IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY
ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATION INSTITUTE
DEPARTMENT CIVILIZATION STUDIES

MA THESIS

FORMATION OF THE SOCIAL BOND AMONG MUSLIMS IN EARLY ISLAM

TUĞBA TÜRKOĞLU

JUNE 2018

ONAY SAYFASI

Bu tez tarafımızca okunmuş olup kapsam ve nitelik açısından, Medeniyet Araştırmaları alanında Yüksek Lisans Derecesini alabilmek için yeterli olduğuna karar verilmiştir.

Tez Jürisi Üyeleri:

(Unvanı Adı ve Soyadı)	KANAATİ	İMZA
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Heba Raouf EZZAT (Tez Danışmanı)		
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Önder KÜÇÜKURAL		
Prof. Dr. Casim AVCI		

Bu tezin İbn Haldun Üniversitesi Medeniyetler İttifakı Enstitüsü tarafından konulan tüm standartlara uygun şekilde yazıldığı teyit edilmiştir.

Tarih   Mühür/İmza

AKADEMİK DÜRÜSTLÜK BEYANI

Bu çalışmada yer alan tüm bilgilerin akademik kurallara ve etik ilkelere uygun olarak toplanıp sunulduğunu, söz konusu kurallar ve ilkelerin zorunlu kıldığı çerçevede, çalışmada özgün olmayan tüm bilgi ve belgelere, alıntılama standartlarına uygun olarak referans verilmiş olduğunu beyan ederim.

Adı Soyadı: TUĞBA TÜRKOĞLU

İmza:

ABSTRACT

FORMATION OF THE SOCIAL BOND AMONG MUSLIMS IN EARLY ISLAM

TÜRKOĞLU, TUĞBA

M.A. in Civilization Studies

Thesis Advisor: Dr. Heba Raouf

EZZAT July 2018, 101 pages

In *Jahiliyya,* namely in the pre-Islamic period, there were several strongly established traditions to be able to protect the rights of people and to enable the security in Arabian peninsula in which there was no central authority and jurisprudence. The biggest determinant factor which led to maintain these traditions among the society was the notion of *asabiyya*. The tie of blood and tribe was higher than every other bond in the society. Even sometimes the tribes were fighting with each other for years just to take revenge of one of their members who was killed by the other tribe. However, through the coming of Islam, it is seen that these cornerstones of the society began to change. On the contrary to the tradition of *Jahiliyya*, Islam required the bond of faith rather than the bond of blood as the determinant element for the society. And it is seen that this transformation was one of the main challenges of the new society which was consisted of the believers to their previous community. Throughout the era of the Prophet, various events and cases had caused this newly formed bond to develop gradually among the believers in terms of both political and social level.

KEYWORDS: Asabiyya, social bond, Prophet Muhammad, early Islam, bond of faith

ÖZ

ERKEN İSLAM DÖNEMİNDE MÜSLÜMANLAR ARASINDA
SOSYAL BAĞIN TEŞEKKÜLÜ

TÜRKOĞLU, TUĞBA

Medeniyet Araştırmaları Yüksek Lisans Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Heba Raouf

EZZAT Temmuz 2018, 101 pages

Cahiliye döneminde, yani erken İslam tarihinde, merkezi otoritenin ve hukuk sisteminin olmadığı Arab yarımadasında, güvenliği sağlamak ve insanların haklarını korumak amacıyla yerleşmiş birtakım güçlü gelenekler bulunuyordu. Toplum içerisinde bu geleneklerin ortaya çıkmasındaki en belirleyici etken *asabiyet* kavramıydı. Toplumda, kan ve kabile bağları, diğer her bağdan daha değerliydi. Hatta bazen kabileler, başka bir kabile tarafından öldürülmüş bir fertlerinin intikamını almak için yıllarca birbirleriyle ile savaşıyordu. Ancak İslam'ın gelmesiyle, toplumdaki bu köşe taşlarının değişmeye başladığı gözlenmektedir. Cahiliye adetinin tam tersine, İslam, toplumun belirleyici unsuru olarak kan bağını değil, iman bağını gerektirmektedir. Ve görülmektedir ki, bu dönüşüm, inananlardan meydana gelen bu yeni toplumun, eski toplum yapısına karşı gösterdiği en büyük dirençlerden biridir. Hz. Peygamber'in çağı boyunca, çeşitli olaylar ve durumlar, hem sosyal hem de politik düzeyde inananlar arasındaki bu yeni oluşan iman bağının gittikçe gelişmesine sebebiyet vermiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Erken İslam tarihi; Hz. Muhammed; asabiyet; iman bağı; sosyal bağ, ashab

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction:

With the coming of the first revelation to Prophet Muhammad, the milestones of the tradition of *jahiliyya* which refers to pre-Islamic era began to transform. There are many aspects to be considered in this issue. However, I believe that one of the most crucial ones is the formation of a new type of social bond in a society in which the previous ties of *asabiyya* and the tribal interests were quite determinant. In fact, examining the relations and the bonds in a society would give us a deeper understanding of the ruling system of that society. And even if a social change or a transformation occurs in that society, examining these aspects in a comparison of past and present would enable us to see the influence of that change or transformation in the society in a clearer way. In this respect, I think that one of the most influential ways of understanding the case of social transformation that the society of the believers in Macca and Madina had experienced, is to examine and compare the bonds they had before and after Islam.

At this stage of the research, society is simply defined as a large group of people who live together in an organized way, making decisions about how to do things and sharing the work that needs to be done. All the people in a country, or in several similar countries, can be referred to as a society.[1] And the social bond as a concept has various definitions depending on the various disciplinary or conceptual understandings. Firstly, Aslaksen argues:

> The Social Bond is an alignment of which both parties are aware, either because it has been developed jointly by them, or because they have acquired it through a common process, such as education or indoctrination. It has much in common with trust, which is a hallmark of a healthy society, and with commitment, in the sense of a willingness to reveal themselves and have the courage to stand up in public… Thus, the use of 'social' in the Social Bond has a dual significance. One is to indicate that the bond is an element of the complex system that is society; the other indicates that the bond is an enabler of a sincere engagement.

---

[1] Cambridge Dictionary Editors, "Society", Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus, 3rd Edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/society

> This puts a requirement on any interaction for it to result in, or strengthen,
> a Social Bond: it must reflect the participants' identities.[2]

According to this definition, the notion of social bond among Muslims is also much related to the question of identity stemming from the engagement, interaction and commitment. It could also be said that, especially in Islamic case, the social bond among the believers highly reflects their newly established identities because the formation of the bond of faith primarily depends on being "Muslim". In this sense, I think that all the aspects that I will examine regarding the social bond would be evaluated also as part of the process of formation of a new identity. It is a sociological discussion of identity as a collective endeavour which made a shift in social sciences in the last decades towards identity politics. And identity as an individual endeavour has weakened for that it does not contain the notion of community. It rather focuses on the notions of citizenship, rights, and choice. Hence, the researcher's choice has been for the social bond since it is free of the limited definition of the theory of criminology and takes it back to the communitarian approach that we find in the writings of Christopher Lasch[3] and others.

According to Salvatore, "The type and quality of the social bond can be best recognized in the mostly unspectacular modulations of civility within everyday life, rather than in the full-fledged institutionalized forms of social organization and governance."[4] In this sense, he argues that

> If a translation of the protean Islamic concept of umma, intended as a
> rather 'an-organic' collective body that can constellate into cohesive
> groups at local, translocal, and global levels, is afforded, it would be
> 'ecumene.' By 'an-organic' I refer to a dimension of the social bond
> producing cohesion through a rather rhizomatic replication of
> connectedness, more than via the 'organic' dimension of solidarity within
> modern societies, particularly as theorized by Durkheim. The umma is
> farther from being quintessentially unmodern since built on rather fluid,
> connective patterns of sociability and cohesion.."[5]

---

[2] Erik W. Aslaksen, *The Social Bond How the Interaction Between Individuals Drives the Evolution of Society*, (Cham: Springer Nature, 2017), 95

[3] Look at: Book by Christopher Lasch, "The Family as a Haven in Heartless World"

[4] Armando Salvatore, *The Sociology of Islam: Knowledge, Power and Civility,* (Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), 25

[5] Armando Salvatore, *The Sociology of Islam: Knowledge, Power and Civility,* (Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), 10

Although the concept of social bond is a broad subject which has some sub-theories like the social control theory trying to express the criminal behaviours and group feelings, I will only handle the points that the above mentioned expressions focus on. That's why I would say that these two definitions are the backbones of the concept of social bond that I will examine throughout this research.

As we will examine in depth, with the coming of Islam, the majority of Arab society radically transformed regarding the bonds and the connections that they had engaged before. In respect to the transformation process, I suggest that the bond of faith was replaced by the bond of blood and was the essence of the new type of social bonding in the society. It is worth noting that although there are various dimensions of the concept of faith in sociological understanding, I prefer to handle it from the perspective of *iman* which refers to believing in Allah and believing in all other essences of Islam. I think that the transformation of old type of bond, namely the bond of blood, and the formation of a new type of bond, namely the bond of faith, among the community of the believers, i.e *umma,* deserves to attract attention for a deeper understanding of what the Prophet did in the Arab society.

In this respect, my research aims to analyze the formation of a new type of social bond which was founded on the basis of faith, namely *iman,* among Muslims by the Prophet at the early period of Islam in consideration of the transformation of the bond of blood in the Arab society. In this regard, this research mainly focuses on two points. Firstly, it tries to offer an understanding of the pre-Islamic era with regards to the bond that the Arab society had both in Macca and in Madina. By doing so, it aims to demonstrate the social transformation that the society had experienced in relation to the social bond following the arrival of Islam. And secondly, it tries to give an understanding of how this social transformation occurred and to what extent members of the society embraced or resisted against it in the era of Prophet Muhammed.

Therefore, based on the descriptions on the concept of social bond above, I primarily want to ask the question of "How was the social bond formed among Muslims at the

early Islamic period?" throughout this research. However, in relation to this question, I would also like to find answers to sub-questions such as "How does this social bond contribute to the formation of *umma*?" "What kind of concepts does it require?"

Through this research, I actually aim to demonstrate how the Prophet transformed the society and how he formed a new social bond among the early believers based on the tie of Islam. And through examination of the process of the formation of the social bond among the Muslims in the Prophet's era, I aim to understand the Prophet's role in this process.

In this thesis, I will have four main chapters together with their subheads. In the first chapter, I will try to take a general look at the historical background of Arab society in terms of their tribal traditions to be able to understand the common aspects which were mutually shared in their social lives. In that sense, I will focus on the concept of *asabiyya* which was the key factor in determining the social conditions in the tribal life of Arab society. Together with expressing the literal meaning of the concept, I will try to explain what it actually meant and how significant it was for the Arab society in the period of *Jahiliyya*. I think that it is crucial to examine the tribal traditions of Arab society based on the notion of *asabiyya* to be able to understand the strength of the new social bond which was formed by the Prophet. In addition, we should take into consideration all the later developments which consolidated the process of social transformation. Therefore, after I explain the historical background, I will point the steps of the formation of the social bond in the society, which would help us see the transformation of the old and the formation of the new.

In the second chapter which is "Period of Birth of *Ukhuwwah*: Macca", I will firstly give a brief information about the specific background of Macca with regards to the social and political cases which led to the social changes in the society for a better understanding of the later developments in the city. Then, I will try to explain the first important step, namely the gatherings at the house of Arqam - *dâr'ul arqam* - in terms of the formation of the social bond among the believers. It was actually the first place that a systematic *tarbiya* and *tazkiya* was introduced to the early believers. Additionally, I will examine some other developments which can also be regarded as

examples demonstrating the social bond among Muslims. These developments are the series of persecutions in Macca against the Muslims, the case of migration to Abyssinia as a result of these persecutions and the boycott against Muslims for a period of time. Afterwards, I would like to focus on the pledges of Aqaba which were a milestone that opened the way for the empowering of the social bond which was formed in Macca and moved to Medina.

In the third chapter which is "Period of the Development of Solidarity: Madina", I firstly mention the history of the society of Madina, like in my Mecca chapter, for a deep understanding of the social and political situation in Medina before the *hijra.* Such background information on the history of Medina will also help understand the pledges of Aqaba, the *hijra* and the later developments which are related to the social bond among Muslims. Then, I will explain the *hijra* which means the migration from Macca to Madina and is one of the biggest events in the Islamic history, and will examine its contribution to the development of the bond of faith in the community. Following the *hijra*, I will point out the crucial steps which led to new dimensions in the social bond among the believers who made a new wide society consisted of emigrants of Macca, *Muhajirun,* and the helpers of Madina, *Ansar,* following the radical changes that the event of *hijra* brought along. these radical changes can be listed as the pact of brotherhood, *muakhat* between *Muhajirun* and *Ansar,* and the Covenant of Madina which was agreed by the camp of Muslims as a whole and the camp of Jews of Madina who had been already living in the city. I will try to examine how *muakhat* empowered the bond which had already formed among the Muslims and how the Covenant both shaped the dimensions of social bond among Muslims and widened its scope to include the Jews. Then, I would like to mention how the wars with Quraysh as the idolaters of Macca, which meant loyalty and sacrifice for Muslims, and the subsequent agreement contributed to the bond of faith among Muslims.

In the fourth chapter, I will express how the conquest of Macca, namely *fath,* enabled the development of social bond by bringing awareness about its meaning and importance to the new Muslims of Macca. Lastly, I will explain the importance that the farewell sermon of the Prophet in his farewell pilgrimage holds for all Muslims

who were present there as it demonstrated both the value and the universality of the social bond among all the Muslims.

1. Literature Review:

Because my research topic comprises the period which began with the beginning of Islam and continued until the conquest of Macca, the steps that I will explain about the formation of the social bond are also mentioned in most of the secondary sources which handle the early Islamic history. However, I would say that these steps are not examined under the scope of the concept of social bond. We cannot even see a specific conceptualization about the bond. In this research, although I will quote from various books related to the topic in each chapter, as a general review I would like to handle here only the main books on the early Islamic history and try to analyze them in terms of both their approaches and contents regarding the formation and development of the concept of social bond.

If I begin with the primary sources, I would say that all the books that I will handle throughout my research are known as the earliest *sira* books which convey various narrations about the biography of Prophet Muhammad. Mainly they are Ibn Ishaq, Ibn Hisham, Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Kathir, and Tabari. I should note that because Ibn Ishaq is known as the oldest writer of *sira* and the others made only some additions to his book, edited some narrations out or partly rejected them based on their own narratives, I will mainly benefit from Ibn Ishaq's book "*Sirat Rasulullah*" in my research. However, in the cases that the other sources do not overlap with the narrations in Ibn Ishaq's *sira* in terms of the points that I will express, I will also mention what the other primary sources added into it or how they edited it out regarding the respective topic that I address. For this reason, I will take his narrations as the main source throughout the study. I would also say that when all of the other sources mentioned the narrations, they pointed out every single name in the chain of narration that they had got the information from.

As for the secondary sources, firstly Hamidullah mentions numerous sources of motivation to study the Prophet's life. In the first volume he gives place to the relations of the Prophet Muhammad with other states and with other communities such as Jews and Christians who lived in and around Madina. In the second volume, he talks in detail about the social, religious, moral, military and political transformations that the Prophet Muhammad brought in the society. However, as a biography writer, he does not prefer to mention these transformations under the concept of bond and does not focus on any systematic approach to express the social bond among Muslims even though he partly mentions it.

In Watt's books "Muhammad in Madina" and "Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman", he seems to approach to the historical points in Prophet's life through a more political perspective. He interprets the main events in Prophet's lifetime, which I will examine below, as the important steps of his political career more than of his Prophetic mission. Although he does consider the conversions of Arabs as a result of their pure acceptance of the Prophet's message by their hearts in general, unlike Donner with whom he even disagrees by holding the contrary interpretation, the historical events which I interpret as the development of the bond among Muslims are mentioned in his book as steps which were taken generally for political purposes of the Prophet. And although he also mentions the big transformation of Arab society from tribalism to the bond of faith in related parts, he does not study and analyze them under the concept of social bond.

Hodgson, in "Venture of Islam", in the part of "Book One: The Islamic Infusion: Genesis of a New Social Order", gives a general understanding about the formation of a new social order through the formation of a new type of community among the believers. While doing so, he deduces the fact that the ties of tribalism was replaced by the tie of faith and that all Muslims had a great commitment both to each other and to the Prophet Muhammad. That is, he highlights the social transformation that took place in the society and comments on it as the beginning of a new society. However, he does not consider the transformation process as the linear formation of the social bond among the believers. He does not specifically use them to demonstrate a conceptual understanding of the bond.

On the other hand, in the biographical literature, Lings chronologically expresses the historical time sequence of the life of Prophet; but he does not provide much interpretation regarding the cases and events. We cannot see the conceptual expressions regarding the bond among Muslims, either.

Kennedy handles the early Islamic era from a political perspective. After the first chapter which is about the matrix of the Muslims world, he names the next chapter as "The Birth of The Islamic State" and states at the beginning of it that "The Islamic state was created by the Arabs during the course of the seventh century AD, and its political organization and the dissensions which troubled it had their origins in the Arab background. In order to understand the development of this state, we have to begin with a discussion of Arab political society as it existed at the time of the coming of Islam." While he is expressing the cases which are related to bond among the believers, he highlights the relationships based on people's political or social motivations such as protection or self-interest. He often uses the terms of "authority", "power" and "prestige" in describing both reasons and consequences of the Prophet's struggle especially during his time in Madina. He also often uses the terms of "followers" and "supporters" in mentioning his companions. Although he mentions that the early believers accept him as not only the leader but also as the prophet, he neither analyzes the related issues from the perspective of bond of faith nor gives a conceptual approach to it at all.

Armstrong claims that one of her main aims in writing the biography of the Prophet is to manifest his main struggle during his life. In this sense, the general approach in the book is to stress the expression of the milestones of Prophet's life. During the book, she is also concerned with the bond among Muslims which was founded by the Prophet with the coming of Islam and partly emphasizes that it was beyond the kinship as a result of the bond of faith. However, in the same way with the other books, her book does not offer us a general systematic understanding about the bond of faith with its historical formation and development.

In Donner's book "Muhammad and Early Believers", it seems he approaches to the life of Prophet Muhammad as a social, political and military challenge and "activism" more than prophecy. He uses the term of "Early Believers' Movement"

for all the steps in Prophet's life and argues that this "movement" became increasingly militant towards the end. He states that the commitment of Muslims especially in war time was seen as a proof for the gradually increasing strength and security of Believers' community. However, by opposing this, he argues that recent work has shown that these different injunctions may reflect the divergent attitudes of different subgroups that coexisted simultaneously within the early community of Believers. Therefore, he neither highlights existence of any kind of bond among Muslims nor argues that it was special to them.

2. Value of the Research:

I believe that research in the area of Islamic history is quite important for understanding the whole Islamic civilization from the core perspective. Especially studying the era of the Prophet enables us to understand the bases of the principles of Islam which lead to the development of the main dimensions of the Islamic civilization in general, because the *sunnah* of the Prophet itself is among the main sources of Islam along with the Qur'an. In that respect, I think that the research specifically on the transformations which the Prophet Muhammad brought to the Arab society, who were strictly adherent to their traditions, is important to see what a big role the Prophet Muhammad played in the formation of Islamic civilization. And more importantly, I also think that it would enable us to understand that the Prophet Muhammad played this role successfully not only because he was an influential and a smart political leader but also because he was the Prophet who had the divine wisdom and power.

And specifically, when the related literature is examined, as I expressed above, the social bond among the first Muslims in early Islam, which I want to focus on in this study, is not handled within a systematic approach. . In other words, although the main literature points out the events or the concepts which are related to the social bond, a systematic horizontal approach which comprises an analytical comparison between pre-Islamic period and the Islamic period is not maintained. In this sense, I believe that this research would provide a more focused and detailed understanding

of the concept of social bond among the Muslims in Prophet's age through a systematic approach.

3. Methodology:

In this research, I will use the method of historical sociology. It is a broad scientific approach that addresses many areas and problems in culture, religion, nationalism, politics, international relations, globalization, military conflicts, economy, labor, science, art, everyday life, family life, collective memory, and various other subtopics. Historical sociology is structured around three central elements: general theory, research methodology, and special thematic areas.[6] Historical sociology can be said to offer a double punch: a focus on the rich detail of historical international relations alongside an emphasis on causal explanations wherever these are located. It also specify how patterns, configurations and sets of social relations combine in particular contexts in order to generate certain outcomes. Thus, historical sociologists seek not just to provide historical analysis; they also aim to generate powerful theoretical explanations.[7]

Specifically, I will first evaluate and analyze the primary sources that I plan to study in my thesis. I will try to combine the narrations by comparing the sources with each other in order to interpret and evaluate the various narrations in a more analytical way. In many early books on the history of Islam there is a great deal of relevant information for my research. While examining them, if required, I will conduct the research in Arabic to access the sources which have not been translated yet. I also plan to analyse the secondary sources with a critical eye in order to mark where the research falls short and how alternative modes of thinking can help. This is one of the key steps because I do not agree with some of the interpretations and analyses made in these   secondary sources Finally, in analyzing both the data and the secondary sources, I seek to examine the topic of my research in a detailed way in

---

[6] Jiří šubrt, The Perspective of Historical Sociology (By Way of Introduction), *The Perspective of Historical Sociology*, Emerald Publishing Limited, (Bingley: 2017), 4

[7] John M. Hobson, George Lawson, Justin Rosenberg, *Historical sociology,* Robert A., (ed.) The International Studies Encyclopaedia, Wiley-Blackwell / International Studies Association, (Danemark: 2010), 19

order to answer the aforementioned research questions. I should also note that I am assuming that the primary sources are to some degree reliable, and that I can draw a reasonably accurate image of certain dimensions of early Islamic period with a thorough reading of the primary sources. When the core concept of the research – the social bond - is in question, it should be noted that it is used in a loose sense in the study; it is useful in describing certain features that are present in the subjects studied, yet it should not be understood anachronistically according to its modern usage.

It's worth noting that the graph that I prefer to use in this research is the historical timeline, rather than the sociological table because I find it more useful in examining the cases within their chronological order as the discipline of history suggests. I think that it provides a more systematic approach in looking at the steps of the gradual developments regarding the formation of the bond in the society. That's why a deep analysis of the social matters with the sociological table would partly remain in the background in this study, compared to the historical time table. I think that a research where the two graphs are used in equal proportions would require a broader scope than a master's thesis can afford.

It is also worth mentioning that I will focus on the sociological aspect of faith throughout this research so as to understand its reflections on the civil society level specifically for the Muslim society of the Prophet's era since it offers various dimensions to be examined.

The last point that I should note is that there is a great number of *hadiths* of the Prophet, namely his sayings, which are about the formation or the development of the bond of faith in the society. However, I will not mention every single of them in the study. Rather, I will only mention the ones which are about the systematic actions or important steps that the Prophet took regarding the empowering of the bond among the believers in order to offer a more organized map for how the bond was shaped.

Chapter 1: Historical Background of Social Life in Arabia: The Concept of *Asabiyya*

When we examine the Arab society before Islam, we see that kinship was quite an important element in determining the social life in the region because of the bedouin nature of the society. "Where there was no common law that could be enforced by a central authority, the only way of preserving a modicum of social security was by means of the blood-feud or vendetta."[8] In this respect, the bedouins who were the settlers of Arabia paid great attention to their local-autonomous groups based on kinship to be able to secure themselves in their life conditions. By the time, these kinship based groups in which the smaller ones are called as "clans" and the larger ones are called as "tribes" had become much more effective and determinant in the Arab-bedouin society in terms of multiple aspects of their communal lives.[9] The principles and rules of tribal life system were also determined in the process. "At every level, these groups defined themselves in terms of a real or fictive common descent, though newcomers might be adopted into them. No man who had sufficient kin could want for protection and status."[10] It can be said that this tribe-based society led, by time, to the spread of the notion of *asabiyya* which was seen as similar to the notion of tribalism. *Asabiyya* was one of the pillars of the Arab society in the centuries before Islam. It can be said that every aspect of the life was determined based on this tribal notion. *Asabiyya* simply is described as "spirit of kinship" (the ʿaṣaba are male relations in the male line) in the family or tribe."[11] In order to understand what the concept of *asabiyya* suggests for the people of Arabia in the period before Islam, one should look deep into the social conditions of the period.

