Muhājirūn as a Name for the First/Seventh Century Muslims

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Introduction

It is by now commonly known that the early followers of the Prophet Muhammad were not primarily titled Muslims, muslimūn. Rather, the documentary Arabic evidence shows that they called themselves “Believers,” muʾminūn.1 It must be admitted that there are some Qurʾanic passages where muslimūn and islām seem to be employed as technical terms. The most compelling is Q. 22:78, “He (God) has named you al-muslimīn.”2 But outside the Qurʾān, the word Islam, as a name of the religion, appears for the first time on the tombstone of a woman named ʿAbbāsa dated 71 AH / 691 CE.3 There, the Believers are called abl al-islām. The first definitely datable evidence of the usage of the word muslimūn, in the sense of adherents of Islam, is from 123 AH / 741 CE,4 although it was probably used widely even before that.5 Thus, the change from a “community of Believers to [a] community of Muslims”6 was a rather slow one, at least appellation-wise. Islam seems to have been a distinct religion from early on,7 but it took some decades, if not more, for its characteristics to become shaped.8 The Great, (i.e.,

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1 Fred M. Donner, “From Believers to Muslims: Confessional Self-Identity in the Early Islamic Community,” Al-Abhath 50–51 (2002–2003): 9–53. See now also his Muhammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam (Cambridge, MA, 2010). It must be noted that the Muslim sources of the first/seventh century are very meagre and make it very difficult to reconstruct the use of the terms discussed in this article.

2 As for islām, see Q. 3:19 and 5:3. Muslimūn and islām appear in different places in the Qurʾān, also in the context of the earlier prophets, but I do not believe that the words are used elsewhere as technical terms; they just mean submission to God. See further C. Adang, “Belief and Unbelief,” and M. Arkoun, “Islam,” both in The Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān, ed. J. D. McAuliffe (Leiden, 2001–2006), 1:218–26, 2:567–70.


5 See Appendix, below, which maps the usage of the words muslimūn, muʾminūn, and mubājirūn in the diwāns of some Umayyad-era poets.

6 To borrow Donner’s phrase, “From Believers to Muslims.”

7 At least it was thus seen by the non-Muslims who wrote on the matter: Robert G. Hoyland, Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam (Princeton, NJ, 1997).

8 To give an example, according to the Qurʾān the Believers should pray two or three (not five) times a day in addition to holding night vigils. See Q. 2:238; 6:52; 7:204–206; 11:114; 17:78–79; 18:28; 20:130; 24:58; 30:64; 40:39; 52:48–49; 76:26; and G. Bowering, “Prayer,” in The Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān 4, 219–28.
second) *fitna* (60–73 AH / 680–692 CE)⁹ was instrumental in the development of the self-definition of the new religious movement. Interestingly, the change towards Islam as we know it seems to have been initiated to some extent by the Caliph in Hijāz, Ibn al-Zubayr.¹⁰

While there is clear evidence that the Arabs of the nascent religion called themselves *muʿminūn*, the conquered non-Arabs did not use that designation. Rather, they used for the Believers a word deriving from the Arabic *muḥājirūn*, which became *mḥaggrāyē* in Syriac and *magaritai* in Greek.¹¹ The meaning of the Arabic verb *hājara*, from which the participle is derived, is two-fold: to move from town to town, i.e., to emigrate; or to move from desert to town, i.e., to become sedentary.¹² The Arab soldiers emigrated (made the *hiṣra*) after the conquests to the new garrison towns (*amṣār*, sing. *miṣr*), from which they continued their further conquests.¹³ *Jihād*/*qiyāl*, justified war for the cause of God, was inseparably connected with the *hiṣra*;¹⁴ the connection is already Qurʾānic (e.g., 2:218, 8:74).¹⁵ First, the Believers needed to conquer lands. Then, the conquered areas needed to be populated with the Believers. In many stories of early Muslim Arabs, conversion to Islam and *hiṣra* are intertwined principles.¹⁶ Those laggard Bedouin who did not join the conquests and settle down did not earn the title of *muḥājirūn*. As the governor al-Ḥajjāj stated during his famous sermon in the mosque of al-Kūfa: “A *muḥājir* is not a Bedouin.”¹⁷ There was also sometimes a differentiation between the *muḥājirūn* and the *mawālī*, non-Arab converts to Islam.¹⁸

It must be noted that some scholars have eschewed the connection of *mḥaggrāyē/magaritai* to the Arabic word *muḥājirūn*, linking it, etymologically, to Hagar.¹⁹ This is, in my opinion, unwarranted since there is ample material demonstrating that the early Muslims called themselves *muḥājirūn* in the sense of “Emigrants.”²⁰ However, I must admit that it is problematic that the epigraphic or other documentary Arabic evidence does not use the appellation *muḥājirūn* for the early Muslims.

