenobia* (Paris, 1983) [BAH 119].
- L. Laven et al., *Technology in transition: A.D. 300-650* (Leiden, 2007) [LAA 4].
- \_\_\_\_\_, L. Özgenel and A. Sarantis (eds.), *Housing in late antiquity: from palaces to shops* (Leiden, 2007).



M. Lecker, 'Kinda on the eve of Islam and during the Ridda', *JRAS* 3rd ser., 4 (1994), 333–56.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Jews and Arabs in pre-and early Islamic Arabia* (Aldershot, 1998).

\_\_\_\_\_, *People, tribes and society in Arabia around the time of Muḥammad* (Aldershot, 2005).

A. D. Lee, 'Embassies as evidence for the movement of military intelligence between the Roman and Sasanian Empires', in Freeman and Kennedy, *The defence of the Roman and Byzantine east, 455-61*.

N. E. Lenski, *Failure of empire: Valens and the Roman state the fourth century A. D* (Berkeley, London 2002).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Captivity and slavery among the Saracens in late antiquity (ca. 250-630 CE)', *AnTard* 19 (2011), 237–66.

D. Letsios, *Βυζαντιο και Ερυθρα Θαλασσα. Σχεςεις με τη Νουβια, Αιθιοπια και Νοτια Αραβια ως την αραβικη κατακτηση* (=Byzantium and the Red Sea. Relations with Nubia, Ethiopia and South Arabia to the Arab conquest) (Athens, 1988).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Some remarks on reflections of Byzantine foreign policy in the 'Martyrdom' of Arethas and the 'Acts' of Gregentius', *GA* 4 (1991), 141–55.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Die Äthiopisch-Himyaritischen Kriege des 6. Jahrhunderts und die Christianisierung Äthiopiens', *JOB* 41 (1991), 25-41.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Byzantium and Ethiopia. The origins of Byzantium's foreign policy in the Red Sea', in T. G. Koliass K. G. Pitsakis (eds.), *Aureus. Tomos afieromenos ston kathegete E. K. XRYSO* (Athens, 2014), 513–38.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The case of Amorkesos and the question of the Roman foederati in Arabia in the Vth century', in Fahd, *L' Arabie*, 525–38.

A.S. Lewin and P. Pellegrini (eds.) with the aid of Z. T. Fiema and S. Janniard, *Late Roman army in the Near East from Diocletian to the Arab conquest. Proceedings of a colloquium held at Potenza, Acerenza and Matera, Italy (May 2005)* (Oxford, 2007).

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Amr ibn Adī, Mavia, the phylarchs and the late Roman army: peace and war in the Near East’, in A. Lewin and P. Pellegrini (eds.), *The late Roman army in the Near East from Diocletian to the Arab conquest. Proceedings of a colloquium held at Potenza, Acerenza, and Matera, Italy (May 2005)* (Oxford, 2007) [BAR int. ser. 1717].

J. H. G. W. Liebeschuetz, and H. Kennedy, ‘Antioch and the villages of northern Syria in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Trends and problems’, *NMS* 33 (1988), 65–90.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Antioch: city and imperial administration in the later Roman empire* (Oxford, 1972).

\_\_\_\_\_, *From Diocletian to the Arab conquest* (Aldershot, 1990).

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘The defenses of Syria in the sixth century’, in *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms, II: Vorträge des 10. Internationalen Limeskongresses in der Germania Inferior*. (Cologne, 1977), 487–99.

\_\_\_\_\_, *East and West in late antiquity: invasion, settlement, ethnogenesis and conflicts of religion* (Leiden, Boston, 2015) [Impact of empire Roman empire, c. 200B.C. –A.D.476 vol. 20].

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Nomads, phylarchs and settlement in Syria and Palestine’, in *East and West in late antiquity: invasion, settlement, ethnogenesis and conflicts of religion* (Leiden, Boston, 2015) , 241–55.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Arab tribesmen and desert frontiers in late antique Syria’, *East and West in late antiquity: invasion, settlement, ethnogenesis and conflicts of religion* (Leiden, Boston, 2015), 288–322.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Late antiquity 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries in the cities of the Roman Near East’, in *East and West in late antiquity: invasion, settlement, ethnogenesis and conflicts of religion* (Leiden, Boston, 2015), 256–87.

