

THE SEMANTICS OF *AL-IMĀRAH*: A COMPARATIVE
EPISTEMOLOGY APPROACH OF THE SEMITIC ROOT
'MR FROM PRE-ISLAMIC TO ISLAMIC ARABIA

BY

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A dissertation submitted in fulfillment of the requirement for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Islamic Thought and
Civilization

International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization
International Islamic University Malaysia

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the worldview of *al-imārah* through the semantics of its root 'mr that was shared between two periods of history in Peninsular Arabia: pre-Islamic and Islamic Arabia. The rationale behind such an attempt originates from the need to expand the scope of *al-imārah* beyond the normative Islamic political-epistemic discourse, which had often restricted this concept within a specific Islamic political system. Secondly, it is remarkable to see that there has never been a comprehensive study on semantical aspects of this concept, despite many assertions have rendered the possibility of the existence of some form of *al-imārah* before the Islamic period through other derivations of the root 'mr, such as primarily suggested by Ibn Khaldūn. By conceptualising the framework through a comparative epistemology approach, this study provides another sphere of examination upon that very concept apart from the standard political epistemic, which is attainable through semantics. In doing so, this study employs three different methodologies of analysis: conceptual, thematic, and content analysis. Philosophically, the conceptual analysis serves as the main methodology guiding this study in abstracting the worldview of *al-imārah* through the root 'mr. The thematic analysis helps this study in gathering the attestations of the root 'mr within two semantical sources relative to those two periods above, which comprise the primary sources of the pre-Islamic Arabia and Islamic-Arabic lexicography. On the other hand, the content analysis functions as the main methodology for analysing the data throughout this study. The constructed worldview comprises of two parts, the particular and the general worldview. The former serves as the respective worldview peculiar to each of the sources that had attested to the root, which consists of the different connotations of the root 'mr from sacred-divination, secular-shepherding, and sacred-secular. Meanwhile, the latter is the abstract worldview shared by all three connotations before, which forms the synthesis and the most cardinal component for the whole finding of this study. It includes the abstract meaning of *zuhūr* (visibility), the abstract function of *al-ri'āyah* (shepherding), and the abstract mode of epistemic authority. The distinctive element of this study lies mostly in how it helps provide new perspective, trajectory, or even approach in assessing and understanding *al-imārah*, which seems to have withered and restricted institutionally within several Gulf countries. In particular, the construed abstraction may serve its importance in rejuvenating the discourse of *al-imārah* in certain fields, at least through bypassing the normative political-epistemic takes.

ملخص البحث

يتناول هذا البحث تجريد النظرة العلمية لمفهوم الإمارة من خلال دلالة جذر أصولها الثلاثة (أ/م/ر) المستخدمة بين فترتين في تاريخ شبه جزيرة العرب؛ أي العرب قبل الإسلام وبعده. وينبع السبب الرئيسي لهذه المحاولة من الحاجة إلى توسيع نطاق الإمارة إلى ما هو أبعد من الخطاب السياسي المعرفي الإسلامي المعياري. وكذلك لم تكن هناك دراسة شاملة للجوانب الدلالية لهذا المفهوم بالرغم من أن هناك العديد من التأكيدات أشارت إلى إمكانية وجود شكل ما من أشكال الإمارة قبل العصر الإسلامي من خلال اشتقاقاتها الآخر، كما قد اقترحها ابن خلدون. وتوفر نهج معرفي مقارن مجالا آخر لفحص هذا المفهوم بعيداً من المعرفة السياسية القياسية، والذي يمكن بتحقيقها من خلال علم الدلالة. وقد اعتمد الباحث بالتحليل المفاهيمي، أي منهجاً فلسفياً رئيسياً في توجيه هذه الدراسة لعملية تجريد النظرة العالمية للإمارة من خلال جذورها، كما قد اعتمد الباحث بالمنهج الموضوعي في جمع شواهد جذر (أ/م/ر) واشتقاقاتها المتعلقة بهاتين الفترتين، والتي تشكل المصادر الأساسية لجزيرة العرب الجاهلية، والمعجم العربي الإسلامي. وأما منهج تحليل المحتوى فهو بمثابة منهج رئيسي في تحليل البيانات لهذه الدراسة. توصلت هذه الدراسة إلى نتائج عدة، أهمها: أن النظرة العلمية للإمارة لها جزآن: الخاصة والعامة. فالأول تشكل النظرة العلمية التي تتسم بها كل مصدر الذي قد شهدت على جذر (أ/م/ر) واشتقاقاتها المتعلقة، والتي تتكوّن من دلالاتها المختلفة من المقدسة-العرفاء، والدينية-الرعاية، والمقدسة-الدينية. وأما النظرة العلمية العامة تركيباً لتلك النظرات الخاصة، المشتركة بين المصدرين، فهي تتكوّن من المعنى المجرد "الظهور"، والوظيفة المجرد "الرعاية"، والوضع المجرد "السلطة المعرفية". وتتميز هذه الدراسة عامتها على حسب أنها تقديم منظورة جديدة أو حتى نهج جديد في تقييم الإمارة وفهمه.

APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that I have supervised and read this study and that in my opinion, it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Islamic Thought and Civilization.

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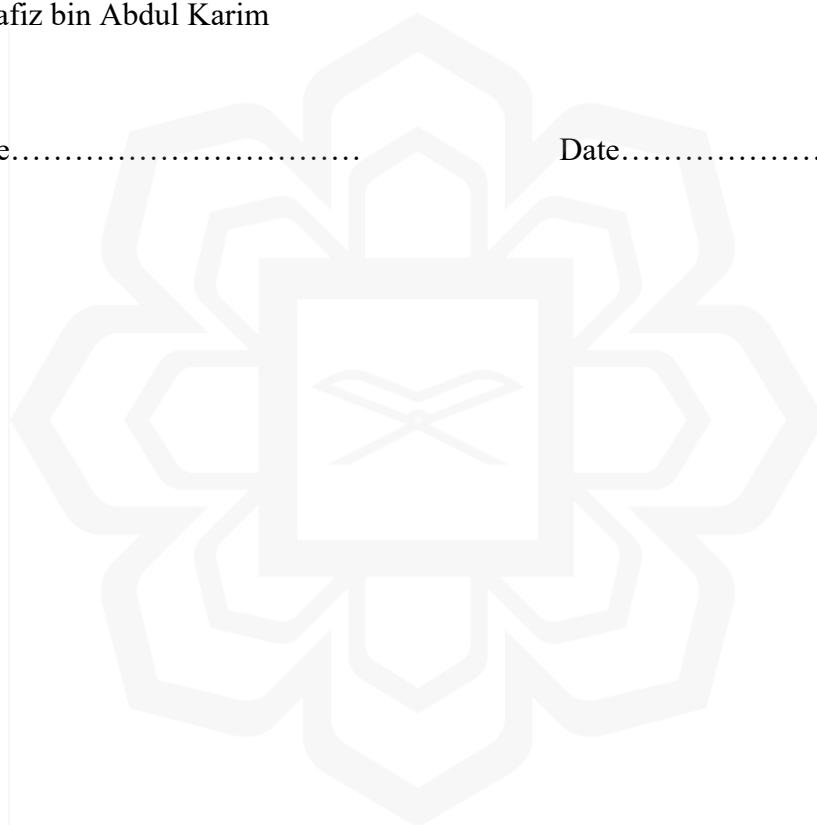
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

Mohd Hafiz bin Abdul Karim

Signature.....

Date.....



INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA

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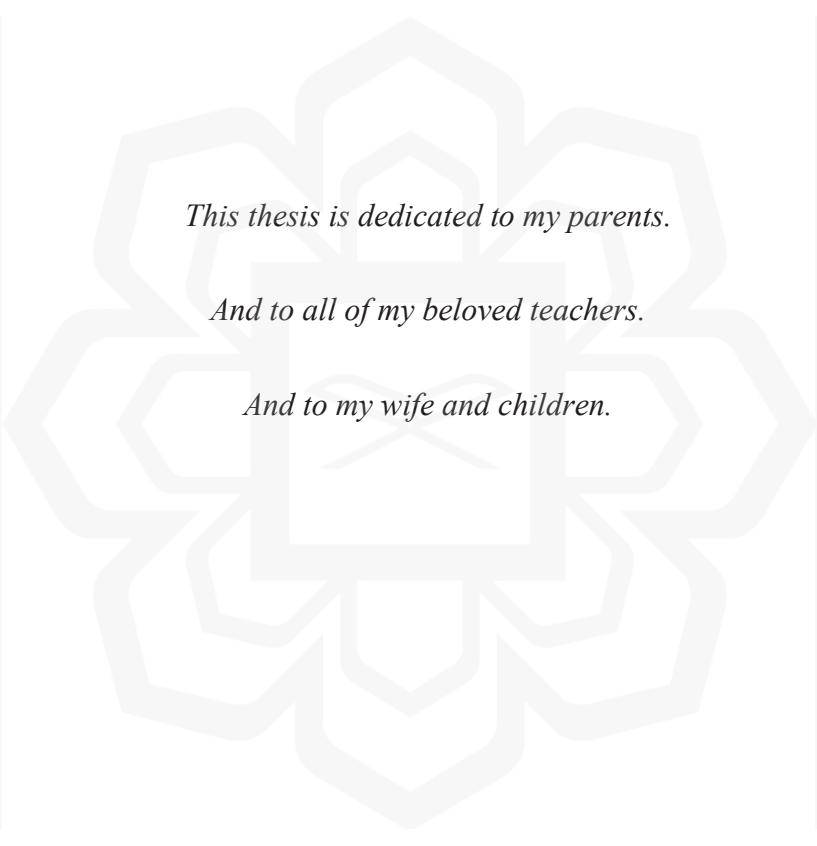
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This thesis is dedicated to my parents.

And to all of my beloved teachers.

And to my wife and children.

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Bismillahi al-Rahman al-rahīm, In the Name of Allah—the Most Compassionate, Most Merciful. All praise is to Allah Almighty, and may Allah’s peace and blessings be upon his Prophet Muhammad (*ṣallā Allah ‘alaihi wa sallam*).

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LIST OF SYMBOLS

AbaNS	<i>Neue safaitische Inschriften und deren bildliche Darstellungen.</i> Ababneh, Mohammad (2005). Published on OCIANA.
ABMNS	<i>Al-Mā'fī al-Nuqūsh al-'Arabiyyah al-Shamāliyyah al Qadīmah (al Ṣafawiyyah): Dirāsah Taḥlīliyyah li Nuqūsh Ṣafawiyyah & Jadīdah</i> (2012). Al-'Abbādī, Sālih. Published on OCIANA.
Ad-Dawmar	<i>La Tihāma yéménite avant l'Islam: notes d'histoire et de géographie historique</i> (1995) Robin, Christian J. Published on CSAI.
AH	<i>Nuqūsh Liḥyānīyah min Mantiqah al-'Ulā: Dirāsah Taḥlīliyyah Muqāranah</i> (2002). Abu al-Ḥasan, Ḥussayn b. 'Alī. Published on OCIANA.
Al-'Ādī	<i>Madīnat Shak' wa Arḍ Yntl fī Ḍau'i Naqsh Qatabānī Jadīd Mu'arrakh fī 'Ahd al-Malik Syhr Y'jl Yhrb</i> (2013). Al-Hajj, Muhammad Ali. Published on CSAI.
Al-Ḥuraybah	<i>Nuqūsh Dādān: al-Dilālat wa al-Maḍmūn</i> (2014). Sa'īd b. Fāyiz. Published on OCIANA.
Al-Mafraq	Al-Mafraq Museum. Published on OCIANA.
Al-Ṣilwī	<i>Naqsh Saba'ī Jadīd min Nuqūsh Ishhār Milkiyya 'Arḍ Zirā'īyya min Qaryat Suwāt bi Mudīriyyat Ḥarīf: Dirāsa fī Dalālātihi al-Lughawiyya wa al-Ijtimā'īyya wa al-Dīniyya</i> (2009) al-Silwī, Ibrāhīm. Published on CSAI.
AMSI	<i>Einige altnordarabische Inschriften aus Jordanien.</i> (2004). Collected by Al-Manaser. Published on OCIANA.
ANA	Ancient North Arabian.
ASA	Ancient South Arabian.
ATM	<i>Nuqūsh Qatbāniyya Jadīda</i> (2013) Arbach, Mounir., Bā Ṭāyi', Aḥmed., al-Zubaydī, Khayrān. Published on CSAI.
BaBa al-Ḥadd	<i>Nuqūsh min al-Ḥadd</i> (1988). Bāfaḳīh, Muḥammad 'A. and Bāṭāyi', Aḥmed. Published on CSAI
C	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> (Pars II).
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

CIAS	<i>Corpus des inscriptions et antiquités sud-arabes</i> (1977-1986). Beeston, Alfred F.L., Pirenne, Jacqueline and Robin, Christian J. Published on CSAI.
CIH	South Arabian Inscriptions in <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> (Pars IV)
CIS	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> .
CSAI	Corpus for South Arabian Inscription.
DASI	Digital Archive for the Study of Pre-Islamic Arabia Inscription
FB-al-‘Adān	<i>Nouvelles inscriptions sudarabiques</i> (2013) Bron, François. Published on CSAI.
GOAM	<i>Collection of Epigraphic and Archaeological Artifacts from al-Jawf Sites</i> (2007). Arbach, Mounir & Audouin, Rémy. Published on CSAI.
HaDNSJ	<i>Dirāsāt Nuqūsh Ṣafaiyyah Jadīdah</i> (2022). Harahshah, Rafe. al-Urdun: Matba‘ah al-Safīr.
Haram	<i>Inabba’, Haram, al-Kāfir, Kamna et al-Ḥarāshif. Fasc. A: Les documents</i> (1992). Robin, Christian J. Published on CSAI.
Ir	<i>Fī ta’rīḥ al-Yaman</i> . 1973. al-Iryānī, Muṭahhar. Published on CSAI.
JA	<i>Sabaeen Inscriptions from Mahram Bilqis</i> (1962). Jamme, Albert W.F. Published on CSAI.
JaL	<i>A Minaean Inscription Published as Lihyanite</i> (1968). Jamme, A. Published on OCIANA.
JSLih	<i>Mission arche’ologique en Arabie</i> (1909–1922). Jaussen, A. & Savignac, M-R. Published on OCIANA.
KR	<i>Khor Rori Report I</i> (2002). Avanzini, Alessandra. Published on CSAI.
KRS	<i>Inscriptions on the Basalt Desert Rescue Survey in north-eastern Jordan</i> (1989). Recorded by Geraldine King. Published on OCIANA.
LP	<i>Semitic Inscriptions: Safaitic inscription</i> (1943). Littmann, E. Published on OCIANA.
M	<i>Mission archéologique en Arabie</i> (1914). Jaussen, Antonin J. and Savignac, M. Raphael. Published on CSAI.
MB 2005 I-44	<i>Typology of irrigation systems in ancient Yemen in the light of the epigraphic evidence</i> (2017). Maraqtan, Mohammed. Published on CSAI.
MŞM	<i>Naqsh Jadīd min nuqūsh al-i’tirāf al-‘alanī min ma’bad: Dirāsa fī dalālātihi al-lughawiyyah wa al-dīniyyah</i> (2013). Al-Şilwī, Ibrāhim and al-Aġbarī, Fahmī. Published on CSAI.

NAJRĀN	<i>Taqrīr Hafrīyat Najrān: al-Maūsīmān al-Sādis wa al-Sābi‘</i> (2011). Al-Zahrani, Awad. Published on CSAI.
Nāmī NAG	<i>Nuqūsh ‘Arabiyya Janūbiyya</i> (1954). Nāmī, Khalīl Y. Published on CSAI.
OCIANA	Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia.
RES	<i>Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique</i> .
Robin-Kāniṭ	<i>Les hautes-terres du Nord-Yémen avant l'Islam</i> , 2 vols. (1982) Robin, Christian J. Published on CSAI.
RSIS	<i>Neue safaitische Inschriften aus Süd-Syrien</i> (2013). Rawan, S. Published on OCIANA.
RWQ	<i>Nuqūsh Safawīyah min Wādī Qiṣṣāb bi al-Urdun: Dirāsah Maydānīyah Taḥlīlīyah Muqāranah</i> (2004). Al-Rūsan M.M. Published on OCIANA.
Ry	<i>Inscriptions sud-arabes. Huitième série</i> (1949). Ryckmans, Gonzague. Published on CSAI.
SED	Semitic Etymological Dictionary.
TAD	Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt.
Tayma II	<i>Taymā’ II: Catalogue of the Inscriptions Discovered in the Saudi-German Excavations at Taymā’ 2004–2015</i> (2016) edited by Micheal C.A Macdonald.
TM.T	<i>Taymā’ II: Catalogue of the Inscriptions Discovered in the Saudi-German Excavations at Taymā’ 2004–2015</i> (2016). Edited by Micheal C.A Macdonald. Published on OCIANA.
UAM	Aden University Museum. Published on CSAI.
‘Uqayba	<i>Les témoins écrit de la région de Shabwa et l'histoire</i> (1990). Pirenne, Jacqueline. Published on CSAI.

TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

Arabic	English	Ancient South Arabian (ASA)	Ancient North Arabian (ANA)	Hebrew	Aramaic	Akkadian
ء	,	,	,	,	,	,
ب	b	b	b	b	b	
ت	t	t	t	t	t	
ث	th	t̲	t̲			t̲
ج	j	g	g	g	g	
ح	h	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ
خ	kh	ḫ	ḫ	ḫ		ḫ
د	d	d	d	d	d	ḏ
ذ	dh	ḏ	ḏ	ḏ		ḏ
ر	r	r	r	r	r	
ز	z	z	z	z	z	
س	s	s ¹	s ¹		s	
ش	sh	s ²	s ²	s ²	š	š
ص	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ
ض	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ			ḍ
ط	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ
ظ	ẓ	ẓ	ẓ	ẓ		
ع	,	,	,	,	,	,
غ	gh	ḡ	ḡ			ḡ
ف	f	f	f		p	
ق	q	q	q	q	q	q
ك	k	k	k	k	k	
ل	l	l	l	l	l	
م	m	m	m	m	m	
ن	n	n	n	n	n	
و	w	w	w	w	w	
ه	h	h	h	h	h	
ي	y	y	y	y	y	
		s ³		s ³		

Short Vowel

ا a

u u

ی i

Long Vowel

ā ā

ū ū

ī ī

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF STUDY

Al-imārah in the modern sense connotes political meaning, specifically reflecting an emirate political system or structure. Hans Wehr defined it as the position, rank, principality, authority or power of an *amīr*/ emir.¹ Meanwhile, its literal English adaptation emirate is defined as the state of jurisdiction of an emir,² or country and state ruled by an emir.³ Both definitions conveyed the meaning of a specific system of governance consisting of an *amīr* and his reign. These definitions mostly hailed from the classical Islamic legal-political literature, which also employed the term *al-imārah* under this pretext but with much finer details. It usually defined *al-imārah* as the appointment of reign to a person (*amīr*) by the Caliph in a certain province or town.⁴ Such detailed association of *al-imārah* to the caliphate institution seems to suggest the latter as a necessary condition in constructing *al-imārah*. Yet the modern form of *al-imārah* still perseveres and remains institutionalized within a period of the now-defunct Caliphate system. Regardless of these discrepancies, these definitions mostly constitute the mainstream terminological definitions of *al-imārah* for now.

¹ Emir (Arabic: *amīr*) is a general term of a leader, used for different designation according to certain political structures. It could be a commander of an army (*amīr al-jaysh*), the title of princes of a ruling house (*amīr of Baghdād, Shām*, etc), admiral (*amīr al-baḥr*) and many more. See Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, edited by J. Milton Cowan (New York: Spoken Language Services Inc, 1976) 27.

² Emirate, *Online Cambridge Dictionary* via <<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/emirate>> (Accessed on 12 February 2019).

³ Emirate, *Online Merriam-Webster Dictionary* via <<https://www.merriam-webster.com/thesaurus/emirate>> (Accessed on 12 February 2019).

⁴ Most of early Islamic political literature defined *al-imārah* as a specific classical Islamic state structure, delegating the caliph in reigning his provinces, state, town, or territory. See Al-Māwardī, Abu al-Hasan ‘Alī b. Muhammad, *Al-Ahkām al-Sulṭāniyyah wa al-Wilāyat al-Dīniyyah* (Cairo: Dār al-Hadīth, n.d) 62. See also Al-Qādhi al-Farrā’, Abū Ya’la Muhammad b. al-Farrā’, *Al-Ahkām Al-Sulṭāniyyah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 2000) 34. See also Al-Qalqashandī, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, *Ma’āthir al-Ināfah fī Ma’ālim al-Khilāfah* (Kuwait: Matba‘ah Hukūmah al-Kuwait, n.d) Vol.1, 75.

The Qur'ān as the archaic source of the Arabic language, however, does not mention the derivation *al-imārah* in any of its verses except in the form of several morphological derivations of the Arabic root 'mr; *amara - ya'muru – amran*. Through these forms, the theme of governance and political structures in the human order is not a dominant one in the Quran. Most of its themes in the Quran are about God as the Originator of His creations, the Last Day, or the obligations of men to God.⁵ The only occurrence where the Qur'ān uses it in a political and human order sense is in its expression *ūlū al-amr* (those who are in authority).⁶ In this phrase, the word *amr* becomes the symbol to represent the political tendency, at least in the form of having some sort of authoritative power. However, the generality of that phrase remains predominant in its context, particularly in contrast to the specific definition of *al-imārah* provided by the classical Islamic political literature above.

This archaic usage of the root to symbolize some sort of authoritativeness is also evident earlier before the Islamic period. The most daring assertion on this issue came from Ibn Khaldūn and his contention that has argued for the existence of that concept before the emergence of Islam. According to him, the primordial form of *al-imārah* at this period did not attest to political connotations like the Islamic period had, but instead reflected meanings pertinent to military authority in the forms of *amīr*.⁷ One important observation here is that, unlike other Islamic scholars who had defined this concept within a specific Islamic legal or political framework, Ibn Khaldūn's assertion has instead suggested the chronological basis in understanding *al-imārah*, peeling away the upper layer of Islamic legal-political *al-imārah*. His assertion of that military authority, however, is not improbable, as the continuity of that military context was nevertheless evident in the early formative period of Islam, particularly through the *hadīth* tradition. In one *hadīth*, the

⁵ An example of this is the verse: "And Our Commandment is but one as the twinkling of an eye." [Al-Qamar: 50]. The original Arabic word for the phrase 'Our Commandment' in the verse is the word (*amruna*), which means command, instructions or order. However, in this verse, the word 'command' is meant to be understood as the *ibdā'* quality of God (the Originator). For further discussions and examples, see Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, Abu al-Qāsim al-Hussein bin Mufaḍḍal, *Al-Mufradāt fi Gharīb al-Qur'ān* (Dimashq: Dār al-Qalam, n.d) 88-89. For notes on translations, see *The Noble Qur'ān*, translated by Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī & Muhammad Muhsin Khan (Madīnah: King Fahd Complex for the Printing of Holy Qur'ān, n.d) 727.

⁶ "O you who believe! Obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those of you (Muslims) who are in authority...", [al-Nisā': 59]. For notes on translations, see *The Noble Qur'ān*, 118.

⁷ Ibn Khaldūn, Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad, *Al-Muqaddimah*, (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 2004) 240.

Prophet Muhammad is reported to have reprimanded those of his companions who criticized the military *imārah* of Usāmah ibn Zayd ibn Hārithah:⁸

If you speak ill of his *imārah*, you have already spoken ill of his father's *imārah*. By Allah, he deserved for the *imārah*, and he was the most beloved person to me and now this (i.e. Usāma) is one of the most beloved persons to me after him.⁹

The basic translation of this word mentioned in this particular *hadīth* text connotes leadership,¹⁰ but contextually, it means military commandership.¹¹ However, unlike this *hadīth* that narrates the derivation *al-imārah* directly, Ibn Khaldūn's assertion was more towards attesting to the derivation *amīr*, which he contended was the normative morphological derivation of *al-imārah* at that time before Islam.¹² In this regard, Ibn Khaldūn also seems to suggest that although *al-imārah* in its morphological form was never in existence before Islam came, the crux of that concept was nevertheless evident within other morphological forms of the root 'mr. His assertion here also reflected the embodiment of *al-imārah* as a military authority concept was never to be exact within a specific morphological form but can extend beyond other derivations. Such assertion is acceptable, at least in consideration of other outlooks on this concept. For instance, Ṣālih Ahmad al-ʿAlī followed the same derivational argument by Ibn Khaldūn and pinpointed the usage of *amīr* to indicate political leadership was also prevalent among the nomadic Bedouin.¹³

Reverberating the same call is Jawad Ali, who asserted the word *amruhum* used in the *Jāhiliyya* period to carry the same meaning of *āmiruhum* or *amīruhum* (i.e. their lord).¹⁴ He even contended for its existence far within the antiquity among the Ancient South

⁸ Usāmah b. Zayd b. Hārithah is one of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad. The prophet commanded him to lead a military expedition to the Byzantine region of Balqā after the death of his father (Zayd b. Hārithah) in the Battle of Mu'tah. Ibn Sa'd, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1990) Vol. 2, 145.

⁹ Al-Bukhārī, Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad b. Isma'īl, *Sahīh al-Bukhārī* (Dimashq; Dār Ibn Kathīr, 2002) 1041, no: 4250.

¹⁰ Al-Bukhārī, *The Translation and Meaning of Sahīh al-Bukhārī*, translated from Arabic by Muhammad Muhsin Khan (Riyadh: Darussalam, 1997) Vol. 5, 337, no: 4250.

¹¹ Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Shihāb al-Dīn Abu'l-Fadl Ahmad b. Ali, *Fath al-Bārī fi Sharḥ Sahīh al-Bukhārī* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1993) Vol. 8, 502.

¹² Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddimah*, 240.

¹³ Ṣālih Ahmad al-ʿAlī, *Muḥāḍarāt fi Tārīkh al-ʿArab* (Baghdad: Maṭba'ah al-Irshād, 1967) 156.

¹⁴ Jawad Ali, *al-Mufaṣṣal fi Tārīkh al-ʿArab Qabl al-Islām* (n.p: Dār al-Sāqī, 2001) Vol. 9, 219.

Arabian (ASA) languages through the consonantal forms *mr'* (singular) and *'mr'* (plural),¹⁵ which according to him were the epithets resembling the meaning of Arabic word *amīr*.¹⁶ Both Ṣālih and Jawad were not intricate enough, however, in stating the precise context of these attestations as to have really signified the same primordial military authority as Ibn Khaldūn has contended before or other kind of political authority instead. However, it is imperative to note that the possibility of the latter and its entailed semantical range that may exceed military authority is still surmisable relative to how *al-imārah* in the Islamic period is understood, which is also sometimes referred to as a general authority unbounded by any specific context. For instance, in another *hadīth*, the Prophet forbade one of his companions from seeking *al-imārah* in a general sense:

Do not seek for *al-imārah*, for if you are given authority on your demand, then you will be held responsible for it, but if you are given it without asking (for it), then you will be helped (by Allah) in it.¹⁷

Muhammad Muhsin Khan translated this word as ‘seeking to be a ruler’,¹⁸ whereas Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī in his commentary upon this *hadīth*, defined it as ‘the authority of ruling’, unbounded by any contextual understanding of specific political ruling structure.¹⁹ Within that context, *al-imārah* seems to have embodied a broad nature of authority, contrasting the conventional legal-political outlook in assessing the same concept. The contrast is apparent mostly in the way the latter has instead become too intricate and detailed, so much so that their strict definitions of *al-imārah* provided before could not have contained the crux of this concept within the historical chronological framework used by those scholars above. Instead of being restricted by the state, jurisdiction, country, or association to the caliphate institution, those forms of *al-imārah* asserted before by Ibn Khaldūn, Ṣālih Ahmad al-‘Alī, and Jawad Ali have instead necessitated the need for other ways of inquiry. This refers particularly to a specific mechanism that inquires *al-imārah*

¹⁵ Like many other ancient Semitic languages, the writing system of ASA is segmental. They mostly (but not exclusively) exhibit only the consonants through their twenty-nine graphemes and express vowels restrictively. Such condition along with the void of oral tradition has disabled the possibility of its precise pronunciation, where it can only be reconstructed through comparison with other Semitic languages. See Norbert Nebes & Peter Stein, “Ancient South Arabian” in *The Ancient Languages of Syria-Palestine and Arabia*, edited by Roger D. Woodard (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008) 147-148.

¹⁶ Jawad Ali, Vol. 9, 219.

¹⁷ Al-Bukhārī, 1765-1766, no: 7146.

¹⁸ Al-Bukhārī, *The Translation and Meaning of Sahīh al-Bukhārī*, Vol. 9, 164, no: 7146.

¹⁹ Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Fath al-Bārī*..., Vol. 13, 124.

through analysis of its trilateral root and other supposed morphological derivations. The rationale behind that is the fact that the only element that bounds those words above from *al-imārah*, *ūlū al-amr*, *amīr*, *amr*, and supposedly the ASA word *mr* to their authoritative meanings is their shared and similar trilateral root of 'mr, and not precisely bounded by specific definitions as delineated by most legal-political discourses on *al-imārah*.

1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The study of *al-imārah* has always been within the confinement of legal-political discourse, where its various definitions, methodologies, and practicalities seem to be rooted firmly in that realm.²⁰ This specific understanding of *al-imārah* often ended up in its classification as part of the classical Islamic political system, the emirate.²¹ This limitation gradually led to another crisis, which is the loss of practicality and adaptability of *al-imārah* in the contemporary sense, progressively correlated to the restricted applicability of the emirate in modern political understanding and practices that are limitedly in existence within several Gulf countries, or as recently emerged in Afghanistan.²² On the contrary, Ibn Khaldūn's historical chronological outlook of that concept from pre-Islamic Arabia seems to imply a broader perspective, bypassing the conventional legal-political epistemic lenses of looking at the very same concept.²³ Modern scholars like Jawad Ali further cemented the same possibility of the existence of *al-imārah* before Islam, at least to the extent of being similar to Islamic *amīr*. Interestingly, both approached the concept through the morphological derivations of the root 'mr.²⁴

²⁰ For legal-political oriented studies on *al-imārah*, see Al-Māwardī, 62. Al-Qādhi al-Farrā', 34. Al-Qalqashandī, Vol.1, 75.

²¹ For modern studies on *al-imārah*: see Zāfir al-Qāsimī, *Nizām al-Hukm fī al-Sharī'ah wa al-Tārikh al-Islāmīy* (Jordan: Dār al-Nafā'is, n.d) Vol. 1, 565-574. Anwar al-Rifā'ī, *Al-Naẓm al-Islāmiyyah* (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1973) 66.

²² Alex Their, "The Nature of the Afghan State: Republic vs. Emirate", *United States Institute of Peace* (November 2020) <<https://usip.org/sites/default/files/Afghanistan-Peace-Process-The-Nature-of-the-Afghan-State-Republic-vs-Emirate.pdf>> (accessed on 25 May 2024).

²³ Ibn Khaldūn, 240.

²⁴ Ibid. See also Jawad Ali, Vol. 9, 219.

Such a situation above suggests for the existence of a semantical field shared by this root. Jawad Ali's assertion on the existence of some form of *al-imārah* in the ASA languages further entailed the concept as to have surpassed the Arabic language boundary, encroaching within other Semitic languages.²⁵ In this regard, a limited Islamic legal-political discourse will not suffice to address this primordial form of *al-imārah* suggested by Ibn Khaldūn and others before. It instead requires a more comprehensive analysis of the root itself. This study seeks to fill the gap by examining *al-imārah* through another point of view, which pertains to the semantical analysis of that shared Semitic root 'mr. This will involve the re-orientation of the previous legal-political epistemic lens to the new semantical epistemic lens. A recourse to the comparative epistemology approach is necessary in justifying this change of trajectory, which this study will further discuss in the next chapter. However, it is sufficient for now to mention that this approach is the discipline that tries to access, in a critical manner, the relative validity and value of these various forms of knowledge production, these different strategies that enable us to gain important insights concerning something.²⁶ By that definition, *al-imārah* here serves as the subject of examination that is in need of important insight, while the legal-political and semantics are forms of knowledge production that will be utilized in examining the former.

In doing so, this study will first narrow the scope of studying the semantical aspects of *al-imārah* through two semantical sources; the pre-Islamic Arabia primary sources and the Islamic-Arabic lexicographic materials. It is a known fact that the root 'mr is a common Semitic root, attested within many languages such as Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hebrew, Aramaic and many more.²⁷ A study tackling the entirety of Semitic languages that have attested to this root would be impractical, as it requires more time than what the present study allows. A much presentable approach is to centralize the semantical analysis specifically upon the Central Semitic languages, specifically to those groups of vernaculars spatially spoken in Arabian Peninsula that comprises the previous ASA, Ancient North

²⁵ Jawad Ali, Vol. 9, 219.

²⁶ Hub Zwart, *Understanding Nature: Case Studies in Comparative Epistemology* (n.p: Springer, 2008) 7.

²⁷ Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament (TDOT), "āmar", edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Josef Fabry (Michigan, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1974) Vol. 4, 328. See also Sulaymān b. Abd Rahman al-Dhīb, *al-Mu'jam al-Mufradāt al-Arāmiyyah al-Qadīmah* (Riyadh: Maktabah al-Malik al-Fahd al-Waṭaniyyah, 2006) 35.

Arabian (ANA), and Arabic.²⁸ These vernaculars comprise two temporal frames; the pre and the post-Islamic Arabia. The former is represented through the attestations of the root and its derivations and meanings within the primary sources of pre-Islamic Arabia, while the latter is within the Islamic-Arabic lexicographic materials.

As *al-imārah* has always been speculatively the invention of the Islamic-Arabic language,²⁹ it is preferable to undertake the comparative measures through those two different temporal frames. The rationale behind that move is to examine the differentiation and particularities of those two sources of different timelines in utilizing the root 'mr, regardless of similar spatial distributional origin in Arabian Peninsula. These differentiations symbolise their particular worldviews upon that root. At this point of this study, the revelation of Islam serves as the only defining point between these two sources, where an expectation of different worldviews among these two should have occurred through it. Apart from assessing these particularities, this study will also seek to establish their general commonality in utilizing that root, where these generalities will serve as the common worldview of the root 'mr. The foregoing points have pointed to how the Islamic *al-imārah*, the Qur'ānic *ūlū al-amr*, the *Jāhiliyya amīr*, the nomadic *amr*, and supposedly the ASA *mr*' and 'mr' have a similarity in implying human-authoritative meanings, regardless of their different way of expressions. This one aspect of generality could represent the common worldview of the root for now, which this study argues is the root's most cardinal element, unbounded by any temporal, spatial, or even intra and inter-linguistical variable.

²⁸ Robert G. Hoyland, *Arabia, and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam* (Routledge: London, 2001), 200. For further discussion on these three profiles, see also Chapter 5 of this study.

²⁹ A. A. Duri, "Amīr" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by H.A R Gibbs, H. Kramers, E. Levi Provencal, J. Schacht (Leiden: E.J Brill, 1986) Vol. 1, 438.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What is comparative epistemology approach, and how can it help construct the conceptual framework and scope of this study?
2. In what way does the normative Islamic legal-political discourse describe and discuss *al-imārah*?
3. What were the socio-political conditions of pre-Islamic Arabia and how *al-imārah* manage to exist within those conditions?
4. How do the primary sources of pre-Islamic Arabia attest to the root '*mr*' and what are the projected semantical meanings?
5. How does the Islamic-Arabic lexicon attest to the root '*mr*' and what are the what are the projected semantical meanings?
6. In what way do those two semantical sources project their particular worldview of the root and how can they gain a common worldview through those particularities?

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1. To assess how comparative epistemology approach constructs the conceptual framework and scope of this study.
2. To provide an account of the normative Islamic legal-political discourse in discussing *al-imārah*.
3. To explore the socio-political conditions of pre-Islamic Arabia and how it enables the existence of *al-imārah* in its specific form peculiar to that condition.
4. To explore the attestations of the root '*mr*' and its projected semantical meanings within the primary sources of pre-Islamic Arabia.
5. To explore the attestations of the root '*mr*' and its projected semantical meanings in the Islamic-Arabic lexicon.
6. To analyse the particular and general worldviews of the root '*mr*' within those two sources that had attested to that root.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

The past study of *al-imārah* is rather limited in scope. One could pinpoint the earliest literature dealing with the subject in classical Islamic political jurisprudence. A good example is *al-Siyār al-Kabīr*, the first work on international law that was authored by Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Shaibānī.³⁰ This work mainly deals with legal political rulings, particularly international law. Discussions of *al-imārah* is evident in a small part of a chapter, often presented as a simple legal discourse related to military conduct.³¹ It includes the obligation of appointing an *amīr* (leader) for a small group of personnel doing military scouts in enemies' land, obligations of loyalty to the *amīr*, and obligation for an *amīr* to appoint someone more knowledgeable than him to do a particular required job.³²

Subsequent work is *al-Ahkām al-Sulṭāniyyah wa al-Wilāyat al-Dīniyyah*, a treatise on the ordinances of government written by Abu al-Hasan 'Ali ibn Muhammad al-Māwardī. The scope of *al-imārah* discussed in this work was broader and more detailed than the former, nevertheless still revolving around specific lenses of legal political rulings. Al-Māwardī asserted that *al-imārah* is part of the state structure in the Caliphate system and it is of two types: *al-imārah al-‘āmmah* (the general *al-imārah*) and *al-imārah al-khāssah* (the particular *al-imārah*). The former is what he meant by authorization of reign by the Caliph to a person (*amīr*) in a certain province or country, and is further categorized into two groups, which are *al-imārah al-istikfā'* (appointment by the Caliph) and *al-imārah al-istilā'* (appointment by conquest).³³ The second type is what he defined as the

³⁰ Muhammad b. Hasan al-Shaibānī (d. 132 AH/ 804 CE) is a Sunni jurist and a judge of the Hanafī school of jurisprudence. He was a student of Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān b. Thābit (d. 150 AH/ 767 CE) and Mālik b. Anas (d. 179 AH/ 795 CE). He later held a high position in Abbasid court. The work of his here is not published. Access to its contents is mainly through the commentary upon this work authored by Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Sarakhsī. (d. 483 AH/ 1090 CE) See John L. Esposito, *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003) 291, Al-Sarakhsī, Muhammad b. Ahmad, *Sharḥ Kitāb al-Siyar al-Kabīr* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, n.d).

³¹ The international law discussed in his book is mainly about rulings on warfare conduct, peace treaties, truce, war booty, ransom, enslavement, and many others. For further discussion, see Muhammad Munir, "Islamic International Law (Siyar): an Introduction", *Hamdard Islamicus*, Vol. XXXX, No. 4, (2012): 45.

³² Al-Sarakhsī, 45-48.

³³ The former refers to the appointment of reign to an *amīr* that is based on the selection from the Caliph himself, where he delegates and accords the right of governance and jurisdiction to the selected *amīr* in certain provinces, over the customary acts of his office. The latter refers to the appointment of an *amīr* based on the conquest of the *amīr*, where a province or country is taken through force by the *amīr* himself without authorization by the Caliph. According to al-Māwardī, this second type ought to be sanctioned, unless the Caliph grants the *amīr* with authority and right to govern the taken or captured province/country, with a condition of subjecting himself to the Caliph's laws and conditions. See al-Māwardī, 62 – 68.

appointment of reign based on the conquest of the *amīr*, surpassing the power of the Caliph himself. This type of *al-imārah* occurred during the weakening power of the Caliphate institution. Unlike *al-imārah al-istikfā'* that determine *al-imārah* to be conferred and acknowledged by the caliph, the second category of *al-imārah* posits a state structure that is independent and over time overpowering the caliphate.³⁴ His further expositions on *al-imārah* revolved around these two classifications, where he elaborated on the role of the *amīr*, his obligatory tasks, limitation of power and many more aspects pertinent to the legal discourse on *al-imārah* as found in the state structure in the Caliphate system.³⁵ These orientations were also followed by Al-Qādhī Abū Ya'la Muhammad ibn al-Farrā', a contemporary scholar of al-Māwardī, through his work of the same title, *Al-Ahkām al-Sulṭaniyyah*.³⁶ In this treatise, al-Farrā' further elaborated the concept of *al-imārah* in the same manner as al-Māwardī, where he too classified it into general and special *imārah*. The same perspective was observed in his categorization of the general *imārah*, where he employs the same definitions used by al-Māwardī in differentiating *al-imārah al-istikfā'* and *al-imārah al-istīlā'*.

Ibn Khaldūn, however, adopted different perspectives in his presentation of *al-imārah*. His approach was not through the lenses of legal political rulings and jurisprudence, but civilizational. He traced the idea back to the pre-Islamic Arabs, who first applied it to the practice of military commandership using the term *amīr*. This practice was maintained even during the time of the Prophet Muhammad. It was not until the era of 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb that the title *amīr* started to extend into state administration. It was initiated after the latter used the term *amīr al-mu'minīn* (Commander of the Faithful/Believers) during his tenure as the second Caliph. According to Ibn Khaldūn, this term was

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Muhammad Hāmid Faqī in his annotation of this work mentioned its similarities to the one authored by al-Māwardī. The only difference was that the expositions by al-Farrā' relied heavily on the Hanbalite school of thought, particularly the opinions of Ahmad b. Hanbal. Meanwhile, al-Māwardī went with the opinions of the Shāfi'ite school of thought. Faqī argued that there are clear relations of thought between these two scholars, but he did not specify it further. For further discussion, see the introduction by Muhammad Hāmid Faqī in his annotation of the book, Qādhī Muhammad b. al-Farrā', *Al-Ahkām al-Sulṭaniyyah*, annotated by Muhammad Hāmid Faqī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2000) 18.

used to signify the characteristics of the Caliph, and it was inherited even to the Umayyad and Abbasid periods.³⁷

Apart from being the designated term for the Caliph, Ibn Khaldūn agreed that the term *amīr* was often used throughout both periods in the way earlier illustrated by al-Māwardī and al-Farrā' i.e appointment and delegation of power and authority from the Caliph to a certain *amīr* in a certain province, positioned after the Caliph himself and the *wazīr* (vizier).³⁸ However, he argued that after non-Arabs seized the weakening Caliphate, the term *amīr* was adopted as a substitute for the term caliph in signifying the authoritative ruler.³⁹ It was used interchangeably with the word *sultān* or *amīr al-umarā'*. In illustrating the situation, he pointed out how the Turkish dynasty system worked during its appearance in Egypt during his times, where the title Caliph is not being used anymore. Meanwhile, the position of *amīr* emerged above all other ranks, be it through his exercise of full control over everything or through delegates, and the *wazīr* became a subordinate post subjected to the *amīr*, designated only with the role of collecting taxes.⁴⁰ At this point, he seems to imply that this as the last evolutionary stage of *al-imārah*.

Another scholar who is also worth mentioning here is al-Qalqashandī and his work entitled *Ma'āthir al-Ināfah fī Ma'ālim al-Khilāfa*.⁴¹ The major theme of his book is historical in nature, and most of his expositions are mainly about the historical background of the Caliph from the early days of Islam to the Mamluk Sultanate period in Egypt. However, he also included a brief discourse on the caliphate system at the beginning of his book, particularly touching on the caliphate's constitutional position, his duties as well as pertinent matters to the state structure of the Islamic government system such as *al-imāmah*

³⁷ Ibn Khaldūn maintained that after the emergence of the Abbasid period, the Caliph started to use other distinctive names and addresses such as the names of *al-Manşūr*, *al-Mahdī*, *al-Rashīd*, etc. Unlike their predecessors, they were not restricting themselves to the term *amīr al-mu'minīn*, which was formerly shared by all of them. Khaldūn believes that this was rather a sharp vicissitude on their part in distinguishing themselves from each other. Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddimah*, 241.

³⁸ Ibid, 252.

³⁹ In encapsulating the situation, Ibn Khaldūn gave an example of the Sanhajah dynasty of the 11th century, where they were used to be called *amīr* before the Fatimid caliph bestowed them distinguished names such *Naşīr al-Dawlah*, *Mu'iz al-Dawlah*, etc. After their power surpassed the caliphate, they maintained the name *amīr* and the one bestowed by the Fatimids. It was not until the distance of their rulers furthers with the Fatimids era, that they started to title themselves as *Sulţān*. See Ibid, 242-243.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 252.

⁴¹ Al-Qalqashandī, *Ma'āthir al-Ināfah fī Ma'ālim al-Khilāfa*, 381.

and *al-imārah*.⁴² Similar to al-Māwardī and al-Farrā', he defined *al-imārah* as part of the state structure of the Caliphate system, where the Caliph delegated part of his power and authority to the *amīr* in governing a province, country or battalion of army for battle.⁴³

On top of that, *al-imārah* was also visible in statecraft literature, sometimes uniquely known under the genre 'Mirrors for Princes' literature. They are often recognized in their characteristic role of offering counsel, *naṣīha* (advice) and *waṣīyya* (will/ bequest/ testament) regarding the ethical foundations for the rulers, hence, in some ways acting as a mirror for the rulers for improvement.⁴⁴ This literature was a major feature of classical Islamic scholarship and became known by many different titles, often by interchangeably using several similar words symbolizing its theme as being counsel to the authority or kingship. For instance, *Kitāb al-Sulṭān* (Book of Authority) authored by Ibn Qutaybah⁴⁵ or *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* (Counsel of Kings) by al-Ghazālī.⁴⁶ Al-Murādī al-Haḍramī, however,

⁴² Walter Bascom Bevins, *Al-Yaman and the Hadramawt: Translations from Medieval Arabic Geographers and Analysis* (Doctoral thesis, The University of Arizona, 1988) 53.

⁴³ Al-Qalqashandī, Vol. 1, 75-78.

⁴⁴ Patricia Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005) 153-154.

⁴⁵ Ibn Qutaybah, Abū Muhammad Abd-Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutaybah al-Dīnawarī al-Marwazī (b. 213 AH/ 828 CE- d. 276 AH/ 889 CE) was an Islamic scholar and judge of Baghdad during the Abbasid caliphate. Having possessed great erudition in many fields of Islamic sciences, he wrote many books, particularly in theology, sciences of Qur'ān and *hadīth*, as well as literary criticism. His *Kitāb al-Sulṭān* was the first part of the first volume of his encyclopaedic work on literary criticism, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār*. He explained that this part of his work mainly discussed the position, expected characteristics and politics of the authoritative (ruler), etiquette discussions for those who are supposed to be his companions, guidance on selecting servants, judges/magistrates and court officials, as well as some discussions on the guidelines for the ruler in decreeing judgements. For further discussion on his name, life and works, G. Lecomte, "Ibn Kutayba" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by B. Lewis, V.L. Menage, Ch. Pellat, and J. Schacht (Leiden: E.J Brill, 1986), Vol. 3, 844-845. See also Ibn Khallikan, Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm bin Abū Bakr, *Wafayāt al-A'yān* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d) Vol. 3, 43. For his methodology in writing *Kitāb al-Sulṭān*, see Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1418AH) Vol.1, 49. For a comprehensive study of the modern account of this book, see Fiqih Risallah, *Islamic Political Ethics in Advice Literature: A Study of Ibn Qutaybah's Kitāb al-Sulṭān (Book of Authority) of 'Uyūn al-Akhbar* (Springs of Narratives (London: LAMBERT Academic Publishing, 2012).

⁴⁶ Kâtip Çelebi affirmed that *Naṣīhat al-Muluk* was originally written in the Persian language with the aforementioned title, but later translated into Arabic and Turkish; the extant manuscripts were known with these three titles; 1) *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fi Naṣīhat al-Muluk* (Arabic) 2) *Natījah al-Sulūk* (Turkish) 3) *al-Durr al-Masbūk fi Naql Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* (Arabic). This book touches on issues on the importance of political authority, characteristics of just rulers, their supposedly moral values, practical wisdom for the rulers, etc. For further discussions on his work *Naṣīhat al-Muluk*, see Kâtip Çelebi, Mustafā b. 'Abd Allah, *Kashf al-Zunūn 'an 'Asāmī al-Kutub wa al-Funūn* (Baghdad: Maktabah al-Muthanna, 1941) Vol. 2, 1958. See also al-Ghazālī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fi Naṣīhat al-Muluk*, (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1988). See also al-Ghazālī, *Book of Counsel of Kings*, translated from by F.R.C Bagley from the Persian version annotated by Jalāl Humā'ī (London: Oxford University Press) xvii. See also Patricia Crone, Did al-Ghazālī Wrote a Mirror for Princes? On the Authorship of *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk* in *Jerusalem Studies of Islam*, edited by S. Pines, M.J Kister, S. Shaked (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1987). See also Tarek M. Muhammad, "Al-Ghazālī and the

chose the word *al-imārah* as a title of his work under this genre, which is known as *al-Siyāsah / al-Isyārah fī Tadbīr al-Imārah*.⁴⁷ Similar to other literature of this genre, his work was above all a treatise on etiquettes of political administration, with some discussions on practical advice in selecting companions and advisors, military leadership and even a healthy lifestyle.⁴⁸ Al-Murādī reached the same conclusion in affirming *al-imārah* as something that is germane to the authorities of the state structure. However, the only difference is that Al-Murādī was not specific in delineating to whom his advice was to be addressed, or what is technically meant by *al-imārah*, as his advice was variably addressed to the *Sulṭān*, *amīr* and even vizierate.⁴⁹

Since legal-political perspectives filled the space of medieval discourse on *al-imārah*, modern studies also seem to be heading in the same direction. Zāfir al-Qāsimī, for example, maintains a similar understanding of *al-imārah* in his book, *Niẓām al-Ḥukm fī al-Sharīʿah wa al-Tārikh al-Islāmī*. He followed the same legal definition and classification of *al-imārah* as introduced by his predecessors, particularly al-Māwardī and al-Farrāʾ in his discussion of *al-imārah al-ʿāmmah*, *al-imārah al-khāssah*, *al-imārah al-istikfāʾ* and *al-imārah al-istīlāʾ*.⁵⁰ Shawqī Abū Khalīl also employed the usual definitions and classifications used by the legal political literature in the tradition of al-Māwardī and al-Farrāʾ.⁵¹ Many other recent scholarly works also follow the same definition and classifications, especially legal political studies, such as *al-Wizārah wa al-Imārah ʿinda al-Imām al-Māwardī wa Tatbīqātuhuma al-Muʿāṣarah: Dirāsah Fiqhiyyah al-Muʿāṣarah* by Bilāl Ibrāhīm Mahmūd and *al-Imārah al-ʿĀmmah wa Ahkāmuhā* by Fātimah Ahmad al-

Sources of his MS. Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk: The Greek and Persian Sources”, *Journal of Medieval and Islamic History*, Vol. x, (2015-2016): 9.

⁴⁷ He is Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Murādī al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 489 AH/ 1095/1096 CE), a North African judge, theologian and jurist. Although he was born in the city of Qairawan, he was actually of Arab origin from the Hadramawt, an eastern region of Arabia, of what is now the country of Yemen. His *al-Isyārah fī Tadbīr al-Imārah* is among his notable and surviving works. See Russell Hopley, *Dictionary of African Biography*, edited by Emmanuel Kwaku Akyeampong, Henry Louis Gates Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012) Vol. 4, 535. See also Ibn Bashkuwāl, Khalaf b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Masʿūd b. Musa, *al-Silah* (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Miṣrī, 1989) Vol.3, 873.

⁴⁸ Al-Murādī al-Ḥaḍramī, *al-Isyārah fī Tadbīr al-Imārah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 2003).

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Zāfir al-Qāsimī, Vol. 1, 565-574.

⁵¹ Shawqī Abū Khalīl, *al-Ḥaḍārah al-ʿArabiyyah al-Islāmiyyah* (Tripoli: Kuliyah al-Daʿwah al-Islāmiyyah, 1993) 154.

Jatlāwī.⁵² It also manifests in general approach studies of *al-imārah*, where it relies heavily on classical legal political texts, especially in defining *al-imārah*. A clear example is *Ikhtilāṭ al-Imārah bi al-Tijārah: Al-Asbāb wa al-Āthar al-Iqtisādiyyah fī al-Iqtisād al-Islāmī* by Abd Allah al-Badārain.⁵³

There are also modern studies that only focuses on one aspect of *al-imārah*. Anwar al-Rifā'ī, for example, touches upon this concept from the point of the ruling of *amīr al-umarā'* from non-Arabs in the wake of a weak caliphate.⁵⁴ He mentioned several examples of such instances throughout Islamic history, such as the cases of Hārūn ibn Gharīb⁵⁵ and Muhammad ibn Rā'iq⁵⁶ of the Abbasid period. Meanwhile, in another study, 'Ilyān 'Abd al-Fattāh al-Jālūdī tried to explain the relation of *al-imārah al-istilā'* (appointment by conquest) introduced by al-Māwardī with the concept of sultanate or *amīr al-umarā'* in the perspective of Ibn Khaldūn.⁵⁷ He asserted that these two classifications are the same, as al-Māwardī had based his classification on the Buyid sultanate of his times, while Ibn Khaldūn established his view through the Turkish sultanate of his times.⁵⁸ In the context of modern Western scholarship, Luke Yarbrough, for example, also approached this matter in a similar way. In defining *amīr*, he contended that apart from it being used as part of the caliph's title, i.e. *amīr al-mu'minīn* (Commander of the Faithful/ Believers), it is also being

⁵² For further discussions, see Bilāl Ibrāhīm Mahmūd, *al-Wizārah wa al-Imārah 'inda al-Imām al-Māwardī wa Tatbiqātuhuma al-Mu'āṣarah: Dirāsah Fiḥḥiyyah al-Mu'āṣarah* (Master thesis, University of Gaza, 2018). See also Fātimah Ahmad al-Jatlāwī, “al-Imārah al-‘Āmmah wa Ahkāmuhā”, *Majallat al-Buhuth al-Akādīmiyyah*, no. 9 (2020): 348-408.

⁵³ For further discussions, see Abd Allah al-Badārain et al., “Ikhtilāṭ al-Imārah bi al-Tijārah: Al-Asbāb wa al-Āthar al-Iqtisādiyyah fī al-Iqtisād al-Islāmī”, *Al-Manārah*, vol 25, no. 4 (2018): 165-196.

⁵⁴ Anwar al-Rifā'ī, *Al-Naẓm al-Islāmiyyah*, 66.

⁵⁵ Hārūn b. Gharīb is the cousin of al-Muqtadir, the 18th caliph of the Abbasid Caliphate (295 AH-320 AH). His nickname Ibn al-Khāl (son of maternal uncle) is a reference to his relation to al-Muqtadir. Al-Mas'ūdī narrated that the mother of al-Muqtadir, Shaghab, is of Roman origin, and Harūn is her brother's son. Ibn Miskawayh mentioned him as the first person to assume the title of *amīr al-umarā'* in the year 316/928. For further discussion, see Al-Mas'ūdī, Abū al-Hasan 'Alī b. al-Husayn, *al-Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf* (n.p: al-Maktabah al-Tārikhiyyah, 1938) 326. See also Ibn Miskawayh, Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, *Tajārib al-Umam wa Ta'āqab al-Himam* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2002) Vol.5, 107. See also Al-Ziriklī, Khair al-Dīn b. Mahmūd bin Mohammad bin Ali, *al-A'lām* (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm li al-Malāyīn, 2002) Vol.8, 62.

⁵⁶ Meanwhile, Muhammad b. Rā'iq is another prominent example who bore the title *amīr al-umarā'* twice in the later period of the Abbasid caliphate. He was of Khazar origin, assuming the title during the reign of the Al-Rāḍī (322 AH-329 AH) as the Caliph. See Ibn Miskawayh, Vol. 5, 198. See also al-Zirikli, Vol. 6, 123. See also D. Sourdel, “Ibn Rā'iq”, in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 3, 902.

⁵⁷ 'Ilyān 'Abd al-Fattāh al-Jālūdī, “Taṭawwur Maḥūm al-Sulṭānah wa 'Alāqatīha bi al-Khilāfah min Imārah al-Istilā' 'inda al-Māwardī ila Maḥūm al-'Aṣabiyyah wa al-Shawkah 'inda Ibn Khaldūn”, *Islāmiyyah al-Ma'rifah*, Vol. 13, no. 51 (2007): 209-239.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 239.

employed broadly to define both commander for military and political usage, which either bounded or unbounded to the Caliph.⁵⁹

All literature mentioned above signifies three patterns of studies of *al-imārah*. The first one discusses *al-imārah* from the perspective of legal political rulings, as evident within the works of al-Māwardī, al-Farrā', al-Qalqashandī and Zāfir al-Qāsimī. The second one is to approach *al-imārah* discourse from the perspectives of civilizational and historical approach as pointed out by Ibn Khaldūn. The last one is to theorise *al-imārah* in the context of statecraft or "mirrors genres" of literature. The results of these three approaches are, however, similar, where they designate *al-imārah* as one of the defining terms for the state structure of the classical Islamic caliphate system. Among all three approaches, Ibn Khaldūn's civilizational approach seems to be the closest to the supposedly semantical approach of *al-imārah*. His takes superseded the standard legal-political approach, which usually designates the concept with a specific definition. This definition often encapsulates this concept through two elements; its fixed morphological form *al-imārah* and its essence as an Islamic legal-political component related to the Caliphate institution.

By locating this concept in another morphological form (*amīr*), Ibn Khaldūn implied the transcendancy of its essence beyond the morphological form *al-imārah*. As *al-imārah* and *amīr* are both derivations of the same root 'mr, Ibn Khaldūn's assertion seems to suggest a glimpse of semantical realm shared by these two through the root. Modern takes in the likes of Ṣālih Ahmad al-'Alī in his *Muḥāḍarāt fī Tārīkh al-'Arab* and Jawad Ali in his *al-Mufaṣṣal fī Tārīkh al-'Arab Qabl al-Islām* furthered the same derivational perspective of this concept as Ibn Khaldūn. The former pinpointed the usage of *amīr* with political proclivity as also prevalent among the nomadic Bedouin,⁶⁰ while the latter pointed to *amruhum* used in the *Jāhiliyya* period to carry the same meaning of *āmīruhum* or *amīruhum* (i.e. their lord).⁶¹ Yet all these derivational arguments upon the root 'mr remain within the confinement of the Arabic language and do not extend into other Semitic languages. Despite that Jawad Ali may have forwarded the possibility of a relationship

⁵⁹ Luke Yarbrough, *Friends of the Emir: Non-Muslim State Officials in Premodern Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019) xiii.

⁶⁰ Ṣālih Ahmad al-'Alī, 156.

⁶¹ Jawad Ali, Vol. 9, 219.

between the Arabic *amīr* and the ASA word *mr*, that assertion remains unestablished and peculiar to him.⁶²

Beyond the boundary of the Arabic language, the same segregated proclivity in approaching the Semitic root *'mr* and its derivations is also evident within the literature of other Semitic languages of pre-Islamic Arabia. The largest literature is the corpora of inscriptions, like the Corpus for South Arabian Inscription (CSAI) in the Digital Archive for the Study of Pre-Islamic Arabia Inscription (DASI),⁶³ and Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA).⁶⁴ Both are corpora for two groups of Semitic inscriptions and languages in pre-Islamic Arabia respectively; the ASA and ANA. These two groups (ASA and ANA) are the most upper-tier grouping of classification for the corpora of the groups of inscriptions and languages in pre-Islamic Arabia. This is before they further assort themselves into a much-detailed classification of other specific languages within both ASA and ANA. On the other hand, CSAI and OCIANA are the most recent corpora, whose classifications are much more modernly composed in their arrangements or even in their technical aspects.

In contrast to the much older and standard analogue collections of *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (CIS),⁶⁵ and *Répertoire d'Épigraphie sémitique* (RES),⁶⁶ a

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ For an introduction, see DASI, “*Corpus of South Arabian Inscription (CSAI)*” <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=42&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=0&rl=yes>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁶⁴ For an introduction, see The Khalili Research Centre, “*Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia*” <<https://krc.web.ox.ac.uk/article/ociana>> (accessed on 25 May 2024).

⁶⁵ *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (trans. Corpus of Semitic Inscriptions/ abbrev. CIS) is the collection of inscriptions of the antiquity of Semitic languages, published within five parts. For the context of Arabia, it involves mostly these three parts/ volumes of collections; the second (Aramaic, Palmyra, Nabatean), the fourth (Himyaritic, Sabaeen), and the fifth (Saracen, Lihyan, Safaitic and Thamudic). For reference of the second part, see Academy of Inscriptions and Letters of the Humanities Compiled and Digested, *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, edited by Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé (Paris: E Reipublicæ Typographeo, 1889) Pars Secunda, Tomus I, Fasciculus 1. For reference of the fourth part, see Academy of Inscriptions and Letters of the Humanities Compiled and Digested, *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, edited by Joseph Derenbourg (Paris: E Reipublicæ Typographeo, 1889) Pars Quarta, Tomus I, Fasciculus 1. For reference of the fifth part, see Academy of Inscriptions and Letters of the Humanities Compiled and Digested, *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, edited by Gonzague Ryckmans (Paris: E Reipublicæ Typographeo, 1950) Pars Quinta, Tomus I, Fasciculus 1.

⁶⁶ *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique* (trans. Repertory of Semitic Epigraphy/ abbrev. RES) is the supplementary volumes for CIS, which come in eight volumes. Unlike CIS that comes in Latin, RES collections are French in language. The volumes 5-8 is the largest collection for ASA inscriptions. For

search of the root 'mr within the former two modern corpora is also made easier with a digital search through the word list, particularly evident in the CSAI.⁶⁷ To some extent, the collections of inscriptions within CSAI and OCIANA are at least comprehensive enough for either of those two groups of languages, regardless of how they are still confined separately within these two groups of languages. Other individual corpora of inscriptions also employ this classification based on these two groups of ASA and ANA, and more often being much more specific to the designated language in either of those two groups. Examples of this are many, but it is sufficient to mention some of them to understand the trend of this literature. For ASA languages, we could see this through A. Jamme's work entitled *Sabaeen Inscriptions from Mahram Bilqis* that is particularly specific to the Sabaic language of ASA.⁶⁸

On the other hand, examples of the ANA inscriptions are the likes of Rafe Harahshah's work *Dirāsāt Nuqūsh Ṣafaiyyah Jadīdah*,⁶⁹ or Sulaiman b. Abd Rahman al-Dhīb's work entitled *Mudawwanat al-Nuqūsh al-Nabaṭiyyah fī al-Mamlakah al-'Arabiyyah al-Sa'ūdiyyah*,⁷⁰ both of which are specific to the Safaitic and Nabataean languages of ANA respectively. Despite not being more comprehensive like the CSAI or OCIANA in including all languages for each of the two groups, the values of these individual corpora are in terms of how they could provide new meanings of the root 'mr through new interpretation and meanings upon the already published or newly-published inscriptions. However, similar to the CSAI or OCIANA, the display of the search result of the root 'mr within these individual corpora remains separated based on inscription, and there is no compilation of meanings bundled within that one root like the standard alphabetical arrangement of lexicographic materials.

references, see for example Publié par la Commission du Corpus Inscriptorum Semiticarum, *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*, edited by Jacqueline Pirenne. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1968) Tome VIII.

⁶⁷ For references of the root 'mr search through word list, see CSAI, "'mr", DASI <https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=32&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=180408446&wl_group=1&wl_sugroup=47> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁶⁸ W.F Jamme, *Sabaeen Inscriptions from Mahram Bilqis* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1962).

⁶⁹ Rafe Harahshah, *Dirāsāt Nuqūsh Ṣafaiyyah Jadīdah* (al-Urdun: Matba'ah al-Safir, 2022).

⁷⁰ Sulaiman b. Abd Rahman al-Dhīb, *Mudawwanat al-Nuqūsh al-Nabaṭiyyah fī al-Mamlakah al-'Arabiyyah al-Sa'ūdiyyah* (Riyadh: Dār al-Malik 'Abd al-'Azīz, 1431H) Vol. 1, 120 & 124.

Yet despite the much easier entries of the root *'mr*, the Semitic lexicographic literature still indulged with the same particular classification based on respective languages within those two groups. Joan Copeland Biella's *Dictionary of Old South Arabic: Sabaean Dialect* is one of the prime examples, where he compiled the word entries of the ASA languages based only on Sabaic language.⁷¹ Again, the mentioning of the root *'mr* in this dictionary is separated from other ASA languages like Qatabanic, Hadramitic, and Minaic, not to mention other groups of languages like ANA or Arabic. Other examples that follow the same trajectory are *the Sabaic Dictionary* by A.F.L Beeston, M.A Ghul, W.W. Muller, and J. Ryckmans,⁷² and *Lexicon of Qatabanian Inscription* by Stephen D. Ricks.⁷³ For ANA, Ahmad al-Jallad's work on Safaitic inscriptions (*A Dictionary of Safaitic Inscriptions*) is perhaps the best recent example of this separative tendency, where he only works on Safaitic, one of the many ANA languages like the Nabataean, Taymanitic, Dadanitic, and many more.⁷⁴ Unfortunately, the root *'mr* was not even included in his work here, but mentioned by him alphabetically in order within his other work on Safaitic grammar; which is *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscription*.⁷⁵

A more connected take on Semitic root *'mr* is perhaps coming from the Proto-Semitic literature, which often pursues the lexical reconstruction of proto-Semitic word. Alexander Militarev and Leonid Kogan's *Semitic Etymological Dictionary* (SED) series is among the most dedicated work for this field.⁷⁶ According to Kogan, lexical reconstruction has never been the focus of Semitic scholarship. This is due to the common perception that Semitic languages are closely related dialects of one language, by which requires no lexical reconstruction at all.⁷⁷ In SED, Militarev & Kogan pinpoint one of the derivations of the root *'mr* as the proto-Semitic word for a type of animal. It is also a known derivation of the Arabic root *'mr*, often known as *immaru* or *immaratu*. Along with its equivalents in many

⁷¹ Joan Copeland Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1982)

⁷² A.F.L Beeston, M.A Ghul, W.W Muller, J. Ryckmans, *Sabaic Dictionary: English-French-Arabic* (Beyruth: Librairie du Liban, 1982).

