

THE HIJRA OF THE PROPHET

After his companions had left, the apostle stayed in Mecca waiting for permission to migrate. Except for Abū Bakr and 'Alī, none of his supporters were left but those under restraint and those who had been forced to apostatize. The former kept asking the apostle for permission to emigrate and he would answer, 'Don't be in a hurry; it may be that God will give you a companion.' Abū Bakr hoped that it would be Muhammad himself.

When the Quraysh saw that the apostle had a party and companions not of their tribe and outside their territory, and that his companions had migrated to join them, and knew that they had settled in a new home and had gained protectors, they feared that the apostle might join them, since they knew that he had decided to fight them. So they assembled in their council chamber, the house of Qusayy b. Kilāb where all their important business was conducted, to take counsel what they should do in regard to the apostle, for they were now in fear of him.

One of our companions whom I have no reason to doubt told me on the authority of 'Abdullah b. Abū Najīh from Mujāhid b. Jubayr father of al-Ḥajjāj; and another person of the same character on the authority of 'Abdullah b. 'Abbās told me that when they had fixed a day to come to a decision about the apostle, on the morning of that very day which was called the day of al-Zahma the devil came to them in the form of a handsome old man clad in a mantle and stood at the door of the house. When they saw him standing there they asked him who he was and he told them that he was a shaykh from the highlands who had heard of their intention and had come to hear what they had to say and perhaps to give them counsel and advice. He was invited to enter and there he found the leaders of Quraysh. From B. 'Abdu Shams were 'Utba and Shayba sons of Rabi'a; and Abū Sufyān. From B. Naufal b. 'Abdu Manāf 'Tū'ayma b. 'Adīy; Jubayr b. Mut'im; and al-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir b. Naufal. From B. 'Abdu'l-Dar al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada. From B. Asad b. 'Abdu'l-'Uzzā Abū'l-Bakhtarī b. Hishām and Zam'a b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib; and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām. From B. Makhzūm Abū Jahl b. Hishām. From B. Sahm Nubayh and Munabbih the sons of al-Ḥajjāj. From B. Jumah Umayya b. Khalaf, and others including some who were not of Quraysh.

The discussion opened with the statement that now that Muhammad had gained adherents outside the tribe they were no longer safe against a sudden attack and the meeting was to determine the best course to pursue. One advised that they should put him in irons behind bars and then wait until the same fate overtook him as befell his like, the poets Zuhayr and Nābigah, and others. The shaykh objected to this on the ground that news would leak out that he was imprisoned, and immediately his followers would attack and snatch him away; then their numbers would so grow that they would destroy the authority of Quraysh altogether.

325 They must think of another plan. Another man suggested that they should drive him out of the country. They did not care where he went or what happened to him once he was out of sight and they were rid of him. They could then restore their social life to its former state. Again the shaykh objected that it was not a good plan. His fine speech and beautiful diction and the compelling force of his message were such that if he settled with some Beduin tribe he would win them over so that they would follow him and come and attack them in their land and rob them of their position and authority and then he could do what he liked with them. They must think of a better plan.

Thereupon Abū Jahl said that he had a plan which had not been suggested hitherto, namely that each clan should provide a young, powerful, well-born, aristocratic warrior; that each of these should be provided with a sharp sword; then that each of them should strike a blow at him and kill him. Thus they would be relieved of him, and responsibility for his blood would lie upon all the clans. The B. 'Abdu Manāf could not fight them all and would have to accept the blood-money which they would all contribute to. The shaykh exclaimed: 'The man is right. In my opinion it is the only thing to do.' Having come to a decision the people dispersed.

Then Gabriel came to the apostle and said: 'Do not sleep tonight on the bed on which you usually sleep.' Before much of the night had passed they assembled at his door waiting for him to go to sleep so that they might fall upon him. When the apostle saw what they were doing he told 'Alī to lie on his bed and to wrap himself in his green Ḥaḍramī mantle; for no harm would befall him. He himself used to sleep in this mantle.