\_\_\_\_\_. ‘The impact of the imposition of Roman rule on northern Syria’, in *East and West in late antiquity: invasion, settlement, ethnogenesis and conflicts of religion* (Leiden, Boston, 2015), 223–55.

S. N. C. Lieu and G. Greatrex (eds.), *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars. Part 2: AD 363–630. a narrative sourcebook* (London, New York, 2002).

\_\_\_\_\_, M. H. Dodgeon, compiled and edited by, *The Roman eastern frontier and the Persian wars AD 226–363 A documentary history* (London, N. Y., 2005).

H. Lozachmeur (ed.), *Présence arabe dans le croissant fertile avant l' Hegire* (Paris, 1995).

M. Maas, ed., *The Cambridge companion to the age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2005).

H. I. MacAdam, 'Imperium et Arabes foederati: Constantinople and the Ghassanids (Review Article)', *al-Abhath* xliii (1995), 99–118.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Imperium in imperio: The Ghassānid presence within Byzantine *Oriens* on the eve of Islam', *Al-Abhath* 50-1/2002-2003 (2003), 187–207.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Geography, urbanisation and settlement patterns in the Roman Near East* (Oxon, 2002, 2018).

M. C. A. McDonald, 'Reflections on the linguistic map of pre-Islamic Arabia', *AAE* 11 (2000), 28–79.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Literacy and identity in pre-Islamic Arabia* (Aldershot, 2009).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Arabi, Arabia e Greci: Forme di contatto e percezione', in *I Greci: Storia cultura Arte Società* 3.1 : 1 *Greci oltre la Grecia*, ed. S. Settis (Turin, 2001), 231–66.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Arabs, Arabias and Arabia before late antiquity', *Topoi* 16 (2009), 277–332.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Arabs and empires before the sixth century', in G. Fisher, *Arabs and empires before Islam* (Oxford, 2015), 1–89.

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Nomads and the Hawran in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods', *Syria* 70 (1993), 303–404.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Romans go home? Rome and other 'outsiders' as viewed from the Syro-Arabian desert', in Dijkstra & Fisher, *Inside and out*, 145–63.

G. Marasco, 'Un viaggiatore e diplomatico bizantino in Africa al tempo di Giustiniano: Nonnosos', in M. Khanoussi, P. Ruggeri, and C. Vismara (eds.), *L' Africa romana: atti del XII convegno di studio, Djerba, 10-13 dicembre 1998* (Rome, 2000), 265–81.

J. Maspero, 'Φοιδερᾶτοι et Στρατιῶται dans l' armée byzantine au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle', *BZ* 21 (1912), 97–109.

Ph. Mayerson, 'The Saracens and the Limes', *BASOR* 262 (1986), 35–47.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Saracens and Romans: micro-macro relationships', *BASOR* 274 (1989), 71-9.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The use of the term *Phylarchos* in the Roman-Byzantine east', *ZPE* 88 (1991), 291–95.

J. W. Meri, ed., *Medieval Islamic civilization. An encyclopedia*, v. 1 (London, NY, 2006).

Ch. Messis, 'La famille et ses enjeux dans l' organisation de la cité idéale Chrétienne. Le cas des *Lois* des "Homérites"', in B. Caseau, *Les réseaux familiaux. Antiquité tardive et moyen âge* (Paris, 2012), 207–40 [Centre de recherche d' histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 37].

F. Millar, 'The Theodosian empire (408–450) and the Arabs, Saracens or Ishmaelites?', in E. Gruen (ed.), *Cultural borrowings and ethnic appropriations in antiquity* (Stuttgart, 2005), 297–14 [Oriens et Occidens 8].

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Empire, community, and culture in the Roman Near East: Greeks, Syrians, Jews and Arabs', *JJS* 38 (1987), 143–64.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Rome's Arab allies in late antiquity. Conceptions and representations from within the frontiers of the empire', in H. Börm, J. Wiesehöfer (eds.), *Commutatio Et Contentio: Studies in the Late Roman, Sasanian, and Early Islamic Near East. In memory of Z. Rubin* (Düsseldorf, 2010), 199–226.[Reihe Geschichte, Bd.3].

\_\_\_\_\_, 'A Syriac codex from Near Palmyra and the Ghassanid Abokarib', *Hugoye* 16.1 (2013).