⁷³ Stephen D. Ricks, *Lexicon of Qatabanian Inscription* (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1989).

⁷⁴ Ahmad al-Jallad & Karolina Jaworska, *A Dictionary of Safaitic Inscriptions* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

⁷⁵ Ahmad al-Jallad, *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

⁷⁶ Alexander Militarev & Leonid Kogan, *Semitic Etymological Dictionary: Animal Names* (Munster: Ugarit Verlag, 2005). Vol. II

⁷⁷ Leonid Kogan, "Proto-Semitic Lexicon" in *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, edited by Stefan Weninger (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011) 180.

other Semitic languages (Akkadian *immaru* or Biblical Hebrew *immēr*), they all represent the same meaning related to lamb or the offspring of sheep.⁷⁸ Although it is limited to only one of the derivations of the root, Militarev and Kogan's effort is significant in foretelling the importance of comparative measures in understanding Semitic words, especially for etymological construction.

Conclusively, there are two stages of study of *al-imārah*, both of which are relative to the literature on *al-imārah* and its root 'mr respectively. The former mostly confines *al-imārah* as to have only served as a certain political concept or state structure within the Islamic legal-political literature. This excludes Ibn Khaldūn's perspective, however, which perceived *al-imārah* in a more dynamic way through another derivation of the root 'mr, which plially came in the form of *amīr* of both Islamic and pre-Islamic Arabia period. Despite having the same political perspective on the concept, Ibn Khaldūn's view expands the horizon beyond the rigid morphological form *al-imārah*, pushing the narrative of *al-imārah* and *amīr* as to have shared the same semantical realm through its Arabic root 'mr that even extends the Islamic timeline. Another additional take by Jawad Ali on the relation of Islamic *amīr* to the ASA's word *mr*' may have furthered the question deeper beyond the boundary of the Arabic root itself, prompting the possibility of semantical study of the Semitic root 'mr.

From here it cues the necessity of surveying the second stage of the literature, which relates to that Semitic root 'mr. In the temporal and spatial context of Islamic or pre-Islamic Arabia, the conventional trend for the literature on the root 'mr segregates and classifies themselves based on its attestation within these three groups of languages; Arabic, ASA, and ANA. However, Militarev and Kogan's lexical reconstruction approach of the proto-Semitic word seems to pose a new perspective. By removing the boundaries between these languages, this approach conjures a new possibility of comparative measure between Semitic languages in constructing an etymological narrative. Although their approach limits the similarity of these languages within a mere proto-Semitic word (Akkadian *immaru* or Arabic *immaru*), they may have paved a possibility for a much deeper comparative analysis upon the root 'mr itself. It is within these two stages of possibilities

⁷⁸ Alexander Militarev & Leonid Kogan, *Semitic Etymological Dictionary: Animal Names*, 7-9.

that this study will try to fill in, namely in constructing a semantical study of the root *'mr* – beyond the boundary of the Arabic language and its normative morphological form *al-imārah*.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This qualitative study aims to first re-orient the study of *al-imārah* from the usual legal-political epistemic to a semantical epistemic lens. The aim is to formulate the underlying particular and general worldview of *al-imārah* through the semantics of its root *'mr* contained within two sources: the pre-Islamic Arabia primary sources and Islamic-Arabic lexicography. The construction of such an attempt is through the comparative epistemology approach, which will define the framework and scope of this study further in detail in the next chapter.⁷⁹ However, within that conceptual construct, this effort will utilize several types of analysis. Philosophically, the primary type of them all is the one that determines the findings of this study, which is the conceptual analysis. This study adopts the understanding of Frank Jackson who defined the conceptual analysis as:

“A very business of addressing when and whether a story told in one vocabulary is made true by one told in some allegedly more fundamental vocabulary.”⁸⁰

In his further commentary of this analysis, Jackson provided an example through this one definition of knowledge as ‘justified true belief’. In the framework of conceptual analysis, this definition of knowledge offers an account of how things are told using the word ‘knowledge’ to be true by the virtue of other accounts using the terms ‘true’, ‘justified’, and ‘belief’. According to Jackson, this definition is part of the conceptual analysis due to how it was intended to survive the method of possible cases.⁸¹ Regardless of its survivability or not, the gist of the conceptual analysis within that definition of knowledge

⁷⁹ See Chapter 2 of this study.

⁸⁰ Frank Jackson, *From Metaphysics to Ethics: A Defence of Conceptual Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) 28.

⁸¹ Ibid.

is to describe it in its most fundamental component. David Frydrych reiterated this in his assertion of conceptual analysis, which functions to explain any given concept in terms of its more basic components, decomposing it into its constituent parts until left with more (if not irreducibly) basic concepts.⁸² In this regard, those three elements within the previous definition of knowledge before are its most basic components, purportedly to signify the essence of knowledge.

This study reverberates the same type of analysis on *al-imārah*. Generally, it crystallizes within Chapter 2 of this study that deals with the comparative epistemology approach, which relates to how the chapter helps to align a new epistemic trajectory in analysing *al-imārah* from the normative Islamic legal-political discipline to the semantics discipline. This follows Jackson's definition before in addressing a story (*al-imārah*) told in one vocabulary (Islamic legal-political) is made true by another vocabulary (semantics). Through semantics, this conceptual analysis further defines the general aim of this study on examining *al-imārah* through the Semitic root *'mr*, where it is to extract the basic components of this root shared within its attestations within those two semantical sources (primary sources of pre-Islamic Arabia & Islamic-Arabic lexicon). This basic component is what this study argues as the general worldview of that root as well as for *al-imārah*, as it is supposedly irreducible and persists in its being; regardless of any derivational form that the root *'mr* shall take, or any Semitic language that it has been attested to.

The Semitic root *'mr* in this regard serves as the most important part of this study in terms of being the sole unit determining both independent and dependent variables of this study. Its attestations within those two semantical sources of pre-Islamic Arabia and the Islamic-Arabic lexicography are the independent variables that determine the trajectory of the dependent variables. The latter refers to the root's semantical meanings as well as the entailed particular and general worldview of that root extracted from their respective attestations within those two semantical sources. In utilizing the root *'mr*, this study will employ the thematic analysis method, which is defined here as:

⁸² David Frydrych, "Down the Methodological Rabbit Hole", *Crítica: Revista Hispanoamericana de Filosofía*, Vol. 49, No. 147 (2017): 44.

A method for identifying, analysing, organizing, describing, and reporting themes found within a data set.⁸³

By the word theme, this study meant the Semitic root '*mr*', which contains both linguistic and semantical data for each Semitic language that it has attested to. However, apart from the root '*mr*', a specific case is made upon the word '*mr*' as asserted by Jawad Ali before, who has contended the word as the embodiment of *al-imārah* in the ASA.⁸⁴ By taking his assertion into account, this study will also include the word '*mr*' in this thematic analysis. The thematic analysis is mostly evident within Chapters 5 and 6 of this study, where they will manually gather and analyse the attestations of the root '*mr*', the word '*mr*' and their projected semantical meanings within those two suggested semantical sources. From here this study will try to identify the theme of the root '*mr*', the word '*mr*', and their relation to each other relative to the language that it has attested to. By analysing the theme of their attestation, this study would be able to further identify the generalities and particularities within their trend of attestations, which also arguably functions as their general and particular worldview.

Another type of analysis will also include content analysis, which is predominantly used in interpreting the semantical attestation of this root gathered from the data set. Klaus Krippendorff defined this analysis as a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the contexts of their use.⁸⁵ This study will mostly utilize this analysis in most chapters, particularly in the issues of determining the whereabouts of *al-imārah* throughout the history of its emergence, in interpreting and deciphering connotations and contexts of *al-imārah* in general, or of its root '*mr*' and the word '*mr*', and of other related derivations. Chapters 3, 4, and 7 of this study will mostly utilize this analysis. Chapters 3 and 4 respectively discuss *al-imārah* introductorily within the normative conceptions of both Islamic legal-political epistemic and the socio-political settings of pre-Islamic Arabia. Meanwhile, Chapter 7 pertains to the discussion and extraction of the particular and general worldviews of the root '*mr*' through its attestations

⁸³ Lorelli S. Nowell et al., "Thematic Analysis: Striving to Meet the Trustworthiness Criteria", *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, Vol. 16 (2013): 1-13.

⁸⁴ Jawad Ali, Vol. 9, 219.

⁸⁵ Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (California: SAGE, 2013), 24.

within those two suggested semantical sources thematically discussed previously in Chapters 5 and 6.

On the other hand, this study incorporates two groups of data set pertinent to those two semantical sources. This refers to the data of the root 'mr attestation within both the pre-Islamic Arabia and Islamic-Arabic lexicography sources. The primary data for the former will include both documentary and literary sources of pre-Islamic Arabia. The documentary sources refer to the epigraphic inscriptions discovered around Arabia,⁸⁶ while the literary sources comprise primarily the *Jāhiliyya* poetry.⁸⁷ The mechanism in selecting these data will be solely thematic in the sense of only incorporating the epigraphs and poetry that attested to the root 'mr or mr' or any of its related derivations. It is imperative to note that any reference to the epigraphic evidence is not through the fieldwork, but only through the utilization of the corpora of pre-Islamic Arabia inscriptions, such as the aforementioned Corpus for South Arabian Inscription (CSAI) in the Digital Archive for the Study of Pre-Islamic Arabia Inscription (DASI),⁸⁸ and Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA).⁸⁹ On the other hand, the secondary data will include related studies deciphering these epigraphic inscriptions attesting to this root, comprised of authored and edited books, academic journals, and published or unpublished theses.

For the second source, the primary data will include the Islamic-Arabic lexicon and their attestations of the Arabic root 'mr and its derivations. According to M. Lynne Murphy,

⁸⁶ Epigraphy is the study of written matter recorded on hard and durable material (inscriptions). The term is Greek in its origin; *epigraphēin* (to write upon, incise) and *epigraphē* (inscription). Pre-Islamic Arabia inscriptions are mostly divided into two genres. The first one is monumental, where there are either inscribed on stone, metal (bronze), incisions on palm sticks and leaves, or rock graffiti. These are highly formulaic and impersonal, often written by professional scribes. On the other hand, the second genre is more personal, which Macdonald defined as the 'self-authored personal expressions written in a public space'. See Jaan Puhvel, "Epigraphy", *Britannica*, <<https://www.britannica.com/topic/epigraphy>> (accessed on 4 March 2025). See also Valentina A. Grasso, Ana Davitashvili, & Nadja Abuhussein, "Introduction. Epigraphy, the Qur'ān, and the Religious Landscape of Arabia", *Millennium*, Vol. 20, Issue 1 (2023): 1-14. See also Micheal C.A Macdonald, "On the Uses of Writing in Ancient Arabia and the Role of Palaeography in Studying Them" *Arabian Epigraphic Notes*, 1 (2015): 1-50.

Ikka Lindstedt, "Pre-Islamic Arabia and Early Islam" in *Routledge Handbook on Early Islam*, edited by Herbert Berg (London & New York: Routledge, 2018) 160.

⁸⁷ For further discussion, see Chapter 5 of this study.

⁸⁸ DASI, "Corpus of South Arabian Inscription (CSAI)" <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=42&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=0&rl=yes>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁸⁹ Khalili Research Centre, "Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia" <<https://krc.web.ox.ac.uk/article/ociana>> (accessed on 25 May 2024).

lexicon is collection of information about words and similar linguistic expressions in a language.⁹⁰ It can refer to the dictionary, the vocabulary of a language, or the knowledge of a user or speaker of a language of his or her vocabulary.⁹¹ The expression ‘Islamic-Arabic lexicon’ here is pertinent to this study, which we define as any form of Arabic monolingual lexicon compiled after the emergence of Islam, including both the pre-modern and modern lexicon. Within this context, a limitation is necessary due to the wide range of definition of that expression. This study argues that the only limitation that these lexicons could offer is only through the extent of the information, descriptions, and examples of the entry related to the root *’mr* that they could provide. Positioning such a limitation range is possible due to the nature of these lexicons that tend to repeat the same information concerning certain entries, which is mostly due to the predominant method since its beginning that tended to recompile material from earlier dictionaries.⁹²

Yet a case could have still been made upon the genre of those lexicons, which mostly includes the differentiation of utilizing the *shawāhid* (contextual examples) of the entries. For instance, lexicon pertinent to the *nawādir* (rarities) of words such as the *gharīb al-Qur’ān* or *gharīb al-ḥadīth* (the rarities of the Qur’ān and *ḥadīth*, respectively) will adduce many contextual examples with interpretation from those two sources.⁹³ In some ways, the extent of their utilization of their preferred sources forms the merit that they possess in comparison to other lexicons that do not traverse the same genre. There are more elements determining their inclusion and exclusion from this study, but such example above is sufficient in extrapolating the way the selection mechanism is operating within this study. Meanwhile, the secondary data of this second variable will include other non-lexicon works that attested to this root and its derivations. Most of them act as a support for the semantical meanings provided by each of the lexicons, such as Quranic exegesis, *ḥadīth* commentaries, and others.

⁹⁰ M. Lynne Murphy, *Cambridge Textbook in Linguistics: Lexical Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) 3.

⁹¹ Ibid, 4.

⁹² Tilman Seidensticker, “Lexicography: Classical Arabic”, in *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, edited by Kees Versteegh (Leiden: Brill, 2006) Vol. 3, 35.

⁹³ Ibid, Vol. 3, 34.

1.7 SEMANTICS AND WORDLVIEW

This study partially adopts Toshihiko Izutsu's theory on semantics as the framework of analysis. He defined semantics as:

An analytic study of the key-terms of a language with a view to arriving eventually at a conceptual grasp of the *weltanschauung* or world-view of the people who use that language as a tool not only of speaking and thinking but, more important still, of conceptualizing and interpreting the world that surrounds them.⁹⁴

In his perspective, semantics is a *weltanschauunglehre*, a study of the nature and structure of a worldview of a nation, or speakers of a certain language through methodological analysis of the major cultural concepts embedded within their language's key-words.⁹⁵ In that sense, semantics to him is not a discipline or study that concerns with the phenomenon of meaning as suggested by its normative etymology.⁹⁶ For instance, in the context of his study on the semantics of the Qur'ān, he did not identify the study within the extent of mere conceptual analysis in deciphering several key concepts in the Qur'ān, but it has always been about the worldview of the latter or its vision of the universe.⁹⁷ The ways in which he conducted his semantical analysis of the Qur'ān was through analyzing several key-words that he determined as to have played the most important part in forming the basic conceptual structure of the Qur'ānic worldview.⁹⁸ In his view, these key terms do not exist independently but are closely knit together within a network of what he termed as a 'semantical field'.⁹⁹

One of his examples is his construed relation between the word *īmān* (belief), Allah (the object of belief), *taṣḍīq* ([considering the revealed words] truthful), *islām* (giving oneself to God), *shukr* (thankfulness), *kufr* (disbelief), *'iṣyān* (disobedience), and *takdhīb* (giving the lie to [the revealed words]). Izutsu believes that all these words are important and serve as key-terms for specific semantical fields exclusive to the Qur'ān, which relates

⁹⁴ Toshihiko Izutsu, *God and Man in the Qur'ān: Semantics of the Qur'ānic Weltanschauung* (Tokyo: Keio University, 1964) 3.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 2.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 3.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 18.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 19.

to *īmān* (belief).¹⁰⁰ The word *īmān* also serves as the focus word, where it represents and becomes the point of unification for the other five words within that group.¹⁰¹ However, the focus-word or the key-word here also did not remain restricted within this one group but sometimes overlapped within other groups that represent different semantical fields.¹⁰² An example of this is the word Allah, which relates to the word *īmān* in terms of being the subject of the latter (*īmān bi-Allah: tr. to believe in God*). Despite being part of the key-words here, the word Allah in most cases also becomes the most attested focus-word in other semantical fields within the Qur'ānic vocabulary.¹⁰³

The term vocabulary here refers to Izutsu's own terminology and designation to depict the conceptual sphere of a network of key-words within a semantical field.¹⁰⁴ He theorized that the term 'vocabulary' should not merely present a collection of words that is arbitrary without order and principle but should be governed by an independent conceptual sphere of the semantic field.¹⁰⁵ To follow his term, considering that any key-word within a vocabulary can overlap with other vocabulary, this forms a more intricate network of multiple relationships and connections between myriad semantical vocabularies.¹⁰⁶ This organized whole concept that one nation/ community symbolized through their vocabulary is what Izutsu asserted as its *weltanschauung*, or rather, semantic *weltanschauung* – in distinguishing it from philosophical *weltanschauung*.¹⁰⁷

Following that theorization, one could see the differences of a Qur'ānic vocabulary in comparison to the pre-Islamic Arab vocabulary. Despite that both are Arabic in their language, the utilization of different concepts represented respectively through their usage of the same words as well as the relation among these words helps distinguish them clearly. In Izutsu's view, comparing these two different conceptual systems within their respective vocabularies is beneficial, especially in exploring the rise of new ideas.¹⁰⁸ As pre-Islamic

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 22-23.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 23.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 20.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 27.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

Arabia is an antecedent to the Qur'ān, it will at least explain what Izutsu defined as the 'basic' meaning of a word that is also used in the Qur'ān, while the latter will provide the 'relational' meaning of that very same word that is exclusive to the Qur'ān. This will highlight how old ideas of the pre-Islamic Arab underwent modification with the advent of Islam.¹⁰⁹ Izutsu's main semantical source for those comparative measures was mostly through putting the Qur'ānic vocabulary against the pre-Islamic poetry.¹¹⁰ In another example, he adduced an example of the conceptual changes that occurred between these two vocabularies through the word *taqwā*. In pre-Islamic Arabia, the word meant 'self-defensive attitude of a living-being, animal or man, against some destructive force coming from outside'. Within the influences of Islam, the word *taqwā* started to possess both basic meanings provided before with an addition of one new relational meaning specific to the latter, which is "the pious fear of Divine chastisement on the day of Judgement".¹¹¹

On the other hand, this study mostly adopts Izutsu's theory in his understanding of semantics, which refers to semantics as part of the analytical study of a language in constructing the worldview of its speakers. Most generally, it is evident in the aim of this study that attempts to establish the worldview of *al-imārah* through the root '*mr*'. In particular, however, there are several differences. For instance, Izutsu aimed to construct the whole worldview of the language - either spoken or scripturally based language - through examination of the whole organized vocabulary/ conceptual system respective to that language.¹¹² This study, however, is oriented to a much smaller scale, which is constructing the worldview through a specific Semitic root ('*mr*'). To fully undertake Izutsu's theoretical and conceptual approach would require a much larger study, particularly in identifying the selected concept, its focus and keywords, the relation of any of this keyword to other conceptual spheres, and so on. Izutsu's method of keywords selection is also questionable, at least in the sense of he himself has acknowledged the unavoidability

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 10.

¹¹² As asserted before, vocabulary in Izutsu's understanding refers to the conceptual sphere projected by a semantical field, or network of multiple fields. See Toshihiko Izutsu, 20, 27.

of ‘a certain amount of arbitrariness’ in that phase, which he did warn as to ‘may have gravely affect at least some aspect of the whole picture’.¹¹³

Resorting to the Semitic root offers a much simpler solution, particularly by taking into consideration its root-pattern morphology that has already bounded for a specific semantic field.¹¹⁴ Arguably, this refers to some contentions -mostly upon the Arabic language - arguing for the existence of basic semantic abstraction within its root.¹¹⁵ In a conceptual analysis methodology, this is what this study argues as the most basic constituent of that root conceptually.¹¹⁶ Within this specific root system, one could direct the aim of analysis thoroughly to this root and its derivations without having to spend time in determining other keywords that may or may not have a relation to this root conceptually. Yet to follow Izutsu’s framework here, this study argues that the embedded semantic abstraction within the root contains the same conceptual sphere of the semantical field as he has proposed, at least to the lesser degree of providing the conceptual sphere of the root etymologically. Against a comparative approach, this abstraction serves as the general worldview of the root shared by all semantical sources proposed by this study (pre-Islamic and Islamic), which is the most important objective that this study seeks to answer.

However, it is crucial to highlight that this study also adopts Izutsu’s approach in establishing the particular worldview respective to each of the semantical sources. This is essential before establishing the general worldview of the root, as it provides the position of where the differentiation and similarities of this root attested within various semantical sources has occurred. As Izutsu has proposed for a focus-word among the network of multiple keywords within a semantical field for the point of unification, this study seeks to

¹¹³ Ibid, 18.

¹¹⁴ Janet C.E Watson, *The Phonology and Morphology of Arabic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 3.

¹¹⁵ According to Naquib Al-Attas, it is well known that any language is susceptible to semantic change through various variables relative to history and society, which predisposes that language to not being able to convey the absolute and objective truth due to the lack of what he termed as 'scientific precision' in its meaning. This is with the exception of Arabic, which he argued as to have possessed and attained that 'scientific precision' through three specific conditions; 1) Firm root structure and system, 2) Clear and well-defined semantical field that enables the language to determine the conceptual structures innate to its vocabulary that is definite to its root, 3) Firm records and establishment of word, meaning, grammar, and prosody that help secure and maintain the semantic permanence. See Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Concept of Education in Islam: A Framework for an Islamic Philosophy of Education* (Kuala Lumpur, ISTAC, 1999) 2-3.

¹¹⁶ See the previous discussion on the conceptual analysis in this chapter, 20-21.

devise a specific focus-word, or rather, a focus-derivation within all derivations of the root 'mr attested within both proposed semantical sources. The foundational theory for that mainly originated from the Islamic period, particularly from their classical linguists and grammarians. Ibn Jinni was among the ones who touched upon this issue under the purview of the origin of a word.¹¹⁷ He contended the origin as the *al-aṣl*, or *jawhar*, which is the origin of a word in its essence and concrete form.¹¹⁸ Further theorization on that matter is evident within Chapter 7 of this study, which is the main discussion for the construction of both particular and general worldviews of this root.

Moreover, this study did not fully adopt the basis and relational meanings framework provided by Izutsu. The rationale is twofold; one of them concerns the focus of this study that is already upon the monolingual Islamic-Arabic lexicography, which already serves as the main source for the etymology or basic meanings of Arabic words. Secondly, the relational meanings provided by the Qur'ān are only accessed limitedly in this study, particularly in understanding the contextual usage of the root 'mr and its derivations through Qur'ānic examples provided within some of these referred lexicons. Other than that, this study is more concerned with the semantical shift of the root 'mr. Anna A. Zalizniak defined semantic shift as any variation of the meaning of a given word, be it synchronic (the relation of two different meanings between a polysemous word) or diachronic (the relation between two meanings of a word in a course of semantic evolution).¹¹⁹ In Zalizniak's view, both of them are two different sides of the same phenomenon.¹²⁰ However, by her definitions, this study focuses more on the latter, which hopefully will reflect how those semantical sources developed the root 'mr from its most

¹¹⁷ He is Abu al-Fath Uthmān b. Jinnī al-Mūṣiliy (d. 392 AH/ 1002 CE), an Arabic linguist and philologist of Greek descent. He wrote many books under the two genres and among those famously printed are *al-Khaṣā'is* and *al-Luma' fi al-'Arabiyyah*. See Ibn Khallikan, Vol. 3, 246. See also al-Ziriklī, Vol. 4, 204. See also Hussam Sa'īd al-Na'īmī, *Ibn Jinnī: 'Ālim al-'Arabiyyah* (Baghdad: Dār al-Shu'ūn al-Thaqāfiyyah al-'Āmmah. 1990) 11, 59.

¹¹⁸ One of his examples is the evolution of the word *nabtun* (*al-aṣl*) – *nabāt* (*maṣdar*/ verbal noun) – *nabata* (perfective verb). According to him, the word *nabtun* is *al-aṣl* due to its essence of being the *jawhar* (substance), while the word *nabāt* derives from it to signal the occurrence and action of being *nabt*. For further discussion on this matter, see Chapter 7 of this study. See also Ibn Jinnī, *al-Khaṣā'is* (n.p: al-Hai'ah al-Misriyyah al-'Āmmah li al-Kitāb, n.d) Vol. 3, 245.

¹¹⁹ Anna A. Zalizniak, "A Catalogue of Semantic Shift: Towards A Typology of Semantic Derivation" in *From Polysemy to Semantic Change: Towards a Typology of Lexical Semantic Associations*, edited by Martine Vanhove (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 2008) 217-232.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

basic pre-Islamic Arabia meanings to the most advanced meanings attested in the Islamic-Arabic lexicons.

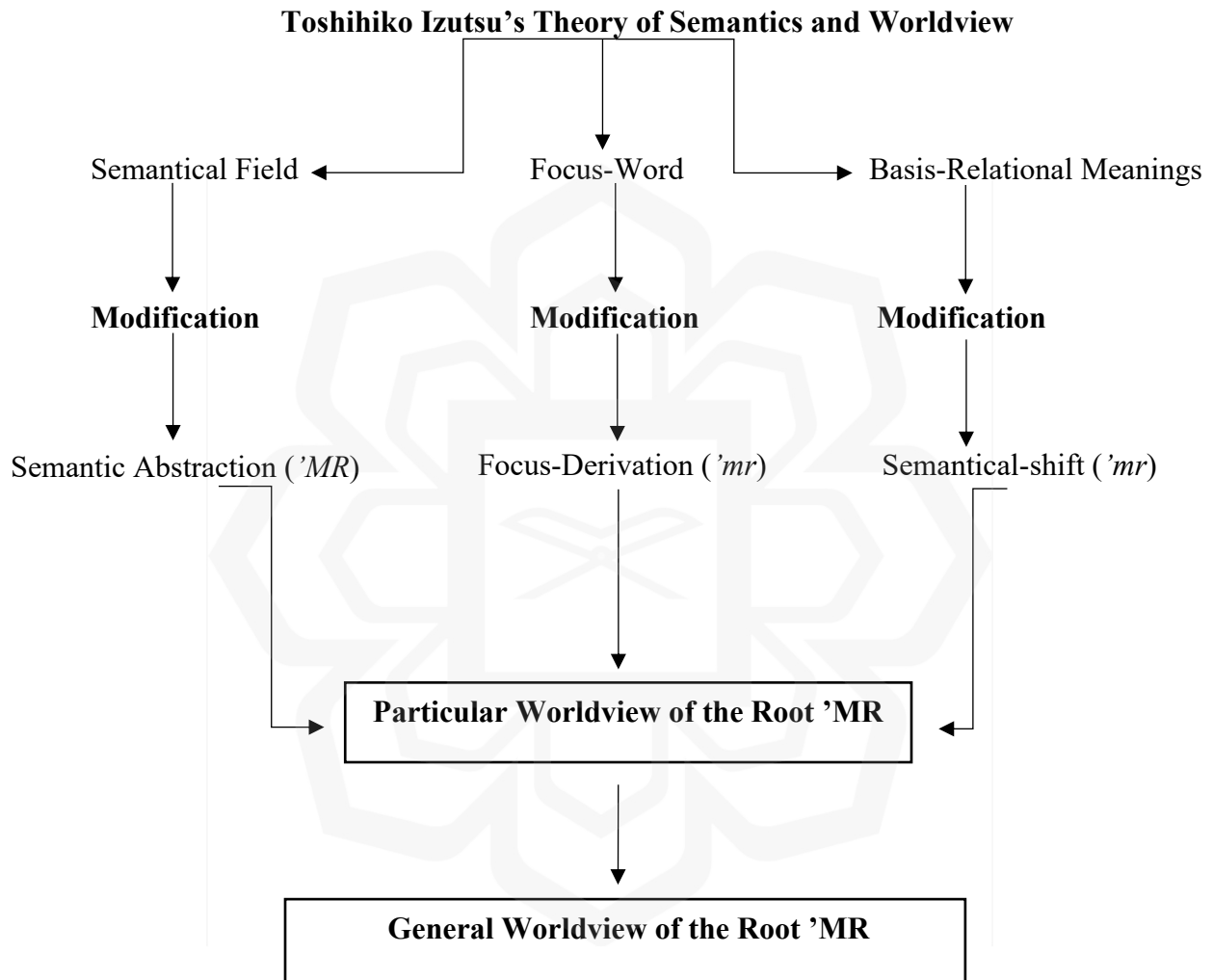


Figure 1.1: The Theoretical Construct for Semantics and Worldview¹²¹

¹²¹ Reconstructed from Toshihiko Izutsu, 1-23; Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, 2-3; Ibn Jinnī, Vol. 3, 245; Anna Zalizniak, 217-232. *Note.* The non-modified components are Izutsu's components of semantical analysis, while the modified components are taken from those other mentioned sources above.

1.8 CHAPTER OUTLINE

1. Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter introduces the background of the research, statement of the problem, research questions and objectives, literature review, research methodology, as well as the employed theoretical framework.

2. Chapter 2: Defining the Scope and Framework of the Study of *al-Imārah* through Comparative Epistemology Approach

This chapter delineates the conceptual framework of this study through comparative epistemology approach. This approach functions to delineate further the justification, framework, and scope of this study in changing the normative study of *al-imārah* from legal-political epistemic to semantical epistemic.

3. Chapter 3: Introduction to *al-Imārah*: Islamic Legal-Political Epistemic

This chapter provides an introductory survey of the normative *al-imārah* in Islamic tradition by delineating the evolution of this concept throughout the whole Islamic period from the perspective of legal-political epistemic. It argues for the establishment of this period as the starting point for the induction and development of legal-political *al-imārah* that has supposedly lasted to the modern world.

4. Chapter 4: *Al-Imārah* in the Socio-Political Settings of Pre-Islamic Arabia

This chapter marks the beginning of study of *al-imārah* in pre-Islamic Arabia context. However, instead of dealing with the thematical analysis of the root semantically, this chapter only serves as an introduction in delineating the socio-political settings of that period. The aim is twofold, which are to address the conventional notion on *al-imarrah* that often negates its existence within this period, as well as to provide introductory overview on the socio-political settings of pre-Islamic Arabia and how it has enabled the existence of *al-imārah* in its own specific ways and forms.

5. Chapter 5: The Semitic Root 'MR in the Primary Source of Pre-Islamic Arabia

This chapter deals with the thematic analysis of the root 'mr within the first semantical source, which focuses on pre-Islamic Arabia period. It involves the attestations of this root, its related derivations, and their meanings within several semantical profiles of the latter that comprises both documentary and literary sources. The former includes both groups of inscriptions; the ASA (Sabaic, Minaic, Qatabanic, Hadramitic) and ANA (Safaitic, Taymanitic, Dadanitic, Nabataean). On the other hand, the literary sources only comprise the *Jāhiliyya* poetry.

6. Chapter 6: The Arabic Root 'MR in Islamic-Arabic Lexicography

This chapter deals with the thematical analysis of the root 'mr in the second semantical source focusing on the Islamic period - the Islamic-Arabic lexicon. It involves the attestation of this root, its related derivations, and their meanings within various classical and modern monolingual Islamic-Arabic lexicons.

7. Chapter 7: The Worldview of *al-Imārah* Through the Root 'MR

This chapter discusses the meanings of the root 'mr attested within both proposed semantical sources. The aim is to conjure the particular and general worldview of the root and its derivations as attested previously within both semantical sources. The particular worldview refers to their differentiation in understanding the root, while the latter is the synthesis of where their particularities have converged.

8. Chapter 8: Conclusion

This chapter will summarize and conclude the study, as well as make recommendations for future studies.

CHAPTER TWO

DEFINING THE SCOPE AND FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY OF *AL-IMĀRAH* THROUGH COMPARATIVE EPISTEMOLOGY APPROACH

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Epistemologically, *al-imārah* has always been arguably the subject under the purview of Islamic legal-political science. This particular epistemic school has become the single source of understanding *al-imārah*. The comparative epistemology approach helps provide a wider assessment of this concept by facilitating the entrance of other disciplines to explore *al-imārah*, to which this study proposes the semantics discipline. Through semantics, *al-imārah* will undergo an examination of its semantical root of 'mr' attested within two different variables, the pre-Islamic Arabia and Islamic-Arabic lexicography. This chapter will illustrate how the comparative epistemology approach helps construct a wider epistemological basis in comprehending *al-imārah* through semantics, as well as determining the trajectory and construction of this study.

2.2 UNDERSTANDING COMPARATIVE EPISTEMOLOGY

In his attempt to understand nature, Hub Zwart has conducted his investigation through a specific conceptual construct that he termed as '*comparative epistemology approach*'. His assertion takes off firstly from his refusal to accept the standard notion of having to view nature from within the epistemic perspective of science.¹²² In his view, modern epistemology has been accustomed to identifying '*real*' knowledge of nature through science. This is by no means his attempt to discredit the importance of science in making nature available to the human mind. In fact, he contested that it is not necessarily true to

¹²² Hub Zwart, *Understanding Nature: Case Studies in Comparative Epistemology* (n.p: Springer, 2008) 4.

assert that nature is to have primacy upon science, to which the latter is only the representation of the former that forms a fragment of reality and is out there in itself.¹²³ Zwart instead provided another perspective in looking into the relationship between these two, where he affirmed the importance of science as the designated tool in allowing nature to reveal itself and become discernible.¹²⁴ According to him, science and its reliable techniques and instruments, as well as its construction of the idea do help elucidate the nature in ways that a non-scientific approach may have failed.¹²⁵ Building on his contention here, it is safe to assume that his views above imply his high consideration of science as an epistemic discipline in knowing and assessing nature.

His contention, however, is only upon the possibility of knowing nature other than science.¹²⁶ For him, there must be practical knowledge of nature in the form of uncoded and experiential knowledge out there embedded within, for example, the gardener, sailors, or even artists and poets. He examined this in a mental illustration of how a plant in a laboratory setting will appear in a different light than the one sitting in the garden.¹²⁷ Zwart's examples here illuminate the fact that both settings provide two experiences of nature subjective to the condition specifics of each of them. This is the general illustration of what he meant by comparative epistemology. In specifics, however, Zwart defined the comparative epistemology as:

“The discipline that tries to access, in a critical manner, the relative validity and value of these various forms of knowledge production, these different strategies that enable us to gain important insights concerning nature or natural entities, such as landscapes, animals or plants.”¹²⁸

It is understandable from his definition above that he considered comparative epistemology as a specific discipline or a conceptual construct designed to compare a subject of nature in different and various forms of knowledge production. In the case of his study on understanding nature, he proposed to switch the epistemic lens of science in

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid, 8.

¹²⁸ Ibid, 6.

apprehending nature through another form of knowledge production, which according to him is to be found in the literary discipline.¹²⁹ Zwart's option to choose literary discipline upon the conventional epistemology of science might have stemmed from the strict demarcation of these two groups. He quoted the work of C.P Snow on this, in which the latter has identified the Western intellectual groups as comprising the two polar-opposite groups that are often in mutual hostility and misunderstanding; the literary authors and scientists.¹³⁰ Although Zwart viewed Snow's observation as anecdotal, he nevertheless agreed that epistemology as a discipline has followed this demarcation as well. According to Zwart, a considerable number of epistemologies from Kant to Popper and Kuhn favoured one particular discipline of science, which is physics. It was not until recently that scholars started to branch out into other disciplines, such as chemistry, biomedicine, and literary genres.¹³¹

In Zwart's perspective, each discipline has its own epistemological profile in assessing nature. Nature here becomes the 'opposite end of the knowledge process', which is the object of knowledge. On the other hand, Zwart seems to suggest that knowledge is a 'process which enables the comprehension and understanding of nature to occur'. In detail, he defined knowledge as:

“A process in the course of which nature as something which initially presents itself to us as incomprehensible, inaccessible, unpredictable and diffuse, becomes increasingly transparent and discrete: objectified and accountable nature”.¹³²

In another place, he reiterated his definition of knowledge as “a process, a synthesis, the product of a complex interaction between sense data and cognitive structures”.¹³³ Meanwhile, he asserted that epistemology has always been the discipline that tries to unravel the extent to which the subject is present in the thing that they perceive (object of knowledge).¹³⁴ According to Zwart, this is particularly true within, for example, the

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid. See also C.P Snow, *Two Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 3.

¹³¹ Zwart, 6.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid, 7.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

epistemic lens of naïve realism, which goes with a belief that an entity (nature) is simply out there and waiting for the mind to perceive and describe it, either in a scientific manner or otherwise.¹³⁵ Arguably, in this naïve realism view, the ‘*truth*’ is the conformity of one's perception, observation and description to the entity out there. Variables around the one who perceives comprises of, for example, theoretical framework, cultural and societal surroundings, determine the ways that allow the emergence or the revelation of nature itself.¹³⁶ A moderate realist scientist might be aware of the limit in his methodology and equipment that shape his objectivity, while a radical realist might argue that reality is purely the product of one own's thought.¹³⁷ Regardless of what position a person is standing on, Zwart comes to his conclusion that an entity is not simply being out there, but it is perceivable to a person through his practices and discourse that have allowed the entity to emerge and reveal itself. This, according to him, is the common ground within all epistemological positions.¹³⁸

The abstract and general discussions of how the constitution of reality and outside entity to him are repetitive in their manner, where it will only lead to producing countless arguments that have been pointed out before.¹³⁹ His proposed comparative epistemology will instead opt for the bottom-up case study approach, of what he claimed as an ‘empirical turn’ in epistemology. In doing so, he assessed several subjects about nature through literary works.¹⁴⁰ For example, he builds his discussion on the whale as a subject of nature by assessing the novel *Moby Dick*, while his discussion on dogs as a subject of nature comprises his analysis of several literary novels on dogs.¹⁴¹ His philosophical discussion is not precisely oriented to the whale and dogs directly as the object but was more on the manner of dogs as the subject of nature appeared in these various discursive literary sources. This refers to the epistemic perspective and ways of knowing in which the literary discourse as a non-scientific genre discusses, observes, views, and understands the subjects of nature.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid, 7.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid, 8.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 77-96, 99-105.

Another perspective of comparative epistemology comes from Osman Bakar through his call for comparative studies. In his view, despite its myriad extended definitions, epistemology simply means theory or study of knowledge.¹⁴² However, he contested that the English word 'theory' is also etymologically related to the Greek '*theoria*', which means vision. In that case, Bakar affirmed that epistemology should also be understood in its most basic and simple meanings as '*vision of knowledge*'.¹⁴³ A comparative treatment of epistemology may benefit from the incorporation of this imagery as the definition of epistemology. For Bakar, a '*vision of knowledge*' of those who believe in God, in the Divine Revelation, or the life after death and the unseen world is certainly different to those who do not believe in them. This difference entails the different epistemology or philosophies of knowledge between both.¹⁴⁴ In his example here, Bakar is similar to Zwart in the sense of his visualization of the comparative epistemology not on the abstract level of the standard epistemological discussion but more towards appropriating the epistemology on the applied level of '*vision of knowledge*'. Admittedly, Bakar did not elaborate much on the comparative epistemology approach of different knowledge production like Zwart had, but he nevertheless asserted the importance of categorization and classification of knowledge, the structure of each science and academic discipline, as well as the pursuit of the knowledge synthesis, which Bakar contended as the core characteristics of Islamic scholarly enterprise in the past.¹⁴⁵

2.3 APPROPRIATING COMPARATIVE EPISTEMOLOGY APPROACH FOR STUDY OF *AL-IMĀRAH*

One of the most important contributions of Zwart's comparative epistemology is how it enables the different forms of knowledge to provide a new and refreshing look upon a certain subject of discussion that is often already established on a specific epistemic basis. If Zwart's contestation is upon the scientific epistemic paradigm that has monopolized the

¹⁴² Osman Bakar, *Advancing Comparative Epistemology and Civilizational and Futures Studies: The Global Role of the New ISTAC-IIUM* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC-IIUM Publications, 2019) 49.

¹⁴³ Ibid,

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 50.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

discussions around nature, this study finds the contestation is more upon the legal-political epistemic paradigm that dominates the discussion of *al-imārah*. As the previous chapter has delineated beforehand, most of the literature on *al-imārah* always has the proclivity to define and understand this concept as a specific political institution subjective to Islamic legal-political thought.¹⁴⁶ It may vary in its classification or definition from being the standard al-Māwardī's *al-imārah al-‘āmmah* or *al-imārah al-khaṣṣah*, or it could be the Ibn Khaldūn *amīr al-‘umarā’*. All these classifications, however, are essentially within the epistemology of Islamic legal-political sciences.¹⁴⁷

Zwart's definition of knowledge has specified it as the process of making something (object of knowledge) become increasingly transparent and discrete. It is then apprehensible to dictate that Islamic legal-political sciences are a body of knowledge that has enabled the comprehension of *al-imārah* with its specific structures and worldview peculiar to its epistemology. Historically, *al-imārah* has ended up within the codification of Islamic legal-political sciences as merely in the form of classification for Islamic political institutions or concepts. And it is through this codification that one could perceive *al-imārah*.¹⁴⁸ From another epistemological standpoint, we could also empirically assess *al-imārah* in its living form in some parts of the Gulf countries, or as recently in Afghanistan,¹⁴⁹ where it persists as a political system that is at least *partially* related to the standard image of *al-imārah* reflected within the codification of Islamic legal-political science. This partial representation is mostly related to how the current *al-imārah* has a form of severed connection to the Caliphate institution, which is the most inherent component within most definitions and mechanisms of *al-imārah* in the past.¹⁵⁰ This study will elaborate more on the development of *al-imārah* from within the political epistemic

¹⁴⁶ For further discussion, see the literature review in Chapter 1 of this study, 9-20.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ As previously mentioned before, most of the early Islamic political literature define *al-imārah* as a specific classical Islamic state structure, delegating the caliph to reign his provinces, state, town, or territory. Some scholars like al-Māwardī, for example, have developed this concept further, where he has included more sub-classifications with their specific legal rulings. See Al-Māwardī, 62. See also Al-Qādhi al-Farrā', 34. See also Al-Qalqashandī, 75.

¹⁴⁹ Alex Their, "The Nature of the Afghan State: Republic vs. Emirate", *United States Institute of Peace* (November 2020) <<https://usip.org/sites/default/files/Afghanistan-Peace-Process-The-Nature-of-the-Afghan-State-Republic-vs-Emirate.pdf>> (accessed on 25 May 2024).

¹⁵⁰ Al-Māwardī, 62. See also Al-Qādhi al-Farrā', 34.

lens later in the next chapter.¹⁵¹ At this point, it is safe to assume that the latter discipline is the standard epistemic lens of *al-imārah*, where it has become the form of knowledge associated with *al-imārah* conventionally.

It is also important to point out that the *equivalency* of the science discipline as contended by Zwart and Islamic political science here in this study as two bodies of knowledge is not in the sense of both, for example, being scientific in nature or sharing the same epistemology. Islamic sciences never have its epistemology to be fully pivoted upon the observable existences as modern science has.¹⁵² The former instead marks its epistemology to be upon the Revelation, which forms the most important epistemological source within the Islamic tradition.¹⁵³ It has already been long considered the central text among myriad epistemological schools within the Islamic tradition and civilization since its first emergence over a millennium ago.¹⁵⁴ This alone clearly draws a demarcated line between these two. On that note, the context of this study has instead provided the similarity of these two bodies of knowledge (science and Islamic legal-political science) in the sense of them holding the position as the conventional epistemic discipline respectively for both nature and *al-imārah*.

Meanwhile, unlike Zwart who had pinpointed the literary discipline as another epistemological fulcrum in assessing nature, this study opted for semantics as the new epistemic lens used in assessing *al-imārah*. This semantical aspect of *al-imārah* is important due to several reasons. The primary one pertains to how semantics helps bypass the conventional Islamic political discipline understanding of *al-imārah*, which then may enable the construction of a much refreshing outlook on this concept. This stems from the

¹⁵¹ For further discussion, see Chapter 3 of this study.

¹⁵² M. Azram, "Epistemology: An Islamic Perspective" *IJUM Engineering Journal*, Vol. 12, No. 5 (2011): 180.

¹⁵³ Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, *Prolegomena to the Metaphysics of Islam: An Exposition of The Fundamental Elements of the Worldview of Islam* (Johor Bahru: UTP Press, 2014) 121.

¹⁵⁴ Osman Bakar successfully captures the epistemological importance of Qur'ān (read: revelation) among these various epistemological schools of Islam; al-Fārābī of peripatetic philosophy, al-Ghazzālī of *kalam* theology, and Qutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī of illuminationist (*ishrāqī*) philosophy. Despite the differences among them, Bakar managed to highlight the status of Qur'ān as a primary epistemological source in the Islamic tradition. Seyyed Hussein Nasr also reiterated the same gesture in his foreword to the aforementioned Bakar's treatise, where he stated that Qur'ān stands at the apex of the hierarchy of ways and modes of knowing followed by others. See Osman Bakar, *Classification of Knowledge in Islam: A Study in Islamic School of Epistemology* (Petaling Jaya: Islamic Book Trust, 2019) xii, 79, 206 & 269.

need to apprehend the meaning of the root of *al-imārah*, which is the root 'mr, a known Semitic root that seems to form itself as an antecedent of *al-imārah* in antiquity. The mentioning of pre-Islamic Arabia *amīr* in relation to *al-imārah* by Ibn Khaldūn,¹⁵⁵ or the primordial representation of *al-imārah* in the Qur'ān through the phrase *ūlī al-amr*¹⁵⁶ are all essentially pinpointing semantics, at least within the context of the Arabic language.

Jawad Ali's assertion on the ASA word *mr*' and its plural form 'mr' as being related to the Arabic word *amīr* furthers the need to investigate the root 'mr beyond the Arabic language,¹⁵⁷ at least in explaining the relation of the ASA's word *mr*' and 'mr' to the Semitic root 'mr. In a much simpler sense, apart from conveying the same human political authority and order, how does the Islamic *al-imārah*, Ibn Khaldūn's pre-Islamic Arabia *amīr*, Qur'ānic *ūlī al-amr*, or Jawad's assertion of ASA's word *mr*' and 'mr' relates to the root 'mr? The fact that the firm and strict semantical field governed the Semitic languages through its construction of root further the need to investigate this semantically,¹⁵⁸ at least by assessing the compendium of the root's attestations within Semitic languages in Arabia of the present and the past – the Arabic, ASA, and ANA. It is important to note that the intention of this study was not to opt for a reconstruction or reductionism of the Islamic legal-political *al-imārah* through semantics. A much preferable intention may run its course upon Bakar's approach to comparative epistemology that aims for knowledge synthesis,¹⁵⁹ which this study tries to emulate within the synthesis of legal-political and semantical epistemic upon the concept of *al-imārah*.

2.4 CONSTRUCTING THE SEMANTIC VARIABLES FOR THE STUDY OF *AL-IMĀRAH*

Zwart's approach to studying nature through literary discipline has necessitated him to build several case studies to explain the subject of nature. In doing so, he listed two groups of

¹⁵⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddimah*, 240.

¹⁵⁶ Al-Nisā': 59.

¹⁵⁷ Jawad Ali, Vol. 9, 219.

¹⁵⁸ Jean-Francois Prunet et al., "The Mental Representation of Semitic Root", *Linguistic Inquiry*, Vol. 31, No. 4, (2000): 610.

¹⁵⁹ Osman Bakar, *Advancing Comparative Epistemology...*, 50.

objects: 1) animal and 2) plant, landscapes and environment. Within these two sub-groups, there will be several selected specific case studies for each of them. In the first group, for example, each animal is analyzed through different discursive literary sources.¹⁶⁰ As previously mentioned, his focus is not really on these animals in themselves, but more on how discursive literary sources analyze, view, observe, and discuss them. Methodologically, Zwart's approach to nature through comparative epistemology involves multi-layered and complex variables. Categorically, this is expected by considering 'nature' as the highest substance, which could range from anything; animals, plants, environment, and even human itself. This necessitates him to opt for invariably diverse case studies that are related to the subject of nature. In other words, his independent variables are literary works and the selected subjects of nature while its dependent variables are the conceptions of the former upon these subjects of nature.

On the other hand, *al-imārah* as an object of knowledge is never to be seen as vast as nature. The primary reason for that is the fact that it is firstly an already established concept or idea that have rooted itself in the Arabic language. This alone embellished *al-imārah* with some kind of protective veneer that disabled it from being understood with languages other than Arabic. Secondly, it is evident that the concept of *al-imārah* in Islamic history has never been merely a mental abstraction of the idea, but instead has also lived and still living partly as an organic political system relative to its history. At this point, *al-imārah* as a living political system is becoming partly empirical in its nature, at least in the historical context of the Islamic political system. Although a form of neo-*al-imārah* still exists in several Gulf countries, or in Afghanistan, the epistemological basis of exploring them still necessitates the Islamic political standpoint, thus positioning it too within the periphery of Islamic knowledge, particularly Islamic political sciences. This is the reason why some conventional take may confine this concept specifically to Islamic invention.¹⁶¹ Exploring *al-imārah* through semantics, however, helps unlock this limitation to a greater degree. The only remaining issue is the identification of its semantical variables.

¹⁶⁰ Zwart, 51-43.

¹⁶¹ A. A. Duri, "Amīr" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, 438.

Ideologically, Bakar's comparative epistemology serves as the best approach in the process of identifying the semantical variables. One of the reasons stems from his view on the comparative treatment of epistemology on a civilizational level that often tends to involve two different epistemologies; Islamic epistemology and modern secular epistemology.¹⁶² Although he restrictively specifies the latter within the modern-secular epistemology, it is understandable from his view that his comparative measure originates through a specific point of demarcation, which is the religion Islam itself. From here a general take upon his approach is arguably more towards comparing the Islamic epistemology with other non-Islamic epistemologies, either non-Islamic medieval or modern secular epistemology.¹⁶³ His preoccupation with the aim of knowledge synthesis through comparative epistemology is the proof of this statement, as he contended that the activity was given a lot of attention by the Muslim scholars of the past, and even became the *raison d'être* of Islam itself.¹⁶⁴ This demonstrates his proclivity to establish Islam as the defining point in his comparative epistemology approach.

In the case of *al-imārah*, it is rather well-known to be a product of Islamic tradition, where the concept in its modern sense still lies within the normative Islamic legal-political epistemic. If one were to fully follow Bakar's approach, such exclusivity renders futility in searching for its equivalent within the modern-secular epistemology. Semantically, however, one could compare the Islamic semantic epistemic of *al-imārah* to another non-Islamic epistemic, which lies within the pre-Islamic Arabia epoch by its manifestations through the Semitic root '*mr*'. It is through this crevice that Bakar's comparative epistemology approach is beneficial to this study. Within a comparative epistemology study, his definition of epistemology as a '*vision of knowledge*' becomes parallel to Izutsu's view on semantics as the '*study of the worldview*', where both of them serve to present themselves as a defining point for comparative treatment. In a much simpler sense, the vision of knowledge or the worldview of pre-Islamic Arabia upon the root '*mr*' certainly has its characteristics that differ in comparison to the vision of knowledge or the worldview of the Islamic period upon that very same root.

¹⁶² Osman Bakar, *Advancing Comparative Epistemology*..., 50.

¹⁶³ Ibid, 54.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 50.

2.4.1 The Pre-Islamic Arabia Primary Sources

Theoretically, the Arabic root system of 'mr unlocks the limitation of *al-imārah* that was previously confined to being only an Islamic-Arabic political conception. This happens mostly through the previously-mentioned occurrences of this root in the pre-Islamic Arabia sources with meanings that seem related to *al-imārah*, invoking the same sense of human political order or authority.¹⁶⁵ The association of this root with this form of meaning in pre-Islamic Arabia has opened the door to the possibility of the existence of some form of primordial *al-imārah* before the Islamic period.¹⁶⁶ At this point, the discussion of *al-imārah* is now boundless and not being restricted to the Arabic and Islamic legal-political science anymore. Now consider the previous assertion by Jawad Ali concerning the existence of the word *mr*' and 'mr' in ASA languages in relation to the Arabic word *amīr*.¹⁶⁷ As part of the Central Semitic languages, ASA languages has linguistic formations of that region that differ from the Arabic language.¹⁶⁸ Although all of those are spatial languages and scripts spoken and written in Arabia of antiquity, they are not technically Arabic.¹⁶⁹ This shapes the discussion of the root 'mr to enter a whole new semantical discussion of Semitic languages.

However, it is inadequate for one to assume that the occurrences of this root with political meanings in pre-Islamic Arabia sources are enough to establish the fact that this period is the origin of the idea of *al-imārah*. Establishing the typology of 'mr in pre-Islamic Arabia will certainly require and involve many more complicated variables. The most important variable is to first identify the socio-political condition of those pre-Islamic Arabs and its relation in cultivating their form of *al-imārah*. This is particularly important due to the conventional assertion that *al-imārah* is an Islamic invention in the first place, denying its existence in the period before Islam.¹⁷⁰ Despite of the occurrences of this root in pre-Islamic Arabia, the normative understanding of the political system of that period never includes *al-imārah* as part of its political system.¹⁷¹ This entails a conclusion of the

¹⁶⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddimah*, 240. See also Jawad Ali, Vol. 9, 219.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Jawad Ali, Vol. 9, 219.

¹⁶⁸ Robert G. Hoyland, 200.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ A. A. Duri, "Amīr" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, 438.

¹⁷¹ Arab Encyclopedia, "Al-Imārah", <<http://www.uga.edu/profile/pride.html>> (accessed 16 October 2021).

inexistence of this concept despite of its mentioning in multiple places in pre-Islamic Arabia in the form of its root in the first place.

Similarly, one needs to also identify the relation of these pre-Islamic Arabian languages to Arabic. As this study has mentioned before, although all of them are - historically or contemporarily- languages spoken in Arabia, they differ technically in the context of their classification as a group of Semitic languages. Whenever the root pops out, for example, in an ANA inscription of Safaitic language and script, one must have a preconceived idea of the relation between Safaitic and Arabic in the first place. This is to avoid any misunderstanding or error in understanding this Safaitic root independently from Arabic, despite of its similarity with the Arabic cognate *'mr* in some aspects. This will require and involve the exploration of established theories in Semitic languages in Arabia.¹⁷² On top of that, issues concerning the type of evidence and periodization are also essential in analyzing the pre-Islamic Arabian languages. This refers to the classification of the primary sources of pre-Islamic Arabia comprising archaeology, documentary, and literary sources, as well as the classification of its periodization.¹⁷³ This study will cover more of these aspects later in the next two chapters.

2.4.2 The Islamic-Arabic Lexicography

In lieu of the morphological form *al-imārah*, the Qur'ān as the ultimate source for the Arabic language also reflects the human-political order through another derivation of the root *'mr*, which is the word *amrun*. This has at least suggested that the Qur'ān, the archaic source of the Arabic language even shared the same retention with the pre-Islamic Arabia sources in holding on to other derivations of the root *'mr* as an expression to symbolize human political order. This reason alone necessitates a much clearer semantical analysis of the Arabic language part, particularly in extrapolating the rationale of the retention of Qur'ān to the root *'mr* in giving off the meaning related to politics. However, instead of exploring directly into the Qur'ānic exegesis tradition, this study opts for a semantical

¹⁷² For further discussion, see Chapter 5 of this study.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

analysis of the root through Islamic-Arabic lexicography. The rationale behind this move is that the Arabic lexicography is essentially an invention of Islamic tradition.¹⁷⁴ This tradition entails a much more comprehensive etymological meaning of the root, as their *shawāhid* system does include the Qur’ān itself as the source for their descriptions of meanings, along with the *hadīth* tradition and various periods of Arabic poetry.¹⁷⁵ *Shawāhid* here refers to the illustrative examples ranging from text, sentences, or idioms that may help illustrate the context of certain entries in a lexicon.¹⁷⁶

One may still argue for the need to explore the semantics of the root with regard to the fact that the Islamic legal-political sciences have always included etymological discussion of the root ‘*mr* in defining *al-imārah*. In answering this question, it is imperative to understand that the etymological meaning for this root provided within the Islamic legal-political has always functioned as the etymological basis in aiding the later terminological understanding of *al-imārah* as the specific Islamic political system.¹⁷⁷ This etymological basis often refers to one specific perfective verb form of the root ‘*mr*, which is *amara*, an equivalent verb to the verb *waliya* (*tr.* to be in charge, to rule, to govern).¹⁷⁸ Accordingly, the Islamic legal-political discipline has always been preconceived to a specific direction of presenting *al-imārah* as a political system – etymologically or terminologically. And this is mostly the normative take of any Islamic political literature in discussing *al-imārah*. This is interesting as the very same verb sometimes also occurs in classical Islamic lexicography to reflect other meanings that are unrelated to the previous *waliya*. This phenomenon prompts a logical explanation, at least if one were to adhere to the standard theory of the semantical field of the root of Semitic languages.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁴ Tilman Seidensticker, Vol. 3, 31.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, Vol. 3, 35. See also Ahmad Taher Hassanein, “Lexicography: Monolingual Dictionaries” in *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, Vol. 3, 38.

¹⁷⁶ Hanafi Dollah & Nur Azlina Abdullah, *Dirāsāt Mu’jamiyyah wa Lughawīyyah Taqābuliyyah li al-Dārisīn fi al-Jāmi’āt al-Māliziyyah* (Golmbak: Markaz al-Buhuth, 2011) 203-213.

¹⁷⁷ See for example, Fātimah Ahmad al-Jatlāwī, “al-Imārah al-‘Āmmah wa Ahkāmuhā”: 348-408.

¹⁷⁸ Al-Šāhib, Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abbād, *al-Muḥīt fi al-Lughah* (Beirut: ‘Ālim al-Kutub, 1994) Vol. 10, 284.

¹⁷⁹ Jean-Francois Prunet and et. al, “610.

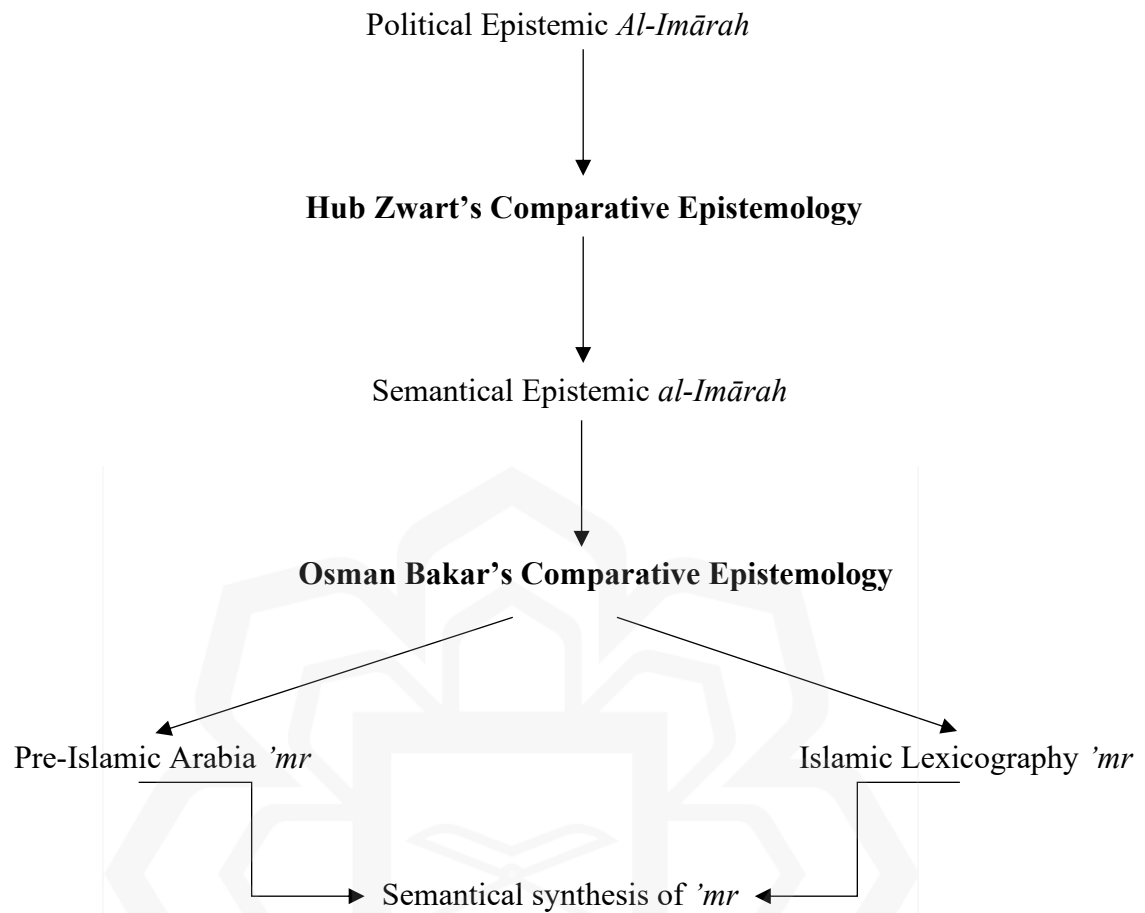


Figure 2.1 The Conceptual Construct for Comparative Epistemology Approach in the Study of *al-Imārah*¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ Reconstructed from Hub Zwart, 1-10; Osman Bakar, *Advancing Comparative Epistemology...*, 49-50.

CHAPTER THREE

INTRODUCTION TO *AL-IMĀRAH*: ISLAMIC LEGAL-POLITICAL EPISTEMIC

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The Islamic and Western literature concerning *al-imārah* have a proclivity to project this concept through legal and political conception. This gradually conjures *al-imārah* as a type of Islamic governing theory and system, generally known and well-defined throughout political history. The dissimilarity between this literature in presenting this concept remains on such a small scale, particularly in establishing variants of its definitions, functions and practices. Nevertheless, the nature of this dissimilarity is merely a bifurcation, where it tends to materialize as the branches and offshoots of the legal and political spectrum. Both have nonetheless remained the main hub and the most convenient mechanism for comprehending *al-imārah*. This chapter aims to remap the visualization of this concept within the Islamic legal-political tradition, which has begun from the early Islamic formation period until the modern world. The objective is to build an introductory understanding of how the Islamic legal-political tradition perceives the meaning and practical aspects of *al-imārah* as well as to construct its shared definition and epistemic paradigm upon this concept.

3.2 ISLAMIC PERIOD TO *AL-IMĀRAH*: AN INCEPTION

The normative take on the origin of the Arabic word *al-imārah* in its contemporary sense has always been relatively new to the Islamic period.¹⁸¹ According to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Dūrī, this is particularly true by the virtue of the word *amīr*,¹⁸² a known derivation of the

¹⁸¹ A. A. Duri, “Amīr” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, 438.

¹⁸² See ‘Imāra” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 3, 1174.

former that often came in early Islamic tradition to convey meanings symbolizing the head of certain political structures (commander, governor, or prince).¹⁸³ Another instance of a similar remark provides that the origin of the word *al-imārah* and its political paradigm never predate the Islamic period at all.¹⁸⁴ Both seem to suggest that it began during the Islamic period, typifying the Islamic marking and invention. The finding of both remarks would remain debatable, especially when one would take into consideration the possibility of the existence of *al-imārah* within other morphological form in the period before Islam.¹⁸⁵ It is conclusive enough; however, that *al-imārah* undertook its greatest development since and after the emergence of Islam. This is mostly through the extensive discourse of *al-imārah* that has since taken off from that period to the present era, which mostly prevailed in the history of Islamic political institutions or the works of their later scholars in various fields of study.¹⁸⁶

Nevertheless, the efforts in marking the Islamic period as where *al-imārah* originated certainly did not eliminate another important question concerning this concept since its inception. This question pertains to the conception and framework of *al-imārah* in the light of the Islamic tradition. It may contain discourses on three important elements of *al-imārah*, which are its essence, practical aspects, and epistemology. The question of its essence may entail intricate discussions on how the Muslims throughout centuries have perceived and understood its meaning, or how did they define it in their discipline of knowledge. On the other hand, the practical aspects of *al-imārah* relate to the question of its practices (i.e. the way it operates and functions in society) within each Islamic community and kingdom throughout history. Both questions entail the existence of variation in the discourse of *al-imārah*. It is understandable as the whole Islamic political facets itself have never been uniformly concrete and timeless throughout its whole existence for fourteen centuries.¹⁸⁷ The existence of these variations then necessitates another query, which aims to reveal the epistemology of *al-imārah*. The epistemology here

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Arab Encyclopedia, "Al-Imārah", <<http://www.uga.edu/profile/pride.html>> (accessed 16 October 2021).

¹⁸⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddimah*, 240. See also Jawad Ali, Vol. 9, 219.