This paper builds on earlier scholarship²¹ and endeavors to show that the word *muḥājirūn* was used sometimes, albeit rarely, in the Arabic literary evidence as an appellation for the first–second/seventh–eighth century Muslims. It is not precisely synonymous with *muʿminūn*, but there was a clear overlap in the individuals they designated, since most of the early Muslims were warriors-cum-settlers.

### The Evidence

Using the Arabic literary evidence as a source for the first–second/seventh–eighth century history of Islam

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²⁰ Furthermore, “Hagarites” in Arabic would have become something like *ḥarrijāyīn*. The form V participle could also come into question (mutahajjirīn), but not, in my opinion, the form III participle dealt with here.


²⁴ Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, index, sv. *muḥājirūn, mḥaggrāyē*, and *magaritai*; Adbul-Maṣūḥ Saadi, “Nascent Islam in the Seventh Century Syriac Sources,” in *The Qurʾān in Its Historical Context*, ed. Gabriel Said Reynolds (London, 2008), 217–22. The non-Arabs also used other appellations for the Arabs that they had already used for centuries, such as *ʿArabūyē, Teyātāyē*, Saracen, Sons of Hagar, and Ishmaelites. But when they wanted to specify the early Muslim Arabs from the Christian Arabs, they used *mḥaggrāyē*.


²⁷ Ibid., 352–53.
found in dated documentary evidence, for instance pyri dated 642 and 643.

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The Qurʾān

The Transmission

of Qurra b. Sharīk, governor of Egypt 90–96

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or words
derived

Table 1—What the sources call the Muslims of the first/

seventh century

muḥājirūn, or words derived therefrom

muʾminūn

muslimūn

Arabic contemporary

epigraphic and other
documentary evidence

X

The Qurʾān

X

X

X

Non-Arabic contem-

porary literary and
documentary evidence

X

Arabic literary evidence

X

X

X

is notoriously difficult (see Table 1). That the histor-

cical and other prose texts were composed (or at least

redacted) over one hundred years after the events in

question can also be seen from the fact that they call,

already from the time of the Prophet onwards, the

Believers “Muslims,” and their religion “Islam.” The

contemporary evidence (papyri, coins, inscriptions)

shows this to be something of an anachronism: only

the Qurʾān attests the appellations Islam and Mus-

lims, which were, hence, rare and not the primary

term, an appellation originating later, when the

muḥājirūn

but elsewhere too) gave the first Muslims the name

muʾminūn

was there from the beginning: the

hijra to Medina (not necessarily only from Mecca,

but elsewhere too) gave the first Muslims the name

muḥājirūn

but there were more hijra to come when the

Arab conquests got underway. The term ansār, in-

cidentally, never appears in the treaty (apart from

Ibn Ishaq’s later preface) and could be, as a technical

term, an appellation originating later, when the

hijra began to be understood solely as Muhammad’s emi-

gration from Mecca to Medina. Thus, when we read

elsewhere that ‘Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith was sent to Sayf

al-Bahr in Rabī’ I 2 AH / 623 CE with sixty muḥājirūn

and the laggard Bedouin, who could be considered

muḥājirūn

Since Patricia Crone has already amassed a large

collection of evidence of the word hijra as an emi-

tation to the garrison cities, I do not need to pres-

ent here an all-encompassing list of occurrences of

the word muḥājirūn in the sources. Nonetheless,

whereas Crone’s interest lay in the meaning of the
term hijra, I wish to draw attention to the appelle-
tion muḥājirūn as a near-synonym to muʾminūn,

although the former excluded, it seems, the mawālī

and the laggard Bedouin, who could be considered

(least begrudgingly) Believers, but not Emigrants or

Settlers.