First of all, the notion of *asabiyya* was quite a deterministic dimension for Arab society for providing a strong link in their inter-relations. It means that the people

---

[8] Karen Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet, (*London: Phoenix Press, 1991), 59

[9] Ibid., 59-60

[10] Marshall G. S. Hudgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 149

[11] F. Gabrieli, "ʿAṣabiyya", in: E*ncyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 28 May 2018, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0753

who belonged to the same tribe were connected with each other more than with anybody outside of their tribe. Apak suggests that the word of "*asaba*", from which the word of *asabiyya* comes, refers to a group of people who are connected with each other with the tie of kinship from the father side. In that respect, *asabiyya* means a kind of spirit which connects all the members of the group and mobilizes them in the cases of defense or attack on enemies. The tie of *asabiyya* was growing stronger as much as the degree of kinship increased in the period before Islam, namely *Jahiliyya.*[12] As Ibn Khaldun argues,

> The hamlets of the Bedouins are defended against outside enemies by a tribal militia composed of noble youths of the tribe who are known for their courage. Their defense and protection are successful only if they are a closely-knit group of common descent. This strengthens their stamina and makes them feared, since everybody's affection for his family and his group is more important (than anything else). Compassion and affection for one's blood relations and relatives exist in human nature as something God put into the hearts of men. It makes for mutual support and aid, and increases the fear felt by the enemy.
> …
> If the direct relationship between persons who help each other is very close, so that it leads to close contact and unity, the ties are obvious and clearly require the (existence of a feeling of solidarity) without any outside (prodding)...Clients and allies belong in the same category. Pedigrees are useful only in so far as they imply the close contact that is a consequence of blood ties and that eventually leads to mutual help and affection. [13]

In that respect, the notion of *asabiyya* is an applicable notion for a bedouin type of society with regard to the mutual assistance, support and solidarity which are necessary for the defense and the protection of the tribe. Smith also highlights the point of unity and says:

> The Arabs throughout the peninsula formed a multitude of local groups, held together within themselves not by any elaborate political organisation but by a traditional sentiment of unity, which they believed or feigned to be a unity of blood, and by the recognition and exercise of certain mutual obligations and social duties and rights, which united all the members of the same group to one another as against all other groups and their members.[14]

---

[12] Adem Apak, "Asabiyet" in *Islam Ansiklopedisi,* TDV, vol 3., 454 http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c03/c030292.pdf

[13] Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddimah*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, edit. N.J. Dawood, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005) 97-8-9

[14] W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia,* edit. by Stanley Cook, (London: Adam and Charles Black ,1907), 1

For describing the feature of the bond among the Arabs, Smith suggests that the group-bond was stronger than the bond of citizenship, and feuds between groups often divided a town into two. .Therefore, it could be seen among the nomadic Arabs that a certain number of groups formed a confederation presenting the semblance of a nation. Smith then continues that the tendency of each group to stand by its own members in every quarrel was fatal to the permanence of such unions and argues that this was the case not only where the confederation rested on a treaty (casama) and was limited in scope by the nature of the contract, but also where neighboring and allied groups regarded themselves as brothers, united by a bond of blood.[15] Thus, he deduces that kinship then among the Arabs means a share in the common blood which is taken to flow in the veins of every member of a tribe in one word. He simply defines it as the tribal bond which knits men of the same group together and gives them common duties and responsibilities from which no member of the group can withdraw.[16] Also Wolf suggests about the organization and regulation of the society:

> Functioning social groups within Maccan society tended to be formally organized on principle of fiction of kinship by blood. This fiction was the only means by which, apart from slavery, individuals could be related to each other. Within the social clusters, the clients represented a group not linked by birth but through ritual kin arrangements.[17]

That is, the notion of asabiyya was quite a functional element for the society in connecting its members with each other. However, in addition to these positive features in the arguments above, the notion of *asabiyya* has also various negative aspects for the social relations as suggested by Armstrong in the below passage.

> Tribal solidarity (*'asabiyyah*) encouraged bravery and selflessness, but only within the context of the tribe. There was no concept of universal human rights. A Bedouin felt responsible merely for his blood relatives and confederates. He had no concern for outsiders, whom he regarded as worthless and expendable. If he had to kill them to benefit his own people, he felt no moral anguish and wasted no time in philosophical abstractions or ethical considerations.

---

[15] Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia,*, 3

[16] Ibid., 27

[17] Eric R. Wolf, "The Social Organization of Mecca and the Origins of Islam", *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Winter, 1951), 335

> Since the tribe was the most sacred value, he backed it, right or wrong. "I am of Ghazziyya," sang one of the poets. "If she be in error, I will be in error; and if Ghazziyya be guided right, I will go with her." Or, in the words of a popular maxim: "Help your brother whether he is being wronged or wronging others."[18]

Thus, whatever a member of a tribe did, he/she had to be protected or supported by the other members of his/her own tribe because a tribe member's only concern should be his/her own tribe members, not anybody else from another tribe. As Apak mentions, "In the case that a member of a tribe was attacked by a member of another tribe, all the members of his tribe were supposed to be agitated and to attack back, if the victim appealed to the help of his tribe." This is because of the notion of *asabiyya* which was the valid paradigm which both prevented the member of a tribe from being easily attacked by the members of other tribes and made up for all the emotional and financial damages stemming from an attack in the period of *Jahiliyya* when no political or legal order existed. And the first and foremost rule of *asabiyya* was to form a unity among the members of the tribes and to help them in all conditions. Therefore, every single member of a tribe had to help his kin even if they were the persecutor. That is, the statement that "The member sacrifices himself for the sake of his tribe and the tribe sacrifices itself for the sake of a member." became a principle.[19] The popular saying from the period of *Jahiliyya* as are mentioned above and also quoted by Apak clearly demonstrate the essence of *asabiyya*:"If I do not help my brother when he acts unfairly, I do not help him when he is harmed by somebody else."[20] Or as in another common saying, "When fighting comes, your kinsman alone is near; your true friend your kinsman is, who answers your call for aid with good will, when deeply drenched in bloodshed are sword and spear."[21]

As a result of the *asabiyya* paradigm, a group feeling emerged in the society: the revenge. Smith explains this feeling of revenge in the following passage:

> At that time the tribal bond all over Arabia, so far as our evidence goes, was conceived as a bond of kinship. All the members of a group regarded

---

[18] Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Prophet for Our Time*, 13-4

[19] Adem Apak, *Asabiyet ve Erken Dönem İslam Siyasi Tarihindeki Etkileri,* (Istanbul: Düşünce Kitabevi, 2004), 32

[20] Quoted in ibid., 33

[21] Abu Tammam, quoted in Salvotore, *The Sociology of Islam: Knowledge, Power and Civility*, 99

themselves as of one blood. This appears most clearly in the law of blood-feud, which in Arabia as among other early peoples affords the means of measuring the limits of effective kinship.[22]

As the above passage also implies, one of the most crucial indicators of *asabiyya* which is based on the blood tie and kinship was this notion of revenge.[23] Hodgson explains its function in the society in more detail:

> In the absence of any common court of justice, intergroup restraint was maintained by the principle of the retaliatory blood feud: an injury by an outsider to any member of a group was regarded as committed against the whole group by the whole group to which the outsider belonged; the injured group's honour required that it exact from the other group in retaliation an equivalent-normally an eye for an eye, a life for a life (though commutation in goods might be accepted)-or more, if the injured group regarded itself as above the level of the other. But if the retaliation were regarded by the other group as excessive, it in turn was honour-bound to retaliate again-till the feud could somehow be stopped.[24]

Also Kennedy attracts the attentions to absence of central authority and says "this kinship system, the identification of each individual with a group which will protect him against another rival group, is a logical response to the condition of un-government." And he states that in pre-Islamic Arabia, there was no law enforcement agency to protect persons and property, and safety was provided not by the state but by the kin and the principle of retaliation as Hudgson mentions.[25] Kennedy goes on to say:

> If a man was robbed or murdered, then his kin were obliged to seek revenge or compensation. In this way a measure of security for life and property was obtained without any formal structure of government but it meant that the obligations of kinship were very important since no one could survive without being a member of, or protected by, an effective kin. This system applied not only to the bedouin but also to the settled populations of such towns as Mecca and Yathrib (Medina) as well.[26]

---

[22] Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 25

[23] Apak, *Asabiyet ve Erken Dönem İslam Siyasi Tarihindeki Etkileri, 32*

[24] Hudgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization,* Vol.1, 149

[25] Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and The Age of Caliphates*, (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1986), 19

[26] Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and The Age of Caliphates*, (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1986), 19

As both Hodgson and Kennedy remark above, the actual reason behind the strict application of the notion of revenge is to ensure social security. And "When man refrained from killing and being cruel, it was not from any sense of duty towards a fellow man but out of fear of possible retaliation by the next of kin."[27] That is, as Apak points out, the idea of revenge provided aversiveness towards the criminals and more importantly it aimed to form a secure society by making the killings more difficult in a society in which there was no written code.[28] However, despite the practicality of the notion in solving the problem of social security which stemmed from the absence of a court and written law, it cannot be denied that the strict notion of *asabiyya* caused great numbers of wars for years among the tribes by continuously blowing the hatred as well as enmity in the society. The events of *Ayyam-al Arab* which refers to "the combat, skirmishes, and even wars that Arab tribes fought amongst themselves in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times"[29] can be shown among the best examples of what the notion of retaliation brought along. In these events, even some tribes which were not involved in murdering or being murdered joined in the fights just because they were allied with one of the fighting tribes. Fights had continued over years and they caused new enmities as the killings went on.[30] Surprisingly, the poets also played a great role on the mission of revenge. If a tribe delayed taking revenge from another tribe for a murder case, it was expected that the poets of victim tribe would begin to both condemn and irritate the members of their tribe in an attempt to encourage the revenge as soon as possible. They continued their condemning poems until the members of their tribes spilled blood. If their tribes preferred to accept to take the blood money rather than revenge, these poets used to criticize the members of their tribes very harshly and tried to convince them to fight against the murdering tribe.[31]

Together with the notion of revenge, Armstrong points out another tradition which the notion of *asabiyya* naturally gave birth to in the pre-Islamic Arab society:

---

[27] W. Montgomery Watt, Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman,(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 173

[28] Apak, *Asabiyet ve Erken Dönem İslam Siyasi Tarihindeki Etkileri,* 54

[29] Alan Jones, "Ayyām al-ʿArab", in: Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE, Edited by: Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, Everett Rowson. (June, 2018) http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_SIM_0259

[30] Apak, *Asabiyet ve Erken Dönem İslam Siyasi Tarihindeki Etkileri*, 53

[31] Ibid.,55

> As the source of their particular genius, tribesmen revered their forefathers as the supreme authority and this inevitably encouraged a deep and entrenched conservatism. The way of life (sunnah) that the ancients had bequeathed to their descendants was sacred and inviolable. "He belongs to a tribe whose fathers have laid down for them a sunnah," another poet explained, "Every folk has its own traditional sunnah; every folk has its objects of imitation." Any deviation—however trivial—from ancestral custom was a great evil. A practice was approved not because of its inherent decency or nobility, but simply because it had been sanctioned long ago by the fathers of the tribe.[32]

Thus it can be said that Arab society was quite adherent to their ancestors regardless of whether their customs are true or not. Armstrong expresses this loyalty as "This unquestioning acceptance of tradition could lead to rampant chauvinism: the sunnah of your people was the best and you could contemplate no other way of doing things. You could only preserve the honor of your tribe by refusing to bow to any other authority, human or divine."[33]

In consideration of all the consequences of the notion of *asabiyya* that I tried to point out above, it could be said that while it enabled pre-Islamic Arab community to connect the members of the same tribe, as I tried to demonstrate above, these results in fact led to divisions in the community. Moreover, the outcomes of *asabiyya* almost blocked the people from developing any sort of relationship other than their tribe-based relations, thus they reduced the possibility of formation of any other social bond with others outside their tribes. As Wolf argues, "The prevailing kinship mechanisms proved disruptive of the peace they were supposed to maintain."[34]

It is necessary to mention that Arab inter-tribal relations were not only about hostility. Together with the fights, there were sanctuaries and agreements among different tribes, as well. There were even inter-marriages among the tribes taking place and they caused to form and develop inter-tribal solidarities. And sometimes, weak tribes needed to make alliances with some powerful tribes to secure themselves against the threats other powerful tribes.[35] "As a rule, it was small groups that were accepted as allies by larger, presumably stronger ones. More often than not, these

---

[32] Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Prophet for Our Time*, 14

[33] Ibid., 14-5

[34] Wolf, "The Social Organization of Mecca and the Origins of Islam"**,** 341

[35] Apak, *Asabiyet ve Erken Dönem İslam Siyasi Tarihindeki Etkileri*, 11

smaller groups came to live with their allies, and also added the latter's *nisba* to their own."[36] Tasseron describes *nisba* as a means of identification, originally indicating a person's descent group.[37] As Smith points out, that two tribes are brothers does not necessarily imply any historical tie of a common ancestor and brotherhood in the Semitic tongues is a very loose word; even covenant relations may make men brothers.[38] The formula which suggests the alliance stipulates joint action in matters of blood revenge, mutual inheritance, mutual assistance, and solidarity in general.[39]

The reason of that the powerful tribes made alliances with the weak ones was for their own political purposes and these alliances were abolished immediately after the wars ended because making an alliance means weakness for a powerful tribe.[40] And Smith states that in fact the peace could be maintained until a war happened.[41] As to the *nisba*, on the other hand, Tasseron argues that in the case of hosting alliances, the use of a *nisba* indicated who the guest allies and who the host allies were. This fact implies a certain inequality between the two parties, in spite of the oaths of alliance, which state the contrary.[42] Furthermore, Wolf states that this mechanism was also potentially disruptive of social stability because if a client was attacked, the protecting group had to use force. This demonstration of force, in turn, involved the protecting group in every-widening circles of conflict.[43] So, according to him, because of the pacts that the tribes formed among each other, while these kin-based mechanisms permitted the formation of more extensive social bonds, they were also charged with potential for further friction.[44]

Sometimes not only tribes but also individuals who were not under the guardianship of a tribe could take refuge from the powerful tribes and then could also be one of their members in time. According to Wolf, this system "made it possible for outsiders to feign themselves to be descended from the same stock as the people on

---

[36] Ella Landau Tasseron, "Alliances among The Arabs", *Al-Qantara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 26, No. 1, (2005): 2, http://al-qantara.revistas.csic.es/index.php/al-qantara/article/viewFile/120/106

[37] Ibid., 16

[38] Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia,* 15

[39] Tasseron, "Alliances among The Arabs", 7

[40] Apak, *Asabiyet ve Erken Dönem İslam Siyasi Tarihindeki Etkileri,* 11

[41] Apak, *Asabiyet ve Erken Dönem İslam Siyasi Tarihindeki Etkileri,* 11-12

[42] Tasseron, "Alliances among The Arabs", 18

[43] Wolf, "The Social Organization of Mecca and the Origins of Islam"**,** 336

[44] Ibid., 341

whom they were engrafted."[45] And he describes this process as "the mechanism of kinship between patron and client provided backing for the individual who was poor or powerless. It put the weight of a powerful group of ritual kin behind him. The isolated individual without such backing was exposed to attack or to unobstructed killing in a blood feud."[46] This is because for Arabs it was an honor to protect the ones who take refuge in them; nevertheless, these refugees were never at the same status with the actual members of the tribe because they did not belong to that tribe in reality, even if they were accepted as members of the tribe.[47] Wolf also argues that the extension of kinship bonds to the individual merely increased the possibility of conflict between groups organized on the kinship model.[48]

Therefore, even though Arab kinship relations allowed the tribes to make alliances among themselves although they did not share the same blood and to accept the individuals who needed the protection of a tribe, it can be said that all these circumstances occurred because of the political or social interests of the tribes. And it seems that, whatever the condition was, the determinant factor of the relations in the pre-Islamic Arab society was basically the blood as is also expressed in the popular saying of the time: "The one who are not from us is our enemy."[49]

---

[45] Ibid., 331

[46] Ibid., 336

[47] Apak, *Asabiyet ve Erken Dönem İslam Siyasi Tarihindeki Etkileri,* 12-13

[48] Ibid., 12-13

[49] Apak, *Asabiyet ve Erken Dönem İslam Siyasi Tarihindeki Etkileri,* 23

Chapter 2: The Period of the Birth of *Ukhuwwat'ul Iman*: Medina

2.1. An Overview of the History of Social Life in Medina

As Ibn Ishaq narrates, Medina before the Prophet Muhammad was witness to continual wars stemming from the custom of retaliation, and was also subject to other wars which stemmed from the desire to take control of the city and by extension the trade roads and the temple, i.e. the Ka'ba. Even before Islam, the Ka'ba was considered a holy place by the Arabs, though idolatry was very common in the society. Since its construction in the time of Prophet Abraham, the Ka'ba was under the protection of his descendants. However, when Jurhum who was the uncle of the sons of Ismael took control of Medina, he began to act high-handedly and made what was previously taboo lawful. Those who entered the town who were not of their tribe were treated badly and the new rulers appropriated gifts which had been made to the Ka'ba and in this way their authority weakened. Subsequently, two other tribes, B. Bakr b. 'Abdu Manat b. Kmana and Ghubshan of Khuza'a decided that the oppression had to be stopped. They came together and fought against the tribe of Jurhum. After Jurhum was expelled from Medina, Ghubshan of Khuza'a secured control of the temple rather than B. Bakr b. 'Abd Manat. The authority over the Ka'ba passed from father to son when in their control.

Then, Qusayy, a member of the tribe of Quraysh (and therefore of the offspring of Abraham) living outside of Medina, came to Macca seeking to end the authority of the tribe of Khuza'a over the Ka'ba. He argued that he had a better claim than Khuza and B. Bakr to control the Ka'ba and Macca and that the Quraysh were the noblest offspring of Ishmael b. Abraham and the purest descendants of his sons. With the assistance of other members of Quraysh who were living in Macca, Qusayy took control of the city. His authority continued until his death and he became the first

man who was accepted as king among the tribes of Macca. Before his death, Qusayy appointed his eldest son, Abd-al Dar, as his successor, but his other son Abd-al Manaf was liked more among the people. For a while, Macca continued to be under the governance of Qusayy's sons. His sons assumed their authority over the people and divided Mecca into quarters after allocating space for their own tribe. In the next generation, the sons of Abd al-Manaf and Abd al-Dar fell into conflict with each other. The former wanted to take the rights of the sons of Abd al-Dar which Qusayy had given to Abd al-Dar himself. This caused a dissension among the Quraysh, one section siding with the sons of Abd al-Manaf and the other with the sons of Abd al-Dar. The former held that the new claimants had a greater right and the latter argued that the rights given by Qusayy should not be taken away. Unable to reconcile, the people of Quraysh went on war which shortly resulted in peace negotiations on the conditions that B. Abd al-Manaf will be given the rights of supplying water for the pilgrims and collecting the tax of entry to the Ka'ba, the standard of war, and the assembly house will belong to the Abd al-Dar as before. It is perhaps in reference to this agreement that the Prophet afterwards said "Whatever alliance there was in the days of ignorance, Islam strengthens it."

Following the accounts of this agreement, Ibn Ishaq mentions one more agreement that was made among the people of Quraysh in the period of *Jahiliyya*. The tribes of Quraysh decided to make a covenant and they bound themselves by a solemn agreement that if they found that anyone, either a native of Mecca or an outsider, had been wronged they would advocate for him against the aggressor and see that the stolen property was restored to him. Quraysh called that confederacy "The Confederacy of the Fudul" in which the tribe of the Prophet's grandfather, B. Hashim (Sons of Hashim) was also among the signatory tribes. Later on, the Prophet mentioned this agreement as well and said "'I witnessed in the house of 'Abdullah b. Jud'an a covenant which I would not exchange for any number of fine camels: if I were invited to take part in it during Islam I should do so.'"[50]

I believe that these relations and agreements are important in providing examples of how the social condition was in Macca prior to the advent of Islam, especially in

---

[50] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, trans. A. Guillaume, (Karachi: Oxford University Press,1955), 40-57

terms of the connections that the people of the city had and the bonds that they formed. As we briefly have seen up until this point, in the society of Macca there was always a conflict over the sovereignty of the city, probably because of the importance of the Ka'ba and trade roads as religious and commercial centers, respectively. Even the conflicts which grew into full scale wars were based on tribal relations. As I said earlier, Islam changed these dynamics in the society and transformed them into a faith-based social system, as we will examine in more detail.

2.2. Beginning of Faith and Challenges

Ibn Ishaq mentions that once the revelation came to the Prophet Muhammad, some Maccans began to convert to Islam. Because most of the notables of the tribe of Quraysh were against Islam, the believers had to practice their religion secretly in the beginning. The Prophet and his small group of companions had to even climb to the mountain over Macca to be able to practice their daily prayers, instead of praying in front of Ka'ba. As the new religion spread across the society over time, the anger of Quraysh toward the Prophet and the believers also increased day by day. They began to harass the Muslims both psychologically and physically. Some of them even attempted to persecute the believers, especially those who were from the lower classes and had no protection of anybody. [51] As Hodgson states:

> Obviously, no pagan who did not accept the challenge could have remained neutral to such claims in the long run. Whatever the personal circumstances, the pagan Quraysh could not have tolerated a movement which attacked the principles of their social order and suggested an alternative sort of moral sanction for behaviour and especially for social authority. So long as the Muslims stayed as a minority in Mecca there would have been deadlock at best. [52]

I believe that although the reasons that Hodgson mentions in the above passage were not the only reasons for the tyranny of the Quraysh over the Muslims, it is a very important fact that Islam threatened their social order and hegemony, neither of which were approved by the Quranic principles.

---

[51] Ibid., 143

[52] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a WorId Civilization,* 173

In the cases of persecution, the Muslims lent support to each other as much as possible. Ibn Ishaq narrates that Abu Bakr bought and set free seven slaves, including Bilal, who were persecuted because of their conversion to Islam. It is reported that "Abu Quhafa said to his son Abu Bakr, 'My son, I see that you are freeing weak slaves. If you want to do what you are doing, why don't you free powerful men who could defend you and protect you?' He said, 'I am only trying to do what I am attempting for God's sake.'"[53]   Another example of such support is in the Prophet's consoling message for Ammar b. Yasir while he and his family were being persecuted by the Quraysh: "Be good of cheer. O family of Ammar, o family of Yasir, you are destined for paradise."[54] This shows how he supported them psychologically even if he did not step in physically to hinder the persecutions.[55]

In consideration of the above-mentioned events in the whole period of Macca, Hodgson's abstracter statement would be explanatory: "The lines of commitment which tied together the new group, and which tied the new group as a whole to Muhammad, had an emotional and moral strength which could well rival that of a weakened tribal solidarity." As he said this commitment can be accounted as the main source of motivation behind the challenges of the society of the believers against the oppressions of their Maccan enemies throughout the period, although the matter of weakness of the tribal society would be debated.

