

ALLIANCES AND RIVALRIES THE ARABIC QURAYSH
TRIBES: INHIBITING FACTOR OF ISLAMIC DA'WAH IN
MECCA 610-622 AD

Jati Pamugkas

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Kediri

jatipamungkas@iainkediri.ac.id

Abstract

The period of Islamic growth in Mecca from 610 to 622 AD can be categorized into a full challenges and full obstacles period. The Islamic da'wah delivered by the Prophet Puh often encountered some constraints due to the resistance from the Quraysh leaders. At that time, it was difficult for Quraysh figures to accept new beliefs, especially since Quraysh had a clan-based socio-cultural system consisting of 14 clans. Of the 14 clans or tribes in Quraish, there was competition for the political influence of Mecca which is recorded in history. The purpose of this study is to explain the obstacles to Islamic da'wah in Mecca caused by inter-clan politics among the Quraysh. The method used in this study is a literature review method using primary sources from Arabic. This study explains that the hindrance to Islamic da'wah in Mecca before the Prophet's Puh migration to Medina were caused by socio-cultural factors of the people at that time, that is the competition between clans in Quraish.

Keywords: *Quraysh, Clan, Islam.*

Abstrak

Periode perkembangan Islam di Mekkah dari tahun 610 AD hingga 622 merupakan masa yang penuh tantangan dan rintangan. Dakwah Islam yang disampaikan Rasulullah sering menemui kendala, karena adanya perlawanan dari para tokoh Quraisy. Waktu itu, tokoh Quraisy sulit menerima keyakinan baru, apalagi Quraisy memiliki sistem sosial budaya

berbasis marga yang terdiri dari 14 marga. Dari 14 marga atau suku di Quraisy, bersaing memperebutkan pengaruh politik Mekkah. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk menjelaskan hambatan-hambatan dakwah Islam di Mekkah yang disebabkan oleh politik antarklan di kalangan Quraisy. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode literature review dengan menggunakan sumber primer dari bahasa Arab. Penelitian ini menjelaskan bahwa hambatan dakwah Islam di Mekkah sebelum hijrahnya Rasulullah ke Madinah disebabkan oleh faktor sosial budaya masyarakat saat itu, persaingan antar klan di Quraisy.

Kata kunci: Quraisy, Klan, Islam.

INTRODUCTION

Islam was born in Mecca and was conveyed by the Prophet Muhammad PbuH in 610 AD.¹ Mecca is a religious city in the Arabian Peninsula because it has a building that is believed to be the first building in the world, namely the Kaaba. The Kaaba was renovated by Prophet Ibrahim with the help of Prophet Ismail. The renovation is estimated to have been built in the 20th of BC, or 2600 years before Islam was introduced to the people of Mecca.² After the Kaaba was renovated, Prophet Ibrahim ordered humans, especially the Arabs in the Arabian Peninsula to perform the pilgrimage at the Kaaba, the city of Mecca.³ Since then, Mecca has become a destination for pilgrims, especially from the Arabian Peninsula.

The Prophet PbuH was born in 570 AD, coinciding with the year of the elephant. Arab historians call the year of the elephant because it coincided with the attack of the Yemeni army led by Abraha al-Asyram to destroy the Kaaba. Abraha and his army wanted to abolish the role of the Kaaba and Mecca as destinations for pilgrims from all over the

¹ Faisal Ismail, *Studi Islam Kontemporer*, (Yogyakarta: Diva Press, 2019), 316.

² David Kim, *Religious Encounters in Transcultural Society*, (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018), 4.

³ Asimah Asizun, *Misteri Mukjizat Makkah & Madinah: 21 Kedahsyatan yang Terjadi di Kota al-Mukaromah*, (Jakarta: Lembar Langit Indonesia, 2017), 13.

Arabian Peninsula.⁴ Abraha thought to have built al-Qulais 30 or 40 years before his invasion of Mecca. Abraha built al-Qulais with the aim of being a center of worship for all Arabs. Now the building is in the city of Sanaa, Yemen.⁵ So before storming the Kaaba, Abraha observed the existence and the greatness of the Kaaba for more than 30 years.

The Prophet Pbuh himself was genealogically bloody Quraysh. Judging from the family tree, the Prophet Pbuh came from a prominent family from the largest Arab Quraysh clan in Mecca. The Prophet's Pbuh grandfather, Abd al-Muttalib, was once the leader of Mecca, then it was continued to his son, Abu Talib. Rasulullah Pbuh is a clan of Bani Hashim, and Hashim is a descendant of Qushai ibn Kilab, the founder of Arab Quraysh or Bani Quraysh.⁶ Seeing the lineage and status of the extended family, the Prophet had great capital in preaching Islam in Mecca. But in reality, the mission of the Prophet for 12 years in Mecca experienced many obstacles, challenges, and hostility from the Arab Quraysh officials from various clans.

This proves that the Arab Quraysh were not easily subdued by the power of a leader. Abu Talib was a ruler of Mecca from 578 to 619 AD. Abu Talib could only protect the Prophet Muhammad Pbuh but could not guarantee that Islamic da'wah would run well in Mecca, because of it, the Prophet had preached secretly from 610-613 AD.

In 616-619 AD, the Bani Hasyim including Abu Talib, were boycotted and excommunicated by other clans from economic, social, cultural, and political activities.⁷ This means that in the early days of Islam, Abu Talib's role as the leader of Mecca was very weak. Therefore, the Islamic growth in Mecca before moving to Medina due to historical facts from the politics of the Arab Quraysh clan is interesting to study.

⁴ Ahmadin, *Sejarah Peradaban Islam*, (Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group, 2020), 13.

⁵ Ali as-Sallabee, *The Noble Life of The Prophet*, (Riyadh: Darussalam, 2005), 68.

⁶ Munir Subarman, *Sejarah Kelahiran, Perkembangan, dan Masa Keemasan Peradaban Islam*, (Yogyakarta: Deepublish, 2015), 36.