The “Constitution of Medina”

The so-called “Constitution of Medina”27 starts with

the phrase: “This is the treaty (kitāb) of Muhammad

between the muḥājirūn and muslimūn28 of Quraysh and Yathrib.” Next, however, the text moves on
to discuss the rights and duties of the muḥājirūn

of Quraysh. Hence, the link between muḥājirūn

and muʾminūn was there from the beginning: the

hijra to Medina (not necessarily only from Mecca,

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therefrom

muslimūn

X

X

X

X

X

X

X

The name muḥājirūn is an early one and can be

found in dated documentary evidence, for instance

as magaritai in two Egyptian Greek-language papyri dated 642 and 643 CE.23 The term does not die

out easily, because it is still used in the Greek papyri

of Qurrā b. Sharīk, governor of Egypt 90–96 AH / 709–14 CE.24 Arabic literary texts contain genuine vesti-
ges of the past, however hard to detect, attesting the

appellation

muḥājirūn, even if the names

muʾminūn

and

muslimūn are far more common; and even con-
temporary non-Arabic sources imply that the Arab

conquerors called themselves, among other things,

muḥājirūn.

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This is a point I need to elucidate further. Al-
muḥājirūn wa-l-ansār30 occurs already in the Qurʾān

22 Here we do not have to dwell on the historiographical prob-

lems. For a longer discussion, see Ilkka Lindstedt, The Transmission

of al-Madāʾinī’s Material: Historiographical Studies (Ph.D. disserta-

tion, University of Helsinki, 2013; also available online at http://


24 Ibid., 362, no. 44.

25 The word muslimūn could be an interpolation inserted as a

synonym to muʾminūn, but this is conjectural.

26 Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, al-Taʾrīkh, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Göttingen,


Muhammad’s First Legal Document (Princeton, 2004), 40–45, deals

with the meaning of the words muḥājirūn, muʾminūn, and

muslimūn in the same document. However, Lecker treats the text

as a completely authentic document, disavowing any redactional

activity during its transmission. This is improbable.

27 Ibid., 355–63.

28 In Q. 49:14, it is even stated that the Bedouin do not believe.

29 In Q. 9:99, however, some of the Bedouin are said to believe in

God and the last day.

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24 Ibid., 362, no. 44.
A hadith on Persians being led to heaven in chains

In a hadith surviving in later sources but attributed to a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad, ʿAmir b. Wāʾila (d. ca. 100/718), the Prophet laughs until others present are puzzled by the reason for his laughter. He answers that he is amazed at the non-Arabs/Persians (al-ʿajam), who will be led to heaven in chains. This is because the muḥājirūn will capture them as war prisoners and make them convert to Islam, however they may dislike it (wa-hum kāriḥūn). It seems clear that, in the passage in question, muḥājirūn denotes fighters expanding the area of Islam to the East.

The story of al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha

The general al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha comes to the caliph Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq to tell him that some of the people who had apostatized earlier (abil al-riddā) are now good soldiers who are helping the muḥājirūn fight the Persians. This use reflects the use of the word elsewhere for Arabs fighting the Persians or Kurds, as could be seen from the previous example too.

Activist warriors

Elsewhere too, the muḥājirūn are related to activist warfare, for we sometimes meet the phrase al-muḥājirūn wa-l-mujāhidūn fī sabīl allāh, “the muḥājirūn and those striving/fighting in God’s way.” The Khārijites also saw a link between gitāl and hijra, and labeled themselves muḥājirūn.

ʿAli on domesticity

ʿAli preached: “We have ordered dyeing plants (warṣ) and needles to the women of the muḥājirūn.” It seems impossible to interpret this according to the muḥājirūn-anṣār dichotomy. Rather, the saying means that the Muslim women, in general, should stick to domestic chores.

muḥājirūn and dihqān

According to another story, the first Arab who rode while his men were walking was Ashʿath b. Qays. This was something reprehensible, because if the muḥājirūn saw a dihqān who was riding while his men were walking, they would say: “May God curse him because

33 Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb al-Ashrāf, ed. A. A. al-Dūrī et al. (Beirut, 1996), 2:133.
34 Al-Dhahabī, Taʾrīkh al-Islām, ed. M. A. Ṭāṭā (Beirut, 2005), 1:2120.
51 For a traditional view (with which I disagree), see M. al-Faruqī, “Emigration,” and “Emigrants and Helpers,” in: Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān 2:6–14,23.
of his oppression (qatalahu Allāh jabbaran)." The word diḥğān, used for landowning Persians, brings the context of the narrative, once again, to Iraq and Persia. It seems that the word muḥājirūn was especially used for those warriors fighting and settling in those areas.

