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 Muḥammad 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 Qurʾānic 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 *ahl 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, "Islām," both in *The Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān*, ed. J. D. McAuliffe (Leiden, 2001–2006), 1:218–26, 2:567–70.

[3] H. M. El-Hawary, "The Second Oldest Islamic Monument Known Dated A.H. 71 (A.D. 691) from the Time of the Omayyad Calif ʿAbd el-Malik ibn Marwan," *JRAS* (1932): 289–93. The tombstone can also be seen at http://www.islamic-awareness.org/History/Islam/Inscriptions/abasa.html, accessed October 2014.

[4] Solange Ory, "Les graffiti umayyades de ʿAyn al-Ǧarr," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 20 (1967): 100.

[5] See Appendix, below, which maps the usage of the words *muslimūn*, *muʾminūn*, and *muhājirūn* in the *dīwān*s 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; 25:64; 50:39; 52:48–49; 76:26; and G. Böwering, "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 Ḥijāz, Ibn al-Zubayr.[10]

While there is clear evidence that the Arabs of the nascent religion called themselves *mu'minūn*, the conquered non-Arabs did not use that designation. Rather, they used for the Believers a word deriving from the Arabic *muhājirūn*, which became *mhaggrāyē* 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 *hijra*) after the conquests to the new garrison towns (*amṣār*, sing. *miṣr*), from which they continued their further conquests.[13] *Jihād/qitāl*, justified war for the cause of God, was inseparably connected with the *hijra*;[14] the connection is already Qur'ānic (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 *hijra* are

intertwined principles.[16] Those laggard Bedouin who did not join the conquests and settle down did not earn the title of *muhājirūn*. As the governor al-Ḥajjāj stated during his famous sermon in the mosque of al-Kūfa: "A *muhājir* is not a Bedouin."[17] There was also sometimes a differentiation between the *muhājirūn* and the *mawālī*, non-Arab converts to Islam.[18]

It must be noted that some scholars have eschewed the connection of *mhaggrāyē/magaritai* to the Arabic word *muhājirūn*, linking it, etymologically, to Hagar.[19] This is, in my opinion, unwarranted since there is ample material demonstrating that the early Muslims called themselves *muhājirūn* 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 *muhājirūn* for the early Muslims.

This paper builds on earlier scholarship[21] and endeavors to show that the word *muhājirūn* 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 *mu'minūn*, 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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[9] G. H. A. Juynboll, "Date of the Great *Fitna*," *Arabica* 20 (1973): 142–59.

[10] Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 549–54. Note the appearance of the Prophet Muḥammad as *rasūl Allāh* on the coins minted at the behest of Ibn al-Zubayr's governor of Bīshāpūr, first attested in 66 AH /685–86 CE: http://www.islamic-awareness.org/History/Islam/Coins/drachm1.html, accessed October 2014. The name Muḥammad appearing without *rasūl Allāh* on some coins from Palestine and Transjordan (dated tentatively to 647–58 CE) is probably a reference to a local governor; see Clive Foss, *Arab-Byzantine Coins: An Introduction, with a Catalogue of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* (Washington, D.C., 2008), 34. The name Muḥammad, without further qualifications, also occurs on early Arab-Sasanian coins, one from Shīrajān 38 AH /658–59 CE, and one from Rayy 52 AH /672–73 CE; see Heinz Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik* (Braunschweig, 1973), 36.

[11] Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, index, s.v. *muhājirūn, mhaggrāyē,* and *magaritai*; Adbul-Massih Saadi, "Nascent Islam in the Seventh Century Syriac Sources," in *The Qur'ān 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 *'Arabāyē*, *Ṭayyāyē*, Saracens, Sons of Hagar, and Ishmaelites. But when they wanted to specify the early Muslim Arabs from the Christian Arabs, they used *mhaggrāyē*.

[12] Al-Qālī, *Amālī* (Beirut, n.d.), 2:193.

[13] Patricia Crone, "The First-Century Concept of *Hiǧra*," *Arabica* 41 (1994): 352–87. See also Wilferd Madelung, "Has the *Hijra* Come to an End?" *Revue des Études Islamiques* 54 (1986): 225–37.

[14] Crone, "The First-Century Concept of *Hiǧra*," 364.

[15] Ibid., 352–53.

[16] E.g., ibid., 357–58, nos. 6, 8, 14.