2.3. *Tarbiya* and *Tazkiya*: *Dâr'ul Arqam*

It can be said that what the Prophet and his early companions experienced in the house of Arqam ibn Abu'l-Arqam starting in the early years of Islam and continuing until Umar ibn Khattab's conversion to Islam was the most important step in the formation of a social bond between Muslims. Ibn Sa'd tells us, with the narrative of Uthman bin Arqam bin Abu'l-Arqam who was the son of Arqam bin Arqam, that the

---

[53] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 144

[54] Ibn Kathir, *Al-Sira Al-Nabawiyya*, trans. Trevor Le Gassick, (Reading: Garnet Publishing,1988) Vol.1, 358

[55] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, 169

house of Arqam bin Abu'l-Arqam was a house located over the hill of Safa which the Prophet frequented in the earlier times of Islam. The Prophet invited the people to Islam in this house and many tribes converted to Islam in this place. It is also the place where Umar bin Khattab became Muslim. Only after Umar's conversion did the Muslims go out and begin to circumambulate the Ka'ba openly. This house thus came to be called the *Dâr al-Islam*, meaning the house of Islam. Arqam bin Abu'l-Arqam had left the house to his son on the condition that the house could not be bought or sold which he had written in a piece of paper in the presence of two witnesses - Hisham ibn Has and somebody who was owned by Hisham ibn Has.[56] Ibn Hazm also mentions the *Dâr al-Arqam* as the place where the Prophet Muhammad and the Muslims gathered secretly before Islam spread more in Macca.[57] Therefore, it is understood that this house was the house of Islam in which Muslims gathered and interested people came to learn and adopt Islam secretly. The event of the Prophet's entering the Dar al-Arqam constitutes the basis for the dates of conversions of the new converts at the beginning and these dates were even given chronology; for example: "He became Muslim before the Prophet began to secretly invite the people to Islam at the *Dâr al-Arqam*."[58] That the house was built over the Ka'ba, that it was located within the haram of the Ka'ba, and that it was located in a crowded area and easily accessible area were among the reasons why it was considered as a meeting place.[59] "From henceforth the believers had a refuge in the very centre of Mecca where they could meet and pray together without fear of being seen or disturbed."[60] Also as Muhammad Ali mentions,

> The Prophet had to betake himself to a quarter removed from hostile molestations, to carry on his mission more peacefully. Arqam's house was selected for the purpose. The fact that with the fourth year Islam counted no less than forty adherents, furnishes a conclusive testimony that the Cessation period was by no means three years long, nay, not even one year. The number of Muslims continued to grow, and the conversion of some prominent men from among the Quraish added to the strength of the small brotherhood.[61]

---

[56] Muhammad b. Sa'd, *Kitab'ul Tabaqat'ul Kabir*, (Al-Shirkatu Al-Davliyatu Li't Tıba'a, 2001), Vol.3, 224

[57] Said b. Hazm, *Jamharat Ansab Al-Arab*, (Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arifbi-Masr, 1948), 143

[58] M. Âsım Köksal, *İslam Tarihi: Mekke Devri*, (Istanbul, Şamil Yayınevi, 1980), 290

[59] Ibid.,290

[60] Martin Lings, *Muhammad: His Life Based on the Earliest Sources*, (Cambridge: Islamic Text Society, 1991), 63

[61] Maulana Muhammad Ali, *Muhammad: The Prophet*, (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman, 1924), 62-3

It is also mentioned that Hamza and Omar were among them. These aspects could possibly be among the reasons for choosing the house of Arqam as the first meeting place. Unfortunately we do not have detailed information from the earliest narratives about what the Prophet and the early companions exactly experienced there. However, "It can be said that *dâr Al-Arqam* was the first center of education and training in Macca for the purpose of teaching Quran and calling the people to Islam at the first years of the prophecy."[62] This can be named as the process of *tarbiya,* educating the self. "At the house, while the Prophet was teaching the religious principles to his companions, he was calling the people who were searching the divine truth, reading Quran to them and practicing daily prayers with them at the same time."[63] This can be identified as the process of *tazkiya,* purifying of the self. Hamidullah says on this topic:

> The growing persecution compelled the Prophet to leave his house and live with one of his faithful companion, al-Arqam, for missionary purposes: there he preached to the faithful, received the true seekers of truth, presented by his disciples and presided over the services of worship of his followers. This retreat lasted several years.[64]

Thus, according to the narratives, it is quite obvious that the Prophet secretly called the people to Islam in this house and would teach Islam to those who came there to learn. In addition, it is quite possible that during the period the Prophet stayed there he taught Quranic principles and practiced Islam together with his companions at the house, as supported by the passages above from the related literature. In that respect, it can be said that the house of Arqam became an educational place and even the first school of Islam, as many argue. In fact, whatever the details were, we can at least conclude that the Muslims gathered in a place where many people converted to Islam and studied it. This demonstrates that an early bond between Muslims had begun to form in this house and this bond had widened with new converts in Macca. And I believe, as I pointed out before, that the social bond among the believers became much stronger with the help that they generously provided to each other in the later developments which were the persecutions and the period of boycott.

---

[62] Kasım Şulul, *Son Peygamber Hz. Muhammed'in Hayatı*, (Istanbul: Siyer Yayınları, 2011), 244
[63] M. Âsım Köksal, *İslam Tarihi: Mekke Devri*, 290
[64] Muhammad Hamidullah, *The Life and Work of The Prophet of Islam*, trans. Mahmood Ahmad Ghazi, (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 1998), 77

2.4. Escape from the Oppression: The First *Hijra*

Because of the severe treatment the Muslims were receiving, as well as some other reasons, the Prophet decided that it is better and safer for some of the believers to move to the land of *Habesh*, namely Abyssinia. Ibn Ishaq narrates that when the apostle saw the affliction of his companions, whom he could not protect, he said to them: "If you were to go to Abyssinia (it would be better for you), for the king will not tolerate injustice and it is a friendly country, until such time as Allah shall relieve you from your distress." Thereupon his companions went to Abyssinia, being afraid of apostasy and fleeing to God with their religion.[65] This was the first *hijra* - migration - in Islam. It is understood that the Prophet wanted to protect the believers as much as possible but he did not have the enough power at the time in Macca because he was also under the protection of Abu Talib. It was also the case that Abu Talib did not have enough power to protect all of them, either. Regarding the *hijra* and the clan system in Mecca, Kennedy argues:

> There does not seem to have been any intention of removing the entire Muslim group from Mecca, however, and Muhammad himself and the most prominent of the early converts remained in Mecca. That they were able to do so was because of the solidity of the clan system; Muhammad himself was protected by the clan of Hashim and its leader Abe Talib. Even though Abe Talib was not himself a Muslim, he felt in part of his duty to support a member of the clan who was under threat despite the fact that prominent Meccans urged him to disown the troublemaker.[66]

However, some other examples in the narration of Ibn Ishaq show us the solidarity of the clan system was not valid for all of the immigrants. Ibn Ishaq narrates:

> Abdullah b. al-Harith also said when he spoke of the Quraysh expelling them from their country, and reproached some of his people:
>
> My heart refuses to fight them
> And so do my fingers; I tell you the truth.
> How could I fight a people who taught you
> The truth that you should not mingle with falsehood?
> Jinn worshippers exiled them from their noble land
> So that they were exceeding sorrowful;

---

[65] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Resullullah,* 146

[66] Kennedy, *The Prophet and The Age of Caliphates*, 32

> If there were faithfulness in 'Adiy b. Sad
> Springing from piety and kinship ties,
> I should have hoped that it would have been among you,
> By the grace of Him who is not moved by bribes.

And also narrates: ,

> Uthman b. Maz'un, reproaching Umayya b. Khalaf b. Wahb b. Hudhafa b. Jumah who was his cousin, and who used to ill-treat him because of his belief, made the following verses. Umayya was a leader among his people at that time:

> O Taym b. 'Amr, I wonder at him who came in enmity
> When the sea and the broad high land lay between us,
> Did you drive me out of Mecca's vale where I was safe
> And make me live in a loathsome white castle.

> You feather arrows, whose feathering will not help you;
> You sharpen arrows, whose feathers are all for you;

> You fight noble strong people
> And destroy those from whom you once sought help.
> You will know one day, when misfortune attacks you
> And strangers betray you, what you have done.[67]

As understood from the poem, it could be said that if there was actual solidarity of the clan system for everybody as Kennedy argues, the clans of the Prophet's companions who migrated to Abyssinia should have protected or helped their kinsmen as a necessity of their own tribal ties instead of expelling them to another country because of their beliefs.

Even after this first migration, the Quraysh decided to send two men from the tribe to the Negus to ask for the return of the believers, so that they could dissuade them from their religion and detach them from their new home where they were living in peace. However, they could not achieve it.[68] Hodgson comments on the issue:

> Their motive was in part to escape from persecution but they may also have been expected to form a base for some sort of wider plan envisaged by Muhammad. Such a project would be the first instance of Muhammad's attempting measures on a political plane toward a solution of the dilemmas presented by his becoming a prophet; in any case, the adventure illustrates

---

[67] Ibid., 149-150

[68] Ibid., 150

how quickly his followers were becoming an autonomous group, with its own destinies as such.[69]

As Hodgson points out, even though the companions of the Prophet did not have any bond among themselves except for their bond of faith, they easily became an autonomous group and overcame this sort of big challenges by the strength of their beliefs.

2.5. Resistance: Period of Boycott

Meanwhile, in Macca, the people of Quraysh decided to boycott the clans of B. Hashim and B. Abdulmuttalib to curtail the spread of Islam and to retaliate against the attempts of the Prophet's own clan to protect him, especially against the Prophet's uncle Abu Talib's protection.[70] According to Armstrong, "The purpose of the boycott was not to starve the two clans, but to bring home to them the consequence of removing themselves from the tribe. If Muhammad wanted to withdraw from the religious life of Mecca, he could not continue to benefit from the economy."[71] Her argument seems quite valid for the situation in Macca where the Muslims paid the price for leaving the tradition and breaking their tribal connections, with the persecutions by Quraysh.

During the boycott, the Muslims had to live together for several years in very difficult life conditions. The boycott comprised the banning of marriages as well as selling or buying anything including food and clothing.[72] "The Muslims themselves of the other clans, especially Abu Bakr and 'Umar, contrived various ways of thwarting the interdiction. When two years had passed, Abu Bakr could no longer be counted as a wealthy man."[73] Actually, it is narrated that some non-Muslims who were relatives of B. Hashim and B. Abdulmuttalib were also trying to help them by

---

[69] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, 171

[70] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 159

[71] Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Prophet for Our Time*, 72-3

[72] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah,* 159

[73] Lings, *Muhammad: His Life Based on the Earliest Sources*, 89

secretly sending some aid by camels to those affected by the boycott; Hizam b. Huwaylid's sending food to his aunty Hatija who was the Prophet's wife and Abu Talib's declaration of undertaking his nephew's - Prophet Muhammad's – protection[74] can be shown as examples. Armstrong argues that "In the end, blood loyalty led to the end of the boycott."[75] Despite this fact, I believe that the reason which led Muslims like Umar and Abu Bakr, who were *outside* of these two clans, to help their brothers in faith was the bond that was established among them through the tie of faith because I think that it is more difficult for a person to help the people with whom he/she shared no blood connection than to help those who were related by blood ties. The latter is more expected than the former. I think that these early developments were the first steps which opened a way for, and perhaps even triggered, the development of the bond between Muslims.

2.6. A Milestone: The Pledges of Aqaba

After these developments, the meetings of the Prophet with the Medinans at Aqaba were another key point in terms of the formation of a bond between Muslims. In particular, these meetings, as we will examine in depth, contributed to expanding this social bond to a broader level which offered a deeper understanding of brotherhood. Ibn Ishaq narrates that the apostle offered himself to the tribes of Arabs at the fairs whenever opportunity came, summoning them to God and telling them that he was a prophet who had been sent. He says the Prophet used to ask them to believe in him and protect him until God should make clear to them the message with which he had charged his prophet..[76] He also narrates:

> Asim b. Umar b. Qatada told me on the authority of some of the shaykhs of his tribe that they said that when the apostle met them he learned by inquiry that they were of the Khazraj and allies of the Jews. He invited them to sit with him and expounded to them Islam and recited the Quran to them. They had often raided them in their district and whenever bad feeling arose the Jews used to say to them, 'A prophet will be sent soon. His day is at hand. We shall follow him and kill you by his aid as 'Ad and Iram perished.' So

---

[74] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 160-1

[75] Ibid., 160-1

[76] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah,* 194-5

when they heard the apostle's message they said one to another: 'This is the very prophet of whom the Jews warned us. Don't let them get to him before us!' Thereupon they accepted his teaching and became Muslims.

Saying, 'We have left our people, for no tribe is so divided by hatred and rancour as they. Perhaps God will unite them through you. So let us go to them and invite them to this religion of yours; and if God unites them in it, then no man will be mightier than you.' Thus saying they returned to Medina as believers.[77]

Ibn Sa'd narrates the last part slightly in a different way. He mentions via a long chain of narration:

The Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him, preached Islam before them and they embraced it. The Apostle of Allah, may Allah bless him, said to them: Support me so that I may convey to the people the message of my Lord. They said: O Apostle of Allah! We will do it for Allah and His Apostle. You must know that we are disunited, being enemies of each other, nursing mutual hatred, and only a year back there was the war of Bu`àth, in which we fought and killed each other. If we remain so (undivided), there will be no united effort for you, so let us go to our tribes, may Allah bring peace amidst us, and we will wait on you at the next season (of pilgrimage).[78]

Ibn Sa'd states that ten of these members belonged to Khazraj and two of them belonged to Aws. These two clans later would together be called the "Helpers" during the Prophet's stay in Madina.[79] I will express the details about them in terms of their historical conditions before they became Muslim as mentioned in the narrations above and the developments after they became Muslim within the chapter on the Madinan period. What we simply understand from the narrations is that this group of people from the tribes of Aws and Khazraj in Madina accepted the message of the Prophet and promised him to protect him in their city. Ibn Ishaq also mentions the specific promises that they made to the Prophet in this pledge. He quotes the narration of Ubâda b. as-Samit who was one of those who attended the meeting:

'I was present at the first 'Aqaba. There were twelve of us and we pledged ourselves to the prophet after the manner of women and that was before war was enjoined, the undertaking being that we should associate nothing with God; we should not steal; we should not commit fornication; nor kill our offspring; we should not slander our neighbours; we should not disobey him in what was right; if we fulfilled this paradise would be ours; if we

---

[77] Ibid., 194-5

[78] Ibn Sa'd, Kitab al- Tabaqat, trans. S. Moninul Haq, (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society,1972), Vol.1, Part 1.58.1

[79] Ibid., 1.59.1

committed any of those sins it was for God to punish or forgive as He pleased.[80]

It is obvious that the Prophet obtained a promise from them for practicing some basic principles of Islam at the first stage. This would be because of his desire to establish Islam in this new society of believers from the very beginning. Moreover, afterwards, the Medinan Muslims even asked for a teacher from the Prophet so that they could learn their religion better. The Prophet sent Mus'ab to Madina to read the Quran to them, to teach them Islam and to give them instruction about the religion. In Medina, Mus'ab was called 'The Reader'.[81]

This first meeting at Aqaba with those who came from Medina was called the first pledge of al-Aqaba. After a while, the Prophet Muhammad decided to meet with them once again at Aqaba with some other Madinans and it was called as the second pledge of al-Aqaba. Ibn Ishaq talks about the second pledge of al-Aqaba as in the following:

> Muslim Ansar came to the fair there with the pilgrims of their people who were polytheists. They met with the apostle at al-'Aqaba in the middle of the days of Tashriq, when God intended to honour them and to help His apostle and to strengthen Islam and to humiliate heathenism and its devotees.[82]

He then quotes from Ka'b b. Malik, who was one of the attendees of the second meeting, the following narration:

> We slept that night among our people in the caravan until when a third of the night had passed we went stealing softly like sandgrouse to Our appointment with the apostle as far as the gully by aI-'Aqaba. There were seventy-three men with two of our women...We gathered together in the gully waiting for the apostle until he came with his uncle aI-'Abbas who was at that time a polytheist; albeit he wanted to be present at his nephew's business and see that he had a firm guarantee. When he sat down he was the first to speak and said:
>
> "O people of al-Khazraj (the Arabs used the term to cover both Khazraj and Aus). You know what position Muhammad holds among us. We have protected him from our own people who think as we do about him. He lives in honour and safety among his people, but he will turn to you and join you. If you think that you can be faithful to what you have promised him and

---

[80] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 199

[81] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 199

[82] Ibid., 201-2

protect him from his opponents, then assume the burden you have undertaken. But if you think that you will betray and abandon him after he has gone out with you, then leave him now. For he is safe where he is."

We replied, "We have heard what you say. You speak, O apostle, and choose for yourself and for your Lord what you wish." The apostle spoke and recited the Quran and invited men to God and commended Islam and then said: "I invite your allegiance on the basis that you protect me as you would your women and children." AI-Bara' took his hand and said "By Him Who sent you with the truth we will protect you as we protect our women. We give our allegiance and we are men of war possessing arms which have been passed on from father to son."

While al-Bara was speaking Abu'l-Haytham b. a1-Tayyihan interrupted him and said "O apostle, we have ties with other men (he meant the Jews) and if we sever them perhaps when we have done that and God will have given you victory, you will return to your people and leave us?" The apostle smiled and said: "Nay, blood is blood and blood not to be paid for is blood not to be paid for, I am of you and you are of me. I will war against them that war against you and be at peace with those at peace with you,"[83]

Ibn Ishaq says that "Ka'b continued: 'The apostle said, "Bring out to me twelve leaders that they may take charge of their people's affairs." They produced nine from al-Khazraj and three from al-Aus.'"[84]

As we see, it can be said, as these meetings suggest, that the Prophet formed a bond with the Medinans which established the tie of faith just like the bond that he formed with the believers of Macca. Importantly, this bond was based on the promises of protecting the Prophet and it was not limited to the tie between the "Helpers" and the Prophet but also between the "Helpers" and the believers of Macca who would be called "Immigrants" in the Madinan period, as we will see in depth in the later sections. On this note, Ka'b b. Malik, on the authority of Ibn Ishaq, states that:

We had concealed our business from those of our people who were polytheists. We said to him, "You are one of our chiefs and nobles and we want to wean you from your present state lest you become fuel for the fire in the future." Then we invited him to accept Islam and told him about our meeting with the apostle at al-'Aqaba. Thereupon he accepted Islam and came to al-'Aqaba with us, and became a naqib (leader).[85]

---

[83] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah,* 203

[84] Ibid., 204

[85] Ibid., 203

I think it can be deduced from this statement that the Muslim Medinans did not want to inform their townsman because they were aware that this was a new type of bond which comprised only the believers. It would mean that it was not an agreement for a political, economic or social purpose which would be related to all of their community, but it was an agreement which was related to the believers only, so polytheists could not interfere in it. I think that Ibn Ishaq's mention of the narration of 'Asim b, 'Umar b. Qatada can work as a proof for this idea. He said:

> When the people came together to plight their faith to the apostle, al-'Abbas b. 'Ubada b. Nadla al-Ansari, brother of B. Salim b. 'Auf, said: "O men of Khazraj, do you realize to what you are committing yourselves in pledging your support to this man? It is to war against all and sundry (red and black men). If you think that if you lose your property and your nobles are killed you will give him up, then do so now, for it would bring you shame in this world and the next (if you did so later); but if you think that you will be loyal to your undertaking if you lose your property and your nobles are killed, then take him, for by God it will profit you in this world and the next." And then narrates that "They said that they would accept the apostle on these conditions. But they asked what they would get in return for their loyalty, and the apostle promised them paradise. They said, 'stretch forth your hand', and when he did so they pledged their word."[86]

That is, despite the high possibility of making a war with the enemies of the Prophet if they accept him in their city, they agreed to host them and promised to protect him.In the light of these developments, Hodgson's following conclusions sound quite plausible:

> Muhammad and his followers had been gradually emerging in Mecca as something like a new tribal formation (possibly, on this level, analogous to what happened when the Quraysh had been first gathered by Qusayy). Each man retained his loyalties to his inherited clan; but (and here Qusayy's example was departed from) he was coming to have overriding loyalties to the new grouping, based not on family ties but on individual acceptance of the faith which Muhammad preached. The word Muhammad used for the new grouping was *Ummah*- a word which he had used of a people to which a prophet had been sent (such as the Meccans), but which now was applied to such of that people as did respond to the Prophet and so formed a new community with him.[87]

In this sense, I would suggest that the group of Muslims in Macca as a closed local

---

[86] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah,*204-5

[87] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, 173

people constituted the *jama'ah*, which simply means the community[88], although they were also accounted as the *ummah* because they were the ones committed to the Prophet. Once the Muslims of Madina had been added to this group, the word of *ummah* which simply refers to the nation[89] had gained a broader sense. I mean by this that while the Muslims were a small group in Macca, small enough to be called a *jamaah*, when the Ansar became Muslims, they widened the meaning of the *ummah* of Islam as Hodgson suggests.

All in all, it could be said that, in the period of Macca, the concept of *baraa* was one of the determinant dynamics for understanding the challenges of the believers before the non-believers including their family and tribe members. *Baraa* means innocence, guiltlessness and when it is used with *min*, it means free and exempted from.[90] In Quran, the following verse expresses its meaning as:

قَدْ كَانَتْ لَكُمْ أُسْوَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ فِي إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَالَّذِينَ مَعَهُ إِذْ قَالُوا لِقَوْمِهِمْ إِنَّا بُرَآءُ مِنْكُمْ وَمِمَّا تَعْبُدُونَ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ كَفَرْنَا بِكُمْ وَبَدَا بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَكُمُ الْعَدَاوَةُ وَالْبَغْضَاءُ أَبَدًا حَتَّىٰ تُؤْمِنُوا بِاللَّهِ وَحْدَهُ إِلَّا قَوْلَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ لِأَبِيهِ لَأَسْتَغْفِرَنَّ لَكَ وَمَا أَمْلِكُ لَكَ مِنَ اللَّهِ مِنْ شَيْءٍ ۖ رَبَّنَا عَلَيْكَ تَوَكَّلْنَا وَإِلَيْكَ أَنَبْنَا وَإِلَيْكَ الْمَصِيرُ ٤ رَبَّنَا لَا تَجْعَلْنَا فِتْنَةً لِلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا وَاغْفِرْ لَنَا رَبَّنَا ۖ إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ ٥

> There is indeed an excellent example for you in Abraham and his Companions when they said to their people plainly: "We have nothing to do with you and your gods whom you worship instead of Allah. We renounce you and there has arisen between us and you enmity and hatred forever, until you believe in Allah, the One." But Abraham's saying this to his father (is excepted); "I shall certainly pray for your forgiveness, though I have no power to get anything for you from Allah..."[91]

Ibn Kathir explains this verse in his *tafseer* book as: ""When they said to their people: "Verily we are free from you..."" meaning, 'we disown you.' "And whatever

[88] John L. Mish, *English-Arabic and Arabic- English Dictionary,* Frederick Ungar Publishing, (New York: 1954), 45

[89] Ibid.,, 9

[90] Maan Z. Madina, *Arabic-English Dictionary of the Modern Literary Language*, (New York: Pocket Books, 1973), 47

[91] Quran, trans.by Muhammad Taqi-uddin Al-Hilali, Muhammad Muhsin Khan, Madinah: King Fahd Complex, 60:4

you worship besides Allah: we rejected you" meaning, `we disbelieve in your religion and way,'"[92] And Mawdudi interprets this as:

> That is, "We reject you: we neither consider you to be in the right nor your religion. " The inevitable demand of the faith in Allah is denial of taghut (Satan): "Whoever rejects taghut and believes in Allah has taken a firm support that never gives way." (Al-Baqarah: 256)[93]

Ibn Kathir goes on the expression for the following verse as:

> "And there has started between us and you, hostility and hatred forever" meaning, `Animosity and enmity have appeared between us and you from now and as long as you remain on your disbelief; we will always disown you and hate you,' "Until you believe in Allah alone" meaning, `unless, and until, you worship Allah alone without partners and disbelieve in the idols and rivals that you worship besides Him.' Allah's statement: "Except the saying of Ibrahim to his father: "Verily, I will ask forgiveness (from Allah) for you..."" means, `you have a good example in Ibrahim and his people; as for Ibrahim's prayers for Allah his father, it was a promise that he made for his father.' When Ibrahim became sure that his father was an enemy of Allah, he declared himself innocent of him. [94]

Mawdudi expresses this verse as:

> In other words, it means: "Though there is an excellent example for you in Abraham's conduct in that he expressed disapproval of his pagan people and broke off all connections with them, yet his promise to pray for the forgiveness of his pagan father and then carrying it out practically is not worth following, for the believers should not have even this much relationship of love and sympathy with the disbelievers.[95]

In the light of these expressions regarding what the concept of *baraa* refers to, it can be said that both the existence and the gradual development of the notion of *baraa* among the believers can be traced both in Macca and Medina. That the companions who opposed to their families and tribes despite the number of pressures and

---

[92] Ibn Kathir, Tafsir Ibn Kathir, trans.by Muhammad Saed Abdul-Rahman, (London: MSA Publication,2012), 60:4

[93] Sayyid Abul A'la Mawdudi, *Towards Understanding the Qur'an (Tafhim al-Qur'an),* Volume 13, trans. by Abdur Raheem Kidwai, edit. by Zafar Ishaq Ansari, Kube Publishing Limited, 2018, Verse, 60:4

[94] Ibn Kathir, Tafsir Ibn Kathir, trans.by Muhammad Saed Abdul-Rahman, (London: MSA Publication,2012), 60:4

[95] Sayyid Abul A'la Mawdudi, *Towards Understanding the Qur'an (Tafhim al-Qur'an),* Volume 13, trans. by Abdur Raheem Kidwai, edit. by Zafar Ishaq Ansari, Kube Publishing Limited, 2018, Verse, 60:4

persecutions excluded themselves from what their families believed in and declared their *imân* in Macca would be a good example for understanding the existence of the notion of *baraa*. And later on, in Madina as we will see later in depth, not only through declaration of their faith but also through forming a new type of socio-political community by affording to fight with their relatives and tribe members for the sake of their new identity and bond which Islam had formed and shaped, the scope of the notion of *baraa* can be said to have been widened and its influence strengthened among the society of believers.