The poor muḥājirūn

In the anecdotal section of al-Ṭabarī’s Taʾrīkh that is placed after the death of each caliph, it is recorded that the second Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, towards the end of his life, that he should have taken from the rich and given to the poor muḥājirūn (cf. Q. 59:8). Because the context is the period of ʿUmar (who was the great architect of the conquests), muḥājirūn seems to mean the activist warrior and settler Muslims.

Travelers and muḥājirūn

In a narrative without much context, a group of travelers goes past (ʿAbdallāh) Ibn ʿUmar, the son of the second Caliph. Ibn ʿUmar asks who they are. The caravan leader says to Ibn ʿUmar:46 “[We are from] Quraysh,” to which Ibn ʿUmar exclaims: “Quraysh? Quraysh? We are [all] muḥājirūn.”

muḥājirūn in poetry

In Arabic poetry of the turn of the first/seventh and second/eighth centuries, muḥājirūn is sometimes used as a general appellation for Muslims, albeit more rarely than muslimūn. By the turn of the century, then, muslimūn had already become the most oft- used designation for Muslims, if we can believe that the poems have been transmitted accurately.48

muḥājirūn in other hadith

In the hadīth literature, the word muḥājir is sometimes taken to mean one who shuns what God has forbidden.49 This shows a broad, imprecise application of the word in which the connection to emigration and settling is not (anymore) present.

The Daniel Apocalypse

The interchangeability of muḥājirūn and muslimūn can be seen quite clearly in the text presented below, a rather long apocalypse told on the authority of Daniel.50 Its isnād shows it to be of Himṣī provenance.51 It is often supposed that the Arabic apocalyptic texts can contain early material, and this Daniel apocalypse seems to be no exception. The story can be found in Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād’s Fitān; it is reproduced by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, whose text is in some cases better.52 The following is my rendering of the apocalypse:

Jarrāḥ53 has said on the authority of Arṭāt:54 According to Daniel, the first battle of the final days (al-mallāhama) will take place in Alexandria.55 They [the Byzantine enemy] will come in boats, and the army of Egypt (ahl Miṣr) will appeal for help to the army of Syria. They will meet in battle and fight hard. The Muslims will rout the Byzantines after hard effort. Then they [the Byzantines] will stay put for one year56 and muster a great company [of troops]. They will advance [from the sea?] and alight at ten mīl [distance from?] Jaffā,57 upon which its people will take refuge in the mountains with their children.58

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45 Al-Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh, 1:2774.
46 The text is corrupt, reading qāla ḥādī bn ʿumar, which should be emended to qāla (al-)ḥādī li-bn ʿumar.
48 For documentation, see the Appendix (below).
55 For the importance of Egypt in Muslim apocalypses, see David Cook, Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic (Princeton, NJ, 2002), 261.
56 Following Ibn al-ʿAdīm, instead of Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, which has “will stay put in it,” in which case the referent of “it” is unclear.
57 The sentence seems garbled: fa-yanzilūna Yāfā Filāṭīn ʿashrat amyāl.
58 For the importance of the Syrian coastal cities in Muslim apocalypses, see Cook, Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic, 256–57.
The Muslims will meet them and gain victory over them, killing their king.

The second *malḥama*: After their rout, they [the Byzantines] must muster an even greater company [of troops]. Then they will advance and alight at ʿĀkkā. The son of the slain one has started to rule as their king.\(^{59}\) The Muslims will meet [them in battle] at ʿĀkkā. The victory will be withheld from the Muslims for forty days, and the army of Syria will appeal for help to the armies of the garrison towns (*abl al-amṣār*), but they are tardy in giving help. On that day, there will not be a Christian infidel (*mushrik*), free or slave, who does not bolster the Byzantines. A third of the army of Syria will flee, [another] third will be killed, but then God will help the remaining [Muslim troops]. They will rout the Byzantines in a way that has not been heard of and kill their king.\(^{60}\)

The third *malḥama*: Those of them [the Byzantines] who will return by sea will do so. Those of them who fled will reinforce them [the Byzantines coming by sea] by land. They will choose as their king the son of their dead king. He is young, not yet of age, and love for him will be kindled\(^{61}\) in their hearts.\(^{62}\) He will advance with a [huge] number [of troops] that their first two kings did not have. They will alight at the ʿAmq\(^{63}\) of Antioch. The Muslims will gather and alight opposite them. They will fight for two months. Then God will send down help to them [the Byzantines] and kill their king.\(^{60}\)

The Muslims will meet them and gain victory over them, killing their king.

