

Kemalpaşazade (Kemālpaşazāde, d. 940/1534), Matrakçı Nasuh (Maṭrākçı Naşūh, d. 971/1564), Celalzade Mustafa (Celālzāde Muşṭafā, d. 975/1567), and Ramazanzade (Ramaḏānzāde, d. 979/1571). The more original second section draws upon several contemporary historians and contains valuable personal observations for the period of his own career, i.e., from around 1003/1595 (the beginning of the reign of Mehmed (Meḥmed) III (r. 1003–12/1595–1603) to Murad IV's return from the Revan campaign of 1045/1635). Hasan Beyzade's history, versions of which were presented to Şeyhülislam (Shaykh al-Islām) Yahya (Yaḥyā, d. 1053/1644), quickly became a major source for eleventh-/seventeenth-century Ottoman historians such as Peçevi (Peçevī, d. 1059/1649?), Katib Çelebi (Kātib Çelebi, d. 1067/1657), Solakzade (Şolaḳzāde, d. 1068/1658), and Naima (Na'imā, d. 1128/1716).

In addition, Hasan Beyzade wrote a short political treatise entitled *Usūlū 'l-hikem fī nizāmi 'l-ālem* ("Principles of wisdom in the good order of the world") for the grand vizier Güzelce Ali ('Āli) Paşa (in office 1029–30/1619–21). There also exists a *mecmua* (*mecmū'a*) of miscellaneous items that includes three *fethnames* (*fethnāme*) Beyzade composed for the conquest of Kanije, and some poetry written under the *mahlas* (*makhlas*, pen-name) Hamdī.

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CHRISTINE WOODHEAD

## Hijra

**Hijra** is an Arabic term meaning "emigraton." The *hijra* par excellence was the emigration of the prophet Muḥammad from Mecca to Medina in the year 622 CE. This event was deemed so important that it was taken as the starting point of the Islamic *hijra* (or *hijrā*) calendar and that Qur'ānic *sūras* were classified as either Meccan or Medinan. The word is used also for the migration of believers to Ethiopia shortly before that to Medina, as well as for the enlistment of soldiers in the conquering Arab armies after the Prophet's death. Among modern Islamists *hijra* means the breaking off of relations with non-believers. Hijra is the verbal noun to both Form I of the Arabic verb *hajara* (dissociate oneself from someone, avoid, shun) and Form III, *hājara* (emigrate).

### 1 HIJRA IN THE QUR'ĀN

The word *hijra* does not occur in the Qur'ān. The prophet Lūṭ announces, "I will emigrate to my Lord" (Q 29:26, where *muhājir*, the participle of Form III, has verbal force), thus distancing himself from the unbelievers and avoiding the imminent punishment they will be subjected to. He is the only older prophet whose emigration is mentioned; Ibrāhīm says merely, "I will go (*dhāhib*) to my Lord" (Q 37:99). The other twenty-three occurrences of *hājara* are as the nominal-

ised participles *muhājir/muhājirūn/muhājirāt* or as verb forms in relative clauses such as *man hājārū* (who emigrated). These forms all mean “those who emigrated, the Emigrants.” A well-defined group of Emigrants is meant (so the word is written here with a capital), that is, those who had already emigrated or were about to emigrate. Their destination apparently was a place where believers were already established (Q 59:9). Those who migrated “to God and his Apostle...for the sake of God” (*fī sabīl Allāh*; Q 4:100) are promised a great reward, especially those called the “earliest Emigrants” (*al-sābiqūn al-awwalūn min al-muhājirūn*; Q 9:100). A similar rank is granted to those who emigrated after having endured hardship or injustice (Q 16:110; Q 16:41), such as those who were persecuted or driven from their homes and fought and were killed (Q 59:8; 3:195; 22:40, 58). In any case, all these will be rewarded and their sins forgiven, but those who “believed afterwards, emigrated, and struggled with you” (Q 8:75) are no less part of the community. Indeed, emigration and struggle for God’s sake (*jihād fī sabīl Allāh*) are often mentioned together (Q 2:218; 3:195; 8:72–5; 9:20; 4:100): each implies the other.