⁷ Zuleyha Keskin, *Attaining Inner Peace inIslam: Said Nursi's Perspective*, (Singapore: Springer, 2021), 22

QURAYSH CLAN

Bani Quraysh were one of the great clans in Arabia residing in Mecca. The Quraysh has kinship or descent from the Banu Kinanah. This means that the Quraysh is a descendant of the Prophet Ismail. The word Quraysh itself is believed to come from *taqarrusy* which means association or association.⁸ The founder of Quraysh Arabia was named Qushai ibn Kilab because of his success in defeating the Banu Khuza'ah to seize political control and power of Mecca city and Kaaba in the 1st century BC. The name Quraysh, which means association in the founding of the clan, is to gather clans descended from Fihir ibn Malik. Fihir ibn Malik was part of the Banu Kinanah and Qushai himself was his sixth descendant.⁹

From the information above, it is actually the banu or clan that is the difference in the periodization of time. A clan or bani can be established according to an agreement judging from the assessment of the main figure of the founder of the clan. An example is Bani Hashim because the main character of the bani members is Hashim ibn Abdul Manaf. The founder of Banu Hashim is Hashim ibn Abdul Manaf and his descendants can also be called Bani Abdul Manaf because of the fact that they are descendants of Abdul Manaf. Banu Abdul Manaf himself in the Quraysh is not mentioned because he has been represented by his sons, Naufal founded Banu Naufal, Hashim founded Banu Hashim, Muthalib founded Banu al-Muthalib, and Abdu Shams founded Banu Abdu Shams.

Before the Arab Quraysh controlled Mecca, there were two clans that controlled Mecca for a long time. The two clans are the Banu Jurhum and the Banu Khuza'ah. The Jurhums came to power in Mecca after coming to Mecca in the early days of Mecca inhabited by Hagar and her son, the Prophet Ismail. Banu Jurhum slowly but surely became

⁸ Denis McAuley, *Ibn Arabi's Mystical Poetics*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 61.

⁹ Mohsin Akhtar, *Oracle of the Last and Final Message: History and the Philosophical Deductions of the Life of the Prophet Muhammad*, (Bloomington: Xlibris Corporation, 2008), 52.

the ruler of Mecca after Nabit, the eldest son of Prophet Ismail, handed over the keys to the Kaaba to the leader of Banu Jurhum, Mudhadhah bin Amr.¹⁰ Banu Jurhum's superiority over Mecca and the Kaaba came to a halt when two young men from Banu Jurhum committed immorality in the Kaaba. The two young men were cursed to stone for their deeds. Their names are Isaf and Nailah.¹¹ In its development in the time of Amr ibn Luhai of the Banu Khuza'ah, the stone was worshiped by the inhabitants of Mecca.

As a result of these immoral acts, Banu Bakar, who was still descended from Banu Kinanah, who at that time was a minority resident in Mecca, asked for help from Banu Khuza'ah who came from Yemen. In the war, the Jurhums lost and were expelled from Mecca. The Jurhums were eventually forced to return to the southern region of Yemen, where they came from before migrating to Mecca. With this victory, it was strange that the Banu Khuza'ah became the ruler in Mecca and not the Banu Bakr. It is suspected that the Banu Khuza'ah has a greater power than the population of the Banu Bakr. It can be said that Bani Khuza'ah had taken advantage of Banu Bakr's invitation to fight Banu Jurhum. The Khuza'ahs prepared themselves to not only help the Bakrites but also to become rulers in Mecca because mastering Mecca meant controlling the entire Arabian Peninsula because Makkah had the Kaaba.

The Khuza'ahs ruled in Mecca for an estimated 500 years. Banu Khuza'ah's rule over Mecca ended when the last Banu Khuza'ah leader Halil bin Habsyah handed over the keys of the Kaaba to his son-in-law, Qushai bin Kilab, who married his son, Hubai.¹² In another version it is explained that the key to the Kaaba was actually controlled by Abu Gabshan as a substitute for Halil ibn Habsyah. One day Abu Gabshan was drunk and Qushai bought the keys to the Kaaba with a young

¹⁰ Harvey Sindima, *Major Issues in Islam: The Challenges Within and Without*, (Lanham: Hamilton Books, 2018), 25.

¹¹ Ibn Hisyam, *Sirah Nabawiyah Jilid I*, (Jakarta: PT. Darul Falah, 2019), 64.

¹² *Ibid*, 94-95.

female camel. The Banu Khuza'ah did not accept the transfer of the Kaaba keys and also the transfer of Kaaba power to Qushai so that the Banu Khuza'ah went to war with the Banu Kinanah. The war was won by Banu Kinanah because it received help from Banu Qudha'ah.¹³ Since then Mecca was ruled by Qushai and he was declared as the Banu Quraysh because he wanted to gather descendants from Fihir bin Malik.

The period of time when the Jurhums ruled Mecca after the death of the Prophet Ismail or it is estimated that it was 1800 BC to 100 BC. The Khuza'ahs ruled Mecca starting from 100 BC until the middle of the fifth century. The Children of Quraysh became rulers in Mecca from the middle of the fifth century until the conquest of Mecca in 630 AD.

Viewed from a religious point of view, Mecca is actually the embodiment of the city of tawhid or the city of worshippers of God. This is based on the first residents who lived in Mecca were Hagar and Prophet Ismail. Both are corroborated by the presence of Prophet Ibrahim who visited Mecca several times and made symbols of tawhid worship such as hajj and sacrifice. The pilgrimage was ruled by Allah when Prophet Ibrahim visited Mecca on a third visit. The sacrificial service was also the same, which was carried out during the third visit where the Prophet Ismail was to be sacrificed but was eventually replaced by Allah with a sheep which was then distributed to the people of Mecca which at that time had begun to have many immigrants from Yemen, namely the Banu Jurhum.

Idolatry began to be introduced in Mecca when the Banu Khuza'ah came to power in Mecca. Amr ibn Luhai as the leader of the Banu Khuza'ah and ruler of Mecca introduced Hubal which was bought or obtained by Amr bin Luhai from his trade trips in the Levant.¹⁴ He also introduced the idols of Wadd, Suwa, Yauq, Yaghuts, and Nasr that

¹³ Ibrahim Shams al-Din, *Qashash al-'Arab: Masu'ah Turatsiyah Jami'ah Liqashash wa Nawadir wa Tharajf al-'Arab fi al-'Ashr al-Jabili wa al-Islami*, (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 2002), 285

¹⁴ Yoli Hemdi, *Sejarah Keteladanan Nabi Muhammad SAW*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2021), 245

he found on the coast of Jeddah through occult whispers to the clan in the north and south of the Arabian Peninsula. Amr ibn Luhay is also thought to have introduced the trinity of Arab gods based on mythology embodied in sculpture as did the worship of the Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians. The trinity of the deity is al-Uzza for the Arab Quraysh in Mecca, al-Lat for the Banu Tsaqif in Thauf, and Manat for the Banu Khazraj and Banu Aus in Medina.¹⁵

If worship has been carried out since the Banu Khazraj since coming to power then pagan worship or paganism in Mecca has been carried out since 100 BC until 630 AD. When Mecca was conquered by the Prophet, the number of idols circling the Kaaba was even estimated to be in the hundreds. Therefore the Arab Quraysh led by Qushay ibn Kilab is thought to have seized the power of the Banu Khuza'ah in the middle of the fifth century it is difficult to rediscover the worship of tawhid because of the length of influence of paganism in Mecca which is more than 500 years.