Chapter 3: Period of the Development of Solidarity: Madina

3.1. An Overview of the History of Social Life in Madina:

In Madina, the Jewish tribes of Banu Qaynuqa, Banu Nadir and Banu Qurayza lived alongside the Arab tribes of Aws and Khazraj. In fact, the Jewish tribes were earlier residents of the city compared to their Arab neighbors. When the Aws and the Khazraj tribes migrated to Madina, they encountered pressures and injustice from the Jews who had already monopolized the economic and political power in the city. In the year 492, the Aws and the Khazraj tribes were able to gain independence from the Jewish tribes; however, after a while they started to fight among each other and the Aws made an alliance with Banu Qurayza and Banu Nadir while the Khazraj made an alliance with Banu Qaynuqa. The wars between these two alliances continued for 120 years and came to be known as the longest period of fighting between two tribes witnessed in Arab history. Within these series of wars, the most important one was the war of Buath, which occurred just before the *hijra*.[96] One of the Prophet's wives, Aisha said about the war:

> The day of Bu'ath (i.e. Day of fighting between the two tribes of the Ansar, the Aus and Khazraj) was brought about by Allah for the good of His Apostle so that when Allah's Messenger (ﷺ) reached (Medina), the tribes of Medina had already divided and their chiefs had been killed and wounded. So Allah had brought about the battle for the good of His Apostle in order that they (i.e. the Ansar) might embrace Islam.[97]

As I expressed in detail in the section on Aqaba in the previous chapter, the Aws and the Khazraj were expecting that God would unite their people through the Prophet, "for no tribe is so divided by hatred and rancour as they." So this war became an opportunity for Islam to be more easily accepted by the tribes of Aws and Khazraj, as

---

[96] Ahmet Önkal, "Hazrec", TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, (Istanbul,1998),V.17,144, http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/ayrmetin.php?idno=d170144

[97] Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, trans. Muhammad Muhsin Khan, (Riyadh: Darussalam,1997) Vol. 5, Hadith No. 3777

Aisha said. This is probably because its message emphasizes the unity of the believers and because the Prophet would be an ideal leader for spreading peace and unity in the city. However, does making their acceptance easier necessarily mean that this reason was their only motivation in accepting Islam? At this point, there are various arguments regarding the real motivation behind the Medinans' acceptance of the invitation of Prophet and their pledges to protect him as well as his Maccan companions. I think analyzing at least some major positions within these arguments would enable us to understand the degree of the bond which had been formed between the believers and Prophet Muhammad and between the believers themselves. Firstly Armstrong argues that:

> The six pilgrims immediately realized that, as the spokesman of Allah, Muhammad would be a far more effective arbitrator (hakam) than Ibn Ubayy. They had no problems with his religious message, because for some time the Arabs of Yathrib had been drifting towards monotheism. The Aws and Khazraj had long felt inferior to the Jews because they had no scripture of their own, and the pilgrims were thrilled to hear that God had finally sent a prophet to the Arabs. They made their formal surrender to God on the spot, with high hopes. "We have left our people, for no tribe is so divided by hatred and rancor as they. Perhaps God will unite them through you. So let us go to them and invite them to this religion of yours; and if God unites them in it, then no man will be mightier than you." But they admitted that they had little influence in the oasis, and needed to consult their chiefs and wise men. If he was to be an effective hakam, it was essential that he have wide support. They promised to report back to Muhammad in a year's time. It was a decisive moment.[98]

Furthermore, Kennedy argues:

> Clearly it was a community in need of a leader and arbitrator to put an end to this murderous internecine strife. Clearly too, this leader would have to be an outsider since no local person would be acceptable to the entire population. It was in these circumstances that a group of Medinese first approached Muhammad, probably in 620.[99]

Although this group had some expectations when giving their promise to the Prophet, namely spreading peace between their warring tribes, the comments of Armstrong and Kennedy give us a more politically-oriented understanding regarding their motivation to accept the Prophet's message by eliminating the possibility of a

---

[98] Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Prophet for Our Time*, 91-2
[99] Kennedy, *The Prophet and The Age of Caliphates*, 33

sincere conversion in their minds and hearts. More importantly at this point a couple of questions arise in one's mind: Why would the clans of the *Ansar* accept to pledge allegiance to the Prophet as an outsider leader only to acquire peace among themselves when they knew that such allegiance would likely compel them to fight the Prophet's rivals in Macca as mentioned in Ibn Ishaq's narration. And if the clans of *Ansar*, namely Aws and Khazraj only wanted the establishment of peace within their community, why did they accept the Prophet as their leader, someone who was powerless at that time, while they had come to Macca most probably to seek help from Quraysh and actually had already chosen a leader in Madina before the pledge? Answering these questions would provide further evidence of the weakness of a solely political explanation. In this sense, I do not believe that we can easily reach such conclusions by examining the events and only looking at their linear processes while ignoring the other factors, especially such as belief and acceptance.

Also, Watt notes that Caetani argued that the Madinans accepted Muhammad as a superior soothsayer merely because they were interested in the internal peace of Medina and not because they accepted the full teaching of the Quran, as intended. Only a handful, he thinks, were genuine converts. Watt argues that this view rightly emphasizes the material factors but it unnecessarily minimizes religious and ideological factors, and the two are not opposed but complementary to each other. I also agree with Watt as he deems that it was likely that the bulk of the Arab Medinans supported Muhammad in essence and accepted the main principles of Islam: God as creator and ruler of the world and as judge on the Last Day, and Muhammad as the mediator of God's message.[100] He also thinks that although *Ansar* had some realization of the implications of the Islamic teaching that the meaning of life is in the quality of an individual's conduct, and were aware that this conception is capable of becoming the basis of a large community when they accepted the doctrines of Islam, the majority of the *Ansar* presumably became Muslims primarily because they believed that God had sent Muhammad.[101] Alongside this plausible argument, Watt also argues:

---

[100] W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), 149

[101] Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 144

> Muslims were creating a community of a fresh type in Medina and this new creation required a clear and definite ideological basis. Few of the Medinan Muslims may have been religious enthusiasts, but all of them must have been sufficiently convinced of the reality of religious relationships to join in the experiment of a community based on bonds of religion instead of those of kinship.[102]

Not only to be convinced of the reality of religion relationships, I think even to be convinced of the principles of Islam which suggest that sort of relationship is the key to be able to transform the old bonds of one's community to the new kind of bonds as I mentioned before. Especially the prices that were paid for the sake of accepting the Prophet's message are considered as we will see in the following sections in more detail, the motivation behind their acceptance of Islam as claimed above would become clearer.

3.2. Relocation: The Second *Hijra*

After the Aws and the Khazraj pledged to the Prophet to help him and the believers, the Prophet ordered his companions to emigrate to Madina and to link up with the Aws and the Khazraj. He himself stayed in Mecca waiting for his Lord's permission to leave Mecca and migrate to Medina.[103] Armstrong brings a brilliant explanation to demonstrate how the *hijra* was a big challenge before the tribal Arab tradition:

> Muhammad was about to do something absolutely unprecedented.He was asking the Muslims of Mecca to make a hijrah (migration) to Yathrib. This did not merely involve a change of address. The Muslims were about to abandon their kinsfolk and accept the permanent protection of strangers. In Arabia, where the tribe was the most sacred value of all, this amounted to blasphemy; it was far more shocking than the Qur'anic rejection of the goddesses. There had always been a system of confederation, whereby an individual or an entire group could become honorary members of another tribe, but these were usually temporary arrangements and had never entailed alienation from one's own people. The very word hijrah suggests a painful severance. The root HJR has been translated: "he cut himself off from friendly or loving communication or intercourse ... he ceased ... to associate with them."Henceforth the Muslims who made the hijrah to Yathrib would be called the Muhajirah, the Emigrants: this traumatic dislocation was central to their new identity.[104]

---

[102] Ibid.,, 149

[103] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 213

[104] Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Prophet for Our Time*, 96

And Kennedy, in parallelism with Armstrong, interprets the event of the *hijra* with the following words:

> The *Hijra* meant that the Muslims were now free of the hostility of the leaders of the Quraysh and the restricting atmosphere of Mecca and were now settled among people who had invited them and at least some of whom were Muslims; Muhammad could preach and they worship with an openness which had been impossible before. But the emigration from Mecca also meant that the Muhajirun had abandoned the traditional clan links which had guaranteed their security and clearly they could no longer rely for protection on relatives they had left behind. The traditional system may not have been perfect and in the case of the Prophet himself it had become increasingly ineffective, but it had provided a framework in which they could live. The early converts had become Muslims as individuals, not in clans, and even after they had adopted Islam, the clan remained the basic social link. Now with the move to Medina a new form of social organization was required.[105]

As both Armstrong and Kennedy point out, one of the biggest challenges for the immigrants (titled: the *Muhajirun*), was that "in leaving Mecca, the *Muhajirun* had broken their ties with their own clans there, abandoning claims to protection by them; they now formed, in effect, a clan or tribe of their own…"[106] Therefore, although they had been under the oppression of their Maccan kindred, friends, neighbors or townsman as I addressed before, it seems the *hijra* was still a hard decision to take because of its potentially severe costs. Abu Ahmad's poem in Ibn Ishaq's narration mentioning the migration of Asad b. Khuzayma as being for the sake of God and his apostle supports both Armstrong's and Kennedy's explanations.

The poem is as follows:

> When Umm Ahmad saw me setting out
> In the protection of One I secretly fear and reverence
> She said, 'If you must do this, Then take us anywhere but to Yathrib.'
> I said to her, 'Nay, Yathrib today is our goal.
> What the Merciful wills ihe slave must do.'
> Towards God and His apostle is my face
> And he who sets his face to God today will not be disappointed.
> How many sincere friends have we left behind
> And a woman who would dissuade us with weeping and wailing.
> You may think that hope of vengeance takes us far from home,
> But we think that the hope of good things to come draws us.
> I besought the Banu Ghanm to avoid bloodshed
> And accept the truth when the way is plain to ail.

---

[105] Kennedy, *The Prophet and The Age of Caliphates*, 33-4

[106] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, 175

Praising God they accepted the call of truth
And salvation, and went forth as one man.
We and some of our companions who left the right path
Who helped others against us with their weapons
Became two parties: one helped and guided
To the truth, the other doomed to punishment.
Unjust they have invented lies.
Iblis beguiled them from the truth-they are disappointed and frustrated.
We turned back to the prophet Muhammad's words.
'Twas well with us, friends of truth, and we were made happy.
We are the nearest in kin to them.
But there's no next-of-kin when friendship is lacking.
What sister's son after us will trust you?
What son-in-law after mine can be relied on?
You will know which of us has found the truth
The day that separation is made and the state of men is distinct.[107]

As understood in the poem, the sense of protection of the family members which is required by the notion of *asabiyya* had now been replaced by seeking the support only from God. This is one of the good examples of the abolishment of the clan system which was still determinant to some degree for Maccan Muslims while they were living with their families and tribes in Macca, as both Armstrong and Kennedy mention. It is also understood that despite the negative responses of their families, Maccan believers were determinant to move to Madina for the sake of their new tie which was the bond of Islam. That actually meant formation of a new identity as Armstrong argues and a new social organization as Kennedy states. Armstrong's description of the effect of the *hijra* on the Ansar is also quite useful in grasping the various dimensions of the event:

> The Muslims of Yathrib were also embarking on a dangerous experiment. Even if a foreigner was adopted by a tribe, he always remained a zalim ("outsider"), a word which carried the connotation "base, ignoble, evil ." Poets described the zalim as a useless, superfluous accretion. Tribal loyalty was experienced as burning love of kinsfolk and harsh contempt for the alien. Anybody who put a despised zalim before his own people invited passionate scorn and revulsion. But now the Aws and Khazraj were about to swear allegiance to the Qurayshi Muhammad, and promising to give protection and help (nasr) to a large group of outsiders who would inevitably put a strain on the limited resources of the oasis. Henceforth the Muslims of Yathrib would be known as the Ansar. This is usually translated "the Helpers," but this gives a somewhat anemic impression of what was involved. *Nasr* meant that you had to be ready to back up your aid with force.[108]

---

[107] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 216

[108] Ibid., 97-98

Thus, as far as the traditions of Arab tribalism are considered, the *hijra* had great costs also for the Helpers, but despite these difficulties, they accepted the immigrants and through their acceptance we see that both the sides were committed to the Prophet. Ibn Ishaq says that, the apostle stayed in Mecca waiting for permission to migrate after his companions had left. Apart from Abu Bakr and 'Ali, none of his supporters were left but those under restraint and those who had been forced to apostatize.[109] Ibn Kathir narrates that through the revelation of the verse "Say: O God, make my place of arrival good and make my place of departure good. And grant me an aid and authority from Yourself" (Surat XVII, v.80), the Almighty gave His permission for the Prophet to migrate to Medina, the home of the Ansar and friends, a secure place which he could make his home and whose people would be his helpers.[110] Robinson's below expression is a summative assessment regarding the *hijrah* of the Prophet:

> The event was a turning point in Muhammad's life: delivered from the pagan opposition of the city of his birth, he was free to preach, teach and lead in Yathrib so successfully that he remained there until his death in 632. In time it would even come to be called 'the Prophet's city' or 'the city' (Medina) tout court. The *hijra* thus marked a new beginning for Muhammad and his followers. It also illustrates a striking feature of Islamic history.[111]

As she points out, *hijra* of the Prophet was one of the biggest milestones in the Islamic history which led to various beginnings and endings in terms of social, political, religious and even economical aspects for Muslims. However, Hodgson interprets it from the societal level and expresses the social transformation process of the believers of Arabia with the following:

> To Muhammad, the move to Medina was not merely an escape from an untenable immediate position in Mecca. It was an opportunity to build a new order of social life such as the development of his faith had more and more obviously demanded. The cult of Allah as Creator demanded, in the first instance, a personal devotion to moral purity; but personal purity implied a just social behaviour: generosity to the weak and curbing the licence of the strong. Moreover, it was fully recognized that a person's moral life is usually less a function of his good resolutions than of the level of actual expectations around him. It must be society and not just individuals that should be reformed. The Qur'an makes it sufficiently clear that the new way is for everyone, not just for moral heroes, by praising almost as much those who

---

[109] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 221

[110] Ibn Kathir, *Al-Sira Al-Nabawiyya*, trans. Trevor Le Gassick, (Reading: Garnet Publishing,1988) Vol.1, 151

[111] Chase F. Robinson, "The rise of Islam, 600-705", in *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, edit. by Chase F. Robinson, (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 173

urge others to a virtue as those who practice it themselves. The new life must be lived by a society at large.[112]

Thus, it can be said that the hijra of the Prophet become a gate for both development and momentum of the formation of the new society in the place where there was no oppression. Kaka Khel's interpretation regarding the *hijra* as a very important landmark in the annals of Islam would be more explanatory:

> No doubt, in its broad outlines, Islam was already a complete way of life by the time of Hijra but most of its religious institutions were still in embryo and reached perfection only after instead of the old basis of kinship and that the migration. So far as its political, social and economic institutions were concerned, they evolved and reached their completion only after the foundation of the Islamic state at Medina[113]

The entire sequence of events following the *hijra* can be evaluated as part of the reformation of the society which brought the new social order that Hodgson describes, and I think that this was realized through the development of new religious, social and political institutions which were founded in Madina as Kaka Khel points out. The following parts of the study will handle each of these institutions. However, behind the new social order and its institutions, I agree with Watt that "the fundamental change was that the society of Madina was unified on a new basis, namely religion, instead of the old basis of kinship and that through this unification internal strife was stopped."[114] I believe that this fundamental change is the key point behind all the following developments that the *hijra* brought along.

3.3. Building the Mosque in Madina

When Prophet Muhammad migrated to Madina, his migration led to some developments in the city. The most important one in terms of empowering the bond among Muslims was his order for a mosque to be built.[115] As Lings writes, "the five

---

[112] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, 172-3
[113] Ibid.
[114] W. Montgomery Watt, *Islam and the Integration of Society,* (Oxon: Routledge, 1961), 18
[115] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 228

daily ritual prayers were regularly performed in congregation, and when the time for each prayer came the people would assemble at the site where the Mosque was being built."[116] Armstrong explains the building of the mosque in more detail with the following words:

> The first Muslim building was not imposing but it became the model for all future mosques. It was primarily a masjid, "a place of prostration," an open space roomy enough for the entire community to perform the salat together, and it expressed the austerity of the early Islamic ideal. The roof was supported by tree trunks, and there was no elaborate pulpit; Muhammad stood on a simple stool to address the congregation. Muhammad and his wives lived in little huts round the edge of the big courtyard in front of the mosque. This was a place for public and political meetings; the poor of Medina were also invited to congregate there for alms, food, and care.[117]

The most important point here is the usage of the first mosque as both a social and a political service place together with its primary function as a place for performing prayers. It would be said that this multi-functional position of the mosque contributed to development of the social bond among the believers who were coming to the mosque at least five times a day. The following statement also supports this idea:

> Numerous historical evidences had confirmed that the Prophet's mosque was a consecrated socio-religious gathering place for the community of Madina. The desire to uplift the spirit of communal togetherness before the One God and importance of nourishing the spirit of cooperativeness were blended together as one collective action held in the Prophet's mosque. Thus the mosque became a place for formal congregational prayers and specific rituals… the Prophet's mosque was indeed a centre for community, and should not be understood as solely as a place of worship.[118]

Especially Friday and eid prayers can be accounted among good examples for congregational prayers in the mosque of the Prophet. It is also worth noting that it is narrated that "Allah's Messenger (ﷺ) said, "The prayer in congregation is twenty seven times superior to the prayer offered by person alone."[119] That is, the Prophet himself encouraged the believers to pray together rather than praying alone. This

---

[116] Lings, *Muhammad: His Life Based on the Earliest Sources,*130

[117] Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Prophet for Our Time,* 103

[118] Syed Ariffin, *Architectural Conservation in Islam: Case Study of the Prophet's Mosque*, (Skudai: Joor Dar'ul Ta'zim, 2005), 68-70

[119] Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, Hadith 621

alone demonstrates that the continuity of the social bond among Muslims was emphasized even in relation to their praying practices.

In consideration of these functions of the mosque, I believe that the structure brought a new dimension to the social bond among the believers. I would even go so far as to argue that the structure's establishment was one of the important steps which strengthened the bond among all Muslims involved in the process. Also, I think that the mosque's function of gathering many believers to pray together, along with all the other developments in terms of the social formation and transformation process after the *hijra*, is a good example for the social reformation that Hodgson talks about above, and it acted as a response to the need of social organization in this new community as is mentioned in the above quote by Kennedy.

3.4. Foundation of the Bazaar

One of the first social actions that the Prophet Muhammad took in Madina was the establishment of a new bazaar specifically for the Muslim community, although there had already been a number of them which belonged to the society of Madina and were controlled mostly by Jews and pagans. This establishment was deemed necessary mainly because the conditions in the existent bazaars of the city were not suitable for the Muslims in terms of practicing the economical provisions that Islam dictates. Furthermore, non-Muslims had command of the bazaars, and the Muslims' trading with them would be to the further favor of the non-Muslims and this would threaten the future of the Muslim society.[120] As Ibn Shabba narrates, the Prophet walked around the bazaar of Nabit and said "This cannot be your bazaar" and then he went out in another one and said the same thing. And finally he went to a place (which will be called as the bazaar of Madina in the future)[121] and said "This is your bazaar. This will not be constricted and no tax will be taken here."[122] I would say that the establishment of such a bazaar in Madina was also among the factors that led to

---

[120] Cengiz Kallek, *Asr-ı Saadette Yönetim-Piyasa İlişkisi,* İz Yayıncılık, (İstanbul:1997), 190-191

[121] Ibid., 191

[122] Ibn Shabba, Omar b. Shabba b. Ubayd al-Numayri, *Tarikh'ul Madinat'ul Munawwara,* Vol. 1, (Ciddah: 1399), 304

the development of the social bond among the believers. The bazaar which specifically belonged to the community of Muslims would enable the Muslims to engage with each other more; therefore it would be a primary center in the city for bringing the community together outside of the mosque.

3.5. Spread of *Salam*

The other action that the Prophet took in Madina for enabling the inner coherence in the society was the spread of *salam*. He ordered that "*As-Salam* (peace) is one of the Names of Allah Almighty, which Allah has placed in the earth. Therefore give the greeting among yourselves"[123] and "when one of you meets a brother (in Faith) he should greet him."[124] Then if a tree or a wall or a stone intervenes between them and then he meets him again, he should greet him." He also outlined who should give *salam* to who in great detail. He reportedly said: "The younger person should greet the older one, and the walking person should greet the sitting one, and the small number of persons should greet the large number of persons."[125] Further reports mention that "Greeting is an act of obedience while the answer is a duty."[126] Therefore, it is understood that the *salam* which means peace is a quite important practice for Muslims to uphold, most probably for reasons of maintaining peace in the society and making the bond among the members of the community stronger. It is worth noting that *salam* is encouraged to be spread only among Muslims because the Prophet said "Do not greet the Jews and the Christians before they greet you."[127] and said "If the people of the Scripture greet you, then you should say (in reply), 'Wa'alaikum (And on you)"[128] That is, it can be said that the practice of *salam* is supposed to empower the bond of faith which only the Muslims are sharing.

---

[123] Imam Muhammad bin Ismail Al-Bukhari, *Al-Adab Al-Mufrad*, trans. Rafiq Abdur Rahman, (Beirut: Dar Al-Kotob Al-Ilmiyah, 2011), Book 42, Hadith 989.

[124] Abu Dawud, *Sunan Abu Dawud*, trans. Yaser Qadhi, (Riyadh: Darussalam Publications, 2008) Book 6, Hadith 860.

[125] Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, Vol. 8, Book 74, Hadith 252.

[126] Imam Muhammad bin Ismail Al-Bukhari, *Al-Adab Al-Mufrad,* Book 42, Hadith 1040.

[127] Muslim b. Al-Hajjaj, Sahih Muslim, trans. Nasiruddin al-Khattab, (Riyadh: Darussalam Publications, 2007), Book 26, Hadith 5389

[128] Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari,* Vol. 8, Book 74, Hadith 275

3.6. The First Agreement on Brotherhood: *Muakhat* (Brothering)

In the first years of new life in Madina, as Ibn Ishaq narrates that "the Apostle instituted brotherhood between his fellow emigrants and the helpers, and he said according to what I have heard - and I appeal to God lest I should attribute to him words that he did not say - 'Let each of you take a brother in God.'"[129] Ibn Sa'd adds:

> He established this fraternity on the conditions that they would support each other and sympathize with each other, in what is right and inherit each other's property (in preference to) their kith and kin. They were ninety persons, forty-five Muhájirs and forty-five Ansárs. It is also said: There were one hundred and fifty Muhájirs and fifty Ansárs. It was done before Badr.[130]

The *muakhat* probably was declared by the Prophet for the purpose of meeting the needs of *Muhajirun* because relocation brought some obligations to the Muslim community and the immigrants did not hold any possessions when they arrived in Madina. However, in addition, and perhaps more importantly, it is also possible that the Prophet wanted to form a united community of believers in which both Emigrants and Helpers were peacefully integrated into the city of Madina. Kaka Kehl makes quite a useful comment regarding this point and says:

> The *Hijra* not only saved the Yathribites from further disintegration but also gave their society vitality and cohesion. By uniting the *Muhajirin* and *Ansar* into one whole, a corporate unity was formed whose parts were bound together into a single composite whole in which injury to any of its component units was felt by other units on the basis of faith alone. Thus, an example was set up for humanity at large.[131]

That is, through the pact, the Prophet aimed not only to assist the *Muhajirun* in their needs after the migration, but also to form a relatively formal unity based on faith rather than blood ties among the community of the believers. Arjomand interprets the *muakhat* as "the first acts of legislation for [the Prophet's] Muslim followers in

---

[129] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 234

[130] Ibn Sa'd, *Kitab al- Tabaqat*, Volume 1, Parts II.64.1

[131] Muhammad Nazeer Kaka Khel, "Foundation of Islamic State at Madina and Its Constitution", *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (AUTUMN 1982), 72, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20847209

Medina."[132] Furthermore, Armstrong interprets this pact of brotherhood with the following words:

> The immense uprooting of the *hijrah* meant that even though they still used the old tribal terminology, the Muslims had to create an entirely different type of community. One of the first things Muhammad did was set up a system of "brothering" whereby each Meccan was assigned an Ansar "brother" to help Muslims to bond across the lines of kinship…The Muslims were gradually creating a "neo-tribe," which interpreted the old kinship relationships differently. Those who had made the *hijra* were to regard themselves as distinct from the Muslims who had remained behind in Mecca, even though they all belonged to the same blood group. Whatever their tribe or clan, Muslims must never fight one another. Emigrants and Helpers must become as solidly united as any conventional tribe. Like the tribe, the *ummah* was "one community to the exclusion of all men," and would make "confederates" of non-Muslim allies in the usual way.[133]

This is very similar to what Hodgson expresses about the results of the pledges of Aqaba for the Maccan Muslims. That is, although the pact might not be seen as officially recognized according to modern understanding, it would be said that through its declaration, a new type of community in which the bond of blood was not as central as before was born in the society. In other words, it is arguable that this pact became the first systematic regulation for the formation of faith-based society in which some tribal concepts, particularly "brotherhood", were redirected for the sake of unity of faith.