That the Prophet was himself an Emigrant is expressed by the verb *hājara* only once, indirectly: Q 33:50 refers to “[female relatives] who emigrated with you [the Prophet].”

The Qur’an refers to emigration sometimes with the verb *kharaja* (go out, leave) but more often with the passive of Form IV, *ukhrīja* (be thrown out, expelled, driven out). It is not only the Emigrants who were said to have been driven out of their homes: some verses say the same of the Prophet (e.g., Q 9:40; 47:13; 60:1). Other verses are less direct. Q 17:76 says, “They

were about to provoke you in order to expel you from the land,” and 9:13 says, “they intended to drive the the Prophet out.” Whereas “emigrate” suggests a voluntary act, “being thrown out, expelled, driven out” suggests an involuntary migration.

## 2 HIJRA IN THE BIOGRAPHY OF THE PROPHET

The story of the *hijras* to Ethiopia and Medina is recounted in biographical texts (*sīra*), in which the Qur’anic motif of “being thrown out” is disregarded, whereas a divine plan of salvation is disseminated that implied much more than simply leaving Mecca.

The oldest version of the story may be the long letter (*risāla*) written by ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 93/712) after 73/692, at the request of the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 65–86/685–705) (al-Ṭabarī, 1:1180–1, 1224–5, 1234–7). In summary, the pagan Meccans are no longer prepared to listen to Muḥammad, because he criticises their deities. They oppress the believers, some of whom apostatise. Therefore, the Prophet urges his followers to emigrate to Christian Ethiopia, where the Quraysh trade and where a just negus reigns. The Muslims remain there for some years. When the oppression in Mecca subsides, the Emigrants return. In the meantime, helpers (*anṣār*) in Medina accept Islam. They meet Muḥammad at al-‘Aqaba, near Mecca, and conclude a treaty. After a new persecution in Mecca, the Prophet urges his followers to emigrate to Medina; he and Abū Bakr remain behind. In the presence of his daughters, Abū Bakr is informed by Muḥammad that they will travel together. Abū Bakr, having already bought two camels, offers one to the Prophet, who insists on paying for it.

A client of Abū Bakr, a stepbrother of ʿĀʾisha, helps to supply provisions in the cave where the two travellers are hiding. Every evening, Abū Bakr's son ʿAbdallāh brings news from Mecca. A guide is hired, who leads them along an unaccustomed route. Finally they arrive in Medina. After spending two days with the Banū ʿAmr b. Awf, they reach their final destination, with the Banū al-Najjār.

In their study of ʿUrwa's text, Görke and Schoeler (38–77) present a long survey of ʿUrwa's letter, together with a great deal of additional textual material and an analysis.

In more recent sources, there are many additions, the most important of which are:

- (1) The expanded version of the Ethiopian episode (Ibn Ishāq, 217–23). The Muslims try to convince the negus of Islamic tenets. Some pagan Quraysh travel to the negus to demand the extradition of the Muslims. The king refuses, and the Muslims then help him against an adversary. This story may well be an elaboration of Q 3:199 (Raven, 201). The Muslims in this story are early converts with great merits, whereas the late and opportunistic converts are the bad characters. In *hadīths*, the negus and Ethiopia always represent Christianity. The discussion between the Muslims and the negus revolves around Q 4:71, a verse that played an important part in religious discussions in Syria and was inscribed in the Dome on the Rock in Jerusalem as a statement towards the Christians: instead of quarreling about the nature of Christ, they will find the true Christology in the quoted Qurʾānic verse.
- (2) The Quraysh deliberate in the Meccan town hall, under the guidance of the Devil in disguise. This story (Ibn Ishāq, 323–7; Wahn, 133–9) is an elaboration of Q 8:30: three proposals of how to deal with the Prophet are discussed. They decide to kill him, but God is “the best of plotters”: the Prophet is made invisible to his enemies, so that he and Abū Bakr can escape to the cave.
- (3) The suffering of Asmāʾ bt. Abī Bakr, who was beaten by the Meccan leader Abū Jahl. For three days she remains without news, until a jinn tells her that the Prophet and her father are well (Ibn Ishāq, 329–30).