326 Yazīd b. Ziyād on the authority of Muhammad b. Ka'b. al-Qurazī told me that when they were all outside his door Abū Jahl said to them: 'Muhammad alleges that if you follow him you will be kings of the Arabs and the Persians. Then after death you will be raised to gardens like those of the Jordan. But if you do not follow him you will be slaughtered, and when you are raised from the dead you will be burned in the fire of hell.' The apostle came out to them with a handful of dust saying: 'I do say that. You are one of them.' God took away their sight so that they could not see him and he began to sprinkle the dust on their heads as he recited these verses: 'Ya Sin, by the wise Quran. Thou art of those that art sent on a straight path, a revelation of the Mighty the Merciful' as far as the words 'And we covered them and they could not see'.¹ When he had finished reciting not one of them but had dust upon his head. Then he went wherever he wanted to go and someone not of their company came up and asked them what they were waiting for there. When they said that they were waiting for Muhammad he said: 'But good heavens Muhammad came out to you and put dust on the head of every single man of you

¹ Sūra 36. 1-8.

and then went off on his own affairs. Can't you see what has happened to you?' They put up their hands and felt the dust on their heads. Then they began to search and saw 'Alī on the bed wrapped in the apostle's mantle and said, 'By God it is Muhammad sleeping in his mantle.' Thus they remained until the morning when 'Alī rose from the bed and then they realized that the man had told them the truth.

Among the verses of the Quran which God sent down about that day and what they had agreed upon are: 'And when the unbelievers plot to shut thee up or to kill thee or to drive thee out they plot, but God plots also, and God is the best of plotters';¹ and 'Or they say he is a poet for whom we may expect the misfortune of fate. Say: Go on expecting for I am with you among the expectant' (269).²

It was then that God gave permission to his prophet to migrate. Now 327 Abū Bakr was a man of means, and at the time that he asked the apostle's permission to migrate and he replied 'Do not hurry; perhaps God will give you a companion,' hoping that the apostle meant himself he bought two camels and kept them tied up in his house supplying them with fodder in preparation for departure.

A man whom I have no reason to doubt told me as from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr that 'Ā'isha said: The apostle used to go to Abū Bakr's house every day either in the early morning or at night; but on the day when he was given permission to migrate from Mecca he came to us at noon, an hour at which he was not wont to come. As soon as he saw him Abū Bakr realized that something had happened to bring him at this hour. When he came in Abū Bakr gave up his seat to him. Only my sister Asmā' and I were there and the apostle asked him to send us away. 'But they are my two daughters and they can do no harm, may my father and my mother be your ransom,' said Abū Bakr. 'God has given me permission to depart and migrate,' he answered. 'Together?' asked Abū Bakr. 'Together,' he replied. And by God before that day I had never seen anyone weep for joy as Abū Bakr wept then. At last he said, 'O prophet of God, these are the two camels which I have held in readiness for this.' 328 So they hired 'Abdullah b. Arqat, a man of B. 'l-Di'l b. Bakr whose mother was a woman of B. Sahm b. 'Amr, and a polytheist to lead them on the way, and they handed over to him their two camels and he kept them and fed them until the appointed day came.³

¹ Sūra 8. 30.

² Sūra 52. 30.

³ At this point in Suhayl's commentary (ii, p. 2) there is a note of considerable importance in the light it throws on the textual tradition of our author. It runs thus: Ibn Ishāq said (in a narration which does not come via Ibn Hishām) in a long, sound, tradition which I have shortened that when Abū Bakr migrated with the apostle he left his daughters behind in Mecca. When they got to Medina the apostle sent Zayd b. Ḥāritha and Abū Rafī' his freedman; and Abū Bakr sent 'Abdullah b. Urayqit together with 500 dirhems with which they bought a mount in Qudayd. Arrived at Mecca they brought away Sauda d. of Zama'a and Fāṭima and Umm Kulthūm. 'Ā'isha said: My mother came out with them and Talha b. 'Ubaydallah travelling together; and when we were in Qudayd the camel on which my mother Umm Rūmān and I were riding in a litter, bolted, and my mother began to cry Alas, my daughter, alas my husband! In the tradition of Yūnus from Ibn Ishāq there is

According to what I have been told none knew when the apostle left except 'Ali and Abū Bakr and the latter's family. I have heard that the apostle told 'Ali about his departure and ordered him to stay behind in Mecca in order to return goods which men had deposited with the apostle; for anyone in Mecca who had property which he was anxious about left it with him because of his notorious honesty and trustworthiness.