In the declaration of the pact, Ibn Ishaq states that Prophet himself took 'Ali by the hand and said, "This is my brother."[134] It is also mentioned in the hadith in Tirmidhi as:

> The Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) made bonds of brotherhood among his Companions. So 'Ali came crying saying: "O Messenger of Allah! You have made a bond of brotherhood among your Companions, but you have not made a bond of brotherhood with me and anyone." So the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) said to him: "I am your brother, in this life and the next."[135]

---

[132] Said Amir Arjomand, "The Constitution of Medina: A Sociolegal Interpretation of Muhammad's Acts of Foundation of the "Umma"", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Nov., 2009),

[133] Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Prophet for Our Time*, 105

[134] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 234

[135] At-Tirmidhi, *Jami' At-Tirmidhi*, trans.Abu Khaliyl (Riyadh: Darussalam, 2007), Vol. 1, Book 46, Hadith 3720

It might be seen that the Prophet selected Ali, who was his cousin, as his "brother" because of the bond of kinship, but Lings makes a much more explanatory argument on the issue:

> In order to unite the community of believers still further, the Prophet now instituted a pact of brotherhood between the Helpers and the Emigrants, so that each of the Helpers would have an Emigrant brother who was nearer to him than any of the Helpers, and each Emigrant would have a Helper brother who was nearer to him than any Emigrant. But he made himself and his family an exception, for it would have been too invidious for him to choose as his brother one of the Helpers rather than another, so he took 'Ali by the hand and said: "This is my brother"; and he made Hamzah the brother of Zayd.[136]

If the Prophet took the hand of a companion of his and declared him as his brother, this would be thought as unfair act by the other companions, as pointed out above. Ibn Ishaq mentions that Hamza became the brother of Zayd b. Haritha who was the apostle's freedman. Hamza gave his last testament to him on the day of Uhud when battle was imminent in case he meets his death.[137] Regarding the cases through the pact of brotherhood, Bukhari narrates:

> The Ansar said (to the Prophet (ﷺ)), "Please divide the date-palm trees between us and them (i.e. emigrants)." The Prophet (ﷺ) said, "No." The Ansar said, "Let them (i.e. the emigrants) do the labor for us in the gardens and share the date-fruits with us." The emigrants said, "We accepted this."[138]

He also narrates the following from Sa'd's father:

> When the emigrants reached Medina. Allah's Messenger (ﷺ) established the bond of fraternity between `Abdur-Rahman and Sa`d bin Ar-Rabi. Sa`d said to `Abdur-Rahman, "I am the richest of all the Ansar, so I want to divide my property (between us), and I have two wives, so see which of the two you like and tell me, so that I may divorce her, and when she finishes her prescribed period (i.e. 'Idda) of divorce, then marry her." `Abdur-Rahman said, "May Allah bless your family and property for you; where is your market?" So they showed him the Qainuqa' market. (He went there and) returned with a profit in the form of dried yogurt and butter. He continued going (to the market) till one day he came, bearing the traces of yellow scent. The Prophet (ﷺ) asked, "What is this (scent)?" He replied, "I got married." The Prophet (ﷺ) asked, "How much Mahr did you give her?" He replied, "I gave her a datestone of gold or a gold piece equal to the weight of a date-stone." (The narrator, Ibrahim, is in doubt as to which is correct.)[139]

---

[136] Lings, *Muhammad: His Life Based on the Earliest Sources*, 128

[137] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 234

[138] Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, Vol. 5, Hadith No.3782

[139] Ibid., 3780

By giving the last example as a proof, Buti argues that "the Prophet (pbuh) caused this brotherhood to be genuine responsibility to be shared in common by the brothers and this responsibility was carried out among them to the fullest."[140] I also think that it shows the commitment of the companions to the pact to the greatest extent. He further argues that this responsibility required that the bonds of brotherhood is more powerful in their effect than mere family ties.[141] I think that both of the examples would strongly support this dimension. Furthermore, in Quran the helpings of *Ansar* is mentioned as:

لْفُقَرَاءِ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ الَّذِينَ أُخْرِجُوا مِنْ دِيَارِهِمْ وَأَمْوَالِهِمْ يَبْتَغُونَ فَضْلًا مِنَ اللَّهِ وَرِضْوَانًا وَيَنْصُرُونَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ ۚ أُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الصَّادِقُونَ۸وَالَّذِينَ تَبَوَّءُوا الدَّارَ وَالْإِيمَانَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ يُحِبُّونَ مَنْ هَاجَرَ إِلَيْهِمْ وَلَا يَجِدُونَ فِي صُدُورِهِمْ حَاجَةً مِمَّا أُوتُوا وَيُؤْثِرُونَ عَلَىٰ أَنْفُسِهِمْ وَلَوْ كَانَ بِهِمْ خَصَاصَةٌ ۚ وَمَنْ يُوقَ شُحَّ نَفْسِهِ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُون۹

And there is also a share in this booty for the poor emigrants, who were expelled from their homes and their property, seeking bounties from Allah and (His) good pleasure, and helping Allah and His Messenger. Such are indeed the truthful.

And (it is also for) those who, before them, had homes and had adopted the faith, love those who emigrate to them, and have no jealousy in their breasts for that which they have been given (from the booty of Bani Nadir), and give them preference over themselves even though they were in need of that. [142]

Ibn Kathir's words that' "love those who emigrate to them" indicates that they, on account of their generosity and honorable conduct, loved those who emigrated to them and comforted them with their wealth. He also mentions that Imam Ahmad recorded Anas to say "The Muhajirin said, `O Allah's Messenger! We have never met people like those whom we emigrated to; comforting us in times of scarcity and giving us with a good heart in times of abundance. They have sufficed for us and shared their wealth with us so much so, that we feared that they might earn the whole reward instead of us."' Then he goes on reporting the rest of the verse and says "and

---

[140] Ramadan Buti, Nancy N. Roberts, Anas Rifai, *The jurisprudence of the Prophetic Biography & A Brief History of Rightly Guided Caliphs*, (Damascus : Dar al-Fikr, 2008), 314

[141] Ibid., 315

[142] Quran, 59:8-9

have no jealousy in their breasts for that which they have been given" meaning that the Ansar did not have any envy for the Muhajirin because of the better status, rank, or more exalted grade that Allah gave the Muhajirin above them. Allah's statement "that which they have been given" refers to what the Muhajirin were favored with, according to Qatadah and Ibn Zayd. The verse "And give them preference over themselves even though they were in need of that" means that they preferred giving to the needy rather than attending to their own needs, and began by giving the people before themselves, even though they too were in need.[143]

Here the most striking point is in the last part of the verse. The words of "Give them preference over themselves" are translated for the verb of "*yu'siruna*". Curcani argues for the noun of this verb, namely *isar,* to mean to put someone ahead before yourself in the manners of eradicating the damages and enabling the good. And he argues that this is the last level in the brotherhood.[144] Also according to Ibn Arabi, it means to prefer some others over yourself in both worldly and spiritual issues to be able to gain the happiness of hereafter.[145] That is, the Helpers not only helped the Muhajirun when they themselves were in need but also gave priority to the immigrants in almost all aspects that the above-mentioned comments also suggest.

In addition to that, a hadith in Bukhari's narration shows that even inheritance was divided by the order of Allah among Emigrants and Helpers as a result of this pact of fraternity. He narrates through Ibn Abbas:

> Regarding the Holy Verse:--'And to everyone, We have appointed heirs..' And:-- (4.33) 'To those also to Whom your right hands have pledged.' (4.33) When the emigrants came to Medina, the Ansar used to be the heir of the emigrants (and vice versa) instead of their own kindred by blood (Dhawl-l-arham), and that was because of the bond of brotherhood which the Prophet (ﷺ) had established between them, i.e. the Ansar and the emigrants. But when the Divine Verse:-- 'And to everyone We have appointed heirs,' (4.33) was revealed, it cancelled the other, order i.e. 'To those also, to whom Your right hands have pledged.' [146]

---

[143] Ibn Kathir, *Tafsir Ibn Kathir*, edit. by Muhammad Saed Abdurrahman, (London: MSA Publication Limited, 2011), Part 28, 54-5

[144] Cürcânî, Al i b. Muhammed b. Ali , *At-Tarîfât*, (Cairo: Al-Matbaatü'l Khayriyya, h.1306),

[145] Ibn Arabi, Ebû Bakr Muhammad b. Abdullah, *Ahkâmu'l-Kur'ân,* edit.by Muhammad Abdulkâdir Atâ, (Beirut: 1990), 26

[146] Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, Vol. 5, Hadith No. 6747

Buti writes that "the rights associated with their common faith continued to be given precedence over those driving from kinship until the Battle of Badr, following which God ruled anew."[147] That is as Ibn Kathir narrated from Bukhari: ""The following verse, 'As for those with whom you have made agreements, give them their due', henceforth referred to help, hospitality and advice. Inheritance was thus stopped and instead, testamentary endowment was made for such persons.""[148] Ibn Ishaq also narrates:

> After the Battle of Badr the Almighty Allah revealed: "And those who are akin are nearer one to another in the ordinance of Allah. Lo! Allah is knower of all things". (Qur'an, 8:75) This verse abrogated the previous order about fraternization which now ceased (to operate) in respect of inheritance; and the inheritance of each of them reverted to his heirs and descendants.[149]

Thus, as in Buti's argument before, all of these aspects would show us this connection that the pact brought up and that responsibilities coming along with it were stronger in effect than the ties of blood. Even the manner of *isar* shows us a higher level of brotherhood which brings with it a strong sense of sacrifice.

Ibn Ishaq also gives the whole list of the matching pairs from the *Ansar* and *Muhajirun* in the fraternization and also points out how it had remained strong among the companions even after the Prophet's passing remarking that:

> When 'Umar compiled the registers in Syria Bilal had gone there and remained as a combatant. He asked him with whom he wished to be grouped and he said with Abu Ruwayha. 'I will never leave him, for the apostle established brotherhood between us.' So he was linked with him and the register of the Abyssinians was linked with Khath'am because of Bilal's position with them, and this arrangement continues to this day in Syria."[150]

All of these cases which were full of sacrifice and generosity can be accounted as important steps in expressing of commitment of Muslims', both *Ansar* and *Muhajirun,* expression of commitment to the bond that was founded through the tie of faith. The developments following the *hijra* brought some difficulties for both the

---

[147] Buti, Roberts, Rifai, *The jurisprudence of the Prophetic Biography & A Brief History of Rightly Guided Caliphs***,** 311

[148] Ibn Kathir, *Al-Sira Al-Nabawiyya*, trans. Trevor Le Gassick, (Reading: Garnet Publishing,1988) Vol.1, 215

[149] Ibn Sa'd, *Kitab al- Tabaqat*, vol 1., part 2, 64

[150] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 235

Ansar and the *Muhajirun*. Both sides had to sacrifice as a result of their acceptance of the Prophet's message. However, the result shows that they maintained their loyalty to the Prophet and to their faith despite all the difficulties that they faced. It is argued in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*:

> The Muslim community of believers established by and loyal to Muhammad would be founded on these two groups who acquired rights of kinship with open another rooted not in common blood but rather in common faith.[151]

I think that it can be claimed that, through the developments that the *muakhat* led to, the notion of *ukhuwwa* which is more about the inward bond between Muslims stemming from sharing the same faith has been replaced by the notion of *wala'a* which requires mutual assistance and responsibility among the believers. It simply means friendship as well as amity[152] and includes the term of *waliy, p. awliya* which refers to friend, helper, supporter and protector.[153] Although these concepts compromise broader meanings in their later usages in Islamic history, they here mostly correspond to how the Quran and hadiths mention the believers. In the following verses of Quran, it is mentioned as:

٥٤إِنَّمَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَاةَ وَهُمْ رَاكِعُونَ ٥٥وَمَنْ يَتَوَلَّ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا فَإِنَّ حِزْبَ اللَّهِ هُمُ الْغَالِبُونَ٥٦

> Verily, your Protector (walî) is Allah, His Messenger, and the believers, those who perform the Salah, and give Zakah, and they bow down.And whosoever takes Allah, His Messenger, and those who have believed, as protectors, then the party of Allah will be the victorious."[154]

اللَّهُ وَلِيُّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا يُخْرِجُهُمْ مِنَ الظُّلُمَاتِ إِلَى النُّورِ ۖ وَالَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا أَوْلِيَاؤُهُمُ الطَّاغُوتُ يُخْرِجُونَهُمْ مِنَ النُّورِ إِلَى الظُّلُمَاتِ ۗ

---

[151] Gerhard Böwering, Patricia Crone, Mahan Mirza, Wadad Kadi, Muhammad Qasim Zaman, Devin J. Stewart, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought,* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013), 371

[152] Maan Z. Madina, *Arabic-English Dictionary of the Modern Literary Language,* 779

[153] Hans Wehr, *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic: Arabic-English,* edit. by J.M. Cowan, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 4th edition, 1289

[154] *Quran*, 5:55-6

Allah is the Wali (Protector or Guardian) of those who believe. He brings them out from darknesses into light. But as for those who disbelieve, their Awliya' (supporters and helpers) are Taghut (false deities and false leaders), they bring them out from light into darknesses.[155]

وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتُ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلِيَاءُ بَعْضٍ ۚ يَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَيُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَاةَ وَيُطِيعُونَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ ۚ أُولَٰئِكَ سَيَرْحَمُهُمُ اللَّهُ ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ ٧١

The believers, men and women, are supporters (awliya) of one another; they enjoin good, and forbid evil; they perform the Salah, and give the Zakah, and obey Allah and His Messenger. Allah will have His mercy on them. Surely, Allah is All-Mighty, All-Wise.[156]

And there are some verses which order the believers not to take the Christians, Jews[157] and even the relatives including the father and brothers who prefer to disbelieve in Allah as *awliya*.[158] Therefore, according to Quran, Allah is the *wali* of the believers as well as the believers are the *awliya* of each other. And because it requires the protection and guardianship together with friendship, it can be said that the notion of *wala'a* brings more responsibility and duty to the believers than the notion of *ukhuwwah* at the first stage of the formation of the bond in Macca.

3.7. From Brotherhood to Political Community: The Covenant of Madina

The Constitution of Medina (the *wathiqat* al-Madina) is a document reportedly drawn up by the Prophet Muhammad upon his migration from Mecca to Medina.[159] It is an alliance pact which contains 53 sections[160] between his Meccan adherents, *Muhajirun*

---

[155] *Quran*, 2:257
[156] Ibid., 9:71
[157] Ibid., 5:51
[158] Ibid., 9:23
[159] Anver Emon, "Reflections on the 'Constitution of Medina': An Essay on Methodology and Ideology in Islamic Legal History" *UCLA Journal of Islamic and Near Eastern Law* 103 (2001/2002), 103
[160] Muhammad Hamidullah, *The First Written Constitution in the World*, (Lahore: Kazi Publications, 1809),4

and the *Ansar* of the Aws and Khazraj tribes with their Jewish client tribes.[161] The document is firstly addressed in the writings of Ibn Ishaq and Abu Ubayd. It is known that German scholar Wellhausen firstly mentioned it in his book and that's how it has become a focus of interest among many historians. The first source mentions that 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 property and stated the reciprocal obligations. The covenant consists of four main parts in terms of the content: bond among Muslims, the agreement with the Jews, social security and borders of Madina.

For the purpose of keeping my study intact, I will focus on and interpret the first two points. Therefore, I will keep my focus on the debates around the related articles in the document instead of mentioning each of the articles. Although I simply divided the document as above in terms of the content, Hamidullah who is known as the Muslim scholar who led the document to be spread in the Muslim world, argues that it actually has two main distinct part in terms of both the content and the time of written and he called it as "the first written constitution in the world." However there are some ongoing debates on the issue whether the document was written at one piece in one time or not. The common view on this is that it has two distinct pieces, which were written separately and the content of these two parts are shown among the big proofs for this. Hamidullah also accepts this view and says for the document:

> The first 23 sections lay down rules affecting the "refugees" and "helpers" *(Ansar)* and the rest of them discuss the rights and obligations of the Jewish tribes of Madina. In both of them one sentence has been repeated, to the effect that the last court of appeal will be the Holy Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم himself.[162]

And after expressing the historical background of Madinans on the matter of politics and destabilized social conditions before the Prophet came as I pointed above, Hamidullah categorizes the objects of the Prophet for drawing up such document as,

---

[161] R.B. Serjeant, "The Sunnah Jami'ah, Pacts with the Yathrib Jews, and the Tahrim of Yathrib: Analysis and Translation of the Documents Comprised in the So-Called 'Constitution of Medina'" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* University of London, Vol. 41, No. 1 (1978), 2
[162] Muhammad Hamidullah, *The First Written Constitution in the World*, 13

(1)Definition of the rights and obligations, his own as well as those of local inhabitants. (2) Arrangement for the settlement and livelihood of the Makkahn refugees. (3) An understanding with the non-Muslims of the city, particularly the Jews. (4) Arrangements for political organization and military defence of the city. (5) Compensation for the loss of life and property suffered by the refugees at the hands of the Quraish of Makkah.[163]

As far as the content of the articles of the document are considered, his categorization seems proper. However, regarding the goal of the declaration of the document, there are some debates among the historians who studied this issue. Arjomand quotes Serjeant who thinks that the document was a pact of security executed by Muhammad according to ancient Arabian customs between the Muslims and the inhabitants of Madina. However, Arjomand opposes this argument and states in parallel with Wellhausen that the community was constituted on the basis of a security pact between Muslims who had either started following Muhammad in Mecca or converted to Islam in Madina and a section of the inhabitants of Madina.[164]Rubin points out that "The direct aim of this document was confined to determining the position of the Arab tribes of Medina in relation to those Jewish groups who shared in their territory"[165] or "to determine the relations between the Muslims and the Jews of Medina within the framework of a new kind of unity."[166] Gill, on the other hand, thinks that the aims of this pact were entirely practical. He firstly mentions Caetani's view that it is a unilateral document written solely by Muhammad. Then he mentions Wellhausen's view that it is an oral agreement (which was recorded later on) and says that the document cannot really be construed as a decree imposed by one party on the other. According to him, as both its conditions and the contents show, the pact is definitely a negotiated agreement between the leader, as he was recognized, and his followers at a stage when his authority was not yet so secure for permitting him to establish his own views by the stroke of a pen.[167] As both Arjomand Wellhausen agree, the objective of the pact was the creation of a political community; however, as a recovery of his argument, Gill says that the major constitutional issue for Muhammad was not the formation of a

---

[163] Ibid.,9

[164] Ibid.

[165] Uri Rubin , "The "Constitution of Medina" Some Notes", *Studia Islamica,* No. 62. (1985), 5

[166] Ibid.,10

[167] Moše Gîl, *Jews in Islamic Countries in the Middle Ages*, trans.by David Strassler, Brill Leiden, Boston:2004, 21,22

state but rather the settlement of the religious question.[168] I strongly agree with Arjomand on this point and I will handle the issue of formation of a state in detail when I address the notion of *umma* in later sections. In general, especially as far as the terms and regulations of the covenant are concerned, it seems that enabling security as well as unity and determining the rights of all the settlers within the city would be among the Prophet's aims in making such a covenant. I think that bringing peace to the city, together with other possible objectives, could be quite a strong motivation – and even the most primary concern - behind the Prophet's decision , as far as the expectations of *Ansar* in this issue during the pledges of Aqaba are considered.

Having explained the possible reasons of this covenant, I will now move on to explain its significance in terms of the social bond in the society. And as I said above, I do not handle each of the articles of the covenant. Rather I will only examine three main dimensions related to the concept of social bond: Position of the Prophet; relations among Muslims; and the extent of the notion of *umma*.

3.7.1. Position of the Prophet Muhammad

In terms of the position that the Prophet Muhammad had taken through the covenant, there are some arguments which are almost in parallel with each other. "In this document the Holy Prophet secured for himself the highest judicial, legislative, military and executive powers for himself, but very important and remarkable difference between this authority and the autocratic royal authorities of other countries was that materialism had no part to play here."[169] says Hamidullah and argues that "the Holy Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم introduced moral elements in politics. He regarded God as the source of authority and considered himself as His messenger and agent, and alongside with this he declared the command and injunctions

---

[168] Said Amir Arjomand, "The Constitution of Medina: A Sociolegal Interpretation of Muhammad's Acts of Foundation of the "Umma"", *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* Vol. 41, No. 4 (Nov., 2009), 556
[169] Muhammad Hamidullah, *The First Written Constitution in the World*, 11-2

ordained for the people as equally applicable to his own self"[170] Watt parallelly says, the article of "Wherever there is anything about which you differ, it is to be referred to God and to Muhammad." seems likely that it was contemplated in the original agreement between Muhammad and the Medinans that he would be able to act as arbiter between rival factions and thus help to maintain peace in the oasis.[171] He connects this role to the usage in Quran and says "in a passage of the Qur'an (10. 48) one of the functions of prophets is thus described: "Each community has a messenger, and when their messenger comes judgement is given between them with justice, and they are not wronged."[172] Also Kennedy explains in more detail:

> Muhammad is only mentioned twice, both times to emphasize that the arbitration of any disputes belongs to God and Muhammad; no other arbitrators are mentioned. The documents, then, tried to solve the problems of justice within the city and relations with outsiders, but they do not suggest that the power of Muhammad was absolute or lay any emphasis on religious affairs. Medina was to be a Qaram as Mecca was, for its people, and Muhammad was to be its founding holy man.[173]

And finally Emon, by noting that Yathrib had been locked in a civil war between its two major tribes the Aws and the Khazraj prior to the Prophet's migration, suitably suggests that the Prophet's migration was intended to result in a period of peace in which the Prophet himself would act as an arbitrator and leader.[174]

It is seen that all of these arguments meet at the point that Prophet Muhammad positioned himself in the covenant as an arbitrator and leader as the prophet of God. In fact, the Constitution provides that the Prophet would act as an arbitrator in disputes. Furthermore, by attracting the attentions to the fact that a sentence is repeated in both sections of the document: "to the effect that the last court of appeal will be the Holy Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم himself", Hamidullah raises awareness

---

[170] Ibid.

[171] W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Madina,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 95-6

[172] Ibid.

[173] Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and The Age of Caliphate*s, (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1986), 34

[174] Anver Emon, "Reflections on the Constitution of Medina: An Essay on Methodology and Ideology in Islamic Legal History", *UCLA J. Islamic & Near E. L.* (2001-2002), 119-120

about the acceptance of the position of the Prophet not only by Muslims but also non-Muslims of the city with the following words:

> There is no difficulty in understanding this position in so far as the "refugees" and "Helpers" are concerned; but it is not quite so easy for one to understand how the non-believing section of the population could agree to invest a newcomer and a stranger at that time with so much authority within a few months of his arrival.[175]

For the reasons of this acceptance by the non-believers, he plausibly argues:

> So far as the Madinite Arabs are concerned it may appear to be a somewhat satisfying reply to be told that since tribal organisation prevailed among them hitherto, and since the tribal chiefs had accepted Islam, the younger relatives, although they did not as yet accept the religion of their elders, yet were compelled to follow these latter in what they did otherwise.
>
> Due to the peculiar nature of the Arab social system they could not separate themselves from the tribe and even outside their own territory they could not have any security of life and possession without the help of the rest of the tribe. It has been clearly laid down in the document that the pagan relatives of the Madinite "helpers" could avail of the great centralised strength brought about by the combination of all the tribes of Madina in conjunction with the refugees of Makkah and others, provided only that in political matters they should create no obstacle in the way of the central government. [176]

That is, it would be said that accepting the Prophet as a leader and arbitrator in the social and political regulations of the city of Madina through the covenant is an advantageous situation not only for Muslims of the city but also for their non-Muslim relatives because it both opened the way toward a centralized ruling and enabled the peace that the clans who were fighting for years were seeking for from the day of war of Buath on. Both this fact and the nature of Arab society, as Hamidullah mentions, help us better understand the reason behind that the non-Muslim Arabs who were the relatives of the Muslims of Madina accepted the Prophet's authority.