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Ethnic identity in the Roman Near East, AD 325–450: language, religion, and culture’, in S. Fitzgerald Johnson (ed.) *Languages and cultures of eastern Christianity: Greek* (Farnham, 2014), 155–82.

M. Miotto, ‘Ἀραβες στην υπηρεσία του Βυζαντίου. Η βασίλισσα Μαβία των Μπάνι Τανούχ (4ος μ.χ. α.ι.)’, *Byzantiaka* 33 (2016), 11–36.

J. P. Monferrer-Sala, ‘Lakhmids against Ghassanids in the late 6<sup>th</sup> c. CE. Qābūs b. al-Mundhir defeats al-Mundhir b. Ḥārith b. Jabala. A pre-Islamic episode rendered into Arabic from Syriac’, in V. Christides, *Interrelations between the peoples of the Near East and Byzantium in pre-Islamic times* (Córdoba, 2015), 79–103.

T. Morgan, ‘Literary culture in sixth-century Egypt’, in A. A. MacDonald, and M. W. Twomey, and G. J. Reinink (eds.), *Learned antiquity: scholarship and society in the Near-East, the Greco-Roman World, and the early medieval West* (Leuven, 2003), 147–62 [Groningen Studies in Cultural Change 5].

W. W. Müller, ‘Survey of the history of the Arabian peninsula from the first century A.D. to the rise of Islam’, in A. Ansary (ed.), *Studies in the History of Arabia, 2: Pre-Islamic Arabia* (Riyadh, 1984), 125–31.

I. Mumayiz, ‘Imru’ al-Qays and Byzantium’, *JAL* 36.2 (2005), 135–51.

S. C. H. Munro-Hay, ‘Kings and kingdoms of ancient Nubia’, *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 29 (1982), 87–137.

N. A. Al-Naim, ‘Amer bin Hind’s embassy to the emperor Justin II’, in A. al-Helabi, et al., *Arabia, Greece and Byzantium. Cultural contacts in ancient and medieval times*, vol.ii, 405.

D. Nappo, ‘Roman policy in the Red Sea between Anastasius and Justinian’, in L. Blue, J. Cooper, R. Thomas, J. Whireright (eds.), *Connected hinterlands: proceedings of Red Sea project IV: held at the university of Southampton, September 2008* (Oxford, 2009), 71–87.

- N. Nebes, 'The martyrs of Najrān and the end of the Himyar: on the political history of South Arabia in the early sixth century', in Neuwith, *The Qurʾān in context*. 25–60.
- Y. D. Nevo and J. Koren, *Crossroads to Islam. The origins of the Arab religion and the Arab state* (Amherst, 2003), 17–83.
- G. D. Newby, *A history of the Jews of Arabia: from ancient times to their eclipse under Islam* (Columbia, 1988).
- T. Nöldeke, *Die ghassânischen Fürsten aus dem Hause Gafna's* (Berlin, 1887).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (Leipzig, 1879).
- ODB*, 1, 'Abraha', 'Alamundarus', 'Alamundarus', 'Amorkesos', 'Arabia', 'Arabia, province of', 'Arabs', 'Arethas', 'Arethas', 'Axum', 'Blemmyes', 'Book of the Ḥimyarites', 'Dhū-Nuwās', 'Elesboam', 5–6, 51, 80, 147, 162–3, 163, 149–51, 239, 296–7, 308, 617, 685; 2 'Ghassānids', 'Gregentios', 'Ḥimyar', 'Jabala', 'Kinda', 'Lakhmids', 'Mavia', 'Moses', 'Najrān', 'Namaan', 850, 874, 933, 1029, 1129, 1170–1, 1320, 1416–7, 1434, 1434–5; 3, 'Euthymios the Great', 756–7; 'Nonnosos', 'Qays', 'Šāliḥids', 'Tanūkhids', 1492–3, 1765, 1832, 2010.
- M. Pandura, 'Perceiving otherness, creating resemblance—the Byzantinization of nomads in the age of Justinia I: the Arabs', *Acta Euroasiatica* 1 (2013), 43–69.
- Ch. Papastathes, 'Silk trade and the Byzantine penetration in the state organisation of South Arabia c. 533', *Cultural and commercial exchanges between the Orient and the Greek world* (Athens, 1991), 111–21.
- R. Paret, 'Les villes de Syrie du Sud et les routes commerciales d' Arabie à la fin du VI siècle', *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongresses* (Munich, 1958), 438–44.
- S. T. Parker, *Romans and Saracens. A history of the Arabian frontier* (Philadelphia, 1986).
- \_\_\_\_\_, (ed.), *The Roman frontier in central Jordan: interim report on the Limes Arabicus Project, 1980–1985*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1987) [BAR 340].