When the apostle decided to go he came to Abū Bakr and the two of them left by a window in the back of the latter's house and made for a cave on Thaur, a mountain below Mecca. Having entered, Abū Bakr ordered his son 'Abdullah to listen to what people were saying and to come to them by night with the day's news. He also ordered 'Amir b. Fuḥayra, his freedman, to feed his flock by day and to bring them to them in the evening in the cave. Asmā' his daughter used to come at night with food to sustain them (270).

The two of them stayed in the cave for three days. When Quraysh missed the apostle they offered a hundred she-camels to anyone who would bring him back. During the day 'Abdullah was listening to their plans and conversation and would come at night with the news. 'Amir used to pasture his flock with the shepherds of Mecca and when night fell would bring them to the cave where they milked them and slaughtered some. When 'Abdullah left them in the morning to go to Mecca, 'Amir would take the sheep over the same route to cover his tracks. When the three days had passed and men's interest waned, the man they had hired came with their camels and one of his own. Asmā' came too with a bag of provisions; but she had forgotten to bring a rope, so that when they started she could not tie the bag on the camel. Thereupon she undid her girdle and using it as a rope tied the bag to the saddle. For this reason she got the name 'She of the girdle' (271).

When Abū Bakr brought the two camels to the apostle he offered the better one to him and invited him to ride her. But the apostle refused to ride an animal which was not his own and when Abū Bakr wanted to give him it he demanded to know what he had paid for it and bought it from him. They rode off, and Abū Bakr carried 'Amir his freedman behind him to act as a servant on the journey.

I was told that Asmā' said, 'When the apostle and Abū Bakr had gone, a number of Quraysh including Abū Jahl came to us and stood at the door. When I went out to them they asked where my father was and when I said that I did not know Abū Jahl, who was a rough dissolute man, slapped my face so violently that my earring flew off. Then they took themselves off and we remained for three days without news until a man

mention of this hadith. In it 'Ā'isha said 'I heard a voice but could see no one . . .', and she goes on to describe how they came to Medina and found the apostle building a mosque and houses for himself. 'I stayed with Abū Bakr's family and Sauda in her own house, and Abū Bakr asked the apostle if he would not build for his family, and when he said that he would if he had the money Abū Bakr gave him 12 obes and 20 dirhems.' This tradition from 'Ā'isha comes via Ibn Abū'l-Zinād from Hishām b. 'Urwa from his father.

of the Jinn came from the lower part of Mecca singing some verses in the Arab way. And lo people were following him and listening to his voice but they could not see him, until he emerged from the upper part of Mecca saying the while:

God the Lord of men give the best of his rewards
To the two companions who rested in the two tents of Umm Ma'bad.
They came with good intent and went off at nightfall.
May Muhammad's companion prosper!
May the place of the Banū Ka'b's woman bring them luck,
For she was a look-out for the believers' (272).

Asmā' continued: 'When we heard his words we knew that the apostle was making for Medina. There were four of them: the apostle, Abū Bakr, 'Amir, and 'Abdullah b. Arqat their guide' (273).

Yahya b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdullah b. al-Zubayr told me that his father 'Abbād told him that his grandmother Asmā' said: 'When the apostle went forth with Abū Bakr the latter carried all his money with him to the amount of five or six thousand dirhams. My grandfather Abū Quḥāfa who had lost his sight came to call on us saying that he thought that Abū Bakr had put us in a difficulty by taking off all his money. I told him that he had left us plenty of money. And I took some stones and put them in a niche where Abū Bakr kept his money; then I covered them with a cloth and took his hand and said, "Put your hand on this money, father." He did so and said: "There's nothing to worry about; he has done well in leaving you this, and you will have enough." In fact he had left us nothing, but I wanted to set the old man's mind at rest.'