¹⁸⁶ Instances of extensive discourses concerning *al-imārah* appeared in the likes of the discussions around the meaning and legal rulings of this concept. See al-Māwardī, 62 – 68. See also Qādhī Muhammad b. al-Farrā', 34-43.

¹⁸⁷ Olivier Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994) viii.

refers to ways in which *al-imārah* in the Islamic period can be known and understood, which serves as the point of unification in helping coalesce those variations together.

From this point forward, we propose to examine the manner in which *al-imārah* has evolved over the centuries from the said first instalment in the early formative period of Islam to the present. The task at first glance seems impenetrable, yet it is, however, still an accessible feat through proper approach. The first important step is to acknowledge the complex features of the rich Islamic historical tradition, which has certainly affected *al-imārah* to the same degree of complexity. In many instances, the differences between each variant of *al-imārah* within each different period of Islam have debilitated the effort of classifying and codifying its utmost essence in one single definition. The same situation is apparent in its practical aspects, which have also projected radical developments and changes over time. In other words, there are multiple variants of *al-imārah*, in which each is correlating to different historical variables.¹⁸⁸ In that sense, one single definition or practical purpose of *al-imārah* may seem inadequate to surmise the complete understanding of this concept within the whole Islamic epoch.

Considering this multifaceted nature of *al-imārah*, the correct manner in undertaking this task seems to suggest otherwise, which requires a detailed recap of every instance or appearance of *al-imārah* throughout the Islamic period. This refers to the process of elaborating the way *al-imārah* has manifested and how the Muslims have perceived, defined, and practised that concept throughout history. The data will include various Islamic literary sources ranging from the *hadīth* tradition, historiographical or political jurisprudence literature, modern discourses of *al-imārah*, and many more. One may conclude from this approach the success of being able to differentiate and classify each variant of *al-imārah* contained within different Islamic timelines. The projected presentation following this approach shall also be chronologically from the early years of Islam to the present times. However, this also seems an impractical or even impossible feat to achieve, especially considering the limitation of this present study. In that sense,

¹⁸⁸ This refers to, for example, al-Māwardī's classification of *al-imārah*, Ibn Khaldūn's inclusion of pre-Islamic Arabia *amīr* as part of *al-imārah*, or his discussion on *amīr al-mu'minīn* and *amīr al-umarā'*. All of these are examples of variants of *al-imārah*. For further discussion, see the literature review in Chapter 1 of this study.

undertaking this approach may require a more thorough and elaborate discussion that may not do justice merely within this one small chapter.

The most preferable solution is then to classify *al-imārah* within certain categories, in which each category represents a certain shared character of multiple variants of *al-imārah* from different periods of Islam. This shared character helps classify these variants in a non-chronological order of the Islamic historical timeline as one shared character would be able to surmise several variants that have appeared in an overlapping way within several different timelines of Islamic history. In a simpler sense, taking this measure would enable the grouping of *al-imārah* from different timelines like the Umayyad, Abbasid, or even the Mamluk periods in one single character. Focusing more on this shared character facilitates the process of identifying the differences among these variants more efficiently, as the main attention will be on the shared character and not on the countless complicated variants throughout Islamic history.

3.3 THE SHARED CHARACTERS OF *AL-IMĀRAH*: A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

The discourses on *al-imārah* within the history of Islamic academe often centred on the period where the codification of *al-imārah* began, which was around the 8th century CE. This refers particularly to the period in which legal-political works of Muslim scholars flourished, in the likes of al-Māwardī and his *al-Ahkām al-Sultāniyyah*, or al-Qādhī al-Farrā' with his work of the same title.¹⁸⁹ In these two particular works, *al-imārah* has attained a specific spot in the discipline of Islamic legal-political history. It was around this time that this concept was designated with its detailed framework. Discourses on the definition of *al-imārah*, its classification and practical purposes, or even legal rulings concerning certain conditions of *al-imārah* have developed tremendously since this period. This kind of outlook on *al-imārah* has strongly influenced later studies concerning this topic, so much so that it is still prevalent in the modern writings of *al-imārah*. A

¹⁸⁹ See Al-Māwardī, 62-68. See also Qādhī Muhammad b. al-Farrā', 34-43.

contemporary study of this topic would still apply the definition provided by al-Māwardī despite its irrelevant and scarce adaptation within most modern Islamic political institutions of the present time.¹⁹⁰ At one point, the modern discourses on *al-imārah* freeze within these kinds of literature.

However, the most revolutionary outlook on *al-imārah* came from the writing of Ibn Khaldūn. As we have mentioned before, this 12th century CE scholar did not resort to the legal-political framework provided by his predecessors like al-Māwardī or al-Qāḍī al-Farrā'. He instead has laid out his very own framework. This Khaldūnian framework helps trace the civilizational development of this concept, most particularly in delineating the way Muslims have utilized it since its first inception in Islamic history. The most distinguishing element of this framework is his chronological view of the development of *al-imārah*. Instead of initiating the discourse with a definition-laden approach upon the word *al-imārah*, he first began by remapping and re-identifying the locus of the concept throughout history. And unlike others who have associated *al-imārah* with the Islamic period, he has chronologically pinpointed its origin as to have begun before that, which is in the pre-Islamic Arab period.¹⁹¹ Similar to al-Dūrī, he asserted that this earlier *al-imārah* has existed implicitly within the word *amīr*.¹⁹² According to Ibn Khaldūn, the word *amīr* of this period remains specifically as warfare or military designation. The development then took its course further in the period of the Four-Rightly Guided Caliph, where the word *amīr* entered the caliphate institution as *amīr al-mu'minīn* (Commander of the Faithful/Believers) before it developed further in the later generation of the Islamic caliphate system.¹⁹³

Ibn Khaldūn's chronological view of *al-imārah* and its evolution of sophistication may have its foundation within his civilizational development outlook.¹⁹⁴ The general

¹⁹⁰ See for example, Bilāl Ibrāhīm Mahmūd, *al-Wizārah wa al-Imārah 'inda al-Imām al-Māwardī wa Tatbīqātuhuma al-Mu'āṣarah: Dirāsah Fiqhiyyah al-Mu'āṣarah* (Master thesis, University of Gaza, 2018). See also Fātimah Ahmad al-Jatlāwī, "al-Imārah al-'Āmmah wa Ahkāmuhā", *Majallat al-Buhuth al-Akādīmiyyah*, no. 9 (2020): 348-408.

¹⁹¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddimah*, 240.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ For the discussion on Khaldūn civilizational development theory as a framework for understanding certain concepts, see Farish A. Noor, *From Majapahit to Putrajaya: Searching for Another Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur: Academe Art Printing Sdn Bhd. 2005) 33-36.

outline of Ibn Khaldūn's theory here lies in the assertion that civilization has a natural state that comes off within certain stages.¹⁹⁵ The stages always represent the changing of a state from simple to more complex and sophisticated forms.¹⁹⁶ In his view, a civilization must have its origin that constitutes itself as the primordial or basic component of that civilization.¹⁹⁷ Ibn Khaldūn asserted that this primordial state often represents a rudimentary civilization (nomadic: *badāwah*) that exists purely out of necessities.¹⁹⁸ The members of the community during this state become used to privation and only capitalize on the efforts to fulfil their basic needs, such as food, shelter, and clothes. Their preoccupation with pastoral life that requires migration led to their inability to provide their needs beyond the bare subsistence level.¹⁹⁹ According to Ibn Khaldūn, the harsh condition of their state of life becomes bearable to these people with the help of stronger social solidarity (*‘asabiyya*) that they possess in comparison to the people of the next stage.

The next natural state of civilization is what he termed as the *ḥaḍārah* (sedentary). This particular stage had existed naturally along with the previous stage.²⁰⁰ However, Ibn Khaldūn argued that this stage is a subsequent improvement of the *badāwah* state, in which the people have improved and surpassed the said limitation of bare subsistence necessities.²⁰¹ His evidence lies in the fact that many of the sedentary inhabitants and dwellers have related to or originated from the *badāwah* ancestral family.²⁰² Unlike the former, the sedentary lifestyle favours agriculture and commerce in their economic activities instead of migrating and searching for pastoral fields.²⁰³ This then leaves the people with increased time and opportunities for other things. The extra time that this community has enabled the refinement of their skills, artistry, and crafts.²⁰⁴ His view conjured the possibility of the growth of a sedentary community in terms of its size, population, and time, which eventually will lead to the expansion of wealth and

¹⁹⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, 135.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 135.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid, 137.

²⁰³ Ibid, 135.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

sophistication in many areas of their life.²⁰⁵ These include their progress in architecture, art, food, and even clothes. For Ibn Khaldūn, these developments are the first element of civilizational development.

Regardless of the terms *badāwah* and *hadhārah*, or any progression from one social state to another, the gist of Ibn Khaldūn's theory highlights the existence of chronological order in understanding the elements of a civilization. This chronological order is not necessarily a historical timeline but often symbolizes the chronological changes from simplistic to the more complex state of beings. He has elucidated this outlook in many of his perspectives on certain matters. This includes his cyclical view concerning the dynasty and nation, which he asserted to have a natural life span that comes off within certain stages.²⁰⁶ Similar to his civilizational development outlook, he argued that a dynasty or a nation often begins with the *badāwah* state before progressing into *hadhārah* and later to its demise.²⁰⁷ One striking difference, however, is his observation here also deals with the political state of a dynasty during these two states. This refers particularly to the differences in political authority in the *badāwah* compared to the *hadhārah* state. According to him, nothing is exclusive among the people in the former phase as they share glory.²⁰⁸ It is through this '*asabiyya*' notion that the social organization of these people had operated, through which strengthened their solidarity and stroked fear upon their enemy.

Meanwhile, the *hadhārah* state offers the people a new political authority, which Ibn Khaldūn has specifically termed as 'royal authority'.²⁰⁹ This newly high social unit has now managed to attain glory for itself instead of sharing communally among the people.²¹⁰ According to Ibn Khaldūn, this newly formed royal authority often follows the sedentary

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ It is in the view of this study that there have been some disputes in understanding Ibn Khaldūn's civilizational development theory in comparison to his cyclical theory. The former seems to be focusing on the development of human civilization in general while the latter describes the rise and fall of a dynasty and nation. Both utilize the development of a being from its natural and simplistic state to a much-complicated state. For a comprehensive view of cyclical theory, see Murat Onder & Fatih Ulasan, "Ibn Khaldūn's Cyclical Theory on The Rise and Fall of Sovereign Powers: The Case of Ottoman Empire", ADAM AKADEMİ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2018): 231-266.

²⁰⁷ Ibn Khaldūn, 184.

²⁰⁸ Similar to his assertion on the *badāwah* state of civilization, '*asabiyya*' (social solidarity, group feeling) is also one of the defining markers for the *badāwah* state of a dynasty. See Ibn Khaldūn, 184.

²⁰⁹ Ibid, 186.

²¹⁰ Ibid, 184.

tradition of the preceding dynasty that they have appropriated.²¹¹ This royal authority will become a necessity in determining the development of their society, as they eventually will ensure stability, peace, and the basic needs of the first stage fulfilled.²¹² Similar to the *hadhārah* state of civilization, this is the period where luxury, sophistication, and prosperity start to integrate into their daily life. Interestingly, Ibn Khaldūn agreed that luxury and sophistication will initially further enhance the strength of this dynasty.²¹³ However, he re-affirmed that both will also eventually damage the dynasty, particularly in detaching the people of the dynasty from their root of *badāwah* state,²¹⁴ as well as enabling the superfluous and wasteful attitude among their people.²¹⁵ After this phase, Ibn Khaldūn argued that the deterioration starts to creep in slowly.

Besides Khaldūnian realization of the physical chronological development, another important aspect taken from Ibn Khaldūn's observation on the development of both civilization and dynasty is his perspective on sophistication. Note that he did not limit the sophistication only to the range of material growth, but instead extended his range within the development of ideas and systems. It could range from the erection of monumental buildings or temples that may have surpassed their utilitarian purposes to the invariable kind and style of foods and clothes, or complication of laws, judiciary, and political system that had not existed in earlier states of *badāwah* to the extravagant customs that are beyond the bare necessities of a human being. This is the reason why the same glimpse of this outlook is also visible in Ibn Khaldūn's observation of *al-imārah*. This is obvious in his aforementioned assertion on *al-imārah* that somewhat proposed development for this concept. This refers to the way this concept introduced itself in a simple military usage in the pre-Islamic Arab period before climbing upon the highest authority in the Islamic political system during the Four-Rightly Guided Caliph as *amīr al-mu'minīn*. As a designation for the Caliph, this has at least symbolized the development of *al-imārah* as a concept in terms of its sophistication element as well as its growing practical functions,

²¹¹ Ibid, 186.

²¹² Ibid, 186 & 188.

²¹³ Ibid, 188.

²¹⁴ Ibid, 196.

²¹⁵ Ibid, 189-190.

which of course would then start to be inclusive even to religious and civil authority relative the authority of a caliph should have.

However, it is hard to determine the exact timeline accuracy of Ibn Khaldūn's assertion concerning the development of *al-imārah* from military to political designation. The military *al-imārah* may have -accordingly to Ibn Khaldūn- existed independently in the Prophet Muhammad's period before the political *al-imārah* manifests in the Rashidun period, or it could have existed together from the start. Further discussions ahead also indicate that there have been periods in which both have interwoven and interlaced together, from which forming the concept to develop into a far more complex political system. On top of that, the fact that various Islamic dynasties and kingdoms have adapted to the concept and continuously cultivating it even to this day has hindered the process of identifying the real essence and functions of *al-imārah* as a whole. It also limits assessment on the range of the sophistication of this concept to date, which Ibn Khaldūn certainly has not provided.²¹⁶ In this regard, his assessment may have delineated these two as part of the basic characteristics of *al-imārah*, but he did not specifically elaborate on how these two have moulded that concept further ahead after his time. On that basis, it is in the view of these two characters that this study will further expound this concept in the next points.

3.4 THE FIRST CHARACTER OF *AL-IMĀRAH*: MILITARY FUNCTIONS

‘The leaders of the (military) missions used to be called ‘*amīrs*’, a *fā’il* (formation) connected with *imārah* (commandership). Before becoming Muslims, people used to call the Prophet ‘*Amīr* of Mecca’ and ‘*Amīr* of the Hijāz’. The men around Muhammad also used to call Sa‘ad b. Abi Waqqās

²¹⁶ Examples of modern nations that utilizes *al-imārah* as the core of their political institution are Kuwait and Qatar, where both of their head of state still bears the title *amīr* to these days. For the discussion on the origin of the Kuwait emirate, see Paul Salem, *Kuwait: Politics in Participatory Emirate*, Washington DC: Carnegie Middle East Centre, 2007, No. 3, 2. For Qatar's political system, see Qatar Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "System of Government" <<https://www.mofa.gov.qa/en/qatar/political-system/general-information>> (Accessed on 28 February 2023).

‘Commander (*amīr*) of the Muslim’ because he commanded the army at al-Qādisiyyah.”²¹⁷

The passage above taken from Ibn Khaldūn’s *al-Muqaddimah* reflects the earliest attestation of *al-imārah* during the Islamic period, which was solely functioning to convey military designations. In his perspective, this military context is the earliest form of *al-imārah* in Islamic history. His two instances for this context are the word *amīr* being a specific designation for the Prophet Muhammad, (*Amīr* of Hijāz and Mecca) and Sa‘ad b. Abī Waqqāṣ²¹⁸ became the *amīr* (commander) for the Al-Qādisiyyah²¹⁹ army.²²⁰ The first example, however, does not reflect in any narration or report as far as this study is concerned. Notwithstanding that, if one would validate his assertion here, the context of the word *amīr* in his first example might pose two possibilities. The first possibility refers to the warfare context, of which the Prophet was the Muslim military commander of Hijāz and Mecca. This context suits Ibn Khaldūn’s second example of Sa‘ad being the *amīr* of the Battle of al-Qādisiyyah during the Rashidun caliphate.

On another hand, the second possibility of the Prophet as *amīr* of Hijāz and Mecca establishes the Prophet as a leader of a state for the community in those two places mentioned. This second possibility is unlikely as there was a narration mentioning that the Prophet had installed a person in Mecca as his representative after the *Fath al-Makkah*

²¹⁷ Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: Introduction to History*, translated from Arabic by Franz Rosenthal (New York: Bollingen Foundation Inc, 1958) 287.

²¹⁸ He is Sa‘d b. Mālik b. Wuhaib al-Zuhrī, better known as Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ was one of the earliest Companion of the Prophet in accepting Islam. He was an important figure in the circle of the Prophet as well as in the later years of the Rashidun Caliphate for his role and contribution to the Conquest of Iraq, where he then later became the Governor of Kūfah. See Ibn Sa‘d, Vol. 3, 109. See also Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Yūsuf b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb fī Ma‘rifat al-Ashāb* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1992) Vol. 2, 608.

²¹⁹ Al-Qādisiyyah army refers to the Muslim army who fought and won the Battle of Al-Qādisiyyah. This battle occurred after the demise of the Prophet during the Muslim conquest of Persian-Mesopotamia provinces, where it witnessed a battle between forces of the Muslim and Sassanid dynasties. It took place at a small settlement in the frontier of the Sassanid near Al-Hīrah (in present-day Iraq). Scholars disputed the date of this event, but most ascertain it to have occurred in the year 636 CE or 637 CE. See The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Battle of Al-Qādisiyyah", *Britannica*, <<https://www.britannica.com/event/Battle-of-al-Qadisiyyah>> (Accessed on 21 February 2021). See also D. Gershon Lewental, "QĀDESIYA, BATTLE OF," *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*, <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/qadesiya-battle>> (Accessed on 21 February 2021).

²²⁰ Al-Ṭabarī, Muhammad b. Jarīr, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk* (Beirut: Dār al-Turāth, n.d) Vol. 3, 478.

(Conquest of Mecca).²²¹ This person is ‘Attāb b. Asīd,²²² a companion of the Prophet who had embraced Islam during the Conquest. As the Prophet had to march to Hunayn and Ṭā’if after the Conquest, he then appointed ‘Attāb on his behalf. Interestingly, in describing the event of that appointment, the narration only uses the term *ista’ mala* instead of *ta’ammara* – of which the latter would have been able to indicate that ‘Attāb is indeed being an *amīr* of Mecca. The term *ista’ mala* in this narration henceforth becomes the key to understanding ‘Attāb’s position within his appointment by the Prophet. The standard translation for this word is ‘to employ’,²²³ but Rizwi Fawzer, for instance, has translated the term *ista’ mala* in this narration as ‘has appointed’.²²⁴

The restrictive outcome of the term has led classical Muslim scholars to debate the nature of this Prophet’s appointment of ‘Attāb. Al-Wāqidī, for instance, argued that this appointment was only in the context of the pilgrimage, where ‘Attāb was the leader of the pilgrims on behalf of the Prophet.²²⁵ Meanwhile, Ibn Abd al-Barr recorded a narration stating that ‘Attāb is indeed an *amīr* and remained in that position from the time of his appointment to the period of the first Four Rightly-Guided (*Rāshidūn*) Caliph,²²⁶ Abu Bakr al-Ṣiddīq.²²⁷ Ibn al-Athīr mentioned that there are even several accounts stating that ‘Attāb was indeed the first *amīr* in Islam in comparison to Abū Bakr as the first caliph of the whole Muslim nation after the demise of the Prophet.²²⁸ Both statements from Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr

²²¹ Al-Wāqidī, Abu ‘Abdullah Muhammad b. ‘Omar b. Waqid al-Aslami, *Al-Maghāzī* (Beirut: Dār al-A‘lāmī, 1989) Vol. 3, 889.

²²² He is ‘Attāb b. Asīd b. Abī al-‘Aṣ, one of the Companions of the Prophet who embraced Islam during the Conquest of Mecca. The Prophet had appointed him as the *amīr* of Mecca and he remained in that position until the period of the First Rashidun Caliph, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq. See Ibn Sa‘d, Vol. 3, 1024.

²²³ Hans Wehr, 646. See also Rev. F. J. G. Hava. S. J, *Arabic English Dictionary for the Use of Student* (Beyrut: Catholic Press, 1899) 493.

²²⁴ Al-Wāqidī, Abu ‘Abdullah Muhammad b. ‘Omar b. Waqid al-Aslami, *The Life of Muhammad Al-Wāqidī’s Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, translated from Arabic by Rizwi Faizer et al., (London & New York: Routledge, 2011) 437.

²²⁵ Al-Wāqidī, *Al-Maghāzī* Vol. 3, 889.

²²⁶ He is ‘Abd Allah b. Abī Quhāfah ‘Uthmān b. ‘Āmir al-Qurashī al-Tamīmī, the closest Companion and the father-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, and among the ten people whom the Prophet had promised with Paradise. As the first Rashidun Caliph, he reigned from 11 AH/ 632 CE to his death in 12 AH/ 634 CE. *Ridda Wars* (Wars of Apostasy) and the first extensive Islamic expansion to Mesopotamia and Levant occurred during his administration. See Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Iṣābah fī al-Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*, (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, n.d) Vol. 4, 144. See also W. Montgomery Watt, “Abū Bakr”, in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, 109-111.

²²⁷ Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*..., Vol. 3, 1024.

²²⁸ Ibn al-Athīr, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, *Al-Usd al-Ghābat fī Ma’rifat al-Ṣaḥābah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1994) Vol. 3, 549.

and Ibn al-Athīr that have linked 'Attāb's appointment to Abū Bakr's position have made it clear that it was not for military purposes but purely political instead.

All the above assertions indicate the term *amīr* in regards to the appointment of 'Attab was more in the context of a civil or state official, representative of the Prophet that may be likened to a governor or official of the Prophet for a region. If one would agree with the latter, the possibility of the Prophet himself as the *amīr* (state leader) of Mecca then becomes vague, as there has been an institutionalized appointment of *amīr* for Mecca under his order. Accordingly, Ibn Khaldūn's example of the Prophet being the *amīr* of Mecca and Hijāz here could be projecting military context, which is the Prophet as the supreme or chief commander of the Muslims in Hijāz and Mecca. Nevertheless, his two examples above merely form a straightforward take on military *al-imārah*. Standing before this complicated concept, one would not hesitate to inquire more about the state of the military *al-imārah* beyond those two examples, especially in understanding the way it has progressed from one period to another.

3.4.1 The Divisional Role of Military *Al-Imārah* in the Prophet Muhammad Period

Apart from those two examples above, the military understanding of *al-imārah* still appeared elsewhere in the early period of Islam. One important source available in providing this context is the *hadīth* tradition. It is mostly available in several *hadīth* accounts that narrate the instances in which the Prophet himself appointed many of his Companions as the military commanders to lead some battles and campaigns. In one particular case, the Prophet used the actual term *al-imārah* to portray this context, such as recorded in the previous *hadīth* of *imārah* of Usāmah b. Zayd b. Ḥārithah.²²⁹ In this particular *hadīth*, some companions had criticized the appointment of Usāmah to lead a

²²⁹ For a brief biography of Usāmah and his father Zayd, see Chapter 1 of this study, 3.

military expedition to the Byzantine region of al-Balqā'^{230, 231} This was after the death of his father (Zayd b. Ḥārithah) in the Battle of Mu'tah.²³² This had led the Prophet to reprimand those who criticize, in which he said:

If you speak ill of his *imārah*, you have already spoken ill of his father's *imārah*. By Allah, he deserved the *imārah*, and he was the most beloved person to me and now this (i.e. Usāmah) is one of the most beloved persons to me after him.²³³

The word *al-imārah* in this *hadīth* refers contextually to Usāmah being a military commander. The same context is also available in the *hadīth* concerning three Companions who led the previous battle before Usāmah, which is the Battle of Mu'tah. This refers to the story of his father Zayd, Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib,²³⁴ and 'Abd Allah b. Rawāhah,²³⁵ all of whom had taken turns being the *amīr* (commander) of the previous military campaign in Mu'tah following the command of the Prophet:

²³⁰ Balqā' refers to the Battle of al-Balqā', which was the last battle instructed by Prophet Muhammad in 11 AH/ 632 CE before his death later in the same year. It had taken place three years after the Battle of Mu'tah within a Byzantine region in Arabia called al-Balqā'. There has not been any definite finding in determining the precise territorial location of this region as of this period. Sourdel, for example, equated this territory at this time as either occupying the whole of modern Transjordan or only the middle part of it. However, despite the uncertainty, he asserted that al-Balqā' as referred by most Arab chroniclers is a territory contained within the River of Zarqā' in the north and Wādī al-Mudjīb in the south. See J. Sourdel, "Al-Balkā'" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, 997. For further references of the Hegira and Gregorian date, see al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, 1117. See also Moshe Gil, *A History of Palestine: 634–1099*, translated from Hebrew by Ethel Broido (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 31.

²³¹ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, Vol. 2, 145.

²³² Mu'tah in its historical and contemporary sense refers to a city located down south of modern Jordan, east of the southern end of the Dead Sea. The city became renowned for the Battle of Mu'tah which took place in 8 AH/ 629 CE. See F. Buhl, "Mu'tah", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel (Leiden: E.J Brill, 1991) Vol. 7, 756-757. For reference of the Hegira and Gregorian dating, see al-Mubarakfūrī, Safiur Rahmān, *al-Rahīq al-Makhtūm* (Beirut: Dār al-Hilāl, n.d) 355.

²³³ Al-Bukhārī, *Sahīh al-Bukhārī*, 1041, no: 4250.

²³⁴ He is Ja'far b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Muṭallib, a cousin and a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad. He is the older brother of 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib, the fourth Rashidun Caliph and was among the early emigrates to Ḥabesha (Aksum kingdom of Abyssinia). Ibn 'Abd al-Barr reported that Ja'far was the most resembled person to the Prophet in terms of his physical and character traits. See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb...*, Vol. 1, 242. For corroborations on Ḥabesha, Aksum Kingdom of Abyssinia, and the first Muslim emigration, see T.T Mekoria, "The Horn of Africa" in *General History of Africa: Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century*, edited by M. Elfasi (Paris: UNESCO, 1988) 560.

²³⁵ He is 'Abd Allah b. Rawāhah b. Tha'labah, a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad. He was known as one of the Prophet's poets who retorted and rejected any mockery of the Prophet. He joined all the battles during the Prophet's time except the Conquest of Mecca for he had already been martyred in the Battle of Mu'tah as one of the field commanders (*amīr*). See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb...*, Vol. 3, 898.

The Messenger of Allah sent out an army and appointed in charge of them Zayd b. Hārithah. He said: “If Zayd is killed or martyred, then your commander (*fa amīrukum*) is Ja‘far (b. Abī Ṭālib). If he is killed or martyred, then your commander (*fa amīrukum*) is ‘Abd Allah b. Rawāḥah”. Zayd took the banner and fought until he was killed; then Ja‘far took the banner and fought until he was killed, then ‘Abd Allah ibn Rawāḥah took the banner and fought until he was killed.²³⁶

This military context did not come to a close only with the depiction of the highest military commandership. Some available narrations also described its function as having extended within the context of leading a small unit in the war and battle. Such an event is evident in the Ibn Ishaq’s narration concerning ‘Abd Allah b. Jubayr al-Anṣārī,²³⁷ a companion of the Prophet who joined and martyred in the Battle of Uhud as one of the military *amīrs* overseeing the marksmen.²³⁸ Apart from the battle and war context, it also appeared in small military operations, such as in reconnaissance and scouting activities. An example of this is the case of ‘Abd Allah b. Jahsy,²³⁹ a cousin and a Companion of the Prophet who became an *amīr* leading a reconnaissance operation after the Emigration (*al-Hijrah*).²⁴⁰ The narration concerning this event reported that the Prophet had appointed ‘Abd Allah b. Jahsy as a leader of a small group initially to scout the activities of the

²³⁶ Ahmad b. Hanbal, Abu ‘Abd Allah Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Hanbal, *Musnad al-Imām Ahmad ibn Hanbal* (n.p ; Mu’assasah al-Risālah, 2001) Vol. 3, 278, no: 1750. In another variation of this hadith narrated by al-Bukhārī, the term *fa amīrukum* (tr. then your commander) is unrecorded. The latter’s narration is: Allah’s Messenger has (*amara*) commanded/ appointed Zayd as commander for the Battle of Mu’tah and said, “If Zayd is martyred, Ja’far should take over (his position), and if Ja’far is martyred, ‘Abd Allah ibn Rawāḥah should take over (his position)’. The phrase *amara Rasūl Allah* is the only reference to *al-imārah* for this variation, where it contains the trilateral root of the concept (*amara*). See Al-Bukhārī, 1040, no: 4261.

²³⁷ He is ‘Abd Allah b. Jubayr b. al-Nu‘mān al-Anṣārī, a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad. He joined the Battle of Badr and martyred in the Battle of Uhud as the field commander (*amīr*) for the marksman corps. See Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb...*, Vol. 3, 877.

²³⁸ Abu Nu‘aym al-Isfahānī, Ahmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ahmad al-Asbahānī, *Ma‘rifat al-Ṣahābah* (Riyadh: Dār al-Waṭan, 1998) 1608-1609, no: 4050 & no: 4051. Al-Bukhārī recorded another variation of narration concerning ‘Abd Allah b. Jabīr al-Anṣārī as the *amīr* of the marksman in the Battle of Uhūd in his *Sahīh*. The difference between these two variations of narrations is that al-Bukhārī did not mention ‘Abd Allah as the *amīr* of the Uhūd marksman, and only states that the Prophet had appointed him as the marksman in that battle (*ja‘ala al-Nabī ‘salla Allah ‘alaihi wasallam Abd Allah ibn Jubayr ‘ala al-rumat yauma Uhudin*). See Al-Bukhārī, 973, no: 3986.

²³⁹ He is ‘Abd Allah b. Jahsy b. Ri‘āb b. Ya‘mar al-Asadī, a cousin and a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad. His mother is ‘Umaymah b. ‘Abd al-Muṭallib, the aunt of the Prophet. He was among the early Emigrates to both Ethiopia and Medina. See Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb...*, Vol. 3, 877.

²⁴⁰ Ibn Hishām, Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Malik b. Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1990) Vol. 2, 243-244.

Quraysh. Unfortunately, the operation led to the killing of one Qurayshite and the capture of two of them. According to Ibn Hishām, this was the first event in which the Muslims had killed a Qurayshite, obtained war booty, and received a ransom for the captives.²⁴¹ Due to the success of the operation, Al-Wāqidī reported that Abdullah b. Jahsy became known as the first *amīr al-mu'minīn*.²⁴² All these examples above confirm the familiarity and awareness of the Prophet and his Companions to the military context of *al-imārah* at that time. This period represents the unadulterated version of this context, where it witnessed its functionality in its simplest sense – military and warfare.

3.4.2 The Rashidun Period: A Beginning for the Coalescence of Military and Political *Al-Imārah*

We have encountered examples before concerning the continuity for this military *al-imārah* in the Rashidun period. This refers to the previous Ibn Khaldūn's example of Sa'ad b. Abī Waqqas as the *amīr* of the Battle of al-Qādisiyyah during the administration of the second Rashidun Caliph, 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb²⁴³.²⁴⁴ Such designation was invariably common at that time as it was the onset of the vast Islamic expansion. Under such circumstances, the Caliph often installed the leading military commander of certain campaigns and battles as the semi-autonomous ruler of the newly gained dominion of the caliphate. Caught in the manifold of fast expansions and opening of new territories, this period therefore witnessed the emergence of some of the famous Islamic military figures who eventually also became prominent political figures. In another sense, this is the period where the line between military and political *al-imārah* became blurred.

²⁴¹ Ibid, 247.

²⁴² Al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, 19. See also Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, Vol. 3, 66.

²⁴³ He is 'Umar b. al-Khattāb b. Nufayl al-Qurashī al-'Adawī, a close Companion and a father-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, and also among the ten of whom the Prophet had promised with Paradise. As the second Rashidun caliph, he succeeded Abū Bakr after the death of the latter in 12 AH/ 634 CE. He reigned until his assassination, which led to his death in 23AH/ 644 CE. Under his administration, he continued the expansion policy started by Abū Bakr, where he managed to liberate and conquer Mesopotamia and the Levant and started a new conquest of Persia and Egypt. See Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣābah*..., Vol. 4, 484. See also al-Ziriklī, Vol. 5, 45-46. See also Asma Afsaruddin, "'Umar I", *Britannica* <<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Umar-I>> (Accessed on 14 February 2021).

²⁴⁴ See Ibn Khaldūn, 240. See also Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 3, 478.

The clearest example is the case of Abū ‘Ubaydah al-Jarrāh²⁴⁵ and his appointment as military *amīr* for the Conquest of Byzantine-Levant (Shām).²⁴⁶ It is important to note first that there are discrepancies in the Islamic classical accounts concerning the event of his appointment. Some asserted that the first Caliph Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq had appointed him as the chief commander from the beginning of the Conquest. This account appears in many versions of traditional Islamic literature on the Conquest, including in *Futūh al-Shām* by al-Azdī, *Kitāb al-Futūh* by Ibn al-A‘thām, and *Futūh al-Shām* ascribed to al-Wāqīdī.²⁴⁷ Al-Balādhurī rejected this account and argued that Abū ‘Ubaydah had initially refused the offer of that position by Abū Bakr.²⁴⁸ Meanwhile, Ibn Al-Athīr and Ibn Hibbān reported that Abū ‘Ubaydah only acted as one of the field commanders to the four corps at the

²⁴⁵ He is ‘Āmir b. ‘Abd Allah b. al-Jarrāh al-Qurashī, one of the closest Companion of the Prophet Muhammad. He is among the ten whom the Prophet has promised with Paradise. The Prophet bestowed him with the title *Amīn al-Ummah* (tr. Treasurer of the Nation). Ibn Hishām narrated an account concerning his personality that depicts him as a person with leniency, softness and ease in worldly matters. ‘Athamina argued that it was due to his character that ‘Umar had demoted Khālīd b. al-Walīd and appointed him instead as the chief commander of the Conquest of the Levant, as his character was more beneficial for the diplomatic measures. See Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*..., Vol. 4, 1711. See also Ibn Sa‘d, Vol. 3, 314. See also Ibn Hishām, Vol. 4, 270. See also Khalīl ‘Athamina, “The Appointment and Dismissal of Khālīd b. al-Walīd from the Supreme Command: A Study of the Political Strategy of the Early Muslim Caliphs in Syria”, *‘Arabica*”, T. 41, Fasc. 2 (July 1994): 253-272.

²⁴⁶ Byzantine-Levant (Arabic: Shām) here refers to a specific territorial area in Arabia occupied by the Byzantine Empire in the 6th century. In the sense of modern understanding, it could signify the term The Greater Syria, which encompasses modern Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine (West Bank) and some provinces of Turkey; Hatay, Gaziantep and Diyarbakır. See C.E Bosworth, “Al-Shām”, in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by C.E Bosworth, E. Van Donzel (Leiden: Brill, 1997) Vol. 9, 261.

²⁴⁷ There is an account concerning the statement of Abū Bakr during the early gathering and appointment of the first four corps of the Conquest of the Levant. In that statement, Abū Bakr had reportedly said to all four assigned *amīrs* of each corps; Khālīd b. Sā‘īd, Syurahbil b. Hasanah, ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, and Abū ‘Ubaydah al-Jarrāh: “*in ijtama‘tum fī qitāl fa amīrukum abū ‘ubaydah.*” (tr. if (it comes when) you (the four *amīrs*) are concentrating for one battle, then your (chief) commander is Abu ‘Ubaydah). This statement only appears in the account of al-Azdī. On the other hand, Ibn al-A‘thām and al-Wāqīdī only hinted that Abū ‘Ubaydah was the supreme commander from the beginning of that conquest. See Al-Azdī, Abū Abdullah Muhammad b. Ismā‘īl, *Futūh al-Shām* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1854) 5. See also Ibn al-A‘thām, Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad b. A‘tham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-Futūh* (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā’, 1991) Vol. 1, 84-85. See also al-Wāqīdī, *Futūh al-Shām* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1997) Vol. 1, 15. In another variation of this statement, ‘Umar is the one who provided that statement vouching for Abū ‘Ubaydah instead of Abū Bakr, and it was in the event before the battle of Yarmouk. See Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Vol. 1, 422, no: 344.

²⁴⁸ Al-Balādhurī asserted that this rejected account originates from one source, which is the report by Abu Mikhnaḥ al-Azdī. In terms of modern analysis, Jens Scheiner infers the same conclusion as al-Balādhurī concerning the relation of Abū Mikhnaḥ’s report within three classical Islamic works on Islamic conquest; *Futūh al-Shām* by al-Azdī, *Kitāb al-Futūh* by Ibn al-A‘thām, and *Futūh al-Shām* ascribed to al-Wāqīdī. See Al-Balādhurī, ‘Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Jābir, *Futūh al-Buldān* (Beirut: Dār wa Maktabah al-Hilāl, 1988) 112. See also Jens Scheiner, “Writing the History of Futūh: The Futūh Works by al-Azdī, Ibn A‘thām, and al-Wāqīdī” in *The Lineaments of Islam: Studies in Honor of Fred McGraw Donner*, edited by Paul Cobb (Leiden: Brill, 2012) 173.

beginning of the Conquest under the instruction of Abū Bakr,²⁴⁹ and he only assumed the chief commander position during the administration of ‘Umar,²⁵⁰ where he replaced Khālīd b. al-Walīd.²⁵¹ On the other hand, the third account narrated that Abū ‘Ubaydah deployed to the Levant front after the death of Abū Bakr under the instruction of ‘Umar.²⁵² Modern accounts of this event asserted that the deployment of Abū ‘Ubaydah to the Levant only happened after the death of Abū Bakr.²⁵³ According to Athamina, Abū ‘Ubaydah first acted as a field commander for one of the military corps stationed in Levant before having to attain the Supreme Commander position after the Battle of Yarmuk.²⁵⁴

This study, however, views that the correct version of this event is that his deployment was in fact under the instruction of Abū Bakr. He was under the command of the then-chief commander Khalid b. al-Walid at the Levant front after the arrival of the latter from the Mesopotamian front.²⁵⁵ Abū ‘Ubaydah only assumed the chief commander position and replaced Khālīd after the death of Abū Bakr, which was when Umar had

²⁴⁹ Ibn Al-Athīr mentioned that Abū Bakr only commanded Abū ‘Ubaydah to march to Homs, while Ibn Hibban mentioned that Abū ‘Ubaydah marched from Medīna to Levant through the route of Tabūk. See al-Athīr, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, 1997) Vol. 2, 250. See also Ibn Hibban, Muḥammad b. Hibbān al-Bustī, *al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah wa Akhbār al-Khulafā’* (Beirut: al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyyah, n.d) Vol. 2, 446.

²⁵⁰ Ibn Sa’d, Vol. 7, 269. See also Ibn Hibbān, Vol. 2, 463. See also Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. 2, 257.

²⁵¹ He is Khālīd b. al-Walīd b. ‘Abd Allah b. Makhzūm al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī, a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad. The Prophet gave him the title ‘Sword of Allah’. According to Ibn Ḥajar, he accepted Islam possibly in 7 AH before the Conquest of Mecca, in which he took part. He also participated in the Battle of Mu’tah, where he took over the flag of Islam after the death of the third commander, ‘Abd Allah b. Rawāḥah. He was among the most important commanders in the Ridda Wars (Wars of Apostasy), Mesopotamian-Persian and Byzantine-Levant Conquest. Unlike Abū ‘Ubaydah who marched to the Levant from Medina, Khālīd received his order from Abū Bakr during his campaign in the Mesopotamian front, from which he marched to the Levant and became the chief commander for the Muslims in the Byzantine-Levant front. He remained in that position until the administration of ‘Umar when the latter demoted him under Abū ‘Ubaydah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣābah...*, Vol. 2, 216-217. See also al-Ziriklī, Vol. 5, 300-301.

²⁵² The version of this account is narrated and compiled by al-Fasawī, Ibn ‘Asākir, and Ibn Kathīr. Both Ibn ‘Asākir and Ibn Kathīr criticized this account and agreed on the fact that Abū ‘Ubaydah was already in the Levant front during Abū Bakr's time. See Al-Fasawī, Ya’qub b. Sufyān al-Fārīsi, *al-Ma’rifat wa al-Tārikh* (Beirut: Mu’assasah al-Risālah, 1981) Vol. 3, 292. See also Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārikh Madīnah Dimashq* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1996) Vol. 2, 83. See Ibn Kathīr, Abu al-Fidā’ Ismā’īl b. ‘Umar b. Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah* (n.p: Dār al-Hijr, 2003) Vol. 9, 586.

²⁵³ For corroborations of modern historians’ assertions concerning this matter, see Khalil ‘Athamina, 253-272.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Mesopotamian front refers to the Muslim conquest of Sassanid Persian province in Arabia. The province is the Sassanid-occupied region in Assyria and Babylonia known as Asōristān. This conquest began under the administration of Abū Bakr and was completed by ‘Umar. See G. Widengren, "ĀSŌRISTĀN", *Encyclopædia Iranica* <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/asoristan>> (accessed on 5 March 2021). For references on the beginning of the Rāshidun’s Conquest of Sassanid-Mesopotamia see Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 3, 343. See also Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah...*, Vol. 9, 511.

already taken power. This is the view of Al-Balādhurī, Ibn Sa‘d, Ibn Hibbān, Ibn al-Athīr, and Ibn Kathīr.²⁵⁶ Al-Balādhurī noted that the *imārah* of Abū ‘Ubaydah here was effective in the warring and peaceful state, which indicates his appointment was not merely strategic military action, but also politically.²⁵⁷ This would mean that the gamut and purview of his *imārah* extends into two ranges: chief commander of the Muslim army for the whole Conquest of Levant and also as governor-general for the whole Levant. Regardless of the questions of his involvement in the conquest, or when and who had appointed him the chief commander and governor position, the traditional account and modern analysis agreed on the transition process of Abū ‘Ubaydah from being a military *amir* (commander and chief commander) to political *amīr* (governor-general). He retained his position militarily and politically in the Levant until he died in 18 AH/ 639 CE.²⁵⁸

Another figure example is Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān,²⁵⁹ who was also among the military *amīr* for the Levant Conquest under Abū ‘Ubaydah. This study views the first transition of Yazīd from military to political *amīr* occurred with his appointment as the deputy-governor of Damascus.²⁶⁰ After the city had fallen to the Muslims, Abū ‘Ubaydah then marched to

²⁵⁶ Al-Balādhurī, 119. Ibn Sa‘d, Vol. 7, 269. See also Ibn Hibbān, Vol. 2, 446 & 463. See also Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. 2, 257. See also Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah...*, Vol. 9, 570.

²⁵⁷ Al-Balādhurī, 119. See also Ibn Sa‘d, Vol. 3, 315.

²⁵⁸ al-Ziriklī, Vol. 3, 252.

²⁵⁹ He is Yazid b. Ṣakhr b. Harb b. Umayyah, a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad and the older brother of Mu‘āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān. He embraced Islam during the Conquest of Mecca. In one report by Ibn Hazm, Prophet Muhammad had appointed him as an *amīr* (Prophet’s representative, governor) of Taymā’. In Abū Bakr’s administration, he was among the principal commanders for the Conquest of Levant. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb...*, Vol. 4, 1575. See also Ibn Hazm, Abū Muhammad ‘Alī b. Ahmad b. Sa‘īd, *Jawāmi‘ al-Sīrah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, n.d) 20.

²⁶⁰ Dimashq (Damascus) was a Byzantine city before the Conquest. Its geographical location is situated within the southwestern part of modern Syria, where it constitutes itself as the largest city in that country. There are several accounts concerning the date of its liberation, where it was either in 13 AH or 14 AH. Ibn Kathīr provided a list of Islamic classical accounts concerning this and confirms it to be from 14 AH. Modern Western assertion dates it to be 15 AH/ 636 CE. After the whole conquest of Byzantine-Levant, ‘Umar established four military provinces (*ajnad*) of this region, which comprises Damascus, Homs, Palestine, and al-Urdun. See Nasser O. Rabbat, "Damascus", *Britannica* <<https://www.britannica.com/place/Damascus/History>> (Accessed on 23 March 2021). For references on the Hegira and Gregorian date of its liberation, see Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah...*, Vol. 9, 583- 584. See also N. Elisseeff, "Dimashk", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by B. Lewis, C.H Pellat, J. Schacht (Leiden: Brill, 1991) Vol. 2, 280. For references on the *ajnad* division by ‘Umar, see Al-Ya‘qūbī, ‘Abū al-‘Abbās ‘Aḥmad b. ‘Abī Ya‘qūb b. Ja‘far, *Kitāb al-Buldān* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, n.d) Vol. 1, 160-168. See also Khalid Yahya Blankinship, *The End of the Jihād State: The Reign of Hishām Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik and the Collapse of the Umayyads* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1994) 47-48.

Ḥims (Homs)²⁶¹ and deputized Yazīd in Damascus on behalf of him.²⁶² He rose through the ranks after the death of Abū ‘Ubaydah, where he assumed the position of Levant governor-general. Al-Balādhurī recorded various traditional Islamic accounts concerning his ascension. The first account narrated that ‘Umar appointed Yazīd as governor-general of the Levant and ordered him to march to the Qaisāriyyah (Caesarea)²⁶³, a Byzantine port city.²⁶⁴ The second account narrated that ‘Umar only appointed him as the governor-general of Palestine and Jordan.²⁶⁵ The third account provided that his appointment by ‘Umar was as the governor-general of Palestine and the whole Levant (that was previously under Abū ‘Ubaydah), after which ‘Umar commanded Yazīd to liberate Qaisariyyah (Caesarea).²⁶⁶ The only problem is the liberation of Qaisariyyah only took place in 19 AH/ 640 CE under the hands of Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān,²⁶⁷ whereas Yazīd passed away in the same year of Abū ‘Ubayda in 18 AH/ 639 CE.²⁶⁸ Following these contradictions, Al-Balādhurī narrated a report from al-Wāqidī with a consensus by the Muslim scholars that ‘Umar appointed Yazīd the position of governor-general of Levant and ordered him to march to Qaisāriyyah,

²⁶¹ Ḥims (Homs) is another Byzantine city in Levant. The geographical location of this city is within modern Syria on the east bank of the Orontes River. Abū ‘Ubaydah liberated this city in 15 AH/ 637 CE peacefully without force. It then became one of the military provinces (Jund Ḥims) of this region. See N. Eliesseff, “Hims”, in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 3, 397. See also Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, Vol. 1, 160.

²⁶² Al-Balādhurī’s account of the event of Yazīd’s appointment for Damascus narrated the word *istakhlafa* (to appoint a successor). On the other hand, the version of Ibn Kathīr used the word *ustuniba* – a passive voice for *istanāba* (to appoint a deputy or successor). Both terms indicate that Yazīd acted as governor-general of Damascus on behalf and under the appointment of Abū ‘Ubaydah. In another conflicting account by al-Ṭabarī, it was Abū Bakr himself who had appointed Abū ‘Ubaydah as the *amīr* of Homs and Yazīd as the *amīr* of Damascus. See al-Balādhurī, 133. See Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah...*, Vol. 9, 602. See also al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 3, 394. For the translations of both words, see Rev. F. J. G. Hava. S. J, 174 & 797.

²⁶³ Qaisāriyya, Kaisāriyya (Caesarea) is an ancient port city located in one of the provinces of Byzantine Palestine. This city is the capital of the province Palaestina Prima (First Palestine). During the Conquest of the Levant, it posed the last siege of Byzantine in Arabia, as it was the last city to fall to the Muslims under the command of Mu‘āwiya in 19 AH/ 640 CE. The current geographical location is in the occupied Palestinian territory near Haifa. See The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, “Caesarea”, Britannica, <<https://www.britannica.com/place/Caesarea>> (Accessed on 23 March 2021). See also Bernard Lewis, *Islam in History: Ideas, People, and Events in the Middle East* (Illinois: Open Court Publishing Company, 2001) 155. For references of the Hegira and Gregorian date of the liberation of this city, See Al-Balādhurī, 144. See also Harry W. Hazard, “Caesarea and the Crusades” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Supplement: The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima (Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima)*, Volume 1, No. 19 (1975): 79.

²⁶⁴ Al-Balādhurī, 142.

²⁶⁵ As of this period, the Muslims had already taken control of most of the parts of Byzantine-Levant, including Byzantine-Palestine provinces. They were now only concentrating on the city of Qaisāriyya as it was still unbreakable. According to a report narrated by al-Balādhurī, the Muslims had already tried to take over the city earlier at the beginning of the Conquest but had failed. See al-Balādhurī, 143-144.

²⁶⁶ Ibid, 143.

²⁶⁷ Ibid, 144. See also Harry W. Hazard, 79.

²⁶⁸ Ibid, 144.

but he instead had commanded his brother Mu‘āwiya for the Qaisāriyya mission and he headed back to Damascus where he died there.²⁶⁹ In another account, Mu‘ādh b. Jabal²⁷⁰ assumed the position first after the death of Abū ‘Ubaydah, and Yazīd replaced Mu‘ādh after his death.²⁷¹ All three of them died in the same year in 18 AH/ 639 CE due to the plague.²⁷²

Although both Abū ‘Ubaydah and Yazīd might have had limited political careers, there is no denying the occurrence of transition within the careers of both figures, where they had ascended from their military ranks to the political realm. In such a chaotic and turbulent warring and plague period, their short career and early demise are not in any way a wonder. Nevertheless, this period displays the first occurrence in Islamic history where the military role of an *amīr* embroiled within the role of a political *amīr*, thus setting a grounding foundation for the further complication of the concept of *al-imārah* in the later period. Instances of such complication did appear in the career of the predecessor of both Abū ‘Ubaydah and Yazīd, where their successor was able to maintain a lengthy career both militarily and politically as the governor-general of Levant and soon became the foundation for the construction of a new caliphate after the Rashidun. This figure is the brother of Yazīd, Mu‘āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān.²⁷³ The latter began his political career in Damascus, where he succeeded his brother Yazīd as the governor-general of Levant. According to one account narrated by Ibn Sa‘d and Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, he was in the office of *amīr* for twenty years before he ascended and ruled as the first Umayyad Caliph for nineteen

²⁶⁹ The Muslims eventually took over Qaisāriyya in 19 AH/ 639-640 CE under the command of Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān. He was the governor-general of Levant at that time, where he replaced his now-deceased brother, Yazīd. See Al-Balādhurī, 143 & 144. See also Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah...*, Vol. 10, 85.

²⁷⁰ He is Mu‘ādh b. Jabal b. ‘Amr b. ‘Aws, a close Companion of the Prophet Muhammad. The Prophet characterized him as the one who is the most knowledgeable in *halāl* (tr. permissible) and *harām* (tr. forbidden), where he had first sent Mu‘ādh to Yemen as an *amīr* or *‘āmil* to teach the people there about Islam. See Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Iṣābah*, Vol. 6, 107. See also Ibn Sa‘d, Vol. 3, 316.

²⁷¹ Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb...*, Vol. 4, 1575. See also Ibn Sa‘d, Vol. 3, 316.

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ He is Mu‘āwiyah b. Ṣakhr b. Harb b. Umayyah, a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad, and was the founder and the first caliph (*amīr al-mu‘minīn*) of the Umayyad dynasty. He accepted Islam during the Conquest of Mecca along with his brother and father, Yazīd and Abū Sufyān. Some scholars like Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Ḥajar include other narration mentioning Mu‘āwiyah's acceptance of Islam as way before that, which was in the year of ‘Umrah al-Qadhā’, a year after the Hudaibiyya treaty. See Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb...*, Vol. 3, 1416. See also Ibn al Athīr, *Al-Usd al-Ghābat fī Ma‘rifat al-Ṣaḥābah*, Vol. 5, 201. See also Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Iṣābah...*, Vol. 6, 120 & 121. See also Ibn Sa‘d, Vol. 7, 285.

years.²⁷⁴ In his early tenure as the caliph, he continued the same functions for *amīr* as it was in the Rashidun period, where the latter acquired both military and civil authority.²⁷⁵ The *amīr*, or sometimes *‘āmil* had a provision for military organization, leading and conducting military expeditions, administering justices, leading prayers, collecting taxes and many more.²⁷⁶

Succeeding the Umayyad was the Abbasid, who also had mostly retained the single military usage of the word *amīr* as warfare commander. This was particularly true during the early period of Abbasid before the installation of a foreign army within the Abbasid military during the times of Hārūn al-Rāshid.²⁷⁷ The word *amīr* at that time was mostly inherent within the Abbasid military chain of command, where it sat on the highest rank. The rank began with *‘arīf* that command over ten men, *naqīb* over ten *‘arīf* (*‘arafā’*), *qā’id* over ten *naqīb* (*nuqabā’*), and *amīr* over ten *qā’id* (*quwwād*).²⁷⁸ Based on that equation, an *amīr* of the Abbasid military had ten thousand men at his disposal. Similar to its Umayyad predecessor, an Abbasid *amīr* could also reach political office, mostly acquiring the position of *wālī* (governor) of a region or province.²⁷⁹ This was mostly through the way the caliph could appoint a military *amīr* who had managed to seize a province to that position.²⁸⁰ If the appointed *wālī* came from a non-military position, it is part of the Abbasid administration tradition that the former also bear the responsibility of leading *liwā’ al-imārah*, which is equivalent to what modern brigade entitles.²⁸¹ These were the reasons

²⁷⁴ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Iṣābah*..., Vol. 6, 120 & 121. See also Ibn Sa’d, Vol. 7, 285.

²⁷⁵ Martin Hinds, “Mu‘āwiya I b. Abī Sufyān” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 7, 266.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Al-Ṭabarī reports that it was during the year of Hārūn al-Rāshid that the first foreign army established itself within the Abbasid military organization. It happened through the then-governor of Khurasan, al-Faḍl b. Yahyā al-Barmakī. The army comprised the Khurasanian-Persian that reportedly reached five hundred thousand men. Although the Khurasanian emerged earlier in helping the Abbasid appropriate the caliphate position from the Umayyad, this recent Khurasanian contracted during Hārūn's tenure was different, as they employed the non-Arab elements more compared to the former Khurasanian, See Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 8, 257. See also Rakan al-Mutairi, *Military Organization under the Early Abbasid Caliphate* (Doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2002) 34.

²⁷⁸ Al-Mas‘ūdī, Abu al-Hasan ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma‘ādin al-Jawhar* (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-‘Aṣriyyah, 2005) Vol. 3, 331.

²⁷⁹ Yūsuf Fuweyl, *Tanzīmāt al-Jaysh fī al-‘Aṣr al-‘Abbāsī al-Awwal* (Master thesis, Higher Normal School of Bouzareah, 2009/2010) 98.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid, 97.

why the designation for the governor sometimes overlapped with the terms *wālī* and *amīr*, often signifying the dual functions of his position.

This tradition continued even until the Ottoman caliphate, where the ruling class of that empire at some point also carried a label almost similar to *al-imārah*, which is its Turkish derivation, *ümera*.²⁸² This label, however, was not ultimately analogous to the previous cases of the Rāshidun, Umayyad, and Abbasid. It was similar only in terms of the way it had functioned in governing the Ottoman administration, where it had its dual usage within both military and political realms. Similar to its predecessor, high military personnel of the Ottoman caliphate could also officiate in high positions in administrative politics, such as a governor-general for certain Ottoman provinces.²⁸³ Yet there were elements in it that distinguished the *ümera* from the former political *al-imārah* of the past, especially in terms of how they cultivated themselves to attain that position as well as the way they represented themselves as military higher-ups in the Ottoman society.

In contrast to its predecessors who contracted this position through the appointment of the caliph to a certain region and province – either by conquest or decoration by the caliph, these Ottoman ruling classes usually came out of the Ottoman child levy (*devşirme*) system. The latter is a system that selects the most talented child from the subject provinces of the Ottoman frontier for education and training to be groomed for positions in the military and governance.²⁸⁴ This was especially prevalent in the 16th century and after, when the Ottoman expansion necessitated the inclusion of local ethnicities in its subject provinces.²⁸⁵ Their position as *ümera* includes the Ottoman provincial administration unit

²⁸² Géza Dávid, "Administration, provincial" in *Encyclopaedia of Ottoman Empire*, edited by Gábor Ágoston & Bruce Masters (New York: Facts on File Inc, 2009) 14-16.

²⁸³ For a list of *ümera* in civil and military organizations, see ORSAM, *Mosul in the Ottoman Vilâyet Salnâmes*, edited by Cengiz Eroğlu and et al. (Ankara: ORSAM, 2012) 247-402.

²⁸⁴ Gábor Ágoston, "administration, provincial" in *Encyclopaedia of Ottoman Empire*, edited by Gábor Ágoston & Bruce Masters (New York: Facts on File Inc, 2009) 183-185.

²⁸⁵ In the earlier Ottoman period, the *ümera* class would have come only from Turkish origin or their family. According to Hanxu Qi, it was not until Murad I introduced this *devşirme* system to balance the power of the old Turkic nobility and to strengthen his authority. Meanwhile, Beytullah Kaya argued that Murad I actually developed the *penchik* system, which was purely for military reasons (i.e., expanding and protecting occupied territory and frontier). This system refers to the formation of an army by taking every fifth prisoner of the state, which was evident through the famous janissary troops of Murad I. According to Beytullah Kaya, the *devşirme* system was another system that was validated by Murad II later in the 16th century, which is a replacement for the previous *penchik* system. See Hanxu Qi, "The Devshireme System in the Ottoman Empire", *SHS Web of Conferences*, 148, 03029 (2022): 1-4. See also Beytullah Kaya & Nada Trifković, "A

comprised of *beylerbeyi* and *sancakbeyi*.²⁸⁶ The former is the highest order for the Ottoman provincial system, which could symbolize a governor for a province called *eyalet/ vilayet/ beylerbeylik*.²⁸⁷ Meanwhile, the latter is the head administrator for the unit contained within the province, which is the *sancak* (district/ sub-province).²⁸⁸ Another discernible element of the Ottoman *ümere* system is the way they designated officials within this system. Unlike the Arabs who used the term *amīr*, the Ottoman Turks employed the term *beys* to differentiate them from the commoners.²⁸⁹ The meaning and functions for both terms, however, are the same, which are military commanders that serve both military and political functions together.

3.4.3 The Naval *Al-Imārah*: Prophetic, Rashidun, Umayyad, and Abbasid Period

Perhaps the first naval mention in the Islamic tradition might have appeared earlier in the Prophet Muhammad period. This refers to the reported account of the expedition of ‘Alqamah b. Mujazziz²⁹⁰ to the sea in the month of *Rabī‘ al-Ākhir* of 9 AH (630 CE).²⁹¹ According to an account of al-Wāqidī, the people of al-Shu‘aiyba²⁹² (coastal region near Mecca) had reported sightings of Abyssinian people on boats near the coast of that

Study on the Processing of the System of Devshirme in High School History Books in Turkey and Serbia”, *International Journal of Psychology and Educational Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 3, (2019): 119-125.

²⁸⁶ Géza Dávid, “administration, provincial” in *Encyclopaedia of Ottoman Empire*, 14-16.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ He is ‘Alqamah b. Mujazziz b. al-’A’wār al-Kinānī al-Mudjilī, a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad. He participated in the Conquest of the Levant under the administration of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, where he joined the Battle of Yarmouk under the command of ‘Amr b. al-’Āṣ as part of the liberation of Palestine. According to an account by al-Ṭabarī, ‘Alqamah was also the *amīr* of Palestine during the time of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. Al-Ṭabarī also recorded that ‘Alqamah died in 20 AH (641 CE), and it was during his voyage to Ethiopia under the instruction of ‘Umar, where his vessel suffered an attack and wrecked in the sea. See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣṣabah...*, Vol. 4, 460-461. See also al-Ziriklī, Vol. 4, 248. See also al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 3, 394, Vol. 4, 67 & 112. See also Khalid Yahya Blankinship, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, Volume XI: The Challenge to the Empires* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993) Note No. 489, 87.

²⁹¹ For references of the Hegira and Gregorian dates, see Ibn Sa’d, Vol. 2, 123-124. See also Khalid Yahya Blankinship, Note 489, 87.

²⁹² Before Jeddah, Al-Shu‘ayba was a port and shipyard for the Hijāz peninsular since the pre-Islamic period. It is historically and currently situated in the southern part of Jeddah along the coast of the Red Sea. See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, Shihāb al-Dīn ‘Abd Allah Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1995) Vol. 3, 351. See also Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ḥasan Sharrah, *Al-Ma‘ālim al-Athīrah fī Al-Sunnah wa al-Sīrah* (Beirut: Al-Dār al-Shāmiyah, n.d) 151.

region.²⁹³ The Prophet appointed ‘Alqamah as the leader of three hundred Muslims to tend to the matter. The latter then ventured into the sea with his men and pursued those Abyssinians into an unknown island, but they seemed to have already fled. Faced with their disappearance and the condition of the waves that were getting bigger, the group of Muslims then returned to the mainland.²⁹⁴

The accounts that recorded this event are Ibn Hishām’s *Sīrah*, al-Wāqidī’s *Maghāzī* and Ibn Sa’d’s *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*.²⁹⁵ Out of these three, only al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa’d affirmed the naval nature of this expedition, while Ibn Hishām did not characterize it as so. All three narrations, however, did not record any cognate indicating the appointment of ‘Alqamah’s as an *amīr* or a form of *al-imārah*. The used phrase in all three narrations only indicated the deployment of ‘Alqamah under the instruction of the Prophet, which is “*ba’atha Rasūlullah ‘Alqamah...*” (*tr.* “The Messenger of Allah had sent ‘Alqamah...”). The only confirmation concerning the appointment of ‘Alqamah as an *amīr* came from Al-Wāqidī’s title for this report, which is “*sha’n sirriyyah amīruha ‘Alqamah...*” (*tr.* Concerning the Expedition (where) its *Amīr* is ‘Alqamah...).²⁹⁶ By choosing the word *amīr* in giving a title for this event, Al-Wāqidī has made it clear that the appointment of ‘Alqamah in his perspective is indeed a form of military *al-imārah*.

The reason for al-Wāqidī’s reasoning may come in twofold. The first reason arose from the nature of this expedition, which conveys it as part of the safety and security measures taken by the Prophet Muhammad due to the Abyssinians' sighting. This explains the huge number of Muslims for this expedition who were under the command of ‘Alqamah. The second reason circulates around the fact that the term and phrase used in some of these accounts did indicate this expedition as military in nature. One of them is the word *jaysh* (*tr.* soldier) reported both in his narration and Ibn Hishām’s. According to these two narrations, after the Muslims aware of the Abyssinian flight from the scene, some of them asked ‘Alqamah to permit them to return to their homes. Ibn Hishām expressed this

²⁹³ Al-Wāqidī, *Al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, 983. Ibn Sa’d narration mentions that it was the people of Jeddah who reported the sightings to the Prophet. See Ibn Sa’d, Vol. 2, 123-124.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Ibn Hishām, Vol. 4, 286-287. See also al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, 983. See also Ibn Sa’d, Vol. 2, 123-124.

²⁹⁶ Al-Wāqidī, *Al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, 983.

‘asking for permission’ occurrence as “*udhina liṭā’ifah min al-jaysh*” (some of the soldiers had been given permission) while al-Wāqidī used the phrase “*ista’dhana ba’d al-jaysh*” (some of the soldiers asked for permission).²⁹⁷ The word *jaysh* here confirms the expedition as being a military one. On top of that, al-Wāqidī’s narration also adds the reason for their asking for permission was due to the absence of reason for the fight, of which al-Wāqidī’s account expressed it in the phrase “*haythu lam yalqau kaydān*”.²⁹⁸ According to al-Zamakhshari, this phrase is a metaphorical and figurative way for the Arabs to denote the meaning of absence or void of fight and battle.²⁹⁹ In this respect, despite the absence of the word *amīr* or any equivocal cognate to conjure ‘Alqamah’s leadership as some kind of naval *imārah*, it is therefore still fair to surmise that his leadership did carry the meaning of basic military *al-imārah*, especially with reference to the reason of the expedition and the usage of military term and phrase in the accounts of Ibn Hishām and al-Wāqidī.

Nevertheless, the usage of *amīr* for the Islamic naval military started to gain currency in the later periods among the successors of the Prophet Muhammad. The re-appreciation of the word *amīr* within the gamut of Islamic naval military came through its usage in portraying the meaning of commander of the sea (*amīr al-bahr*).³⁰⁰ It was the Rashidun caliphate that has documented the first direct use of the word in the naval military during the administration of the Third Rashidun Caliph,³⁰¹ ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān.³⁰² Notwithstanding that, it is noteworthy to mention that the Muslims had their way in the naval battle earlier before ‘Uthmān, which was during the time of ‘Umar. The only

²⁹⁷ Ibn Hishām, Vol. 4, 286. See also al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, 983.

²⁹⁸ al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, 983.

²⁹⁹ Al-Zamakhsharī, Mahmūd b. ‘Amrun b. Ahmad, *Asās al-Balāghah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1998) Vol. 2, 151. Al-Jawharī asserted the word *kaydan* as another expression for the enemy or foe in the battle. See al-Jawharī, Abu Naṣr Ismā‘il b. Hammād, *Taj al-Lughah wa Ṣiḥāh al-‘Arabiyyah* (Beirut: Dār al-‘Ilm li al-Malāyīn, 1987) Vol. 2, 533.