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The historical development of the Limes Arabicus' (Univ. of California Los Angeles, Ph. D thesis, 1979).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Retrospective on the Arabian frontier after a decade of research', in Freeman-Kennedy, *Roman and Byzantine east*, vol. 2, 633–60.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The defense of Palestine and Transjordan from Diocletian to Heraclius', in L. E. Stager, J. A. Greene, and M. D. Coogan (eds.), *The Archaeology of Jordan and beyond: essays in honor of J. A. Sauber* (Winona Lake, 2000), 367–88.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The nature of Rome's Arabian frontier', in V. Maxfield, *Roman frontier studies 1989: proceedings of the XVth international congress of Roman frontier studies* (Exeter, 1991), 498–504.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Peasants, pastoralists, and "Pax Romana": a different view', *BASOR* no. 265 (February 1987), 35-51.

F.E. Peters, ed., *The Arabs and Arabia on the eve of Islam* (Aldershot, 1999).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The Arabs on the frontiers of Syria before Islam', *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Bilad al-Sham, 20–25 April 1974* (Amman, 1984), 141–73.

N.V. Pigulevskaja, [or Pigulevskaia], 'Die byzantinische Diplomatie und die Araber (vor dem VII. Jahrhundert)', *Akten des XI Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses, München 1958* (München, 1960), 458–65.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'La diplomatie Byzantine et le commerce de la soie aux V–VII<sup>e</sup> s.' *VV* 1 26 (1947), 184–212. [in Russian]

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Les arabes à la frontière de Byzance au IV siècle', *Twenty-fifth oriental congress* (Moscow 1960).

\_\_\_\_\_, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien. Aus der Geschichte des byzantinischen Handels mit dem Orient vom 4. Bis 6. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1969).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Byzantium and the Arabs of Syria', *Annales Archaeologiques Arabes Syriennes* 27-8 (1977-8), 97–113.

D. Pingree, 'The Sâbians of Harrân and the classical tradition', *IJCT* 9:1 (2003), 8–35.

P. Piovanelli, 'Reconstructing the social and cultural history of the Aksumite kingdom: some methodological reflections', in J. Dijkstra & G. Fisher (eds.), *Inside and out: interactions between Rome and the peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian frontiers in late antiquity (200–800 CE)* (Leiden, 2014), 331–52.

V. Poggi, 'Situazione linguistica dell'Oriente bizantino nel secolo V', in *Autori classici in lingue del vicino e medio Oriente*, ed. G. Fiaccadori (Rome, 1990).

W. Pohl, 'Ritualized encounters: late Roman diplomacy and the barbarians, fifth-sixth century', in A. Beihammer, *Court ceremonies and rituals of power in Byzantium and the medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden, 2013), 67–86 [MM 98]

D. Potts, *The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity, vol. 2 From Alexander the Great to the coming of Islam* (Oxford, 1990).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Arabia and the kingdom of Characene', in *Araby the Blest*, ed. D. T. Potts (Copenhagen, 1988), 137–67.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed., *Araby the Blest* (Copenhagen, 1988).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Arabia II: The Sasanians in Arabia', 2012. Available online at: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/arabia-ii-sasanians-and-arabia> [Accessed October 13, 2015]

T. Power, *The Red Sea from Byzantium to the Caliphate, AD 500–1000* (Cairo, New York, 2012).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'You shall not see the tribes of the Blemmyes or of the Saracens': on the other 'barbarians' of the late Roman desert of Egypt', in H. Barnard, K. Duistermaat (eds.), *The history of the peoples in the eastern desert* (California, 2012), 282–97.