Al-Zuhri told me that 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. Mālik b. Ju'shum told him from his father, from his uncle Surāqa b. Mālik b. Ju'shum: 'When the apostle migrated Quraysh offered a reward of a hundred camels to anyone who would bring him back. While I was sitting in my people's assembly one of our men came up and stopped saying, "By God, I've just seen three riders passing. I think they must be Muhammad and his companions." I gave him a wink enjoining silence and said "They are the so-and-so looking for a lost camel." "Perhaps so," he said and remained silent. I remained there for a short while; then I got up and went to my house and ordered my horse to be got ready, for it was tethered for me in the bottom of the valley. Then I asked for my weapons and they were brought from the back of the room. Then I took my divining arrows and went out, having put on my armour. Then I cast the divining arrows and out came the arrow which I did not want: "Do him no harm." I did the same again and got the same result. I was hoping to bring him back to Quraysh so that I might win the hundred camels reward.

'I rode in pursuit of him and when my horse was going at a good pace

¹ Some mark indicating this would be on the arrow.

he stumbled and threw me. I thought this was somewhat unusual so I resorted to the divining arrows again and out came the detestable "Do him no harm." But I refused to be put off and rode on in pursuit. Again my horse stumbled and threw me, and again I tried the arrows with the same result.¹ I rode on, and at last as I saw the little band my horse stumbled with me and its forelegs went into the ground and I fell. Then as it got its legs out of the ground smoke arose like a sandstorm. When I saw that I knew that he was protected against me and would have the upper hand. I called to them saying who I was and asking them to wait for me; and that they need have no concern, for no harm would come to them from me. The apostle told Abū Bakr to ask what I wanted and I said, "Write a document for me which will be a sign between you and me" and the apostle instructed Abū Bakr to do so.

He wrote it on a bone, or a piece of paper, or a potsherd and threw it to me and I put it in my quiver and went back. I kept quiet about the whole affair until when the apostle conquered Mecca and finished with al-Ṭā'if and Hunayn I went out to give him the document and I met him in al-Ji'rāna.²

I got among a squadron of the Anṣār cavalry and they began to beat me with their spears, saying, "Be off with you; what on earth do you want?" However, I got near to the apostle as he sat on his camel and his shank in his stirrup looked to me like the trunk of a palm-tree. I lifted my hand with the document, saying what it was and what my name was. He said "It is a day of repaying and goodness. Let him come near." So I approached him and accepted Islam. Then I remembered something that I wanted to ask him. All I can remember now is that I said "Stray camels used to come to my cistern which I kept full for my own camels. Shall I get a reward for having let them have water?" "Yes," he said, "for watering every thirsty creature there is a reward." Then I returned to my people and brought my alms to the apostle (274).

Their guide, 'Abdullah b. Arqat, took them below Mecca; then along the shore until he crossed the road below 'Uṣfān; then below Amaj; then after passing Qudayd by way of al-Kharrār and Thaniyyatu'l-Marra to Liqf (275).

He took them past the waterhole of Liqf, then down to Madlajatu Maḥāj (276), then past Marjih Maḥāj, then down to Marjih of Dhū'l-Ghadwayn (277), then the valley of Dhū Kashr; then by al-Jadājid, then al-Ajrad, then Dhū Salam of the valley of A'dā, the waterhole of Ta'hin, then by al-'Abābid (278), then by way of al-Fājja (279). Then he took them down to al-'Arj; and one of their mounts having dropped behind, a man of Aslam, Aus b. Hujr by name, took the prophet to Medina on his camel which was called Ibn al-Ridā, sending with him a servant called

¹ This story is cast in the familiar form of the story-teller: the same words are repeated again and again until the climax is reached. In the translation given above the sense is given—not the repetitions.

² A place near Mecca on the road to al-Ṭā'if.

Mas'ūd b. Hunayda. From 'Arj the guide took them to Thaniyyatu'l-'Ā'ir (280) to the right of Rakūba until he brought them down to the valley of Ri'm; thence to Qubā' to B. 'Amr b. 'Auf on Monday 12th Rabi'ū'l-awwal at high noon.²

Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr from 'Abdu'l-Rahmān b. 'Uwaymir b. Sā'ida told me, saying, 'Men of my tribe who were the apostle's companions told me, "When we heard that the apostle had left Mecca and we were eagerly expecting his arrival we used to go out after morning prayers to our lava tract beyond our land to await him. This we did until there was no more shade left and then we went indoors in the hot season. On the day that the apostle arrived we had sat as we always had until there being no more shade we went indoors and then the apostle arrived. The first to see him was a Jew. He had seen what we were in the habit of doing and that we were expecting the arrival of the apostle and he called out at the top of his voice 'O Banū Qayla your luck has come!' So we went out to greet the apostle who was in the shadow of a palm-tree with Abū Bakr who was of like age. Now most of us had never seen the apostle and as the people crowded round him they did not know him from Abū Bakr until the shade left him and Abū Bakr got up with his mantle and shielded him from the sun, and then we knew."'