The Arab Quraysh is divided into 14 clans. Of the 14 clans, two can be classified into two, namely the Arab Quraysh clan descended from Qushay ibn Kilab and the Arab Quraysh clan outside the descendants of Qushay ibn Kilab. The strongest clans descended from Qushay ibn Kilab are the clans descended from Abdul Manaf, Banu Hashim and Banu Abdu Shams. Meanwhile the strongest clan outside Qushay ibn Kilab is Banu Makhzum.¹⁶ So the Arab Quraysh was dominated by three forces namely Banu Hashim, Banu Abdu Shams and Banu Makhzum. The greatness and strength of the Arab Quraysh clan is based on two things, wealth and number of members. Therefore, to make a respectable clan, they had to trade to the Levant as well as Yemen by obtaining great benefits. This is coupled with competing in the number of children, especially boys, by having many wives. The

¹⁵ Harold Koenig dan Saad al-Shohaib, 83-84.

¹⁶ Klaus Ferdinand. dan Mehdi Mozaffari, *Islam: State and Society*, (London: Routledge, 2005), 74.

Arab clans of Quraysh include Banu al-Harist, Banu 'Amir, Banu 'Adi, Banu Taim, Banu Sahm, Banu Jumah, Banu Makhzum, Banu Zuhrah, Banu Abdu Dar, Banu Abdu Shams, Banu Naufal, Banu Hashim, Banu Muthalib, and Banu Asad.

In addition to the above clans, Quraysh actually have other clans that are descendants of Luai ibn Ghalib. The clans were Banu Khuzaimah ibn Luai, Banu Sa'd ibn Luai, Banu Murrah bin Luai, Banu Samah bin Luai and Banu al-Harits bin Luai. Banu Khuzaimah joined Banu Bakar bin Wail and renamed their clan Banu 'Aidah. Banu Sa'd also joined Banu Bakar ibn Wail and renamed their clan as Banu Kinanah. Banu Murrah ibn Luai joined Banu Ghatafan. Banu Samah ibn Luai changed residences in Oman and Banu al-Harits ibn Luai joined Banu 'Anazah and renamed their clan as Banu Jishm.¹⁷

It is not known exactly why the descendants of Luai ibn Ghalib left Mecca and even joined other clans. This caused only two male descendants of Luai bin Ghalib to remain in Mecca namely 'Amir bin Luai who gave birth to Banu 'Amir and Ka'b bin Luai who gave birth to 12 Arab clans of Quraysh. If you look at the Arab culture based on patrilineal, it is possible that the sons of Luai bin Ghalib came out of Mecca because all their descendants were women. If they marry then their descendants will follow the husband's bloodline. The analysis is actually weak because it is likely that all the descendants of the five sons of Luai ibn Ghalib in the form of daughters are unacceptable because the Arabs will try to obtain a male lineage in order to save the existence of their clan by having many wives. So most likely it was the family split that led to the children of Luai ibn Ghalib leaving Mecca.

The 5 clans were not recognized because they left Mecca long before the time of Qushai ibn Kilab. Qushai ibn Kilab himself was the fourth descendant of Luai ibn Ghalib. So when Qushai ibn Kilab with the help of his brothers from Banu Kinanah who remained in Mecca (the forerunner of the Arab Quraysh) as well as the help of bani

¹⁷ Ibn Hazm, *Jamharah Anshab al-'Arab*, (Beirut, Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 2004), 5.

Qudha'ah to fight Banu Khuza'ah, the five clans did not take part to help Qushai because they were ignorant of the political situation of Mecca and culturally, they themselves decided to leave Banu Kinanah.

QURAYSH POLITICAL CULTURE

Basically, the leadership of the Arab nation is leadership based on the credibility and strength of a figure. This means that the leadership of the Arab nation chooses someone who is able to lead his clan to honor and prosperity and can protect his clan from enemy attacks in order to gain a sense of security and peace. This is used because the life of the Arabs is relatively harsh because they live in less fertile areas with the potential for scrambling for springs. The struggle for such natural resources occurs if the life of the Arabs is carried out in a nomadic way. That is not the case if a clan is housed somewhere as fixed as the Quraysh in Mecca. Wars between major clans are also frequent and last for a long time. An example is the Basus War that took place for more than 40 years between Banu Bakr ibn Wail and Banu Taghlib due to the problem of killed camels.¹⁸ So the leadership in the civilization of the Arabs was not inherited in the form of heredity but chose the right figures from the clan in question. The Quraysh has a unique path of leadership, namely through the descendants of previous leaders and also choosing the right figures in other clans of fellow Quraysh.

From its founding from the middle of the fifth century to 630 AD, the Quraysh had nine figures of leaders. The first is Qushai ibn Kilab who is thought to have led Mecca and the Kaaba from the middle of the fifth century to the end of his life in 480. The second was Abdul Manaf who succeeded the role of his father, Qushai ibn Kilab. Abdul Manaf is explained to have only taken the lead in a short time. The transition period of power was marked by a leadership struggle between him and his brother Abdu Dar who was influential into the future. The third is Hashim who is the son of Abdul Manaf. Hashim led the Arab Quraysh from the late 480s to the end of his life in 497. During his

¹⁸ Muhammad Suwaed, *Historical-Dictionary of the Bedouins*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 67.

tenure there was still political infighting that his father inherited. During his leadership two blocs of Quraysh Arab political power were formed, namely Hilf al-Muthayyabin and Hilf al-Ahlab. Hilf al-Muthayyabin declared that the Arab leadership of Quraysh remained held by Abdul Manaf's descendant Hashim. Hilf al-Ahlab demanded that power should be given to Abdu Dar and his descendants.¹⁹ Hashim was also fought by the son of Abd Shams, namely the Umayyah. The attempted coup received no support and Umayyah's attempt to seize the leadership of Mecca failed.²⁰