- (4) The pursuit by Quraysh, notably by Surāqa b. Mālik b. Juʿshum, who is in other contexts identical with the Devil. His attempts are thwarted as the forelegs of his horse sink into the earth (Ibn Ishāq, 331–2 et al.; Rubin, 45–6).
- (5) Miracles in and around the cave. The cave is made invisible after Muḥammad prays to God to blind his persecutors; or they see the cave, but a spider's web or two dove's nests give the impression that no one has been there for a long time; or a tree covers the migrants effectively (Rubin, 44–5). Scorpions and a snake in the cave cause them no harm.
- (6) The “camel under God's orders.” Once they arrived in Medina, the Prophet's camel did not kneel down where various clans invited the prophet to alight but knelt down where God desired (Ibn Ishāq, 335–6).

In ʿUrwa's basic story, Abū Bakr and all his children and a stepson contribute greatly to the success of Muḥammad's *hijra*, which could not have taken place without them. The strong emphasis on Abū Bakr's eligibility as the first rightly guided caliph (r. 11–13/632–4) is not surprising, as ʿUrwa's mother, Asmāʾ, was a daughter of Abū Bakr.

There is a Shīʿī version of the *hijra* story (for a brief variant, see al-Ṭabarī, 1:1233–4). Here the Prophet departs without Abū Bakr, who even has to ask ʿAlī where he went. The latter suggests that he join the Prophet in the cave, “if you have any business with him.” On his way, Abū Bakr frightens the Prophet and makes him stumble, injuring his foot. In other words, he is a nuisance, while back in Mecca, ʿAlī plays a heroic part, enduring torture by the pagan enemies. The first impression may be that of a Shīʿī revision of the original story, but the situation is not that simple. Kister (565–71) refers to several Shīʿī versions in which ʿAlī is the hero, and ʿUrwa's contemporary Wahn b. Munabbih (d. 110/728; Wahn, 118–65) has a long hybrid version, in which both Abū Bakr and ʿAlī play important parts. It shows traces of a long transmission;

mainstream and Shīʿī versions of the *hijra* story had apparently long vied for pre-dominance.

### 3 HIJRA AFTER THE DEATH OF THE PROPHET

The First Emigrants (*al-muhājirūn al-awwalūn*) were the eighty-eight who emigrated from Mecca to Medina, but there were many more, particularly those who had migrated to Ethiopia. Those who came back to Mecca and migrated from there to Medina could claim two emigrations: one by ship (*hijrat al-safīna*) and one by land. These *hijras* were entered amongst the early merits in the *dīwān al-jund*, the register established by the caliph ʿUmar (r. 13–23/634–44) in about 20/641, on the basis of which the first believers received regular stipends (*ʿaṭā*) from the treasury. Because a *hijra* was a great merit, second in importance only to participation in the battle of Badr (2/624), the earliest Emigrants and even their offspring were entitled to substantial stipends. (Those who could claim two emigrations were not, however, entitled to a double stipend.)

After the death of the Prophet, the *hijra* phenomenon continued. From then on, leaving to fight in Syria or Iraq was considered a *hijra*. The soldiers in the conquered territories were thus known in Syriac as *mhaggrāyē* and in Greek as *magarītai*, terms that go back to *muhājirūn*. The soldiers were not registered in Medina but in an “abode of emigration” (*dār hijra*), one of the provincial capitals (for textual evidence, see Crone, 355–63, and Lindstedt). They were entitled to stipends that were considerably smaller than those of the First Emigrants. Settled tribesmen who remained at home were not Emigrants, nor were Bedouins and non-Arabs, at least under the Umayyads (r. 41–132/661–750). Towards the end of that dynasty, the term was gradually stripped of its military

meaning and came to mean either the historical Emigration of the Prophet and his followers, or a spiritual “inner migration” to the Prophet and God.