Towards the Taurus mountain pass (*al-Darb*). Reinforcements will come to them and they halt. The Muslims will incite one another to fight\(^{64}\) and wheel at them, killing them and their king.

The remaining [Byzantines] will be routed. The *muhājirūn* will chase them and kill them in a devastating manner. At that moment, the Cross will become useless. The Byzantines will go off to peoples of al-Andalus behind them.\(^{65}\) They will [come back and] advance with them and alight at *al-Darb*. The *muhājirūn* will divide into two. One half will go by land towards *al-Darb*, the other half will sail by sea. The *muhājirūn* [going by land] will meet their enemies that are on land and at *al-Darb*. God will grant them victory over their enemies and rout them in a way that is greater than the previous routs. They [the *muhājirūn* on land] will send to their brothers at sea a bringer of glad tidings [who will say]: “Your place of rendezvous is the City [of Constantinople?].”\(^{66}\) God will make them march in the best way until they alight at the City and conquer and lay it waste. After that there will be Andalus\(^{67}\) and peoples. They will gather and come to Syria.\(^{68}\) But the Muslims will meet them, and God, He is Mighty and Great, will rout them.

I will here skip over the question of this apocalypse’s relationship with actual historical events. The most interesting thing for the purposes of this paper is the fact that, in this passage, the text changes abruptly from *muslimūn* to *muhājirūn*, and then back to *muslimūn*. The terms seem to be employed for the same group. I deem it awkward to consider them a subgroup of the *muslimūn*: above, it is explicitly stated that the *abl al-amṣār* are “tardy in giving help,” so they are not meant by *muhājirūn*. The use of the word *muhājirūn* as an appellation for Muslims leads me to suggest that at least parts of the text are even older than the *ismād* leads one to believe, that is, from the

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\(^{59}\) *Qad malaka maṭikabum ibn al-maqṣūl*, following Ibn al-ʿAdīm, instead of Nuʿaym b. Hammād’s *qad kalaka*.

\(^{60}\) Ibn al-ʿAdīm: “kill them and their king.”

\(^{61}\) Lit. “thrown,” *tuqdhaf*.

\(^{62}\) This seems to refer to Tiberius, son of Justinian II, “the coveted.” Tiberius was born 705 CE and “reigned” 706-11 alongside Justinian II. Tiberius was killed, together with his father, in 711 when just a small child, but he was predicted in the Arabic apocalypses to return and start the eschatological battles: see Bashear, “Apocalyptic and Other Materials,” 49-54.

\(^{63}\) *Yaqūt, Muʾjam al-baladān* (Beirut, 1977), 4:156, informs us that al-ʿAmq was a valley region in the vicinity of Antioch. The plural *al-ʿAmq* is often used as a synonym. The place was considered important for the eschatological battles: see Bashear, “Apocalyptic and Other Materials,” 188-89; Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, 49-54.


\(^{65}\) *Yanṣalūq al-Rūm ilā nnum min warāʿibīnum min al-Andalus*. *Al-Andalus* could here and below be a reference to a people, not a place.

\(^{66}\) *Inna nawʿidakum al-madīna*. Or: “Your appointed place/promised destination is the City.”

\(^{67}\) This time without the definite article.

\(^{68}\) The text could be corrupt. Ibn al-ʿAdīm diverges here significantly, offering: “After that there will be *Andalus*, and you (pl.) will gather and come to Syria.”
Muhājirūn as a Name for the First/Seventh Century Muslims

The documentary evidence suggests that the word *islām* as a name for the new Arab religion only became the most often-employed designation towards the end of the century or so that passed between the composing and the collecting of the poems. Of course, there is the problem that since *muslim(ūn)* and *muʾmin(ūn)* are metrically interchangeable, the earlier and more popular *muʾmin(ūn)* could have been altered to *muslim(ūn)* during the transmission of the poems.