D. Pringle, *The defence of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arab conquest* (Oxford, 1981) [BAR 99].

J. Retsö, 'The problem of the earliest Arabs', *The Arabs in antiquity. Their history from the Assyrians to the Umayyads* (London, 2003). 105–18.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The Nabatean problem', in *The Arabs in antiquity. Their history from the Assyrians to the Umayyads*, 364–91.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'From the Severians to Constantine the Great', in *The Arabs in antiquity. Their history from the Assyrians to the Umayyads*, 454–504.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Arabs in South Arabia', *The Arabs in antiquity. Their history from the Assyrians to the Umayyads*, 536–74.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Arabs in pre-Islamic South Arabia', *Archäologische Berichte aus dem Yemen* x (2005), 127–30

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Arabs in antiquity. Their history from the Assyrians to the Umayyads* (London, 2003).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'When did Arabia become Arabia Felix?', *PSAS* 33 (2003), 229–35.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Where and what was Arabia Felix?', *PSAS* 30 (2000), 189–92.

Ch. J. Robin, 'Arabia and Ethiopia', in Johnson (ed.), *OHLA*, ch. 9, 247–332.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Les Arabes vus de Ḥimyar', *Topoi* 14 (2006), 121–37.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Les Arabes des 'Romains', des Perses et de Ḥimyar (iii<sup>e</sup>–vie s. é. Chr.)', *SC* 1 (2008), 167–202.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Les rois de Kinda', in A. al-Helabi *et al.* (eds.), *Arabia, Greece and Byzantium. Cultural contacts in ancient and medieval times* (Riyadh, 2012), 59–129.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Ḥimyar, Aksūm, and Arabia Deserta in Late Antiquity: the epigraphic evidence', in *Arabs and Empires Before Islam*, ed. G. Fisher (Oxford, 2015), 127–71.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Inventaire des documents épigraphiques provenant du royaume de Ḥimyar aux IV<sup>e</sup>–VI<sup>e</sup> siècles' [Inventory of epigraphic documents from the kingdom of Ḥimyar in the 4th–6th

centuries]’, in *L’Arabie à la veille de l’Islam. Bilan Clinique*, ed. J. Schiettecatte and Chr. J. Robin (Paris, 2009), 165–216.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Le royaume Ḥujride, dit ‘royaume de Kinda’, entre Ḥimyar et Byzance’ [The Ḥujrid Kingdom, Known as<<The Kingdom of Kinda>>, Between Ḥimyar and Byzantium] *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1996), 665–714.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Les Arabes de Ḥimyar, des ‘Romains’ et des Perses (III<sup>e</sup>–VI<sup>e</sup> siècles de l’ère chrétienne)’ [The Arabs of Himyar, the <<Romans>> and the Persians (3rd 6th Centuries of the Christian Era)], *Semitica et Classica* 1 (2008), 167–208.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Les inscriptions de l’Arabie antique et les études arabes’ [The inscriptions of ancient Arabia and the study of the Arabs] ‘, *Arabica* 48 (2001), 509–77.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Nagrān vers l’époque du massacre’ [Nagrān at the time of the massacre]’, in *Juifs et Chrétiens en Arabie aux V<sup>e</sup> et VI<sup>e</sup> siècles: regards croisés sur les sources* [Jews and Christians in Arabia in the 5th and 6th centuries: Viewpoints on the sources], ed. J. Beaucamp, F. Briquel-Chatonnet, and Ch. Julien Robin (Paris, 2010), 39–106.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘The peoples beyond the Arabian frontier in Late Antiquity: recent epigraphic discoveries and latest advances’, in *Inside and Out: Interactions between Rome and the Peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, ed. J. Dijkstra and G. Fisher (Leuven, 2014), 33–77..

L. von Rompay, ‘Society and community in the Christian East’, in M. Maas, *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2005), 239–66.

G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Hira* (Berlin, 1899; repr. Olms, 1968).

E. Rotter, *Abendland und Sarazenen. Das Okzidentale Araberbild und seine Entstehung im Frühmittelalter* (Berlin, 1986). [SSGKIO n.s. vol. 11].

R. Rubin, 'Urbanization, settlement and agriculture in the Negev desert-the impact of the Roman-Byzantine empire on the frontier', *ZDPV* 112 (1996), 49–60.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Priests, soldiers, and administrators: society and institutions in the Byzantine Negev', *MHR* 12. 1 (1997), 56–74.