[17] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa-l-Tabyīn*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (reprint Beirut, n.d.), 2:309. For a longer discussion, see Khalil Athamina, "A'rāb and *Muhājirūn* in the Environment of *Amṣār*," *Studia Islamica* 66 (1987): 5–25.

[18] Crone, "The First-Century Concept of *Hiǧra*," 362 (no. 44) and 365. However, there are other cases where non-Arab collaborators were called *muhājirūn*, e.g., Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 343. I thank Robert Hoyland for noting this (personal communication).

[19] Sidney H. Griffith, "The Prophet Muḥammad: His Scripture and His Message According to the Christian Apologies in Arabic and Syriac from the First Abbasid Century," in *La vie du prophète Mahomet* (Paris, 1983), 99–146, here 122–24; Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge, 1977), 8–9 retain the etymological link while contending that even the Arabic *muhājirūn* has the notion of "descendants of Hagar" in addition to *hijra*. This is unlikely.

[20] Furthermore, "Hagarites" in Arabic would have become something like *hājariyyūn*. The form V participle could also come into question (*mutahajjirūn*), but not, in my opinion, the form III participle dealt with here.

[21] Crone, "The First-Century Concept of *Hiǧra*." Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 76, n. 72, calls *muhājirūn* "the Muslims' official name for themselves." See also ibid., 547–48.

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

	mu'minūn	*muhājirūn*, or words derived therefrom	*muslimūn*
Arabic contemporary epigraphic and other documentary evidence	X		
The Qur'ān	X	X	X
Non-Arabic contemporary literary and documentary evidence		X	
Arabic literary evidence	X	X	X

is notoriously difficult (see Table 1).[22] That the historical 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 Qur'ān attests the appellations Islam and Muslims, which were, hence, rare and not the primary ones used.

The name *muhājirūn* 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 Qurra b. Sharīk, governor of Egypt 90–96 AH / 709–14 CE.[24] Arabic literary texts contain genuine vestiges of the past, however hard to detect, attesting the appellation *muhājirūn*, even if the names *mu'minūn* and *muslimūn* are far more common; and even contemporary non-Arabic sources imply that the Arab conquerors called themselves, among other things, *muhājirūn*.

Since Patricia Crone has already amassed a large collection of evidence of the word *hijra* as an emigration to the garrison cities, I do not need to present here an all-encompassing list of occurrences of

the word *muhājirūn* in the sources.[25] Nonetheless, whereas Crone's interest lay in the meaning of the term *hijra*, I wish to draw attention to the appellation *muhājirūn* as a near-synonym to *mu'minūn*, although the former excluded, it seems, the *mawālī* and the laggard Bedouin, who could be considered (at least begrudgingly) Believers, but not Emigrants or Settlers.[26]

The "Constitution of Medina"

The so-called "Constitution of Medina"[27] starts with the phrase: "This is the treaty (*kitāb*) of Muḥammad between the *mu'minīn* and *muslimīn*[28] of Quraysh and Yathrib." Next, however, the text moves on to discuss the rights and duties of the *muhājirūn* of Quraysh. Hence, the link between *muhājirūn* and *mu'minūn* was there from the beginning: the *hijra* to Medina (not necessarily only from Mecca, but elsewhere too) gave the first Muslims the name *muhājirūn*, but there were more *hijra*s to come when the Arab conquests got underway. The term *anṣār*, incidentally, never appears in the treaty (apart from Ibn Isḥāq's later preface) and could be, as a technical term, an appellation originating later, when the *hijra* began to be understood solely as Muḥammad's emigration from Mecca to Medina. Thus, when we read elsewhere that ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith was sent to Sayf al-Baḥr in Rabīʿ I 2 AH /623 CE with sixty *muhājirūn* "and no one from *anṣār*," the comment seems like an interpolation from an era when the *muhājirūn-anṣār* dichotomy was taken for granted.[29]

This is a point I need to elucidate further. *Al-muhājirīn wa-l-anṣār*[30] occurs already in the Qur'ān

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[22] Here we do not have to dwell on the historiographical problems. For a longer discussion, see Ilkka Lindstedt, *The Transmission of al-Madā'inī's Material: Historiographical Studies* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Helsinki, 2013; also available online at http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978–952–10–9400–2), chapters 2–3.

[23] Crone, "The First-Century Concept of *Hiǧra*," 359, no. 21.