The fourth leader of Mecca and the Kaaba was Abdul Muthalib or Shaibah ibn Hashim. When Hashim ibn Abdul Manaf died in Gaza on his trade trip in the Levant, the Arab leadership of Quraysh was given to Muthalib, brother of Hashim or uncle of Abdul Muthalib. The nickname Abdul Muthalib because Shaibah devoted his life to his uncle, Muthalib.²¹ So Abdul Muthalib led Mecca when he was ripe and was probably after Muthalib ibn Abdul Manaf died. If Muthalib is counted then Muthalib was the fourth leader of Quraysh, Abdul Muthalib was the fifth leader of Quraysh Arabs from 510 to 578. After Muthalib died in 510, there was also a dispute in choosing the Arab leadership of Quraysh. There was a rivalry between Abdul Muthalib of Banu Hashim and Harb ibn Umayyah of Banu Abdu Shams. The leaders of the Quraysh clan eventually decided that Abdul Muthalib became the leader of the Quraysh. The strong figure of Harb ibn Umayyah in Mecca was also a challenge for Abdul Muthalib during his time as leader of the Quraysh. It is explained in the history of Mecca that Harb ibn Umayyah became a wealthy merchant in Mecca so that he was always a political

¹⁹ Syukran Kharbuthli, *Suthur Mansiah fi Tarikh al-Hijaz*, (Damaskus, Dar Rislan, 2011), 62.

²⁰ Abdul Lathif, *Bangkai dan Runtuhnya Khilafah Bani Umayyah*, (Jakarta: Pustaka al-Kautsar, 2016), 16.

²¹ Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam: A History of the Evolution and Ideals of Islam*, (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2010), 5.

opponent of Abdul Muthalib.²² Therefore, the da'wah of Prophet was hampered in Mecca as well as the political rivalry between Banu Hashim and Banu Abdu Shams.

The sixth leader of the Quraysh was Abu Talib who was the son of Abdul Muthalib who was also from the Banu Hashim. Abu Talib led the Quraysh from 578 to 619. The original name of Abu Talib has two versions, namely Imran and Abdul Manaf.²³ The name Abu Talib is his chewing name because the eldest son is named Talib. During his leadership, there began to be resistance from various Arab clans of Quraysh when Prophet began to publicly indict Islam in 613. Therefore, Abu Talib's role in leading the Arab Quraysh and also the policy in managing Mecca began to receive resistance from his political rivals, especially from Banu Makhzum and Banu Abdu Shams. The figures from Banu Makhzum who opposed it were Walid ibn al-Mughirah and Abu Jahal or Amr ibn Hisham. From Banu Abdu Shams there are Abu Sufyan ibn Harb and Utbah ibn Rabi'ah.²⁴

The biggest resistance to Abu Talib who was still the leader of Mecca was the boycott of the Banu Hashim by the other clans of Quraysh from 616 to 619. So Abu Talib's leadership was ineffective when he entered 616 because he himself was boycotted by his people. Most likely the Quraysh listened more to the orders of Walid ibn al-Mughirah of the Banu Makhzum. Walid ibn al-Mughirah indirectly became the leader of Quraysh from 616 and in full after the death of Abu Talib in 619 although legitimacy the leadership of Mecca can also be given to Abu Lahab, the brother of Abu Talib.

The leader of the Quraysh was Abu Lahab or Abdul Uzza ibn Abdul Muthalib. Abu Lahab was the younger brother of Abu Talib who came from a different mother. Abu Lahab from the Prophetic

²² Mahmood Ibrahim, *Merchant Capital and Islam*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 67.

²³ Abdul Fattah, *Harta Nabi: Sumber, Pembelanjaan, dan Wakaf*, (Jakarta: Pustaka al-Kautsar, 2018), 67.

²⁴ Harvey Sindima, 37.

beginning of the Prophethood of the Prophet was indeed an opponent and an enemy even though he came from the same clan. Actually, when viewed from the strength of the Banu Hashim himself, al-Abbas ibn Abd al-Muthalib, the brother of Abu Talib, most likely became the leader of the Quraysh Arabs or at least became the leader of the Banu Hashim. Abu Lahab became the leader of the Banu Hashim most likely with the support of the other clans of Quraysh. This means that with the election of Abu Lahab, the Prophet's proselytizing in Mecca will not get protection from the Banu Hashim clan because Abu Lahab hates Prophet. So the analysis is actually that the leader of Quraysh after Abu Talib died moved to the Banu Makhzum and Abu Lahab only had the status of the leader of the Banu Hashim. So de facto it can be explained that the leader of Quraysh after Abu Talib died was Walid ibn al-Mughirah. Abu Lahab gained full leadership for an estimated two years only between 622-624 because Walid ibn al-Mughirah died in 622.

The ninth was Abu Sufyan of Banu Abdu Shams. Abu Sufyan's election was due to the fact that other Quraysh authorities, especially leaders of Banu Hashim and Banu Makhzum, had died. Abu Lahab died in 624 from a serious infection that sent his body into a decomposing. Abu Jahal of Banu Makhzum died in 624 from being beheaded in the Battle of Badr. Abu Sufyan led the Arab Quraysh for six years from 624 to 630 AD.²⁵

HILF AL-AHLAF VS HILF AL-MUTHAYYABIN ALLIANCE

Competition in Quraysh was already apparent when Qushai ibn Kilab, the founder of Quraysh died in 480. As it is known that Arab culture including Quraysh is a patriarchal culture meaning that in leadership, the position is given to men. Qushai ibn Kilab had four men who had the potential to succeed him namely Abdu Dar, Abdul Manaf, Abdul Uzza, and Abdu bin Qushai.²⁶ Of the four boys, the second child,

²⁵ Ludwig Adamec, *Historical and Dictionary of Islam*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 31

²⁶ Jawwad Ali, *Sejarah Arab Sebelum Islam*, (Tangerang: Pustaka Alvabet, 2018), 377.

Abdul Manaf, became the strongest candidate because he was considered the most powerful, clever, and had a leadership spirit compared to his other brothers, including Abdu Dar who became Qushai's eldest son. This shows that the crown prince in the Arabs is not automatically given to the firstborn but must be given to the right person because of his great duty in protecting the entire clan. Therefore, there was a rivalry between Abdu Dar and his own younger brother, Abdul Manaf, to replace his father's position.