The apostle, so they say, stayed with Kulthūm b. Hidm brother of the B. 'Amr b. 'Auf, one of the B. 'Ubayd. Others say he stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama. Those who assert the former say that it was only because he left Kulthūm to go and sit with the men in Sa'd's house (for he was a bachelor and housed the apostle's companions who were bachelors) that it is said that he stayed with Sa'd, for his house used to be called the house of the bachelors. But God knows the truth of the matter.

Abū Bakr stayed with Khubayb b. Isāf, one of the B. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj in al-Sunḥ. Some say it was with Khārīja b. Zayd b. Abū Zuhayr, brother of the B. al-Hārith.

'Alī stayed in Mecca for three days and nights until he had restored the deposits which the apostle held. This done he joined the apostle and lodged with him at Kulthūm's house. He stayed in Qubā' only a night or two. He used to say that in Qubā' there was an unmarried Muslim woman and he noticed that a man used to come to her in the middle of the night and knock on her door; she would come out and he would give her something. He felt very suspicious of him and asked her what was the meaning of this nightly performance as she was a Muslim woman without a husband. She told him that the man was Sahl b. Hunayf b. Wāhib who knew that she was all alone and he used to break up the idols of his tribe at night and

¹ Yet a third possibility is al-Ghābir, T. 1237, following 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr. Cf. Yāq. iii. 596 and I.H.'s note.

² This paragraph occurs under the heading 'Ibn Hishām said'. But clearly it belongs to the original narrative, one of I.H.'s characteristic interpolations occurring in the middle of it.

bring her the pieces to use as fuel. 'Alī used to talk of this incident until Sahl died in Iraq while he was with him. Hind b. Sa'd b. Sahl b. Ḥunayf told me this story from what 'Alī said.

The apostle stayed in Qubā' among B. 'Amr b. 'Auf from Monday to Thursday and then he laid the foundation of his mosque. Then God brought him out from them on the Friday. The B. 'Amr allege that he stayed longer with them, and God knows the truth of the matter. Friday prayer found the apostle among B. Sālim b. 'Auf and he prayed it in the mosque which is in the bottom of the Wādī Rānūnā'. This was the first Friday prayer that he prayed in Medina.

336 Itbān b. Mālik and 'Abbās b. 'Ubāda b. Naḍla with some of B. Sālim b. 'Auf came and asked him to live with them and enjoy their wealth and protection, but he said, 'Let her go her way,' for his camel was under God's orders; so they let her go until she came to the home of B. Bayāda, where he was met by Ziyād b. Labīd and Farwa b. 'Amr with some of their clansmen. They gave the same invitation and met with the same reply. The same thing happened with B. Sā'ida when Sa'd b. 'Ubāda and al-Mundhir b. 'Amr invited him to stay; and with B. 'I-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj represented by Sa'd b. al-Rabi' and Khārīja b. Zayd and 'Abdullah b. Rawāha; and with B. 'Adiy b. al-Najjār (who were his nearest maternal relatives the mother of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib Salmā d. 'Amr being one of their women), being represented by Salīṭ b. Qays and Abū Salīṭ and Usayra b. Abū Khārīja. Finally the camel came to the home of B. Mālik b. al-Najjār when it knelt at the door of his mosque, which at that time was used as a drying-place for dates and belonged to two young orphans of B. al-Najjār of B. Mālik clan, who were under the protection of Mu'adh b. 'Afrā', Sahl and Suhayl the sons of 'Amr. When it knelt the apostle did not alight, and it got up and went a short distance. The apostle left its rein free, not guiding it, and it turned in its tracks and returned to the place where it had knelt at first and knelt there again. It shook itself and lay exhausted with its chest upon the ground. The apostle alighted and Abū Ayyūb Khālīd b. Zayd took his baggage into the house (T. The Anṣār invited him to stay with them, but he said 'A man (stays) with his baggage') and the apostle stayed with him. When he asked to whom the date-store belonged Mu'adh b. 'Afrā' told him that the owners were Sahl and Suhayl the sons of 'Amr who were orphans in his care and that he could take it for a mosque and he would pay the young men for it.