³⁰⁰ David Hannay, “Admiral” in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition (Cambridge: University Press, 1910) Vol. 1, 232.

³⁰¹ He is ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān b. Abī al-‘Āṣ b. ‘Umayyah al-Qurashī al-‘Umaywī, a Companion, a son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad and one of those whom the Prophet promised with Paradise. He is the third Rashidun caliph who carried and continued the Islamic expansion after Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. It was during his time that the centralization of the Caliphate and the establishment of the official Qur’ān occurred. He reigned for twelve years, from 23- 35 AH (644 CE - 656 CE). See Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣābah...*, Vol. 4, 377. See also al-Ziriklī, Vol. 4, 210. See also Asma Afsaruddin, “‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān”, *Britannica* <<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Uthman-ibn-Affan>> (Accessed on 14 February 2021).

³⁰² Saif Shāhīn al-Muraykhi, “Imārat al-Baḥr fī al-‘Asr al-Khulafā’ al-Rāshidīn wa al-‘Umayyīyīn”, *Majallāt Kulīyyah al-Insāniyyah wa al-‘Ulūm al-Ijtīmā’iyyah*, Vol 23 (2000): 12.

difference was that the instillation of *amīr al-baḥr* as part of the military designation was non-existent at that time. As in the case of ‘Alqamah, reports on the naval battles that occurred in the times of ‘Umar only relay stories of those events in a linear and simple expression without any specification on any naval designated role.

Such reports appear, for example, in Al-Balādhurī’s account of the first Rashidun naval expedition under the then ‘*āmil* of Al-Bahrayn,³⁰³ al-‘Alā’ b. al-Ḥaḍramī.³⁰⁴ The account only mentioned the latter had sent (*ba‘atha*) ‘Arfajah b. Harthama³⁰⁵ across the sea in the Gulf of Oman for deeper liberation of several Persian outposts in 14 AH/ 634 CE.³⁰⁶ Details concerning ‘Arfajah’s position on that voyage, however, are unknown. According to another account of Ibn Sa‘d further detailing this event, it only provided a statement on

³⁰³ Al-Bahrayn at this period refers geographically to the coastal mainland of Eastern Arabia. According to Yāqūt, it is the land in Peninsular Arab along the coast of *Baḥr al-Ḥind* (possibly his reference to the Persian Gulf), in between Basrah in Iraq and Oman. Mohsin Farani argued that Yāqūt’s assertion is possibly referring to Al-Bahrayn in his period, which was during the ‘Abbāsīd and not exactly indicating the Al-Bahrayn in the early formative period of Islam. In his Urdu translation of Ahmad Adil Kamal’s *Atlas al-Futūḥāt al-Islāmiyyah*, Farani re-determined its geographical location in the early Islamic period as the region that encompassed the current island of Al-Bahrayn, Qatar, and some region in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia from the city of Ḍahrān to Ahsā’ governorate. See G. Rantz and W.E Mulligan, “Al-Bahrayn” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, 941. See also Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, Vol. 1, 347. See also Ahmad Adil Kamal, *Atlas of The Islamic Conquest*, translated from Arabic by Samih Stretch & Mohsin Farani (Riyadh: Maktabah Dār al-Salām, 2010) Note No. 2, 65.

³⁰⁴ He is ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Imād b. Akbar b. Rabī‘ah al-Ḥaḍramī, a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad. The Prophet had appointed him as the ‘*āmil* of Baḥrayn in 8 AH. According to Ibn Sa‘d, Al-‘Alā’ remained there until he was demoted by the Prophet. It was Abū Bakr who appointed him again to Baḥrayn, where he remained there before being demoted once again by ‘Umar. The classical Islamic chroniclers are mostly silent on his second demotion here, but it is interpretable through various accounts concerning ‘Umar’s appointment of his successor, ‘Uthmān b. Abī al-‘Āṣ al-Thaqafī. His third reappointment to Bahrain also occurred during the times of ‘Umar, but later was demoted for good by that second Caliph due to his second unauthorized voyage to the sea that claimed the lives of many Muslim armies. See Ibn Sa‘d, Vol. 4, 266-267. See also Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*..., Vol 4, 445-446. See also al-Ziriklī, Vol. 4, 244-245. For detailed corroboration, analysis and references on the second demotion of al-‘Alā’ where he was replaced by ‘Uthman al-Thaqafī, see Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baloch, "The Probable Date of the First Arab Expeditions to India", *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 20, No. 3: 250-266.

³⁰⁵ He is ‘Arfajah b. Harthamah b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzza b. Zuhayr al-Bāriqī, a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad. There is not much known about him during the Prophet’s period. Considering that he was not in any way accounted as a commander for any battle during the times of the Prophet, it is safe to say that he might have accepted Islam in the later years of the Prophet. However, most Islamic classical accounts consider him among the important field commanders during the early Islamic conquest of the Rashidun Caliphate, especially in the Ridda War and on the Mesopotamian front against the Sassanid. See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣābah*..., Vol. 4, 401. See also al-Ziriklī, Vol. 8, 82. For his role in the Ridda war and against Sassanid, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 3, 314, Vol. 4, 35 & 37. For corroboration of the date on his acceptance of Islam, see Mahmūd Shīt Khattāb, *Qādat Faṭḥ al-‘Irāq wa al-Shām* (Al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Qalam, n.d) 255.

³⁰⁶ Al-Balādhurī, 374. For references of the Hegira and Gregorian date for this event, see Ibn Sa‘d, Vol. 4, 267. See also Hugh Kennedy, *The Great Arab Conquest: How the Spread of Islam Change the World We Live in* (Philadelphia: DeCapo Press, 2007) 181.

the successful outcome of the expedition, in which ‘Arfajah had liberated and constructed a mosque in an unknown island on the Sassanid-Persian waters.³⁰⁷ As this naval campaign set off unauthorized by the caliph ‘Umar, the latter then demoted al-‘Alā’,³⁰⁸ and appointed ‘Uthmān b. Abī al-‘Āṣ al-Thaqafī as the new ‘*āmil* of Bahrain in 15 AH/ 636 CE.³⁰⁹ Under his administration, another unauthorized naval dispatchment recurred. Al-Balādhurī also reported this event briefly, describing that ‘Uthmān al-Thaqafī had sent (*ba‘atha*) his brothers through several expeditions further east across the Indian Ocean in the later part of 15 AH.³¹⁰ There has not been any mention of the details of his brother's position in those

³⁰⁷ Ibn Sa‘d, Vol. 4, 267.

³⁰⁸ It is critical to point out that there are no reports from the classical Islamic chronicler concerning the demotion of al-‘Alā’ and the subsequent promotion of ‘Uthman as the ‘*āmil* of Bahrain. The only demotion recorded by classical Muslim chroniclers consequential to this campaign was the demotion of ‘Arfajah. In one account narrated by Ibn Khaldūn in his *Kitāb al-‘Ibar*, he reported that both Abū Bakr and ‘Umar refrained the Muslims from having naval battles, fearing for their life. According to Ibn Khaldūn, after the news of ‘Arfajah’s battle in the sea reached ‘Umar, he did not appreciate it much and rejected ‘Arfajah’s action. In another earlier report by al-Ṭabarī, he reported this event to have occurred earlier before ‘Umar, which was during the time of Abū Bakr. According to him, upon receiving the news of ‘Arfajah’s battle in the sea, it was the latter that demoted ‘Arfajah. These reports did reverberate the dire consequences faced by ‘Arfajah, and it is not far reach to surmise that his higher-ups, al-‘Alā’, may have faced the same consequences. This is by considering the campaign did set off from the latter’s initiative. As for the modern scholars, Hugh Kennedy, for example, affirmed the demotion of al-‘Alā’ is indeed a product of this event. See Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-‘Ibar wa Dīwan al-Mubtada’ wa al-Khabar fī Tārīkh al-‘Arab wa al-Barbar wa man ‘Āṣarahum min dhawī al-Sha’n al-Akbar* (Beirut: Dār Al-Fikr, 1988), Vol 1, 313. See also al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 3, 462. See also Hugh Kennedy, *The Great Arab Conquest...*, 181.

³⁰⁹ The abundance of accounts by the authorities on the event of ‘Uthmān’s replacement of al-‘Alā’ confirms the truth of its occurrence. Al-Ṭabarī, for example, listed down the chronological years of those who held the office of ‘*āmil* of Bahrain. According to him, the year 14 AH is the year where al-‘Alā’ held the position, and subsequently at the end of year 14 AH before the beginning of 15 AH, al-Ṭabarī lists ‘Uthman as the one who succeeded him. Apart from him, other authorities on this matter confirm the year 15 AH as the year where ‘Uthman gained the position of ‘*āmil* of Bahrain and left his former position as ‘*āmil* of Ṭā’if. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 3, 479 & 597. For detailed corroboration, analysis and references of this event, see Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baloch, "The Probable Date....," 250-266.

³¹⁰ According to al-Balādhurī, ‘Uthman dispatched his brothers to lead naval expeditions to three regions in Sind, an ancient name of Sindhu, a region located on the lower part of the Indus River that is now situated in modern-day Pākistan. He sent al-Hakam b. Abī al-‘Āṣ to Tanah (modern: Thana), a town in western peninsular India northeast of Bombay. He also sent the latter to Barwas (modern: Bharuch), an ancient seaport that is now located in Guḍjarāt within the present Bombay. ‘Uthmān also sent another brother, al-Mughīrah b. Abī al-‘Āṣ to another region of Sind, the Gulf of al-Daybul (modern: Deybal), which is also an ancient port town in the Sind region, whose modern location is still uncertain. See al-Balādhurī, 416. See also T.W Haig & C.E Bosworth, "Sind" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 9, 632. See also J. Burton Page, "Baroc" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, 1193. See also A.S Bazmee Ansari, "Daybul", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 2, 188. For references to the Hegira date for the event, see Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baloch, "The Probable Date....," 262.

expeditions. Although the expeditions were successful, ‘Umar also demoted him for that as it was unauthorized and violated his naval policy.³¹¹

‘Umar then re-appointed al-‘Alā’ as the *‘āmil* of Bahrain, where once again another event of unauthorized naval deployments occurred under his tenure. Al-Ṭabarī’s account of this event only detailed the process of how al-‘Alā’ had divided four corps (*farraqahum al-ajnad*) for this third naval campaign, also without mentioning any specific designation of the leader of each corp. This third deployment proved itself a fatal move as their vessels sank on their way home and claimed many casualties from the Muslim side.³¹² This prompted ‘Umar to demote al-‘Alā’ once again.³¹³ According to another account by al-Balādhurī, ‘Umar then reappointed ‘Uthmān al-Thaqafī.³¹⁴ This account also only stated the latter then again had sent out his brother across the sea to the Persian lands.³¹⁵ Due to the pressing need to open a second front from Al-Bahrayn in facing the Sassanid, this time it had proceeded with ‘Umar’s authorization, in which they liberated Abarkāwān (modern: Qeshm) island and several other Sassanid territories.³¹⁶ Despite the authorization from the Caliph along with its successful outcome, the report still voids any detail describing the position of ‘Uthmān’s brother whom he had sent off for this campaign.

One significant note from the examples above indicates that most of the voyages in the Prophet’s period to ‘Umar were uncoordinated and not really centred on real naval battles. Take the example of al-‘Alā’ and his deployment of ‘Arfajah. According to al-Ṭabarī, the main reason for that was due to the eagerness of al-‘Alā’ himself to liberate the Persian lands, which prompted him to disobey ‘Umar’s instruction.³¹⁷ The same situation

³¹¹ Baloch argued that ‘Uthmān’s demotion from being the *‘āmil* of Al-Bahrayn and his return to being back holding his former position as *‘āmil* of Ṭā’if is evident in al-Ṭabarī’s chronicle. This refers back to the chronological years of those who held the office of *‘āmil* of Bahrain. According to al-Ṭabarī, ‘Uthmān held the position of *‘āmil* of Ṭā’if back in the 17 AH. See Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baloch, "The Probable Date...", 260-261. See also al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 4, 39.

³¹² Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 4, 79.

³¹³ Ibid, Vol. 4, 81.

³¹⁴ Al-Balādhurī, 374. According to Al-Ṭabarī’s chronological years concerning those who hold the position of *‘āmil* of Al-Bahrayn, the year 16 AH witnessed al-‘Alā’ as the *‘āmil* of Al-Bahrayn before ‘Uthmān replaced him one year after in 17 AH. See Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 4, 39 & 94.

³¹⁵ Al-Balādhurī, 374-375.

³¹⁶ Ibid. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī asserted the name of this island as Kāwān, and it is the last island encountered by al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-‘Āṣī in the Gulf of Oman during the campaign deeper within the Sassanid Persian land. See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, Vol. 2, 139.

³¹⁷ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 4, 79.

occurred in the case of ‘Uthmān’s deployment of his brothers across the Indian Ocean. ‘Umar also did not authorise their deployment, and it commenced from an unknown initiative of ‘Uthmān himself. Baloch argued that it could have come from ‘Uthman’s zealotness for *jihād*.³¹⁸ This is despite ‘Umar’s demotion of his predecessor Al-‘Alā’ and his general restriction and disapproval of the Muslim army from having any naval expedition for he feared for their own safety and lives.³¹⁹ Although ‘Umar eventually authorized one expedition under ‘Uthmān to the Persian coast - hence indicating the coordination between ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān, the expedition was rather comparatively small and only focused on securing a base on the Persian coast (Abarkāwān) in order to create second opening front with the Persian troops, distracting them from focusing on the first front in Iraq.³²⁰ On top of that, all the battles mentioned above were land-based warfare, where their naval expeditions only served to facilitate their logistic means.

The reason is that the Muslim military back then was not in any way adept and skillful enough in naval enterprises, for many of their military personnel comprised of infantries and Bedouins that were more comfortable with land-based warfare.³²¹ This uncoordinated nature of naval expeditions in this period explains why the accounts of these events did not specify any naval designation and role of each personnel that led the army in each campaign. However, despite the lack of specific naval designation for these deployments, the leader of each expedition still served as the general field commander (*amīr*) to each corps deployed across the sea. This is by following the normalcy within their land-warfare system. Overall, all these events that occurred during the times of ‘Umar indicate the unsystematized Muslim naval military at that time, where it lacked many aspects of proper naval institution.

However, the need for an institutionalized naval system became urgent each day, as the situational and strategical aspects of the whole Islamic conquest and their gained territories in the Rashidun period became more pressing and dire. According to al-Muraykhi, the main catalyst for that need set off from the necessity of protecting the near-

³¹⁸ Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baloch, "The Probable Date...", 266.

³¹⁹ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 4, 79. See also Al-Balādhurī, 416.

³²⁰ Hugh Kennedy, *The Great Arab Conquest...*, 181-182.

³²¹ Sayf Shāhin al-Muraykhi, 21.

coastal provinces of the Caliphate from the enemies, especially those along the Mediterranean shores from the attack of the Byzantines.³²² On the other hand, Ibn Khaldūn viewed those early naval expeditions along with the opening and liberation of many foreign lands as the motivating force for the establishment of the first Muslim naval fleet, which helped the Muslims gained new knowledge concerning naval enterprise from the conquered non-Muslim, as well as employing them to develop the Muslim maritime needs.³²³

This is the time when the duo ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān and Mu‘āwiyah came into the picture. Technically, Mu‘āwiyah had already asked permission for a naval expedition since the times of ‘Umar, and the latter had expectedly denied his request.³²⁴ This continued until ‘Uthman took over, where he permitted Mu‘āwiyah, although reluctantly, the voyage to the Mediterranean Sea in 27 – 29 AH (648- 650 CE),³²⁵ in which Mu‘āwiyah successfully liberated Cyprus.³²⁶ Similar to those eastern and southern naval expeditions across the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf during ‘Umar’s administration, this particular expedition to Cyprus was also a novitiate for the early Muslim naval enterprise. There is no specific designation conferred to those who lead the expedition,³²⁷ and the battle was also not specifically naval in nature as it had occurred on the land of Cyprus.³²⁸ Nevertheless, Mu‘āwiyah still initiated the crafting of the first Islamic naval fleet that specialized for sea

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddimah*, 266.

³²⁴ Al-Balādhurī, 153.

³²⁵ Islamic classical accounts concerning this event vary in dating the beginning of this expedition. There have been multiple assertions of its dating, ranging from 27 AH, 28 AH to 29 AH. This study lists all of the probable dates. For recent discussion discussing the Hegira and Gregorian dating of this event, see Ryan J. Lynch, “Cyprus and its Legal and Historiographical Significance in Early Islamic Century”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 136, No. 3 (2016): 535-550.

³²⁶ According to Lynch, there is no statement affirming that Muslims had liberated Cyprus. A historical account reported by al-Balādhurī only mentioned that the Cypriots agreed to a peace treaty with two conditions; a payment of 7000/ 7200 *dīnār* each year, and providing information and warning for any upcoming Byzantine attack on the Muslim land. According to Lynch, the title of al-Balādhurī’s discussion on Cyprus was named only *Amr Qibrus* (*tr.* On the Matter of Cyprus) instead of *Fath Qibrus* (Liberation of Cyprus). This is not like al-Balādhurī’s other titles concerning the liberation of a city, showing that the matter of Cyprus was never the same as the other conventional Muslim liberation (*futūḥāt*). See Ibid, 540-541. See also al-Balādhurī, 153-158.

³²⁷ Some like al-Balādhurī and Khalīfa b. Khayyāt asserted that Mu‘āwiyah himself led the expedition. An account by al-Wāqidī narrated by al-Balādhurī recorded that when ‘Uthmān authorized this expedition, he had asked those who wanted to join the expedition must set sail with their members of their immediate family. Both Al-Balādhurī and Khalīfa recorded that Mu‘āwiyah did set sail with his wife, indicating his presence in the expedition. See Al-Balādhurī, 153 & 155. See also Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, Abū ‘Amr al-Laythī al-‘Uṣfurī, *Tārikh Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt* (Beirut: Mu’assasah al-Risālah, n.d) 160.

³²⁸ Al-Balādhurī, 153 & 155.

battles in the later years. Al-Ṭabarī recorded that under the authority of ‘Uthmān, Mu‘āwiyah had appointed ‘Abd Allah b. Qays al-Ḥārithī/ Al-Jāsī³²⁹ as the first person to hold the naval office (*ista‘mala ‘ala al-baḥr*) in 28 AH/ 648 CE.³³⁰ The latter is the first to have led the Muslims into naval expeditions and battles, where he managed to proceed with fifty expeditions without having even one of their vessels sunken or destroyed.³³¹

After his appointment, records on the ‘*āmil* of the sea (‘*āmil ‘ala al-baḥr*) started to emerge among the Muslim chroniclers along with the ‘*āmil* of other liberated regions, in which it showed ‘Abd Allah b. Qays as the first person to occupy the office.³³² This newly transpired office indicated its official establishment within the whole Caliphate’s political and administrative institutions from the time of ‘Uthmān, affirming its new dominion within the naval affairs of the Muslims during this period. Al-Muraykhī asserted that this office is also related directly to the Caliph, as any appointment of those who hold this office is only legally conferred by the Caliph himself, or the *wālī* of any region with the authority of the Caliph.³³³ Again, despite those said accounts on the appointment of ‘Abd Allah b. Qays did not narrate the word *amīr* precisely in delineating the nature of his office and instead came with other terms such as *ista‘mala* or ‘*āmil al-baḥr*, the term *amīr al-baḥr* or *amīr al-mā’* (tr. commander of the water) remain the conventional titles for his position.³³⁴

³²⁹ He is often known as ‘Abd Allah b. Qays al-Jāsī in classical Islamic chronicle literature. However, Ibn Ḥajr affirmed his real name as ‘Abd Allah b. Qays al-Kindī al-Ḥārithī. Based on Ibn Ḥajr’s information of his name, al-Ziriklī deduced that al-Jāsī is a *tahrif* (distortion) of his lineage al-Ḥārithī, where he is the blood brother (*ḥalīf*) of Banū Fazāra al-Ḥārithī. Al-Ziriklī also asserted that Mu‘āwiyah appointed ‘Abd Allah initially only to lead several battles in Cyprus in 27 AH. This suits and does not contradict al-Ṭabarī’s record that affirmed the dating of the latter occupying the office of ‘*āmil al-baḥr* in the year after that (28 AH). See Ibn Ḥajr, *Al-Iṣābah...*, Vol. 5, 74. See also al-Ziriklī, Vol. 4, 114-115. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 4, 260.

³³⁰ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 4, 260. For reference of the Gregorian date, see Sayf Shāhin al-Muraykhī, 23.

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Ibid, Vol. 4, 421. See also Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. 2, 551.

³³³ The clearest example of the appointment of *amīr al-baḥr* by the *wālī* with the authority of the Caliph is the previous case of Mu‘āwiyah’s appointment of ‘Abd Allah b. Qays. However, restricting the position of Mu‘āwiyah in al-Muraykhī’s term of *wālī* may not necessarily be correct as Mu‘āwiyah himself at that time was also known as an *amīr* or ‘*āmil* of Shām. These three designations are often fused and jumbled within the reports and accounts coming from the classical Muslim chroniclers. See Sayf Shāhin al-Muraykhī, 23. For the account of Mu‘āwiyah as an ‘*āmil* of Sham under ‘Uthman, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 4, 421. See also Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. 2, 551. For the account of Mu‘āwiyah as an *amīr* of Shām, see Ibn Ḥajr al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Iṣābah...*, Vol. 6, 120 & 121.

³³⁴ Muhammad Yāsīn al-Ḥamawī, *Tārīkh al-Uṣṭūl al-‘Arabī* (Damascus: Maktabah al-Tarqī, 1945) 53. For reference on *amīr al-mā’*, see Wayne A. Silkett, “Gold Braid and Old Words”, *Military Affairs*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (1986): 84.

The reason is due to his jurisdiction at this time exerted power concerning naval and sea battles, which displayed its military nature. Accordingly, the word *amīr* is the most used word in reflecting military proclivity in the early years of Islam, where it has reflected and symbolized Muslim military commander for the land-based warfare from the beginning of the Prophet to the Rāshidun's period. Another reason is evident through the way the term *amīr al-baḥr* had permeated into European military corpus, where the appropriation of this word within their lexicon helped construct the word *amiral*, *ammiral*, *Almirante*, and eventually the English 'admiral'.³³⁵ This proves the prevalence of its usage among the people of that period, despite of its inexistence in the pertaining records.

After the decline of the Umayyad, the next dynasty of 'Abbāsīd also retained this position, albeit with some slight changes. For instance, Al-Muraykhī argued that the office of *āmīl al-baḥr* or *amīr al-baḥr* in the Umayyad period changed to the office of *wālī al-baḥr*.³³⁶ According to him, the difference lies in terms of each specialization, where the former had inclined more towards military and battles proclivity, while the latter tended to be more administrative in nature.³³⁷ He asserted that the situation of the latter was due to the then already extensive control of new Islamic territory and the Mediterranean Sea during the 'Abbāsīd dynasty, prompting the need for centralized administration from their capital city.³³⁸ His differentiation, however, remains problematic due to the lack of historical account in helping to decipher the exact role of *amīr al-baḥr* in the Umayyad period in comparison to the role of *wālī al-baḥr* in the 'Abbāsīd period that seems to be numerous in existence within the Islamic literature.³³⁹ At the end of his argument, he nevertheless inferred most of the role of the Umayyad's *amīr al-baḥr* based on the latter

³³⁵ David Hannay, "Admiral" in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 1, 232.

³³⁶ Sayf Shāhin al-Muraykhī, 25.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Ibid. Examples of al-Muraykhī's references to *wālī al-baḥr* of the Abbasid dynasty include *Al-Kharāj wa Sinā'at al-Kitābah*, a work by Qudāmah b. Ja'far, who was a philologist, historian and an administrator for the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate, and also the 8th century *Āthār al-Awwal fī Tartīb al-Duwal* by al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allah al-'Abbāsī. For references on the biography of both scholars, see S.A Bonebakker, "Kudāma", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by C.E Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, W.P Heinrichs, G. Lecomte (Leiden: Brill, 1995) Vol. 8, 318-322. See also al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allah al-'Abbāsī, "Al-Mu'allif: Nasabuhu wa Ḥayātuhu" in *Āthār al-Awwal fī Tartīb al-Duwal*, annotated by 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Umairah' (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1989) 22.

accounts of ‘Abbāsīd *wālī al-baḥr*, where according to him resembled each other to some extent.³⁴⁰

Interestingly, other modern Muslim historians did not differentiate these terms at all. They viewed each term as a continuation of the same role, be it in the name of *‘āmil*, *amīr*, or *wālī*, where all of them symbolize the highest position in the traditional Muslim naval military.³⁴¹ Nevertheless, the term *amīr al-baḥr* remains the most common designation used among modern historians in describing this specific classical Islamic naval position. This is the position held by ‘Abd al-Fattāh ‘Ubādah, Yāsīn al-Ḥamawī, and ‘Abd al-Mun‘im Mājid.³⁴² The term evolved eventually in terms of its scope classification, where some classical Islamic literature recorded several new naval posts with new names that have emerged throughout different Islamic dynasties. This evolution refers to a complex range of naval tasks that has developed along with the increasing naval port and shipyard in the dominion of the Islamic Caliphate.³⁴³ For instance, each port and shipyard will have the position of *ra’īs* and *qā’id*.³⁴⁴ The former was in charge of the army, weaponry, and battles. Meanwhile, the *qā’id* held the task of sea navigation, requiring the mastery of seamanship and possessing extensive knowledge of how the wind, tide, and swell will affect the vessel movement. Both positions submit to the supreme leader-in-command of the whole Islamic naval fleet, the *amīr al-baḥr*.³⁴⁵

³⁴⁰ Sayf Shāhin al-Muraykhi, 25.

³⁴¹ Fātimah Ahmad Mahmud, “Umarā’ al-Baḥr fī al-‘Aṣr al-‘Abbāsī fī al-Fatraḥ min (132-320 AH/ 749-932 CE) al-Sawāḥil al-Shāmiyyah wa al-Miṣriyyah Namūdḥajan”, *Majallat al-Kuliyyah al-Lughah al-‘Arabiyyah bi al-Qāhirah*, Vol. 39 (2021): 2319-2320.

³⁴² ‘Abd al-Fattāh ‘Ubādah, *Sufūn al-‘Uṣṭūl al-Islāmī* (Miṣr: Matba‘ah al-Hilāl, 1913) 23-24. See also Muhammad Yāsīn al-Ḥamawī, *Tārikh al-Uṣṭūl al-‘Arabī*..., 47-48. See also ‘Abd al-Mun‘im Mājid, *Tārikh al-Ḥaḍārah al-Islāmiyyah fī al-‘Uṣūr al-Wuṣṭā* (Al-Qāhirah: Maktabah al-Anjilu al-Miṣriyyah, 1996) 80.

³⁴³ ‘Abd al-Fattāh ‘Ubādah, 23-24.

³⁴⁴ Ibid. Further developments of the Islamic naval fleet in the future Fātimid and Ayyubid dynasties witnessed other new naval designations such as *ra’īs al-uṣṭūl*, *al-rubān*, and *muqaddam*. All three are the variations of the previous two designations (*qā’id* and *ra’īs*). See Muhammad Yāsīn al-Ḥamawī, 47-48. See also ‘Abd al-Mun‘im Mājid, 79-80.

³⁴⁵ ‘Abd al-Fattāh ‘Ubādah, 23-24. Ibn Khaldūn also recorded the authority of one supreme position in the Islamic naval fleet. However, he only mentioned the position of this one supreme commander as an *amīr*, without the addition of the word *al-baḥr*. See Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-‘Ibar wa Dīwan*..., Vol. 1, 314.

3.4.4 Military *Al-Imārah* and Its Discourse in Classical Islamic Literature

Traces of military *al-imārah* also prevail within classical Islamic literature. Such designation has recorded itself in this literature as early as the 8th century CE and continued to do so in the later period. This claim is evident mostly in the legal writings by the early Muslim scholars. One of the earliest writings of military *al-imārah* within this genre is *al-Siyār al-Kabīr* by Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Shaybānī (d. 183 AH/ 803 CE),³⁴⁶ the first Islamic work on international law,³⁴⁷ or perhaps the world's first work of that genre. In this work, he presented *al-imārah* in two small chapters entitled *Bāb Waṣāyā al-Umarā'* (On the Advices for the *Umarā'*) and *Bāb al-Imārah* (On *al-Imārah*).³⁴⁸ The first chapter delineates specific conduct for the Muslim commanders (*amīr* pl. *umarā'*) during war and battles while the second chapter lays out general rulings of conduct of *al-imārah*.³⁴⁹ These general rulings refer to the matter of the obligation of appointing an *amīr* for a small or large group of personnel doing military expedition, the obligation of loyalty to the *amīr*, and the preference of having to appoint an *amīr* who is well-versed with the matter pertaining to battles and war.³⁵⁰

Note that al-Shaybānī's viewpoint of *al-imārah* here is purely military. The rationale behind his assertion originates from the 'international law' genre of his work. Although the term is a modern label, it relates to the content of al-Shaybānī's *al-Siyar* that insofar represents the international law relevant to his period.³⁵¹ The essence of his work, however, still entrenches and roots itself within the Islamic legal and jurisprudence genre.³⁵² Its only difference in comparison to other classical Islamic literature of this genre is in the legal problems and issues that it had touched, which incline more towards international affairs of the then Muslim state.³⁵³ Although the 'international affairs' of that

³⁴⁶ For his brief biography, see the footnote in Chapter 1 of this study, 9.

³⁴⁷ Muhammad Munir, "Islamic International Law (*Siyar*)...", 45.

³⁴⁸ Al-Sarakhsī, 45-48.

³⁴⁹ Ibid, 29-48.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Ibid, 45-48.

³⁵² Khaled R. Bashir, *Islamic International Law: Historical Foundation and al-Shaybani's Siyar* (United Kingdom: Edward Elgar Publishing House, 2018) 1.

³⁵³ Although modern scholars treat classical works of this genre as among the founding literature for Islamic international law, classical scholars nevertheless perceive this literature within the context of jurisprudence and legal treatise. This is evident in the way they respond to each other through legal criticism. See Muhammad Munir, "Islamic International Law (*Siyar*)...", 37-60.

³⁵⁴ Khaled R. Bashir, 1.

period would certainly differ from the perspective of the current secular worldview and institution, it still offers itself as a valid parameter in determining this work as a part of the literature of international law or even a pioneer for that genre.³⁵⁴

The legal issue and ruling in *al-Siyar* that reflects international affairs-related content in al-Shaybānī's work mostly pertains to the issues of governing the relation between Muslim and non-Muslim; either in times of peace or war or in between individuals or polities.³⁵⁵ According to Khaled R. Bashir, the content includes certain rulings of conduct in *jihād*, rulings pertaining to prisoners of war, ransom, spoils of war, war crimes, rights of delegation and those who granted asylum, rights of religious minorities, international property and trade law, etc.³⁵⁶ Although the law and legal issues discussed within this work involve both times of peace and war, the majority of them seem to be more heavily involved with the latter. This is understandable considering the political situation of that period that was still in the midst of Islamic expansion. In some ways, the nature of the 'international affair' within this work that concentrates more on the warring state contributed to and explained the parallel path taken by Al-Shaybānī in his discourse of *al-imārah* in his *al-Siyar*, where it also operates within that very context.

For instance, on the issue of the obligation of appointing the *amīr*, he specifically stated that the elected person must be knowledgeable and an expertise in the matter of war and battles.³⁵⁷ Al-Shaybānī justified his claim here based on an event that occurred during the times of 'Umar, where the Second Caliph did not appoint one of the Companions as an *amīr* of the Muslim army due to the latter's lack of prowess in battle and war affairs.³⁵⁸ According to al-Shaybānī, if a certain situation compels the people to appoint an *amīr* who is not knowledgeable in this matter, the appointed *amīr* then must have instead appoint under him a *wazīr* (vizierate, or in this context: an official) that acquires and possess the knowledge.³⁵⁹ His substantiation for this claim stands on one Qur'ānic verse relating a story of Moses requesting assistance from his brother, Hārūn: "*And appoint for me a helper from*

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Ibid, 34.

³⁵⁷ Al-Sarakhsī, 46.

³⁵⁸ Ibid, 47.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

my family”.³⁶⁰ These two issues of *al-imārah* highlight more of al-Shaybānī’s whole viewpoint of this concept. By curbing the requirement of an *amīr* or his vizierate within the necessity of possessing expertise in war and battle affairs, it signals the military viewpoint of al-Shaybānī on the concept, rejecting the possibility of having *al-imārah* within the political domain that is not related directly to military organization.

The vestige of military *al-imārah* then successfully thrived further in the works of al-Shaybānī’s successors. Among the most important ones is the aforementioned 10th-century CE work of al-Māwardī, *al-Ahkām al-Sulṭāniyyah*. His work has become the most monumental literature among Muslims in legal and jurisprudence aspects of political Islam. Discourses on the classical Islamic political institutions and their legal framework are invariably detailed in this work. It dwells mainly on several important aspects of the then-Islamic political institutions such as the imamate, vizierate, and wilayat, as well as some other in-depth legal rulings around complex political problems. In the case of *al-imārah*, al-Māwardī provided one specific term for the military *al-imārah*, which is *al-imārah al-khāṣṣah* (the particular/ special *al-imārah*).³⁶¹ According to him, this type of *al-imārah* qualifies itself within the boundary of military organization, public order establishment, territorial defence and protecting of what is inviolable.³⁶² In another place, al-Māwardī listed another jurisdiction of *al-imārah al-khāṣṣah*, which is in the matter of war and *jihād*.³⁶³ He also asserted that the authority of this type of *al-imārah* never enters the judiciary and tax collection,³⁶⁴ of which was under the dominion of another part of *al-imārah* that will be in the later discussion of this chapter.

Al-Māwardī’s view of *al-imārah al-khāṣṣah* being within this strict boundary of military context indicates the continuity and whereabouts of this type of *al-imārah* within the Islamic tradition. His discussion also reflects this concept as to have assumed its form not only ideally, but also practically in the way it has become part of political institutions and system of that period. Al-Māwardī’s classification and acknowledgement of its function at that time is evident in the way he delineated legal jurisdiction, rulings, and

³⁶⁰ [Tāhā: 29]. For notes on translations, see *The Noble Qur’ān*, 416.

³⁶¹ Al-Māwardī, 64.

³⁶² Ibid.

³⁶³ Ibid, 69.

³⁶⁴ Ibid, 64.

proper conduct for this type of *al-imārah*.³⁶⁵ At this stage, al-Māwardī's classification not only serves as a mere description of the historical usage of *al-imārah* but also as an extant framework of *al-imārah* during his time and the times before him, indicating its existence and usages among the people before and during his era. His classification of *al-imārah* is only an attempt to present this complex concept to the general masses of Muslims. His attempt seems to be working well, considering that his classification was also used later among modern Muslims. For instance, Al-Muraykhi grouped and segregated the previously discussed naval *al-imārah* from the other types of *al-imārah* by restricting it within the *al-imārah al-khāṣṣah*.³⁶⁶

Though there were many more classical Islamic literatures that discussed the military *al-imārah*, it was these two prime examples that clearly showed the military framework of this concept conceptually and practically. The legal discourse provided by Muhammad Ḥasan al-Shaybānī represents the perspective of the earlier generation of Muslim scholars on *al-imārah* and its military purposes. It is understandable for his discussion coming from the legal international law framework that mostly concerns more on the relationship of Muslims with non-Muslims, which at that time were inclining more to the state of war. On the other hand, Al-Māwardī's work serves as a complex continuation of this documentation. Along with the development of Muslim political power and institutions, al-Māwardī then conjured *al-imārah* in a much-coordinated way and properly organized. He has made this clear through his extensive classification of *al-imārah* along with the function and jurisdiction of each type, where it shows military *al-imārah* under the purview of *al-imārah al-khāṣṣah*.

3.5 THE SECOND CHARACTER OF *AL-IMĀRAH*: POLITICAL FUNCTION

The second thread of *al-imārah* is another dimension of military *al-imārah* that manifests within the political sphere. If one is to adapt Khaldūnian's perspective, the beginning of that venture for him was when 'Umar used the term *amīr al-mu'minīn* (Commander of the

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Sayf Shāhin al-Muraykhi, 26.

Faithful/ Believers) in denoting his status as the second Caliph.³⁶⁷ Since people used to call Abū Bakr as Successor of the Prophet (*khalīfah rasūl Allah*), it was cumbersome enough for ‘Umar to have the people calling him the Successor of the Successor of the Prophet after the death of Abū Bakr. According to Ibn Khaldūn, ‘Umar then took a liking to the title *amīr al-mu’minīn* out of a suggestion by those around him, and it then became a specific characteristic of the Caliph since his times and lasted till Umayyad period.³⁶⁸ His assessment seems to suggest that this was the first instance of *al-imārah* entering the political realm in the Islamic period, and that was after the death of the Prophet Muhammad.

However, the foregoing discussions have presented part of this political proclivity to be much earlier than Ibn Khaldūn’s example. This refers specifically to the previous case of ‘Attāb b. Asīd, who has held the office of *amīr* of Mecca since the Prophet’s period. As previously concluded, his position exercised a non-military function, where it was associating itself more as part of the state bureaucracy and administration within the Prophet’s political institution. In furthering the discussion of this political *al-imārah* comprehensively, it is important to firstly address these two conflicted realities. This is important to understand the chronological construction of political *al-imārah*. The aim is to determine the whereabouts and exact timeline of its emergence, whether it was either an already existent concept alongside the military *al-imārah* since the beginning of Islam in the Prophet’s time or an evolution of the latter that came under the fruition of his successors among the Companions. Affirming this will help ensure proper chronological construction of political *al-imārah*, whereby it helps provide a better understanding of its further development ahead in later centuries.

3.5.1 The Case of ‘Attāb b. Asīd: A Precedent of Political *Al-Imārah*

Drawing from al-Wāqidī’s account of ‘Attāb in the previous discussion on the Prophet as the *amīr* of Mecca and Hijāz, one would not have concluded ‘Attāb’s appointment was in

³⁶⁷ Ibn Khaldūn, 287.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

any way related to *al-imārah*.³⁶⁹ This is especially true by looking at the limitation of al-Wāqidī's account of this event, which lacks any cognate indicating 'Attāb's appointment as indeed an *amīr* to the Prophet Muhammad. Instead of *ta'ammara*, Al-Wāqidī has instead used the word *ista'mala*, a general term to only express the meaning that the Prophet - *had appointed* - 'Attāb. The question of the designation, title, or function of his position, however, remains vague. This is before the scholars other than al-Wāqidī have made confirmation of 'Attāb's position as indeed being an *amīr* with political function. Such a viewpoint is held by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and Ibn al-Athīr, who have affirmed this in the previous discussion through two important points; his being the first *amīr* in Islam in comparison to the First Rashidun Caliph, and his enduring political position that had lasted to Abū Bakr's era. In a much simpler sense, these two reasons negate any military function of 'Attāb's office and have instead indicated its statehood nature. His appointment in this manner also nullified the political nature of the position of the Prophet as the *amīr* of Mecca and Hijāz, making 'Attāb himself the first political *amīr* in Islam while the Prophet being the military *amīr* of Muslims in Mecca and Hijāz.

Nevertheless, there is another account relaying the exact cognate indicating the nature of *al-imārah* within 'Attāb's position, such as in what al-Ṭabarī has reported in his chronicle. His report came with a confirmation that the Prophet has indeed appointed 'Attāb as an *amīr* of Mecca (*ista'mala 'Attāb b. 'Abī al-ʿĪs b. 'Umayyah b. 'Abd Shams amīran 'ala Makkah*).³⁷⁰ The problem remains when al-Ṭabarī also records -in another account- that 'Attāb also served as the *'āmil* of Mecca during Abū Bakr's administration.³⁷¹ It should be emphasized that the interchangeable usage of the word *amīr* and *'āmil* in the narrations concerning 'Attāb's position did not nullify the political proclivity of both designations, at least in terms of its function in the state administration within the government of both Prophet Muhammad and Abū Bakr. However, since there are changes in the wording of *amīr* to *'āmil*, it seems to signify a hint of distinguishment and discontinuation. This leads to another important question pertaining to the real nature and function of 'Attāb's position within both designations.

³⁶⁹ For another discussion on 'Attāb, see the previous discussion in this chapter, 56-58.

³⁷⁰ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 3, 73.

³⁷¹ Ibid, Vol. 3, 427.

Although some differentiate these two offices in terms of their job scopes (i.e., *amīr* for military usage and *‘āmil* for tax collection),³⁷² there is no denying that the classical Islamic accounts sometimes present them to be interlaced and interwoven together in depicting one similar function. After all, both were still part of the basic and rudimentary state administration of the formative Islamic period. Al-Ṭabarī, for instance, demonstrated this occurrence by narrating both the terms *‘āmil* and *amīr* and their identical role in collecting taxes during the Prophet Muhammad period.³⁷³ These two terms came together within the title of one of his discussions, “The Deployment of *‘āmil* and *amīr* for Tax Collection”.³⁷⁴ In this paragraph, al-Ṭabarī listed down several officials whom the Prophet Muhammad had appointed and deployed as *‘āmil* and *amīr* to several regions for tax collection. He never specified who the *amīr* and *‘āmil* were as he bundled these officials and their destination for tax collection together in one paragraph. His inclusion of both terms suggests the similarities and non-distinguishable traits that they have in terms of their political and administrative function within the Prophet’s government, all despite the difference in their names and titles.

It is crucial to note that Abū Bakr also has not demoted any officials that the Prophet has appointed during his time out of his respect for the Prophet Muhammad.³⁷⁵ One clear example of this is his re-appointment of al-‘Alā’ al-Ḥaḍramī as the *‘āmil* of Bahrain. Although the Prophet had already replaced al-‘Alā’ with Abbān b. Sa‘īd as *‘āmil* of Bahrayn before his death, the latter, however, had refused to keep his office after the death of the Prophet. This prompted Abu Bakr to re-appoint al-‘Alā’, who was the first person under the appointment of the Prophet that had occupied the office prior.³⁷⁶ Interestingly, al-Ṭabarī applied the same term used in reporting ‘Attāb’s appointment in his attempt to describe the position of al-‘Alā’ within those two different periods. In describing the

³⁷² For further discussion on the differences between *amīr* and *‘āmil* in the political administration of the early period of Islam, see Ḥasan Ḥusayn ‘Abd Allah ‘Ayyash, *Al-Wulāt wa al-Ummāl fī al-Jihāz al-Idārī fī Ṣadr al-Islām* (Master thesis, Jāmi‘ah al-Najāh al-Waṭaniyyah, 2002), 69.

³⁷³ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 3, 147.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ Ibn Sa‘d records Abu Bakr’s rationale in an account where the latter reportedly had said to al-‘Alā’: “I saw you as one of the *‘āmil* of the Prophet that he had appointed, and I am thinking of appointing you (following) as the Prophet had appointed you.” For the full account detailing this event, see Ibn Sa‘d, Vol. 4, 267.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

Prophet's appointment of al-'Alā', al-Ṭabarī reported that *amīr* was the latter's appointed position.³⁷⁷ On the other hand, he used the term '*āmil*' for the latter's position during his second re-appointment by Abu Bakr.³⁷⁸ In this regard, the *amīr* position of 'Attāb and al-'Alā' during the Prophet period seems to be technically the same to their later position as '*āmil*' in Abū Bakr's period, whereby both lean more towards political and administrative function (collecting taxes) rather than being military.

The net effect of al-Ṭabarī's inclusive observation of the *amīr* and '*āmil*' position in the case of both 'Attāb and al-'Alā' mostly gives rise to a broader outlook in acknowledging the myriad existence of *al-imārah* of the Prophet period. Within his framework, one would be able to identify more Prophet's officials that were in the similar purview of 'Attāb and al-'Alā', where each of those could also represent *al-imārah*. One fine example is al-Ṭabarī's previous grouping of the Prophet's officials under the name *amīr* and '*āmil*', in which all of them acted on behalf of the Prophet for collecting taxes in their appointed region. Although their designation was not in any way specific enough to be related to *al-imārah*, it is fair to surmise that al-Ṭabarī viewed them as part of the *amīr* of the Prophet, at least in the way he gives the title for this group. Al-'Alā' himself was part of this group, where al-Ṭabarī recorded that the Prophet had appointed him to Bahrain. Others include al-Muhājir b. 'Umayya b. al-Mughīrah and his deployment to Ṣana'a', Ziyād b. Labīd and his deployment to Ḥaḍramawt, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and his deployment to Najrān and many more. In this regard, both cases of 'Attāb and al-'Alā' could then become the precedent of this group of *amīr* of the Prophet.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁷ Al-Ṭabarī only narrated one account mentioning al-'Alā' as the *amīr* of the Prophet in Bahrayn. The rest are vague as the narration only states that the Prophet had sent (*ba'atha rasūl Allah al-'Alā'*). On the other hand, Ibn Sa'd clearly states that the Prophet had appointed the successor of al-'Alā' in Bahrayn, Abbān b. Sa'īd as an '*āmil*' instead of *amīr*. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 3, 137. See also Ibn Sa'd, Vol. 4, 267.

³⁷⁸ There is only one mention of al-'Alā' as '*āmil*' of Bahrayn during Abū Bakr's period by al-Ṭabarī. The rest of that are reports of him being an '*āmil*' in the times of 'Umar. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 3, 427.

³⁷⁹ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 3, 427.

3.5.2 The Religio-Political Bureaucracy of *al-Imārah* in the Prophet Muhammad's Period

The form of political *al-imārah* during the Prophet Muhammad period has another variation that reflected a non-identical purview to the previous case of 'Attāb. This variation involved more within the religious and worship rites of Islam, yet still being a part of the Prophet's public administration. The reason for its existence was due to the need to provide correct knowledge, guides, rulings, and judgments pertaining to Islamic matters. The 'bottom-up' Islamization brought by the Prophet induced together the purification of any pre-Islamic rites prior to Islam. Such efforts will require proper administration that may assist the Prophet in the dissemination of the necessary message, instruction or rulings to the masses that aligned with the true Islamic teachings, negating any contradicting pre-Islamic values.

One important example of the situation above is the case of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq who became the first *amīr* of *hajj* in 9 AH/ 630 CE.³⁸⁰ This event occurred after the Conquest of Mecca, where the Prophet had appointed him as the *amīr* to lead 300 people to perform *hajj* in accordance with the Islamic manner. According to an account reported by Ibn al-ʿArabī,³⁸¹ the Prophet had then received a new revelation of *Sūrah al-Tawbah* (*Barā'ah*), which contains matters that are of utmost urgency to be revealed to the people. The Prophet then instructed 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to recite the revealed *Sūrah* and the proclamations that come with it to the people in Mecca on *Yawm al-Nahr* (The Day of Sacrifice/ 10th *Dhulhijjah*).³⁸² When 'Alī managed to outtake the pilgrimage caravan, Abū Bakr himself then wondered whether 'Alī had come to replace him as an *amīr*. He tried to clear the situation with regards to his position, whereby he asked 'Alī; *amīr am ma'mūr?* ([Have you come as an] *amīr* or *ma'mūr?*), to which 'Alī had answered no (of replacing Abū Bakr).³⁸³ In another variation of this account, Al-Bukhārī reported with the authority

³⁸⁰ D. Ayalon, "Amīr al-Hadjj" in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, 443.

³⁸¹ Ibn al-Arabī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Ma'āfirī al-Ishbīlī, *al-Nāsikh wa al-Mansūkh fī al-Qur'ān al-Karīm* (n.p: Maktabah al-Thaqāfah al-Dīniyyah, 1992) Vol. 2, 244.

³⁸² *Yawm al-Nahr* is the tenth day of the month *Dhū al-Hijjah*, which begins on the night of the first *Eid al-Adhā* and ends when the sun sets on that same day. See al-Ba'li, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī al-Fath, *al-Mutli' 'la Alfādh al-Muqnī'* (Jeddah: Maktabah al-Sawādī, 2003) 190. See also Muṣṭafā Sa'īd al-Khin & Muṣṭafā al-Bughā, *al-Fiqh al-Manhajī 'ala al-Madhab al-Shāfi'ī* (Dimashq: Dār al-Qalam, 1992) Vol. 2, 137.

³⁸³ In another variation narrated by al-Nasā'ī, Abū Bakr asked 'Alī with this phrase, "*amīrun am rasūlun?*" ("[have you come as an] *amīr* or a messenger?"), to which 'Alī responded that he came to proclaim the

of Abū Hurayra that under the instruction of Abū Bakr, Abū Hurayra announced the proclamations alongside ‘Alī, who were tasked with the recitation of the revealed *Sūrah al-Tawbah* on *Yawm al-Nahr*.³⁸⁴

Ibn Hajar in his commentary of al-Bukhārī’s variation argued that it is in utmost confirmation that Abū Bakr’s position at that time was indeed as an *amīr* of hajj, where his tasks was to help lead and prepare the pilgrims in performing *hajj* according to the rites and teachings of the Prophet.³⁸⁵ The coming of ‘Alī was only to recite the revealed *Sūrah*, which contains a new proclamation pertaining specifically to a treaty between the Prophet and the pagan Arabs before.³⁸⁶ This proclamation comes along with others that are not related to the treaty, such as the prohibition of the pagan Arab from performing *hajj* after this year 9 AH, the prohibition of performing *ṭawāf* (circumambulation) in a naked state, and many more.³⁸⁷ Ibn Hajar narrated that the Prophet’s wisdom behind the sending of his cousin ‘Alī originates from him following the custom of the Arab at that time, where it requires the presence of the one who strikes an agreement or representative from his household in nullifying or amending that treaty.³⁸⁸

In this sense, ‘Alī did not replace Abū Bakr as the *amīr al-hajj*, and his presence was only as a messenger and representative of the Prophet. The second variation by al-Bukhārī substantiated this claim, whereby Abū Hurayrah confirmed that Abū Bakr sent him to assist ‘Alī in proclaiming messages contained in the revealed *Sūrah* during *Yawm al-Nahr*. The fact that Abū Bakr managed to delegate the task to Abū Hurayrah confirmed his authority as the *amīr al-hajj* of that *hajj* expedition. Although leading a *hajj* pilgrimage seems to be related more to the Islamic worship rites rather than politics, Abū Bakr’s position here during this period after the Conquest of Mecca was nevertheless still related and a part of the Prophet’s state administration. This is considering the reason for the Prophet's appointment of him, which is to provide security and preside over the ceremonies

revealed *Sūrah Barā’ah* (*Tawbah*). See al-Nasā’ī, Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad b. Shu‘ayb b. ‘Alī al-Nasā’ī, *al-Mujtabā min al-Sunan* (Halab: Maktabah al-Maṭbū‘āt al-Islāmiyyah, 1986) Vol. 5, 247, 2993.

³⁸⁴ Al-Bukhārī, *Sahīh al-Bukhārī*, 1148, no: 4656.

³⁸⁵ Ibn Hajar, *Fath al-Bārī*, Vol. 8, 318.

³⁸⁶ Ibid, Vol. 8, 318-319.

³⁸⁷ Ibid, Vol. 8, 319.

³⁸⁸ Ibid, Vol. 8, 321.

and rites of *hajj*.³⁸⁹ This reflects the administrative and civil nature that this office had during the Prophet Muhammad period. On top of that, the role of *amīr al-hajj* remains and keeps on developing in the later period, where it became an important state-sponsored office during the Abbasid and Mamluk periods, as well as also part of the Ottoman administration.³⁹⁰

Another example of the religio-political role of *al-imārah* in the times of the Prophet is the case of Mu‘ādh b. Jabal and his appointment to Yemen by the Prophet. It is crucial to highlight that the accounts stating exactly the position of Mu‘ādh as an *amīr* of Yemen are relatively scarce in existence. If one would wager this claim of Mu‘ādh indeed being an *amīr* of the Prophet to Yemen, it is only through this one account of a single chain of transmission on the authority of Ka‘b b. Mālīk. ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-San‘ānī and Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr both narrated this account in their works.³⁹¹ In this narration, Ka‘b reportedly said that upon seeing how Mu‘ādh spent his property and money for the sake of Allah, the Prophet had appointed Mu‘ādh as an *amīr* for Yemen.³⁹² The reason for that is for the ‘quality’ that Mu‘ādh possessed, as well as one of the Prophet’s means to improve Mu‘ādh’s life who had left with nothing due to his excessive spending for the sake of Islam.³⁹³

One would argue that the report by Ka‘b is inadequate to prove the *amīr* position of Mu‘ādh. Yet if he would indulge deeper in the role and task of Mu‘ādh’s position, the result also indicates the same finding. For instance, al-Tirmīdhī and al-Nasā’ī, narrate a tradition stating that one of the roles of Mu‘ādh’s position in Yemen is collecting alms and taxes.³⁹⁴ It is best to remember that Al-Alā’ al-Ḥaḍramī shared the same task with Mu‘ādh here based on the previous discussion, and the former was of course a political *amīr* of Bahrayn

³⁸⁹ Ibid, Vol. 8, 318. See also Jane Hathaway, “amīr al-hajj” in *the Encyclopaedia of Islam* 3, edited by Kate Fleet et al., (Leiden: Brill, 2015) Vol. 1, 22.

³⁹⁰ Jane Hathaway, “amīr al-hajj” in *the Encyclopaedia of Islam* 3, Vol. 1, 23.

³⁹¹ Abd al-Razzaq b. Hammam b. Nafi’ al-San‘ani, *al-Muṣannaf* (Beirut: Dār al-Tā’šīl, 2015) Vol. 7, 56, no: 16000. See also Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb* ..., Vol. 3, 1404.

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ Al-Tirmidhi, Abū ‘Isā Muḥammad b. ‘Isā as-Sulamī, *al-Jāmi’ al-Kabīr* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1996) Vol. 2, 12, no: 623. See also Al-Nasā’ī, Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad b. Shu‘ayb b. ‘Alī b. Sinān, *Sunan al-Nasā’ī* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifah) Vol. 5, 27, no: 2452.

as al-Ṭabarī has stated.³⁹⁵ Although this task of collecting taxes clearly explains Mu‘ādh’s political functions for the Prophet’s administration in Yemen or even *-to some extent-* proves him as indeed an appointed *amīr*, it is not, however, to be the prerogative limit of his position. The ‘quality’ of Mu‘ādh in the report of Ka‘b’s did not end within the political purview of only collecting taxes. The Prophet also saw him as a person who acquired and secured the possession of excellent Islamic knowledge. On another account, the Prophet himself acknowledged and clearly stated the quality of Mu‘ādh as being the most learned person of his nation in *halāl* and *harām*.³⁹⁶

This other quality of Mu‘ādh led to the emergence of other reports on the role and task of his position in Yemen, which affiliates with non-political functions. One of al-Bukhārī’s accounts highlighted this aspect through the mentioning of the decree and order given by the Prophet during the moment he sent Mu‘ādh off to Yemen. In this narration, the latter had asked Mu‘ādh to convey three important pillars of Islam to the people of the books (*ahl al-kitāb*) in Yemen.³⁹⁷ This account seems to describe the religious role of Mu‘ādh there, which is to propagate and spread Islamic teaching, as well as to call the people there to Islam. On another account, al-Bukhārī narrated an event in which Mu‘ādh had amended a judgement concerning a Muslim revert who left Islam and became apostate. The trial for the accused was presided over by another *amīr* of another part of Yemen, Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī.³⁹⁸ Upon seeing the arrival of Mu‘ādh, the latter asked him to dismount from his mule, but Mu‘ādh refused and asked Abū Mūsā to execute the accused first instead. Abū Mūsā initially opted to deal with the accused later but soon executed the person due to the urgency by Mu‘ādh.³⁹⁹ This account depicted his position as having some

³⁹⁵ al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 3, 427.

³⁹⁶ Al-Tirmidhi, *al-Jāmi’ al-Kabīr*, Vol. 6, 127, no: 3791. See also Abū Ya‘lā al-Mawṣilī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. al-Muthannā al-Tamīmī, *Musnad Abī Ya‘lā* (Damascus: Dār al-Ma’mūn li al Turāth, 1984) Vol. 10, 141, no: 5763. See also Al-Bayhaqī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. al-Khusrawjirdī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 2003) Vol. 6, 345, no: 12186.

³⁹⁷ Al-Bukhārī, *Sahīh al-Bukhārī*, 364, no: 1496.

³⁹⁸ He is Abū Mūsā ‘Abd Allah b. Qays al-Ash‘arī, one of the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad. The Prophet sent him to Yemen along with Mu‘ādh, where both of them had their own provinces to govern. According to Ibn Ḥajr, Mu‘ādh governed the upper provinces while Abū Mūsā was for the lower provinces of Yemen. See Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb...*, Vol. 4, 1762. See also Ibn Ḥajr, *Fath al-Bārī...*, Vol. 8, 61.

³⁹⁹ Ibid, 1062, no: 4341.

sort of authority of delivering *qadhā'* (judgement), solidifying his position as supposedly an *amīr* who also had the jurisdiction of a *qadi* (judge).

On another disputable account by Ahmad, al-Tirmīdhī, and Abū Dāwūd,⁴⁰⁰ all three narrated Mu'ādh's position in the same manner, in which the Prophet had specifically asked Mu'ādh how he would deliver *qadhā'* in Yemen, to which Mu'ādh answered by utilizing three sources; *Kitābullah* (Quran), *Sunna* (tradition) of the Prophet, and his own *ijtihad* (legal opinion).⁴⁰¹ If the previous task of collecting taxes includes Mu'ādh being a part of the political bureaucracy of the Prophet's administration as an *amīr*, his two other tasks propelled him to also carry out religious functions in Yemen, making his position in the same condition as the previous Abū Bakr's role of *amīr al-hajj*. In this respect, Mu'ādh's position seems to share the same realm of religio-political bureaucracy akin to the position of Abū Bakr as *amīr al-hajj*. The differences, however, lie in terms of how his position was upon a much wider audience, and having a longer tenure compared to Abū Bakr who was an *amīr* only for the pilgrims during the *hajj* season. Nevertheless, both are prime examples of how political *amīr* would play its religio-political roles within the public administration of Prophet Muhammad.

⁴⁰⁰ This *hadīth* narrated by Ahmad, al-Tirmīdhī, and Abū Dāwūd is contestable in terms of the credibility of its chain of transmission (*sanad*). Some scholars of *hadīth* grade this tradition as weak due to the condition of its upper part of the *sanad*; 'narrated Abū 'Awn from al-Hārith b. 'Amr from the (*ashāb*) companions of Mu'ādh in Homs that when the Messenger of Allah....'. The first problem is the *mubham* (vague) condition of the term '*ashāb of Mu'ādh*', which was not named in the first place. The other reason is the *jahālah* (anonymity) of al-Hārith b. Amrun, whom al-Bukhārī stated that his name was known only from the *sanad* (chain of transmission) of this *hadīth*, of which Abū 'Awn had narrated from him. On the other hand, those who graded this tradition as sound like al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī viewed that the people of knowledge accepted this *hadīth* and even argued with it, signaling its soundness. Similar to him, Ibn al-Qayyim argued that the fact that al-Hārith narrated this tradition from a group of Mu'ādh's companions and not only one of his friends signals its popularity among the early scholars of *hadīth* like Shu'bah, who was also in the lower part of the *sanad* of this *hadīth*, narrating from Abū 'Awn. See al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr* (Hyderabad: Dār al-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyyah, n.d) Vol. 2, 277, no: 2449. See also al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr Ahmad b. 'Alī b. Thābit al-Shāfi'ī, *al-Faqīh wa al-Mutafaqqih* (Saudi Arabia: Dār Ibn al-Jawzī, n.d) Vol. 1, 471. See also Ibn al-Qayyim, Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Dimashqī, *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn 'an Rabb al-'Ālamīn* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1991) Vol. 1, 155.

⁴⁰¹ Ahmad b. Hanbal, Vol. 36, 333, no: 22007. See also al-Tirmīdhī, *al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr*, Vol. 3, 9, no: 1327. See also Abū Dāwūd, Sulaymān b. al-Ash'ath, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd* (Riyadh: Maktabah al-Ma'ārif, n.d) 644, no: 3592.

3.5.3 Al-Māwardī and *al-Imārah al-‘Āmmah*

Political *al-imārah* has been an active area of Muslim political development since the times of the Prophet to date. While the cases of ‘Attāb, al-‘Alā’, Abū Bakr, and Mu‘ādh represented the manner of how political *amīr* works in the Prophet’s government, the Rashidun period, however, witnessed another strand of political *al-imārah* started to emerge. The main factor for that emergence was mainly due to the Islamic conquest that has unfolded since the inception of Abū Bakr as the first Rashidun Caliph. The antecedent for the Islamic conquest was there before him under the command of the Prophet himself, but its augmentation to a much bigger scale reaching the Byzantine and Persian civilizations and further had only commenced from the times of the Rashidun. We have discussed briefly before how the conquests of this magnitude has produced a hybrid of military and political *amīr*, where both coalesced and at one point obscured the dividing line between them.⁴⁰² The cases of Abū Ubaydah, Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, Mu‘āwiyah, and the early Abbasid military system are prime examples of how indistinct the power of military and political *amīr* have become, whereby both positions and their dispensations were carried by one single person at the same time.

In the Abbasid period, another strand of political *al-imārah* also emerged, which witnessed the overpowering power of military *amīr* as the *de facto* executive power against the diminishing power of the caliphate. Muslim historians in the likes of al-Mas‘ūdī and Ibn Miskawayh argued that it began with the ascension of Hārūn b. Gharīb as the first *amīr al-umarā’* in Islamic history in the year 316 AH/ 928 CE during the reign of al-Muqtadir,⁴⁰³ the 18th Abbasid caliph (295-320 AH).⁴⁰⁴ Due to the instability of the Abbasid period at that time, the deposition and ascension of old and new *amīr al-umarā’* was inevitable and continued to happen. This was in the likes of Hārūn’s successors, the famous Muhammad

⁴⁰² See the previous discussions on this matter in this chapter, 61-69.

⁴⁰³ For a brief biography on Hārūn b. Gharīb and its relation to al-Muqtadir, see the footnote in Chapter 1 of this study, 14.

⁴⁰⁴ Al-Mas‘ūdī, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, *al-Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf* (n.p: al-Maktabah al-Tārikhiyyah, 1938) 326. Ibn Miskawayh, Vol. 5, 107. For references on the Gregorian dating, see C. E. Bosworth, R. M. Savory, "AMĪR-AL-OMARĀ," *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*, <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/amir-al-omara>> (Accessed on 27 April 2022).

ibn Rā'iq⁴⁰⁵ who then had requested the administration of the whole Abbasid empire from the caliph at that time.⁴⁰⁶ Note that this group of *amīr al-umarā'* in the history of Islam occupied not only the military power but also climbed upon the civil administration which was once under the hand of the vizierate.⁴⁰⁷ In that sense, the caliphate becomes separated from the absolute political power that deals with the military and public administration, to which it remains nominal for religious and ceremonial functions.⁴⁰⁸

The power vacuum left by the weakness of the caliph at that time then helped establish *amīr al-umarā'* as the genesis for the inception of a new kind of Islamic political authority – a foreign Islamic dynasty. It began with the Shiite-Buyid dynasty who had taken over the office of *amīr al-umarā'* in the year 334 AH/ 945 CE.⁴⁰⁹ This dynasty continued to control the Abbasid administration for a century before the Sunni-Seljuk dynasty ousted them and took over in 447 AH/ 1055 CE.⁴¹⁰ The net effect of these situations beginning from the point of ascension of *amīr al-umarā'* is the confusion among the Muslims in understanding the changes that had occurred in their political institution. The caliphate institution which had represented the highest religious and political authority for the Muslims now had submitted to the suzerainty of other temporal foreign powers and dynasties. Questions concerning the legal rulings of that condition started to arise, where people wondered about the sharia legal sanction or permissibility for the ruling of this foreign dynasty on behalf of the caliph. It was in the midst of this heightened confusion that one figure came out with his treatise as an attempt to translate the reality of the political condition at that time in the light of the Sharia perspective, and that person was al-Māwardī - a Sunni polymath and jurist from the Shafiite school of thought.

⁴⁰⁵ For a brief biography of Muhammad b. Rā'iq, see the foot note in Chapter 1 of this study, 14. See also Ibn Miskawayh, Vol. 5, 198. See also al-Zirikli, Vol.6, 123. See also D. Sourdel, "Ibn Rā'iq", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 3, 902.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibn Miskawayh, Vol. 5, 198. Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar wa Dīwan...*, Vol. 3, 498.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Anwar al-Rifā'i, *Al-Nazm al-Islāmiyyah*, 66.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*, Vol. 2, 257. See also Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the 6th to the 11th Century* (Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited, 2004) 215.

⁴¹⁰ A. C. S. Peacock, *The Great Seljuk Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015) 49.