Abdul Manaf was supported by his uncle Zuhrah ibn Kilab or Banu Zuhrah, his nephew Asad or Banu Asad, Banu Taim, and Banu Harits. Abdu Dar was supported by Banu Makhzum, Banu Sahm, Banu Jumah, and Banu 'Adi. The result of this mutual support led to the occurrence of inter-clan associations which eventually gave birth to competition between clans in terms of politics, trade, social, and so on. The role and support of Abdul Manaf's uncle, Zuhrah ibn Kilab and Abdul Manaf's nephew, Asad ibn Abdul Uzza, led him to become the leader of Quraysh and had the authority to take care of Mecca, which means that the task of taking care of the Hajj is his responsibility.

Abdul Manaf led the Quraysh not for a long time so that when he died there was another power struggle between the Banu Abdu Dar and the Banu Hashim. Abdul Manaf's leadership was succeeded by his son, Hashim. In answering this challenge, Banu Hashim with the clans of Abdul Manaf's descendants namely Banu Abdu Shams, Banu al-Muthalib, Banu Naufal, and the clans of the allies supporting Banu Hashim namely Banu Asad, Banu Zuhrah, Banu Taim, and Banu al-Harits made an agreement to maintain the leadership of Mecca by dipping their hands into a bowl that had been filled with fragrance and then they rubbed it into the walls of the Kaaba. The point is that they will not abandon each other and still maintain the political order that Hashim has obtained. The name of the alliance is Hilf al-Muthayyabin.²⁷

²⁷ *Ibid*, 41.

Their political opponents responded to the alliance by creating Hilf al-Ahlaf. Banu Sahm slaughtered a cow or camel, then her blood was poured into the bowl and the clans who wanted to ally with Hilf al-Ahlaf dipped their hands in the bowl. The content is that they will unite and not leave each other with the aim of fighting for a position for the Banu Abdu Dar. The Hilf al-Ahlaf Alliance consisted of Banu Abdu Dar, Banu Makhzum, Banu Sahm, Banu Jumah, and Banu 'Adi.²⁸

The civil war between the fellow of Quraysh was finally avoided because both sides agreed to the outcome of their negotiations i.e. Hilf al-Muthayyabin took care of in terms of taxation as well as logistical needs for hajj pilgrims while Hilf al-Ahlaf was responsible for the keys of the Kaaba and Darul Nadwah, the place in deliberation, determining policy, solving various problems, and so on. The symbol of leadership was indeed obtained by Hilf al-Ahlaf because they managed to seize the key to the Kaaba but from the agreement established Hashim ibn Abdul Manaf to be the leader of the Quraysh.²⁹ The existence of these two alliances or pacts remained influential in politics in Makkah until the arrival of Islam brought by the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Hilf al-Muthayyabin and Hilf al-Ahlaf, when viewed from the chronology of the time, occurred in the time of Hashim bin Abdul Manaf and are estimated to have occurred in the 490s.

ISLAM IN MAKKAH 610-622 AD

Prophet received revelation at the age of 40 in Hira Cave, Jabal Nur. The acceptance of the revelation made the Prophet Muhammad a messenger of Allah from the Arabs as well as being the last Prophet. The revelation is thought to have occurred in 610 AD. For three years, namely until 613, Prophet preached the teachings of Islam with the main teachings of tawhid or worshipped one god in a stealthy or closed way, namely Allah to the closest people such as family, closest relatives, and close friends of the Prophet Muhammad.³⁰ This method is done

²⁸ *Ibid*, 42.

²⁹ *ibid*, 45-46.

³⁰ Ibnu Hisyam, 213.

indeed there is no command from Allah to openly introduce Islam. Actually, there is an advantage of proselytizing in this way, namely that Islam can spread in Makkah even with very small numbers and without being accompanied by interference from the majority of Quraysh who are still pagans or idols.

From this stealthy proselytizing, it is estimated that it succeeded in converting about 50 to 60 Quraysh from various clans, the majority of which were dominated by the Banu Hashim. The group was called al-Sabiqun al-Awwalun or the first group to convert to Islam.³¹ The process of Islamic proselytizing was given first to the family of the Prophet himself, his wife Khadijah, the daughters of the Prophet, Zainab, Umm Kulthum, Ruqayyah, and Fatimah. In addition, there was the adopted son of the Prophet, Zaid bin Haritsah and the son of Abu Talib who was taken care of by Prophet, Ali ibn Abi Talib. After that Islam was indicted against the clan of Banu Hashim and the closest companions of Prophet such as Abu Bakr, Uthman ibn 'Affan, Abdurrahman ibn 'Auf, Sa'ad ibn Abi Waqash, Thalhah ibn Ubaidillah, Zubair ibn Awwam, Abu Ubaidah ibn Jarrah, Arqam ibn Abi Arqam, Bilal ibn Rabah, Sa'id ibn Zaid, Ja'far ibn Abi Talib, Mush'ab ibn Umair, Ammar ibn Yasir, Uthman ibn Mahzun, and others. There is also a version that explains that the Islam of Abu Bakr is the same as the Islam of the family of the Prophet.³² This shows the personal closeness of the Prophet to Abu Bakr compared to the other companions.

From these early days it can be seen that Islam has spread in almost all the Arab clans of Quraysh and it can be possible that it has spread throughout the Quraysh clan. For example Ali ibn Abi Talib (Banu Hashim), Abu Bakr (Banu Taim), Uthman bin 'Affan (Banu Abdu Shams), Abdurrahman ibn 'Auf (Banu Zuhrah), Zubair ibn Awwam (Banu Asad), Mush'ab ibn Umair (Banu Abdu Dar), Abu

³¹ Abdul Karim, *Sejarah Terlengkap Nabi Muhammad SAW*, (Yogyakarta: Diva Press, 216), 241.

³² Muhammad Yusuf, *Tarbiyatush Shababab: Rahasia dan Motivasi Sukses Mendidik Anak Seperti Abu Bakar, Umar, Ustman, dan Ali*, (Yogyakarta: Diva Press, 2017), 23-24.