The lack of use of the Muslim religious vocabulary in the poems of al-Akhṭal is probably explained by the fact that he remained Christian throughout his life. Al-Akhṭal's poems imply, however, that *muslim(ūn)* was already in use well before the first dated occurrence of the word in epigraphy (123 AH / 741 CE).

Al-Akhṭal, *Diwān*73

| *Muʾmin(ūn)*: | 19. |
| *Muslim(ūn)*: | 71, 176, 317. |
| *Muhājir(ūn)*: | none. |

Al-Farazdaq, *Diwān*74

| *Muʾmin(ūn)*: | 213, 475. |
| *Muslim(ūn)*: | 136, 140, 197, 198, 218, 244, 294, 299, 539, 546, 571, 578, 607, 620. |
| *Muhājir(ūn)*: | 191, 280. |

Jarir, *Diwān*75

| *Muʾmin(ūn)*: | 120. |
| *Muhājir(ūn)*: | 637, 783. |

Conclusions

The documentary evidence suggests that the word *muʾmin(ūn)* as a name for the new Arab Believers, which can be a sign of later redactional processes.

Wilferd Madelung has also noted the use of *muhājirūn* as “the honorific title which the Arab settlers liked to apply to themselves. It recurs frequently in the apocalyptic prophecies of Hims.”70 I would note, furthermore, that most of the Arabs were indeed settlers, and hence qualified for that name.

Another interesting curiosity occurring in the text that might be mentioned in passing is that the word (al-)Andalus appears to be used as a name of a people instead of (just) a toponym. In another apocalyptic text, David Cook has noted the same.71 The term probably means Spanish Christians who were in some way seen to participate in the last events.

Appendix: Umayyad Poetry

This Appendix maps the occurrences of the words *muʾmin(ūn)* (excluding *amīr al-muʾminīn*, which appears often, *muslim(ūn)*, and *muhājir(ūn)* (outside the *muhājirūn–ansār* dichotomy) in a small sample of Umayyad poetry, namely the *diwāns* of al-Akhṭal (d. probably before 92 AH / 710–11 CE), al-Farazdaq (d. ca. 100 AH / 720), and Jarir (d. ca. 110 AH / 728–29 CE), and Jarir (d. ca. 110 AH / 728–29 CE). There are of course problems with the authenticity and transmission of the poetry, but in general these difficulties can be said to be less consequential than in prose narratives.72 This is because it can be argued that the meter and the rhyme of the poems have kept them more or less intact during the century or so that passed between the composing and the collecting of the poems. Of course, there is the problem that since *muslim(ūn)* and *muʾmin(ūn)* are metrically interchangeable, the earlier and more popular *muʾmin(ūn)* could have been altered to *muslim(ūn)* during the transmission of the poems.

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The lack of use of the Muslim religious vocabulary in the poems of al-Akhṭal is probably explained by the fact that he remained Christian throughout his life. Al-Akhṭal's poems imply, however, that *muslim(ūn)* was already in use well before the first dated occurrence of the word in epigraphy (123 AH / 741 CE).

Al-Akhṭal, *Diwān*73

| *Muʾmin(ūn)*: | 19. |
| *Muslim(ūn)*: | 71, 176, 317. |
| *Muhājir(ūn)*: | none. |

Al-Farazdaq, *Diwān*74

| *Muʾmin(ūn)*: | 213, 475. |
| *Muslim(ūn)*: | 136, 140, 197, 198, 218, 244, 294, 299, 539, 546, 571, 578, 607, 620. |
| *Muhājir(ūn)*: | 191, 280. |

Jarir, *Diwān*75

| *Muʾmin(ūn)*: | 120. |
| *Muhājir(ūn)*: | 637, 783. |


73 Ed. Nuʿmān Muḥammad Amīn Ṭāhā (Cairo, n.d.). I am only taking into account Jarir’s poems, not the later commentary, prose text, etc., that is part of his *Diwān*.

74 Also, Bashear, “Apocalyptic and Other Materials,” 173.

75 Ed. ʿAlī Fāʿūr (Beirut, 1987).

76 Madelung, “Apocalyptic Prophecies in Hims,” 162–63. For examples in Madelung’s source material, see ibid., 166–69.