---

Z. Rubin, 'Byzantium and southern Arabia – The policy of Anastasius', in French – Lightfoot in the *Easter frontier of the Roman empire*, 383–420.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Diplomacy and war in the relations between Byzantium and the Sassanids in the fifth century AD', in Freeman-Kennedy (eds.) (1986), II, 677–95.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Jerusalem in the Byzantine period-An historical survey', in Y. Tsafir and S. Safrai (eds.), *The History of Jerusalem: the Roman and Byzantine periods (70–638 CE)* (Jerusalem, 1999), 210–16 (Hebrew).

E. M. Ruprechtsberger, *Syrien von den Aposteln zu den Kalifen. Wissenschaftliche Leitung und Redaction E. M. Ruprechtsberger* (Mainz, 1993).

Ih. el-Sakkout, 'Arab tribes from Jahiliyya to Islam' (D.Phil. St. Andrews, 1999).

C. Saliou (ed.), *Gaza dans l' antiquité tardive* (Salerno, 2005).

M. Sartre, *Trois Études sur l' Arabie romaine et byzantine* (Brussels, 1982).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Deux phylarques arabes dans l' Arabie byzantine', *Mus.* 106 (1993), 145–53.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Bostra des origines à l' Islam* (Paris, 1985).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Les nomads et l' empire en Arabie', in *Trois études sur l' Arabie romaine et Byzantine* (Brussels, 1982), 121–203.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Bostra: des origins a l' Islam* (Paris, 1985).

J. Sauvaget, 'Les Ghassanides et Sergiopolis', *B* 14 (1939), 115–30.

R. Scharf, *Foederati: von der völkerrechtlichen Kategorie zur byzantinischen Truppengattung* (Vienna, 2001).

O. Schmitt, 'Mavia, die Königin der Sarazenen', in T. Herzog and W. Holzwarth (eds.), *Nomaden und Sesshafte-Fragen, Methoden, Ergebnisse* (Halle-Wittenberg, 2003), 163–79 [Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte 9].

A. V. Sedov, 'The coinage of pre-Islamic Yemen: general remarks', *Adumatu* 3 (2001), 27–38.

J.B. Segal, 'Mesopotamian communities from Julian to the rise of Islam', *PBA* 41 (1955 or 1966), 109–39.

W. Seston, 'Le roi Narses, les Arabes et le Manichéisme', in [*The King Narses, the Arabs, and Manicheism*] *Mélanges syriens offerts à monsieur René Dussaud: secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, par ses amis et ses élèves* [*Syrian Studies offered to M. René Dussaud: perpetual secretary of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, by his friends and students*] (Paris, 1939), 227–34.

I. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fifth century* (Washington, D.C., 1989).

\_\_\_\_\_, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fourth century* (Washington, D.C., 1984).

\_\_\_\_\_, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the sixth century*, 4 vols (Washington, D.C., 1995–2009).

\_\_\_\_\_, *Byzantium and the Semitic Orient before the rise of Islam* (London, 1988).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Byzantium and Kinda', *BZ* 53 (1960), 57–73.

\_\_\_\_\_, *The Martyrs of Najran. New documents* (Brussels, 1971).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Byzantium and the Arabs in the sixth century. À propos of a recent review', *BF* 26 (2000), 125–60.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Heraclius and the theme system: further observations', *B* 59 (1989), 208–43.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Heraclius and the theme system: new light from the Arabic', *B* 57 (1987), 391–406.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Byzantium and the Arabs in the fifth century: à propos of three reviews', *Al-Abhath* 45 (1997), 51–65.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Byzantium in South Arabia', *DOP* 33 (1979), 33–94.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Ghassān and Byzantium: a new *terminus a quo*', *Is* 33 (1958), 232–55.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Ghassān post Ghassān’ in *The Islamic world from classical to modern times: Essays in honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, C. Issawi et al. (Princeton, 1989).