### 4 HIJRA IN ḤADĪTH

The *ḥadīth* collections adopted large parts of the *sīra* stories about the *hijras* to Ethiopia and Medina. (*Ḥadīths* are cited according to the system designed by A. J. Wensinck and used in his *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, which was used also by G. H. A. Juynboll in his *Encyclopaedia of canonical hadith*.) The Emigrants to Ethiopia (*ahl al-safīna*) are said to have two *hijras* (al-Bukhārī, *Manāqib al-anṣār* 37, 5:63; *Maghāzī* 38, 5:164). The phrase “the first two *hijras*” (al-Bukhārī, *Manāqib al-anṣār* 37, 5:63; *Manāqib al-anṣār* 46, 5:85) confirms that there were more than two. The steady growth of the number of Emigrants is expressed in a *ḥadīth* that has the Prophet say, “Emigrants, behave kindly to the Anṣār (helpers), for you increase, but they, by their nature, cannot” (Ibn Ishāq, 1007; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* 3:500 (*raju*)).

The ending of the military *hijra* towards the end of Umayyad rule was justified religiously in *ḥadīths* and so had to be projected back into the days of the Prophet. In several texts, the Prophet is said to have permitted individuals to refrain from *hijra*, because one can be an emigrant anywhere. Other *ḥadīths* proclaim its end in a general way, for example, “There is no emigration after the conquest [of Mecca]; only *jihād* and intention. When you are called up, you should respond” (e.g., al-Bukhārī, *Jihād* 1, 4:18; *Jihād* 27, 4:28; *Jihād* 194, 4:92; Muslim, *Imāra* 86, 3:1488). That conquest is mentioned for good reason: the Meccans, being the enemy, had not emigrated, but, after their surrender and conversion, they, like everyone else, had no need to “flee with their religion” (Crone 368–72).

There are some Syrian counter-*ḥadīths*, for example, “Emigration will not end as long as there is *jihād* against the enemy” (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* v 270 (‘Abdallāh b. al-Sa‘dī), 363 (Ḥayāwa b. Jarwal); al-Nasā‘ī, *Bay‘a* 15, 7:146; cf. Abū Dāwūd, *Jihād* 2, 3:3–4, nr. 2480; see Madelung).

The “spiritual *hijra*” that remained is also found in *ḥadīths*, such as, “The best *hijra* is shunning what your Lord dislikes” (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* ii, 160, 191 (‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ) et al.).

#### 5 THE ISLAMIST CONCEPT OF HIJRA

The idea of a “spiritual *hijra*” survived until modern times. For a radical Muslim such as Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966), *hijra* is not only a historic event but also a duty of present-day Muslims. These should leave the world of ignorance (*jāhiliyya*) in which they live for the true homeland of Islam (*dār al-Islām*; Toth, 214).

For Quṭb and for radical Islamist groups, the migration was a spiritual process, whereas for the “Islamic State” (2014) it means, once again, the physical migration from the lands of unbelief or hypocrisy to its own realm (the “caliphate”) in order to participate in *jihād*. “There is no life without *jihād* and there is no *jihād* without *hijrah*” (Islamic State, 31). A parallel is drawn between what is called improperly the *hijra* of the prophet Ibrāhīm to Syria and that of modern Muslims to Syria (Islamic State, 10–11).

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## Historiography, Ottoman

**Historiography** was the most popular genre of **Ottoman** prose. Three main developmental phases can be identified, corresponding roughly to Ottomanist his-