[24] Ibid., 362, no. 44.

[25] Ibid., 355–63.

[26] In Q. 49:14, it is even stated that the Bedouin do not believe. In Q. 9:99, however, some of the Bedouin are said to believe in God and the last day.

[27] Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1858–1860), 1:341–44. M. Lecker, *The "Constitution of Medina": Muḥammad's First Legal Document* (Princeton, 2004), 40–45, deals with the meaning of the words *muhājirūn*, *mu'minūn*, 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.

[28] The word *muslimīn* could be an interpolation inserted as a synonym to *mu'minīn*, but this is conjectural.

[29] Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *al-Ta'rīkh*, ed. A. Ḍ. al-ʿUmrī (Riyadh, 1985), 61.

[30] In Q. 9:100, this is followed by *wa-l-ladhīna ittabaʿūhum bi-iḥsān*, "and those who followed them with good conduct," a third group. But in Q. 9:117, the phrase becomes *al-muhājirīn wa-l-anṣār al-ladhīna ittabaʿūhu fī sāʿat al-ʿusra*, "the emigrants

(9:100, 117), but it is probable that neither word was used in the sense that it acquired later.[31] *Muhājirūn*, I believe, was a general term for every Believer coming to Medina or even other towns where Islam held sway. The word *anṣār*, however, we should just translate as "helpers," without precise meaning. At least at the beginning, the group could have included, or perhaps be identical with, the Jews of Medina mentioned in the "Constitution of Medina."[32] The *muhājirūn* (usually *man hājarū*) also appear without the *anṣār* in the Qurʾān, where they are characterized as Believers (usually *man/alladhīna āmanū*, Q. 8:74–75, 9:20, 33:6).[33]

In this connection, the unusual juxtaposition "the *muhājirūn* and *muslimūn*," appearing in one text in connection with the death of the Prophet, should be noted, although I do not know what to make of it other than to reiterate that *muslimūn*, in the first century of Islam, could be an interpolation or a qualification ("those who submit").[34] The combination *al-muslimīn al-muhājirīn* also appears,[35] as does *al-muslimīn wa-l-muhājirīn wa-l-anṣār*.[36] Furthermore, an otherwise unknown character called al-Fizr b. Mihzam al-ʿAbdī calls himself *muʾmin muhājir*.[37]

A ḥadīth on Persians being led to heaven in chains

In a *ḥadīth* surviving in later sources but attributed to a Companion of the Prophet Muḥammad, ʿĀmir 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 *muhājirūn* will capture them as war prisoners and make them convert to Islam, however

they may dislike it (*wa-hum kārihūn*).[38] It seems clear that, in the passage in question, *muhājirūn* 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 (*ahl al-ridda*) are now good soldiers who are helping the *muhājirūn* fight the Persians.[39] This use reflects the use of the word elsewhere for Arabs fighting the Persians or Kurds,[40] as could be seen from the previous example too.

Activist warriors

Elsewhere too, the *muhājirūn* are related to activist warfare, for we sometimes meet the phrase *al-muhājirūn wa-l-mujāhidūn fī sabīl allāh*, "the *muhājirūn* and those striving/fighting in God's way."[41] The Khārijites also saw a link between *qitāl* and *hijra*, and labeled themselves *muhājirūn*.[42]

ʿAlī on domesticity

ʿAlī preached: "We have ordered dyeing plants (*wars*) and needles to the women of the *muhājirūn*."[43] It seems impossible to interpret this according to the *muhājirūn-anṣār* dichotomy. Rather, the saying means that the Muslim women, in general, should stick to domestic chores.

muhājirūn *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 *muhājirūn* saw a *dihqān* who was riding while his men were walking, they would say: "May God curse him because

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and the helpers who followed him [scil. the Prophet] in the hour of difficulty," where *al-ladhīna ittabaʿūhu* qualifies the *anṣār*. In this case, *al-anṣār* seem to be non-Medinese.

[31] For a traditional view (with which I disagree), see M. al-Faruque, "Emigrants and Helpers," and "Emigration," in: *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* 2:14–23.

[32] Cf. Lecker, *The "Constitution of Medina,"* who endeavors to refute this claim.

[33] Crone, "The First-Century Concept of *Hiǧra*," 353–55.

[34] Al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, ed. M. A. ʿAṭā (Beirut, 2005), 2:6.