Hamidullah also thinks for Jews that they were also obliged to seek the protective co-operation of the Holy Prophet while retaining their religious freedom as well as internal autonomy. They needed the Prophet's protection because they were divided into two sections rival to each other and it was not possible for them to live in mutual

---

[175] Muhammad Hamidullah, *The First Written Constitution in the World*, 14-5
[176] Ibid., 13-14

friendship or to feel safe and secure in their independent isolation.[177] I think that his argument for Jews is also quite valid to demonstrate the possible reasons behind their acceptance of the covenant together with accepting the position of the Prophet that he offers in the covenant.

All in all, the position of the Prophet in the covenant and its acceptance by all the inhabitants of the city including non-Muslims would demonstrate how it was believed that the covenant, with its articles and the Prophet as a leader of even the non-Muslims, would bring peace to the various sections of the society.

Also I think that the position of Prophet Muhammad in the covenant, which was already accepted by the believers not only as a leader but also as the Prophet who was speaking and acting according to nothing but God's orders, contributed to the development of the social bond among the believers because they were then officially more united under his leadership than before.

3.7.2. Relations Among Muslims

As Hamidullah argues in the above part, the first part of the covenant comprises the regulations regarding the bond among Muslims of Madina. In this section, I will specifically deal with the articles which addressed the relations of the Muslims to be able to demonstrate their link with the development of the social bond based on the faith among the Muslims. Hamidullah summarizes the points of the related articles from the document with the following additional comments:

> All the Muslims were required to be helping one another and sharing one another's pain and sorrow in the course of a war (Clause 19) The helpers (i.e., Madinite Muslims) had already their tribal units and now for legal and social purposes the whole body of refugees (i.e., Makkan Muslim settlers) were regarded as one tribe (Section 3). It was provided that if any district association were not in a position to meet the liabilities of any of its members, it will be incumbent on other associations to lend it a helping hand (Section 12). It was further emphatically laid down that if anyone became an

---

[177] Muhammad Hamidullah, *The First Written Constitution in the World*, 15

associate member (Mawali, sing. Mawla) through a legal or contractual bond of fraternity with a regular member of a tribe, such an associate member will have no right to disagree with the original member, whose associate he is [Section 12-b]. It was further enjoined in connection with this order that no member should make anyone his brother-in-alliance (Mawla), if he is already in similar alliance with, another member, without the consent of the latter. (Ibid, in the variant as reported by Ibn Hanbal.)[178]

Or in short:

This seemingly authentic document regulates the rights and responsibilities of Muhammad's followers and various Medinan groups with regard to ransoming prisoners, fixing compensation or retaliation in tort cases, forming alliances, granting asylum, and conducting defense.[179]

Through these regulations, some important aspects come to exist regarding the social relations among the believers, as Hamidullah points out:

On the face of it, the agreement upheld the tribal system of Medina. But in reality, families – and needless to say, tribal groups were split between those who followed Muhammad (i.e., the muminun) and all the others. For example, the agreement stipulated regarding blood vengeance the very cement of the asaba or the nuclear group made of male agnates: "A mumin will not kill a mumin in retaliation for a non-believer and will not aid a non-believer against a mumin" (clause 15). The muminun are hereby separated from their own brothers who had not yet become muminun . The old blood vengeance bonds with their male agnates were replaced by bonds with their fellow muminun regardless of their tribal affiliation. This was a major turning point. If a mumin does not kill a mumin from another tribe to retaliate the murder of his own brother who was still a non-believer, this means that Muhammad's community provided its members with far more than common belief. Each new mumin weakened his tribal group and of course its leader. The tribal leaders who were Muhammad's rivals were unprepared for this challenge, and indeed for the new politics introduced by the farsighted prophet.[180]

That is, it would be said that the bond of faith officially replaced the bond of tribalism in the Islamic society under the terms and regulations of the covenant and as he says, this was a major turning point. Hamidullah explains clearly what those regulations would actually mean for the society at that time and says "The right of seeking justice was transferred from individuals to the community, i.e., the central

---

[178] Joseph Lowry, "The Prophet as a Lawgiver and Legal Authority", in *Cambridge Companion to Muhammad*, edit. by Jonatan E. Brockopp, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 84
[179] Ibid.
[180] Michael Lecker, "Glimpses of Muammad's Medinan Decade", in *Cambridge Companion to Muhammad*, edit. by Jonatan E. Brockopp, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 68

authority; and this was a great revolution."[181] That is, the rights of the members of the society of believers was officially protected by the central authority as never before. He then moves on to expand on how those regulations were practiced:

> And it was ruled that in matters affecting the administration of justice, none will be permitted to take sides or show any favouritism to one's relations or even to try to save one's own son from the course of law, and that all Muslims should give full co-operation in the matter of bringing to book every one who makes any mischief or is on the way to creating one.[182]

It seems, together with the official replacement of the bond of tribe with the bond of faith, that bond of faith was firstly politically determined and secured in the city-state of Madina through the declaration of the covenant by the Prophet himself as an arbiter or a leader. It can also be said that the notion of *wilaya* which necessitates mutual cooperation and socio-political responsibilities for Muslims was now carried to a more political level. Even the word of *mawla* which is specifically used by Hamidullah as seen above comes from the word *wilaya* and it refers to "brother in alliance". I will now explain how the issue of *wilaya* has become a great revolution in the next section.

3.7.3. Extent of the Notion of *Umma*

Regarding the term of *umma,* there are two articles in the constitution. The first one is the second article which is "They constitute a single community (*umma wahida*) apart from other people"[183] The "they" here is explained in the first article: "This is a prescript of Muhammad, the Prophet and Messenger of God (to operate) between the faithful and the followers of Islam from among the Quraish and the people of Madina and those who may be under them, may join them and take part in wars in their

---

[181] Muhammad Hamidullah, *The First Written Constitution in the World*, 19
[182] Ibid.
[183] Said Amir Arjomand, "The Constitution of Medina: A Sociolegal Interpretation of Muhammad's Acts of Foundation of the "Umma"", *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* Vol. 41, No. 4 (Nov., 2009), 562

company."[184] And the second one is the 25th article[185] which is "and the Jews of Banu 'Awf shall be considered as one political community (*umma*) along with the believers—for the Jews their religion, and for the Muslims theirs, be one client or patron…"[186]

Rubin notes that Abu Ubayd in his version of the text notes the phrase 25 for Jews which is "*wa inna bani awf ummatun min al-mu'minin*" and means "an *umma* of believers" whereas Ibn Ishaq mentions it as "*wa inna bani awf ummatun ma'a al-mu'minin*" which means "an *umma* with believers."[187] While Rubin who explains the term, says that "there seems to be no reason why the meaning of the term *umma* in the "Constitution" should be different from its meaning in the Quran"[188] and makes reference to Quran. He states that in Quran we do not only see the term of *umma* but also the term of "*umma wahida*" no less than nine times and indicates that "In all cases with no exception it denotes people united by a common religious orientation, in contrast to people divided by different kinds of faith."[189] He states, as far as the article 1 of the Constitution which is "they are one *umma*, to the exclusion of -or apart from - (all other) people" is concerned, that it is inevitable to deduce that the new unity is designed to be based not only on common sacred territory but also on common faith. It is because it consequently "declares that the Muslims of Quraysh and Yathrib, as well as the Jews, constitute one unity, sharing the same religious orientation, thus being distinct from all the rest of the people who adhere to other kinds of faith."[190] And he points out Serjeant's argument that the version of Abu 'Ubayd is "defective".[191] For him, "It seems, however, that as far as the present passage is concerned, the version of Abu 'Ubayd is the original one, because, as we shall presently see, the construction "*umma mina -mu'minin*" accords with Quranic style, whereas "*umma ma'a I-mu'minin*" does not."[192]

---

[184] Muhammad Hamidullah, *The First Written Constitution in the World*, 31

[185] According to Hamidullah's numbering

[186] Muhammad Hamidullah, *The First Written Constitution in the World*, 37

[187] Rubin, "The "Constitution of Medina" Some Notes",13,14

[188] Ibid., 13

[189] Rubin, "The "Constitution of Medina" Some Notes", 13

[190] Ibid.,13

[191] Ibid., 14

[192] Ibid., 14

Emon suggests that Abu Ubayd's version of phrase 25 which is "*umma minal-mu 'minin"* that means "an *umma* of believers" can reflect an *umma* including Jews as the believers.[193] Although it seems Emon considers Abu Ubayd's version more as the reliable source and also opens the door for an alternative meaning which is understood from Abu Ubayd's version. He says that the preposition of "*min*" which means "from or among" can also refer to that it may distinguish or segregate the Jewish umma from the Muslim *umma*.[194] And then he mentions Abu Ubayda's indication that the Jewish tribes are an *umma* of the Believers (*umma min al-mu'minin*), which refers to the aid and assistance that the Jews will give to the Believers against their enemies. However, he also points to the fact that, Abu Ubayd looks at the next clause of the Constitution which states: "to the Jews their religion, and to the Believers their religion"[195], as far as religion (din) is concerned, He further argues that "Assuming the document is a single document, the later mention of the Jews suggests that the Jews are also a part of the *umma*. However whether the document is a single document or a compilation of many documents, drawn up over a period of time, is a topic of debate among scholars."[196]

As Emon also states, "Wellhausen considers *umma* to mean a religious community that was at the same time not a closed political community. It could include non-Muslims in their capacity as confederates or clients of the Ansar. However, he does suggest that the Jews were not as closely tied to the *umma* as the Arab tribes of the Aws and Khazraj."[197] However, Rubin notes, on the other hand, that Wellhausen indicates that "*Ummah* here is exclusively political unity"[198] and contends that the document displays a certain distrust of the Jews who are not expected to accept Islam.[199] In parallel with both Rubin and Wellhausen, Kennedy claims by referring to both Muslims and Jewish community:

---

[193] Emon, "Reflections on the 'Constitution of Medina': An Essay on Methodology and Ideology in Islamic Legal History", 110
[194] Ibid., 110
[195] Rubin, "The "Constitution of Medina" Some Notes", 111
[196] Rubin, "The "Constitution of Medina" Some Notes",106
[197] Emon, "Reflections on the 'Constitution of Medina':An Essay on Methodology and Ideology in Islamic Legal History",108
[198] Rubin, "The "Constitution of Medina" Some Notes", 12
[199] Ibid., 12

> All the believers are described as *umma*, a community apart from the surrounding pagan society, and they are to make war as one. The bond between members of the *umma* transcends any bonds or agreements between them and the pagans and they are all to seek revenge if any Muslim is killed fighting "in the way of God". If, however, one Muslim kills another, then the normal rules of retaliation continue to operate, with the proviso that the Muhajirun, who had no close relatives in the city, were to be considered as a clan like any of the native clans of Medina.[200]

It seems that he also understands the *umma* as a community of believers including the Jews. Also Lings thinks that the Prophet formed both the Muslims and Jews into a single community of believers but allowed the differences between the two religions. He further argues that Muslims and Jews were to have equal status. In case of differences of opinion or controversy, the matter was to be referred to God through His Messenger. He says, however, that "The Jews accepted this covenant for political reasons. The Prophet was already by far the most powerful man in Medina, and his power seemed likely to increase. They had no choice but to accept; yet very few of them were capable of believing that God would send a Prophet who was not a Jew."[201] This is very close to Hamidullah's argument in the above part regarding the reason behind the Jews' acceptance of the covenant. Lastly, by intending the meaning of the *umma* to be a community of believers, Lapidus suggests:

> The underlying unifying concept of the community was religious, though there were strong undertones of lineage appeal owing to the fact that the concept of *umma* was fused with concepts of tribal alliance; the image of the religious chief was identified with that of the traditional clan shaykh. The early *umma* was built on an undifferentiated tribal religio-political identity and an undifferentiated religio-political leadership.[202]

On the other hand, Hamidullah translates the phrase "*umma wahida*" in the first article of the Constitution as "the separate political unit"[203] as differently from Rubin and Wellhausen. He thinks that "In the very first clause, a proclamation has been made of the inauguration of an Islamic political unit composed of the refugees of Makka and the helpers of Madina and also those others who were willing to take part

---

[200] Kennedy, *The Prophet and The Age of Caliphates*, 34

[201] Lings, *Muhammad: His Life Based on the Earliest Sources,* 125-6

[202] Ira M. Lapidus, "Tribes and State Formation in Islamic History", in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East ,* edit. Khoury, Philip S., and Joseph Kostiner, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 20

[203] Hamidullah, *The First Written Constitution in the World,* 32

in wars, under the guidance of and in cooperation with this united body of the Muslims of Makka and Madina."[204] He then argues that "This political unit, in spite of the variegated nature of its eternal composition will be considered as one community (*umma*)."[205] When his translation of the phrase 25 which is and the Jews of Banu 'Awf shall be considered as one political community (*umma*) along with the believers is examined, it is seen that it is translated as "and the Jews of Banu Awf shall be considered as one political community (*umma*) along with the believers."[206] Therefore, it is very obvious that he understands the meaning of the term of umma as political unity and does not consider the Jews to be included within the Muslim *umma* in the Covenant. It seems that he thinks that Jews engage in only a political unity with Muslims as people who live with them in the same city state governed by the Prophet.

Like Hamidullah, Watt mentions the article 25 and says that "Jews are an *ummah* along with the believers, though it could conceivably mean that they constituted a community parallel to that of the believers, presumably means that they are included in the one *umma*"[207] in relation to the verses of Quran. Therefore, he suggests that Jews do not have to be part of "*umma* of the believers" to be included in the notion of one *umma* in Madina as opposed to what Rubin argues. Watt also adds that "As they are specifically allowed to practice their own religion, however this suggests that the *umma* is no longer a purely religious community."[208] Serjeant also looks at the usage of the term of *umma* in Quran to explain its scope and to show the direct reference to the article 1 of the covenant and he interprets it as "the (theocratic) confederation".[209] Like Hamidullah, he suggests that "*umma* is basically a political confederation" and notes that "The Jews, when Muhammad made the confederation pacts after his arrival in Yathrib, were included in the *ummah*, through the peace (*sulh*) which took place between them and the Mu'minun "Believers" they became like a collective body (*jama'ah*) of them, with a single word and hand."[210] Emon also

---

[204] Ibid.,16

[205] Ibid., 17

[206] Ibid., 37

[207] W.Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Madina*, 241

[208] Ibid., 241

[209] Serjeant, "The Sunnah Jami'ah, Pacts with the Yathrib Jews, and the Tahrim of Yathrib: Analysis and Translation of the Documents Comprised in the So-Called 'Constitution of Medina'", 4

[210] Ibid.,4

points to Serjeant's thoughts that "R.B. Serjeant who has written extensively on the Constitution of Medina, writes that the Constitution establishes the Jews as "an *ummah*, a community, along with the Mu'mins, each side retaining its own *'din'*, a word which, one must remember, can mean 'law' as well as 'religion'."[211] Thus, Serjeant actually suggests that the term of *umma* in the covenant do not necessarily comprise the meaning of religious unity and Jews are not seen as among the believers but they are seen as the members of the city along with Muslims.

Apart from these two different main approaches on the meaning of the term *umma* in the covenant, Arjomand finds a middle ground between them. He considers the Covenant as the "Covenant of unity"[212] because of the foundation of *umma* and points out that "The Jews and polytheists were each mentioned only once explicitly because they joined the new community mostly as clients or clasman of the Muslim helpers."[213] While interpreting the first article he refers to all those who join this act as the components of the "new confederate community irrespective of Islam."[214] Therefore, it is understood that Arjomand does not think that the term of *umma* reflects the meaning of a religious society; rather it means the united community of the new city state. However, he also notes interestingly that "Unlike polytheism, the religion of Jews was recognized in the constitution of the *umma*, and inner part of Madina was declared a sacred enclave for the faithful covenanters."[215] He also mentions that the pagans of Madina are placed into the constitution and I suggest that, by separating Jews from the polytheists, he aims to attract the attentions to the unity of belief in God for both the religions. It, therefore, seems that although he does not consider the covenant to be necessarily offering one united religious community, he thinks that it prioritizes the Jews to a great extent because of their united belief in God with Muslims than the polytheists as the Quranic status of "the people of book" would also suggest.

---

[211] Emon, "Reflections on the 'Constitution of Medina.' : An Essay on Methodology and Ideology in Islamic Legal History", 108

[212] Arjomand, "The Constitution of Medina: A Sociolegal Interpretation of Muhammad's Acts of Foundation of the "Umma"", 556

[213] Ibid., 559

[214] Ibid., 565

[215] Ibid., 560

In the light of all these explanations on the Covenant of Madina, I would like to add that it is quite possible that the unity in belief in God is highlighted by the Prophet in order to form a peaceful political unity through mentioning the mutual point between Jews and Muslims because forming such a unity among two different religious sides was crucial for enabling security in the society as the covenant suggests. However, it does not necessarily mean that the term was used only to create a community of believers consisting of Jews and Muslims in the city, although it is generally understood more in religious sense as we see in the earlier expressions. That is, the term *umma* cannot be limited to the usage merely in religious sense even if it was used by the Prophet *himself*. I think this is mainly because "It was a contract for the creation of a composite nation or community for common defense and protection…The significance of these individual covenants or contracts should not be underestimated in the context of Prophet's time. He reconciled the various parties in the city and introduced law, order and peace among its various elements."

In other words, because the key point was to form a community for defense and protection, the usage of *umma* must be about the political community whose law and order were already introduced through the covenant. However, along with all the possible motivations behind that I have tried to show, I suggest that the following two explanations are more plausible in explaining what the Prophet aimed at by declaring the formation of the *umma*, namely community:

> By keeping the believers within the organization of their clans they become not only the bond which united the clans but also the leaven which in time was to influence the rest of them. In the beginning the *umma*, was a rather heterogeneous political entity but since the Muslims were its soul this entity naturally tended to create a unity of faith and was strengthened on account of this.[216]

That is, through the covenant, the Prophet intended the inner peace and unity against the Qurayshian enemies of the believers by highlighting the centralization of the various tribes and religious groups around one community, i.e. *ummah,* in which the Muslims were either way dominant.Furthermore, by keeping the believers within the

---

[216] W. Behn, ed. and trans., "Muhammad's Constitution of Medina," published as an excursus to A. J. Wensinck, *Muhammad and the Jews of Medina* (Freiburg, Germany: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1975), 131

organization of their clans they become not only the bond which united the clans but also the leaven which in time was to influence the rest of them. In the beginning, the *umma* was a rather heterogeneous political entity but since the Muslims were its soul this entity naturally tended to create a unity of faith and was strengthened on account of this.

That is, although the Prophet would mean the formation of political entity which is consisted of various sections of the society of Madina at the beginning, he would also intend that this community will evolve in the later periods to a community of faith in which the Muslims are at the centre.

While interpreting what the covenant brought into the society, Hamidullah states that, through the covenant, the Prophet formed a political unity among all the sections of the society, and the principles of brotherhood, equality and freedom of action were made to play active roles in this political unit.[217] He also points out: "In fact it amounted to a declaration of the city of Madina as a city state for the first time, and to the laying down of a code for its administration…. Rousseau, Hobbs and other political scientists consider social contract between the rulers and the ruled as the beginning of state." In the same line, Watt also draws attention to the formation of a political unit in Medina while interpreting the first two articles of the covenant, which are (1)"This is a writing of Muhammad the prophet between the believers and Muslims of Quraysh and Yathrib (sc. Medina) and those who follow them and are attached to them and who crusade along with them" and (2) "They are a single community distinct from other people."[218] Also Watt, while interpreting the first two articles of the document which are

> "This is a writing of Muhammad the prophet between the believers and Muslims of Quraysh and Yathrib (sc. Medina) and those who follow them and are attached to them and who crusade along with them. They are a single community distinct from other people."

he argues that,

> This document, the Constitution of Medina, may be taken to show that the people of Medina were now regarded as constituting a political unit of a new

---

[217] Muhammad Hamidullah, *The First Written Constitution in the World*, 17-8
[218] Ibid., 17-8

type, an ummah or community '. In some ways it was like a federation of nomadic clans or tribes. It was bound together by their solemn agreement with one another. There are many instances of such federations in pre-Islamic history under men of outstanding personal qualities. In this case, however, it was not Muhammad's military prestige that drew men to accept him as leader, but his prophethood. The community thus had a religious basis. It must have been almost impossible, however, for the Arabs of Muhammad's time to think of any political unit except in terms of the one political unit with which they were familiar, the tribe or kinship-group.[219]

Thus, it can be said that Medina actually became a city-state under Prophet Muhammad's leadership which came from his prophethood through the declaration of the covenant, and this was a very new phenomenon for the Arab society in which the notion of *asabiyya* were determinant in every sphere of life. In Encyclopaedia Britannica, the definition of the city state is given as a political system consisting of an independent city which has sovereignty over contiguous territory and serves as a center and leader of political, economic, and cultural life.[220] In this sense, as far as the city of Madina is considered, it is obvious that it became a city-state. Hamidullah also argues that Madina became a city-state as a result of the covenant and says:

Now this new constitution of the city-state brought with it the very important and—to Arabia—very revolutionary change and improvement, by providing the people with a central public institution for seeking justice in the place of every one seeking it with the power of his own hand or at best of that of his family. This epoch-making innovation has been recorded in that very document, which brought an end for all times, to the chaos of tribalism and which laid the basis for a wider institution, viz., state.[221]

Therefore, as Hamidullah mentions for the covenant above, the point of seeking justice transmitted from the individuals to the community and this gave birth to the state which brought an end to tribalism. In addition, depending on the previous expressions, it is also understood that the fact that the covenant made the city of Madina a formal political unity does not necessarily mean that the Prophet consciously aimed to form a state and become its leader. Rather, it can be said that he used the entity of state quite possibly for ensuring the security against the possible

[219] W. Montgomery Watt, Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman,(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 94-5
[220] The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, City-state, Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. (April, 20, 2018), https://www.britannica.com/topic/city-state
[221] Muhammad Hamidullah, *The First Written Constitution in the World*, 11

attacks by his enemies in Macca, as well as ensuring peace and unity among the believers. As it is also revealed in the following passage by Kaka Khel:

> After the advent of Islam at Mecca, Muhammad (peace be upon him) dedicated himself to the integration of his newly established *umma* in its different aspects in the light of the message of Islam. After some years he yearned for a more suitable and hospitable place where his *umma* could live in peace and give practical shape to the principles of the new way of life as preached by Islam. For this purpose some form of political organization was required which, in due course, found fuller expression in the shape of the city-state of Medina. The Islamic state... came into existence by the revelational experience of Muhammad (peace be upon him). [222]

As Khel says, practicing the principles of Islamic lifestyle, together with the desire of living in peace were quite possibly the actual reasons behind the formation of political organization in Madina, and formation of a state was not the original aim. Hamidullah further argues:

> For the sake of reconstructing the society on a moral basis, defending the newly revealed religion and protecting the nascent *umma* from chaos and confusion, the political actions of the Prophet revolved around two poles : internal consolidation of the *umma* and contrivance of the ways and means for the spread of Islam. The latter end could be achieved by shifting the centre of gravity elsewhere, so that government and state could be established for the defence of religion and day-to-day business.[223]

I think that his argument is quite applicable because both internal consolidation and practicing as well as spreading Islam must be among the main concerns of the Prophet in his political actions after making agreement with the different sections of the society for enabling the peace.