Ubaidah ibn Jarrah (Banu al-Harits), and so on. From these companions it is very possible that Islam has spread in their respective families even though it did not spread to their major clans. In addition to the Quraysh who had well-known clans, Islam also spread among slaves such as Bilal ibn Rabah, Ammar ibn Yasir, and others.

It is also possible that in the process of closed proselytizing, Islam has spread among the slaves owned by the various clans of Quraysh, especially those close to alliances that are in harmony with their vision and mission with the Banu Hashim, which is gathered in the Hilf al-Muthayyabin alliance. Similarly, with the spread of Islam in the first three years, it is very rare for figures from the alliance to be the same as those of Hilf al-Muthayyabin, Hilf al-Ahlahf, such as from the Banu Makhzum, Banu Jumah, Banu Samh, and Banu 'Adi clans. Mush'ab ibn Umair become moslem in the early because of his personal closeness to the Prophet Muhammad and actually the Banu Abdu Dar was also still descended from Qushai that the Banu Abdu Dar with Banu Hashim still had close ties despite the political feud. The facts on the ground recorded at the time prove that the influence of the alliance that occurred during the leadership of Hashim ibn Abdul Manaf that occurred 120 years ago was still felt until the early days of Islam.

In the fourth year of prophethood or in the year 614, Prophet began to indict open or overt Islam. The overt proselytizing was at the behest of Allah with the descent of Surah al-Hijr verse 94.³³ Not waiting for a long time, the authorities of Quraysh from various clans were hostile to the Messenger of Allah. At that time, the leader of the Banu Hashim and also the leader of the Quraysh Arabs was Abu Talib. By law the clan of Quraysh, the Prophet Muhammad still received protection if Abu Talib wanted it. The Banu Hashim who were hostile to Prophet were his own uncles and at the same time became close neighbors, Abu Lahab and his wife. Abu Lahab at that time did not have power in the Banu Hashim because there was still Abu Talib as the

³³ Yoli Hemdi, 157.

leader of the Banu Hashim and the Quraysh. The people who did not receive protection at that time were slaves and also Muslims outside the Banu Hashim. In 615 the Messenger of Allah told his followers to migrate to Abessinia or Ethiopia so as not to be hurt and tortured by the Quraysh. Migration to Ethiopia was carried out twice with the first migration consisting of 15 people and possibly carried out during the closed proselytizing period, in 613 and the second migration was carried out in 615 with an even greater number of 100 Muslims. Uthman ibn 'Affan migrated to Ethiopia twice therefore the first version of the migration was carried out first in 613 with only a small number of Muslims is very reasonable compared to the first migration made in 615 and the second migration in the same year. The Muslims lived in Ethiopia for 6 years and they returned to Arabia in 622 during the hijra of the Muslims to Medina.³⁴

The events of the Muslims' migration to Ethiopia signaled the severity of the torture and the threat of life if they lived in Mecca. For example, Uthman ibn 'Affan of the Banu Abdu Shams with his background from a wealthy and distinguished family did not make him protected by his clan. Therefore, Uthman ibn 'Affan migrated to Ethiopia with his wife who was also the daughter of the Prophet, Ruqayah. Threats also befell the other companions of Prophet from prominent clans such as Abdurrahman ibn 'Auf, Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqash, Zubair ibn Awwam, Mush'ab ibn Umair, and others. There is a tendency that the Quraysh who converted to Islam were uprooted from their clan roots so that they were considered part of the Banu Hashim, the clan of Prophet who received protection from the leader of Mecca at that time, Abu Talib. The Prophet himself did not participate in the Hijra because the Messenger of Allah received protection from the Banu Hashim. Therefore, other clans including rivals of the Banu Hashim, Banu Abdu Shams and Banu Makhzum, have no right to disturb and harm Prophet.

³⁴ Ibnu Hisyam, 289.

The year 616 was the year of awakening for muslims and also as a heavy beginning experienced by muslims in Mecca. The year of awakening because after three years of open proselytizing was in the year 616 Hamzah ibn Abdul Muthalib, uncle of the Prophet and Umar ibn Khattab converted to Islam.³⁵ The conversion of the two figures who were highly respected by the authorities of the Quraysh made Islam grow and was no longer afraid to openly introduce its identity. To cope with the growing spread of Islam in Mecca, the Quraysh led by Walid ibn al-Mughirah and Abu Jahal of Banu Makhzum as well as Utbah ibn Rabiah and Abu Sufyan of Banu Abdu Shams made the decision to boycott Banu Hashim and the muslims. The majority of the Banu Hashim have followed Prophet, which is to accept Islam as their religion, while the Muslims referred to here are Muslims from various Quraysh clans outside Banu Hashim. The boycott decision was supported by other Quraysh clanS including Abu Lahab of Banu Hashim. Previously, Abu Lahab committed an act of severing familial relations with the Prophet by asking his two sons, Utbah and Utaibah, to divorce the daughters of the Prophet whom he married, Ruqayah and Umm Kulthum in 613.³⁶ It is very likely that Abu Lahab had a big power in the content of the boycott of the Banu Hashim and the Muslims by regarding the termination of family relations.

The hostility and resistance carried out by the Quraysh led by the two great Arab clans of Quraysh, Banu Abdu Shams and Banu Makhzum became even more apparent when it was agreed to excommunicate or boycott Banu Hashim and the Muslims in Shi'ib Abi Talib or Banu Hashim area. The content of the boycott of Banu Hashim is that it is forbidden to have any contact in any case with Banu Hashim and the Muslims such as trade relations, social, political, and so on including marriage. The boycott occurred in 616 and the contents of the

³⁵ Emory Bogle, *Islam: Origin and Belief*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 8.

³⁶ Fuad Abdurrahman, *Jalan Damai Rasulullah, Risalah Rahmat Bagi Semua*, (Tangerang: Pustaka Alvabet, 2019), 91.

boycott were written on a piece of parchment, a sheet of animal skins then affixed to the walls of the Kaaba. It was during the parchment in the Kaaba that the Banu Hashim and the Muslims were isolated in the place. The boycott ended in 619 because the contents of the boycott hung in the Kaaba were damaged by being eaten by termite.³⁷

The loss of writing from the parchment affixed to the walls of the Kaaba, then ended in a boycott of the Banu Hashim and also the Muslims. The end of the boycott occurred in the year 619. In that year the wife of Prophet, Khadijah bint Khuwailid died and was later followed by the Prophet's uncle, Abu Talib. The death of Abu Talib as the leader of the Banu Hashim and replacement of his position by Abu Lahab who hated the Prophet greatly made him no longer have protection in Mecca. In 619, the Prophet went to Taif to explore the possibility of migration to the area. The Request of Prophet was flatly rejected by the Taif people because they also worshiped idols like the people of Mecca. The Prophet finally received protection from Banu Naufal after the request for protection from Banu Zuhrah, a clan of the mother of the Prophet, was rejected. The protection of the Banu Naufal allowed Prophet to preach back to Mecca before the Hijra to Medina in 622.