Al-Māwardī was contemporaneous to both the Buyid and Seljuk dynasties.⁴¹¹ His treatise is a realistic outtake of the political changes of his time, where he tried to put forward the explanation along with the problems and its legal rulings pertaining to each division of the then political institution. And *al-imārah* was of course part of that change, especially with reference to the new situation where the Buyid dynasty had exercised full control over the caliphate.⁴¹² The principal finding of his treatise on *al-imārah* is his novel classification of that concept, which he divided into two; *al-imārah al-‘āmmah* (general *al-imārah*) and *al-imārah al-khaṣṣah* (particular *al-imārah*). We have encountered the latter in the discussion of military *al-imārah* before.⁴¹³ The concern here is his other category- *al-imārah al-‘āmmah*, of which al-Māwardī further divided it into two; *al-imārah al-istikfā’* and *al-imārah al-istīlā’*.⁴¹⁴ The former deals with the classic understanding of political *al-imārah*, which refers to the *amīr* whom the caliph had appointed by himself. This implies the delegation of power to originate from the caliph, where the caliph accords the rights of governance to the appointed *amīr* upon a specific country or province, together with specific functions and jurisdiction over the customary act of the caliph’s office.⁴¹⁵

According to al-Māwardī, *al-imārah al-istikfā’* covers seven prerogatives. These include the power of ordering the army and assigning them territories as well as providing them with provisions and payment so long as the caliph did not provide those by himself, establishing the law and appointing *qādhī* (judges) and *hukkām* (magistrates), tax, *zakat* collection and other pertinent matters (appointing tax and *zakat* collector, distribution, etc.), providing protection for the religion from what is inviolable and from modification and deviation, securing *hadd* punishment with reference to the rights of Allah and people,

⁴¹¹ Most major biographers asserted that al-Māwardī lived from 364-450 AH/ 974-1058 CE. According to al-Dhahabī, he did serve as a *qādhī* in many places, but he later resided and passed away in Baghdad. This proves that he had lived through most of his life during the Buyid dynasty and even served in their government as an officer. The Buyid fell in 457 AH/ 1055 CE after the Seljuk came. Nevertheless, al-Māwardī outlived the Buyid for three years and had an opportunity to also live under the Seljuk administration. See al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, Vol. 4, 327. See also al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allah Muḥammad b. Ahmad, *Siyar al-A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, (Al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Hadīth, 2006) Vol. 13, 311-312.

⁴¹² Some have argued that part of al-Māwardī’s discussion of *al-imārah* actually concerns the Buyid’s full control of the Abbasid caliphate. See ‘Ilyān ‘Abd al-Fattāh al-Jālūdī, “Taṭawwur Maḥūm al-Sulṭānah...”, Vol. 13, no. 51: 209-239. See also Hamid Enayat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought* (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2001) 14.

⁴¹³ See previous discussions on military *al-imārah* in this chapter, 55-83.

⁴¹⁴ Al-Māwardī, *al-Ahkām al-Sulṭāniyyah*, 62.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

leading the prayers as an *imam* by himself or as a substitute, and facilitating the pilgrims from his or another territory as well as securing security for them by waging *jihad* against foreign neighboring countries that are hostile to the pilgrims.⁴¹⁶

Note that most of these functions are similar to the political *amīr* of the Prophet or the early Rashidun period. The first function of having the power of ordering and managing the army and military might become more prominent in the Rashidun period by taking the example of Islamic conquest and their campaigns into consideration.⁴¹⁷ Other tasks of protecting the religion from modification and deviation, collecting taxes, securing *hadd* punishment, and facilitating the pilgrims are evident in the previous case of Abū Bakr and Mu‘ādh in the Prophet’s period.⁴¹⁸ As for leading the prayer, Ibn Sa‘d reported that Mu‘ādh did lead the prayer during his tenure as an *amīr* of Yemen.⁴¹⁹ The similarities between al-Māwardī’s category of *al-imārah al-istikfā’* to the previous political *amīr* in the Prophet and Rashidun period signal his efforts in ensuring the continuity of the concepts that were already in existence before his times. According to Hamid Enayat, al-Māwardī based his opinion not only on the precepts of Islamic sharia but also on historical precedents.⁴²⁰ By keeping this continuity to his predecessors in his discussion on *al-imārah al-istikfā’*, it projects this category of *al-imārah* as the most conventional way of perceiving the whole understanding and practices of political *al-imārah*. This is at least since its first inception in the Islamic formative period to the times of Abbasid, where the confusion started to emerge.

On the other hand, al-Māwardī treated the second category of *al-imārah al-istīlā’* as a new vantage point for a specific refinement of political *al-imārah*. It is here that he advanced into another trajectory in adherence to the changes in the political reality of his times concerning *amīr al-umarā’*. The word *al-istīlā’* comes from the word *istawla*, which refers to an act of turning something into someone’s possession.⁴²¹ As the word *al-istīlā’* is the verbal noun for the word *istawla*, the word *al-imārah al-istīlā’* then could refer to the

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ See the previous discussions in this chapter, 61-69.

⁴¹⁸ See the previous discussions in this chapter, 88-92.

⁴¹⁹ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, Vol. 3, 439.

⁴²⁰ Hamid Enayat, *Modern Islamic...*, 14.

⁴²¹ Al-Munazzamah al-‘Arabiyyah li al-Tarbiyah wa al-Thaqāfah wa al-‘Ulūm, *al-Mu‘jam al-‘Arabī al-Asāsīy* (Alesco: Larousse, 1989) 1334.

al-imārah that occurs in accordance to the act of appropriation, conquest, seizure or capture by force.⁴²² By the very nature of that etymological definition, al-Māwardī went on to define it as a type of *al-imārah* that occurs when an *amīr* takes possession of a country with force, through which the caliph grants him the right of authority in occupying and administrating it.⁴²³ It is important to note that al-Māwardī acknowledged the way of this appropriation of power is by no means lawful and customary for the Muslims, as the traditional way for one to occupy the seat of *amīr* is only through the appointment by the caliph.⁴²⁴ Yet it becomes lawful by virtue of the legal sanctions provided by the caliph himself through his provision for religious duty.⁴²⁵

Al-Māwardī viewed that the religious duty of the caliph in this aspect stems from the necessity of upholding the Sharia laws and the rulings embedded in it, which can and is attainable through an orderly mannered and non-corrupted government.⁴²⁶ Al-Mawardi fashioned this type of *al-imārah* as something so compelling and inevitable, forcing Muslims to accept it as a way of keeping the Islamic society and its Sharia law and order intact and not degenerating into disorder and chaos.⁴²⁷ In doing so, both the caliph and the *amīr* of this appointment have the responsibility of fulfilling several sharia laws pertaining to that, in which the latter bears heavier responsibility in imposing these laws. He listed those as the need to protect the *imamate*, which is the caliph himself and his office and the organization of religious affairs, obedience to the religion as a way of eliminating any disobedience or fraction, cooperation for the sake of Muslim nation, recognition of any contracts issued by religious authority including the legal rulings and the obligations ensued from it, fulfilment of *amwāl al-shar‘iyya* (payment related to or in accordance to sharia), and imposing *hadd* punishment in a correct manner, and lastly protecting the religion Islam from what is unlawful as well as calling for obedience.⁴²⁸

According to al-Māwardī, if these seven provisions of Islamic law transform the appointment of the *amīr* of conquest to become obligatory, the allegiance for the *amīr* then

⁴²² Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 1101.

⁴²³ Al-Māwardī, *al-Ahkām al-Sultāniyyah*, 66.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Ibid, 66-67.

becomes obligatory when the *amīr* meets the condition of being appointed later in the manner of *al-imārah al-istikfā'*.⁴²⁹ That is also a way of promoting his obedience to the caliph as well as eliminating any chances of division and dissent.⁴³⁰ He further stated that an *amīr* of conquest who had reached this level of being appointed by the caliph would have the provision of appointing *wazīr tafwīd* (delegation minister) and *wazīr tanfīdh* (executing minister) to himself, which was a privilege of having similar provision to what the caliph had.⁴³¹ But if he remains as an *amīr* of conquest, the caliph then will appoint his own representative to administrate religious and law affairs, making the power of the *amīr* in these two areas remain nominal, and the representative of the caliph will be the one who has the executive power.⁴³² Despite all complicated and thorough rulings provided by al-Māwardī concerning *al-imārah al-istīlā'*, he somehow acknowledged its novelty as he stated how this type of *al-imārah* was actually a new invention that contradicts *al-uṣūl* (the principles) of Islam.⁴³³ However, he leaned on its permissibility due to two Islamic jurisprudence maxims; the annulment of required conditions through necessity and the leniency on the required conditions of a particular or individual interest in favor of protecting the public interest.⁴³⁴ In this case, the necessity of having a powerful *amīr* of conquest along with a weak caliph ruling the Islamic nation is much more important than having the absolute power to the caliph by himself, and that is all for the sake of the Muslim nation's interest as a whole.⁴³⁵

Overall, Al-Māwardī's classification of *al-imārah al-‘āmmah* remains the most practical and usable parameter in grasping the concept of political *al-imārah*. His first category of *al-imārah al-istikfā'* represents the way political *al-imārah* behaved during the times when the caliphate had power at its peak. This includes the period of the Prophet, Rāshidun, Umayyad, and a part of Abbasid. The irregularities and differences may exist in some ways, but al-Māwardī nevertheless manages to encapsulate the essence of political *al-imārah* of those periods in this category. Meanwhile, his second category of *al-imārah*

⁴²⁹ Ibid, 67.

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

al-istīlā' is the foundational basis for understanding the reality of the existence of another powerful Muslim political authority apart from the caliphate during the latter's weakened state. And it happens that this new political authority operates within the framework of *al-imārah*. All in all, his classification of *al-imārah al-‘āmmah* surmised the whole understanding of political *al-imārah* and its practice.

3.5.4 *Al-Imārah al-Istīlā'* and the Legalization of Sultanate in Islamic Literature

As previously discussed, the continual power degradation and disintegration of the Abbasid caliphate had created new political environments for the Muslims. The myriad existences of autonomous powerhouse alongside the caliphate became a norm, and history witnessed the rise of several new powerful dynasties dominating the caliphate in the likes of the Buyid, Seljuk, Fatimid and many more. Some like the Buyid and early Seljuk were operating independently under the nominal power of the caliph's suzerainty, and some were fully autonomous and even posed challenges of imamate claim against the Abbasid, such as in the case of the Fatimid.⁴³⁶ Simultaneously, the Abbasid caliphate continued to decay and lost its grip further, which at some point later became subjected and transferred its executive authority to these foreign powers and remained only the titular head of nominal power of religious and ceremonial authority.

Al-Māwardī made sense of this situation with his response of *al-imārah al-istīlā'*, which would then pave the way to the legalization of the caliphate power transfer to other autonomous authorities out of necessity. His response did have its influences, and it is evident in the further legalization framework by other scholars who came after him and shared the same notion of adaptability.⁴³⁷ Scholars like al-Ghazālī, Ibn Jamā‘ah, and Ibn Khaldūn who had responded to the new authority corresponding to their era all displayed a

⁴³⁶ The founder of the Fatimid dynasty, ‘Ubayd Allah al-Husayn declared himself as *Amīr al-Mu‘minīn* with a distinguished name of al-Mahdī in 297 AH/ 910 CE after he had successfully overthrown the Aghlabid dynasty in Ifriqiyya. This declaration in itself is a challenge against the Abbasid for the position of the caliph of the whole Muslim nation. See M. Canard, "Fatimids" in *the Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 2, 852.

⁴³⁷ Hamid Enayat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought*, 14. See also ‘Ilyān ‘Abd al-Fattāh al-Jālūdī, "Taṭawwur Mafhūm al-Sulṭānah...", Vol. 13, no. 51: 209-239.

similar approach to al-Māwardī. All of them conformed to their political norm respectively, to which they accept the shift of the political power from the caliphate to another dominant authority for the sake of the unity of the Muslim nation and to prevent strife (*fitna*).⁴³⁸ Al-Ghazālī, for instance, acknowledged that although the highest religious authority of imamate of his time was the Abbasid caliph al-Mustazhir, the actual political and military power was under the Turks (Seljuk dynasty).⁴³⁹ Similar to al-Māwardī's view, al-Ghazālī argued for the validity of the sultanate institution and the obligation of obeying it so long that this institution derives its authority from the caliphate.⁴⁴⁰ In his perspective, the preservation of government is of the utmost importance to the whole Muslim nation, as it is the window for the preservation of sharia, which contained in it is the preservation of Muslim interest (*maṣlahah*).⁴⁴¹ His view here was of course his realistic perspective of his political environment at that time - the powerful Seljuq dynasty who had claimed its sultanate and its executive authority over the weakened Abbasid caliphate.

Ibn Jamā'ah responded in a similar way to the Mamluk sultanate that had ascended into power by its military force in the wake of Abbasid demise. He discussed this thoroughly in his treatise on *al-bay'ah al-qahriyya* (investiture by force).⁴⁴² According to him, this ascension by force is valid even though it is not under the customary succession (*istikhlāf*) or investiture (*bay'ah*) from the standard authority.⁴⁴³ At some point, whenever the delegation of the executive and administration power comes from the caliph himself, the sultan should have the same provision of obedience and privileges (i.e. appointing judges and representatives, collection and dissemination of public funds, military governing) in the same manner as it was for the caliphate.⁴⁴⁴ Similar to others before him, he argued for its necessity for the sake of unity of Muslim nation and their whole interest.⁴⁴⁵ As for Ibn Khaldūn, he addressed this briefly in the issue of *amīr al-umarā'* as the first

⁴³⁸ 'Ilyān 'Abd al-Fattāh al-Jālūdī, "Taṭawwur Mafhūm al-Sulṭānah...", Vol. 13, no. 51: 209-239.

⁴³⁹ Al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭūsiyy, *Faḍā'iḥ al-Bāṭiniyyah* (Kuwait: Mu'assasah Dār al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyyah, n.d) 182.

⁴⁴⁰ Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Hazm, 2005) 591-592.

⁴⁴¹ Al-Ghazālī, *al-Iqtisād fī al-I'tiqād* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2004) 128.

⁴⁴² Ibn Jamā'ah, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Jamā'ah al-Shāfi'ī, *Tahrīr al-Aḥkām fī Tadbīr Ahl al-Islām* (Qaṭar: al-Ri'āsah al-Maḥkamah al-Shar'iyyah wa al-Shu'ūn al-Dīniyyah, 1985) 55.

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid, 60.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid, 55.

occurrence of foreign power taking over the caliph's authority.⁴⁴⁶ He also discussed the validity of doing so, which is available in his discussion concerning the selection of imamate and its relation to the *asabiyya*.⁴⁴⁷ According to him, the nature of human existence requires the superiority to lie on those who have the strongest '*asabiyya*', and it is a maxim that the Islamic sharia itself would hardly ever contradict.⁴⁴⁸ In his view, *asabiyya* itself will determine the superiority of the ruler, and it surely does not discriminate against its wearer- Arab or non-Arab alike.⁴⁴⁹

3.5.5 Autonomous Emirate in the Abbasid Period: A Beginning

Al-imārah al-istīlā' also plays another role in the Islamic legal-political framework other than merely describing the previous case of *amīr al-umarā'* of al-Māwardī's times or the sultanate system that it had influenced later on. This refers to the instance of conjuring *al-imārah al-istīlā'* as a framework to understand the independent and autonomous governments of *al-imārah* (emirates) contemporaneous to the caliphate of a certain time. During the decline of the Abbasid caliphate, there existed also autonomous emirates who remained in that way without adapting or transforming their kingdom into sultanate or challenging the imamate legitimacy of the Abbasid caliphate. According to 'Aṭīyyah al-Qūṣī, this may have begun earlier in the first half of the Abbasid period.⁴⁵⁰ It was, however, not ubiquitously prominent at that time and only started gaining currency during the end and weakening stage of the latter.⁴⁵¹

The earliest of them in Islamic history was the independent Umayyad Emirate of Cordoba,⁴⁵² a remnant of the Umayyad caliphate that emerged in the Iberian Peninsula

⁴⁴⁶ Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddimah*, 252.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid, 208-210.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid, 209-210.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁰ 'Aṭīyyah al-Qūṣī, *Tārikh al-Duwal al-Mustaḳillah fi al-Mashriq 'an al-Khilāfah al-'Abbāsiyyah* (al-Qāhirah: Maktabah Dār al-Nahḍah al-'Arabiyyah, 1993) 7.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

⁴⁵² Some termed it the Umayyad Emirate of al-Andalus, with its capital of Cordoba. See Javier al-Barrān, "Al-Andalus" in *War in the Iberian Peninsula: 700-1600*, edited by Francisco Gracia Fitz & Joao Gouveia Monteiro (Oxon: Routledge, 2018) 1-2.

during the first Abbasid period under the successful conquest of ‘Abd Raḥmān b. Mu‘āwiya (Abdul Rahman I).⁴⁵³ Note that the Abbasid at that time was still in the process of expanding its territory in the Eastern part of the world, and steadily growing to become a new superpower, at such was by no means signaling a hint of weakness or decline on its part.⁴⁵⁴ Yet this emirate still emerged autonomous, and according to ‘Aṭīyyah al-Qūṣī, it was due to its location in the Iberian Peninsula – which was the stronghold and sympathizer for the fallen Umayyad caliphate.⁴⁵⁵

Despite all that, Abdul Rahman I did not witness the place initially as an already unified state for there have been tensions and battles fought among the Muslim local rulers there at that time.⁴⁵⁶ This required his intervention and efforts in unifying them, leading him to establish this emirate also by conquest.⁴⁵⁷ The success of this conquest helped establish this emirate as politically autonomous from the Abbasid, despite its vague recognizant of the latter caliphal religious authority for a moment.⁴⁵⁸ However, the emirate

⁴⁵³ He is ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu‘āwiya, the grandson of the tenth Caliph of Umayyad, Hisham b. ‘Abd al-Mālik. See Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (New York: Routledge, 1996) 31-34.

⁴⁵⁴ The Abbasid caliph at that time, Abu Ja‘far al-Manṣūr (Al-Mansur) even attempted to thwart this emirate by issuing his investiture of *amīr* of al-Andalus upon a local leader there named al-‘Alā’ b. Mughīth al-Yahsūbī, in hoping for a rebellion against the Umayyad *amīr*, Abdul Rahman I. The latter, however, defeated al-‘Alā’ in a battle. See Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus*, 34-35.

⁴⁵⁵ ‘Aṭīyyah al-Qūṣī, *Tārikh al-Duwal al-Mustaḥqillah...*, 7.

⁴⁵⁶ See the discussion on the 'tribal wars' between the Arabs and Berbers in al-Andalus before the coming of Abdul Rahman I. Brian A. Catlos, *Kingdom of Faith: A New History of Islamic Spain* (London: C. Hurst & Co, 2018) 42-44.

⁴⁵⁷ He entered Cordoba and established himself as the *amīr* in the year 138/139 AH (756 CE), from which he furthered the unification of al-Andalus in his time. See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārikh*, Vol. 5, 79. See also Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus*, 31.

⁴⁵⁸ According to Ahmad Mukhtār al-‘Abādī, Muslim scholars of history did not have a consensus on this matter. Scholars in the likes of Ibn al-Kardabūs and Ibn Abī Dīnār viewed that the *amīrs* of Cordoba since the times of its founder, Abdul Rahman I had all been calling and mentioning the names of Abbasid caliphs of their time respectively in the khutbah (sermon) of Friday congregation prayer. Meanwhile, other historians of al-Andalus like Ibn Hazm and Ibn al-Abbār al-Muqri’ argued that the calling was only for a moment during the early days of Abdul Rahman I as the *amīr* of Cordoba. The latter then removed the name of the Abbasid caliph later after the arrival of ‘Abd al-Mālik b. ‘Umar al-Marwanī, his distant relative from the East who sought asylum in Al-Andalus. After hearing that Abdul Rahman had often mentioned the name of the Abbasid Caliph al-Manṣūr in the Friday sermon, ‘Abd al-Malik reminded the latter of the Abbasid’s ‘treatment’ upon the Umayyad family and asked him not to do that again. Ibn Khaldūn also agreed that the mentioning of the Abbasid caliph's name was only temporary, but he differs on the cause of the discontinuation. According to him, the reason was political, as the latter discontinued the tradition after he succeeded in uniting all provinces of al-Andalus under his emirate. It seems that Ibn Khaldūn projected that Abdul Rahman I tried to be cautious in gaining the support of the people in al-Andalus, by not being too harsh in disconnecting his emirate from the caliphate that symbolizes the first religious authority of the Islamic nation. See Ahmad Mukhtār al-‘Abādī,

then clearly declared its independence from the Abbasid under the rule of Abdul Rahman III, who then claimed the caliphate for himself.⁴⁵⁹

The decline of the Abbasid caliphate centuries later propelled more autonomous emirates who claimed their independence from the former. These emirates preserved the system of *al-imārah*, where they did not adapt or transform their kingdom into a sultanate or challenge the imamate legitimacy of the Abbasid caliphate. They had remained autonomous and exercised a monarchy system with the ruling power passed on hereditarily. A detailed example of this type of independent emirate is the Kurdish-Hasanawayhid emirate. The founder of this emirate is Hasanawayh b. Husayn al-Barzikānī, the chief of the Kurdish Barzikānī tribe.⁴⁶⁰ He established himself initially as a local *amīr* of a castle in the area between Kermanshah and Dīnawar under the appointment of *Rukn al-Dawlah*,⁴⁶¹ a Buyid *amīr* of northern and central Buyid-Iran.⁴⁶² His power, however, grew to a point that it rattled *Rukn al-Dawlah*.⁴⁶³ According to Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Miskawayh, *Rukn al-*

Fī al-Tārikh al-‘Abbāsī wa al-Andalusī (Beirut: Dār al-Nahḍah al-‘Arabiyyah, 1982) 307. See also Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-‘Ibar wa Dīwan...*, Vol. 4, 156.

⁴⁵⁹ For a thorough discussion on this matter, see Janina Safran, "The Command of the Faithful in al-Andalus: A Study in the Articulation of Caliphal Legitimacy", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (1998): 183-198.

⁴⁶⁰ He is Abū Fawāris Hasanawayh b. Husayn al-Barzikānī, the first *amīr* of Hasanawayhid Emirate. Not much known him and his lineage. However, the appropriation of his title as *amīr* comes after he took over a castle or maybe several castles in a region between Kermanshah and Dinawar located in the northern area of Buyid-Iran, which was under the rule of *Rukn al-Dawlah*. It was initially under the lordship of his uncles from the Kurdish-*Ishāniyya* tribe/ group/ dynasty. The reason for his being given a sitting of that castle by *Rukn al-Dawlah* was probably due to his functions to the Buyid dynasty in tending to the attack and offences by Buyid's nemesis near the region, the Khorasanian Samanids. For a detailed discussion of his biography, see Jurgen Paul, "Ḥasanwayh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Kurdī (r. ca. 350–369/ca. 961–979): From Freehold Castles to Vassality?" in *The ‘Abbasid and Carolingian Empires: Comparative Studies in Civilizational Formation*, edited by Hinrich Biesterfeldt & Sebastian Günther (Leiden: Brill, 2018) 54-55.

⁴⁶¹ *Rukn al-Dawlah* Ḥasan b. Buya is one of the three Buyid brothers (‘*Imād al-Dawlah* ‘Alī b. Buya & Mu‘iz al-Dawlah Ahmad b. Buya) who founded Buyid dynasty and conquered the Abbasid caliphate's executive power as *amīr al-umarā’*. His eldest brother ‘*Imād al-Dawlah* ruled over Fars, while his youngest brother Mu‘iz al-Dawlah took over the position of *amīr al-umarā’* in Baghdad, the capital of Abbasid. Rukn al-Dawlah himself ruled the northern part of Buyid-Iran, the Jibāl provinces with its capital of Rayy. See Tilman Nagel, "BUYIDS", *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*, <<https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/buyids>> (Accessed on 27 April 2022).

⁴⁶² Jurgen Paul, "Ḥasanwayh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Kurdī...", 55.

⁴⁶³ Hasanawayh was brave enough to stop sending collected taxes to *Rukn al-Dawlah*, which happened at first because of the leeway provided by the latter to the former, considerably because of Hasanawayhid being a potential ally/ vassal in assisting Buyid against their nemesis, the Samanids of Khorasan. See Ibn Miskawayh, Vol. 6, 309. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al Tārikh*, Vol. 7, 292.

Dawlah had sent two military expeditions to Hasanawayh, of which ensued from those two battles that Hasanawayh had won respectively.⁴⁶⁴

Although Hasanawayh eventually submitted to the latter, his role grew more important after the death of *Rukn al-Dawlah*. This is the point of where a civil war occurred between '*Aḍud al-Dawlah*,⁴⁶⁵ the son of the latter – against his cousin '*Izz al-Dawlah*,⁴⁶⁶ the *amīr al-umārā*' of Baghdad at that time.⁴⁶⁷ This was also the time when Hasanawayh started to change his alliance and eventually supported '*Izz al-Dawlah* who had promised him with caliphate bestowal of lordship over the Kurds.⁴⁶⁸ The fact that he was supporting various contenders for the Buyid overlordship shows the significant importance of the Hasanawayhid emirate to the latter. It also signalled its independence in choosing their overlordship, which changes once again after the defeat of '*Izz al-Dawlah*, where Hasanawayh then started to ally himself with *Fakhr al-Dawlah*, the brother of '*Adud al-Dawlah* who had opposed him.⁴⁶⁹ Stanley Lane-Poole asserted that at this moment, the emirate had possessed a considerable power, so much so that the Buyid dynasty under '*Aḍud al-Dawlah*- who was controlling the whole Abbasid-Buyid at that moment- left the emirate of its own for a time until the death of Hasanawayh.⁴⁷⁰ After the defeat of *Fakhr al-Dawlah* and the death of Hasanawayh, '*Adud al-Dawlah* appointed Hasanawayh's son, Badr b. Hasanawayh as the *amīr* replacing his late father. Under his rule, this emirate then prospered politically and financially, to the extent that the Caliph then decorated him with

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁵ '*Aḍud al-Dawlah* Fanna Khusraw is the second eldest son of *Rukn al-Dawlah*. He initially ruled over his uncle '*Imād al-Dawlah*'s province in Fars after the childless death of the latter. After the civil war over the lordship of the Buyid dynasty, he managed to defeat his contenders '*Izz al-Dawlah* and *Fakhr al-Dawlah*, unifying the Buyid dynasty under his rule. See Ch. Bürgel and R. Mottahedeh, "'AẒOD-AL-DAWLA, ABŪ ŠOJĀ' FANNĀ KOSROW", in *Encyclopædia Iranica Online*, <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/azod-al-dawla-abu-soja>> (accessed on 27 April 2022).

⁴⁶⁶ '*Izz al-Dawlah* Bakhtiyar is the eldest son of *Mu'iz al-Dawlah* and the second Buyid *amīr al-umārā*'. His father had passed the ruling of Buyid provinces in Iraq to his son before his death. '*Aḍud al-Dawlah* defeated him in the ensuing civil war of the Buyid family, which forced him to abdicate his throne at first before being executed to death in his second defeated encounter with the latter. See Ibid. See also Ibn Miskawayh, Vol. 6, 216 & 459.

⁴⁶⁷ Jürgen Paul, "Ḥasanwayh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Kurdī...", 61.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid, 62.

⁴⁷⁰ Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties: Chronological and Genealogical Tables with Historical Introductions* (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Company Publishers, 1893) 138.

the prestigious name *Nāsir al-Dawlah*, and they even struck their own coin, symbolizing their sovereignty.⁴⁷¹

Apart from this Hasanawayhid emirate, many more examples may help elaborate further on the nature and practices of this kind of emirate throughout the Abbasid period. These range from small sovereign provinces like the aforementioned Hasanawayhid emirate to regional rulers of emirate like the Hamdanid dynasty, or even the Buyid dynasty itself. But assignments on such a complicated and vast dynasty will have little or no bearing on what this study had already proved in the previous discussion on the Hasanawayhid emirate. What is more important to surmise, however, is that new models of the autonomous emirate that came later in the Ottoman and modern periods were the products of these emirates developed in the weakening state of Abbasid. The relation is not necessarily immediate but gradually, which is in the same manner as how *al-imārah al-istīlā'* had influenced the birth of the legally Islamic sultanate of the later period.

3.5.6 Ottoman Period and the Continuation of Autonomous Emirate

It is impossible to assume that there has been discontinuity between all these emirates, as some of them shared similar attribute and practice. After all, the Islamic political system is often organics and interacts with each other in reality or in the body of literature of their scholars. The weakening Abbasid period had witnessed the autonomous emirates to usually have three specific attributes; establishment by conquest, exercised hereditary monarch rulers in the form of *amīr* as well as in possession of great military power. It is fair to assume that the emirates during the Ottoman period would likely have carried the same attributes.

Interestingly enough, however, the autonomous emirate during the Ottoman period emerged during the latter was still at the height of power, where these emirates formed as autonomous states that were either categorized as 'vassal' or 'tributary' states to the

⁴⁷¹ Ibid. See also Micheal M. Gunter, *Historical Dictionary of Kurds* (United Kingdom: Scarecrow Press Inc, 2011) 117.

Ottoman caliphate.⁴⁷² Such a condition led to one important question, how would a state be autonomous and carrying those three attributes if it was being a subjected vassal and tributary state for the Ottoman at the same time? It is crucial to point out that there are differences of opinion in the discussion concerning the exact meaning of vassal and tributary states of Ottoman as well as the rights that both would imply against and upon them. For instance, Sándor Papp argued that the Ottomans viewed vassal states in their *teba'iyet* framework, which symbolizes its own territory and protected under the means of a well-protected empire (*memalik-i mahruse*).⁴⁷³

In that sense, the vassal states relate to the Ottoman in a bilateral service, in which the latter provides these states with protection and investiture while these states offer tributary payment.⁴⁷⁴ Meanwhile, Papp also asserted that the tributary states are actually a European term that had replaced the former term vassal, which now includes both the states who paid the tributary payment- or not.⁴⁷⁵ Papp's classification of these two terms seems contradictory at some point, as both definitions imply the existence of payment to the Ottoman Empire in the form of a tributary. On the other hand, Mayuzumi Akitsu addressed the complexity of these two terms concerning the Ottoman by first asserting the inexistence of a clear-cut understanding of these two terms within the Ottoman political vocabulary, as

⁴⁷² Halil İnalcık delineated the method of Ottoman conquest as a type that comes gradually within two stages; establishing suzerainty and direct control. The first stage offered the conquered land protection under the suzerainty of the Ottoman, to which the former could still have local dynasties ruling them. The second stage is where the Ottoman imposed direct control with its *timar* system that comes with policies and administration directly linked to the Porte (Ottoman central administration), thus erasing the local dynasty. However, Halil contended that the direct control was by no means a revolutionary change of the social and economic condition of the latter, as it was only a way for the Ottoman to integrate the local condition with the Ottoman class of administration. Gábor Ágoston even argued that the application of the *timar* system did not necessitate the Ottoman class themselves to be part of the system as the administrator for the conquered land, as there were cases where the local ruler became the part of the *timar* administration, such as the cases of hereditary *sancaks* among the Kurdish tribe. According to İnalcık, this gradual approach of conquest has been there since the beginning of the Ottoman Empire under its founder, Osman Ghazi. This is why there were so many autonomous vassal states of the Ottoman around the time of Beyezid I's attempt at appropriating them in imposing direct control later in the 14th century. See Halil İnalcık, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", *Studia Islamica*, No. 2 (1954): 103-104. See also Gábor Ágoston, "A Flexible Empire: Authority and Its Limit in the Ottoman Frontiers", *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1&2 (2003): 18-19.

⁴⁷³ Sándor Papp, "The System of Autonomous Muslim and Christian Communities, Churches, and States in the Ottoman Empire" in *The European Tributary States of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, edited by Gábor Kármán and Lovro Kunčević (Leiden: Brill, 2013) 375.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

both were merely the European perspective on perceiving the relation of these states to the Ottoman Caliphate.⁴⁷⁶

Akitsu's perspective viewed these states' tributary payment to the Ottoman as not eradicating the autonomous nature of the former, despite the favour returned by the recipient of the payment, which in this case, the Ottoman. He illustrated this through the cases of the Safavid Empire and the Eastern-Roman Empire, both of whom -at some point in history- had offered tributary payment to the Ottoman as an act to cease hostile invasions.⁴⁷⁷ Despite that, both empires were never subject to the Ottoman.⁴⁷⁸ The same situation occurred to the Aceh Sultanate, which in many instances had offered tributary payment to the empire and represented themselves as part of the Ottoman world order.⁴⁷⁹ That act, however, was never precipitation to establish that Southeast Asian polity was part of the de-facto vassal states of the Ottoman as it remains autonomous in its statehood and economy.⁴⁸⁰ In fact, the Ottomans recognized these states' territorial boundaries and local statehood, which they had appropriated and secured long before the Ottomans came within their radar.

According to Akitsu, the secret lies in the 'soft despotism' approach of that empire itself, which had enabled these autonomous states to have their own independent political system despite being attached to the latter.⁴⁸¹ This attachment refers to any of the states' actions that seemed to symbolize an acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the empire. Papp, for instance, points out this 'attachment' in the 18th century autonomous Khedivete-Egypt, who had minted their own coin with the name of the Ottoman sultan, all while being an autonomous state at the same time.⁴⁸² In some cases, although the Ottoman did address some states in its documentations as its *vilayet*- which implies standard treatment as a directly governed Ottoman province- the Ottoman still let them have a good deal of autonomy. Such instances are like the hereditary *sancak* in Eastern Anatolia, who ruled

⁴⁷⁶ Mayuzumi Akitsu, "The Appearance of Vassal States and "Suzerainty" in the Ottoman Empire: The Case of Wallachia and Moldavia" in *A World History of Suzerainty: A Modern History of East and West Asia and Translated Concepts*, edited by Okamoto Takashi (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 2019) 23.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid, 24-25.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid, 25.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid, 22.

⁴⁸² Sándor Papp, "The System of Autonomous...", 388-389.

hereditarily using various designations such as *yurts*, *ocaklıks*, and *mülks*.⁴⁸³ This is despite the fact that the standard practices for appropriated Ottoman provinces were the *timarli* and *salyaneli* system, which seems to have centralized administration with direct attachment to the *Porte* (Ottoman central administration).⁴⁸⁴

Both assessments above offer the fact that not all states that had affiliated themselves with the empire became subjects to the latter, as they still had their own independence and autonomy in their own unique ways. According to Papp, the act of acknowledging the sovereignty of the Ottoman does not mean for the states to adopt a specific Ottoman uniformity as the latter was flexible enough to accept local communal autonomies.⁴⁸⁵ In that sense, the autonomy of a state during the Ottoman period -emirate or not- did not lie in terms of their independence from the Ottoman as a whole, where the Ottoman did not have any relation or interference at all from the start. In fact, the autonomy existed within the range of them having their own autonomy in their political institution, economic revenues and territorial boundaries, despite of their affiliation or connection to the latter. In that sense, the standard monochromatic outtake in determining the autonomy of a state that wagers between a state as either a subjected vassal or rival of an empire does not apply in the case of Ottoman.

One clear example of an independent emirate that has established relations with the Ottoman is the Emirate of Harar,⁴⁸⁶ an Ethiopian autonomous polity that is considered one

⁴⁸³ A. C. S. Peacock, "Introduction: The Ottoman Empire and its Frontiers" in *The Frontiers of the Ottoman World*, edited by A. C. S. Peacock (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009) 21. See also Gábor Ágoston, "A Flexible Empire: Authority...", 18-19.

⁴⁸⁴ This refers to the Ottoman provincial administration that practices the *timarli* and *salyaneli* system. Both refer to the Ottoman provinces that employ *eyalet/ vilayet/ beylerbeylik* for their province's designation. The administrator for each *eyalet* is *beylerbeyi* (governor). Each *eyalet* comprises multiple *sancak* (district) that are administrated by the *sancakbeyi*, and each *sancak* has multiple *nahiye* (sub-district) in it. There is also the judicial district *kaza*, of which the administrator would be the *kadhi*. The difference between the *timarli* and *salyaneli* is in terms of their way of capitalizing the taxation revenue for the central Ottoman. The former employed the *timar* (fief) to the Ottoman military unit that had assisted in conquering the appropriated land, through which these military units would have control of the taxation of the residents of that land. The latter, however, collected taxes through the employment of *mültezim* (tax-farmer) through specific contracts. For a further detailed discussion on the Ottoman provincial system and its units, see Géza Dávid, "administration, provincial" in *Encyclopaedia of Ottoman Empire*, edited by Gábor Ágoston & Bruce Masters (New York: Facts on File Inc, 2009) 14-16. See also Gábor Ágoston, "A Flexible Empire: Authority and Its Limit on the Ottoman Frontiers", *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, Vol. 9, No 1 & 2 (2003): 16.

⁴⁸⁵ Sándor Papp, "The System of Autonomous...", 417.

⁴⁸⁶ The Emirate of Harar is an autonomous province in now current Somalia and partly Ethiopia. It claimed independence from the Aussa Imamate in 1647 under the leadership of 'Ali b. Dāwūd. The latter then became

of the oldest cities in East Africa.⁴⁸⁷ As a continuation of a collateral political evolution of the Adal Sultanate and Awssa Imamate, the Emirates of Harar was also supposedly under the protection of the Ottoman.⁴⁸⁸ But we could never exactly define its relation to the latter, either as a vassal, tributary, or dependent state. Externally, however, it was an autonomous emirate in comparison to the nearby Habesha *Eyalet* of the Ottoman.⁴⁸⁹ The reason is that unlike the latter, the Emirate of Harar had a different autonomy in terms of its administration and local politics, whereas they had their own eighteen generations of *amīr* since its first inception as an autonomous region after its parting from Aussa Imamate in 1647.⁴⁹⁰ Sources indicate that these *amīrs* often encountered rebellion within Harar that came from the Oromo tribe, which these *amīrs* were able to quell and maintain their authority.⁴⁹¹ The Oromo's resistance to those *amīrs* indicates the *istīlā'* (appropriation/conquest) nature of Harar's establishment, which also signals evidence of Harar military. Meanwhile, although literature concerning this emirate never confirmed the fact that it paid any tributary payment to the Ottoman, it did confirm, however, that it had its own economic

the first *amīr* of Harar and created his own dynasty where the rulings passed on hereditarily for three centuries. The Khedivete Egypt, another tributary state of the Ottoman then annexed the Emirate of Harar in 1875, before losing it to the British in 1882. The Ethiopian Empire's annexation of this emirate in 1887 then fully disestablished it for good. See Serge Sentelli, "Harar: The Fourth Holy City of Islam" in *The City in Islamic World*, edited by Salma K. Jayyusi et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2008) Vol. 1, 628.

⁴⁸⁷ Avishah Ben-Dror, *Emirate, Egyptian, Ethiopian: Colonial Experiences in Late Nineteenth-Century Harar* (New York: Syracuse, 2018) 1.

⁴⁸⁸ The Emirate of Harar was a remnant of the Awssa Imamate, and both were influenced by a much bigger dynasty before them, which was the Adal Sultanate. The latter was under the protection of the Ottoman since 1541. On that basis, the Emirate of Harar could also supposedly be under the same treatment. For the discussion on the terms agreed on the Adal Sultanate being the tributary state to the Ottoman Caliphate, see Matteo Salvatore, *The African Prester John and the Birth of Ethiopian-European Relations* (Oxon: Routledge, 2017), 183. For reference on the Emirate of Harar under the protection of the Ottoman, see Harari People Regional State, Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau "The Decline and Fall of Harari Emirate" in *History of Harar and Hararis*, refined by Wehib b. Ahmed (Harar: Harari People Regional State, Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau, 2015) 85.

⁴⁸⁹ The Ottoman's interest in Habesha *Eyalet* provinces (part of modern Ethiopia) was decreasing after some time. By the last quarter of the 16th century, the Ottoman-Habesha *eyalet* was left to the locals to rule. This has affected the Emirates of Harar to some extent. The Habesha *eyalet* was annexed by the Khedivete Egypt in 1849, and the emirate of Harar fell to the latter in 1875. Interestingly, the Khedivete Egypt was also a tributary state of the Ottoman. The fact that the Ottoman unbothered gesture of the Khedivete's annexation signals the acceptance on the Ottoman's part. See Robert Olson, "Reviewed Work: Osmanli İmparatorluğu'nun Güney Siyaseti: Habeş Eyaleti by Cengiz Orhonlu", *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (February 1977): 15. See also Harari People Regional State, Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau, "The Decline and Fall of Harari...", 85.

⁴⁹⁰ J. Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia* (New York: Barnes & Noble Inc., 1965) 97.

⁴⁹¹ Harari People Regional State, Culture, Heritage and Tourism Bureau "The Decline and Fall of Harari...", 80.

revenues, which mostly came from its function as a mercantile and trading city.⁴⁹² This, on the other hand, indicates its economic independence from the Ottoman.

Another strand of emirate during the Ottoman period displayed different kinds of relation, which hinted at a type of codependency between each other. This refers to the Emirate of Bukhara, which had established itself as an independent emirate since 1160 AH/ 1747 CE.⁴⁹³ During the war between the Ottoman and Russian Empire, the latter had managed to occupy one of the Ottoman-established provinces, the Crimea.⁴⁹⁴ This led the Ottoman to seek new allies in reclaiming its lost province, to which the Ottoman settled with the Emirate of Bukhara.⁴⁹⁵ The relationship was by no means platonic, as the emirate utilized its relationship with the Ottoman through financial and military support from the latter. There is no mention of any compulsory tributary upon this emirate. It maintained its diplomatic relationship by periodically sending off its ambassadors, whose function was to provide the Ottomans with information and political advice pertaining to the Central Asia region.⁴⁹⁶ On that basis, the Emirate of Bukhara seems to symbolize an equal relationship with the Ottomans, at least to the extent of profiting from each other.

The third type of emirate in the Ottoman period came from the autonomous states that were not in the previous category of vassal or tributary states at all. This refers to those who tried to claim full independence from the Ottoman. These were mostly prominent in the Arabian Peninsula. One example of this type of emirate is the establishment of *Imārah Banū Khālīd* (Khalidi Emirate) of the *al-Humayd* dynasty, which had managed to secure its eastern territory of the Arabian Peninsula within the Ottoman *Lahsa Eyalet* (*al-Ilāyat al-Ihsā'*) in 1670 CE.⁴⁹⁷ It has maintained its autonomy in Arabia along with the Emirate of Mecca of the *Sharif-Hashemite* family,⁴⁹⁸ who ruled over the Hijaz region, including the

⁴⁹² Ibid, 82-81.

⁴⁹³ C.E Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996) 292.

⁴⁹⁴ For a detailed discussion on this topic, see M. S. Anderson, "The Great Powers and the Russian Annexation of the Crimea, 1783-4", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 37, No. 88 (1958), pp. 17-41.

⁴⁹⁵ Shodiyeva Shahlo Saliyevna & Ergashev Jahongir Yunus ugli, "Diplomatical Relations between the Emirate of Bukhara and Turkey", *Psychology and Education*, Vol. 58, No. 2 (2021): 1398-1405.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁷ Anthony Gorman and Andrew Norman, "Bani Khalid" in *Encyclopaedia of the Peoples of Africa and the Middle East*, edited by Jamie Stokes (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2009) 98.

⁴⁹⁸ Madawi al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia* (Edinburgh, Cambridge University Press, 2010) 14.

two holy cities of the Muslims, Mecca and Medina.⁴⁹⁹ The difference between those two, however, was that the latter was dependent on the Ottoman, to which the inauguration of the head of the *Sharifate-cum-the amīr* of Mecca was through the Ottoman acknowledgement. In fact, the *Sharifate* owed their succession or nomination of a new *amīr* directly through the appointment and selection by the Ottoman Porte.⁵⁰⁰ According to Papp, the process of selection was under the hand of four committee members, the qadi of Mecca, the *beylerbeyi* of Egypt and Syria, and the *sancakbeyi* of Jeddah.⁵⁰¹

We could also see other examples of this type of emirate within the chronological formation of the modern Kingdom of Saudi Arabia under the rule of the House of Saud. The formations witnessed several constructions of myriad emirates beginning in the first half of the 18th century.⁵⁰² It began with the First Saudi State (Emirate of *Dir‘iyyah*),⁵⁰³ the Second Saudi State (Emirate of Najd),⁵⁰⁴ and the Third Saudi State, which had several different phases from the Emirate of Riyadh,⁵⁰⁵ Emirate of Najd and Hasa,⁵⁰⁶ Sultanate of Najd, and Kingdom of Hijaz and Najd and Its Dependencies. Al-Rasheed asserted that the initial states and phases of Saud political centralization were all based on an emirate that

⁴⁹⁹ Randall Baker, *King Husain and the Kingdom of Hejaz* (Cambridge: Oleander Press, 1979) 1-2.

⁵⁰⁰ David George Hogarth, *Hejaz Before World War I: A Handbook* (Cambridge: Oleander Press, 1917) 49.

⁵⁰¹ Sándor Papp, "The System of Autonomous...", 384.

⁵⁰² The rise of the House of Saud began with the establishment of the Emirate of *Dir‘iyyah* (The First Saudi State) in 1744 CE. This was the starting point for the journey of the House of Saud in establishing their power in the Arabian Peninsula. See Madawi al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 14.

⁵⁰³ After its formation in 1744 CE and its further consolidation from Southern Najd in later years, the emirate had managed to conquer another three regions at that time; Hijaz, Hasa, ‘Asir. Its hegemony also meant the defeat of both of its *-formerly in power-* neighbouring emirates, the Khalidi Emirate and the Emirate of Mecca. This expansion eventually gained the Ottoman's attention after its occupation of Hijaz, which prior to that was under the protection of the Ottoman. The latter then sent its force from Egypt and ended Saud's first occupancy in 1818 CE. See Ibid, 20-22.

⁵⁰⁴ After the dissolution of the *Dir‘iyyah*, the Saud family rose back to become the Emirate of Najd in 1824 CE, where it had managed to extend its territory once again before being outmanoeuvred by its vassal polity of Rashidi emirate in 1891 CE. The *amīr* of that time, ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Faisal ran and sought refuge in Kuwait. See Ibid, 22-25.

⁵⁰⁵ This emirate began with the capture of Riyadh in 1902 CE by ‘Abd Aziz b. Saud (Ibn Saud), the son of ‘Abd al-Rahman. Ibn Saud marched from Kuwait and captured the city by killing the Rashidi *amīr* of Riyadh. See Ibid, 38.

⁵⁰⁶ Written records by the Ottoman only substantiated Ibn Saud's polity at this period as the *wali* of Najd. This is based on the Ottoman-Saudi Treaty signed in May 1913, where the empire conferred Ibn Saud with the title *wali*. This is despite that Ibn Saud and his forces already conquered Hasa, which was part of the Ottoman provinces in Arabia. It was not until the Ottoman-Anglo Convention that the region Hasa was incorporated into Saud's territory and finally concluded with the Treaty of Darin (Anglo-Saudi Treaty), which witnessed the British acknowledgement of Najd and Hasa as part of Ibn Saud's territory. In return, Ibn Saud will cease any hostility to the British neighbouring protectorates, such as Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman. See Ibid, 38-40.

exercised a hereditary ruling system within the Saud family, as well as employing territorial expansion and conquest policy, including against the Ottoman province.⁵⁰⁷ The status of the emirate changed at the third phase of the Third Saudi State when the *amīr* Abd al-‘Azīz b. Sa‘ud (Ibn Saud) claimed the title Sultan of Najd.⁵⁰⁸ This was several years before the British confirmed it in August 1921.⁵⁰⁹ In 1926, Ibn Saud claimed another new title, the Sultan of Najd and King of Hijaz, and this was after the surrender of the Kingdom of Hijaz of the Sharifate-Hashemite dynasty in the previous year in 1925.⁵¹⁰ After its unification in 1932, it entered the last phase of its state formation, from which Ibn Saud declared the kingdom as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.⁵¹¹

3.5.7 Contemporary Emirate of Twentieth Century

Without neglecting the cause and efforts of those emirates in Arabia who sought full independence from the Ottoman, this study views that there are many forms of emirates elsewhere that still did embody some elements of autonomy during the Ottoman period. Although partially dependent to the Ottoman, they still had independence (albeit limited) in constructing and determining their own statehood and economic revenues, like the cases of the Emirate of Harar and Bukhara. However, after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the past Ottoman provinces had evolved to sway into the more recent system of governance, which is the nation-state system that is clearly demarcated by national boundaries and exercises laws in accordance with that sovereign nation itself.⁵¹² The Sykes-Picot Agreement, however, proved to be a new hindrance and unfavourable for this cause

⁵⁰⁷ The Saud's attack and rebellion against the Ottoman began with the first inception of the First Saudi State that had witnessed the first conquest of Hijaz. This continued several years later when the Saud continued to have territorial expansion into the Ottoman province. This includes the capture of Hasa and the continuous war with the Ottoman's proxy in Arabia, the Rashidi Emirate. See Ibid, pp-35-42.

⁵⁰⁸ His claim as Sultan of Najd happened during the years after his success in defeating the Rashidi Emirate in the latter's capital of Hā'il. See Ibid, 61.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid, 42-46. The Kingdom of Hijaz was actually the Emirate of Mecca of the Sharifate dynasty. It reached the status of the kingdom in the year 1916 CE, after the Sharif Hussein self-proclaimed himself as the king of Hijaz. See Joshua Teitelbaum, *The Rise and Fall of the Hashemite Kingdom of Arabia* (United Kingdom: C. Hurst & Co, 2001) 115.

⁵¹¹ Madawi al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*, 68.

⁵¹² Mayuzumi Akitsu, "The Appearance of Vassal States and "Suzerainty...", 23.

as the provincial remnants of the Ottoman were then taken control or ‘mandated’ by other foreign European states.⁵¹³ Adapting to this new political environment, these states sought independence and new direction from the succeeding foreign powers who mandated their country, and continued to develop and became an independent nation-state of their own sovereignty. Amidst these new causes and struggle for independence, we will see another form of emirate emerge, which hailed itself as the most recent and contemporary form of emirate.

Such emirates were in the likes of United Arab Emirates (UAE), Qatar, and Kuwait. All three are now autonomous states that employ the emirate system as the basis of the formation of their country following the nation-state system. Formerly consolidated itself as a British protectorate of Trucial States (*al-Imārat al-Mutasālihat*), the United Arab Emirates received independence from the British in 1971.⁵¹⁴ It then became a nation formed by a federation of seven emirates, each of them led by its ruler with absolute monarchy.⁵¹⁵ The rulers of these seven emirates then formed the Federal Supreme Council (FDR), which then accommodated the power to elect the President and Vice-President of the nation.⁵¹⁶ The UAE was supposed to include Qatar and Bahrain following the advice of the British government, but both of them denied the union.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹³ Atif A. Kubursi & Salim Mansur, “From Sykes-Picot Through Bandung to Oslo: Whither the Arab World?”, *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (1996), pp. 1-24.

⁵¹⁴ Abdullah Omran Taryam, *The Establishment of United Arab Emirates 1950-85* (New York: Croom Helm, 1987) 189. The Trucial States was the protectorate of the British since before the fall of the Ottoman. It comprised of seven tribal federations of sheikhdom that had signed several protective treaties with the British since the early 19th century. These seven emirates are Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Ras Al Khaimah, Fujairah, Ajman Sharjah and Umm Al Quwain. It remained as a British protectorate until the mid-20th century, when the latter started to withdraw in 1971. See Glen Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire in the Middle East: Britain's Relinquishment of Power in Her Last Three Arab Dependencies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) 100-101.

⁵¹⁵ The emirate-level government of each seven ruling families continued to exist from its first day of independence to date. According to Christopher M. Davidson, this complicates the federal state formation, especially with it hindering the process of military unification and oil policies transfer to the federal power, fearing for the status and prestige of poorer emirate that may lead to friction and instability. See Christopher M. Davidson, *After the Sheikhs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013) 34-35.

⁵¹⁶ Yousef Khalifah Al-Yousef, The United Arab Emirates at a Crossroads, *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (October 2013), pp. 567-581. Also known as the Supreme Council of Rulers (SCR), it allows the presidential election every five years. However, in reality, the position of the president remains in tandem with the *amīr* of Abu Dhabi, while the vice-president for the *amīr* of Dubai. See Christopher M. Davidson, *After the Sheikhs*, 35.

⁵¹⁷ Yousef Khalifah Al-Yousef, *The United Arab Emirates at a Crossroads...*,

Unlike the UAE, Qatar has a different type of emirate that visibly is within the framework of the semi-constitutional monarchy.⁵¹⁸ Article 60 of the Qatar Constitution states the separation of power in executive, legislative, and judicial.⁵¹⁹ The executive power is vested in the *amīr* as the head of executives, assisted by other cabinet ministers who form the Council of Ministers.⁵²⁰ The legislative power is headed by the *Majlis al-Shūra* (Advisory Council), while the judicial is under the emirate's own court of law.⁵²¹ The most promising element of its constitutional monarch system may rest on its Advisory Council, which heading into an electoral-appointed position based on the 2003 call for permanent reform of the previous 1976 provisional Qatar constitution. The new current constitution calls for forty-five members, where it provides only fifteen members of the council to be *amīr*-appointed, while another thirty go through the electoral process. After 18 years, the election finally took place in October 2021.⁵²²

On the other hand, Kuwait which also has its own emirate system has taken the path enabling democratic elements since 1963, with the establishment of its National Assembly (*Majlis al-Ummah al-Kuwaiti*).⁵²³ Although the head of state is the *amīr* of the ruling family, its National Assembly has the power of legislative, as well as the power to interpellate or to vote of no confidence to any of the ministers appointed from the National Assembly by the *amīr*.⁵²⁴ As most of the cabinet ministers of Kuwait are dominated by the ruling family of the *amīr*, the National Assembly's power to interpellate provides a

⁵¹⁸ United States Department of State Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2011, "Qatar" <<https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/186656.pdf>> (accessed 31 October 2023), 1.

⁵¹⁹ Qatar Government Communication Office, "The Constitution" <<https://www.gco.gov.qa/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/GCO-Constitution-English.pdf>> (accessed 31 October 2023), 7.

⁵²⁰ Ibid.

⁵²¹ Ibid.

⁵²² Ariel Admoni, "Order from Above: The Evolvement of Elections in Qatar", *Contemporary Review of the Middle East*, Vol. 9, Issue 3 (2022): 308-320.

⁵²³ According to Jasem M. Karam, the development of Kuwait's political structure to political modernization began with the formation of the Constitutional Council Board in 1961, which this council focused on constructing the ratification of Kuwait's permanent constitution in 1962. However, the electoral formation of other councils had already happened earlier than that, such as the 1932 Municipal Council. In fact, the Kuwait ruling family also held an election for the formation of the Legislative Council in July 1938, which aimed to participate in running state affairs. It did not last long, however, as it soon dissolved in December of the same year. Jasem M. Karam, "Kuwaiti National Assembly – 1992: A Study in Electoral Geography", *GeoJournal*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (1993): 383-392.

⁵²⁴ Micheal Herb, "A Nation of Bureaucrats: Political Participation and Economic Diversification in Kuwait and United Arab Emirates", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (2009): 375-395.

prominent impact in the policymaking of Kuwait.⁵²⁵ This is especially true as the ruling family will have to appoint family members who are more responsive to the parliament in favour of having to have the vote of no confidence tabled upon the person.⁵²⁶ According to Micheal Herb, the National Assembly of Kuwait is considered the strongest parliament in the Gulf, or possibly in the whole Arab world.⁵²⁷

Although they may have adapted to some modern elements in their emirate system, the fact remains that they still are autonomous de-facto states who exercise a monarchy-based system with the ruling passed on hereditarily. The appealing side of comparison may lie in how they were not in any condition of suzerainty to other bigger powers due to the fall of the Ottoman and the new modern sovereignty concept, which may contradict their predecessors before them. Nevertheless, they still are the products of sophistication of *al-imārah al-istīlā'* that has evolved and adapted to accommodate their political environment, which mostly manifest through their position as the highest political authority of their nation.

3.6 DEFINING *AL-IMĀRAH*: LEGAL-POLITICAL EPISTEMIC CONTEXT

One of the most inherent features of *al-imārah* is its diversified nature that is so unquestionably hard to fit within one single category. For instance, approaching the modern *al-imārah* from within the framework and definition provided al-Māwardī that described the concept hand in hand with the Caliphate institution is perhaps unfitting due to the evolution of this political system in contemporary times that has proved to be not in tandem anymore with the latter. For al-Māwardī, any type of *al-imārah* that he had classified, either *al-imārah al-'āmmah* (general) and its two types of *al-istikfā'* (by Caliph's appointment) and *al-istīlā'* (by the act of appropriation, conquest by force), or *al-imārah al-khāṣṣah*

⁵²⁵ Ibid.

⁵²⁶ Ibid.

⁵²⁷ Ibid.

(particular) that concerns with military and policing, all of them conforms to an era where the Caliphate still existed and plays its role in legalizing these various types of *al-imārah*.⁵²⁸

By the absence of the latter, the current *al-imārah* within several Gulf countries are the evolutions or sophistications of this concept that have exceeded the boundary of al-Māwardī's definition. Yet these modern *al-imārah* are still part of the same concept discussed by al-Māwardī, at least in the form of having the same designation *amīr* as the head of the institution, or even in the very name of the institution itself - the English term *emirate*. We also have discussed another possibility before on how the modern contemporary emirate are perhaps the continuation of al-Māwardī's *al-imārah al-istīlā'*,⁵²⁹ where it has continued to evolve and extend, accommodating the expiration date of the Caliphate institution in the present era. Although they may have its origin in al-Māwardī's theorization, yet these modern emirates are not exactly the same in its definition to *al-imārah al-istīlā'* but instead a new morphed variant that only shares some part of similarity with the latter.

Ibn Khaldūn's assertion proves the best possible way to classify this concept. Instead of rigid definition-laden framework, he recognizes the fluidity of *al-imārah* and approached it through the evolutionary nature of *al-imārah* that comes within two stages: military to politics. The in-depth historical assessments and observations of the military and political functions of *al-imārah* have provided adequate explanations and examples to understand the development and sophistication involved within and between both functions in various timelines. The former military function of *al-imārah* served politically mostly during the pre-modern era, where conquest and seizing power through the military was in tandem with another part of retaining political power and governing the masses. On the other hand, the second political function of *al-imārah* is of course political in terms of how it functions in the civil function and administering public affairs. Both characters are still evident in the modern emirate of our time.⁵³⁰ Regardless of its whereabouts of either before, during, or

⁵²⁸ Al-Māwardī, 62-70.

⁵²⁹ See previous discussion in this chapter, 96-101.

⁵³⁰ Military power plays the most important role in the forming of new Islamic emirate in Afghanistan and the 2024's emirate of Syria. See Idrees Ali, "Half of all Afghan district centers under Taliban control - U.S. general", in *Reuters*, <<https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/half-all-afghan-district-centers-under-taliban-control-us-general-2021-07-21/>> (Accessed on 5th March 2025). See also Sinem Adar, Muriel

after the Caliphate institution, these two characters define the concept characteristically. Both are also interrelated through one epistemological apex, which introduces and illustrates *al-imārah* as a form of political authority of an *amīr* upon their respective dominion, regardless of its attestation within any period, place, or specific literature. In this respect, this study argues that this is the most general, inclusive, and befitting definition of *al-imārah* within the Islamic legal-political discipline.

3.7 CONCLUSION

Following the definition above, the conventional understanding of *al-imārah* in the Muslim world from its earliest inception to date remains from and within the periphery of politics, both before and after the first codification of *al-imārah* pioneered by al-Māwardī. Although *al-imārah* proved its adaptative ability that shifted from one period and dynasty to another, it remains pivoted to the political fulcrum, which consolidates itself as the shared epistemic nature of every variant of *al-imārah*. Yet the historical contingency of the development in *al-imārah* seems to have pushed a new barricade in the modern period and become marginalized as a rare institution that only exists within several Gulf countries nowadays. We have seen several attempts at modernization of *al-imārah* by these countries, where they have infused some democratic elements in their system of government. Although their efforts could imply the pragmatic elements of *al-imārah* in the modern nation-state system, it seems to be too limited, exclusive and dependent for those Gulf emirates-countries only, excluding other Muslim countries with different types of governance. In some ways, it signifies the uncertainty for *al-imārah* in the future.

Asseburg, Hamidreza Azizi, Margarete Klein and Guido Steinberg, "The Fall of the Assad Regime: Regional and International Power Shifts", *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik*, 9 (2025): 1-8.

CHAPTER FOUR

***AL-IMĀRAH* IN THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SETTINGS OF PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA**

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter discusses how the conventional understanding of *al-imārah* has evolved from its first inception in the early formative period of Islam to date. It has delineated the proper development of this concept through Islamic legal-political discipline, where it depicted this concept as having served politically from basic military functions to the complex political domain of Islamic state institutions. This chapter, however, will retrace *al-imārah* earlier in the socio-political settings before the Islamic epoch, which was before Islam came into existence in Arabia. The contention is upon the conventionally understood notion of *al-imārah* being solely an Islamic invention. The immediate concern of this study is to try to discover the way the pre-Islamic Arabs had conceived it in terms of the way it has emerged conceptually and institutionally in their society, and how it shares or differs with the conventional political epistemic approach of the Islamic period. The objective is to first locate and establish the forms of *al-imārah* within the socio-political context of pre-Islamic Arabia before pursuing the semantical analysis in the later chapters.

4.2 *AL-IMĀRAH* CONUNDRUMS: PRE-ISLAMIC ARAB TRIBALISM

Like this study has asserted before in the previous chapter, the conventional argument concerning the origin of *al-imārah* oftentimes has been relatively new to the Islamic period through the word *amīr*.⁵³¹ Another instance of a similar remark provides that the origin of this word and its legal-political paradigm never predates the Islamic period at all.⁵³² This is

⁵³¹ A. A. Duri, “Amīr” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, 438.

⁵³² Arab Encyclopedia, “Al-Imārah”, <<https://arab-ency.com.sy/ency/details/1502/3>> (accessed 16 October 2021).

neither in the form of the former derivation of *amīr* nor even in its most basic root form of *amara* or *amr*. The reason is that the socio-political structure among the Arabs of that period necessitated other political constructs suited and specific to their tribal nature.⁵³³ Instead of *amīr*, their leaders were generally known with other titles such as *sayyid al-qawm*, *zaʿīm al-qabīlah* (leader of the clan/tribe), or *shaykh* (elder).⁵³⁴ None of these, in any case, symbolizes the concept of *al-imārah* and its derivations. Following the premise of this second remark, tribalism appears to become the very crux of understanding the pre-Islamic Arabia society and its political institutions, where *al-imārah* seems hardly to gain any favourable position at that time. In one sense, both remarks discreetly conclude that *al-imārah* is purely an Islamic invention, concomitantly suggesting the tradition before Islam was non-existent at all in influencing its development into what we know today.

This conclusion would probably have passed as a legitimate historical appraisal had it not been for one reason negating its very argument. Such invalidation stems from evidence displaying traces of *al-imārah* and its derivations that follow the same political context were also visible in the period before Islam arrived, albeit on a much different scale than the latter. Although it was not attested concretely in their political institutions, it is nevertheless visible in the assertions of several classical and modern Muslim scholars. It also appears in epigraphy and poetry collections of pre-Islamic Arabia period. More will be said about the evidence carried in these two primary sources, but the most important question that needs to be first answered is: does the tribal nature of pre-Islamic Arabia predetermine specific and fixed socio-political constructs? Secondly, under the circumstances of the said fixed constructs, how did the Arabs of that period conceive *al-imārah* and where did it fit in their society? On the next several points, this study will explore the nature of the socio-political construct of the pre-Islamic Arabs and its relation to their tribalism. The aim is to determine the rigidity or flexibility of its construct in relation to their tribalism, as well as to explore the possibilities of the existence of *al-imārah* and the way it behaves within that specific construct.

⁵³³ Ibid. See also Abd al-Aziz al-Dūri, *Al-Naẓm al-Islāmiyyah* (Baghdad: Maktabah Najīb, 1950) Vol.1, 7.

⁵³⁴ Ibid. See also Phillip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London: Macmillan Publishers, 1970) 28.