Furthermore, one can say that the concept of civility firstly came into being in a loose sense for the early believers of Islam through these developments. However, before going into detail about the description of civil society which is a sub-concept of civility, it would be better to mention one of its common definitions. Kaldor suggests about the definition of civil society:

---

[222] Muhammad Nazeer Kaka Khel, "Foundation of Islamic State at Madina and Its Constitution", Islamic Studies, Vol. 21, No. 3 (AUTUMN 1982), 71, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20847209, 1
[223] Ibid., 66

> Despite the changing of the content of the term, I want to suggest that all these different definitions had a common core meaning. They were about a rule-governed society based on the consent of individuals; or, if you like, a society based on a social contract among individuals.The changing definitions of civil society expressed the different ways in which consent was generated in different periods, and the different issues that were important at different times. In other words, civil society, according to my definition, is the process through which individuals negotiate, argue, struggle against or agree with each other and with the centres of political and economic authority[224]

In that respect, I suggest that the new bond not only among Muslims but also among all the believers of Madina including Jews was formed in the form of a civil society in the newly founded city state of Madina. In other words, it can be said that the bond among Muslims flourished by the notion of civility which offers a more political dimension embracing all other members of the Madinan society. Also Arjomand suggests a new dimension to the consequences of the covenant as related to the notion of civility as:

> Articles 4[225] and 8[226] created a new contractual solidarity among the faithful covenanters and superimposed it on their existing clan solidarity and its extension through clienthood. The customary law of clienthood was allowed within the community but restricted beyond it… Any tribally unattached Arab and Jewish individual who accepted Islam, and to whom customary tribal protection was thus extended, was in effect partaking of a contractual, or rather covenantal, solidarity as an individual member of the *umma*.[227]

Thus, while the covenant provided the chance for the continuity of the existence of the tribal relations within the society to a certain degree, it also led to the formation of a new type of solidarity which was based on a contract. This new type of bond which was formed between Jews and Muslims was originally created by the Prophet Muhammad also among Muslims since the earliest years of Islam. In other words, it can be said that through the establishment of the civil state which was based on a social contract carried the notion of solidarity from the tribal level to a social and political level.

---

[224] Mary Kaldor, "The Idea of Global Civil Society", *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, Vol. 79, No. 3 (May, 2003), 585

[225] Said Amir Arjomand, "The Constitution of Medina: A Sociolegal Interpretation of Muhammad's Acts of Foundation of the "Umma"", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Nov., 2009), 562

[226] Ibid.

[227] Said Amir Arjomand, "The Constitution of Medina: A Sociolegal Interpretation of Muhammad's Acts of Foundation of the "Umma"", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Nov., 2009), 565-6

However the notion of civil state here should not be totally understood as in its modern usage. I rather adopt Ibn Khaldun's theory on civil state which is well articulated in the below passage:

> The problem of the royal tribal state is that it founders on its own political contradictions—an urban civilization that ultimately tears apart the sturdy Bedouin solidarity created in the close blood ties of the desert, a burgeoning bureaucracy that alienates the ruler from his own house, and so forth. The way to transcend these contradictions is to establish the state on some firmer footing than common blood. For Ibn Khaldun, the new state must be founded on prophecy and the religious law that prophecy reveals. By being constructed on the model of an Islamic, as opposed to a merely tribal state, the society is seen by Ibn Khaldun as advancing toward a higher stage of civilization. [228]

It can be said that through the formation of civil state and the widening scope of the solidarity in the society of Madina, another concept - citizenship - would also come forward as a significant issue. Britannica defines citizenship as **"relationship between an individual and a state to which the individual owes allegiance and in turn is entitled to its protection. Citizenship implies the status of freedom with accompanying responsibilities. Citizens have certain rights, duties, and responsibilities that are denied or only partially extended to aliens and other non-citizens residing in a country."[229]** Cambridge dictionary, on the other hand, defines it as simply "the state of being a member of a particular country and having rights because of it."[230] In this respect, **citizen** is defined as "A legally recognized subject or national of a state or commonwealth, either native or naturalized."[231] Although the concept of citizenship has been generally addressed as based on modern approach by various scholars, I suggest in relation to the early Islamic Madinan society that if Madina is accepted as a city state its inhabitants can also be considered as citizens. Also, Hamidullah argues for the non-believing section of Madina that "These people were given the right of citizenship on condition of their breaking alliance with the Quraish, cutting off all connections with them and at best remaining neutral in

---

[228] Ernest Geller, "Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East", in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, edit. Khoury, Philip S., and Joseph Kostiner, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 68

[229] The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, *Citizenship*, Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., (July, 2016), https://www.britannica.com/topic/citizenship

[230] The Editors of Cambridge Dictionary, *Citizenship*, Cambridge Dictionary, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/citizenship

[231] The Editors of Oxford Dictionary, *Citizen*, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/citizen

Muslims relationship with them; and they had to agree to this."[232]   However, obviously the matter of alliance was not only special to those who were not Muslims according to the document. Its terms and regulations were even changed as we see above depending on the subjects, and all the inhabitants made an agreement to live in peace and security in the new city-state. Therefore, they also became the citizens of this state.

3.8. Loyalty and Sacrifice: The Wars

According to narration of Ibn Ishaq, right after the *hijra*, there were a number of raids from Muslims towards the non-believers who blocked off the roads of pilgrimage for Muslims for various purposes. The names of these raids were the first raid on Waddan, Raid on Buwat, Raid on Al-Ushayra, Raid on Al-Kharrar and Raid on Safawan.[233] After a while, as a result of some tensed events between Quraysh and Muslims in the period following the *hijra*, the signals of a big war began to emerge. When the apostle heard about Abu Sufyan coming from Syria, he summoned the Muslims and said: "This is the Quraysh caravan containing their property. Go out to attack it, perhaps God will give it as a prey." And after the Quraysh heard about this, they set out to protect their caravans. When the Prophet was informed about it, he asked his companions to hear their advices regarding fighting with them or not and he heard right away that they were willing to stand with him even if the war was to happen the day after; therefore, he decided to respond to the preparations by the Quraysh. This was how the war happened.[234] Kennedy argues the victory in the battle of Badr brought some advantages and says:

> Badr was a total triumph and for later Muslims marked a decisive turning-point; participation in the battle of Badr was a sure sign of early commitment to Islam and the names of those who had been prepared to risk
> their lives for Allah and his Prophet were immortalized in tradition. The victory solved many of the Prophet's immediate problems; the profits of the ransoms and booty provided for the needs of both Emigrants and Helpers and

---

[232] Muhammad Hamidullah, *The First Written Constitution in the World*,14

[233] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Resullullah*, 281-3-5-6

[234] Ibid., 289-295

> the fifth of all the spoils, which was the Prophet's share, was used to provide for the needs of those Muslims who were in distress.[235]

Therefore, it can be said that the battle of Badr was one of the key steps in terms of strengthening the social bond among the Muslims because it enabled them to learn about sacrifice for one's religion in a war against their own family and tribal bonds. The example of Musab b. Umayr can be mentioned as a first example of such a sacrifice. According to Waqidi's narration, when Nadr b. Harith who was Mus'ab's relative was taken as a prisoner at the end of the war, Prophet ordered Ali b. Abu Talib to kill him specifically. Nadr b. Harith said to Musab b. Umayr "O Musab! You are the closest relative to me here. Speak to your companion to make me as a man among my companions… Let him treat me as he would treat one of my companions. If they are killed then I shall be killed. But if he is benevolent to them, let him be benevolent to me." Musab said in return: "Surely you tortured his companions." He said: "By God, if the Quraysh capture you, you will never be killed as long as I live." Musab said: "By God, I see you speak the truth. But I am not like you. Islam has canceled my previous commitment."[236] Secondly, again as Waqidi narrates, when the graves were prepared for the dead ones of Quraysh, the Prophet commanded to leave the body of Utba, who was the father of Abu Hudhayfa, outside and said to him: "O Abu Hudhayfa! Are you saddened by what your father has reached?" He replied: "No, by God. But, messenger of God, I saw that my father had an intellect and nobility. I hoped that God would guide him to Islam. And when that eluded him and I saw he did not take it, it irritated me."[237]

And before the second important war, Uhud, there was also a number of raids against the non-believers. Their names were Raid on B. Sulaym in al-Kudr, Raid called al-Sawiq, Raid on Dhu Amarr, Raid on Al-Furu, Attack on B. Qaynuqa, and Raid on Al-Qarada.[238] In the aftermath, as Ibn Ishaq narrates, the war of Uhud happened as a result of the Quraysh's pursuit of revenge for those that they had lost in Badr.[239] Just

---

[235] Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and The Age of Caliphates*, (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1986), 37

[236] Waqidi, *Kitab-al Maghazi*, trans. Rizwi Faizer, Amal Ismail, Abdulkader Tayob, (New York: Routledge, 2011), 53

[237] Ibid., 111-2

[238] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Resullullah*,360-1-2-3-4

[239] Ibid., 370

like in Badr, there were some companions who killed their own relatives also during this war. And it can be also said for the battle of Uhud that these cases are quite important in showing to what extent the bond of faith replaced the bond of blood in this new society. It is one of the examples that Asim b. Thabit killed Musafi b. Talha by saying "I am the son of Abu Aqlah!". When Sulafe who was the mother of Musafi heard about this, she said "He is from our relatives!"[240] Also, Ibn Ishaq narrates that in the battle of Uhud, Utba b. Abu Waqqas hit the Prophet with a stone and one of his teeth was smashed, his face scored and his lip injured. While he was washing the blood from his face, he said: "The wrath of God is fierce against him who blooded the face of His prophet." And Ibn Ishaq also narrates that Sa'd b. Abu Waqqas said for his brother: "I was never more eager to kill anyone than I was to kill Utba b. Abu Waqqas; he was, as I know, of evil character and hate among his people. It was enough for me (to hate him) that "The apostle should say, 'The wrath of God is fierce against him who blooded the face of His prophet'""[241]

Following these two crucial wars, some other important events occurred which led to the improvement of the social bond which had been established in the city of Madina. The first was the event of Banu Nadir tribe being exiled from Madina with the order of Prophet because of a series of assassination plans against the Prophet although they were in agreement to protect the peace within the city.[242] After that, before the fourth important war, the battle of Ditch, Raid of Dhatu'l-Riqa, and Raid on Dumatu'l Jandal happened.[243] Then, the battle of Ditch broke out because Banu Qurayza - the other Jewish tribe still living in Madina - had allied with the Quraysh to abolish the authority of Prophet Muhammad even though they were also in agreement with him and his companions just like Banu Nadir. After the Prophet had won the war against the alliance of Quraysh and Jews, he ordered to specifically fight with Banu Qurayza because they broke the covenant. He and his companions were also able to win this war and to exile Banu Qurayza from the city.[244] I think that as a result of these events, the notion of solidarity which had widened its scope through the covenant of Madina with the non-Muslims transformed itself again to be

---

[240] Waqidi, *Kitab-al Maghazi*, 112

[241] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Resullullah*, 382

[242] Ibid., 437-9

[243] Ibid., 445-9

[244] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 461-470

based on faith.

3.9. Commitment: The Agreement

After a long period which was full of wars and conflicts, Prophet Muhammad wanted to visit the Ka'ba to perform the *umra* with his companions. When he and his companions prepared and headed towards Macca, Quraysh wanted to prevent this visit and sent an army against them. However, the Prophet and his companions had come to Hudaybiyah area without confronting the army. Then, the Quraysh sent Urwa b. Masud to hear from the Prophet Muhammad. When he went to him, the Prophet said that he and his companions had not come to fight with them, rather they had set out to visit the Ka'ba. And he offered an agreement with the Quraysh to end the fighting and to establish peace for the future. If they did not accept it, he stated, he would continue to fight with them at the risk of his life.[245] In this regard, two things are worthy of notice concerning the development of social bond among Muslims. According to Waqidi, when Urwa was speaking with the Prophet Muhammad, he was touching the Prophet's beard. And whenever he touched the Prophet's beard, Mughira pushed his hand and said "Keep your hand from touching the beard of Prophet or I shall attack you!" When he persisted on telling him to desist from touching the beard, Urwa became angry and said; "How strange! Who are you to deserve what I see from among your companions?" The messenger of God replied: "This is al-Mughira b. Shu'ba, the son of your brother". Urwa said: "You are with that? O treacherous one!..."[246] This case can be shown as an example to show how the Muslims replaced their bond of tribe with the bond of faith. Also, when Urwa went back to Macca, he told the Quraysh how his companions treated the Prophet. He said: "Whenever he performed his ablutions they ran to get the water he had used; if he spat they ran to it; if a hair of his head fell they ran to pick it up. And he said "I have been to Chosroes in his kingdom, and Caesar in his kingdom and the Negus in his kingdom, but I never have seen a king among people like Muhammad among his companions. I have seen the people who will never abandon him for any

---

[245] Ibid., 499-507

[246] Waqidi, *Kitab-al Maghazi*, 292

reason, so form your own opinion."[247] This is also important to show how they had great loyalty to the Prophet Muhammad, which came from their strong bond of faith.

Afterwards, both camps continued to send a messenger to each other. In each time, Quraysh was not satisfied with what they heard from the Prophet Muhammad and became angry with the suggestions of their own messengers when they came back to Macca. Finally, Prophet Muhammad sent Uthman b. Afvan to Macca to explain that their reason to enter Macca is to visit Ka'ba and invite them to Islam. When he went there, he delivered the message to the Quraysh under the protection of Eban b. Said. However, they refused to accept to allow the Prophet and his companions to enter the city even after it was told that their goal was to visit Qaba. In this visit of Uthman to Macca through the order of the Prophet, he experienced the event which was important to understand the strong bond that Maccan Muslims who were still staying in Macca had with the Prophet. When Uthman reached to Macca, he met with them who were weak and in need. He said to them that Prophet Muhammad heralded the Muslims with the conquest of Macca. When they heard about this news, they cried and said "Convey our greetings to the Messenger of God. Indeed He who brought him into al-Hudaybiyah decrees that He will bring him to the heart of Macca."[248] It is understood that they offered their commitments through their beliefs in what the Prophet heralded them without questioning or objecting.

Ibn Ishaq then stated that when Uthman was still in Macca, the apostle and the Muslims were informed that Uthman had been killed. According to his narration, when the apostle heard that Uthman had been killed, he said that they would not leave until they fought the enemy. And he summoned the men to give their undertaking.[249] According to Waqidi, the Prophet said that "Surely God has commanded to negotiate a pact."[250] That is, the Prophet decided to fight with Quraysh because he was informed that his messenger was killed by them. And as a result, he was ordered to take the undertaking of his companions to fight with them.

---

[247] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 503

[248] Waqidi, *Kitab-al Maghazi*, 295-6

[249] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 503

[250] Waqidi, *Kitab-al Maghazi*, 296

Ibn Ishaq stated that "The pledge of al-Ridwan took place under a tree. Men used to say that the apostle took their pledge unto death. Jabir b. 'Abdullah used to say that the apostle did not take their pledge unto death, but rather their undertaking that they could not run away. Not one of the Muslims who were present failed to give his hand except al-Jadd b. Qays, brother of B. Salima." Waqidi narrated that the first person who gave the pledge was Sinan b. Abi Sinan. Sinan said "O messenger of God! I pledge allegiance to you and to what you desire." The Messenger of God took the pledge from the people in the same manner he did from Sinan.[251] Also in the narration of Bukhari it is mentioned:

> Salama said, "I gave the Pledge of allegiance (Al-Ridwan) to Allah's Messenger (ﷺ) and then I moved to the shade of a tree. When the number of people around the Prophet (ﷺ) diminished, he said, 'O Ibn Al-Akwa`! Will you not give to me the pledge of Allegiance?' I replied, 'O Allah's Messenger (ﷺ)! I have already given to you the pledge of Allegiance.' He said, 'Do it again.' So I gave the pledge of allegiance for the second time." I asked 'O Abu Muslim! For what did you give he pledge of Allegiance on that day?" He replied, "We gave the pledge of Allegiance for death."[252]

And finally Waqidi mentions that Suhayl b.Amr and the others who were with him observed how the people were quick to acknowledge the Prophet, were prepared to fight, and hastened to act.[253] I think that these narrations regarding the pledge of allegiance to the Prophet would demonstrate the commitment of the companions of the Prophet to his decisions even if the price of it was to fight and die, as we see in the previous cases.

Ibn Ishaq then narrated that Quraysh then sent Suhayl b. 'Amr brother of B. 'Amir b. Lu'ayy to the Apostle with instructions to make peace with him on condition that he went back this year, so that none of the Arabs could say that he made a forcible entry. When the Apostle saw him coming he said: "The people want to make peace seeing that they have sent this man." After a long discussion peace was decided and only to write an agreement was left.[254] According to Ibn Ishaq's narration, the agreement was as follows:

---

[251] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 604

[252] Bukhari, Sahih al-Bukhari, trans. Muhammad Muhsin Khan, (Riyadh: Darussalam,1997) Vol. 4, Hadith No. 207

[253] Waqidi, *Kitab-al Maghazi*, 297

[254] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 504

This is what Muhammad b. 'Abdullah has agreed with Suhayl b. 'Amr: they have agreed to lay aside war for ten years during which men can be safe and refrain from hostilities on condition that if anyone comes to Muhammad without the permission of his guardian he will return him to them; and if anyone of those with Muhammad comes to Quraysh they will not return him to him. We will not show enmity one to another and there shall be no secret reservation or bad faith. He who wishes to enter into a bond and agreement with Muhammad may do so and he who wishes to enter into a bond and agreement with Quraysh may do so.' [255]

After the camp of Quraysh declared that "We are in a bond and agreement with Muhammad", one of them, B. Bakr leapt up and said the same with regard to Quraysh and added to the agreement: "You must retire from us this year and not enter Mecca against our will, and next year we will make way for you and you can enter it with your companions, and stay there three nights. You may carry a rider's weapons, the swords in their sheaths. You can bring in nothing more."[256]

As seen here, the terms of the agreement were not actually fair between two sides. And one of the difficult implementations of this unfairness was seen just after the peace had decided. As Ibn Ishaq narrates,

Just in the moment of the agreement had decided but not signed yet by two camps, the son of Suhayl, Abu Jandal b.Suhayl who was Muslim appeared walking in fitters, having escaped to the Apostle. When Suhayl saw Abu Jandal he got up and hit him in the face and took hold of his collar, saying, 'Muhammad, the agreement between us was concluded before this man came to you.' He replied, 'You are right.' He began to pull him roughly by his collar and to drag him away to return him to Quraysh, while Abu Jandal shrieked at the top of his voice, 'Am I to be returned to the polytheists that they may entice me from my religion O Muslims?' and that increased the people's dejection. The apostle said, 'O Abu Jandal, be patient and control yourself, for God will provide relief and a means of escape for you and those of you who are helpless. We have made peace with them and we and they have invoked God in our agreement and we cannot deal falsely with them.'[257]

According to Waqidi, the Prophet then suggested Suhayl's father Suhayl to take him under his protection at least, but he refused. However two members of the Quraysh, Huwaytib b. Abduluzza and Mikraz b. Hafs declared that they accept to take him

---

[255] Ibid., 504

[256] Ibid., 504

[257] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 505

under his protection and not to allow him to be tortured.[258] This case along with the previous cases that I addressed demonstrates clearly how the bond of faith replaced the bond of blood. However it also demonstrates that for also the non-believers the tribal bonds could weaken when the ideology was in question. I mean, while the case that Suhayl wanted to stay with the Prophet rather than his father who was torturing him just because of his faith was one of the examples of that the bond of faith replaced the bond of blood, it also demonstrates that the bond of blood could be dismissed by the non-believers as well for the sake of their ideology.

Waqidi also narrates that when the agreement was signed, Huwaytib and Mikraz said to each other that they had never seen a tribe like the tribe of the Muslims who respect and love both each other and Muhammad in such a sincere way.[259] Just like in Urwa that I mentioned above, both of them also had a chance to witness the loyal treatment of the companions towards the Prophet during these events. However, for the case of the agreement, it cannot be said that everybody among the Muslims welcomed it when it was signed. Some of the companions of the Prophet intended to object to it. For example, it is narrated that Umar b. Khattab had asked the Prophet some protesting questions regarding that the agreement had unequal terms for the rights of Muslims and seemed to be a disadvantage for them. However, they calmed down with the Prophet's reinforcement on his previous good tidings about doing *umra* at ease in Kaba in the near future.[260] They did not even will to sacrifice their animals at first when Prophet had ordered so, but when they saw the Prophet doing it himself, they accepted to perform the sacrifice.[261] According to Waqidi's narration, regarding some of the companions' objections, Abu Bakr said that there was not a conquest in Islam greater than the conquest of al-Hudaybiyah. He also said "But the people at that time failed to reach to a decision as to what was between Muhammad and His Lord. Man hastened but God most high did not hasten as did man, until the affairs was as God desired."[262] And after a while, Umar b. Khattab confessed that he had felt as doubtful about the agreement as he never felt before since his conversion to Islam but regretted his attitudes towards the Prophet on that day and his sadness

---

[258] Waqidi, *Kitab-al Maghazi*, 299

[259] Ibid., 299

[260] Waqidi, *Kitab-al Maghazi*, 299-300

[261] Ibid., 301-302

[262] Ibid., 302

increased whenever he reminded himself of that attitude.[263]   However, generally speaking, it can be said that the agreement of Hudaybiyah was an example of the commitment of the companions. Although some of the companions had wanted to resist the agreement because of its unfair terms, as far as all the steps which led to the agreement from the beginning to the end are considered, it is seen that all of the companions showed their commitment to the Prophet to a great extent. I think that this is also a good example of the strength of the bond of faith which had already been established among the Muslims.

---

[263] Ibid., 298

Chapter 4: Victory and *Fath*

Following the agreement of Hudaybiyah, a series of events including wars, agreements and first relations with other states took place. However, regarding the steps in the formation of the social bond among Muslims, the most important event was the conquest of Macca. This conquest was not as a result of a sudden decision; it was rather because Quraysh broke the agreement of Hudaybiyah. Afterwards, Abu Sufyan who was among the most important men of Quraysh was sent to Madina to meet the Prophet in order to renew the agreement. However, the Prophet did not accept and he set out to Macca with his companions for battle.[264] However, "The apostle had instructed his commanders when they entered Mecca only to fight those who resisted them, except a small number who were to be killed even if they were found beneath the curtains of the Ka'ba."[265] "Muhammad's triumphal entry into Mecca, however, was the final and absolute decision between the Muslims and their chief opponents, the pagan Quraysh..."[266] From this date on, no big opposition from the Quraysh side came and it can be said that the *fath* - conquest of Macca - was a milestone in changing the dynamics in Islamic history. I think that this change was not only about opening a way towards being a powerful state , but it was also about strengthening the bond of faith. Through the conquest, we see a massive movement of conversion to Islam in Macca.[267] With these many conversions, the notion of family and tribe came to be under the umbrella of faith and previous conflict between diverse identities came to an end. *Jahili* community standing in contradiction and conflict with the faith community became Muslim after the conquest. The *fath* actually showed that Islam is not in contradiction with the blood relation itself. Rather, in the moment the members of a family accepted Islam, they also became brothers and sisters in Islam for each other, therefore their bond of blood transformed into a more valuable and powerful bond than the previous one. Therefore, in this

---

[264] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah,* 42-3

[265] Ibid., 550

[266] W. Montgomery Watt, Muhammad at Madina, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 67

[267] Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, trans. Nasiruddin Al- Kattab, (Riyadh: Darussalam, 2012) Vol. 3, 118, Hadith No. 3127

sense it can be said that the *fath* became a key for healing the identities and empowering the bond among the members of family and tribe almost in the whole Arab society. And it enabled the concept of bond to go back to what it originally referred to with regard to family as a foundation of the society by freeing it from the limitation of the notion of *asabiyya* as described by Ibn Khaldun. In fact, the bond of faith in Islam requires the bond of family as well. But it does not accept the notion of *asabiyyah*. This is also to protect the family as a domain of respect and dignity from falling into conflict which breaks down the social coherence of the community and corrodes the ethos of family.