337 The apostle ordered that a mosque should be built, and he stayed with Abū Ayyūb until the mosque and his houses were completed. The apostle joined in the work to encourage the Muslims to work and the *muhājirīn* and the *anṣār* laboured hard. One of the Muslims rhymed:

If we sat down while the prophet worked
It could be said that we had shirked.

¹ T. 1259. 7.

As they built, the Muslims sang a *rajaz* verse:

There's no life but the life of the next world.
O God, have mercy on the anṣār and the muhājirā (281).

The apostle used to sing it in the form

There's no life but the life of the next world.
O God, have mercy on the muhājirīn and the anṣār.¹

'Ammār b. Yāsir came in when they had overloaded him with bricks, saying, 'They are killing me. They load me with burdens they can't carry themselves.' Umm Salama the prophet's wife said: I saw the apostle run his hand through his hair—for he was a curly-haired man—and say 'Alas Ibn Sumayya! It is not they who will kill you but a wicked band of men.'²

'Alī composed a *rajaz* verse on that day:

There's one that labours night and day
To build us mosques of brick and clay
And one who turns from dust away! (282.)

And 'Ammār learned it and began to chant it.

When he persisted in it one of the prophet's companions thought that it was he who was referred to in it according to what Ziyād b. 'Abdullah al-Bakkā'i told me from Ibn Ishāq. The latter had actually named the man.³

He said: 'I have heard what you have been saying for a long time, O Ibn Sumayya, and by God I think I'll hit you on the nose!' Now he had a stick in his hand and the apostle was angry and said, 'What is wrong between them and 'Ammār? He invites them to Paradise while they invite him to hell. 'Ammār is as dear to me as my own face. If a man behaves like this he will not be forgiven, so avoid him.'

Sufyān b. 'Uyayna mentioned on the authority of Zakariya from al-Sha'bi that the first man to build a mosque was 'Ammār b. Yāsir.

The apostle lived in Abū Ayyūb's house until his mosque and dwelling-houses were built; then he removed to his own quarters.

Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb from Marthad b. 'Abdullah al-Yazanī from Abū Ruhm al-Samā'i told me that Abū Ayyūb told him: 'When the apostle came to lodge with me in my house he occupied the ground floor, while I and Umm Ayyūb were above. I said to him, "O prophet of God, you

¹ By this alteration the rhyme and rhythm were destroyed.

² This prophecy is said to have been fulfilled when 'Ammār was killed at Šiffin; Suhayli, ii, p. 3.

³ Suhayli says: Ibn Ishāq did name the man, but Ibn Hishām preferred not to do so as not to mention one of the prophet's companions in discreditable circumstances. [Cf. what Ibn Hishām says in his introduction.] Therefore it can never be right to inquire after his identity. Abū Dharr says: Ibn Ishāq did name the man and said 'This man was 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.' The Cairo editors say that in the Mawāhib al-laduniya (al-Qaṣṣallānī, d. A.D. 1517) the man is said to be 'Uthmān b. Ma'ūn. This late writer may safely be ignored on this point.

are dear to me as my parents, and I am distressed that I should be above and you below me. So leave your present quarters and exchange places with us." He replied: "O Abū Ayyūb, it is more convenient for me and my guests that we should be on the ground floor of the house." So we remained as we were. Once we broke a jar of water and Umm Ayyūb and I took one of our garments to mop up the water in fear that it would drop on the apostle and cause him annoyance. We had no cloth which we could use.

'We used to prepare his evening meal and send it to him. When he returned what was left, Umm Ayyūb and I used to touch the spot where his hand had rested and eat from that in the hope of gaining a blessing. One night we prepared for him onions or garlic and the apostle returned it and I saw no mark of his hand in it. I went to him in some anxiety to tell him of our practice and that this time there was no mark of his hand, and he replied that he had perceived the smell of the vegetables and he was a man who had to speak confidentially to people but that we should eat them. So we ate the dish and never sent him onions again.'