4.3 SOCIETAL CONSTRUCTION IN PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA TRIBALISM

The tribalism of pre-Islamic Arabia often projects a narrow view of their societal construction. The view usually conjures up a stereotypical image of nomadic society in desolate deserts, which often predisposes it to a simple and rigid socio-political institution. Such imagery, however fitting it is to some, is not entirely accurate in depicting the social condition of Arabia in that period. Although some of them are considerably nomadic with reference to the particular lifestyle of the *Badw* (Bedouin) people,⁵³⁵ the majority also comprises sedentary communities and settled people. This is particularly true in the northern part of Arabia near the Levant, the down south region of what is now Yemen, or even in its western part of the Hijāz peninsular, the birthplace of Islam.⁵³⁶ The Bedouins invariably constitute themselves as part of the society, but their manner of living was not ultimately being the choice for the Arabs of that period, as most of them were town-dwellers, including the Prophet Muhammad himself.⁵³⁷

Nevertheless, the distinction between the nomadic and sedentary community is yet to be conclusive in narrating the actual construction of society in Arabia of that particular period.⁵³⁸ The whole situation was indeed much more complex and far from merely being encapsulated within this rigid dichotomy.⁵³⁹ Both in actuality were representing two extreme ends of a specific social spectrum, where instead of continuously opposing each

⁵³⁵ The *Badw*/ Bedouin (*lit.* desert dwellers) comes from the Arabic trilingual root of (*bdw*), which is often depicted by Arabic lexicographers as an antonym to the *Ḥaḍr* (sedentary/ settled people). Etymologically it means those who went to the desert, to which many Arabic expressions portray such as (*badā al-qawm badwan: tr.* the people became Bedouin i.e. went to the desert) or (*tabaddā al-rajul tr.* the man has resided in the desert). It refers terminologically to the pastoral nomads in the Arabian Peninsula that share the same Arabian blood, language, and culture. This makes the classification of *Badw* and *Ḥaḍr* specifically cultural among the Arabs, which arguably excludes the non-Arab pastoralist from that region being included under the *Badw* category. Unlike the primitive way of hunting and gathering or the settled *Ḥaḍr* people that depend on agriculture, trading, and commerce, these Arab pastoral nomads focus on developing a nomadic system of exploiting lands for cultivation specifically for their herds such as goats, sheep, cattle, camel, and horse. Ibn Manẓūr, Abu al-Fadhl Jamāl al-Dīn Muhammad b. Mukarram, *Lisān al-‘Arab* (Beirut: Dār al-Ihyā’ al-Turath al-‘Arabī, 1997) Vol. 1, 347. See also Carleton S. Koon, “Badw” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, 872-892. See also Ute Pietruschka, “Bedouin” in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*, edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden: Brill, 2001) 214.

⁵³⁶ Fred Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquest* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981) 11.

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ On the discussions of diametrical opposition of nomadic and sedentary communities, see G.E Von Grunebaum, “The Nature of Arab Unity Before Islam”, *Arabica*, T.10, Fasc. 1 (1963): 5-23.

⁵³⁹ Christoffel A. O. Van Nieuwenhuijze, *Sociology of the Middle East: A Stocktaking and Interpretation* (Leiden: EJ Brill, 1971) 51.

other, they sometimes interlace to form a new stratum of society.⁵⁴⁰ This complex reticulation is visible in their economic activities, particularly in those that require interdependency and sharing between both communities.⁵⁴¹ The nomad, despite their heavy indulgence in pastoralism farming, where they had learned and excelled the way to cultivating pastoralism through utilizing seasonal pastures and different wells for their herds, were still undeniably economically dependent on the settled community along their migratory route.⁵⁴² The settlement provided the nomad with products that came from their agricultural and mercantile activities such as grains, dates, metal products, and so forth.⁵⁴³ Conversely, the sedentary community profited through this exchange by acquiring milk, clarified butter, military protection, and many more from their counterpart.⁵⁴⁴

Through this interdependent scheme of things, the third group emerged. It is a composite that has the markings of the former two groups, which serves to lessen the distinction between those two opposite ends in that particular continuum. This is the group of 'semi/ lesser nomads' or 'villagers', who practised both nomadic pastoralism and local settled agriculture in certain degrees subjected to the conditions that they lived in.⁵⁴⁵ The group still depended on pastoralism farming, but certain political and climate conditions forced them to adapt to the lifestyle of a sedentary community.⁵⁴⁶ For instance, a group of 'lesser nomads' would face harsh political conditions and find themselves deprived of grazing land and pastoral fields due to the fierce competition by other stronger nomadic tribes. The stronger nomadic tribes who seize the pastoral fields are often camel pastoralists, a profession symbolizing a fully nomadic way of life. This led this tribe of lesser nomads who mainly herded sheep and goats to stay in the settlement for a longer period, forcing them to start farming or hiring themselves out to the settled community there until the condition changed.⁵⁴⁷ At this point, the nomads were themselves a diverse

⁵⁴⁰ Fred Donner, 16.

⁵⁴¹ Greg Fisher, "Editor's Introduction" in *Arabs and Empire Before Islam*, edited by Greg Fisher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) 6.

⁵⁴² Robert G. Hoyland, 98.

⁵⁴³ Fred Donner, 16.

⁵⁴⁴ Robert G. Hoyland, 98.

⁵⁴⁵ Christoffel A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze, 51. See also Fred Donner, 16.

⁵⁴⁶ Fred Donner, 19.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.

lot, varied in terms of their tribal power, the terrain that they occupied, the kind of animals that they herded, and the political conditions and settings in which they found themselves.

This diverse situation was much more apparent among the sedentary community. They also varied radically in terms of their water resources, the terrains that they occupied, and the climate of their region.⁵⁴⁸ The most agriculturally developed in this region was the Southern Arabs, who had developed a specific farming technology of utilizing seasonal rainfalls.⁵⁴⁹ Their advances were particularly related to their method of capturing, storing, and distributing these limited water resources, which often came as flash floods filling in certain valleys semi-annually (i.e. April-May and October-November-December).⁵⁵⁰ It has enabled them to cultivate a wide range of crops, including figs, pomegranates, grapes, maize, and many more.⁵⁵¹ On the contrary, the Arabs from the western and northwest regions of the Hijāz peninsular relied heavily on the subterranean water or perennial springs, which they tapped into by digging wells, often taking the form of oases.⁵⁵² The people of these two regions were focusing and specializing in the dates culture, especially of the northwest region such as the Yathrib (modern al-Medīna al-Munawwarah), Khaybār, Taymā, as well as al-Yamāmah of central Arabia.⁵⁵³ Some of them also cultivated certain types of wheat and grape, particularly in the Tā'if area.⁵⁵⁴

Also sustaining this diverse society is the fourth group, which refers to those who are not a part of either the agricultural forces or the pastoral herders. It mainly comprises the mercantile class, artisans, and nobilities among the religious or political leaders. The Southern Arab kingdoms were granted a larger population of this group. According to Donner, this was due to the advancements of their farming technology, which has

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid, 11.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid, 11. See also Robert G. Hoyland, 85. See also Muhammad Reza ur-Rahīm, "Agriculture in Pre-Islamic Arabia", *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1971): 53-65.

⁵⁵⁰ Concerning the specific details of the irrigation technology in ancient South Arabia, see Richard Le Baron Bowen, *Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1958) 45-63. On specific discussions concerning the irrigation technique developed by the Kingdom of Saba in South Arabia, see Muhammad Husayn Maraqtan, "Handasah al-Rayy wa Dauruha fi Nash'ah al-Daulah fi Janūb al-Gharbī al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyyah wa Taṭawwuriha" in *Man and Environment in Arab World in Light of Archeological Discoveries*, edited by A.R Al-Ansārī et al. (n.p: Abdul Rahman al-Suwayri Foundation, 2010) 199-230.

⁵⁵¹ Muhammad Reza ur-Rahīm, 55-56. See also Jawad Ali, Vol. 13, 59 & 72.

⁵⁵² Fred Donner, 14.

⁵⁵³ Jawad Ali, Vol.13, 71.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid, Vol. 13, 58 & 73-74.

proliferated their agricultural productivity to a larger scale. This has sufficiently freed and excluded some of their society members from being incorporated within the agricultural and pastoral forces, enabling them to indulge in other fields of professions, such as commerce, artistry, or even politics and religion.⁵⁵⁵ On the other hand, their northwest counterpart provided a much smaller population of this group. The reason was due to the limitation of their scattered water resources in the form of oases that were too small and inadequate to support this group near their bare subsistence.⁵⁵⁶ However, Donner affirmed that there are still major oasis settlements in this part of Arabia that are large enough with their water resources to support a considerable number of this group of people in their society, albeit smaller than the one established in the South region. These comprise the aforementioned great northwest oasis towns that focused on massive date cultivation such as the Yathrib, Tā'īf, and Khaybār.⁵⁵⁷

One thing to note, however, the economic advancement of every part of the region in pre-Islamic Arabia never had been exclusively by the means of their agricultural growth, for there were other cities that had flourished through their trading and social functions.⁵⁵⁸ Aside from populating the agricultural cities, the fourth group also steadily thrived in these kinds of settings. The city of Deydān, for example, served as the trading post and colony for several kingdoms of North and South Arabia as early as the 7th century BCE.⁵⁵⁹ Despite its relatively barren condition, the city was of strategic importance for these kingdoms as it was situated in the course of the trading route by land to the Mediterranean ports northwards.⁵⁶⁰ A similar situation was also apparent in Mecca, where it also established itself as one of the great trading hubs for the Arabian peninsula during the 6th century CE.

⁵⁵⁵ Fred Donner, 12.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid, 14.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid, 15.

⁵⁵⁹ Deydān, Dadan, or Dedan (modern al-'Ula of Saudi Arabia) was the capital of the Daydān kingdom in the 8th century BCE. J.E Peterson argued that the Deydānites who populated this city during that time were the descendants of the Thamudic people of south Arabia who then settled in the north. It eventually came under the rule/ vassal or colony for two Southern kingdoms in the 5th/ 6th century BCE (i.e. Sabaeen and Minaean). During this time, the population there was then known as the Lihyanites. Nevertheless, the language spoken by the Lihyanites seems to have its forerunner within the Dadānites language, which shares the same traits of ANA languages. This seems to propose the Lihyanites to be somewhat a relative or descendant of the former. See also Phillip K. Hitti, 42. See also María del Carmen Hidalgo Chavon-Diez & Micheal C.A Macdonald, "The OCIANA Corpus of Dadanitic inscriptions: Preliminary Edition" in *The Online Corpus of Inscriptions of North Arabia*, edited by Micheal C.A Macdonald (Oxford: The Khalili Research Centre, 2017) vii.

⁵⁶⁰ Phillip K. Hitti, 42.

Apart from the great international trading activities that had operated and further developed under the extensive networks of the dominating Quraysh tribe of Mecca, the city was the hub for the intra-regional trading between the Arabs themselves.⁵⁶¹ The claim stood out enough through the existence of major seasonal market fairs (*sūq*, pl. *aswāq*, tr. market) established near Mecca, such as the Sūq ‘Ukāz, Sūq Majanna, and Sūq Dhu al-Majāz.⁵⁶² The mercantile class has prospered in these two cities, where they took part in various economic activities involving local and international commodities alike.⁵⁶³

These market fairs also functioned as the centre of the socio-cultural activities for the Arabs.⁵⁶⁴ In ‘Ukāz, for example, all Arab tribes gathered there annually to compete in the *mufākharah* (oratory and poetry on glorifying and boasting over one another).⁵⁶⁵ Famous pre-Islamic Arab poets such as Imr al-Qays,⁵⁶⁶ al-Nābighah al-Dhibyānī or al-‘A’shā were reported to have been associated with this particular market.⁵⁶⁷ Its functions even permeated into legal-political matters, such as decreeing the tribal rules and regulations, passing judgments, striking or nullifying covenants and contracts, and disputing settlements.⁵⁶⁸ Several public personas associated with these matters predominated here, such as the *hakam* (pl. *hukkām*), the tribal arbitrator for reconciliation. In some complex cases that require divine intervention, there was the *kāhin* (soothsayer), who acted as the arbitrator on behalf of the *hakam*.⁵⁶⁹ The fact that these markets also served

⁵⁶¹ Ziāul Haq, “Inter-Regional and International Trade in Pre-Islamic Arabia”, *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1968): pp. 207-232.

⁵⁶² Ibid. See also Ahmad Shauqī Ḍīf, *Tārikh al-‘Adab al-‘Arabī al-‘Aṣr al-Jāhilī* (n.p: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, n.d) 50.

⁵⁶³ It has been reported that even the kings of Persian and South Arabian have partaken in the economic activities in ‘Ukāz. Al-Marzūqī reported that the kings of the South Arabian kingdom of Yemen sent fine swords, clothing, and riding beasts to this particular market. In another report from Ibn al-Jawzī, similar items were said to have also been sent by Persian kings. See Al-Marzūqī, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-Hasan, *Al-Azminah wa al-Amkinah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, n.d) 385. See also Ibn al-Jawzi, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī, *Muthīr al-‘Azm al-Sākin ilā Ashraf al-Amākin* (n.p: Dār al-Rāyah, 1995) Vol. 2, 61.

⁵⁶⁴ Ziāul Haq, 220.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid. See also Ahmad Shauqī Ḍīf, 50. See also Sa‘īd b. Muhammad al-Afghānī, *Aswāq al-‘Arab fī al-Jāhiliyyah wa al-Islām* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1984) 292.

⁵⁶⁶ It was reported that the first one who acquired the judges' favours in ‘Ukāz was Imr al-Qays b. Hīr al-Kindī (540CE). Phillip K. Hitti, 94.

⁵⁶⁷ Al-‘A’sha was reported to be judged by al-Nābighah al-Dhibyānī in this market alongside fellow competitors such as al-Khansā’ and Hassān b. Thābit. See Irfān Muhammad Hamūr, *Sūq ‘Ukāz wa Mawāsīm al-Hajj* (Beirut: Mu’assasah al-Rihab al-Hadīthiyyah, 2000) 179-185.

⁵⁶⁸ Sadik Kirazli, “Conflict and Conflict Resolution in the pre-Islamic Arab Society”, *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (2011): 25-53.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid.

initially for the socio-religious functions related to the cultic and idolatry worshipping of the Arabs in that period further explains the emergence of these various social and religious figures.⁵⁷⁰

Building on the above, one would see that the society of pre-Islamic Arabia was much more complex than their conventional image of being uniformly nomadic. The nomadic people themselves were not even uniform, as they varied in the sense of their tribal power, the terrain that they occupied, and the type of animal that they herded. This is despite the fact that they shared the same sense of tribalism itself. Element of this tribalism was also not exclusively a compulsory parallel to those nomadic Arabs, as it has also existed within their counterpart, which is the sedentary community that resides in many settled areas throughout the Arab peninsula. The existence of the role of *hukkam* in the sedentary community within their mercantile city proves the element of tribal arbitration in their community. Nevertheless, this strong tribal nature was neither a hindrance to the growth of their societal differences nor a catalyst in transforming the scheme of their society in the form of a homogenous unit with fixed and simple nomadic residential unit. Diversity was prevalent in Arabia during that period, which was full of various social activities coming from different backgrounds of life and professions.

4.4 POLITICAL INSTITUTION IN PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA TRIBALISM

Perhaps the most outstanding feature of the political institution in pre-Islamic Arabia was also its diversity, the same feature embedding its aforementioned social construction. One important factor for this diverse political setting originates from the differences in the localities of each region in Arabia. This refers to the differences and variegated political landscape in two regions of Arabia, the South and the North part of the peninsular. In South Arabia, we would have to associate their political system with the monarch, an institution that seems to hold the greatest power of ruling in their community. Take the Sabaeans (*Saba*'), for example, their monarch was initially known as *mukarrib* (*mkrb*) in the first half

⁵⁷⁰ The Arabs designed these markets initially for religious functions (pre-Islamic hajj). They took off within the two sacred months of Harām, Dhu al-Qā'eda, and Dhu al-Hijja. See al-Marzūqi, 285.

of the first millennium BCE,⁵⁷¹ before gradually changing into formal royal titles (*malik*: king) after the second half of the first millennium BCE.⁵⁷² This monarch system existed along with another important institution, the *qayls*, which was the noble family/ clan that dominated each tribe that formed the Sabaean community (*sha‘b*). The *qayls* acted as the vassal for the monarch and lords for the clan below them.⁵⁷³ According to Korotayev, these two institutions depended on each other alongside another two important communities, the military and the Sabaean commoners themselves.⁵⁷⁴ There were also the *maqtawis*, the steward or assistant to the royals or to the *qayls*, which Korotayev argued to be a proto-official profession that must have related to administration purposes.⁵⁷⁵ In the case of the royal *maqtawis*, they were predominantly from the family of *qayls*. Unlike the *qayls* who had autonomous power in their region in the name of the tribal chiefdom, the royal *maqtawis* were the high-ranked agents of royal power, granted higher status and full commitments and obligations to the kings.⁵⁷⁶

The Minaeans (Arabic: *Ma‘īn*), a contemporary neighbouring kingdom of the Sabā' also had similar political institution. The real dating of its establishment is still debatable among scholars. Nevertheless, the evidence invariably points out the historical existence of its monarch system. F.V. Winnett was among the first who compiled the chronological record of the Minaean kings in 1939, followed by later construction by W.F. Albright in 1953.⁵⁷⁷ Although this seems to suggest that the Minaeans had fully royal-based politics

⁵⁷¹ *Mukarrib* (Arabic: *Muqarrrib*) is the earliest title used by the ruler in the early development of South Arabian states i.e. Saba'. It means near to God, a religious title that displays its importance as the mediator between God and their community. See Jawad Ali, Vol. 3, 286.

⁵⁷² Andrey Korotayev, "The Sabaean Community (SB', 'SB'N) in the Political Structure of the Middle Sabaean Cultural Area", *Orientalia*, Vol. 63, No. 2 (1994): 68-83.

⁵⁷³ Robert G. Hoyland, 119.

⁵⁷⁴ For further discussions on these four institutions and their roles in tampering with the political changes for the Sabaean, see Andrey Korotayev, "Material Sources of Middle Sabaean Royal Power", *East and West*, Vol. 45, No. 1/ 4 (1995): 11-21.

⁵⁷⁵ Surveys of some epigraphic evidence concerning the uses of *maqtawis* also signal the non-formal function of this post, where it also prevailed as a personal assistant or steward for the non-royal and non-*qaylites*. It seems to suggest that its usage was rather in a much more general context. This however did not deny the existence of *maqtawis* designated for the royal and *qaylite*. Korotayev suggested that its usage for the royal and *qayls* signals the function of *maqtawis* as the proto-official designation. The fact that it was also significant in general usage, however, illustrates the lack of a formal administration system in the Sabaean kingdom. See Andrey Korotayev, *Pre-Islamic Yemen: Socio-political Organization of the Sabaean Cultural Area in the 2nd and 3rd Centuries AD* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996) 59.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 94.

⁵⁷⁷ See F.V. Winnett, "The Place of the Minaeans in the History of Pre-Islamic Arabia", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 73 (1939): 3-9. See also W. F. Albright, "The Chronology of

from its earlier establishment, others argued otherwise. According to Arbach & Rousi, the Minaeans initially posed themselves as a city-state with strong Sabaeen influence before gradually transforming into having independent royal entities as rulers.⁵⁷⁸ The origin of Minaean was never to be exogenous (e.g. establishment through foreign settlers outside of South Arabia), as Minaeans already existed alongside the Sabaeans as early as the 8th century BCE. The absence of their mention in the inscriptions of the earlier Sabaeen *mukarrib* was only because of them not participating in the dispute with the Sabaeans.⁵⁷⁹

This city-state argument explains the additional features of Minaean royal institution compared to the Sabaeen. Such features were visible in the cities subjected to the ruling of Minaean royals. For instance, each city had an independent system of government and religion led by the public institution of *mswd* (plural: *mswdt*), a tribal council representing the people of the city upon the Minaean royals. Leader of the tribes formed this council to discuss various matters (i.e. taxation, public institutions, deliberations on war, validation of any contracts, and implementing civil and religious projects).⁵⁸⁰ There was also the *kabir* (plural: *kabirate*), which is the administrative officer that served at any Minaean city, province, or establishment in foreign lands.⁵⁸¹ The whole Minaean society prospered in each of these cities and was known as '*m*', a nomenclature that was in some ways similar to the *sha' b* used by the Sabaeans.⁵⁸² After the decline of the Minaeans at the end of the first century BCE, the political designation of *mswd* and *kabirate* was later adapted into the formal administration system of the Sabaeans. The designations,

the Minaean Kings of Arabia", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 129 (1953): 20-24.

⁵⁷⁸ Mounir Arbach & Irene Rossi, "From City-State to Kingdom: History and Chronology of Ma'in between the VIII and the VI Centuries BC", *Orientalia*, Vol. 81, No. 4 (2012): 318-339.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁰ Jawad Ali, Vol. 3, 109. See also Abd al-'Azīz Šāleḥ, *Tārīkh Shībh al-Jazīrah al-'Arabiyya fī 'Uṣūriha al-Qādimah* (Cairo: Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, 2013) 82.

⁵⁸¹ Recorded Minaean *kabirate* in epigraphic inscriptions existed within two different locations, the *kabīr* of Timna and the *kabīr* of Deydān. See A.F.L. Beeston, "Review of Iscrizioni sudarabiche: Icrizioni Minee", *Journal of Semitic Studies*, Vol. XX, Issue 2, (1975): 266-270. See also A.F.L. Beeston, "Minaean ra's-ṣīdḡ", in *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies: A.F.L. Beeston at the Arabian Seminar and Other Papers*, edited by Micheal C.A Macdonald & C.S Phillips (Oxford: Archeopress, 2005) 120.

⁵⁸² Jawad Ali, Vol. 3, 109.

however, existed among the Sabaeans with slight differences in their appointment and role in their society.⁵⁸³

Meanwhile, the political institutions of the north and central Arabia were quite different from their southern counterpart. Although they did converge together by the nexus of tribalism as the core of their political construction, the differences, however, were far greater. These differences are prevalent, especially in the much higher rate of fragmentation and complexity of the northern political institution.⁵⁸⁴ Contrary to the South Arabian predisposition to the monarch-tribal system within the state, the population of the northern and central parts of the Arabian peninsula was more towards the decentralized tribal system that was void of state.⁵⁸⁵ Donner, for example, classified the political reality of the North from the first century CE through the power relationship within their hegemonic tribal system.⁵⁸⁶ According to him, this hegemonic tribal power was visible in the forms of warrior or religious aristocracy.

The former refers specifically to the tribal military power, which often fashions into a tribal confederation of powerful nomadic tribes comprised of camel pastoralists. Their full nomadic life granted them mobility, an advantage that helped them to overpower the subject community comprised of semi-nomads, villagers, and small merchants around their vicinity. This is particularly through advancing their quick and surprise raid or even in evading pursuit.⁵⁸⁷ The mutual relationship then developed between these powerful nomads and the subjected community, particularly through the *khuwwah* tax paid by the latter with the compensation of military protection offered by that powerful nomad tribe.⁵⁸⁸ As the name suggests, this confederation of tribal military power does not come from one single dominating lineage but is formed by various lineages or even sub-lineages. Every lineage

⁵⁸³ Epigraphic evidence displays the extensive usage of these designations among the Sabaeans, especially from the first century CE. See Jacques Ryckmans, "Some Recent Views on the Public Institution of Saba", in *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies Held at Middle East Centre*, (London: Seminar for Arabian Studies, 1971) 24-26. See also D. B. Doe and A. Jamme, "New Sabaeen Inscriptions from South Arabia", *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 1/2 (1968): 2-28. See also Cableton S. Coon, "Southern Arabia, A Problem for Future" in *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of Smithsonian Institution* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944) 396-397.

⁵⁸⁴ Fred Donner, 37.

⁵⁸⁵ Greg Fisher, "Editor's Introduction" in *Arabs and Empire Before Islam*, 5.

⁵⁸⁶ Fred Donner, 29.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid.

competed to attain the highest position of *ahl-al-bayt* (ruling house), of which the tribal chieftain is often determined.⁵⁸⁹

On the other hand, the religious aristocracy manifested through the establishment of power in the cultic and religious centres throughout the region. According to Donner, these centres serve as the sacred enclave (*harām*) for the Arabs during that time.⁵⁹⁰ Each *harām* was under the control of a holy family, descended from the person who first established the place as the *harām*. Acting as the guardian, priest, and servant of the deity, this family established and imposed regulations and rules around this place upon the visitors. They ordained and maintained the rules that were not only limited to religious or cultic affairs but also extended into those that had social and economic implications. One of the most extensive regulations preserved was the prohibition of murder and bloodshed in the *harām*. This single regulation helps build these places as the neutral ground for the tribes in this region, where feuding tribes can enter without having any worries of molestation or attack by their enemies.⁵⁹¹ It even serves as the place of arbitration and reconciliation for these feuding tribes.⁵⁹²

Furthermore, the offered security also benefits the merchants and artisans, where they thrived and in some ways helped form these places to be important economic centres in that region.⁵⁹³ The aforementioned city of Mecca is the most prominent example of this, where it serves as the centre for affairs related to their cultic practices, and tribal politics and even formed as the economic powerhouse through the existence of various market fairs near that city.⁵⁹⁴ Through the domination of the cultic, political, and economic aspects of the tribes through these centres, the religious aristocrats were more influential compared to the warrior aristocrats who mainly depended on their military and fighting capabilities.⁵⁹⁵

In another perspective, the complexities of the political system in North and Central Arabia were apparent enough through the structures constituting their political landscape.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid, 32.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid, 34.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

⁵⁹² Ibid. See also Sadik Kirazli, 25-53.

⁵⁹³ Ibid. See also Ziāul Haq, "Inter-Regional and International Trade in Pre-Islamic Arabia", *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1968): pp. 207-232.

⁵⁹⁴ Ziāul Haq, 220.

⁵⁹⁵ Donner, 36.

Al-Azraqī, for example, listed six public offices of early administration in Mecca, which are *al-ḥijābah*, *al-siqāyah*, *al-rafādah*, *al-qiyādah*, *al-liwā'*, and *al-nadwah*.⁵⁹⁶ According to him, these six offices were firstly under the charge of Qusayy ibn Kilāb, the unifier (*mujammi'*) of the Arabs of the 5th century BCE.⁵⁹⁷ Ibn Abd Rabbih extended the number of these offices and formed them into another ten classifications, all of which functioned during the eve of Islam under the role of ten powerful clans of Quraysh.⁵⁹⁸ It is interesting to note, however, that each of these offices was responsible for more than one administrative function, summing it up to 18 different functions respectively. These include five of the six aforementioned offices with an exception of *al-qiyādah* and another thirteen new additions of *al-'imārah*, *al-'uqāb*, *al-sadānah*, *al-mashūrah*, *al-ashnāq*, *al-qubbah*, *al-'a'innah*, *al-sifārah*, *al-aysār*, *al-hukūmah*, *al-amwāl al-muhajjarah*, and *hulwān al-nafr*.⁵⁹⁹ In another modern take, M. Hamidullah added three more different offices, which are *ifādah*, *ijāzah*, and *al-nasi'*.⁶⁰⁰ It is not our intention here to elaborate on the details of each office thoroughly. The objective is to convey that these offices and their administrative functions vary extensively according to their roles within the Meccan society, all of which function for the continuation of their city-state system.

Regardless of the differences between the Arabs of the South and the North in their political institutions, they shared one commonality, which is the sense of tribalism that serves as the nexus for their complex political landscape. Tribalism acted as the inner force for the political construction of these Arabs in both regions, where it has permeated and

⁵⁹⁶ Al-Azraqī, Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah, *Akhbār Makkah Wa Mā Jā'a Fīha Min al-Āthār* (Saudi Arabia: Maktabah al-Asadī, 2003) 649.

⁵⁹⁷ He is Qusay (Zayd) b. Kilāb b. Murrah, a 6th century Arab leader and legend in the northern province of the Arabian Peninsula. He was the son of Kilāb b. Murrah b. Ka'b of Qurayshite. Qusay is reportedly had then taken over the reign of Mecca from Banu Khuzā'ah and once again reunified the tribe of Quraysh in Mecca. The granted praise of 'the unifier' came from Arabs after his era, which refers to the latter as the symbol of the tribal unity among the Quraysh tribe as well as the figure from whose they claim descent and lineage. See Ibn Hisham, 'Abd al-Malik b. Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah* (Tanta: Dār al-Ṣahābah li al-Turāth, 1995) Vol. 1, 39. See also G. Levi Della Vida, "Kusayy" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by C.E Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, B. Lewis, C.H Pellat (Leiden: Brill, 1986) Vol. 5, 519-520.

⁵⁹⁸ Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. 'Abd Rabbih, *Al-Iqd al-Farīd* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, n.d) Vol. 3, 268.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid, 267-268.

⁶⁰⁰ Hamidullah's assertion comes from Ibn Hisham's elaborations on three important administration offices specifically on the matters of *hajj* (pilgrimage) during the pre-Islamic Arab, which are *ifādah*, *ijāzah* and *nasi'*. See Ibn Hishām, Vol. 1, 83 & 164- 167. See also Muhammad Hamidullah, "The City State of Mecca", *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XII, No. 3 (July 1938): 255-276.

existed either in the monarchic institution of the South, the nomadic way of the warrior aristocracy, or even in the religious aristocracy of the Quraysh within their city-state system. Similar to the construction of their society, this shared inner force did not paint their political construct as to be homogenous with a fixed single system of mere tribal chieftainship but instead illustrates it to be more diverse and variegated in its practical sense. In other words, this shared sense translates the political institutions of the pre-Islamic Arabs in a more complex way rather than being confined to simple nomadic institutions often portrayed in the generic sense of tribalism.

4.5 'ASABIYYA AND THE DYNAMIC PRE-ISLAMIC ARAB TRIBALISM

The previous discussions have addressed the diverse nature of the socio-political setting of pre-Islamic Arabs. Despite the diversity, they are still interconnected by the nexus of tribalism. Nevertheless, their shared force of tribalism was not necessarily limited to producing 'segmental societies with a clan base' as Durkheim has suggested concerning tribal societies.⁶⁰¹ His assertion projects a standard overview of a tribal society that constructs itself through blood ties, which is the element representing the likeness of each unit and member of that society in a segmented manner.⁶⁰² Elman elaborated Durkheim's assertion here as having to view tribal society as merely primordial with a socio-political setting comprised of basic residential units that are similar to each other, economically self-sufficient, and having a similar level of autonomy.⁶⁰³ According to Elman, a much-stratified tribal society that transcends this is only to have a centralized political autonomy of chieftdom that serves to coordinate social, economic, and religious activities.⁶⁰⁴ Interestingly, the aforementioned reality of pre-Islamic Arabia was already embodying these two characteristics of tribal society provided by both Durkheim and Elman. At some point, it may perhaps transcend beyond that said limitation. This is especially true by the

⁶⁰¹ Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, translated from French by George Simpson (Illinois: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), 175.

⁶⁰² Ibid.

⁶⁰³ Elman R. Service, *Primitive Social Organization* (New York: Random House Inc, 1962) 131-132.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid, 133-134.

virtue of their much-diversified socio-political landscape that is hardly limited to mere chiefdom. They instead had a different and complex social and political unit following their economic, political, and geographical climate and condition. In this regard, their tribalism is remarkably a dynamic force that has managed to sustain itself within various forms of constructs that each corresponds to their unique environment.

This dynamic character of Arab tribalism may stem from the notion of *'asabiyya*, a particular idea that we have encountered briefly in the last chapter. Although it is well-known as being exclusive to the Arabs during the pre-Islamic epoch, the notion somehow has also become inclusive to the outside civilization with the help of Ibn Khaldūn, who has recognized *'asabiyya* as one of the fundamental components determining the rise and fall of a nation and dynasty.⁶⁰⁵ Many modern scholars have been trying to extrapolate the general meaning of *'asabiyya* as suggested by the former, where they have come up with various translations such as group feeling,⁶⁰⁶ sense of solidarity,⁶⁰⁷ tribal loyalty or consciousness, blood relationship, *esprit de corps*, and many more.⁶⁰⁸ Some of them prefer to retain the word in its original Arabic form, which is often due to the difficulties of translating it adequately. Regardless of the differences, they are all attributing *'asabiyya* as somewhat the human bond of cohesion in a group forming community.⁶⁰⁹ In this regard, *'asabiyya* acted as a social bond that can be used in measuring the strength and stability of any social group, be it in the nomadic or other society.⁶¹⁰

In understanding the dynamicity of Arab tribalism in relation to the *'asabiyya*, one would have to look first into the core that constructs *'asabiyya* as the bond of societal cohesion for the Arabs. At first glance, the core could have been consanguineous in nature.

⁶⁰⁵ In his 'Introduction to Historiography' in his *al-Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldūn points out many methodological errors among historians in analyzing historical events. Among the errors he provided is leaving out *'asabiyya* as one of the prime movers influencing the real politics of the past. See Ibn Khaldūn, 38-53.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, translated from Arabic by Franz Rosenthal (New York: Pantheon Books, 1958) 261.

⁶⁰⁷ Muhsin Mehdi, *Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History: A Study in the Philosophic Foundation of the Science of Culture* (London & New York: Routledge, 2016) 196.

⁶⁰⁸ For other translations and further discussions of *'asabiyya*, see Fuad Baali, *Ibn Khaldun's Sociological Thought: Society, State, and Urbanism* (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2018) 43-44.

⁶⁰⁹ Mohd Yaseen Gada, "Ethnic Violence and Conflict: The Dynamics of Ibn Khaldun's Theory of *Asabiyyah* (Social Feeling)", *Ibn Haldun Çalışmaları Dergisi*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (2018): 194.

⁶¹⁰ Fuad Baali, 44.

However, that was rather untrue.⁶¹¹ Contrarily, Ibn Khaldūn argued that the core of Arab 'asabiyya extends beyond the said limitation of that matter of birth.⁶¹² He illustrated this in three particular cases; a freed slave who has taken interest in attaching himself to the family of their former master by becoming a client (*mawla*), a deserter from a certain tribe seeking protection under a different tribe (*al-firār*),⁶¹³ and a smaller clan that is seeking the protection of a bigger clan through alliance (*al-halif*).⁶¹⁴ Under these three prefixes, an individual or a clan can acquire the kinship of a new tribe that they had sought as if their attachment to the tribe is through blood ties.⁶¹⁵ In doing so, they have to subject themselves to the law of the new tribe as well as being a mutual help for them otherwise; there would be no meaning in attaching themselves to the latter.⁶¹⁶

Conversely, Ibn Khaldūn argued that a blood relation of a person to his tribe may become useless and irrelevant if that particular relationship does not help generate within him a mutual affection for the tribe or subject him to the tribe's interests, laws and conditions.⁶¹⁷ Al-Jabri rephrases Ibn Khaldūn's assertion on 'asabiyya here as the binding force that derives not only from the blood ties but also from the tribe or the group's common interest.⁶¹⁸ In another remark, Kayapinar argued that the conception of blood ties in Ibn Khaldūn's 'asabiyya is not fixed or absolute but instead is relative.⁶¹⁹ Nevertheless, Ibn Khaldūn manages to highlight the effects of 'asabiyya in influencing the dynamicity of the Arab tribal construction, to such an extent that it hacks into the mechanism of blood ties and its role within their tribal society. This proves Donner's assertion before on how weaker nomadic clans can assimilate within the much stronger nomadic tribe in his model of the warrior aristocracy, despite also having to be from a different lineage.⁶²⁰ Ibn Khaldūn also exemplified this situation in the tribes of Ghassān and Qudhā'ah, who both had foreign

⁶¹¹ Ibid.

⁶¹² Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddimah*, 143-144.

⁶¹³ Ibid, 145.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid, 144.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid, 145.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

⁶¹⁸ Muhammad 'Ābid al-Jābirī, *Al-'Asabiyyah wa al-Dawlah: Ma 'ālim Naẓoriyyah Khaldūniyyah fī al-Tārikh al-Islāmī* (Beirut: Markaz Dirāsāt al-Wihdah al-Arabiyya) 172.

⁶¹⁹ M. Akif Kayapinar, "Ibn Khaldun's Concept of Assabiyya: An Alternative Tool for Understanding Long-Term Politics?" *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 36 (2008): 375-407.

⁶²⁰ Donner, 31.

assimilation in their lineage compared to the Quraysh, Kinānah, or Thaqīf who preserved their lineage's purity.⁶²¹

In addition to that, *'asabiyya* also plays a significant role in moulding the variegated political structure of the pre-Islamic Arabs. This was mostly due to the goal of *'asabiyya* itself, which is the need for establishing authority. Ibn Khaldūn classified authority into two types; *al-mulk* and *al-ri'āṣah*.⁶²² The former is a specific term that many Khaldūnian scholars have roughly translated as a royal authority, sovereignty, state or kingdom,⁶²³ by which Ibn Khaldūn asserted to be more authoritative, dominant, superior, and having the power to rule by force.⁶²⁴ On the other hand, the latter is a form of authority that has limited powers and is void of the ability to rule by force, such as the clan or tribe chieftainship.⁶²⁵ Regardless, Ibn Khaldūn affirmed that the latter is still a part of the goal of *'asabiyya*, as it is one of the milestones in reaching the final authority (*al-mulk*).⁶²⁶ In other words, *'asabiyya* exists within many forms of authority, and among these authorities, there will be one who is superior where all the other authorities will coalesce thus instituting the final authority with a greater sense of *'asabiyya*.⁶²⁷

This condition somewhat explains the reason why different forms and levels of political authority were taking place throughout Arabia during this period. These include the military authority comprised of the tribal confederation of powerful nomadic chieftainship, the religious authority in the city-state of Mecca, and the royal authority of the Southern kingdoms. The variation was also to be found intrinsically within the same political authority, such as in the case of different titles symbolizing the clan chieftainship (e.g. *ra'īs*, *rabb*, *sayyid*, or *shaykh*).⁶²⁸ In another example, the variation manifests within the Arab representation of an oracle, where it prevailed within the functions of several

⁶²¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddimah*, 144.

⁶²² Ibid, 153.

⁶²³ Mohd Yaseen Gada, 196.

⁶²⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddimah*, 153.

⁶²⁵ Ibid.

⁶²⁶ Ibid.

⁶²⁷ Yves Lacoste, *Ibn Khaldun: The Birth of History and the Past of the Third World* (London: Verso, 1984) 99.

⁶²⁸ Muhammad Yusuf Guraya, "Judicial Institution in the Pre-Islamic Arabia", *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (1979): 324.

different figures such as the *kāhin* (soothsayer) and *ʿarrāf* (fortune-teller).⁶²⁹ Arguably, this variation might have first initiated semantically from the complicated way of the pre-Islamic Arab language in detailing the meaning of each word and its function and mechanism. However, they all represent the cultic beliefs and practices of the Arabs during that period, where these figures also shared the same political position in their society, particularly in functioning as part of the judicial process alongside the *hakam* in dealing with tribal disputes and arbitration (*tahkīm*).⁶³⁰ Thus, despite the differences in terms of their name and social functions, they shared the same level of authoritative status politically in fulfilling their role in the arbitrary processes alongside the role of *hakam*.

In conclusion, tribalism itself is not necessarily a single notion constructing the socio-political settings of these pre-Islamic Arabs. The notion of *'asabiyya* entails their tribalism, thus producing a socio-political system that is far from being merely uniform or primordial to the conventional tribal society. The flexibility of *'asabiyya* helps shape the dynamicity of the pre-Islamic Arab tribalism, at once contributing to the emergence of diverse and variegated socio-political structures. Hence, it is safe to say that the socio-political landscape of the pre-Islamic Arab was never to be in a fixed state, but it instead had always been relative and diversified in parallel to their economic, political, and geographical circumstances. Through this dynamic nature of tribalism, this study will try to determine the position and usage of *al-imārah* in the conceptions of the pre-Islamic Arabs on the next point.

4.6 AL-IMĀRAH IN THE DYNAMIC PRE-ISLAMIC ARAB TRIBALISM

The earliest inference gleaned from the previous discussions should first suggest that *al-imārah* during the pre-Islamic Arab period was non-existent, especially in the similar political framework of the post-Islamic context. With regards to the socio-political reality of that period, *al-imārah* seems to not have gained any favourable position in either North or South Arabia, where the historical image of its instrumentalization in the legal-political

⁶²⁹ Muhammad Hamidullah, 266.

⁶³⁰ Muhammad Yusuf Guraya, 345-346.

spectrum seems unavailable in their societal constructs or political institutions. This condition would have strengthened the previous notion that *al-imārah* is purely an Islamic invention and never predates that said period due to the tribalism nature of the pre-Islamic Arabs that never necessitated *al-imārah* as part of their socio-political needs. However, if one would have to view *al-imārah* within the dynamic nature of the pre-Islamic Arab tribalism, the situation might lead to an opposite reality, as its dynamicity signals the subjective nature of their socio-political condition, including the possibility of *al-imārah* in their political context.

Following this dynamicity, Ibn Khaldūn offers a refreshing postulation on this matter. He contended that the concept of *al-imārah* in its most-evolved instrumentalization might have its forerunner in the pre-Islamic Arab period.⁶³¹ However, similar to Al-Dūrī, he asserted that the term *al-imārah* in itself was not the medium of usage at that moment as the gist of the concept was carried through the word *amīr*, which according to him, related to the term *al-imārah* as part of its morphological derivation under the form (*fa'īl*).⁶³² His prime references, however, seem to have come mostly from sources in the Islamic period, such as the narration on how *Jāhiliyya* Arab used to call Prophet Muhammad the *amīr* of Mecca and *amīr* of Hijāz⁶³³ and the narration on Sa'ad ibn Waqqas who became the *amīr* (commander) for the Qādisiyyah army.⁶³⁴ In this sense, the exact term of *al-imārah* to him was yet to fully develop as a specific system of governance by then, but it nevertheless was accorded a type of administration system in another derivation, albeit smaller and solely operating within one specific context, which serves to portray the meaning of leadership or commandership of military and warfare mission.⁶³⁵

⁶³¹ Ibn Khaldūn, 240.

⁶³² Ibid.

⁶³³ This study has not encountered any narration mentioning how the *Jāhiliyya* people used to call Prophet Muhammad as *amīr* of Mecca or Hijāz. As far as this study is concerned, Ibn Khaldūn is the only one who narrated this. See Ibn Khaldūn, 240.

⁶³⁴ This is a clear example of post-Islamic sources used by Ibn Khaldūn in discussing the early nature of *amīr* and its military usage among the Arabs. The Battle of al-Qādisiyyah happened during the Rāshidun caliphate under the tenure of Caliph Umar b. al-Khattāb. The latter is the one that has appointed Sa'd as *amīr*, as mentioned in one of the narrations recorded by Al-Ṭabarī. See Ibn Khaldūn, 240. See also Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārikh al-Rusul wa al-Mulk*, Vol. 3, 478.

⁶³⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, 240.

Unfortunately, Ibn Khaldūn's claim was merely a statement with limited examples and void of any further discussion to back it up. The reason is due to his focus on defining *al-imārah* seems to be centred on its later development after the emergence of Islam. This is apparent in his further expounds on the development of the word *amīr* in the later post-Islamic period that we have encountered in the previous chapter.⁶³⁶ In that sense, although Ibn Khaldūn believes *al-imārah* has its origin and development from the pre-Islamic period, his argument entails that the expansion of the term as a concept indeed had happened during the Islamic era. Furthermore, his understanding of the term in the context of pre-Islamic Arabia was also restricted to the *Jāhiliyya* timeframe, which only circulated around the period right before Islam came. Further discussion of *al-imārah* in his *Kitāb al-‘Ibar* was also of little or to no avail, where evidence of its usage in that period was not a bit imparted. Ibn Khaldūn had instead projected the Islamic era definition in discussing *al-imārah* of pre-Islamic Arabia. These are visible in his usage of the terms *ūli al-amr*, *amīr*, and *amr* in narrating the socio-political construct of the pre-Islamic Arab, which mostly entails the understanding of the Islamic period context.⁶³⁷ Nevertheless, Ibn Khaldūn's takes concerning this matter are still considered influential as this is the only pre-modern takes directly asserting the usage of *al-imārah* in a political context during the pre-Islamic period, as far as this study is concerned.

Several modern scholars follow Ibn Khaldūn's assertion concerning this matter. This study has also mentioned Ṣālih Ahmad al-‘Alī, who argued that the usage of *amīr* to indicate political leadership was also prevalent among the nomadic Bedouin.⁶³⁸ Similarly, Jawad Ali argued that the word *amruhum* used in the *Jāhiliyya* period is to carry the same meaning of *āmīruhum* or *amīruhum* (i.e. their lord).⁶³⁹ He also contended that the ASA languages used the word *mr’* and its plural form *‘mr’*, an epithet that according to him, resembles the meaning of Islamic-Arabic word *amīr*.⁶⁴⁰ Both *amr* and *mr’* to him symbolize

⁶³⁶ Ibid.

⁶³⁷ In discussing the history of pre-Islamic Arabia, Ibn Khaldūn uses most of these terms in the context of the Islamic usage and meanings. The phrases *amīr al-dawlah* (leader of the state), *amīr al-jaysh* (commander of the army), or *amīr* of certain places of ancient Arabia are common in his *Kitāb al-‘Ibar*. For detailed discussions of Ibn Khaldūn concerning the pre-Islamic Arab history, see his second volume of *Kitāb al-‘Ibar*. See Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-‘Ibar...*, Vol. 2, 3-404.

⁶³⁸ Ṣālih Ahmad al-‘Alī, 156.

⁶³⁹ Jawad Ali, Vol. 9, 219.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.

the meaning of chief, lord, or nobilities (*sayyid*).⁶⁴¹ Ignatius Guidi, for example, translated the word *mr'* as synonymous to both Latin and Arabic words *dominus* and *rabb*, which also indicates the meaning of chieftainship/ ruler/ possessor.⁶⁴² On top of that, Jawad Ali also pinpointed the South Arabian word *mr's* as another version of the modern *amīr*.⁶⁴³ Although it shares all three triliteral roots of *mr'*, it has another alphabetical addition of *sīn*, which carries the meaning of *ra'īs* (tr. chief).⁶⁴⁴ Then there is also the Palmyrene word *mrn* which Jawad translates to *sayyiduna* (tr. our lord).⁶⁴⁵ On top of that, Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī even argued that the South Arabian *qayls*,⁶⁴⁶ or what the Arabs call *al-qiyālah* are also a type or a form of *al-imārah*.⁶⁴⁷ As a lexicographer who always deals with word and meaning, his assertion is interesting due to how *al-qiyālah* and *al-imārah* are not even coming from the same root word. If his contention here is true, a semantical or conceptual similarity should have existed between these two different words.

In the modern western world, Robert Hoyland also addressed the usage of the word *mr'* antithetically to the word *'bd* in pre-Islamic South Arabia, where it often symbolizes a relationship between a dominant party and its subordinate. It usually manifests in the relationship between deities and devotees, patron and his client, king and his subject, landlord and tenant, and so on.⁶⁴⁸ The same situation is visible in the relationship of the *qayls* with their tribe, where the former acts as the vassal for the monarch as well as the *mr'*

⁶⁴¹ Ibid.

⁶⁴² Ignatius Guidi, *Summarium Grammaticae Veteris Linguae Arabicae Meridionalis* (Le Caire: Universite Egyptienne, 1930) 35.

⁶⁴³ Jawad Ali, Vol. 9, 219

⁶⁴⁴ Jawad Ali, Vol. 3, 207. See also Muṭahhar al-Iryānī, *Fī Tārīkh al-Yaman: Nuqūṣ Musnadiyya wa-Ta'liqāt*. (Ṣan'ā': Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa al-Buḥūth al-Yamanī, 1990) 116.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid, Vol. 9, 219.

⁶⁴⁶ He is Abu al-Fayḍ, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī, famously known by the agnomen Murtaḍā (1145-1205 AH/ 1732-1790 CE). He was of Indian origin, who then furthered his study in Zabid of Yemen, before settling down in Cairo. Considered a great polymath of the early modern period, he had expertise in many fields including lexicography, philology, *ḥadīth* tradition, and genealogy. His referred work here in this study (*Tāj al-'Arūs*) serves as an extended version or commentary upon Al-Fayrūzabādī's *al-Qāmūs*, as well as a summary of the whole lexicography in Islamic tradition. See al-Kattānī, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥayy b. 'Abd al-Kabīr al-Ḥasanī al-Idrīsī, *Fahras al-Fahāris wa al-Athbāt wa Mu'jam al-Mu'ajim wa al-Mashāyikhah wa al-Musalsalat* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1982) Vol. 1, 528. See also al-Ziriklī, Vol. 7, 70. See also Stefan Reichmuth, *The World of Murtada al-Zabidi (1732-91): Life, Networks and Writings* (Exeter: Gibbs Memorial Trust, 2009) 54.

⁶⁴⁷ Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *Tāj al-'Arūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs* (n.p: Dār al-Hidāyah, n.d) Vol. 30, 297.

⁶⁴⁸ Robert Hoyland, 119.

(lord) for his tribe.⁶⁴⁹ Although this should have at least explained Murtaḍā's opinion on *al-qiyālah* and its relation to *al-imārah* before, yet it still did not explain the relation of the ASA word *mr'* to the Arabic root 'mr. However, if one were to take the derivation *mr'* as part of *al-imārah* as contended by Jawad before, an added consideration of the opinions of both Hoyland's and al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī would later rationalize why *al-imārah* during the pre-Islamic Arab was never to be seen as an exclusive part of their socio-political institutions. The dynamic nature of this word as well as the fluidity of the pre-Islamic Arabia tribalism have both contributed to a certain situation that enables the word *mr'* to discreetly subsist within various forms of social relationships – politically or not. Such a situation was never unfamiliar as it also happened to other pre-Islamic Arabia terminologies, such as the words *maqtawis* and *kāhin*. The word *maqtawis* in South Arabia is used to portray both meanings of steward for the royal and non-royals.⁶⁵⁰ It only reaches its political functions whenever the *maqtawis* act as a steward for the royal and the *qayls*, making it being regarded as one of the proto-official profession^s in the Sabaeen period, as argued by Korotayev previously.⁶⁵¹

In the case of the term *kāhin*, it may initially mean simply a soothsayer or a diviner.⁶⁵² According to al-Fārūqī, the *kāhin* and their services are only necessary whenever a member of the tribe needs them.⁶⁵³ Their functions and services mostly relate to their relationship with the supernatural, which varies from throwing stones or drawing arrows to interpreting dreams and omens of others,⁶⁵⁴ acting as the guardian of the shrine, offering sacrifices on behalf of their tribesmen,⁶⁵⁵ and many more. In some cases, the Arabs at the time also regarded, although mistakenly, the healer among them as *kāhin*.⁶⁵⁶ However, apart from these religious and cultic functions, the *kāhin* also served politically at certain

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁰ Andrey Korotayev, *Pre-Islamic Yemen: Socio-political Organization...*, 59.

⁶⁵¹ Ibid.

⁶⁵² Muhammad Hamidullah, 266. See also Muhammad Yusuf Guraya, 345-346. See also T. Fahd, "Kāhin" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by E. Van Donzel, B. Lewis, C.H. Pellat (Leiden EJ Brill, 1997) Vol. 4, 420.

⁶⁵³ Ismāil al-Fārūqī & Lois Lamya, *Cultural Atlas of Islam* (New York: Macmillan, 1986) 67.

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁵ T. Fahd, Vol. 4, 420.

⁶⁵⁶ Al-Khaṭṭābī, Abū Sulaymān Ḥamd b. Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Ma'ālim al-Sunan* (Halab: Matba'ah al-'Ilmiyyah, 1932) Vol. 4, 219. See also Ahmad 'Īsā, *Tārīkh al-Bīmāristānat fī al-Islām* (Beirut: Dār al-Rā'id al-'Arabī, 1981) 7. See Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah bi al-Qāhirah, *al-Mu'jam al-Wasūl* (n.p: Dār al-Da'wah, n.d) Vol. 2, 803. See also T. Fahd, Vol. 4, 421.

times. This is through his aforementioned temporary role in arbitration between feuding clans, which is often necessary whenever the case is too complex and the usual arbiter (*hakam*) is unable to solve it.⁶⁵⁷ Interestingly, according to Kirazli, the verdict of *kāhin* is often more decisive and binding as the derived source of his verdict comes from his relationship with supernatural power.⁶⁵⁸ The case will also not be re-opened as the disputants were in fear of the misfortunes of doing so.⁶⁵⁹

The findings of the above seem to suggest that some form of *al-imārah* has arguably predated the Islamic civilization and prevailed in different and variegated political functions suitable to their respective pre-Islamic socio-political landscape and period. Ibn Khaldūn may have restricted its function exclusively to military purposes within the *Jāhiliyya* timeframe, while Sālih Ahmad al-‘Alī contested its existence among the nomadic Bedouin. On the other hand, Jawad Ali affirmed the similarity of the *Jāhiliyya amr* and the ASA *mr*’ with *al-imārah*. Hoyland, however, was silent on the issue of the pre-Islamic Arabia representation of *al-imārah* and only remarked how the word *mr*’ being used to invoke the dominant-subordinate relationship that varies ontologically from being theological, political, or social in nature. Nonetheless, one could still argue for the limitation and the truth within all these assertions. The limitation is particularly visible in terms of their utilization of sources that seem restricted to the literary source of the *Jāhiliyya* period. Jawad is the only one who has proposed for the attestation of this concept in antiquity beyond the *Jāhiliyya* through the word *mr*’. Yet one may still question the morphological structure of the word, which is not in any way parallel to the Arabic root of *al-imārah* that stands upon the root *’mr*. This necessitates the need to find the relation of this word to the root *’mr*. Moreover, apart from the ASA word *mr*’, none of the assertions above mentioned the root *’mr* within the documentary sources of pre-Islamic Arabia.

⁶⁵⁷ Sadik Kirazli, “46.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid.

4.7 CONCLUSION

The previous inference stating the inexistence of *al-imārah* in pre-Islamic Arabia is indeed questionable and in need of further examination. The question of the rigidity of pre-Islamic Arab tribalism in constructing their political system and institutions is nullified through the dynamic nature of *'asabiyya*, which was the nucleus in moulding their tribalism and their entailed socio-political structure. This structure has thrived parallel to their local political environment - geographically or periodically. Being invariably diverse, the environment ranges from nomadism to sedentary community and tribal system to monarchy. The conventional take on pre-Islamic Arabia as simply tribal and nomadic then has never been conclusive or truthful enough to illustrate its hidden complexity. The only validity that these previous assertions have is upon the inexistence of the word *al-imārah* exactly within that morphological form, its modern understanding and practicalities. Several claims made by the scholars above suggest that its basal understanding, however, is there within that period in this dynamic socio-political environment. This is through the manifestation of authoritative meanings through certain forms of derivations that seem to resemble the Arabic root of *al-imārah*. Socially and politically, it also fits the basic understanding of *al-imārah* proposed by this study before in the previous chapter, which is a form of authority upon their respective dominion. This is especially true if that ancient word is to signify the same general semantical range of the Islamic word *amīr*, which could vary from being chief, lord, or nobilities.

Nevertheless, the pre-Islamic Arabia *al-imārah* may have broader purposes compared to its modern counterpart, where it is seen as usable within theological and social contexts too. The only essential element that curbs these two concepts of different periods together is both usages symbolize the relationship between a dominant party and its subordinate. Ontologically, this relationship does not necessarily mean that it only takes place within the political environment, but instead reaches far beyond that point, transforming it into a complex word that suits different contexts within the dynamic socio-political landscape of pre-Islamic Arabia. All these speculative claims, however, will require further examination and proof, particularly from the primary sources of pre-Islamic Arabia, which this study will address in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SEMITIC ROOT 'MR IN THE PRIMARY SOURCE OF PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter has asserted the possibility of the existence of *al-imārah* and its whereabouts within the dynamic socio-political settings of pre-Islamic Arabia. Those claims, however, were rather secondary and inadequate, particularly in pinpointing the exact evidence of the occurrences of *al-imārah* in this period through its root. This study aims to fill this gap by providing a deeper thematical exercise in gathering the pre-Islamic Arabian derivations that perhaps relate to *al-imārah* through its root form 'mr and the word *mr*'. In doing so, this study will explore two primary sources of pre-Islamic Arabia; the documentary and literary sources. The objective is to concretely establish the existence and the typology of this concept during that period through exploring the semantical meanings of the root 'mr and its related derivations, as well as the word *mr*' that have been attested within those two primary sources.

5.2 THE TYPOLOGY OF *AL-IMĀRAH* OF PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA: THE NEED OF THE PRIMARY SOURCES

The previous claims pinpointing the existence and proper usage of *al-imārah* from within the pre-Islamic Arab period could remain true by virtue of the primary sources available for this exact timeframe. The reason to dwell into these primary sources was mainly due to the condition of those claims themselves, which in some ways, are secondary and inadequate. For instance, Ibn Khaldūn's viewpoint of *al-imārah* and its military purposes in pre-Islamic Arabia seems to be only within the *Jāhiliyya* timeframe. The manner of his presentation is inadequate and limits the nature of the supposedly *al-imārah* during the whole 'pre-Islamic epoch', which in truth should also involve the late antiquity period and

not be confined only within the period before Islam came. A cursory reading of his argument will also yield a host of narratives detailing *al-imārah* with references originating solely from post-Islamic sources.⁶⁶⁰ In the case of Ṣālih Ahmad al-‘Alī and Jawad Ali, they merely state the existence of *al-imārah* in that period without engaging further in a discussion determining evidence for their statements.

Although Jawad has provided several morphological forms that may have some connection to the modern expression of *al-imārah*, he somehow did not establish any clear link explaining how these forms connected to the latter. This also happens in Hoyland’s claim. His takes on the ASA *mr’* also lack any discussion in connecting it to the current form of *al-imārah*. It is a foreseeable conclusion from him as his view since the beginning presupposes discontinuity (i.e. the word *mr’* is an exclusive concept only for the ancient South Arabian civilization).⁶⁶¹ At this stage, one would question the extent of Ibn Khaldūn’s limited assertion on *al-imārah* before (e.g. how does *al-imārah* appeal to Arabs before the *Jāhiliyya* period?). In the case of Jawad Ali and Hoyland, the questions would concern the nature of the morphological forms that they came up with (e.g. are these forms Arabic, or is it of another language or dialect in ancient Arabia? If it is of other languages, how can it relate to the modern Arabic expression of *al-imārah* or the root *’mr*? And where is the root *’mr* in the documentary sources?

The immediate concern of this study is therefore to fill in these gaps left by those previous claims. As these claims were mainly secondary in nature, it is then important to follow with a further venture into the primary sources of pre-Islamic Arabia, thereby instituting a much firmer and more thorough argument concerning the nature of *al-imārah* during this period. Ikka Lindstedt categorizes the primary sources of pre-Islamic Arabia into three; archaeological, documentary, and literary sources.⁶⁶² Considering that archeological excavations in Arabia are not numerous as it has only emerged,⁶⁶³ this study will utilize the other two of these sources, which are documentary and literary sources. The selection of the related derivations of the root *’mr* and the word *mr’* within these primary

⁶⁶⁰ See Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-‘Ibar...*, Vol. 2, 3-404.

⁶⁶¹ Robert G. Hoyland, 119.

⁶⁶² Ikka Lindstedt, 160.

⁶⁶³ Ibid. See also Micheal Lecker, “Pre-Islamic Arabia”, *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, edited by Chase F. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) Vol. 1, 153.

sources is mostly governed by the provided words suggested by Jawad Ali before, as well as several additions that comes from independent exploration of this study itself.

5.3 *AL-IMĀRAH* IN THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES: A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

The common understanding of the documentary sources of pre-Islamic Arabia often refers particularly to the epigraphy inscriptions discovered around Arabia.⁶⁶⁴ Apart from the archaeological excavation, these are the second most-referred primary sources for the study of the pre-Islamic Arab period.⁶⁶⁵ Like previously mentioned, there are thousands of epigraphy in Arabia published under two groups of scripts; ASA (*viz.* Sayḥadic),⁶⁶⁶ and ANA.⁶⁶⁷ Like the scripts, these two groups also form a unit in bifurcating the linguistic formations of that region apart from the Arabic language.⁶⁶⁸ The crux of the discussion here centres more on the latter, particularly on the question concerning the relationship of these two groups to Arabic as a language. Engaging this issue is important, especially in consideration of the myriad views in academia dictating the linguistical distinction between ANA, ASA, and Arabic. This distinction necessitates substantial evidence in justifying the usage of the former two as part of the semantical profiles for *al-imārah*.

Al-Fārūqī, for example, holds the opinion that the languages in Arabia are of the South Semitic branch of Semitic languages.⁶⁶⁹ This branch is mainly in the Arabian

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁵ Ikka Lindstedt, 160.

⁶⁶⁶ According to Micheal C.A Macdonald, ASA languages comprise two categories, the Sayḥadic and non-Sayḥadic languages. The former is also known as ‘Epigraphic South Arabian’, ‘Old South Arabian’, or ‘*Altsudarabisch*’. There are four languages within this category; Sabaic, Maḍābic (Minaic), Qatabanic, and Ḥaḍramitic. On the other hand, Macdonald asserted that the non-Sayḥadic languages are other ancient languages of Southern Arabia, which are exclusively rare for now. See Micheal C.A Macdonald, “Reflection on the Linguistic Map of Pre-Islamic Arabia”, *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy*, 11 (2000): 28-79.

⁶⁶⁷ Macdonald categorizes ANA languages into Taymanitic, Dadanitic, Dumaitic, Safaitic, Hismaic, Thamudic, and possibly Hasaitic. Ibid.

⁶⁶⁸ Robert G. Hoyland, 200.

⁶⁶⁹ According to al-Fārūqī, the Semitic languages belong to the Semite people, a demographic group of people populating a specific area of the Arabian Peninsula and Fertile Crescent. He affirmed that these languages were similar to each other, suggesting that they came from one demographic family (i.e. Semites). He also divides these languages into four parts geographically. These parts comprise 1) the Eastern part (Akkadian and Assyrian languages), 2) the Northern part (Aramaic and its sub-varieties of languages such as Syriac,

Peninsula, where it comprises two regions, the northern and southern hemispheres. According to him, the northern Arabian are mostly Arabic speakers while their southern counterpart, however, speaks entirely another variety of South Semitic languages; Sabaic and Ethiopic.⁶⁷⁰ He seems to have agreed with the distinction between Arabic and South Arabian languages, especially through his theory of Arabization that happened in the South and contributed to the demise of their native languages in the second half of the first millennium BCE.⁶⁷¹ Unfortunately, he did not mention anything about the relation of ANA languages to Arabic and instead projected the Northern Arabian people as Arabic speakers in general. On that basis, his assertion here perhaps refers to the already-established Semitic languages in Arabia and does not precisely touch upon the issue of the vernacular of antiquities in that region.

Ernst A. Knauf also forwarded an assertion of somewhat similar in nature, where he directly stated that Arabic is the primary language for the ANA while the ASA is of different languages.⁶⁷² The difference is that he affirmed the ANA as the Proto-Old Arabic, the first stage of the genetic development of the language.⁶⁷³ Although some scholars differentiate Proto-Old Arabic (i.e. Old Arabic) from other ANA languages through the former's usage of the definite article 'l (Arabic: 'al) compared to the latter which uses *h/han*,⁶⁷⁴ Knauf argued that both usages were actually simultaneously side-by-side as

Mandean, etc.), 3) the Western part (Phoenician and others) 4) Southern part (Arabic in the northern hemisphere, ASA in the southern hemisphere). See Al-Fārūqī & Lois Lamya, 20.

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁷¹ Al-Fārūqī follows the classic Islamic classification of Arab genealogy. This refers to the traditions depicting three classifications of Arabs, which are *al-'Arab al-'Āribah/ Bā'idah* (the Arabizing/ Extinct Arabs), *al-'Arab al-Musta'ribah* (self-Arabized Arabs), and *al-'Arab al-Muta'arribah* (the other-Arabized Arabs). According to him, the second category is North Arabian, whom he identified as the Ishmaelite, the descendant of the Prophet Ismā'il through his marriage into the tribe of Jurhum. On the other hand, the third category is the South Arabian, depicted in the tradition through a figure named Ya'rūb son of Qahtān, who also happened to be a king of the Southern Arabian. According to him, both of their names *musta'ribah* and *muta'arribah* imply the fact that they took or learned Arabic from others. This 'other' is what he theorized as the first category of *al-'Arab al-'Āribah*, which is the all-origin of the Arabs – either Jurhum or Qahtān - from a distant time that had migrated to and resided in the north. In rationalizing these three traditions, all three of them are true to al-Fārūqī in the sense that each of them refers to a distinct point of space and time, thus denying any contradiction. See Al-Fārūqī & Lois Lamya, 21-22.

⁶⁷² Ernst A. Knauf, "Arabo-Aramaic and Arabiyya: From Ancient Arabic to Early Standard Arabic, 200 CE - 600 CE", in *The Qur'ān in Context*, edited by Angelika Neuwirth, Nicolai Sinai, and Michael Marx (Leiden: Brill, 2010) Vol. 6, 7.