[35] Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, ed. A. A. al-Dūrī et al. (Beirut, 1978–), 6/1:380.

[36] Ibn Aʿtham, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, ed. al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bukhārī (Hyderabad, 1968–1975), 1:54.

[37] Al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, n.d.), 3:337.

[38] Ibn al-Athīr, *Asad al-Ghāba fī Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Barrī et al. (Beirut, 1996), 4:265.

[39] Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-Rusul wa-l-Mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje et al. (Leiden, 1879–1901), 1:2120.

[40] See, e.g., ibid., 1:2356, 2363; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), 381; Crone, "The First-Century Concept of *Hiǧra*," 359, no. 22.

[41] Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, ed. A. A. al-Dūrī et al. (Beirut, 1978–), 5:438.

[42] Crone, "The First-Century Concept of *Hiǧra*," 379–80.

[43] Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 2:133.

of his oppression (*qātalahu Allāh jabbāran*)."[44] The word *dihqān*, used for landowning Persians, brings the context of the narrative, once again, to Iraq and Persia. It seems that the word *muhājirūn* was especially used for those warriors fighting and settling in those areas.

The poor muhājirūn

In the anecdotal section of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh* 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 *muhājirūn* (cf. Q. 59:8).[45] Because the context is the period of ʿUmar (who was the great architect of the conquests), *muhājirūn* seems to mean the activist warrior and settler Muslims.

Travelers and muhājirūn

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] *muhājirūn*."[47]

muhājirūn *in poetry*

In Arabic poetry of the turn of the first/seventh and second/eighth centuries, *muhājirūn* 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-often-used designation for Muslims, if we can believe that the poems have been transmitted accurately.[48]

muhājirūn *in other* ḥadīth

In the *ḥadīth* literature, the word *muhājir* 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 *muhājirūn* 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 Ḥimṣī 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 *Fitan*; it is reproduced by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, whose text is in some cases better.[52] The following is my rendering of the apocalypse:

> Jarrāḥ[53] has said on the authority of Arṭāt:[54] According to Daniel, the first battle of the final days (*al-malḥama*) 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 year[56] and muster a great company [of troops]. They will advance [from the sea?] and alight at ten *mīl*s [distance from?] Jaffa,[57] upon which its people will take refuge in the mountains with their children.[58]

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[50] For Arabic Daniel apocalypses, see David Cook, "An Early Muslim Daniel Apocalypse," *Arabica* 49 (2002): 55–96.

[51] For early Ḥimṣī apocalypses, see Wilferd Madelung, "Apocalyptic Prophecies in Ḥimṣ in the Umayyad Age," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 31 (1986): 141–85.

[52] Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, *Kitāb al-Fitan*, ed. Samīr b. Amīn al-Zuhayrī (Cairo, 1991), 445–46 (no. 1286); Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Beirut, n.d.), 1:491–92.

[53] Jarrāḥ b. Malīḥ al-Bahrānī al-Ḥimṣī, a rather unknown person: see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī asmā' al-rijāl*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwār Maʿrūf (Beirut, 1983–1996), 4:520–22.

[54] Arṭāt b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥimṣī, a traditionist considered trustworthy, d. ca. 163 AH /779–80 CE: see al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, 2: 311–14.

[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 Filasṭīn ʿashrat amyāl*.

[58] For the importance of the Syrian coastal cities in Muslim apocalypses, see Cook, *Studies in Muslim Apocalyptic*, 256–57.

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[44] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Ta'rīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, ed. ʿUmar al-ʿAmrawī et al. (Beirut, 1995–2001), 9:142.

[45] Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2774.

[46] The text is corrupt, reading *qāla ḥādī bn ʿumar*, which should be emended to *qāla (al-)ḥādī li-bn ʿumar*.

[47] ʿUmar b. Shabba, *Ta'rīkh al-Madīna al-Munawwara*, ed. Fuhaym Muḥammad Shaltūt (Jeddah, 1399 AH), 2:488.

[48] For documentation, see the Appendix (below).

[49] al-Faruque, "Emigrants and Helpers," 14.