The protection given by Banu Naufal, who at that time was led by Muth'im ibn 'Adi, was properly utilized by Prophet to emigrate to Medina. In the years 620 to 622 there was close contact between the Prophet Muhammad and the Banu Khazraj and also Banu Aus when they performed the hajj in Mecca. Banu Khazraj and Banu Aus asked the Messenger of Allah to be a peacemaker for them and teach them about Islam. It should be noted that the two clans from Yatsrib or Medina had been involved in the Bu'ath war and the potential to return to war was very large considering that in Medina there were three Jewish clans that were very controlling in the economic field which allowed the

³⁷ Montgomery Watt, 10.

three clans to pit Banu Khazraj and Banu Aus. The three clans of the Jews were the Banu Quraidhah, Qainuqa, and Nadhir.³⁸

The prophet's closeness to Banu Khazraj and Banu Aus was imposed because they also followed political developments in Mecca through the hajj process and from the merchants from Quraysh who rested in Medina. The honest and noble figure of Prophet became more important for the two clans to find a suitable figure to reconcile them. Moreover, Prophet still has the blood of Banu Khazraj from his great-grandmother, Salma bint Amr from the Banu Najjar al-Khazraj. Salma bint Amr was the wife of Hashim ibn Abdul Manaf and was the mother of Abdul Muthalib.³⁹ So the hijra of the Prophet to Medina in 622, plus the phenomenon of the large number of people from Banu Khazraj and Banu Aus who converted to Islam even before the arrival of Prophet is acceptable from socio-cultural explanations. The hijra of Muslims to Medina is estimated to number in the hundreds considering that the period of proselytizing of the Prophet after the migration of Muslims to Ethiopia in 615 to 622 was a long enough time so that the proselytizing of the Prophet could be accepted by a small part of the Quraysh outside the Banu Hashim. The Hijra of Prophet to Medina also means that Islam is not only for the Quraysh in Mecca but also a religion that is open to any clan and any nation in the world from differences in skin color, language, culture, and so on.

There is an important note that is often forgotten when Islamic proselytizing in Mecca from 610 to 622 AD, Prophet did not order muslims to fight the Quraysh, their own families and relatives in Mecca. The large numbers and evenly distributed across the various clans, embraced by various circles, including the conversion of Hamzah and Umar who were feared by the Quraysh, did not make Prophet order the Muslims to resist. The three-year boycott without a fight shows that

³⁸ Amina Adil, *Muhammad: The Messenger of Islam*, (Washington: Supreme Council of America, 2002), 148.

³⁹ Yusuf al-Qardhawi, *Fiqih Jihad Jilid III*, (Jakarta: Cakrawala Publishing, 2009), 374.

everything in the teachings of Islam through Prophet is an absolute of Allah's command. The order of war was mandatory for Muslims approximately one year after the hijra event, in 623 when the goods of the Muslims which left in Mecca were to be sold by Abu Jahal to the Levant.

SHIFTING ALLIANCE OF QURAYSH CLANS 613-622 AD

The shift in alliances between clans within the Quraysh began to change when it entered 613. That year was the year the Prophet publicly indicted Islam in Mecca. There is no longer a *Hilf al-Muthayyabin* nor also a *Hilf al-Ahlab* who divides the Quraysh in two large groups that differ in political paths, which exists and is manifestly a clan union to antagonize Prophet. Abu Talib as the leader of the Banu Hashim and also chief of Mecca decided to protect the Prophet have meaning that Makkah in 613 to 619 was divided into two groups, namely the Banu Hashim and the united alliance group of the clans of Quraysh besides the Banu Hashim. The one goal is to inhibit and even kill the Prophet Muhammad. In the years 619-622 there was another shift in which the Banu Hashim led by Abu Lahab no longer protected Prophet and allied himself with the other clans of Quraysh. There were two forces in Mecca from 619-622, the Banu Naufal with the Muslims against a united alliance of the Quraysh.

The political map in 616 actually also changed, Abu Talib who became the leader of Mecca was not listened to anymore by the other Quraysh especially from the two great clans Banu Makhzum and Banu Abdu Shams. So de facto it is likely that the leadership of Quraysh has been taken from some of Quraysh such as Walid ibn al-Mughirah, Abu Jahal, Utbah ibn Rabi'ah, and Abu Sufyan from 616-622. Walid ibn al-Mughirah was the most senior Quraysh. So in seniority it is very likely that he was the one who was in power at that time. This was on the consideration that they were hostile to Abu Talib and even dared to imprison him by means of isolation or boycott of himself and the Banu Hashim, a clan that was also large in Mecca at that time, even the majority of all Mecca leaders were from that clan. Abu Talib's visit to

Abu Lahab as the leader of the Hashim was most likely also from the support of other Quraysh authorities because of the existence of Abu Lahab who was one vision with them. If the authority and influence of Abu Lahab on the Banu Hashim, it is very clear that the other uncles of the Prophet, for example al-Abbas ibn Abd al-Muthalib, had more leadership than Abu Lahab.