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Byzantium and the Arabs in the fifth century: a propos of three reviews’, in *al-Abhath* xlv (1997), 51–65.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘The last days of Salīḥ’, *Arabica* 5 (1958), 145–58.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Ghassānid and Umayyad Structures: a case of Byzance après Byzance’, *La Syrie de Byzance*, 299–307.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Pre-Islamic Arabia’, in P. M. Holt., Ann K. S. Lambton, B. Lewis (eds.), *The Cambridge history of Islam v. IA. The central Islamic lands from Pre-Islamic times to the first world war* (Cambridge, 1970), 3–29.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘The Umayyad ajnād. Byzance après Byzance’, in *ARAM fourth international conference: the Arab-Byzantine-Syriac cultural interchange during the Umayyad era in Bilad al-Sham. 27–30 September, 1993, Oxford*, 6: 1&2 (1994), 1–11.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Byzantino-arabica: the conference of Ramla, A.D. 524’, *JNES* 23 (1964), 115–31.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘The restoration of the Ghassanid dynasty A.D. 587: Dionysius of Tell Mahre’, *ARAM* 5 1&2 (1993), 491–503.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Sigillography in the service of history: new light., in *Novum millennium. Studies on Byzantine history and culture. Dedicated to Paul Speck, 19 December, 1999*, ed. Cl. Sode and S. Takács, (Aldershot, 2001), 369–78.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Byzantium and the Semitic Orient before the rise of Islam* (London, 1988).

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Arethas, son of Jabala’, *JAOS* 75 (1955) 205–16.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘The Arabs in the peace treaty of A.D. 561’. *Arabica* 3 (1956), 181-213.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘The *Hijra* (Emigration) of the early Muslims to Abyssinia: the Byzantine dimension’, in J. S. Allen et al, *To Hellenikon . Studies in honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.*, 2 vols, (New Rochelle NY, 1993), ii, 206–7.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Rome and the Arabs. A prolegomenon to the study of Byzantium and the Arabs* (Washington, 1984).

\_\_\_\_\_, *Byzantium and the Arabs: Late antiquity*, I-III (Brussels, 2005–6).

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘The Ghassanid foederati. Their significance in the history of Byzantium, of Islam, and of the Mediterranean world’, *BF* 31 (2013), 239–75.

B. Shaw, ‘Bandits in the Roman empire’, *P&P* 105 (1984), 3–52.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Eaters of flesh, drinkers of milk: the ancient Mediterranean ideology of the pastoral nomad’, *Ancient Society* 13-14 (1982), 5–31.

A. Shboul, ‘Aspects of Arab-Byzantine relations in the sixth century A.D.’, *BSAN* 6 (1980), 4.

A. Sidarus, ‘Multilingualism and lexicography in Egyptian late antiquity’, *HBO* 44 (2007), 173–95.

S. E. Sidebotham, ‘Ports of the Red Sea and the Arabia-India trade’, in Fahd, *L’Arabie*, 195–224.

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Northern Red Sea ports and their networks in the late Roman/Byzantine’, in M. M. Mango (ed.), *Byzantine trade, 4th–12th centuries the archaeology of local, regional and international exchange* (Farnham, 2009), 329–52.

H. Sivan, *Palestine in late antiquity* (Oxford, N. Y., 2008).

S. Smith, ‘Events in Arabia in the sixth century’, *BSOAS* 16 (1954), 425–68.

I. Strauch (ed.), *Foreign sailors on Socotra. The inscriptions and drawings from the cave Hoq* (Bremen, 2012).

E. Szuchman (ed.), *Nomads, tribes, and the state in the ancient Near East. Cross-disciplinary perspectives* (Chicago, 2009), 241–60 [OIS 5]. [oi.uchicago.edu/pdf/ois5.pdf](http://oi.uchicago.edu/pdf/ois5.pdf)

G. M. A. al-Tahir, ‘The gate to the Mediterranean: ports and trade of the Red Sea coast in early Islamic times’, in Y. Y. al-Hijji-V. Christides (eds.), *Aspects Aspects of Arab seafaring: an attempt to fill the gaps of maritime history* (Athens, 2002), 217–27.

D. Talbot Rice, ‘Hira’, *JRCAS* 19 (1932), 254–68.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The Oxford excavations at Hira', *AI* 1/1 (1934), 51-73

\_\_\_\_\_, 'The Oxford excavations at Hira, 1931', *Antiquity* 6 (1932), 276–91.

G. Tate, 'Le problème de la défense et du peuplement de la steppe au Syrie du nord entre la chute de Palmyre et le règne de Justinien', *Annales d' Archéologie Arabe Syrienne* 42 (1996), 33–7.