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

The second *malḥama*: After their rout, they [the Byzantines] will muster an even greater company [of troops]. Then they will advance and alight at ʿAkkā. The son of the slain one has started to rule as their king.[59] The Muslims will meet [them in battle] at ʿAkkā. 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 (*ahl 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 the Muslims, and they will rout the Byzantines and bring death to them while they [the Byzantines] are taking flight, making their way

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 *ahl 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 *isnād* leads one to believe, that is, from the

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[59] *Qad malaka malikuhum ibn al-maqtūl*, following Ibn al-ʿAdīm, instead of Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād's *qad halaka*.

[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 slit-nosed." 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 wars between the Byzantines and Arabs. See Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 333–34; Suliman Bashear, "Apocalyptic and Other Materials on Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars: A Review of Arabic Sources," *JRAS* third series 1/2 (1991): 189.

[63] Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* (Beirut, 1977), 4:156, informs us that al-ʿAmq was a valley region in the vicinity of Antioch. The plural al-Aʿmāq 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.

[64] *Yatadhāmaru al-muslimūn*, following Ibn al-ʿAdīm. Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād's text seems corrupt here.

[65] *Yanṭaliqu al-Rūm ilā umam min warāʾihim min al-Andalus*. *Al-Andalus* could here and below be a reference to a people, not a place.

[66] *Inna mawʿidakum 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."

Umayyad period.[69] Here as elsewhere in the Arabic literary texts, *muslimūn* is the most often employed word for the 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 Ḥimṣ."[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.

Conclusions

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 first/seventh century. Before that, the members of the new religious movement were most often known as *mu'minūn*, Believers. Other names that were used, if rarely, included *muslimūn* (attested in the Qur'ān and later Arabic literature) and *muhājirūn*, "Emigrants" (attested in the contemporary non-Arabic documents and later Arabic literature). The word *muhājirūn* is not always interchangeable with *mu'minūn*, since the former chiefly means the non-Bedouin Arab Believers. Around the early second/eighth century, *muhājirūn* died out as a general appellation and *muslimūn* won the day, even over *mu'minūn*.

Appendix: Umayyad Poetry

This Appendix maps the occurrences of the words *mu'min(ūn)* (excluding *amīr al-mu'minīn*, which appears often), *muslim(ūn)*, and *muhājir(ūn)* (outside the *muhājirūn–anṣār* dichotomy) in a small sample of Umayyad poetry, namely the *dīwān*s of al-Akhṭal (d. probably before 92 AH / 710–11 CE), al-Farazdaq (d. ca.

110 AH / 728–29 CE), and Jarīr (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 *mu'min(ūn)* are metrically interchangeable, the earlier and more popular *mu'min(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, *Dīwān*[73]

Mu'min(ūn): 19.
Muslim(ūn): 71, 176, 317.
Muhājir(ūn): none.

Al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān*[74]

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

Jarīr, *Dīwān*[75]

Mu'min(ūn): 120.
Muslim(ūn): 65, 219, 237, 403, 606, 677, 702, 741, 770, 838, 897, 978, 1001.
Muhājir(ūn): 637, 783.

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[69] Also, Bashear, "Apocalyptic and Other Materials," 173.

[70] Madelung, "Apocalyptic Prophecies in Ḥimṣ," 162–63. For examples in Madelung's source material, see ibid., 166–69.

[71] David Cook, "Moral Apocalyptic in Islam," *Studia Islamica* 86 (1997): 61, n. 89. Cf. Bashear, "Apocalyptic and Other Materials," 182, who understands *al-Andalus* as a toponym.

[72] Early Arabic poetry has been used for studying history by, for example, Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam* (Cambridge, 1986); Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, "Umayyad Panegyric and the Poetics of Islamic Hegemony: al-Akhṭal's "*Khaffa al-Qaṭīnu*" ("Those That Dwelt with You Have Left in Haste")," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 28 (1997): 89–122. Nadia Jamil, "Caliph and Quṭb: Poetry as a Source for Interpreting the Transformation of the Byzantine Cross on Steps on Umayyad Coinage," in *Bayt al-Maqdis: Jerusalem and Early Islam* II, ed. J. Johns (Oxford, 1999), 11–57.

[73] Ed. A. Ṣāliḥānī (reprint Beirut, 1969).

[74] Ed. ʿAlī Fāʿūr (Beirut, 1987).

[75] Ed. Nuʿmān Muḥammad Amīn Ṭāhā (Cairo, n.d.). I am only taking into account Jarīr's poems, not the later commentary, prose text, etc., that is part of his *Dīwān*.