4.1. The Farewell Pilgrimage and the Sermon:

Following the conquest of Macca, there were some series of events like conquests of other cities and the regions outside of Macca. However, apart from such events, again for the purpose of understanding the formation of the social bond among the believers, the farewell pilgrimage and the sermon of the Prophet would be the last related step that should be examined. In terms of the pilgrimage and the sermon of the Prophet, Ibn Ishaq shortly states:

> It is known as "the farewell pilgrimage" because during it the Prophet (SAAS), said goodbye to the people and performed no pilgrimage after it. It is also named *hajj al-Islam*, "The Islam pilgrimage", because the Prophet (SAAS) left on no other occasion from Medina to make the pilgrimage, though he had performed pilgrimages a number of times before the prophethood and thereafter. [268]

Ibn Ishaq narrates that the apostle completed the *hajj* and showed men the rites, and taught them what God had prescribed as to their *hajj*, the station, the throwing of stones, the circumambulation of the temple, and what He had permitted and forbidden.[269] Also, Ibn Kathir states that all the bases and fundamentals of Islam, without exception, were made clear by the Prophet. When he explained and laid out for them the prescribed law for the pilgrimage, God revealed to him: "Today I have perfected your faith for you, fulfilled my grace upon you and favoured you with

---

[268] Ibn Kathir, *Al-Sira Al-Nabawiyya,* trans. Trevor Le Gassick, (Reading: Garnet Publishing,1988) Vol.1, 149

[269] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah,* 652

Islam as a religion" (surat al-Maida; V, v.3)[270] Ibn Ishaq mentions that the Prophet also gave a number of speeches during his farewell pilgrimage and narrates the whole of it. Apart from the details, the point which I would like to highlight in this important case is the farewell sermon of the Prophet since it demonstrates the social bond among the believers. The following words from the sermon are quite striking in this regard:

> O men, listen to my words. I do not know whether I shall ever meet you in this place again after this year. Your blood and your property are sacrosanct until you meet your Lord, as this day and this month are holy. You will surely meet your Lord and He will ask you of your works. I have told you. He who has a pledge let him return it to him who entrusted him with it; all usury is abolished, but you have your capital. Wrong not and you shall not be wronged. God has decreed that there is to be no usury and the usury of 'Abbas b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib is abolished, all of it. All blood shed in the pagan period is to be left unavenged. The first claim on blood I abolish is that of b. Rabi'a b. al-Harith b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib (who was fostered among the B. Layth and whom Hudhayl killed). It is the first blood shed in the pagan period which I deal with.
>
> …
>
> O men, for I have told you. I have left with you something which if you will hold fast to it you will never fall into error-a plain indication, the book of God and the practice of His prophet, so give good heed to what I say. Know that every Muslim is a Muslim's brother, and that the Muslims are brethren. It is only lawful to take from a brother what he gives you willingly, so wrong not yourselves. 0 God, have I not told you?[271]

Yaqubi narrates that the Prophet also said in the sermon: "In Islam, the people are equal. All of you were the children of Adam and Hawwa. There is no superiority of Arab over non-Arab and non-Arab over Arab except for the piety to Allah." Ibn Ishaq goes on to narrate: "I was told that the men said 'O God, yes,' and the apostle said 'O God, bear witness.'"[272]

Prophet Muhammad's emphasis on brotherhood and the abolishment of bloodshed in his last sermon which is supposed to highlight the most crucial issues is very significant. I think that it would show how both the existence and the continuity of these two aspects were quite important for the newly formed community which was

---

[270] Ibn Kathir, *Al-Sira Al-Nabawiyya*,Vol.1, 149

[271] Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasullullah*, 651

[272] Ahmad b.Abu Yaqub, Tarikh'ul Yaqubî, (Beirut: Daru's Sadr, 1960), Vol.2, 115

grounded on the bond of faith. This would be mainly because in the case that the brotherhood among the believers and the abolishment of bloodshed are not practiced, there is a big threat of socially going back to the tradition of *jahiliyya* which was based on the blood and tribal ties. And it would mean the total fracture of the backbone of this new faith-based society. Thus, it can be clearly understood that the Prophet placed great importance on the social bond among the believers based on the notion of shared faith and highlighted it in his last speech, which shows how crucial the social bond is for the Muslim society of both his present time and of the future. Therefore, it is also seen that the existence and the importance of the bond among the believers is a universal notion like other principles of Islam. As Kennedy explains:

> Having acknowledged the debt that Muhammad owed to traditional forms, it must be said that the umma by the time of his death was a community which had no parallels in traditional Arabian society. The most important difference of course was Muhammad's uncompromising monotheism and his own status as the Apostle of God. Previous temples and their holy families had had an authority limited to their own areas and accepted as natural that there should be others in different places. Pagans could not be treated as equals since anyone who refused to accept the revelation of Islam was thereby damned, but on the other hand no one was excluded for reasons of social status or tribal origin from joining the umma and they could do this as individuals. This universality of Islam marked a radical break with the pagan cults which had preceded it and accounts for much of the dynamism of the emerging community.[273]

I think in his phrase, the point of universality of Islam fits well with the Prophet's emphasis on the piety before Allah regardless of the believers' ethnic origins, social status etc. as he highlights in the sermon. It also fits with the universality of the messages of Islam like the notion of brotherhood among the believers as the Prophet focused on during his sermon.

---

[273] Kennedy, *The Prophet and The Age of Caliphates*, 46-7

Conclusion:

In this research, I tried to examine the process of formation of the social bond among Muslims in early Islamic period, namely in the era of Prophet Muhammad. Through this examination, rather than handling every single case within this era, I handled the cases and events which I saw as related to the formation of the bond among early believers. I also tried to name the chapters in the most proper way to be able to give the readers a brief map regarding how this process was shaped. In this respect, I would say that it is not a biographical study, but rather is a historico-sociological research which tries to investigate the historical line of the steps which led to the formation and development of the concept of bond in the early era of Islamic history. That is, as I expressed more in detail in the beginning, the study tries to conceptualize the Prophet's era in the light of the notion of bond of faith which was established among the Muslims through the tie of Islam and replaced the previous tribal ties.

The notion of *asabiyya* stemming from the tribalism was the main determinant understanding for Arab society in the period of *Jahiliyyah*. As I expressed in detail earlier in the study, it was a very powerful and important notion which had both advantages and disadvantages for the society. However, despite the great costs that it brought along such as long-lasting wars, *Jahili* Arabs were quite committed to the traditions that the notion of *asabiyya* gave birth to. In such an environment, coming of the message of Islam had created a huge effect on the society as I tried to show in this study. Even through its basic principles, Islam had challenged the backbones of *Jahili* society and threatened their established social order and lifestyle. One of its great examples is Islam's challenging the notion of *asabiyya* through the bond of faith. And a more important aspect here is the people's commitment to this new bond although the previous one was quite strong and determinant for them.

It can be said that the first step in the formation of the bond among the believers was taken through the emergence of the notion of *ukhuwwat'ul iman* which simply refers

to the brotherhood of sharing the same faith. I suggest that in the formation of the social bond the period in Macca can be accounted as the period of *tawhid* both on the faith level by establishing the understanding of divinity and on the relational level by bonding the hearts of the believers and bringing out the *ukhuwwa*. The first step which contributed to the bond of faith that was established by the acceptance of Islam among the believers was their secret entrance to *dâr'ul Arqam.* And learning and practicing activities led by the Prophet there became another early step in the improvement of the bond of faith. Then came the stage of the Muslims' mutual challenge against the persecutions that they were exposed to by their Maccan townsmen, relatives or tribe members who were not believers. As a result of these oppressions, their attempt to escape to another country that was ruled by a just king and the experiences that both the immigrants and the those who stayed in Macca went through during the journey made the believers more connected. Afterwards, while the boycott of unbelievers against Muslims damaged the Muslim community both economically and physically, the bond among them had strengthened through both economic and psychological assistance that they gave each other. And as the last development in Macca, when the Prophet invited Aws and Khazraj tribes to Islam in the pledges of Aqaba, they accepted and promised to protect the Prophet in Madina even at the cost of their lives. It can be said that this was a turning point for the expansion of the bond among Muslims for both intertwining the Madinan tribes with the Maccan believers and for opening a way to widen its scope with the later developments experienced in Madina.

In the second period which began with the *hijra* to Madina, it is seen that the new dynamics regarding the development and empowerment of the bond of faith had emerged through the new beginnings and changings in the society of Muslims. These beginnings and changings which can be named as a reformation in the society occurred both in political and societal spheres. The first event was the construction of the mosque in the city. It helped the Muslims develop the bond among them by enabling a mutual meeting place not only in praying times but through the whole day. Alongside the construction of the mosque, bazaar and spread of Islam were also among the first important developments that the Prophet established. Then the Prophet offered the pact of brotherhood which has some terms regarding the rights of being brother. Thus, the notion of *ukhuwwa* which is more about the brotherhood

that simply requires bonding of the hearts had been carried into the notion of *wala'a* which requires the mutual cooperation and assistance by the agreement of all. In the next step regarding the development of social bond, the Prophet made an agreement with all the members of the city including Jews and pagans mainly in order to secure the rights of people and enable the peace all over the city. Intentionally or unintentionally, this was a turning point which transformed the city of Madina into a city-state. While it consequently gave birth to some other concepts such as citizenship and civility, it also widened the scope of the notion of solidarity by addressing Jews and Muslims under the title of *umma*. Although the scope and meaning of *umma* has been discussed a lot by various scholars as I tried to briefly express, it seems as a general meeting point to be referring to the political unity of the believers which was consisted of Jews of Madina and Muslims. In addition, it also brought new dimension to the concept of *wala'a* for Muslims by regulating the relations among them with the declaration of some rights and responsibilities in its first section. Furthermore, the wars between unbelievers of Quraysh and the Muslims help us see the degree of loyalty and sacrifice of the believers. Not only the believers' acceptance of entering the war with the Prophet as they promised in Aqaba but also that they fought against their own tribe members or even family members in these wars were crucial to understand their strong sense of commitment. In this process, the covenant's gradual violation by two Jewish tribes led to the collapse of solidarity between Jews and Muslims and to the limitation of its scope for being a faith based bond again which comprises only Muslims. Just before the Hudaybiyah agreement was signed, during the Quraysh's attempts of negotiation with Muslims, the respectful and affectionate behaviors of the companions towards the Prophet Muhammad, which was also witnessed and reported by one of the unbeliever messengers of the Quraysh, and the desire of the Maccan Muslims for being always together with the Prophet would show us the sincere face of their bond of faith. Moreover, the initial resistance of Umar b. Khattab and some other companions against the agreement of Hudaybiyah because of its unfair conditions for the Muslims would show that the cases of disagreement could also happen; but the following expression of remorse from the disagreeing party can show the high level of commitment that always existed. In the conquest of Macca, we see the bond of blood being concerned again by the believers through the conversion of masses who were their relatives, but not as in *Jahiliyya*, rather as in the frame of Islamic

principles. And as I pointed out earlier, it that showed Islam is not contradictory with the blood relation itself. Lastly, in the farewell sermon of Prophet Muhammad, we see that the importance of bond of faith and its superiority over any other bond was highlighted by the Prophet not for only the Muslims listening to him but also for all Muslims in the future all over the world. This suffices to show both the importance and the universality of the bond of faith like all the other principles of Islam.

Therefore, I believe that every single step in the process that I expressed in detail has been gradually shaped and led to empower the social bond among the believers in various levels. Throughout this research, except for few cases, we observed that the early believers had committed to Prophet Muhammad wholly in every event and issue that I addressed regarding his era. Also, all the aspects which show us the process of formation of the social bond among the believers can be accounted as a social transformation process at the same time, because for the early Muslim society every step in the formation of the bond that we saw throughout the research had to come with the transformation of the old. I mean, if the believers did continue to maintain their tribal or family ties as before despite the new bond that Islam offers, the bond of faith could not be formed as Islam requires. In this regard, the extent of the formation of the new social bond is in the line with the extent of the transformation the *Jahiliyya* tradition. As part of this transformation process, a notion that expresses the essence of all these developments can be mentioned in regard to both Macca and Medina periods: the notion of *baraa*. In this sense, the believers' challenge against the non-believers by declaring their faith in Macca at first and by fighting against them as a separate society in Madina later on can be accounted as being *barî,* which means being exempted from what the non-believers believed and practiced.

In all these steps, although we also partly saw that the tribal bonds were not totally forgotten by the unbelievers as several cases that I noted show, we would not say it was also the case of the believers. I mean that we see in some cases or events that some unbelievers still wanted to maintain their tribal bonds either in order to help their Muslim relatives or in order to take assistance from them, even if they were against Islam. However, we do not see similar attempts from the believers. Rather, as I partly pointed out, when the believers' relatives or tribe members wanted them to

do a favor for them, they rejected and highlighted that their old bonds were replaced by the bond of Islam. This difference would be due to the fact that it is very natural that one protects their blood bond but it is not so natural that it is easily replaced by another bond where they help their brothers and sisters at the cost of their property, prestige and even life. However, as we saw in some examples in the wars and in the agreement of Hudaybiyah, the unbelievers can also ignore their tribal or family bonds because of their ideology. I would say that although it is true, it does not falsify the existence of the strong bond among Muslims, because the two sides were not in the equal positions to be able to compare. As we saw until here, Muslims had suffered from the cruelty of their own tribesmen or even family members because of their faith and commitment to the Prophet so much so that they migrated to another city. However, even if they were in such a difficult situation, rather than giving up, they empowered their commitments to their faith at every step. On the other hand, unbelievers were neither in a weak position until the conquest of Macca nor paid a price for their ideologies by oppression or persecution unlike the believers. Always, to demolish is quite easier than to establish. However, what we see during this era is the process of formation of *a* society through the transformation of *the* society. And this formation and transformation process is not only about the institutions and cities, but it is more about the transformation of the bonds and formation of new ties and new identities, which come with the bonding as Islam suggests. In this respect, this study would also help us in understanding how Prophet Muhammad alone, in a very short span of time, transformed the society that is described below by Nursi:

> You know that a small habit like cigarette smoking among a small nation can be removed permanently only by a powerful ruler with great effort. But look! This Being removed numerous ingrained habits from intractable, fanatical large nations with slight outward power and little effort in a short period of time, and in their place he so established exalted qualities that they became as firm as if they had mingled with their very blood. He achieved very many extraordinary feats like this. [274]

I think that the above expression not only summarizes the gist of social transformation process but also puts forth how Prophet Muhammad transformed the notion of asabiyya which was one of the most ingrained traditions of the Arab

---

[274] Bediuzzaman Said Nursi, *The Words*, trans. Şükran Vahide, (Istanbul: Sözler Publications, 2008), 246

society in the period of *jahiliyya* into the notion of bond of faith in a very short period of time of his prophethood. As my study attempted to show, the Prophet's success in transforming such a society as described above by Nursi cannot be understood without having a close look at the bond of faith that he established in the society.

Bibliography:

Abu Dawud, *Sunan Abu Dawud*, Translated by Yaser Qadhi, Riyadh: Darussalam Publications, 2008

Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, trans. Nasiruddin Al- Kattab, Riyadh: Darussalam, 2012

Ahmad b.Abu Yaqub, Tarikh'ul Yaqubî, Beirut: Daru's Sadr, 1960

Apak, Adem, *Asabiyet ve Erken Dönem İslam Siyasi Tarihindeki Etkileri,* Istanbul: Düşünce Kitabevi, 2004
…………..,"Asabiyet" in *Islam Ansiklopedisi,* TDV, vol.3
http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c03/c030292.pdf

Arjomand, Said Amir "The Constitution of Medina: A Sociolegal Interpretation of Muhammad's Acts of Foundation of the "Umma"", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 2009, 555-575

Ariffin, Syed, *Architectural Conservation in Islam: Case Study of the Prophet's Mosque*, Skudai: Joor Dar'ul Ta'zim, 2005

Armstrong, Karen, *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet,* London: Phoenix Press, 1991

Böwering, Gerhard, Patricia Crone, Mahan Mirza, Wadad Kadi, Muhammad Qasim Zaman, Devin J. Stewart, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought,* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013

Behn, W., Edited and Translated by, "Muhammad's Constitution of Medina," published as an excursus to A. J. Wensinck, *Muhammad and the Jews of Medina* , Freiburg, Germany: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1975

Bukhari, Imam Muhammad bin Ismail, *Al-Adab Al-Mufrad*, Translated by Rafiq Abdur Rahman, Beirut: Dar Al-Kotob Al-Ilmiyah, 2011

…….., Muhammad, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, Translated by Muhammad Muhsin Khan, Riyadh: Darussalam,1997

Buti, Ramadan, Nancy N. Roberts, Anas Rifai, *The jurisprudence of the Prophetic Biography & A Brief History of Rightly Guided Caliphs*, Damascus : Dar al-Fikr, 2008

Cambridge Dictionary Editors, "Society", Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus, 3rd Edition, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008),
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/society

Emon, Anver, "Reflections on the 'Constitution of Medina': An Essay on Methodology and Ideology in Islamic Legal History", *UCLA Journal of Islamic and Near Eastern Law* 103 (2001/2002)

Gabrieli, F., "ʿAṣabiyya", in: E*ncyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition,* Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 28 May 2018, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0753

Geller, Ernest "Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East", in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*, Edited by Khoury, Philip S., and Joseph Kostiner, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990

Gîl, Moše, *Jews in Islamic Countries in the Middle Ages*, Translated by David Strassler, Brill Leiden, Boston:2004

Hamidullah, Muhammad, *The Life and Work of The Prophet of Islam*, Translated by Mahmood Ahmad Ghazi, Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 1998

………………………..., "The First Written Constitution in the World", Lahore: Kazi Publications, 1809

Hudgson, G.S. Marshall, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization,* Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1974

Ibn Hazm, Said, *Jamharat Ansab Al-Arab*, Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arifbi-Masr, 1948

Ibn Ishaq, Muhammad, *Sirat Rasullullah*, Translated by A. Guillaume, Karachi: Oxford University Press,1955

Ibn Kathir, Ismael ibn Omar, *Al-Sira Al-Nabawiyya*, Translated by Trevor Le Gassick, Reading: Garnet Publishing,1988, Vol.1

Ibn Khaldun, Muhammad, *Muqaddimah*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, edit. N.J. Dawood, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005

Ibn Sa'd, Muhammad, *Kitab'ul Tabaqat'ul Kabir*, Al-Shirkatu Al-Davliyatu Li't Tıba'a, 2001

………., *Kitab al- Tabaqat,* Translated by S. Moninul Haq, Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society,1972

Ibn Shabba, Omar b. Shabba b. Ubayd al-Numayri, *Tarikh'ul Madinat'ul Munawwara,* Vol. 1, Jiddah: 1399 h.

Jones, Alan "Ayyām al-ʿArab", in: Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE, Edited by: Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, Everett Rowson, (June, 2018) http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_SIM_0259

Kaka Khel, Muhammad Nazeer, "Foundation of Islamic State at Madina and Its Constitution", *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (AUTUMN 1982), 71, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20847209

Kaldor, Mary, "The Idea of Global Civil Society", *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, Vol. 79, No. 3 (May, 2003)

Kallek, Cengiz, *Asr-ı Saadette Yönetim-Piyasa İlişkisi,* İz Yayıncılık, İstanbul:1997

Kennedy, Hugh, *The Prophet and The Age of Caliphates*, Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1986

Köksal, M. Âsım, *İslam Tarihi: Mekke Devri*, Istanbul: Şamil Yayınevi, 1980

L. Mish, John, *English-Arabic and Arabic- English Dictionary,* Frederick Ungar Publishing, New York: 1954

Lapidus, Ira M. , "Tribes and State Formation in Islamic History", in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East ,* edited by Khoury, Philip S., and Joseph Kostiner, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990

Lecker, Michael "Glimpses of Muammad's Medinan Decade", in *Cambridge Companion to Muhammad*, edit. by Jonatan E. Brockopp, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010

Lowry, Joseph, "The Prophet as a Lawgiver and Legal Authority", in *Cambridge Companion to Muhammad*, edit. by Jonatan E. Brockopp, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010

Madina, Maan Z., *Arabic-English Dictionary of the Modern Literary Language,* New York: Pocket Books, 1973

Martinez, Patricia, "Islam, Constitutional Democracy, and the Islamic State in Malaysia." Chapter. In Civil Society in Southeast Asia, 27–53. ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2004

Muhammad Ali, Maulana, *Muhammad: The Prophet,* Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman, 1924

Muslim b. Al-Hajjaj, Sahih Muslim, Translated by Nasiruddin al-Khattab, Riyadh: Darussalam Publications, 2007

Nursi, Bediuzzaman Said, *The Words*, trans. Şükran Vahide, Istanbul: Sözler Publications, 2008

Önkal, Ahmet, "Hazrec", Istanbul: TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi, 1998
http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/ayrmetin.php?idno=d170144

Quran, trans.by Muhammad Taqi-uddin Al-Hilali, Muhammad Muhsin Khan, Madinah: King Fahd Complex, 1917

Robinson, Chase F., "The Rise of Islam, 600-705", in *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, edited by Chase F. Robinson, Cambridge University Press, 2011

Rubin, Uri, "The "Constitution of Medina" Some Notes", *Studia Islamica,* No. 62. (1985)

Salvatore, Armando, *The Sociology of Islam: Knowledge, Power and Civility,* Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2016

Serjeant, R.B., "The Sunnah Jami'ah, Pacts with the Yathrib Jews, and the Tahrim of Yathrib: Analysis and Translation of the Documents Comprised in the So-Called 'Constitution of Medina'" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* University of London, Vol. 41, No. 1, 1978

Smith, W. Robertson, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia,* edit. by Stanley Cook, London: Adam and Charles Black ,1907

Şulul, Kasım, *Son Peygamber Hz. Muhammed'in Hayatı*, Istanbul: Siyer Yayınları, 2011

Tasseron, Ella Landau, "Alliances among The Arabs", *Al-Qantara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 26, No. 1, (2005): 2, http://al-qantara.revistas.csic.es/index.php/al-qantara/article/viewFile/120/106

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, City-state, Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. (April, 20, 2018), https://www.britannica.com/topic/city-state

………………………………………………, Citizenship, Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., (July, 2016), https://www.britannica.com/topic/citizenship

The Editors of Oxford Dictionary, *Citizen*, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/citizen

Tirmidhi, *Jami' At-Tirmidhi*, Translated by Abu Khaliyl, Riyadh: Darussalam, 2007

W. Aslaksen, Erik, *The Social Bond How the Interaction Between Individuals Drives the Evolution of Society*, Cham: Springer Nature, 2017

Watt, W. Montgomery, *Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964

…………………….., *Islam and the Integration of Society,* Oxon: Routledge, 1961

…………………..,*Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953

Waqidi, *Kitab-al Maghazi*, trans. Rizwi Faizer, Amal Ismail, Abdulkader Tayob, New York: Routledge, 2011

Wehr, Hans, *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic: Arabic-English,* edited by J.M. Cowan, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994, 4th edition

Wolf, Eric R. "The Social Organization of Mecca and the Origins of Islam"**,** *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 7, No. 4, Winter, 1951

Türkoğlu, Tuğba

Personal information:

Date of Birth: 16/03/1992

Adress: Rumelihisarüstü Mah., 6.Sokak,Ufuk Apt. 36/3 Sarıyer/İstanbul

Telephone Number: (+90) 541 644 26 68

E-mails: tturkoglu92@gmail.com, tugba.turkoglu@ibnhaldun.edu.tr, T.Turkoglu@warwick.ac.uk

Education:

1998-2006: Sakarya Primary School

2006-2010: Izmir Anatolian Teacher High School

2010-2015: History, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Bogazici University

2014 (14.01.2014- 14.03.2014): University of Warwick via the Erasmus programme

2015-2018: Alliances of Civilizations Institute (ACI), Ibn Haldun University

Training:

2009: Course of Marbling for one term in the high school (non-certificated)

2010: Course of Calligraphy for 3 months (non-certificated)

2012: Course of Tile for 4 months (certificated)

2013: Training on Scenario for 1 month (non-certificated)

2016: Arabic Course, Qasid Arabic Institute, Jordan (certificated at the 5th level out of 7)

Interests:

History, History of Art, Intellectual History, Middle Eastern Studies, Social History, Cinema,

Film-making, Scripting, Photography, Turkish-Islamic Arts, Islamic Architecture

Abilities and Skills :

Languages: Turkish (native), English (Advanced), Arabic (Advanced)

Social Activities

Memberships: Bogazici University Photography Club (BUFOK)

Ibn Haldun University, ACI Community Service Club (IHYA)

Ibn Haldun University, ACI Student Board

Certificates: Turk-Arab Youth Congress, Istanbul, 2013

The Course of Tile, ISMEK, Istanbul, 2012

Conferences and Symposiums:

a) **Presentation:**

 "In Agreement with Al-Ghazali: Nursi's Critique of Farabi and Ibn Sina" in *A Faith Service Through the Guidance of the Quran and Sunna: Positive Action, International Symposium,* Istanbul 2017

b) **Participance:**

The Ways and Means of Living in Peace and Harmony in a Multicultural World, 21th   IFSSO General Conference, Istanbul, 2013

Inspiring Best Practices Forum, BYV, Istanbul, 2013

The Role and Place of Prophethood in Humanity's Journey to the Truth, International Symposium, Istanbul, 2014

Sira Studies in Turkey, International Symposium, Istanbul, 2015

Do Freedoms Unite or Divide: Negotiating the Borders of Freedom of Expression and Freedom of Religion in a Multicultural World, International Symposium, Istanbul, 2015

G20 Interfaith Summit, "Religion, Harmony and Sustainable Development", International Symposium, Istanbul 2016

Civilization Forum, International Symposium, Ibn Haldun University, Istanbul 2017

Ibn Haldun Symposium, Ibn Haldun University, Istanbul 2017