⁶⁷³ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁴ In discussing the Arabs in his *Historia*, Herodotus mentioned the Greek word *Ἀλιῶται* that seems to correspond to the Arabic word *'al-'ilahat* or *'al-'alahat*, which refers to their deity. The usage of the definite article *'al* compared to the usage *h/han* suggests the existence of Old Arabic in antiquity independently along

Arabic has undergone a grammatical transitional period from archaic (*h/han*) to progressive (*'l*) dialects.⁶⁷⁵

On the other hand, M.C.A Macdonald argued that the ANA was never to be exclusive to Arabic, as there were also other dialects, or perhaps, languages in that particular northern theatre that were not in any sense 'Arabic', such as the Safaitic, Hismaic, Thamudic and more.⁶⁷⁶ Dismissing Knauf's term of Proto-Old Arabic, he contended that the 'Arabic' during this time is what any epigraphist and historical linguist refer to as simply Old Arabic, the earliest form of Arabic that survived during this stage, and perhaps the ancestral language for its classical and modern form.⁶⁷⁷ Rather than positioning the usage of article *'l* compared to *h/han* as merely a transitional process of genetic development for Old Arabic as championed by Knauf, Macdonald affirmed that this element is the most defining indicator contrasting the Old Arabic from other languages along with the use of the feminine singular relative pronoun *'lt* (Arabic: *allatī*).⁶⁷⁸ He insists that the reason to impart this distinctive approach is to avoid misleading translations of other ANA languages apart from Old Arabic by merely depending on the Arabic corpus.⁶⁷⁹

To understand Macdonald's concern, it is imperative to note that there has been a lack of evidence in determining that Arabic was widely written with a certain specific system of scripts before the Islamic era, at least until the 5th century CE.⁶⁸⁰ It is, however, habitually spoken.⁶⁸¹ From the second half of the first millennium BCE until the 4th century CE, spoken Old Arabic has coexisted together with other written languages in Arabia,

with other ANA languages, at least parallel to the dating of Herodotus and his opus, which is around the 5th century BCE. See Robert G. Hoyland, 200. See also Herodotus, *The Histories*, translated from Greek by George Rawlinson (Idaho: Roman Roads Media, 2013) 178. See also David Asheri et al., *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I-IV*, edited by Oswyn Murray & Alfonso Moreno (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) 407.

⁶⁷⁵ Ernst A. Knauf, 7.

⁶⁷⁶ Macdonald is criticizing the misnomers in the study of pre-Islamic Arabia. He disagreed with the usage of the term 'North Arabic' language and prefers the term 'North Arabian' language. According to him, the use of *'ian*' is necessary to distinguish the various languages within the northern hemisphere of Arabia from Arabic. The Arabic language was there in the North in the form of Old Arabic, but it was not in any sense alone. See Micheal C.A Macdonald, "Reflection on the Linguistic Map of Pre-Islamic Arabia", 28.

⁶⁷⁷ Micheal C.A Macdonald, "Old Arabic" in *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistic*, edited by Kees Versteegh (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2008) Vol. 3, 464

⁶⁷⁸ Micheal C.A Macdonald, "Arabs, Arabia, and Arabic before Late Antiquity", *Topoi*, 16 (2009): 312.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid, 318.

⁶⁸⁰ Micheal C.A Macdonald, "Old Arabic" in *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistic*, 464.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid.

where the former's texts were often fragmented and scattered within the inscriptions written in other scripts.⁶⁸² Although scanty in existence, they sometimes appear wholly in Old Arabic but are written in a different script, such as in the North Arabian inscriptions of the Safaitic, Nabatean, Hismaic, Dadanitic, or the South Arabian inscriptions of Sabaic.⁶⁸³ In some cases, they appear partially, where some elements of Old Arabic mixed within a different language and script, such as in the inscriptions and graffiti paintings of Dadano-Arabic, Safaeo-Arabic, and Nabateo-Arabic.⁶⁸⁴

Note that each script used in expressing these Old Arabic texts has its own orthographic conventions, which often limit and debilitate the process of identifying and reconstructing the linguistic data of the fragmented Old Arabic texts.⁶⁸⁵ Although there is the most agreed and usable indicator in determining these texts as Old Arabic, which is the usage of definite article 'l, the used scripts still lack some elements in expressing the Arabic language.⁶⁸⁶ For instance, the Nabatean script is unable to express seven letters out of twenty-eight Arabic consonants, while some ANA scripts do not even have vowels and diphthongs like Arabic.⁶⁸⁷ Furthermore, there are words in the ANA that are not in any way correlating to the Arabic corpus. The Safaitic words of *nhl* and *mdbr*, for example, do not seem to correlate with the Arabic lexicon and instead respond more to Hebrew words *naḥal* (valley) and *madbār* (inner desert).⁶⁸⁸

On that basis, venturing into ANA inscriptions with a non-distinctive approach as tread by al-Fārūqī or Knauf before will surely steer the effort to merely relying on the

⁶⁸² Ibid, 465. Micheal C.A Macdonald, "Arabs, Arabia, and Arabic before Late Antiquity", 313.

⁶⁸³ For a thorough discussion of the evidence, see Macdonald, "Old Arabic", 467-470.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid, 470-471.

⁶⁸⁵ Micheal C.A Macdonald, "Arabs, Arabia, and Arabic before Late Antiquity", 313.

⁶⁸⁶ Christian Julien Robin contended that the elements determining the text in an inscription as indeed Old Arabic is the usage of the definite article 'l alongside the 'f'l (Arabic: 'af'ala) causative term. See Christian Julien Robin, "Les inscriptions de l'arabie antique et les études arabes", *Arabica*, 48, 4 (2001): 545. However, Macdonald argued that the latter was also prevalent in other ANA languages, as well as in several other dialects of Aramaic, especially Syriac. He suggested the usage of the feminine singular relative pronoun 'lt as the substitute indicating the Old Arabic elements in the text alongside with the definite article 'l. See Micheal C.A Macdonald, "Arabs, Arabia, and Arabic before Late Antiquity", 312. Regardless of the differences, the definite article 'l usage remains as an element that is agreed upon in indicating Old Arabic text. See Robert G. Hoyland, 201. For the latest discussion on the indicators of Old Arabic, see Ahmad al-Jallad, "The Earliest Stages of Arabic and its Linguistic Classification" in *The Routledge Handbook of Arabic Linguistic*, edited by Elabbas Benmamoun & Reem Bassiouney (London: Routledge, 2018) 317-320.

⁶⁸⁷ Micheal C.A Macdonald, "Arabs, Arabia, and Arabic before Late Antiquity", 313.

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid.

Arabic dictionary, which is of course futile and may lead to a fallacious understanding of the words. Building on these reasons, Macdonald argued that it is much safer to categorize them based on their written scripts unless there is contrasting evidence pointing out that the text indeed carries elements or indicators of an Old Arabic text partially or wholly.⁶⁸⁹ Nevertheless, he agreed that Old Arabic is quite similar to other languages within the ANA group, where both are related dialects that together constitute the ANA itself.⁶⁹⁰ He even confirms that these ANA languages or dialects were mutually comprehensible to Classical Arabic at some point.⁶⁹¹ According to him, the practice of using Classical Arabic dictionaries in understanding certain ANA word is acceptable, but only to the point of providing clues for its meaning without fully acting as absolute lexicographical sources.⁶⁹² In determining the meaning of that said lexis, one would still have to construct solid linguistic arguments derived from these clues and their practical context.⁶⁹³

Meanwhile, Ahmad al-Jallad theorized that Old Arabic is an umbrella term for the diverse forms of the language that came up in several documentaries and literary sources from the pre-Islamic period.⁶⁹⁴ Similar to Macdonald, he reiterates the corpus of Old Arabic attested in several sources; part of inscriptions written in the Safaitic, Hismaic, Dadanitic, Nabatean, Nabateo-Arabic, ASA languages, and even in Greek scripts.⁶⁹⁵ Al-Jallad has also made a distinction between Old Arabic to other ANA or ASA languages and scripts,⁶⁹⁶ but he nevertheless still agreed that ANA languages are mutually comprehensible even to Classical Arabic. He even argued that the Safaitic and Hismaic texts were possibly the only proven dialect continuum for Old Arabic.⁶⁹⁷ The amount of Old Arabic text attested within

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid, 314.

⁶⁹⁰ Micheal C.A Macdonald, "Old Arabic", 466.

⁶⁹¹ Micheal C.A Macdonald, "Arabs, Arabia, and Arabic before Late Antiquity", 318.

⁶⁹² Ibid.

⁶⁹³ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁴ Ahmad al-Jallad, "Pre-Islamic Arabic" in *Arabic and Contact-Induced Change*, edited by Christopher Lucas & Stefano Manfredi (Berlin: Language Science Press, 2020) 38.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid, 38. See also Ahmad al-Jallad, "The Earliest Stages of Arabic and its Linguistic Classification" 322-323.

⁶⁹⁶ Jallad also argued Knauf's assertion concerning ANA languages in their entirety are ancient forms of Arabic. See Ahmad al-Jallad, "The Earliest Stages of Arabic and its Linguistic Classification", 320.

⁶⁹⁷ Although the Safaitic texts in some ways still differ from the Old Arabic through its classic definite article 'l and h/han usage, Jallad contended that Safaitic texts do exhibit a variety of usage of articles. The article 'l indicates the element of Old Arabic is one of the most competing forms of usage together with the article h/han. This, however, is only applicable to the Safaitic and Hismaic rather than to the rest of other ANA languages. See Ahmad al-Jallad, "The Earliest Stages of Arabic and its Linguistic Classification" 323. See

these two script scales to 50,000 specimens, which he contended could have provided a much more detailed view of Old Arabic.⁶⁹⁸ Between these two, Jallad affirmed that the Safaitic texts represent the largest corpus for Old Arabic.⁶⁹⁹ The reasoning behind his claim is that the dissimilarities of Safaitic to the Old Arabic were rather arbitrary and not systemic, where it shares much more important isoglosses that constitute Arabic.⁷⁰⁰ At this point, one perhaps could start to notice the gist of the distinctions of these three languages. Al-Fārūqī and Knauf would dismiss the technical differences in the issue of ANA and Arabic while others like Macdonald and al-Jallad would prefer to highlight those as precautions measures. All of them, however, agreed upon the distinction between ASA and Arabic. Another question that entails this early observation is, in what way that these distinctions affect ANA and ASA as one of the sources in understanding the Arabic concept of *al-imārah*?

It is imperative to firstly note the development and the position of these languages in Arabia within the whole classification of Semitic languages. The traditional classification initially includes Arabic and ASA within the South Semitic group.⁷⁰¹ Al-Fārūqī and Knauf seem to have followed this early classification. A newer classification that is based on shared morphological innovation pioneered by Hetzron in the 1970s separated these two languages, where Arabic gained its position within the Central Semitic languages, while ASA remained a part of the South Semitic languages.⁷⁰² As time passed,

also Ahmad al-Jallad, "Safaitic" in *The Semitic Languages*, edited by John Huehnergard & Na'ama Pat-El (London: Routledge, 2019) 343.

⁶⁹⁸ Ahmad al-Jallad, "The Earliest Stages of Arabic and its Linguistic Classification", 323.

⁶⁹⁹ Ahmad al-Jallad, "Safaitic", 343.

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁰¹ This is the earliest internal Semitic language sub-grouping, which was introduced by the orientalist Theodor Nöldeke, Carl Brockelmann, and others. It classified Semitic language as to have come from its origin 'Common Semitic'. From here it is then classified into three sub-groups, East Semitic that comprises the Akkadian language, South Semitic that comprises Arabic, Modern South Arabian, and Ethio-Sabaeen (Ethiopian & Sayhadic), and West Semitic that comprises Canaanite and Aramaic. For a detailed discussion on this, see John Huehnergard and Aaron D. Rubin, "Phyla and Waves: Models of Classification of the Semitic Languages", in *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, edited by Stefan Weninger (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2011) 260.

⁷⁰² This is the second revision for the Semitic languages sub-grouping. It detailed the classification of Common Semitic into two groups; East and West Semitic family. Similar to the first classification, the former only includes the Akkadian. On the other hand, the latter includes Central Semitic and South Semitic. The Central Semitic consists of Aramaic and Arabo-Canaanite (Arabic and Canaanite), while the South Semitic consists of South Arabian (Sayhadic & Modern South Arabian) and Ethiopian (North & South Ethiopian). In this classification, the South Semitic has merged into the West Semitic as another sub-group. Ibid, 261-262.

the modification of this classification continued to evolve, and it witnessed another revision for the Semitic languages sub-grouping. This refers to the third and the most recent classification that has both Arabic and ASA regrouped together within the Central Semitic family, collapsing the entire South Semitic sub-group.⁷⁰³ Huehnergard & Rubin are among those who argued for the genetic relationship between Arabic and ASA in the framework of this Central Semitic family. According to them, both languages share commonalities in their specific shared areal features and linguistic innovations with the other Central Semitic languages (Ugaritic, Aramaic, Canaanite). Repositioning both languages into the same group indicates their close relationship in terms of shared commonalities, thus lessening or narrowing the gap between them. It applies, however, only to the ASA and Arabic languages.

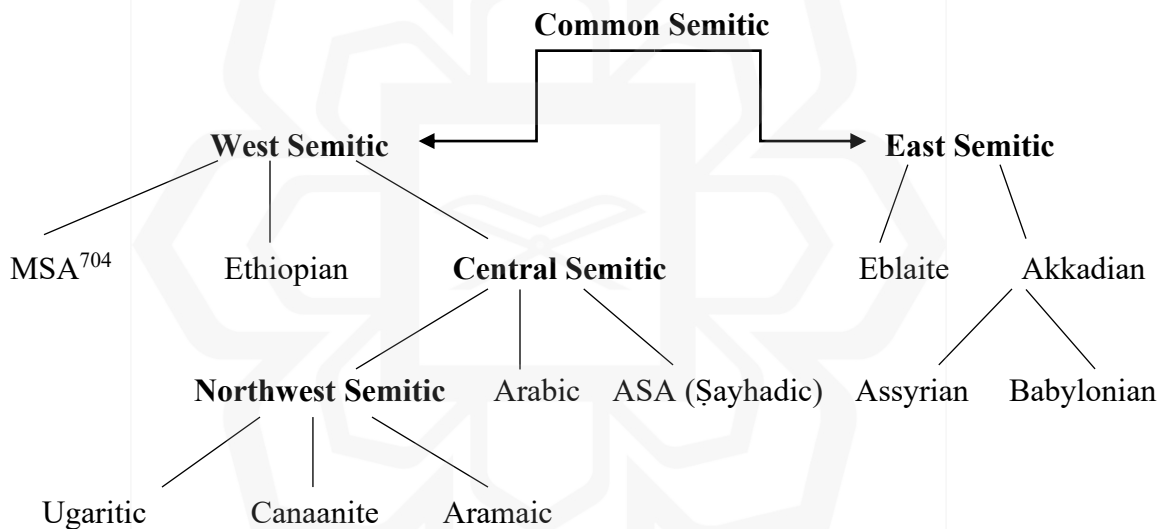


Figure 5.1 Semitic Languages Family Tree (3rd classification)⁷⁰⁵

A much inclusive view by Hoyland sums up the polarization of these three languages by simply asserting that all vernacular used in Arabia belongs to the Semitic family that bears close similarity to each other.⁷⁰⁶ The differences were only in terms of

⁷⁰³ Ibid, 262-263. See also Ahmad Jallad, “The Earliest Stages of Arabic and its Linguistic Classification”, 317.

⁷⁰⁴ Modern South Arabian (MSA), see John Huehnergard and Aaron D. Rubin, 260.

⁷⁰⁵ Reconstructed from Ibid, 263.

⁷⁰⁶ This is with the exclusion of the MSA. According to Hoyland, the latter are presumed to have ancient ancestors, but they do not have their parallels in the extant inscriptions of ASA. These languages are such as Socotri, Mehri, and Harsusi. See Robert G. Hoyland, 200.

their linguistic features, such as their non-emphatic sibilants and the position of the definite article.⁷⁰⁷ For instance, the ANA has two non-emphatic sibilants and a definite article at the beginning of the word, while the ASA has three non-emphatic sibilants and a definite article at the end of the word.⁷⁰⁸ His assertion may pose a simplistic take, considering that other scholars have listed more differences between the languages within these two groups than these two elements.⁷⁰⁹ Nevertheless, Hoyland argued that they still bear close resemblance to each other, especially in terms of their word structure.⁷¹⁰ This refers particularly to their root word system of three letters, an element that ultimately differentiates them from other non-Semitic languages.⁷¹¹ Interestingly, Macdonald also agreed with this, at least in recognizing the root word of Arabic as the element that can help in determining the possible cognate and approximate semantical field for the shared root word of other Arabian languages.⁷¹² Some scholars like Rendsburg, Rubin & Huehnergard view that this similarity also encompasses the lexical aspect of all Semitic languages. They asserted that the differences between these Semitic languages are no more than differences within a single group in Indo-European, of which a strong lexical correspondence from any of them languages are then expected.⁷¹³

All assertions above work brilliantly in helping to decipher possible derivations of *al-imārah* within this variation of Arabian languages. Their hypothesis has at least consolidated the ANA, ASA, and Arabic into a group of languages that are closely similar to each other. The relationship between ASA and Arabic may have established itself through the framework of the Central Semitic linguistic family as proposed by Rubin & Huehnergard before, while Hoyland's inclusive assertion helps through the Semitic word structure argument, followed by Macdonald's and Rendsburg's arguments that have further

⁷⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁹ There are many takes on the differences between the languages within these two groups. Some present the intra-differences between the languages within the same group and some highlight the inter-differences between the languages within the two groups. See, for example, Ahmad al-Jallad, "The Earliest Stages of Arabic and its Linguistic Classification" 317-320. See also Christian Julien Robin, "Les inscriptions de l'arabie antique et les études arabes", 509-577. See also M.C.A Macdonald, "Reflection on the Linguistic Map of Pre-Islamic Arabia", 28-79.

⁷¹⁰ Robert G. Hoyland, 200.

⁷¹¹ Ibid.

⁷¹² Micheal C.A Macdonald, "Arabs, Arabia, and Arabic before Late Antiquity", 319.

⁷¹³ Gary A. Rendsburg, Aaron D. Rubin, John Huehnergard, "A Proper View of Arabic, Semitic, and More", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 128, No. 3 (2008): pp. 533-541.

cemented this through their semantical takes on the vernacular in Arabia and the whole Semitic languages respectively. Conclusively, these languages are invariably distinguishable from each other with their respective worldviews in utilizing the root *'mr*. However, there is the possibility of their connections within the semantical realm, especially through their root word structure and meanings carried within each language. It is through this construct that this study would fully justify its exploration of the root *'mr* within the epigraphic evidence.

5.3.1 *'MR*: Command, Order, Authority and Ordination

Contrary to Jawad's assertion that limits the usage of this word among the *Jāhiliyya* Arab, the search on pre-Islamic Arabia's inscriptions, however, reveals the prevalence of this word in Arabia from the classical to the late antiquity period. For instance, the Digital Archive for the Study of Pre-Islamic Arabian Inscriptions (DASI) has recorded that the word *'mr* attested in the ASA epigraphy has to be at least since the 4th century BCE.⁷¹⁴ This refers to two particular inscriptions, the Sabaic (Najrān 1) and Minaic (GOAM 314), both attested to the word *'mr* in the meaning of authority and order respectively.⁷¹⁵ Despite the word *'mr* written in these inscriptions is purely consonantal and not having visible vocalization, it could signify the same phonetical sounds or meanings from these two Arabic words; *amrun*, and *amara*.

⁷¹⁴ These two inscriptions Najrān 1 and GOAM 314 are Middle Sabaic and Minaic respectively. Both were coming from period B (4th-1st century BCE). To put it in perspective, the *Jāhiliyya* period was around the 5th-6th century CE. See CSAI, "GOAM 314", *DASI* <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=431991822&recId=2831&mark=02831%2C006%2C004>> (accessed on 15 January 2022). See also CSAI, *Najrān 1*, *DASI* <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=431991822&recId=9961&mark=09961%2C009%2C006>> (accessed on 15 January 2022). For the classification of the period, see CSAI, *Editorial Criteria*, *DASI* <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=109>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷¹⁵ For the discussion of their meanings, see Christian J. Robin, Alī Al-Ghabbān and Sa'īd al-Sa'īd, "Inscriptions antiques de la région de Najrān (Arabie Séoudite Méridionale): nouveaux jalons pour l'histoire de l'écriture, de la langue et du calendrier arabes", *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, Vol. 3 (2014): 1075, Najrān 1. See also Mounir Arbach and Remy Audouin, *Collection of Epigraphic and Archaeological Artifacts from al-Jawf Sites*, (Ṣan'ā': UNESCO-SFD / Ṣan'ā': National Museum, 2007) Part II, GOAM 314.

Plenty of ASA inscriptions have attested to the word *'mr* as in the usage of the Arabic noun *amrun*, which is the verbal noun for the Arabic verb *amara* (*tr.* to command). This noun often translates to a 'command', 'order', 'ordinance', 'power', or 'authority' in Arabic.⁷¹⁶ The word *'mr* within these meanings has manifested in most South Arabian inscriptions.⁷¹⁷ The only difference between these ASA languages to their Arabic counterpart was in specializing the origin and source of that 'authority', 'command', or 'order'. Most of the Minaic, Qatabanic and Sabaic inscriptions designated the word mostly for their cultic and religious usage, which signifies its usage among their deities. The former usually correlate this word to the 'authority' of their two specific deities, *Wd* and *Nkrh*,⁷¹⁸ while the Qatabanic was using this word in the meaning of the command and order of their deities *'ttr S²rqn* and *'m*.⁷¹⁹

In some cases, the Qatabanic inscriptions also use this word in correlation with the Arabic verb *amara*, usually as an epithet exclusive for *Hwkm*, which is also one of their deities. The epithet usually comes with this particular phrase illustrating *Hwkm* as (*Hwkm d-'mr/ w-S²mr*) in a verb sentence, which is "*Hwkm* who orders and decrees".⁷²⁰ In this example, the word *'mr* here is equivalent to the Arabic verb *amara* (*tr.* to command, to order, to bid, to instruct).⁷²¹ Similar attestations of the verb are also evident in some Sabaic inscriptions, which also use the word in the meaning of the order and command of their

⁷¹⁶ For the English translation and the ranges of meanings of the Arabic verb *amara* and its verbal noun *amrun*, see Hans Wehr, 26.

⁷¹⁷ This appears in the Sabaic, Minaic, Hadramitic, and Qatabanic inscriptions. For the full list of South Arabian inscriptions recording this word and its translation, see CSAI, "*'mr*", *DASI* <https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=32&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=180408446&wl_group=1&wl_subgroup=47> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷¹⁸ For the attestation of *'mr* as the commandment of the two aforementioned Minaean deities, see for examples, CSAI, "*GOAM 314*", *DASI* <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=431991822&recId=2831&mark=02831%2C006%2C004>> (accessed on 15 January 2022). See also CSAI, "*M 247*", *DASI* <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=547345934&recId=2967&mark=02967%2C002%2C032>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷¹⁹ For the attestation of *'mr* as a commandment of Qatabanian deity *'ttr S²rqn* and *'m*, see CSAI, "*MQ-HK 11*", *DASI* <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=547345934&recId=5029&mark=05029%2C005%2C004>> (accessed on 15 January 2022). See also CSAI, "*MQ-Maqṣara al-Abraq 1*", *DASI* <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=547345934&recId=5031&mark=05031%2C005%2C004>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷²⁰ For the discussion on the translation of the phrase *Hwkm d-'mr/ w-S²mr*, see Iwona Gajda et al, "Two Inscriptions Commemorating the Construction of a Mountain Pass, by Yada"ab Dhubyân son of Shahr Mukarrib of Qatabân, and by the Qayls of the Madhî Tribe", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* (2009): XXXII, 167.

⁷²¹ For the English translation of the Arabic verb *amara* and its range of meanings, see Hans Wehr, 26.

deities, particularly *Ḥlfn*, *ḡ-S'mwy*, and *'lmqh*.⁷²² CSAI seems to indicate the absence of any attestation of the root depicting human authority or command in the ASA except in two early Hadramitic inscriptions. Both of them come from the B2 period (3rd-1st centuries BCE).⁷²³ The first one (KR 8/ JA 2883) used the word in the context of a *mukarrib* (*mkrb*) who had ordained two public citizens with a title,⁷²⁴ while another one (RES 2687) used the word as the command of two human lords upon a person who was doing construction work for his *mukarrib*. However, Avanzini argued that the original order of that construction came from the king (*mukarrib*), and those lords only took responsibility for the building phase.⁷²⁵ Both inscriptions referred to one Hadramite *mukarrib* named *Ys²hr'l*.⁷²⁶

In the case of the extant ANA inscriptions, the word *'mr* also signified those two basic meanings of the Arabic words *amara* and *amrun*, but with an addition of another word, which is *amīr*. One Dadanitic inscription (JSLih 071) found in northern Saudi Arabia in the oasis of al-'Ulā shows how the word *'mr* written in Dadanitic script is used to express the usage of *amīr*. It is an honorific inscription for a person named /'nzh/ son of /'s'/.⁷²⁷ OCIANA translation provides that this figure is the /'mr/ *b-lḡgr*/, which is an *amīr* of al-Higr (Hegra or Madāin Sālih).⁷²⁸ The context of this *amīr*, however, is rather conspicuous. A background provided by A.F.L Beeston depicted that this person is possibly a Bedouin

⁷²² For the attestation of its usage to each of the aforementioned deities respectively, see CSAI, "Haram 10", *DASI* <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=547345934&recId=4018&mark=04018%2C016%2C001>> (accessed on 15 January 2022). See also CSAI, "Najran 1", *DASI* <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=547345934&recId=9961&mark=09961%2C009%2C006>> (accessed on 15 January 2022). See also CSAI, "Fa 123" *DASI*, <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=547345934&recId=5920&mark=05920%2C005%2C006>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷²³ For the identification of their period, see CSAI, "KR 8" *DASI* <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=633238930&recId=1668&mark=01668%2C006%2C005>> (accessed on 15 January 2022). See also, CSAI, "RES 2687", *DASI* <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=633238930&recId=2111&mark=02111%2C001%2C016>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷²⁴ Alessandra Avanzini, "The construction inscriptions on the gate complex", in *Khor Rori Report 1*, edited by Alessandra Avanzini (Università di Pisa: Edizioni Plus, 2002) 127.

⁷²⁵ Alessandra Avanzini, "Notes for a history of Sumhuram and a new inscription of Yashhur'il" in *A port in Arabia between Rome and the Indian Ocean (3rd C. BC-5th C. AD): Khor Rori Report 2*, edited by Alessandra Avanzini (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2008) 632.

⁷²⁶ Ibid. See also Alessandra Avanzini, "The construction ...," 127.

⁷²⁷ The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Dadanitic Inscriptions: Preliminary Edition*, edited by Micheal C.A Macdonald & María del Carmen Hidalgo Chacón Diez (Oxford: The Khalili Research Centre, 2017) 451.

⁷²⁸ Ibid.

from North Arabia, hired by some Dadanites sedentary to protect their caravan and settlements.⁷²⁹ According to Beeston, the *amīr* position here is temporary, similar to the Muslim *amīr al-hajj*.⁷³⁰ Beeston's assertion is most probably due to the nature of this inscription, which seems to be linguistically mixed between Dadanitic and Arabic. Lines 1-3 that described the name and genealogical of the person have the Dadanitic orthography, while lines 4-10 were Old Arabic written in Dadanitic script.⁷³¹ The indicator of the Old Arabic lines is clear through the use of definite article 'l, adduced before in the phrase /'mr/ *b-lhgr*/.⁷³² Unlike Beeston who asserted this inscription from the fourth line as to have been written in near-Classical Arabic,⁷³³ Macdonald cautiously classified this inscription as linguistically Dadano-Arabic.⁷³⁴ Meanwhile, the only example where the word 'mr is used in the context of Arabic *amrun* within the ANA inscriptions is only recorded in Taymanitic (TM.T.024/4),⁷³⁵ where it records the phrase 'mr/ *šlm*, referring to the command of a Taymanitic deity named *šlm*.⁷³⁶

On the other hand, the Safaitic inscriptions express the same word closer to the Arabic cognate *amara*, but with much more diverse meanings. In KRS 27, OCIANA's translation provided the phrase *t'mr/ 'h-h* to express the meaning of 'his brother has been appointed as commander'.⁷³⁷ Within this translation, the word *t'mr* here corresponds to the Arabic derivation of the root 'mr: *ammara* (to appoint someone).⁷³⁸ OCIANA also provided

⁷²⁹ Beeston, A.F.L. & F.V. Winnett, Jacques Ryckmans, and Mahmud al-Ghul. "The Inscription Jaussen Savignac 71." *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, Vol. 3 (1973): 69–72.

⁷³⁰ Ibid.

⁷³¹ Ibid. See also Micheal C.A Macdonald, "Reflection on the Linguistic...", 52. See also Micheal C.A Macdonald, "Ancient North Arabian", in *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of the World's Ancient Language*, edited by R.D. Woodard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 502.

⁷³² Micheal C.A Macdonald, "Reflection on the Linguistic...", 52.

⁷³³ A.F.L Beeston et al., 69-72.

⁷³⁴ Micheal C.A Macdonald, "Reflection on the Linguistic...", 52.

⁷³⁵ The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Taymanitic Inscriptions: Preliminary Edition*, edited by Micheal C.A Macdonald & Ali al-Manāser, & María del Carmen Hidalgo Chacón Díez (Oxford: The Khalili Research Centre, 2017) 154.

⁷³⁶ The name *šlm* here in TM.T.024/4 refers to a divine noun. See *Taymā' II. Catalogue of the Inscriptions Discovered in the Saudi-German Excavations at Taymā' 2004–2015*, edited by Micheal C.A Macdonald (Oxford: Archeopress, 2016) 205. For the discussion on the usual phrase in Taymanitic inscription indicating the divinities of *šlm*, see for example, Fokelien Kootsra, "The Language of the Taymanitic Inscriptions & its Classification", *Arabian Epigraphic Notes*, Vol. 2 (2016): 67-140.

⁷³⁷ The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Safaitic Inscriptions: Preliminary Edition*, edited by Ali Al-Manaser & Michael C.A. Macdonald (Oxford: The Khalili Research Centre, 2017) 6229.

⁷³⁸ For the English translation of the Arabic verb *ammara*, see Hans Wehr, 26.

the translation for some inscriptions that have attested the word in the meanings related to pastoral animals in the sense of to control; specifically for controlling herd, or perhaps the act of camel or sheepherding itself, (AMSI 31, RSIS 250 & RWQ 333/ ABMNS 2).⁷³⁹ For instance, Ṣabrī Karīm al-‘Abbādī in his commentary of ABMNS 2/ RWQ 333 argued that the phrase *t’mr/ h whd* in this inscription could indicate that the author imagining him herding his pastoral animal alone in a region as if he was an *amīr* for that region.⁷⁴⁰ This corresponds to another meaning of the Arabic root of *’mr* that is equivalent to *waliya*,⁷⁴¹ (*tr.* to be in charge, rule, or govern).⁷⁴² However, the context was much more restricted to menial shepherding activity.

5.3.2 *’MR*: Deities-Related Meanings of Omen and Signs

Besides portraying the meaning of command, order, or authority, the word *’mr* also indicates meanings related to the signs, omens, or promises from their deities. In two Minaic inscriptions, a verb usage of the root *’mr* comes in the form of *y’mr* and *y’tmr*, both of whom refer to the act of their deity agreeing and giving satisfaction to what the author would later do.⁷⁴³ In Ma‘īn 116, for instance, the author used the word *y’mr* to portray the bestowal of agreement and satisfaction of his deity *‘ttr d-[Qbd]* for his journey to the north for trading purposes and also as a messenger, to which he achieved it through his offering as the intermediary.⁷⁴⁴ In another inscription (M 246), the author of the inscription used the word *y’tmr* to portray the same meaning of agreement and satisfaction of his deity upon the construction of the wall and tower of his town.⁷⁴⁵ Similarly, he also attained the

⁷³⁹ The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Safaitic Inscriptions...*, 568, 8126 & 8260/ 480.

⁷⁴⁰ Ṣabrī Karīm al-‘Abbādī, “al-Mā’ fi al-Nuqūsh al-‘Arabiyyah al-Shimālyyah al-Qadīmah: Dirāsah Taḥlīliyyah li Nuqshayn Ṣafāwiyyīn Jadīdayn”, *Jordan Journal for History and Archeology*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (2012): 103-123.

⁷⁴¹ Al-Ṣāḥib, Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abbād, Vol. 10, 284.

⁷⁴² For the translation of the verb *waliya*, see Hans Wehr, 1099.

⁷⁴³ Mounir Arbach & Mohamed Maraqtan, “Notes on the root *L’K* “to send” and the term *ml’k* “messenger” in the Ancient South Arabian inscriptions” in *Semitica et Classica*, Vol. 11 (2018): 251-256.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁵ See CSAI, “M 246”, *DASI* <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=924546544&recId=2966&mark=02966%2C002%2C032>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

satisfaction of his deity through his offering. Understandably, the act of attaining good response, agreement, or satisfaction from their deity here seems to represent their unique way of interacting with the latter. In the context of the Arabic language, both of these words seem to correlate to the Arabic words *āmara* and *i'tamara* and (to consult).⁷⁴⁶ That act of 'consulting with their deity' in some ways functions as one of the ways to obtain command, signs and omens from their deity before proceeding in doing something. This is also the reason why the same word *'mr* in the ASA inscriptions also corresponds directly to the Arabic cognate *amārah*, which usually means mark and signs.⁷⁴⁷ The essence of the 'mark' and 'sign' in the ASA inscriptions was more towards depicting the omen or sign from their deities that their oracles have provided. This is either in the context of their deities protecting them from certain things (RES 4998),⁷⁴⁸ leading them to do something (RES 4830),⁷⁴⁹ or commanding them to dedicate something (CIAS 39.11).⁷⁵⁰ Semantically, this here seems to correspond more to the Arabic word *amārah* (signs or marks).

5.3.3 *MR'* and Its Multifaceted Lordship Meanings

Previously according to Hoyland, the word *mr'* in the ASA often signifies a relationship between a dominant party and its subordinate, where it prevails in the relationship between god and devotees, patron and his client, king and his subject, landlord and his tenant, and so on.⁷⁵¹ On the other hand, Jawad Ali affirmed that this word in ASA languages resembles the Arabic word *amīr*, which symbolizes the meaning of chief, lord, or nobilities.⁷⁵² A search for that word in the ASA inscriptions shows similar results, where the word signifies a multifaceted relationship between a dominant party and its subordinates. There has been

⁷⁴⁶ For the English translation of the Arabic verb *ista'mara* and *i'tamara*, see Hans Wehr, 26.

⁷⁴⁷ For the English translation of the Arabic noun *amārah*, see Hans Wehr, 26.

⁷⁴⁸ Sabäische Wörterbuch, "'mr" <<http://sabaweb.uni-jena.de/SabaWeb/Suche/Suche/SearchResultDetail?idxLemma=2289&showAll=0>> (accessed on 23 March 2022).

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁰ See CSAI, "CIAS 39.11", *DASI* <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=146&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=7&navId=117555196&recId=5904>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁵¹ Robert G. Hoyland, 119.

⁷⁵² Jawad Ali, Vol. 9, 219.

a huge amount of attestation of this word within the ASA inscriptions in comparison to the word *'mr*, where its translations as various spectrums of lordship remain consistent in ASA languages and scripts, especially in Hadramitic, Qatabanic, and Sabaic inscriptions.⁷⁵³

For instance, some would use it to indicate the lordship of their deities, like the Hadramitic (CIAS 47.82/o6),⁷⁵⁴ Qatabanic (CIAS 47.11/p 8 n° 1),⁷⁵⁵ and Sabaic (MŞM 7250).⁷⁵⁶ A handful of late Sabaic inscriptions use the same word as a theonym to their deity that often goes in the phrase *mr' / s'm*, which translates as lord of heaven. Robin has provided detailed discussions with several shreds of evidence on the occurrences of this theonym of one single deity Raḥmānān, which he asserted as to have been attested after their conversion to Judaism after 384 CE.⁷⁵⁷ According to him, the polytheistic narratives disappeared within their inscription after the event of this conversion.⁷⁵⁸ There are also attestations designating this word to symbolize the lordship among their people, especially kings and nobilities such as in Hadramitic ('Uqayba 3),⁷⁵⁹ Qatabanic (al-‘Ādī 21),⁷⁶⁰ and

⁷⁵³ For the whole references of its usage in every ASA language, see CSAI, “mr’”, *DASI* <https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=32&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=830795011&wl_group=17&wl_subgroup=51> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁵⁴ CSAI, “CIAS 47.82/o6”, *DASI* <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=262868670&recId=521&mark=00521%2C004%2C001>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁵⁵ CSAI, “CIAS 47.11/p 8 n° 1”, *DASI* <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=262868670&recId=519&mark=00519%2C002%2C004>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁵⁶ CSAI, “MŞM 7250”, *DASI* <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=262868670&recId=7457&mark=07457%2C003%2C002>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁵⁷ Christian Julien Robin & Sarah Rijziger, “The Owner of the Sky, God of Israel” in a new Jewish Himyaritic Inscription Dating from the Fifth Century CE”, *Der Islam*, Vol. 95, Issue 2 (2018): 275. See also Christian Julien Robin, “The Judaism of Ancient Kingdom Himyar in Arabia: A Discreet Conversion”, in *Diversity and Rabbinization: Jewish Texts and Societies Between 400-1000 CE*, edited by Gavin Macdowell and et. al (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2021) 168.

⁷⁵⁸ Christian Julien Robin & Sarah Rijziger, 275.

⁷⁵⁹ CSAI, “‘Uqayba 3”, *DASI* <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=914192600&recId=2253&mark=02253%2C002%2C002>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁶⁰ CSAI, “al-‘Ādī 21”, *DASI* <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=914192600&recId=6900&mark=06900%2C004%2C016>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

Sabaic (Ja 831).⁷⁶¹ All eight Minaic inscriptions that have attested to this word expressed it in this usage, indicating the lordship of their kings and nobles.⁷⁶²

Meanwhile, in the case of ANA inscriptions, this word within the context of those meanings only appears in a small part of Dadanitic, Taymanitic, and Nabatean inscriptions. Similar to ASA, the meaning usually goes to describe the lordship of their deity (AH 208, Al-Ḥuraybah 12, JSLih 035),⁷⁶³ or nobilities (JaL 001).⁷⁶⁴ In the case of Nabatean inscriptions, the word appears in that context within three inscriptions. Two of them (RES 1111, RES 1160) have designated the word as a theonym to one of their deities, often in the phrase of *mr' byt* (*tr.* lord of the house of worship).⁷⁶⁵ The remaining one expressed the word to symbolize the lordship of an unknown leader of the tribe al-Salāmiyyin and Anbāt (*mr' / slm / w nbṭū*).⁷⁶⁶ The Taymanitic inscription also attested to this word for human overlordship.⁷⁶⁷ The Safaitic, however, only attested to this word within a non-authoritative meanings similar to Arabic, which mostly refers to man (*mr'*), and woman (*mr't*).⁷⁶⁸

One important assumption could be made here is the word *mr'* in these ANA inscriptions is perhaps a trace of Aramaic influences. The consonantal word *mr'* is also common in the Aramaic corpus and often signifies the same meaning of lordship.⁷⁶⁹ In fact, that meaning has been attested in Aramaic as early as the Imperial Aramaic language within

⁷⁶¹ CSAI, “Ja 831”, *DASI* <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=914192600&recId=173&mark=00173%2C002%2C017>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁶² CSAI, “mr’ (Minaic)”, *DASI* <https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=32&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=830795011&wl_group=17&wl_subgroup=51> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁶³ Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Dadanitic inscriptions: Preliminary Edition*, 93, 164 & 406.

⁷⁶⁴ This one particular inscription mentions the phrase “*mr' / myh*”, which OCIANA translates as lord of Myh. Unfortunately, this study is unable to determine the meaning of Myh, whether it refers to a certain location or a tribe. See Ibid, 186.

⁷⁶⁵ The *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique* brings forth the translation for the phrase *mr' byt* as *Seigneur de la maison* (French) and *dominus domus* (Latin) which both means lord or master of the house. See Publié par la Commission du Corpus Inscriptorum Semiticarum, *Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique*, edited by J.B Chabot (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900) Tome 1, 384 & 1160-1161. See also Sulaiman b. Abd Rahman al-Dhīb, *Mudawwanat al-Nuqūsh al-Nabaṭiyyah...*, Vol. 1, 120 & 124.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid, Vol. 2, 942.

⁷⁶⁷ Taymā' II, 189.

⁷⁶⁸ Ahmad al-Jallad & Karolina Jaworska, *A Dictionary of Safaitic Inscriptions...*, 98.

⁷⁶⁹ See the word *mr'* (*tr.* Lord [masculine]) and its variations of *mr'h* (*tr.* His lord), *mr'n* (*tr.* our lord), *mr'y* (my lord), *mr'km* (your lord), *mr'ty* (my lord [feminine]). See Sulaiman b. Abd al-Rahmān al-Dhīb, *Mu'jam al-Mufradāt al-'Arāmiyyah al-Qadīmah: Dirāsah Al-Muqāranah* (Riyadh: Maktabah al-Malik al-Fahd al-Waṭaniyyah, 2006) 174-175.

the Elephantine papyri of Ancient Egypt. The Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt (TAD) has recorded the word being used in addressing the Pharaoh as the lord (*mārē*) of kings.⁷⁷⁰ In explaining Aramaic influences in Dadanitic, Kootstra, for example, argued that it is not absurd to assume Aramaic influences upon the Dadanitic language and writing practice due to the high stature of the latter being the *lingua franca* of Near East at that period.⁷⁷¹ Elsewhere, she also highlights the established contact between the people of Dadan in al-‘Ulā with the Minaean who had built trading posts there in the oasis from around the 4th century BCE.⁷⁷² Kootstra has argued that there have been several inscriptions attesting to the indication of general contact and even participation of the Minaean in Dadan's cultural practices in al-‘Ulā.⁷⁷³ There also have been records of inscriptions written by Minaean priests in Dadanitic languages and scripts in that oasis.⁷⁷⁴

In that sense, it is also possible to assume that the word *mr’* is an Aramaic influence or example of cultural interaction between South Arabian Minaean within Dadanitic inscription. Both of them predominantly used the word *mr’*. In the case of the Nabataean, John F. Healey is among those who argued that the Nabataean language before its annexation by the Greeks in 106 CE was the Nabataean Aramaic, which according to him, was a direct descendant of Imperial Aramaic.⁷⁷⁵ Similar reasons also applied to those Taymanitic inscriptions that narrated the word *mr’*. In the Taymā II catalogue, the attested word *mr’* in the Taymanitic inscriptions was indexed as part of the Imperial Aramaic word, where all of them reflect meanings conveying the human ‘lordship’ title.⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁷⁰ Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt (TAD), *A 1.1.6*, edited and translated by Bealel Porten and et.al. (Winona Lake: Eisenbraun, 1986) 8.

⁷⁷¹ Fokelian Kootstra, *The Writing Culture of Ancient Dadan* (Leiden: Brill, 2023) 16.

⁷⁷² Fokelien Kootstra, “Scribal Practices in Contact: Two Minaic/Dadanitic Mixed Texts”, in *Languages, Scripts and Their Uses in Ancient North Arabia*, edited by Micheal C.A Macdonald (Oxford: Archeopress, 2018) 21.

⁷⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁴ Irene Rossi, “The Minaeans beyond Ma‘īn”, in *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies: Language of Southern Arabia: Papers from the Special Session of the Seminar for Arabian Studies held on 27 July 2013*, edited by Orhan Elmaz & Janet C. E. Watson (Oxford: Archeopress, 2014) 117.

⁷⁷⁵ See John F. Healey, “Linguistic Variation in the Nabataean Aramaic of the Nabataean Period”, *Jordan Journal for History and Archeology* Vol. 14, No. 4 (2020): 202.

⁷⁷⁶ Taymā’ II, 189.

5.3.4 'MR': The Plural Form of MR'

The word 'mr' is the plural form of the previous *mr'* (*tr.* lord).⁷⁷⁷ Its singular form in terms of its structural order of letters differs in comparison to its possible Arabic cognate *amīr*. However, the plural form 'mr' resembles the plural form of the Arabic *amīr*, which is *umarā'*, at least in terms of its consonantal structure. There have been a huge number of attestations of this form in the ASA corpus, where three different ASA languages and scripts have attested to it; the Minaic, Qatabanic, and Sabaic. On the other hand, the ANA seems not to have any record of this word in its corpus. In contrast to its singular form that portrays both the lordship of their deity and nobles among them, this form seems to have a proclivity to only express the latter meaning. These are visible in all related occurrences of these three languages, which comprise one single Minaic (M 225),⁷⁷⁸ 20 Qatabanic, and 223 Sabaic attestations.⁷⁷⁹ The only difference among these is the context of their lordship which varies socially or politically. These include:

1. Lordship of their kings, such as in the Qatabanic (ATM 859)⁷⁸⁰ or in the Sabaic (ad-Dawmar 1)⁷⁸¹.
2. Lordship of their tribe nobilities, such as in the Qatabanic (UAM 327)⁷⁸² or in the Sabaic (al-Šilwī 4)⁷⁸³.

⁷⁷⁷ Hoyland, 119. See also A.F.L Beeston, M.A Ghul, W.W Muller, J. Ryckmans, *Sabaic Dictionary: English-French-Arabic*, 87.

⁷⁷⁸ CSAI, "M 225", *DASI*
<<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=729749417&recId=2946&mark=02946%2C001%2C004>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁷⁹ CSAI, "'mr'", *DASI*
<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=32&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=515490128&wl_group=0&wl_subgroup=47> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁸⁰ CSAI, "ATM 859", *DASI*
<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=dasi_prj_epi&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=906183114&recId=726> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁸¹ CSAI, "Ad-Dawmar 1", *DASI*
<<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=272436906&recId=9944&mark=09944%2C006%2C001>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁸² CSAI, "UAM 327", *DASI*
<<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=283800707&recId=962&mark=00962%2C002%2C011>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁸³ CSAI, "al-Šilwī 4", *DASI*
<<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=272436906&recId=6672&mark=06672%2C005%2C001>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

3. Lordship of land owners, such as in the Sabaic (FB-al-‘Adān 1)⁷⁸⁴ & (Robin-Kāniṭ 9).⁷⁸⁵
4. Lordship of their *kabirate* and *mswd*, such as in the Sabaic (MB 2005 I-44),⁷⁸⁶ & (Ry 362)⁷⁸⁷.
5. Lordship of the slave owner, such as in the Sabaic (RES 3960)⁷⁸⁸.
6. Lordship of their *qayls*, such as in the Sabaic (BaBa al-Ḥadd 4)⁷⁸⁹.

Only one Sabaic inscription uses the form *‘mr’* as a designation for two of their deities (CIH 293). These two deities (*‘tr S²rqn* and *T’lb Rymm*) were both addressed together in one sentence as lords, indicating the plural context of the word.⁷⁹⁰

5.3.5 MRN, Possessive Pronouns and its Relation to Nabatean-Aramaic

Following Jawad’s previous assertion on *mrn*, he contended that this word exists in the Palmyrene inscriptions to symbolize the Arabic meaning *sayyiduna* (tr. our lords).⁷⁹¹ His assertion is possibly originating from one particular Palmyrene inscription (C3938) that has attested to that word in the same context.⁷⁹² A search of this word in this context within the

⁷⁸⁴ CSAI, “FB-al-‘Adān 1”, *DASI* <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=272436906&recId=7532&mark=07532%2C010%2C004>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁸⁵ CSAI, “Robin-Kāniṭ 9”, *DASI* <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=272436906&recId=6566&mark=06566%2C004%2C006>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁸⁶ CSAI, “MB 2005 I-44”, *DASI* <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=272436906&recId=9936&mark=09936%2C015%2C006>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁸⁷ CSAI, “Ry 362”, *DASI* <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=272436906&recId=4051&mark=04051%2C001%2C003>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁸⁸ CSAI, “Res 3960”, *DASI* <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=272436906&recId=7831&mark=07831%2C005%2C008>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁸⁹ CSAI, “BaBa al-Ḥadd 4”, *DASI* <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=272436906&recId=6643&mark=06643%2C004%2C008>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁷⁹⁰ Academy of Inscriptions and Letters of the Humanities Compiled and Digested, “CIH 293”, *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Pars Quarta, Tomus I, Fasciculus 1. 309-310.

⁷⁹¹ See Jawad Ali, Vol. 9, 219.

⁷⁹² Delbert R. Hillers & Eleonara Cussini, “C3938”, in *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 68.

corpus of the ancient Arabian languages reveals its existence only in the Nabatean inscriptions. They record three particular words, possibly the closest variants to the word *mrn* in terms of its meaning, which are the word *mrn* ʾ, *mr* ʾ *n* ʾ and *mr* ʾ *n*.⁷⁹³ Although there is an addition of the letter ʾ (*hamza*) in these three words, all share the first two letters *mr* in order with the previous Palmyrene word *mrn*. The letter *n* is also apparent in each Nabatean form here, despite having to differ in terms of its order.

The most possible explanation for these forms' attestations in the Palmyrene and Nabatean inscriptions is probably because both languages are related to Aramaic in some ways. Even the formal language for the Palmyrene public inscriptions during the early century of the Common Era is Aramaic alongside several other languages such as Greek, Latin, and Arabic.⁷⁹⁴ According to David G.K Taylor, within these languages, Aramaic is the most prominent language used in the Palmyrene inscriptions while the other remains in certain niche functions.⁷⁹⁵ Similarly, Aramaic also being a major part of the Nabataean literary writings before and after some period after its annexation by the Romans.⁷⁹⁶ According to Macdonald, the language of the Nabataeans is still arguably Aramaic per se as it had possible contacts geographically with other languages such as the Old Arabic, Hismaic, and Safaitic, or even with the ASA languages spoken by Sabaeans and Minaeans.⁷⁹⁷ It is possible to assert from here then that the Nabateans may have been

⁷⁹³ Sulaiman b. Abd Rahman al-Dhīb, *Mudawwanat al-Nuqūsh al-Nabaṭiyyah*..., Vol. 1, 294, 332 & 360.

⁷⁹⁴ J. Hoftijzer & K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions* (Leiden: E.J Brill, 1995) Vol. 1, 683.

⁷⁹⁵ Latin inscriptions discovered in Palmyra only relate to military, construction works, or visiting officials (e.g. Roman tax collectors). Meanwhile, the Greek inscriptions were more related to public activities, such as the activities related to running the city and its dependent territories or in the public honorary inscriptions for leading citizens or nobilities. It still is not, however, spoken in the domestic context. Meanwhile, Arabic only had some influence on Palmyrene-Aramaic texts through the existence of some Arabic words in their inscriptions, such as the names of deities, the names of their four major local tribes, and several loan words from Arabic. See G.K Taylor, "Bilingualism and Diglossia in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia", in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Word*, edited by J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 317.

⁷⁹⁶ Micheal C.A Macdonald, "Languages, Scripts and the Uses of Writing among the Nabataeans", in *Petra Rediscovered: Lost City of Nabataeans*, edited by Glenn Markoe (New York: Harry N. Abrams Incorporated, 2003) 51.

⁷⁹⁷ Indicating what is meant by Nabataean is important in understanding their language contact. In doing so, one would have to verify the places where the Nabataean inscriptions are being discovered. The fact that the Nabataeans are diverse geographically and live in various regions have contributed to their contact with other languages. See Ibid, 48-49.

multilingual, as proven in their often-discovered bilingual inscriptions.⁷⁹⁸ However, despite these multi-contacts, he reiterates that the Nabatean inscriptions collection is still predominantly Nabatean-Aramaic and Greek.⁷⁹⁹

In light of this perspective, Al-Dhīb, for example, has listed Aramaic variations of the word *mr'* based on its possessive pronouns, such as *mr'h* (*tr.* his lord), *mr'n* (*tr.* our lord), *mr'y* (my lord), *mr'km* (your lord).⁸⁰⁰ The same grammatical construct also applies to the Palmyrene language, where the word *mr* in *mrn* originates from the noun *mr'*, which similarly means master or lord, while the word *n* indicates the plural possessive pronouns.⁸⁰¹ Interestingly, the Nabatean also has the same construct but it differs in terms of the way it is scribed. In discussing the variation of the word *mr'* and its plural possessive pronouns in the Nabatean language, Al-Dhīb lists all previous three Nabatean forms of *mrn'*, *mr'n'* and *mr'n* as a singular masculine noun with a genitive attribute (*idhāfah*) of plural possessive pronouns.⁸⁰² The first two letters *mr* in these three forms originate from the same Aramaic word *mr'*, which translates to the meaning lord, while the letter *n* indicates the plural possessive pronouns.⁸⁰³

Other ANA inscriptions, however, do not project the word *mrn* within this context at all. Several attestations of this word in the Safaitic inscriptions, for example, express the word *mrn* only as a name of a person or family (AbaNS 1000 & LP 859).⁸⁰⁴ A similar situation also happens in the ASA corpus. CSAI corpus shows three ASA languages (Minaic, Qatabanic, and Sabaic) attested to the word *mrn* only as a toponym of a noble family lineage.⁸⁰⁵ Another ASA word, *'mrn* also shows a similar result, where instead of

⁷⁹⁸ Apart from Nabataean-Aramaic, there are those Nabataean inscriptions that incorporate elements of other languages such as on the wall graffiti of Nabataean-Safaitic & Nabataean-Hismaic, legal documents in Nabataean-Greek, or even South Arabian Nabataean-Sabaic in Qaryat al-Faw. See Ibid, 49. Apart from those, there are also the Nabataeo-Arabic inscriptions. See Ahmad al-Jallad, “The Earliest Stages of Arabic and its Linguistic Classification”, 323.

⁷⁹⁹ Micheal C.A Macdonald, “Languages, Scripts and the Uses of Writing among the Nabataeans...,” 49.

⁸⁰⁰ Sulaiman b. Abd al-Rahmān al-Dhīb, *Mu'jam al-Mufradāt al-'Arāmiyyah al-Qadīmah: Dirāsah Al-Muqāranah...*, 174-175.

⁸⁰¹ Delbert R. Hillers & Eleonara Cussini..., 386.

⁸⁰² Sulaiman b. Abd al-Rahmān al-Dhīb, *al-Mu'jam al-Nabaṭī: Dirāsah Muqāranah li al-Mufradāt wa al-Alfāz al-Nabaṭiyyah* (Riyadh: Maktabah al-Malik al-Fahd al-Waṭaniyyah, 2000) 162-163.

⁸⁰³ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁴ The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Safaitic inscriptions: Preliminary Edition...*, 421 & 7601.

⁸⁰⁵ For the list of attestations of the word *mrn* and its meaning in Minaic, Qatabanic and Sabaic, see CSAI, “*mrn*”, *DASI*

mr', it seems to be closer to the aforementioned root '*mr*'.⁸⁰⁶ For instance, in deciphering a marginal Minaic inscription (M361) found in Dadan (al-‘Ula),⁸⁰⁷ Antonin J. Jaussen translates the word '*mrn*' recorded in this inscription to celestial sign or omen (obtained from a higher power).⁸⁰⁸ Other attestations for this variation are also available in two Sabaic inscriptions, such as Najrān 1 & Nāmī NAG 6. Both signify the same meaning as the previous Minaic lexicon in the inscription M361.⁸⁰⁹

5.3.6 *MR'S^l*: Tribal Leadership

Upon further examination of Jawad's assertion, this study finds that this word is only attested in the Sabaic inscriptions. Unlike the word *mr'* which represents lordship of deities or nobilities, the word *mr's^l* is a lexicon that usually translates to tribal chieftain or leader (RES 3563), (Ja 665), (Ja 576+Ja 577) or an important person of the tribe (Ir 13).⁸¹⁰

<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=32&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=567110658&wl_group=17&wl_subgroup=55> (accessed on 15 January 2022). See also Sabäische Wörterbuch, “*mrn*” <<http://sabaweb.uni-jena.de/SabaWeb/Suche/Suche/SearchResultDetail?idxLemma=8001&showAll=0>> (accessed on 10 September 2022).

⁸⁰⁶ Sabäische Wörterbuch, “*mrn*” <<http://sabaweb.uni-jena.de/SabaWeb/Suche/Suche/SearchResultDetail?idxLemma=8001&showAll=0>> (accessed on 10 September 2022).

⁸⁰⁷ See CSAI, “M361”, *DASI* <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=504494415&recId=4266&mark=04266%2C013%2C002>> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

⁸⁰⁸ Antonin Joseph Jaussen, *Mission Archéologique en Arabie* (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1914) 278.

⁸⁰⁹ See CSAI, “Najrān 1”, *DASI* <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=614972922&recId=9961&mark=09961%2C009%2C004>> (accessed on 15 January 2022). See also, CSAI, “Nāmī NAG 6”, *DASI* <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=614972922&recId=6024&mark=06024%2C005%2C008>> (accessed on 10 September 2022).

⁸¹⁰ For other examples of *mr's^l* usage and its meaning in Sabaic inscription, see CSAI, “*mr's^l*”, *DASI* <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=36&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=193700181>> (accessed on 10 September 2022).

5.3.7 'MR: To Make Abundance of Something

Apart from portraying the meaning related to authority, order, and command as delineated before in 5.3.1, the same root 'mr also used contextually in reflecting the meaning of abundance. This is evident exclusively in the Safaitic. In the previous example ABMNS 2/ RWQ 333, Ṣabrī Karīm al-‘Abbādī also asserted another opinion on the phrase *t'mr/ h whd* apart from solely indicating that the author imagined him herding his pastoral animal alone in a region as if he was an *amīr*.⁸¹¹ The second meaning implies that the author was stating his aim of making abundance/ growing/ multiplying (*t'mr*) his sheep (*whd*).⁸¹² This is equivalent to another Arabic cognate from the same root 'mr, which is *amara/ āmara: akthara* (tr. to multiply or to make something numerous).⁸¹³ The word *whd* in that inscription also correlates to another Arabic noun for sheep, which is specific for the sheep that only gave birth once.⁸¹⁴ This second meaning related to the notion of abundance was also prevalent in other Safaitic inscriptions (Al-Mafraq Museum 14, HaNSB 158, KRS 995, KRS 1102).⁸¹⁵ The context of these inscriptions, however, differs in terms of the subject of the word. Most of them refer to the abundance of herded animals itself except Al-Mafraq Museum 14, which is more towards defining the abundance and widespread of hard times.⁸¹⁶

In the case of the animals, both HaNSB 158 and KRS 995 used the phrase *t'mr s²hš*, which Harahshah has translated before as to indicate the growth (in quantity) and the abundance of (fat) sheep.⁸¹⁷ The reason for that is due to the word *s²hš* refers to the Arabic word *shaḥaṣu*, the plural form of *shahsu*, which means the sheep that does not have milk.⁸¹⁸

⁸¹¹ Ṣabrī Karīm al-‘Abbādī, “al-Mā’ fī al-Nuqūsh al-‘Arabiyyah al-Shimāliyyah al-Qadīmah: Dirāsah Taḥlīliyyah li Nuqshayn Ṣafāwiyyīn Jadīdayn”, *Jordan Journal for History and Archeology*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (2012): 103-123.

⁸¹² Ṣabrī Karīm al-‘Abbādī, 106-123.

⁸¹³ Abū ‘Ubayd, al-Qāsim b. Sallām al-Harawī, *Gharīb al-Hadīth* (Al-Qāhirah: al-Hai’at al-‘Āmmah li Shu’ūn al-Maṭābi’ al-Amīriyyah, 1984) Vol. 3, 369.

⁸¹⁴ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 15, 234.

⁸¹⁵ The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Safaitic Inscriptions: Preliminary Edition*, 524, 4462, 6526, 6561.

⁸¹⁶ *Ibid*, 524.

⁸¹⁷ Rafe Harahshah, *Nuqūsh Ṣafāiyyah min al-Bādiyah al-Urdūniyyah* (al-Urdun: Dār Ward al-Urduniyyah, 2010) 89.

⁸¹⁸ Al-Azharī, Muhammad b. Ahmad, *Tahdhīb al-Lughah* (Beirut: Dār ‘Ihyā’ al-Turath, 2001), Vol. 4, 103.

Ibn Sīdah translates *shaḥṣu* as a fat sheep that does not have milk or is not pregnant.⁸¹⁹ Some uses *shaḥsu* to reflect young female lamb who do not mate and lactate yet.⁸²⁰ OCIANA and Jallad, however, argued that the phrase *t'mr s²ḥṣ* was actually or possibly referring to the widespread of need/ want of milk or dearth.⁸²¹ Similarly, they also based their arguments on the Arabic cognate *shaḥṣu*. However, they differed from Harahshah in terms of extracting the connotations of the *shaḥṣu*. In OCIANA's view, *shaḥṣu* translates to 'want of milk', which also implies the previous Arabic lexicon's understanding of the sheep's deficiency or absence of milk.⁸²² Meanwhile, Jallad criticized OCIANA's narrow context of translation, and instead argued that the term could also mean scarcity and dearth, especially within non-animal context inscriptions, such as in the context of drought.⁸²³

5.3.8 'MR: Promise or Matter

The Safaitic word *'mr* also attested as equivalent to the Arabic word *wa 'd*, which translates to promise or matter.⁸²⁴ Rafe Harahshah is the only one who provided this meaning in his newly published Safaitic corpus (HaDNSJ 160).⁸²⁵ Contextually, the author found an inscription of his ancestor, and to that he built something upon, which Harahshah commented as a building that functions as a residence for shade, food and water (*f/ n 'm/ m 'mr*). Upon his act, the author then affirmed at the end of his inscription with this prayer invocation; *'mr/ sdq*, which Harahshah translates to Arabic as "*amrān sādiqan*" (tr. [make] this is true promise/ matter).⁸²⁶

⁸¹⁹ Ibn Sīdah, Abu al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ismā'īl, *al-Muhkam wa al-Muḥiṭ al-A'ẓam* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2000) Vol. 3, 100.

⁸²⁰ Ibid. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 7, 45.

⁸²¹ The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Safaitic Inscriptions: Preliminary Edition*, 4462. See also Ahmad al-Jallad, *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic...*, 344. See also Ahmad al-Jallad & Karolina Jaworska, *A Dictionary of Safaitic...*, 125.

⁸²² The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Safaitic Inscriptions: Preliminary Edition*, 4462.

⁸²³ Ahmad al-Jallad, *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic...*, 344.

⁸²⁴ For the translation of *wa 'd*, see Hans Wehr, 1081.

⁸²⁵ Rafe Harahshah, *Dirāsāt Nuqūsh Ṣafaiyyah Jadīdah...*, 151-152, no: 160.

⁸²⁶ Ibid.

5.3.9 'WMR: Signal Station/ Signal Tower

There is only one inscription that narrated this word 'wmr, which is a Sabaic inscription JA 576. CSAI classified it as a dedicatory text of two royal brothers who had dedicated nine (or seven) statues in silver to their deities, with the belief that their deities had purportedly aided them with assistance in winning their military campaign.⁸²⁷ W.F Jamme asserted this inscription as a depiction of the military campaigns of two royal brothers, 'Ilsarah Yahdūb and Ya'zūl Bayyīn.⁸²⁸ The word 'wmr occurred in line 13 describing a battle in which they seized the house of (possibly clan) R's¹ and the towers there that had also served as 'wmr. Jamme translated the word 'wmr here as post of command⁸²⁹ due to its form that is similar to the Arabic plural *awāmir*, hence indicating its relation to command or order.⁸³⁰ CSAI and several others provided the translation as the signal station (*Signaltürme*),⁸³¹ possibly referring to another correlation, which is the word 'mr in the meaning of omen and sign. This second meaning also semantically correlates to the Arabic usage of *al-amarah* (landmark).

⁸²⁷ CSAI, "Ja 576+Ja 577," *DASI* <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=78921948&recId=9044&mark=09044%2C013%2C026>> (accessed on 20 April 2024).

⁸²⁸ W.F Jamme, "JA 576", in *Sabaeen Inscriptions from Mahram Bilqis*, 315.

⁸²⁹ Ibid, 75.

⁸³⁰ Ibid.

⁸³¹ See Ibid. See also CSAI, "Ja 576+Ja 577," *DASI* <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=78921948&recId=9044&mark=09044%2C013%2C026>> (accessed on 20 April 2024). See also Sabäische Wörterbuch, "'wmr" <<http://sabaweb.uni-jena.de/SabaWeb/Suche/Suche/SearchResultDetail?idxLemma=2622&showAll=0>> (accessed on 20 April 2024). See also Norbert Nebes, "Sabäische Texte", in *Staatsverträge, Herrscherinschriften und andere Dokumente zur politischen Geschichte*, edited by Francis Breyer & Michael Lichtenstein (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2005) 349.

'MR		MR'		'MR'	MRN		MR'S	'WMR
ASA	ANA	ASA	ANA	ASA	ASA	ANA	ASA	ASA
Command <i>n</i> .	Lord <i>n</i> .	Lordship of both deities & human	Lordship of human	Plural form for <i>mr'</i> <i>n</i> .	' <i>mrn</i> as an omen in marginal Minaic and some Sabaic inscriptions <i>n</i> .	Only attested in Nabatean in the form of <i>mrn'</i> , <i>mr'n'</i> and <i>mr'n</i> (all means our lord <i>n</i> .)	Tribal chieftain (Sabaic)	Signal station
Authority <i>n</i> .	Command <i>n</i> .		Attested in Dadanitic, Taymanitic, Nabataean	Attested in ASA only		The letter <i>n</i> indicates the plural possessive pronoun	Attested in ASA only	Attested in ASA only
Order <i>n</i> .	To be appointed as <i>amīr</i> <i>v</i> .		Possibility of Minaean (ASA) influences in Dadanitic			Other variations: <i>mr'h</i> : his lord <i>mr'y</i> : my lord <i>mr'km</i> : your lord (plural)		
To consult <i>v</i> .	To consult <i>v</i> .		Aramaic influences in Taymanitic and Nabataean					
Omen <i>n</i> .	To control (govern) <i>v</i> .							
	To make abundance <i>v</i> .							
	Promise/ thing/ matter <i>n</i> .							