So in the years 616 to 619, Abu Talib was de facto only as the leader of the Banu Hashim. Indirectly, Abu Talib's leadership received a motion of distrust from the other clans of Quraysh, especially the Banu Makhzum and the Banu Abdu Syam. It should be noted that Banu Abd Shams even though he was a member of Hilf al-Muthayyabin because he supported the leadership of Banu Hashim in the time of Hashim bin Abdul Manaf because of the close kinship between Hashim bin Abdul Manaf was the brother of Abdu Shams bin Abd Manaf. So the sense of competition has not yet emerged. The emergence of Banu Abdu Shams as the successor of Banu Hashim when Harb ibn Umayyah tried to become the leader of Mecca by competing with Abdul Muthalib, but their uncle Naufal bin Abdul Manaf preferred Abdul Muthalib. Since then Harb ibn Umayyah has always been hostile to Abdul Muthalib during his leadership, while Abu Talib's rule has always received resistance from Utbah ibn Rabi'ah. The resistance of the Banu Abdu Shams against the Banu Hashim, made them slowly quit the Hilf al-Muthayyabin alliance and had the same vision as the great clan of Hilf al-Ahlah, the Banu Makhzum. After the Prophet indicted Islam, Bani Abdu Shams allied himself with banu Makhzum intensively in antagonizing Banu Hashim. If concluded from the 14 Arab clans of Quraysh there are three major clans, Banu Hashim, Banu Abdu Shams and Banu Makhzum. Of the three who came from Qushai bin Kilab only two were Banu Hashim and Banu Abdu Shams. The greatness of these clans is based on the number of members, and their honor is determined from wealth and can again be added from the blood relationship that is from Qushai bin Kilab.

CONCLUSION

From this research, it can be seen that the inhibition of the Islamic da'wah of Prophet in 610 to 622 AD, in Mecca was caused by the factor of competition for political influence between clans. Of the 14 clans, there were three clans that dominated Meccan politics, namely the Bani Hasyim, the Bani Abd Shams, and the Bani Makhzum. The three competed for wealth with many members of the clan trading to Syria and Yemen. The three of them also competed in terms of Mecca politics by seizing the top of the leadership of Mecca and the Kaaba. From historical data, it can be seen that the Bani Hasyim were the most dominating Arab Quraysh clan in Meccan politics, with many members of the clan who became the leaders of the Quraysh Arabs after the Qushai era until the conquest of Mecca by Islamic forces in 630 AD.

The competition between the Arab Quraysh clans, which began with the formation of two major alliances, namely Hilf al-Muthayyibin and Hilf al-Ahlaf greatly influenced the politics of Mecca until the birth of Islam in 610 AD. Based on the competition between these clans, it can be seen that in the early days of Islam in Mecca, the majority of Islam was embraced by Bani Hasyim. In the next period, namely in the years 613-622, the majority of Islam was still embraced by the Bani Hasyim. There were only a few other clans who embraced Islam and this was due to the enmity between clans and alliances between clans in the past, so that when Islam was introduced by the Prophet who came from members of the Bani Hasyim clan, the other clans would act cold, not believed, even opposed and was hostile to the Prophet and the Bani Hashim.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adamec, Ludwig. *Historical and Dictionary of Islam*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. 2017.
- Adil, Amina. *Mubammad: The Messenger of Islam*. Washington: Supreme Council of America. 2002.
- Ahmadin. *Sejarah Peradaban Islam*. Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group. 2020.
- Akhtar, Mohsin. *Oracle of the Last and Final Message: History and the Philosophical Deductions of the Life of the Prophet Muhammad*. Bloomington: Xlibris Corporation, 2008.
- Ali, Ameer. *The Spirit of Islam: A History of the Evolution and Ideals of Islam*. New York: Cosimo Classics. 2010.
- Ali, Jawwad. *Sejarah Arab Sebelum Islam*. Tangerang: Pustaka Alvabet. 2018.
- Asizun, Asimah. *Misteri Mukjizat Makkah & Madinah: 21 Kedahsyatan yang Terjadi di Kota al-Mukaromah*. Jakarta: Lembar Langit Indonesia. 2017.
- Bogle, Emory. *Islam: Origin and Belief*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1998.
- Ibn Hazm. *Jamharah Anshab al-'Arab*. Beirut, Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiah. 2004.
- Ibn Hisyam. *Sirah Nabawiyah Jilid I*, Jakarta: PT. Darul Falah. 2019.
- Ibrahim, Mahmood. *Merchant Capital and Islam*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1990.
- Ismail, Faisal. *Studi Islam Kontemporer*. Yogyakarta: Diva Press. 2019.
- Fattah, Abdul. *Harta Nabi: Sumber, Pembelanjaan, dan Wakaf*. Jakarta: Pustaka al-Kautsar. 2018.
- Ferdinand, Klaus dan Mehdi Mozaffari. *Islam: State and Society*, London: Routledge. 2005.
- Hemdi, Yoli. *Sejarah Keteladanan Nabi Muhammad SAW*. Jakarta: Gramedia. 2021.
- Karim, Abdul. *Sejarah Terlengkap Nabi Muhammad SAW*. Yogyakarta: Diva Press. 2016.

- Keskin, Zuleyha. *Attaining Inner Peace in Islam: Said Nursi's Perspective*. Singapore: Springer. 2021.
- Kharbutli, Syukran. 2011. *Suthur Mansiah fi Tarikh al-Hijaz*. Damaskus, Dar Rislan.
- Kim, David. *Religious Encounters in Transcultural Society*. Lanham: Lexington Books. 2018.
- Koenig, Harold dan Saad al-Shohaib. 2014. *Health and Well-Being in Islamic Societies: Background, Research, and Applications*. London: Springer.
- Lathif, Abdul. *Bangkit dan Runtuhnya Khilafah Bani Umayyah*. Jakarta: Pustaka al-Kautsar. 2016.
- McAuley, Denis. *Ibn Arabi's Mystical Poetics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2013.
- Peters, Francis. *Muhammad and the Origins of Islam*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1994.
- Al-Qardhawi, Yusuf. *Fiqih Jihad Jilid III*. Jakarta: Cakrawala Publishing. 2009.
- As-Sallabee, Ali. *The Noble Life of the Prophet*. Riyadh: Darussalam. 2005.
- Sindima, Harvey. *Major Issues in Islam: The Challenges Within and Without*. Lanham: Hamilton Books. 2018.
- Subarman, Munir. *Sejarah Kelahiran, Perkembangan, dan Masa Keemasan Peradaban Islam*. Yogyakarta: Deepublish. 2015.
- Suwaed, Muhammad. *Historical-Dictionary of the Bedouins*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. 2015.
- Syams al-Din, Ibrahim. *Qashash al-'Arab: Masu'ah Turatsiah Jami'ah Liqashash wa Nawadir wa Tharaif al-'Arab fi al-'Asr al-Jabali wa al-Islami*. Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiah. 2002.
- Yusuf, Muhammad. *Tarbiyatush Shahabah: Rabasia dan Motivasi Sukses Mendidik Anak Seperti Abu Bakar, Umar, Ustman, dan Ali*. Yogyakarta: Diva Press. 2017.