D. G. K. Taylor, 'Bilingualism and diglossia in late antique Syria and Mesopotamia', in Fitzgerald Johnson, *Languages and cultures of eastern Christianity: Greek*, 183-220

S. Thomas Parker, 'Peasants, pastoralists, and *Pax Romana*: a different view,' *BASOR* 265 (1987), 35–51.

I. Toral-Niehoff, *Al-Hīra: Eine arabische Kulturmetropole im spätantiken Kontext* (Leiden, 2014).

R. T. Updegraff, "The Blemmyes i: the rise of the Blemmyes and the roman withdrawal from nubia under Diocletian." in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römische Welt*, v. 2, ed. W. Haase and H. Temporini (Berlin, New York, 1988), 44–97.

P. Yule (ed.), *Late antique Arabia: Ṣafār, capital of Ḥimyar: rehabilitation of a 'decadent' society: excavations of the Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg 1998-2010 in the highland of Yemen* (Wiesbaden, 2013) [ADOG].

D. Valbelle-C. Bonnet (eds.), *Le Sināi durant l' antiquite et le Moyen Age : 4000 ans d'histoire pour un desert* (Paris, 1998).

A. Vasiliev, 'Notes on some episodes concerning the relations between the Arabs and the Byzantine empire from the fourth to the sixth century', *DOP* 9-10 (1955–6).

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Justin I (518–527) and Abyssinia', *BZ* 33 (1933), 66–77.

F. Villeneuve, 'Un pasteur et un soldat? Deux inscriptions grecques d' époque romaine a l' est du Jabal Hawran', in L. Nehme, A. al-Jallad, *To the Madbar and back again: studies in the*

*languages, archaeology and cultures of Arabia dedicated to M. C. A. Macdonald* (Leiden, 2018), 253–69.

S. Vryonis, ‘The epic scholarship of Irfan Shahid : an epic history of the pre-Islamic Arabs and their relations with Byzantium from Constantine the Great to Heraclius and the Islamic conquests of the Byzantine diocese of Oriens’, *REB* 79 (2009), 435–52.

A. Walmsley, ‘Byzantine Palestine and Arabia: urban prosperity in late antiquity’, in N. Christie and S. T. Loseby (eds.), *Towns in transition: urban evolution in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 1996), 126–58.

W. D. Ward, ‘From Provincia Arabia to Palaestina Tertia. The impact of geography, economy, and religion on the sedentary and nomadic communities in the later Roman province of third Palestine’ (Unpubl. PHD, Univ. of California, 2009).

\_\_\_\_\_, *The mirage of the Saracen. Christians and nomads in the Sinai Peninsula in late antiquity* (Oakland, 2015).

M. Whittow, ‘Rome and the Jafnids: writing the history a 6<sup>th</sup> c. dynasty’, *JRA* 31 (1999), 207–41.

T. Wolińska, P. Filipczak (eds.), *Byzantium and the Arabs. The encounter of civilizations, from sixth to mid-eighth century* (Łódź, 2015), part 1, 7–204.

Ph. Wood (ed.), *History and identity in the late antique Near East* (Oxford, 2013) [OSLA].

\_\_\_\_\_, ‘Al-ḥīra and its Histories’, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 136-4 (2016), 785- 99.

\_\_\_\_\_, *We Have No King but Christ. Christian Political Thought in Greater Syria on the Eve of the Arab Conquests (c.400–585)*. (Oxford, 2010).

F. Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen der Arabischen Stämme und Familien: mit historischen und geographischen Bemerkungen* (Piscataway, 2009).



- P. A. Yannopoulos, 'L' origine des informations byzantines au sujet de l' Arabie préislamique', in *Cultural contacts in ancient and medieval times, Proceedings of the International symposium on the historical relations between Arabia, the Greek and Byzantine world (5<sup>th</sup> c .BC–10<sup>th</sup> c. AD), Riyadh 6–10 December, 2010*, 2 vols. (Riyadh, 2012), 203–19.
- Y. Zahran, *The Lakhmids of Hira: sons of the water of heaven* (London, 2009).
- N. A. Ziadeh, 'The administration of Bilād al-Shām from the Byzantines to the early Arabs', *MUSJL* (1984), 787–812.
- M. Zwettler, 'Imra'alqays, Son of Amr; King of...?', in M. Mir, *The literary heritage of classical Islam. Arabic and Islamic studies in honor of James A. Bellamy* (Princeton, 1993), 3–37.