339 The emigrants followed one another to join the apostle, and none was left in Mecca but those who had apostatized or been detained. Whole families with their property did not come together except the B. Maz'ūn from B. Jumāh; the B. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb, allies of B. Umayya; and the B. Bukayr from B. Sa'd b. Layth, allies of B. 'Adiy b. Ka'b. Their houses in Mecca were locked up when they migrated, leaving no inhabitant.

When the B. Jaḥsh gave up their house Abū Sufyān went and sold it to 'Amr b. 'Alqama brother of B. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. When the owners heard of this 'Abdullah b. Jaḥsh told the apostle of it, and he replied: 'Are you not pleased that God will give you a better house in Paradise?' And when he answered Yes, he said, 'Then you have it.' When the apostle got possession of Mecca Abū Aḥmad spoke to him about their house; and the apostle delayed his reply. People said to him, 'The apostle dislikes your reopening the question of your property which you lost in God's service, so don't speak to him about it again.' Abū Aḥmad said in reference to Abū Sufyān:

Tell Abū Sufyān of a matter he will live to regret.
You sold your cousin's house to pay a debt you owed.
Your ally by God the Lord of men swears an oath:
Take it, Take it, may [your treachery] cling to you like the ring of the dove.

The apostle stayed in Medina from the month of Rabī'u'l-awwal to Ṣafar of the following year until his mosque and his quarters were built. This tribe of the Anṣār all accepted Islam and every house of the Anṣār 340 accepted Islam except Khaṭma, Wāqif, Wā'il, and Umayya who were the Aus Allah, a clan of Aus who clung to their heathenism.

The first address which the apostle gave according to what I heard on the

authority of Abū Salama b. 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān—God save me from attributing to the apostle words which he did not say—was as follows: he praised and glorified God as was His due and then said: O men, send forward (good works) for yourselves. You know, by God, that one of you may be smitten and will leave his flock without a shepherd. Then his Lord will say to him—there will be no interpreter or chamberlain to veil him from Him—Did not My apostle come to you with a message, and did not I give you wealth and show you favour? What have you sent forward for yourself? Then will he look to right and left and see nothing; he will look in front of him and see nothing but hell. He who can shield his face from the fire even with a little piece of date let him do so; and he who cannot find that then with a good word; for the good deed will be rewarded tenfold yea to twice seven hundred fold.¹ Peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessing.

Then the apostle preached on another occasion as follows: Praise belongs to God whom I praise and whose aid I implore. We take refuge in God from our own sins and from the evil of our acts. He whom God guides none can lead astray; and whom He leads astray none can guide. I testify that there is no God but He alone, He is without companion. The finest speech is the Book of God. He to whom God has made it seem glorious and made him enter Islam after unbelief, who has chosen it above all other speech of men, doth prosper. It is the finest speech and the most penetrating. Love what God loves. Love God with all your hearts, and weary not of the word of God and its mention. Harden not your hearts from it. Out of everything that God creates He chooses and selects; the actions He chooses He calls *khīra*; the people He chooses He calls *muṣṭafā*; and the speech He chooses He calls *ṣāliḥ*. From everything that is brought to man there is the lawful and the unlawful. Worship God and associate naught with Him; fear Him as He ought to be feared; Carry out loyally towards God what you say with your mouths. Love one another in the spirit of God. Verily God is angry when His covenant is broken. Peace be upon you. 341

THE COVENANT BETWEEN THE MUSLIMS AND THE MEDINANS AND WITH THE JEWS

The apostle wrote a document concerning the emigrants and the helpers in which he made a friendly agreement with the Jews and established them in their religion and their property, and stated the reciprocal obligations, as follows: In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a document from Muhammad the prophet [governing the relations] between the believers and Muslims of Quraysh and Yathrib, and those who

¹ Or, perhaps simply 'seven hundredfold'. Here, as in the rest of the sermon, there is an allusion to the Quran. Cf. 34. 36 where commentators differ as to the exact meaning of *di'f*.