Table 5.1 Attestation of the Root '*mr* and Its Derivations in Pre-Islamic Arabia Documentary Sources⁸³²

⁸³² A breakdown of the previous discussion above in this chapter on the attestation of the root '*mr* in pre-Islamic Arabia documentary sources, 152-168.

5.4 *al-IMĀRAH* IN THE LITERARY SOURCES: A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

Traces of *al-imārah* could have also come from another important source concerning pre-Islamic Arabia, which is the literary sources. According to Lindstedt, these include both Arabic and non-Arabic literary corpus.⁸³³ The former are mostly statements coming from the Islamic era concerning the pre-Islamic Arabia period,⁸³⁴ where it often comprises different types of Islamic historiographies, such as classical Islamic prose,⁸³⁵ genealogies,⁸³⁶ annals, and pre-Islamic collections of poetry.⁸³⁷ The early Islamic works on this theme stem from the second century AH or supposedly earlier than that, possibly from the second half of the first century AH before flourishing in the later period.⁸³⁸ It is unquestionably an already enormous source by itself, not to mention the non-Arabic one, which is the outsider's observation on the Arabs that mainly comprises of Assyrian, Greek, Babylonian, Romans, Persians, and Israelite literary corpus.⁸³⁹

Considering the focus of this chapter is to discover the root *'mr* itself, it is perhaps preferable to focus only on a certain part of this huge literary source – particularly only on the Arabic literary corpus. Nothing is perhaps more suited for this cause here than the pre-Islamic Arabia poetry itself, which of course could serve as another semantical profile for the root *'mr*- this time through the knowledge of the *Jāhiliyya* Arabs within their own codified language of poetry, which has preserved in its own specific temporal and spatial dimension within the whole pre-Islamic epoch. What makes the *Jāhiliyya* poetry specific is the fact that it is mostly attributed to the 6th-century timeframe with the areal diffusion around the Central and North Arabian region.⁸⁴⁰ As this study has delved into the late antiquities period before, exploring this much recent temporal dimension of pre-Islamic

⁸³³ Ikka Lindstedt, 160.

⁸³⁴ Jan Retso, *The Arabs in Antiquity: Their History from the Assyrian to the Umayyads* (Oxon: Routledge Curzon, 2005) 8.

⁸³⁵ Harry Munt et al., "Arabic and Persian Sources for Pre-Islamic Era" in *Arabs and Empire Before Islam*, edited by Greg Fisher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015) 434.

⁸³⁶ Micheal Lecker, 154.

⁸³⁷ Ibid, 160-161.

⁸³⁸ Among the earliest works is *Akhbār al-Yaman* (Accounts about Yemen) authored by 'Abid b. Sharya, possibly composed in the second half of the first century CE. Closely following this is Wahb b. Munabbih with his *Kitāb al-Mulūk al-Mutawwaja min Ḥimyar* (The Crowned Kings of Himyar). This possibly comes from the 2nd century AH. See Fred Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origin: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writings* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1998) 196-197.

⁸³⁹ Robert G. Hoyland, 9. See also Jan Retso, 8.

⁸⁴⁰ Robert G. Hoyland, 9.

Arabia helps centralize the focus of understanding *al-imārah* within another important timeframe, which is the period right before Islam came.

Moreover, unlike the documentary sources that differ in terms of their languages and scripts, this poetry is already Arabic in the first place. This aids in preventing this poetry from being subjected to further historical and philological ruckus, hence putting the concept of *al-imārah* exclusively within the Arabic language. On top of that, the documentary sources may also be able to intertwine with this poetry in providing a wider assertion.⁸⁴¹ Studies that compare this corpus of pre-Islamic Arabia's poetry to the documentary sources are also still in their infancy, thus suggesting the need to undertake this measure.⁸⁴² Another reason for selecting this poetry is mainly due to its nature itself. They are the embodiment of the literary prowess of the Arabs in that particular period. Any derivations of *the root 'mr* and its carried meanings narrated in this poetry are the representation or imagery of that concept projected by those who had composed it at that time. On the other hand, the classical Islamic prose, annals, and genealogies had come after their codification in the Islamic period, hence predisposing their authors to perceive or apply *al-imārah* from within the Islamic context. The previous example of how Ibn Khaldūn uses the word *amīr* in elaborating on the history of some pre-Islamic Arabia kingdoms in his *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* shows how that word became convoluted with the understanding of *amīr* in the Islamic era.⁸⁴³

This study is aware of the modern reception of this pre-Islamic Arabia poetry that was rather dismissive due to its status of genuineness, which also becomes a subject of intense debate. Note that these were mostly compositions of poetry that were attributed to 6th-century Arabia, but began to be compiled by scholars of the post-Islamic period from the 8th century onwards.⁸⁴⁴ This led to a sceptical reception by scholars, particularly among modern scholars. D.S Margoliouth, for example, argued the credibility of these poems to be attributed to the pre-Islamic Arabs given its preservation methods, which he contended

⁸⁴¹ Lindstedt, 161.

⁸⁴² Ibid.

⁸⁴³ Ibn Khaldūn, *Dīwan al-Mubtada' wa al-Khabar fī Tārīkh al-ʿArab* ..., Vol. 2, 3-404.

⁸⁴⁴ Robert G. Hoyland, 212. See also Peter Webb, "Cry me a Jāhiliyya: Muslim Reconstructions of Pre-Islamic Arabian Culture—A Case Study" In *Islam at 250: Studies in Memory of G.H.A. Juynboll*, edited by Petra M. Sijpesteijn & Camilla Adang (Leiden: Boston Brill, 2020) 236.

to be questionable.⁸⁴⁵ Following this conjecture is the Egyptian scholar, Taha Husayn, who affirmed that these collections were dubious attribution to those Arab from that period by the scholars of the Islamic era.⁸⁴⁶ According to Husayn, constructing the narrative for the pre-Islamic Arab requires the imagery provided by other more reliable sources, which he granted as the Qur'ān as well as compositions of poetry from the times of the Prophet and onwards.⁸⁴⁷

On the other hand, other friendlier gestures work to balance those previous hostile receptions. Some have reserved its formal features, which are its structures of prosody (*al-'arūd* tr. meter and rhymes), assonance, alliteration, and wordplay to be at least partially elucidating the faithful transmissions from its original form at some point, at least from the 5th century.⁸⁴⁸ Zwettler, for example, argued these structures along with the morphological construct⁸⁴⁹ of the Arabic language itself as mnemonic aids that help the memorizing process, in such helping the process of preservation throughout the years before its codification.⁸⁵⁰ He also asserted the advantages that these pre-Islamic poetry have in terms of their short length compared to the Homeric epic which is far longer, hence minimizing the impossibilities of their preservation through memorization.⁸⁵¹ Few cases have also been made on the ability of pre-literate people that preserve their traditions effectively by the means of their oral narrations, which has been demonstrated and proved in many recent studies.⁸⁵²

Another rebuttal stands on the high status that poetry achieved during that period, which has constructed itself as part of the basis of pre-Islamic Arab society. The functional

⁸⁴⁵ D.S Margoliouth, "The Origins of Arabic Poetry", *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, no. 3 (1925): 423.

⁸⁴⁶ Taha Hussayn, *Fi al-Shi'ri al-Jāhili* (Sousse: Dār al-Ma'ārif li al-Tibā'ah wa al-Nashr, 1926) 21.

⁸⁴⁷ Ibid, 22.

⁸⁴⁸ Micheal J. Zwettler, *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arab Poetry* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1978) 11. See also Harry Munt et al., 480.

⁸⁴⁹ Zwettler follows H.A.R Gibbs's assertion on this matter. According to Gibbs, the vowel schemes of the Arabic language that are similar and alike to each other evolve in their determined morphological formation. The verbal derivation of *fā'il*, for instance, has formed regularities for the nouns constructed upon this (e.g. *qātil* (a killer), *rākib* (a rider), *kātib* (a writer), etc. This by itself proves the importance of rhyme and assonance in the Arabic language. See H.A.R Gibbs, *Arabic Literature: An Introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963) 8.

⁸⁵⁰ Micheal J. Zwettler, 32.

⁸⁵¹ Ibid.

⁸⁵² Robert G. Hoyland, 12.

importance of poetry during that period was so visible, that it did not merely act as a tool for amusement and entertainment, but designated an essential part of their social system, so much so that the latter could not function well without it.⁸⁵³ According to Al-Fārūqī, poetry symbolizes eloquence, which at the individual level is needed in glorifying and idealizing the pre-Islamic Arab concept of chivalry (*murū'ah*), such as illustrated in their bravery in battles, hospitality in poverty, fidelity at the expense of one's life and many more.⁸⁵⁴ On the societal level of their tribalism, poetry immortalizes these values, where it classifies, defines, and distinguishes a tribe from others.⁸⁵⁵ It also reinforces tribal structures, as well as bolsters the morale of the tribe and the individual within it.⁸⁵⁶

In that sense, a tribe may disintegrate or uphold its identity throughout time by the virtue of the poetry, signifying the effect it has upon the tribal identity of the Arabs in preserving themselves in history. Modern studies even look at the way this Arabic poetry influences the socio-political identity of an Arab tribe throughout history including in the modern times.⁸⁵⁷ The fact that this element has persevered and lasted until now highlights the significant nature of the Arabic poetry of modern Arab tribalism, more so among the Arabs of the pre-Islamic era. However, it is imperative to note that the pre-Islamic poetry might subject themselves to further objection if they are to represent sweeping outlooks on the socio-historical reality underpinnings of pre-Islamic Arabia.⁸⁵⁸ This is purely cautionary, as there are still myriad studies that are often incorporating those two together.⁸⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the literary values of these *Jāhiliyya* poetry remain significant enough to posit them as one of the most important sources for pre-Islamic Arabia,

⁸⁵³ M. V. McDonald, "Orally Transmitted Poetry in Pre-Islamic Arabia and Other Pre-Literate Societies", *Journal of Arabic Literature*, Vol. 9 (1978): 15.

⁸⁵⁴ Ismā'īl Rājī al-Fārūqī, 63.

⁸⁵⁵ Ibid, 64.

⁸⁵⁶ M. V. McDonald, 17.

⁸⁵⁷ For a detailed discussion on these socio-political influences of Arabic poetry upon tribal identity, see for example Khalil Saleh Saleem Abu-Rahmeh, *The Poetry of the Bakr Tribe in Their Politico-Tribal Role from 1-132 AH With a Detailed Study of Four Bakri Poets*, (Ph.D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1981) 444. See also Abu Athera Said Salman, *Tribal Poetry of the Tarabin and Huwaytāt Tribes and its Relationship to that of Neighbouring Tribes* (Ph.D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1995) 393.

⁸⁵⁸ Jonathan A.C Brown, "The Social Context of Pre-Islamic Poetry: Poetic Imagery and Social Reality in Mu'allaqat", *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (2003): 31.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid, 30.

particularly in providing answers concerning the pattern of literary communication between the pre and early Islamic periods.⁸⁶⁰

Such contribution also offers a parallel to this study in the way they could assist in framing the evolution of certain concepts like *al-imārah*, at least in conceptualizing the semantical understanding of the *Jāhiliyya* Arabs around that concept. This is why some like Thomas Bauer even argued for the usage of pre-Islamic Arabia's poetry as one of the means of interpreting the Qur'ān.⁸⁶¹ His approach is mainly comparative, where he suggests a comparative study of a certain concept in the Qur'ān in comparison to pre-Islamic poetry.⁸⁶² According to him, this approach would effectively present the authenticity of the Qur'ān, rather than the usual singular approach through Islamic corpus that always has led to the insular understanding of that said concept in the Qur'ān.⁸⁶³ From another perspective, Harry Munt retraces the importance of this poetry since the Abbasid period, which was detrimental to understanding the Qur'ān, Arabic grammar, topography, and several other fields of study.⁸⁶⁴ Although these all seem unnecessary for the Qur'ānic interpretation tradition that is already massive by its nature, viewing poetry in such light demonstrates its epistemological importance among the early Muslims, where they were never a separate subject and have always been used hand in hand with other disciplines of knowledge.

5.4.1 The Authoritative Context of The Root 'MR in the *Jāhiliyya* Arab Poetry

Previous assertions by Ibn Khaldūn, Sālih Ahmad al-‘Alī, and Jawad Alī were all suggesting traces of *al-imārah* in pre-Islamic Arabia that comes within the human political order theme to have all imbued with the same authoritative essence. These are either coming through Ibn Khaldūn's pre-Islamic military *amīr*, Sālih Ahmad al-‘Alī nomadic

⁸⁶⁰ Thomas Bauer, "The Relevance of Early Arabic Poetry for Qur'anic Studies Including Observations on Kull and On Q 22:27, 26:225, And 52:31", in *The Qur'ān in Context Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'ānic Milieu*, edited by Angelika Neuwirth and et. al (Boston: Brill, 2010) 701.

⁸⁶¹ Ibid, 702.

⁸⁶² Ibid, 703.

⁸⁶³ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁴ Harry Munt et. al, 481.

amīr, or Jawad Ali *Jāhiliyya amruhum*.⁸⁶⁵ Regardless of their differences and the lack of elaboration and evidences, they all share one similarity - their assertive confirmation of the authoritative socio-political spectrum within each of their selected derivation of the root 'mr in representing pre-Islamic Arabia *al-imārah*. A thorough search of pre-Islamic Arabia's poetry reveals the contexts that they have provided are indeed true. The most prominent example of this is the one line from Abdullah b. al-Ziba'ra⁸⁶⁶ on Abraha's failed invasion of Mecca, where he said:⁸⁶⁷

سَائِلَ أَمِيرِ الْجَيْشِ عَنْهَا مَا رَأَى وَلَسَوْفَ يُنَبِّئُ الْجَاهِلِينَ عَلَيْهَا
سُتُونَ أَلْفًا لَمْ يَتُوبُوا أَرْضَهُمْ وَلَمْ يَعِشْ بَعْدَ الْإِيَابِ سَقِيمُهَا

Ask the amir al-jaysh; what does he saw of it (Mecca) and he who has knowledge of it (Mecca) will let these fools know.

*Sixty thousand men (of Abraha) did not return to their land, and did not outlive for that silly cause even the sickly of Mecca.*⁸⁶⁸

The earliest attestation for this line is in Ibn Hishām's *al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah*. His version of this poem attested to the phrase *amīr al-jaysh*, which could translate to 'army commander' or 'general'. This is of course by referring to the background of this poem that is illustrating a story of a failed military campaign by Abraha in Mecca. According to Ibn Hishām, the latter was initially a Christian-Abyssinian-Aksumite soldier who joined the Abyssinian conquest of the South Arabian kingdom. He defeated the Abyssinian viceroy of the kingdom after a duel, where he managed to slay the latter and usurped the throne.⁸⁶⁹ The modern historian, however, differs in determining him as a viceroy of the Abyssinian-

⁸⁶⁵ See Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddimah*, 240. See also Šālih Ahmad al-‘Alī, 156. See also Jawad Ali, Vol. 9, 219.

⁸⁶⁶ He is Abdullah b. al-Ziba'ra b. Qays b. ‘Adī, one of the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H). He was one of the Jāhili poets in Mecca and used to mock the Companions of the Prophet before his conversion after the Conquest of Mecca. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, (Al-Qāhirah: Maktabah al-Khanji, 2001) Vol. 6, 109.

⁸⁶⁷ Ibn Hishām, Vol. 1, 72.

⁸⁶⁸ Trevor Le Gassick translates the second half of the second line to "even their sick (Abraha's army) did not live after their homecoming". However, this study views that the term *saqīmuha* refers to the sick of Mecca, as the word 'ha' in that phrase is a pronoun for that city. That pronoun is also visible at the end of each line of this poem by Abdullah al-Ziba'ra, where all of them refer to Mecca. See Ibn Kathīr, Abū al-Fiḍā’ Ismā‘īl b. ‘Umar, *The Life of the Prophet Muhammad*, translated from Arabic by Trevor Le Gassick (Reading: Garnet Publishing Limited, 1998) Vol. 1, 72.

⁸⁶⁹ Ibn Hishām, Vol. 1, 57-58.

Aksumite kingdom or as an independent ruler of the kingdom.⁸⁷⁰ In another version of this poem, Ibn Kathīr in his *al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah* came up with another narration that uses the phrase *amīr al-Ḥabsh*.⁸⁷¹ Le Gassick in his translation of this particular work of Ibn Kathir translated the term to 'Abyssinian prince'.⁸⁷² Regardless of the differences, both phrases signify political designation, either in the context of Abraha as a stratocracy-military leader or as a prince or viceroy of Abyssinian-Aksumite monarch.

In another example from a famous Jāhili poet, Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā⁸⁷³ used the word *amīr* in one of his odes without specifying any political designation of that word, where he said:⁸⁷⁴

وَقَدْ حَرَّمَ الطَّرَادُ عَنْهُ جِحَاشُهُ فَلَمْ يَبْقَ إِلَّا نَفْسُهُ وَحَلَاثِلُهُ
فَقَالَ أَمِيرِي مَا تَرَى رَأْيِي مَا نَرَى أَخْتَلُهُ عَنْ نَفْسِهِ أَمْ نُصَاوِلُهُ

The quarry has left its juveniles, and the only remaining one is itself and its mate.

*And my **amīr** said; do you have the same view as mine? Should we lie in wait for it by itself or should we charge?*

Unlike the previous poem on Abraha, the first half of the second line of this ode mentions the word *amīr* without any references to what that position represents in the socio-political system of Jāhiliyya Arabs. The only visible information is that both lines illustrate hunting activity and the *amīr* is there together with his subordinate. One explanation concerning the word *amīr* in this line came from Al-Wazīr al-Baṭalyūsī, a 5th-century AH Andalusian grammarian and philologist. He asserted that the word refers to the one whom

⁸⁷⁰ See also A.F.L Beeston, "Abraha" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, 102-103.

⁸⁷¹ Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah* (Beirut: Dār al-Marifah, 1976) Vol. 1, 39.

⁸⁷² Ibn Kathīr, *The Life of the Prophet Muhammad*, Vol. 1, 72.

⁸⁷³ He is Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā Rabī'ah b. Ribāh Al-Muzanī, one of the seven greatest poets of the Jāhiliyya period. One of his poems is among the *al-sab'at al-mu'llaqāt* (The Seven Hanging Ode). His son Ka'b b. Zuhayr became one of the poets of the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Zuhayr's *mu'llaqat* mainly revolves around his praise of two Jāhiliyya figures, which are Harim b. Sinān and al-Hārith b. 'Auf, and most of his themes concern the issue of peace and wisdom. See al-Zirikli, Vol.3, 52.

⁸⁷⁴ Al-A'lam al-Shatanmari, Yūsuf b. Sulaimān b. Īsā, *'Ash'ār al-Shu'arā' al-Sittah al-Jāhiliyyin* (Al-Qāhirah: al-Matba'ah al-Minbaryyyah, 1954) Vol. 1, 298-299.

their people are seeking counsel and advice.⁸⁷⁵ In that sense, this *amīr* is certainly a man of a higher status, possibly a wise man or an elder in their tribe or clan.

In another ode of the same poet, the word *amīr* has another character or quality defining it, where Zuhayr mentioned:⁸⁷⁶

وَإِذْ كِلَانَا إِذَا حَانَتْ مُفَارَقَةٌ مِنْ الدِّيَارِ طَوَى كَشْحاً عَلَى حَزَنِ
فَقُلْتُ وَالدِّيَارُ أَحْيَاناً يَشْطُ بِهَا صَرَفُ الْأَمِيرِ عَلَى مَنْ كَانَ ذَا شَجَنِ

And whenever it came upon both of us leaving the homes, the one who departed and turning his back away did it with sadness.

*Then I said; and the homes are often distant to the grieving one who is on the disposition of the **amīr**.*

Abu al-‘Abbas Tha‘lab, an 8th-century AH philologist agreed that the *amīr* mentioned here refers to the one who can provide counsel and advice to others. However, he further elaborated on another quality of this personage, which is the authority to make people leave their homes for a certain cause.⁸⁷⁷ He particularized the cause as *al-masīr*, which is the military march.⁸⁷⁸ To have that kind of authority, Tha‘lab’s assertion seems to hint the importance and power of the position of the *amīr* here in this line, illustrating his dispensation of power with some kind of decisive and binding authority upon their tribe. This perhaps relates to his position as military commander. Apart from providing council and binding authority, Zuhayr also illustrated another good quality of an *amīr* in the *Jāhiliyya* society, where he mentioned this in his panegyric ode praising Harim b. Sinan and al-Hārith b. ‘Auf.⁸⁷⁹

هُمْ جَدَّدُوا أَحْكَامَ كُلِّ مُضِلَّةٍ مِنَ الْعَقَمِ لَا يُلْفَى لَأَمْثَالِهَا فَصْلُ

⁸⁷⁵ Al-Wazīr al-Baṭalyūsī, Abu Bakr ‘Āṣim b. Ayyub, *Sharḥ al-‘Ash‘ār al-Sittah al-Jāhiliyyah* (Beirut: Al-Ma‘had al-‘Almānī li al-Abhāth al-Sharqiyyah, 2008) Vol. 2, 54.

⁸⁷⁶ Tha‘lab, Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Sharḥ Shi‘r Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā* (Damascus: Maktabah Hārūn al-Rashīd li al-Tawzī‘, 2008) 96.

⁸⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁹ Al-A‘lam al-Shatanmari, Vol. 1, 293.

بِعَزْمَةِ مَأْمُورٍ مُطِيعٍ وَآمِرٍ مُطَاعٍ فَلَا يُلْقَى لِحَزْمِهِمْ مِثْلٌ

They (both) have reformed the way of the corrupter pertaining the war, there are none alike to them.

*With the rights of (having) obedient subject and (being) revered **āmīr**, there are none similar to their stalwartness.*

Zuhayr was actually praising the quality of leadership that both Harim b. Sinan and al-Hārith b. 'Auf have. Both of them have revolutionized the way of the *Jāhiliyya* Arab concerning war affairs.⁸⁸⁰ The background of this praise commences from the point when the two of them have prevented a supposedly re-eruption of a large-scale war between the two Arab tribes of Abs and Dhubyan.⁸⁸¹ This is a massive feat for both of them, as they have done it with the full support of their tribe members. For these reasons, Zuhayr characterized them as having obedient subjects following them, while at the same time being revered and obeyed by their subjects.⁸⁸² The word *āmīr* in the first halve of the second line is the active participle that refers to both figures praised by Zuhayr, which illustrated them as the doers of the command and order (*amara*). The grammar and literary functions of *āmīr* here are similar to the word *amīr*.⁸⁸³

In some cases, other derivation like *amr* also establish the nature of political *al-imārah* in the Jahiliyya society. It is also one of the most common derivations attested in these collections of poetry in comparison to the previous word *amīr*, where it has come up in the compositions of several pre-Islamic poets. Again, Zuhayr also used it within the previous context:⁸⁸⁴

يَنْظُرُ فُرْسَانُهُمْ أَمْرَ الرَّئِيسِ وَقَدْ شَدَّ السُّرُوجَ عَلَى أَتْبَاجِهَا الْحَزْمُ

⁸⁸⁰ Al-Wazīr al-Baṭalyūsī, Vol. 2, 40. See also Tha'lab, 90.

⁸⁸¹ Zuhayr composed another panegyric ode praising those two figures and became one of the famous Seven Hanging Odes. His poem here is just another rendition of the same theme. For the concise background of the story concerning Harim b. Sinān and al-Hārith b. 'Auf, see A.J Arberry, *The Seven Odes: The First Chapter in Arabic Literature* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954) 107-109.

⁸⁸² Al-Wazīr al-Baṭalyūsī, Vol. 2, 40. See also Tha'lab, 90.

⁸⁸³ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-Lisān Tahdhīb Lisān al-'Arab*, revised by al-Maktab al-Thaqāfī li Tahqīq al-Kitāb (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah. 1993), Vol. 1, 43.

⁸⁸⁴ Al-A'lam al-Shatanmari, Vol. 1, 321.

*Their cavalry is waiting for their leaders' **amr** and the saddle had stiffened, the bridle is on the back (of the horse).*

The literal meaning of this line is the preparedness of cavalry in waiting for the command of their leader. The word *amr al-ra'īs* could translate literally to the leader or chief's command. Contextually, however, the word would mean the command of their army commander, and this is by virtue of its context that seems to illustrate the simmering war situation. In another example of the word *amr* in the *Jāhiliyya* poetry, it sometimes came up literally to portray warfare affairs. Laqīṭ b. Ya'mur,⁸⁸⁵ another famous poet of that period has associated the word with this meaning:⁸⁸⁶

وَقُلِّدُوا أَمْرَكُمْ لِلَّهِ دَرْكُمُ رَحْبَ الذِّرَاعِ بِأَمْرِ الْحَرْبِ مُضْطَلَعًا

*And turn your **amr** to someone for it is the best for you in the sight of Allah, a broad-chested one, well-versed with the war **amr**.*

Laqīṭ's ode is a rallying one that he composed to inform and encourage his people to be steadfast and ready for the incoming war with the Persians.⁸⁸⁷ This one particular line is where he gave his advice to his people in electing an army commander, in which he stated the two characteristics that they should have.⁸⁸⁸ One of those is broad-chested, a *kināyah* (figure of speech) for a good physical indicator of a person (i.e. healthy, strong, agile, etc). Another character is the knowledge and experiences on the warfare that the candidate should have, which could relate to his tactics in defense, assault, and others. A similar

⁸⁸⁵ He is Laqīṭ b. Ya'mur b. Khārijah al-Iyādī, who is among the earliest Jāhili poet. Laqīṭ lived during the 4th century CE. Some asserted that he was from the 6th century CE. According to some narration, he was an Arab working as a secretary at the Persian court when he wrote the above poem. He intended to warn his people of the forthcoming attack by the Persian king after the Iyadis (his people) attacked a convoy of Persian nobles. Laqīṭ was then sentenced to death after news of the poem eventually reaches Kīsrā. See Khalīl Ibrāhīm al-'Atīyyah, *Dīwān Laqīṭ ibn Ya'mur al-Iyādī: Riwāyat Abi al-Mundhir Hishām ibn Muhammad al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī* (n.p: Matba'at al-Jumhuriyyah, 1970) 7. See also Abdullah Ali Yahya al-Udhari, *Jāhili Poetry before Imru' al-Qais* (Ph.D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1991) 109-113.

⁸⁸⁶ Ibn Qutaybah, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim al-Marwazī, *al-Shi'ru wa al-Shu'arā'* (al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Hadīth, n.d) Vol. 1, 196.

⁸⁸⁷ Ibid, Vol. 1, 195. See also Al-'Askārī, Abū Hilāl al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdallāh b. Sahl, *al-Awā'il* (Ṭanṭa: Dār al-Bashīr, n.d) 95.

⁸⁸⁸ Al-Sayyid Ahmad 'Imārah, *Dirāsah fī Nuṣūṣ al-'Aṣr al-Jāhili Tahlīl wa Tadhawwuq* (n.p: al-Maktabah al-Mutanabbī, n.d) 154.

meaning is also apparent in the Hanging Ode of Tarafah b. ‘Abd,⁸⁸⁹ in which he eloquently said:⁸⁹⁰

وَقَرَّبْتُ بِالْقُرْبَىٰ وَجَدَّكَ إِنِّي مَتَىٰ يَكُ أَمْرٌ لِلنَّكِيتَةِ أَشْهَدِ
وَإِنْ أَدْعَ لِلْجَلَىٰ أَكُنْ مِنْ حُمَاهَا وَإِنْ يَأْتِكَ الْأَعْدَاءُ بِالْجَهْدِ أَجْهَدِ

I use our kinship as a close argument; and, by your luck, whenever there is anything that requires an effort (amr li al-nakīthah), I am always present.

*Let me be summoned in a serious fix, and I am there to defend, or let your enemies come against you sternly, I am stern to help.*⁸⁹¹

A.J Arberry in his translation of this famous ode has rendered the word *amr li al-nakīthah* as anything that requires an effort.⁸⁹² However, the context of the next line indicates that the poet was, in fact, referring to the word *amr* as something related to fighting and war. The first line is a way for him to announce his pledge or oath of willingness to help with serious matters to the person he addressed in the poem, which is his cousin Mālik, while the second line specifies the kind of matters that he was willing to do.⁸⁹³ Apart from the war affairs, the word *amr* also came up in portraying matters that required the council of others. This appears in an ode also attributed to Tarafah:⁸⁹⁴

وَإِنْ بَابُ أَمْرٍ، عَلَيْكَ التَّوَى فَشَاوِرْ لَيْبَاءً، وَلَا تَعْصِهِ⁸⁹⁵

⁸⁸⁹ His real name is ‘Amr b. al-‘Abd b. Sufyān, also one of the poets of Mu‘allaqāt. He is among the youngest of the mu‘allaqāt poet and had died in his twenties. The reason for his death was due to his breach of court etiquette by being insolent to the sister of ‘Amr b. Hind, the Lakhmid ruler during that period. See J.A Montgomery, “Tarafa” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by P.J Bearman, TH Bianquis, C.E Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, W.P Heinrichs (Leiden: Brill, 2000) Vol. 10, 219-220.

⁸⁹⁰ Al-A‘lam al-Shatanmari, Vol. 2, 53.

⁸⁹¹ For the full translation of the poem, see A.J Arberry, *The Seven Odes: The First Chapter in Arabic Literature*, 83-89.

⁸⁹² Ibid, 87.

⁸⁹³ For the full background of the poem, see Ibid, 77-78. See also Yahya Saleh Hasan Dahami, "Tarafah ibn Al-A‘bd and his Outstanding Arabic Mua‘llagah", *International Journal of English Literature and Social Sciences (IJELS)*, Vol. 3, No. 6 (2018): 942.

⁸⁹⁴ Tarafah b. ‘Abd, *Dīwan Tarafah ibn ‘Abd*, edited by Mahdi Muhammad Naṣir al-Dīn (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 2002) 51.

⁸⁹⁵ Some literature also associates this poem exactly with al-Zubayr b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib instead of Tarafah. See Al-‘Askārī, *Jamharat al-Amthāl* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d) Vol. 1, 98. Some would also attribute it to al-Zubayr with minor differences, such as narrating the term *hakīman* instead of *labīban*. See Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Baghdādī, Muhammad b. Hasan b. Muhammad, *al-Tadhkirat al-Hamdūniyyah* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, n.d) Vol. 1, 398.

*And when it comes upon you **amr**, then seek council from the wise, and do not disobey (his advice).*

The word *amr* in this line that refers to the matter that requires council could generally mean anything, be it matters related to politics, marriage, etc. Al-Qurtūbī, however, has asserted this specific line in his commentary on one of the Qur'ānic verses concerning the *shūra*.⁸⁹⁶ On another hand, Al-Qal'ī used this line to assert the importance of selecting advisors for a king to seek advice from.⁸⁹⁷ All these seem to suggest this line to be related to political or at least, administrative matters. The most logical explanation for this is due to the usage of the word *shāwir* in the second halves of this line, which oftentimes relates to that kind of context. The same usage of the word *shāwir* and *amr* was also visible in the Qur'ānic verse commented by al-Qurtūbī before, in which the context of this verse relates to the Battle of Uhud:

*And by the Mercy of Allah, you dealt with them gently. And had you been severe and harsh-hearted, they would have broken away from about you; so pass over (their faults), and ask (Allah's) Forgiveness for them; and consult them in the affairs (fa *shāwirhum fī al-amr*). Then when you have taken a decision, put your trust in Allah, certainly, Allah loves those who put their trust (in Him).⁸⁹⁸*

In some cases, the word *amr* in these *Jāhiliyya* poetry also attested to authoritative meanings that are unrelated to political context. On one occasion, it simply means an opinion or verdict of a commoner among the camel-herders, as attested in another poem of Zuhayr:⁸⁹⁹

رَدَّ الْقِيَانُ جِمَالَ الْحَيِّ فَاحْتَمَلُوا إِلَى الظَّهِيرَةِ أَمْرٌ بَيْنَهُمْ لَبِئْسُ
مَا إِنْ يَكَادُ يُخَلِّيهِمْ لَوَجْهِتِهِمْ تَخَالُجُ الْأَمْرُ إِنَّ الْأَمْرَ مُشْتَرَكٌ

*On (the matters of) returning the camels (from the pasturing field), they (the herders) have delayed it until late noon, as the **amr** among them has mixed.*

⁸⁹⁶ Al-Qurtūbī, Abū 'Abdullah Muhammad b. Ahmad, *al-Jāmi' Li Ahkām al-Qur'ān* (Al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, 1964) Vol. 4, 251.

⁸⁹⁷ Al-Qal'ī al-Shāfi'ī Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. 'Alī, *Tahdhīb al-Riyāsah wa Tartīb al-Siyāsah* (al-Urdūn: Maktabah al-Manār, n.d) 143.

⁸⁹⁸ Āli 'Imrān: 159.

⁸⁹⁹ Al-A'lam al-Shatanmari, Vol. 1, 309-309.

*They can barely leave aside their ways (in dealing with the camels), (and so) has mixed the opinion/verdict, verily the **amr** (should have been) agreed upon.*

In the two above lines, all three *amr* signify the meaning of opinion or verdict, particularly related to the affairs of the herders in dealing with their camels.⁹⁰⁰ Their mixed opinions seem to have resulted in the delay in returning their herd from the pasturing fields. Such a menial task of a camel herder is of course not an extension of political matters. The herder who was being narrated in this poem was also a *ghulām*, a slave boy of Ethiopian descent,⁹⁰¹ of which further deviates from the political-based narrative that the word can offer. However, it still reflects the decision-making quality of the herder, signifying the epistemic quality of the *amr* of the latter. This signals the authoritative power in his opinion as someone knowledgeable in herding camels.

Apart from the shepherding activities, it is perhaps interesting to note that the *Jāhiliyya* poetry also attested the word *amrun* to another type of authority, which is the authority of Allah. This is attested in the famous poem of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of the Prophet during the time of the Abrahah invasion, where he prayed to Allah:⁹⁰²

رَحْلُهُ فَامْنَعْ حِلَالَكَ	لَاهِمَّ إِنَّ الْعَبْدَ يَمْنَعُ
وَمَحَاهُمُ غَدَوًا مَحَالَكَ	لَا يَغْلِبَنَّ صَلِيُّهُمْ
لَتَنَا فَأَمْرٌ مَا بَدَا لَكَ	إِنْ كُنْتَ تَارِكُهُمْ وَقِبْ

Since the servant does his best to protect his belongings, so protect Your Sanctuary (Ka'ba)

Let not their cross and plot win over Your plan

*Should You let them destroy our Qiblah, that is indeed, your **amr**.*

This line retold the story of where 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib met Abraha during the latter's military campaign to Mecca and his aim of destroying the Ka'ba. Mahdi al-Sharīf translated

⁹⁰⁰ Al-Wazīr al-Baṭalyūsī, Vol. 2, 86. See also Tha'lab, 127-128.

⁹⁰¹ The name of the *ghulām* is Yasār, a Habashī-Ethiopian slave belonging to Zuhayr. For the full background of this poem, see Tha'lab, 9. See also Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salamah, *al-Fākhir* (n.p, Dār Ihyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, n.d) 177. See also Al-Maidāni Ahmad b. Ibrahim, *Majma' al-Amthāl* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, n.d) Vol. 2, 363.

⁹⁰² Ibn Hishām, Vol. 1, 66.

the word *amrun* here as the will of Allah,⁹⁰³ but it could also translate to matter and affair of Allah. Regardless of the translation, the word *amrun* here symbolizes another authority other than the normative secular-human context within the previous poetry, which is the divine authority of Allah in protecting the Ka‘ba, which was thence a religious sanctuary for the Arabs at that period. The usage of the phrase ‘*Your Sanctuary*’ in the line to depict the Ka‘ba reflects the position of Allah among these *Jāhiliyya* Arabs, which was the Lord of the House (Ka‘ba), the Most Supreme among other 'supposedly' other lesser deities. The latter, however, only acted as mediators between humans and this one Supreme God.⁹⁰⁴ In that sense, the *Jāhiliyya* acknowledged the position of Allah as the Highest Authority, despite their polytheistic intercession.

5.4.2 The Non-Authoritative Context of the Root ‘MR in the *Jāhiliyya* Arab Poetry

The root ‘*mr* and its derivations in the *Jāhiliyya* poetry also portray several other different meanings unrelated to authoritative context, such as this another line from Zuhayr:⁹⁰⁵

وقد كنتُ من سَلَمَى سِنِينَ ثَمَانِيَا عَلَى صَيْرِ أَمْرٍ مَا يَمُرُّ، وَمَا يَحْلُو

And I was in my eighties, at the end of amr, where it is not bitter and it is not sweet.

The word *ṣīr amr* here is an *idhāfah* (genitive attribute) that means *munṭaha amr* or *awākhir amr*, which means the end of his life.⁹⁰⁶ In that sense, *ṣīr* signifies the stage while the *amr* symbolizes the meaning of life. The phrase "it is not bitter and it is not sweet" refers to the monotony and dullness of being old, where he did not despair for the bitterness and misfortune in life, yet also did not long for more sweetness and blessing in life.⁹⁰⁷ In another example, the same word could also mean death, such as in one of the lines of

⁹⁰³ Ibn Hishām, *The Prophetic Biography (Sīrah Ibn Hishām)*, translated from Arabic by Muhammad Mahdi al-Sharīf (Beirut: Dar al-Kotob al-Ilmiyyah, 2013) 50.

⁹⁰⁴ Toshihiko Izutsu, 5.

⁹⁰⁵ Al-A‘lam al-Shatanmari, Vol. 1, 290.

⁹⁰⁶ Al-Wazīr al-Baṭalyūsī, Vol. 2, 32. See also Tha‘lab, 83.

⁹⁰⁷ Ibid.

Tarafah b. 'Abd's on his discontent with the injustice of his paternal uncles upon him, his mother and siblings after the death of his father:⁹⁰⁸

ما تَنْظُرُونَ بِحَقِّ وَرْدَةٍ فِيكُمْ صَغُرَ الْبَنُونَ وَرَهْطُ وَرْدَةٍ غُيِبُ
قَدْ يَبْعَثُ الْأَمْرَ الْعَظِيمَ صَغِيرُهُ حَتَّى تَظَلَّ لَهُ الدِّمَاءُ تَصَبَّبُ

You disregard the rights Warda has over you, her children are little and her clan are faraway.

*A small matter may stir up **amr** 'aẓīm, until the blood continues being shed because of it.*

A.J Arberry translated the word *amr* 'aẓīm in the second line as serious trouble.⁹⁰⁹ Contextually, it means death, which is apparent through the threat that comes in the second half of the second line that mentions blood-spilling. The reason for the Tarafah's threat upon his paternal uncles is mostly due to the injustice treatment of the latter to his mother Warda after his father's death, inconsiderate of her situation with little children despite being far from her clan.⁹¹⁰ Both previous examples indicate that the word *amr* also relates to the theme of life and death, which is quite obscure from the stated political theme. On another occasion, the word *amr* 'aẓīm could also mean something else other than death in pre-Islamic Arab poetry. For instance, in another ode of Zuhayr praising Harim b. Sinan, he used the term *amr* 'aẓīm to symbolize the meaning of big responsibility:⁹¹¹

وَعَوَّدَ قَوْمَهُ هَرَمٌ عَلَيْهِ وَمِنْ عَادَاتِهِ الْخُلُقُ الْكَرِيمُ
كَمَا قَدْ كَانَ عَوَّدَهُمْ أَبُوهُ إِذَا أَرَمَتْهُمْ يَوْمًا أُزُومُ
كَبِيرُهُ مَغْرَمٌ أَنْ يَحْمِلُوهَا تُهِمُّ النَّاسَ أَوْ أَمْرٌ عَظِيمُ

And (Harim) has made example upon his people, and of his examples are noble characters.

⁹⁰⁸ Al-A'lam al-Shatanmari, Vol. 2, 89.

⁹⁰⁹ For the full translation of the poem, see A.J Arberry, *The Seven Odes: The First Chapter in Arabic Literature*, 70.

⁹¹⁰ Tarafah b. 'Abd, *Dīwan Tarafah ibn 'Abd al-Bakrī ma'a Sharh al-Adīb Yūsuf al-A'lam al-Shatanmari*, edited by Max Selighson (Chalon Sur-Saone: Matba' Bertrandt, 1900) 102.

⁹¹¹ Al-A'lam al-Shatanmari, Vol. 1, 335.

As it was made an example by his (Harim's) father upon them, once they (the people) get a hold (of his example) then that day (year) toughens.

*(As if) It was a big debt in acting on it, or (as if) it is **amr adhīm** that concerns the people.*

This line entails praise of Zuhayr to Harim b. Sinan and his father upon setting up good and noble examples for their people. However, their people considered these set-up examples as hard to emulate. Zuhayr used the phrase *amr 'adhīm* along with the phrase *kabīratu al-maghram* as the metaphors for this situation, which shows the hardship of their people in acting on it. The word *maghram* itself is a derivation of the root *gharima* (*ghrm*), which means the act of a person self-accustoming to something that he does not like.⁹¹² According to al-Wazīr al-Baṭalyūsī, the word *yahmilūha* in the third line illustrated a burden or task that their people have to carry in following those examples.⁹¹³ It does not mean, however, that the example laid out by those two figures is something that is inappropriate or burdens their people in a bad way. Zuhayr later described this example in the next two lines as being calm, and noble and avoiding blaming others whenever calamity or tribulation affected them.⁹¹⁴ Al-Wazīr al-Baṭalyūsī asserted that this is normal during ease, but to be able to keep this character during the hard times is indeed hard for the Arabs.⁹¹⁵ In this context, the phrase *amr 'adhīm* in the second line could refer to a huge responsibility. In another line by Zuhayr, the word *amr* also closer to being meant as collective affairs:⁹¹⁶

جَلَدٍ يَحْتُ عَلَى الْجَمِيعِ إِذَا كَرَهُ الظَّنُّونُ جَوَامِعَ الْأَمْرِ

*(He is) a determined person who encourages coalescence and unity, as the uncertainties dislike collective **amr**.*

The word *jawāmi' al-amr* refers to certain affairs that unite a certain group of people.⁹¹⁷ The word *adz-zhonūn* refers to uncertainties that are not reliable.⁹¹⁸ The Arabs

⁹¹² Majma' al-Lughat al-'Arabiyya bi al-Qāhirah, *al-Mu'jam al-Wasīṭ* (n.p: Dār al-Da'wah, n.d) Vol. 2, 651.

⁹¹³ Al-Wazīr al-Baṭalyūsī, Vol. 2, 165.

⁹¹⁴ See the next two lines after *kabīrat maghram*, which begins with *la yanjū min malāmatiha... izā massathum al-ḍarrā' khiyamu*. See Al-A'lam al-Shatanmari, Vol. 1, 335. For the commentary, see Al-Wazīr al-Baṭalyūsī, Vol. 2, 165-166.

⁹¹⁵ Al-Wazīr al-Baṭalyūsī, Vol. 2, 165.

⁹¹⁶ Al-A'lam al-Shatanmari, Vol. 1, 325.

⁹¹⁷ Tha'lab, 81.

⁹¹⁸ Ibid. See also Al-Wazīr al-Baṭalyūsī, Vol. 2, 130.

used to designate the latter for wells that do not have enough water in them, which is unreliable to drink from.⁹¹⁹ The second half of the line signifies the nature of *jawāmi' al-amr* that is possibly inclusive, firmer in its authoritative validity, involves the interests of many, and is void of any uncertainties, unlike personal affairs that are more exclusive to a certain individual. In this sense, the word *jawāmi' al-amr* could also mean a collective decision or verdict, as in the previous authoritative example of the camel herders before.⁹²⁰ On other occasions, these collections of poetry also associate this word with the act of enjoining good, such as attested in the Tarafa's ode to his tribe, Banū Bakr:⁹²¹

فُضِّلَ أَحْلَامُهُمْ عَن جَارِهِمْ رُحِبَ الْأَذْرُعِ بِالْخَيْرِ أُمْرُ

They are virtuous by having patience with their neighbours, magnanimous, and enjoining good.

This line illustrates the admirable quality of his tribe, Banū Bakr.⁹²² In this one particular line, he described his tribe as those who are virtuous and honourable, where they did not respond to their neighbour's aggression with similar treatment but with kindness. They were also keen on enjoining good (*umūr bi al ma'rūf*) and being charitable to the poor among their aggressor neighbours.⁹²³ The association of *amr* with goodness is so visible in the *Jāhiliyya* society, so much so that there are lines of poetry nullifying the heeding of *amr* of vices or evildoings. Al-A'shā al-Bāhilah,⁹²⁴ for example, has said:⁹²⁵

لَا يُصْعِبُ الْأَمْرَ إِلَّا رَيْثَ يَرْكَبُهُ وَكُلَّ أَمْرٍ سِوَى الْفَحْشَاءِ يَأْتِمُرُ

An affair is not burdening except sluggishness in riding it, and every affair is to be executed except those that are vile.

⁹¹⁹ Tha'lab, 81.

⁹²⁰ See the previous meaning *amr labiku* (tr. mixed opinion or verdict) and *amr al-mushtaraku* (an opinion that is agreed upon) in this chapter, 181-182.

⁹²¹ Al-A'lam al-Shatanmari, Vol. 2, 80.

⁹²² The context of where Tarafah praises his tribe begins within several lines before this. He mentions several honourable qualities, and this line is among those. See Al-Wazīr al-Baṭalyūsī, Vol. 2, 467-469.

⁹²³ Ibid, 468.

⁹²⁴ His real name is Maymūn b. Kays, a prominent pre-Islamic Arab poet who was born before 570 CE and died in 625 CE. His poems are mostly panegyric, circulating political themes. See W. Caskel, "al-A'shā" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, 690.

⁹²⁵ Al-Asma'i Abū Sa'id 'Abd al-Malik b. Qurayb, *Al-Asma'iyyat* (Misr: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1993) 91. See also Ibn Sallām al-Jumāhi Abu Abdullah Muhammad b. Sallām, *Tabaqāt Fuhūl al-Shu'arā'* (Jeddah, Dār al-Madani, n.d) Vol.1, 210.

Al-'A'shā illustrated the need for one to be swift in executing certain tasks and affairs and not being slow and sluggish.⁹²⁶ The figurative term *illa raitha yarkabuhu* is a metaphor for procrastination in acting upon something. In other words, the first halve of the line tells of how procrastinating upon committing to something leads to burdening you by making things harder, while facing it and committing to it will make it relatively easier.⁹²⁷ Meanwhile, the second halve of this line is where the poet stressed on not heeding to (*i'tamara*) *amr* that relates to evildoings and vices.⁹²⁸ In some cases, this rule also extends to the matter of heeding to the commands and orders from evil and dreadful persons. It appears, for example, in one of the lines of Labīd b. Rabī'ah:⁹²⁹

لا تُؤْمِرْنِي أَنْ أُلَامَ فَإِنِّي أَجَى وَأَكْرَهُ أَمْرَ كُلِّ مُلِيمٍ⁹³⁰

Do not order me to blame (other) for I truly refuse and dislike the amr of the blamer.

This line portrays the meaning of command and order through two different forms. The first one being is the verb of the root *amara* (*lā ta'murīnī tr. do not order/ command me*) while the second one is the noun *amr*, which means the order and command of the blamer. Labīd illustrated a conversation between a man and his wife, where the man is refusing to follow her wife to blame other people, as well as refusing to follow an order from those who faultfinding others.⁹³¹ In this sense, Labīd considered the act of blaming people and following the blamer himself/ herself as disgraceful. Both lines from al-'A'shā and Labīd suggest that the Arabs of his time acknowledge the existence of the wrong and evil-laden *amr*, and the only way to the attainment of virtue is by not following it.

⁹²⁶ Sa'di Ṣanāwī, *Sharḥ al-Asma'īyyat* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2004) 118.

⁹²⁷ Ibn al-Shajarī Abū al-Sa'ādāt Hibat Allah b. 'Alī b. Hamzah, *Amālī Ibn al-Shajarī* (Al-Qāhirah: Maktabah al-Khanji, 1991) Vol. 1, 345.

⁹²⁸ 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Umar al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab wa Lubb Lubāb Lisān al-'Arab* (Al-Qāhirah: Maktabah al-Khanji, 1997) Vol. 1, 196.

⁹²⁹ He is Labīd b. Rabī'ah b. Mālik, one of the Prophet Muhammad's companions and also a prominent poet from Banū Āmir. Although the date of his birth is undetermined, it is reported that he was already active in politics where he accompanied a deputation of his tribe to the king's court of Al-Hīra. The king at that time is Nu'man al-Hīra (580-602 CE). He died in 660 CE. See Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 6, 192. See also J. Hell, "Labīd b. Rabī'ā" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 5, 583.

⁹³⁰ Ihsān 'Abbas, *Sharḥ Diwān Labīd ibn Rabī'ah al-'Āmirī* (Kuwait: Matba'ah Hukūmat al-Kuwait, 1962) 108.

⁹³¹ Ibid.

Authoritative Context	Non-Authoritative Context
Military Commander	Life & Death
Tribal Chieftain	Responsibility
Tribal Elder	Collective-affairs
Animal herding	Enjoining-goodness
	Disassociation of evil

Table 5.2 The Trend of Attestations of the Root *'mr* and its Derivations in Pre-Islamic Arabia Literary Sources⁹³²

5.5 THE DUAL CONTEXT OF THE ROOT *'MR* IN THE PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA

One important observation derived from the attestations of *al-imārah* in the pre-Islamic Arabia sources is that *al-imārah* in its exact morphological form and conventional understanding has never been attested in any documentary or literary sources of the pre-Islamic Arabia. All attestations only relate as cognates to the Arabic root of *al-imārah*. In the documentary sources, they come in the forms of *'mr*, *mr'*, *'mr'*, *mrn*, *mr's*. Morphologically, the pre-Islamic Arabian word *'mr* signifies the most relationship with its Arabic root *'mr* in the documentary sources.

This is evident in the way it corresponds to several derivations of its Arabic cognates, such as *ammara*, *i'tamara*, *ista'mara*, *āmara*, and *amira*. It signifies similarity to the conventional *al-imārah* through the delineation of authoritative nature in the form of the dominance of one party upon another that varies ontologically. In some cases, it can represent the dominance of higher beings - the deities as mostly attested in the ASA or in one ANA-Taymanitic inscription (TM.T.024/4),⁹³³ while in other occasions it represented

⁹³² A breakdown of the discussion above in this chapter on the root *'mr* in literary source of pre-Islamic Arabia, 174-188.

⁹³³ The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Taymanitic Inscriptions...*, 154.

the social and political dominancy of humans, such as the Dadano-Arabic *amīr* al-Higr (JSLih 071),⁹³⁴ and the Safaitic meaning of ‘appointing someone for a position’ (KRS 27),⁹³⁵ or even the menial profession of ‘controlling herd’ in ABMNS 2/ RWQ 333.⁹³⁶

This compound environment then may not necessarily signal the concept as to be limitedly used for a specific political framework. Its usages have instead pointed out to broad applications within invariably different contextual usages. The only difference is that the root in the ASA has a proclivity more towards the cultic-deity applications, while most of its attestation in ANA (specifically one Dadano-Arabic and most Safaitic inscriptions) inclined towards human context. On the other hand, the Jāhili poetry also attested to *al-imārah*, where they are apparent mostly within the forms of *amīr* and *amr*. Unlike the documentary sources, however, it attested to the root *’mr* within both religious and human contexts for two connotations of meanings: authoritative and non-authoritative. The *Jāhiliyya*’s attestation varied from the divine authority of Allah to the authority of their socio-political order that ranges from tribal, military, to camel-herder.

On the other hand, the most attested word in the pre-Islamic Arabia documentary sources is *mr’* and its derivations, all of whom supposedly related to the conventional *al-imārah* in the sense of the embodiment of some kind of authoritative political nature. ASA attested the most to this word within this meaning, where it is evident in all four scripts (Sabaic, Minaic, Qatabanic, and Ḥaḍramitic).⁹³⁷ This is in accordance with the assertions by Jawad Ali before that have highlighted the prominent usage of the word *mr’* among the ancient South Arabian.⁹³⁸ Its attestations within that meanings in ANA are partially evident within the Taymanitic, Dadanitic, and Nabataean.⁹³⁹ The Safaitic, however, attested to this word differently, where it did not relate to any authoritative meanings at all, but merely to reflect the meanings of man (*mr’*) and woman (*mr’t*), similar to how the Arabic language

⁹³⁴ The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Dadanitic Inscriptions...*, 451.

⁹³⁵ The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Safaitic Inscriptions...*, 6229.

⁹³⁶ The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Safaitic Inscriptions...*, 8260/ 480.

⁹³⁷ See its previous attestation in this chapter, 157-159.

⁹³⁸ Jawad Ali, Vol. 9, 219.

⁹³⁹ See its previous attestation in this chapter, 159-160.

would view the same word.⁹⁴⁰ In some sense, the word *mr* seems unrelated to the root '*mr*' for now. However, in the context of authoritative meaning, both words were similar in terms of not being bounded merely by the political context, and have diffused further within other social contexts, used as the 'lordship' title from deities to kings to nobilities to slave and land owners.

In the case of the non-authoritative meanings of the root '*mr*', they also came in different meanings. The documentary sources attested to these meanings in the form of the signal station, to make abundance, promise, and thing/ matter, while the *Jāhiliyya* poetry describes the contextual usages of the root '*mr*' and its derivations within the meaning of life, death, big responsibility, collective affairs, enjoining goodness, and disassociation from evil and vices. It is acceptable to argue that the *Jāhiliyya*'s non-authoritative meanings are figurative due to the nature of the poetry itself. This renders the focus of non-authoritative meanings of the root more towards the one provided by the documentary sources. Although with such restriction, the relation of the non-authoritative meanings with the authoritative meanings of the root '*mr*' yet remains incomprehensible. At this point, one cannot really comprehend the relation of these non-authoritative meanings to the Islamic *al-imārah*, as the only point of unification between both is within the authoritative meanings of the root '*mr*'.

However, the *Jāhiliyya* non-authoritative meanings are nevertheless interesting due to how they broke down the nature and characteristics of '*mr*' axiologically. These characteristics contained in their consciousness of the root and its derivations seem to reflect several ethical elements, such as knowledge-driven, bearing responsibility, functioning for the public interest, compulsory association with good values and the act of enjoining it, and its disengagement with the evildoing. Not much can be said about the axiological aspects of '*mr*' in the documentary sources. However, one could make a valid case for its meaning of omen in the Sabaic inscriptions, where all the inscriptions narrating the word in this meaning seem to associate it as only good omen from their deities, such as

⁹⁴⁰ Ibid. See also Ahmad al-Jallad & Karolina Jaworska, *A Dictionary of Safaitic...*, 98.

in helping for their war victory (Ir 69)⁹⁴¹, in giving assuring signs in controlling flash floods (JA 788 + JA 671),⁹⁴² in providing signs for the construction of monuments (al-'Uḥdūd 2),⁹⁴³ and many more. All of those reflect the consciousness of these people upon realizing the supposedly higher-being authority in guiding them for their good interest.

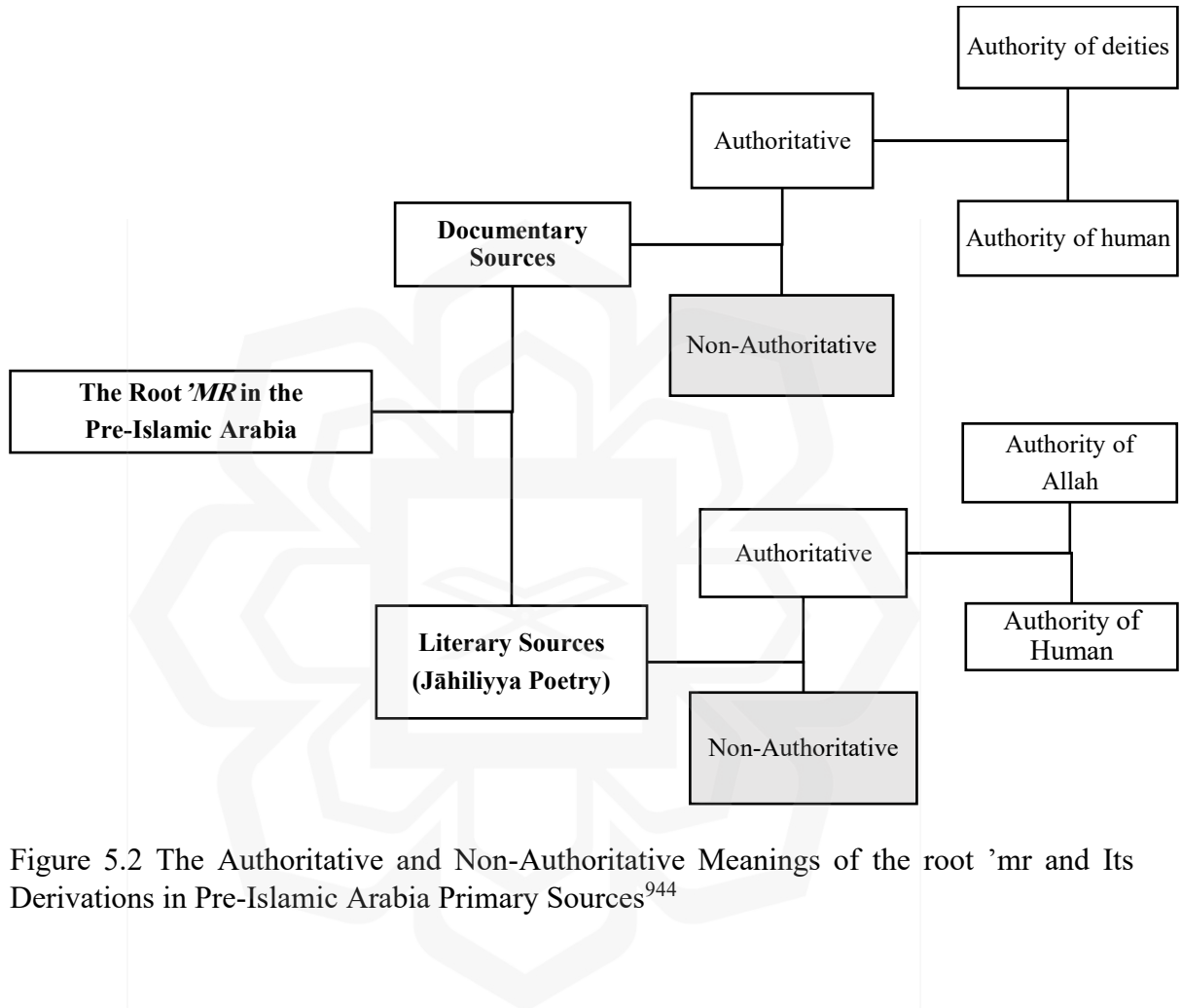


Figure 5.2 The Authoritative and Non-Authoritative Meanings of the root 'mr and Its Derivations in Pre-Islamic Arabia Primary Sources⁹⁴⁴

⁹⁴¹ CSAL, "Ir 69", DASI <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=175787304&recId=6641&mark=06641%2C009%2C011>> (accessed on 3 November 2022).

⁹⁴² DASI, CSAL, "Ja 788", DASI <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=175787304&recId=6067&mark=06067%2C016%2C004>> (accessed on 3 November 2022).

⁹⁴³ Sabäische Wörterbuch, "'mr" <<http://sabaweb.uni-jena.de/SabaWeb/Suche/Suche/SearchResultDetail?idxLemma=2289&showAll=0>> (accessed on 3 November 2022).

⁹⁴⁴ A breakdown of the above discussions in this chapter on the authoritative and non-authoritative meaning of the root 'mr in both documentary and literary sources of pre-Islamic Arabia, 152-187.

	Divine Authority	Human Authority
ASA	Attested in the root <i>'mr</i>	Attested in the word <i>mr'</i>
	Used to convey divine authority, command, order, omen	Used for both deities and human as the title for nobilities and lordship.
		Dynamic and applicable to any dominant and subordinate relationship
ANA	One Taymanitic inscription shows the <i>'mr</i> (command) of a deity named Ṣlm	Secular-dominant, mostly through the root <i>'mr</i>
		Used to project meanings related to appointing military leadership, and governing/ controlling/ making abundant of herd
Jāhiliyya Poetry	Mostly through the root <i>'mr</i>	Mostly through the root <i>'mr</i>
	Used for the divine will, matter, and affair of Allah	Used mostly for military commandership, tribal leaders, shepherding

Table 5.3 Attestation of the Root *'mr* in pre-Islamic Arabia's Based on Source of Authority⁹⁴⁵

⁹⁴⁵ A breakdown of the above discussions in this chapter on the further classification of the authoritative meaning within the attestations of the root *'mr* in both documentary and literary sources of pre-Islamic Arabia, 152-187.

5.6 CONCLUSION

The previous claims made by Ibn Khaldūn, Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī and Jawad Ali before proposing the possibility of *al-imārah* existence and its whereabouts within the dynamic socio-political settings of pre-Islamic Arabia do have its establishment within the evidence provided by the primary sources of pre-Islamic Arabia. Despite having to differ temporally, both understandings of *al-imārah* from the pre-Islamic and Islamic period understood from the root 'mr share the similarity of having an authoritative nature in its essence and practicalities. Although they might have differed in the form of their political institution that may range from being simple and befitting the nomadic environment of North Arabian to a much-complicated monarchy system evident among the ancient South Arabian people, it is undeniable that both are institutionalized in their respective political realm and serves for the same socio-political purposes.

Another important difference in need of highlight is the extensive function of the former in their practical life, where it has not set itself off as a limited concept that functions only in the political realm but has instead permeated into the religious and ethical discussion, providing a much deeper ontological and sociological understanding. Some would use it religiously in portraying the command, authority, or signs and omen of their deities, while others would use it for their kings, lords, and tribal leaders and some would even use it only for commoners in the form of shepherding, controlling or governing the pastoral herd. However, not much can be said about the word *mr*' and its relation to the root 'mr, as both seem to have come from different roots. A similar observation is evident concerning the non-authoritative meanings of the root 'mr, which seem disordered and disconnected from its authoritative meanings, thus remaining enigmatic. At this point, a new Islamic epistemic viewpoint apart from the previous Islamic political *al-imārah* is necessary for addressing these two issues, particularly the one that can comparatively address both authoritative and non-authoritative meanings of the word 'mr attested here in this chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ARABIC ROOT 'MR IN ISLAMIC-ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter has elaborated on how *al-imārah* has subsisted semantically within the pre-Islamic periods through the root 'mr and its supposedly related derivations. Evidently, we gathered these attestations from within the documentary and literary sources of pre-Islamic Arabia. This chapter instead will deal with another semantical source for the concept respective to the concept's usage in Islamic period, which is the Islamic-Arabic lexicography tradition. This huge resource serves as the most basic epistemological profile for any subject of knowledge in the Islamic tradition, particularly in etymology and semantics. In this chapter, this study specifically aims to conduct a thematic exercise upon the Arabic root 'mr by gathering the meanings of its derivations attested within these lexicons. The objective is to provide a comparative semantical counterpart to this root's attestation previously within pre-Islamic Arabia semantical sources.

6.2 THE ARABIC ROOT 'MR IN ISLAMIC-ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY

As this study has presented pre-Islamic Arabia's conception of the root 'mr in analysing *al-imārah*, the first possible step after that is to include the discussion of the same root in the Islamic period. Considering that the Arabic lexicography is purely an ingenuity of the Islamic-Arabic culture,⁹⁴⁶ it could at least summarize how Islam could have influenced the construction of meanings for the root 'mr, determining the Islamic-influenced worldview upon that root. It is important to firstly recap that by these Islamic-Arabic lexicons, we actually refer to both classical and modern works. Including classical works may contradict

⁹⁴⁶ Tilman Seidensticker, Vol. 3, 31.

some of the dismissive remarks upon them, particularly in their critiques of the restrictive and conservative nature of those classical in hindering the language to change following modern necessities.⁹⁴⁷ Yet it is also unpragmatic to neglect the extensive information contained within them, which have formed as a solid foundation from the past.⁹⁴⁸

Technically, most of the classical works of Arabic lexicography focused on explaining the lexical *ma'na* (meaning) through the classification of the entries based on their common root.⁹⁴⁹ Under each root, there will be other sub-entries that comprise the root's derivations of various morphological forms. With the root *'mr*, the first entry is usually the noun *amrun*.⁹⁵⁰ Under the first entry *amrun*, there will be myriad other entries composed of different derivations and morphological forms that are either verb or noun, which often have close and comparable meanings with the previous first entry *amrun*.⁹⁵¹ After completing the discussion of every derivation that relates to the first meaning, another derivation of the root *'mr* (oftentimes another noun) then appears indicating another meaning. The same presentation then ensues, where the explanations of every derivation that relates to the second meaning commence.⁹⁵² One would notice how the categorization of entries within these classical works operates through the categorization of the meaning of the root's entries.

This contrasts the modern lexicon, which is inclining more towards defining the first entry of the root *'mr* based on a specific and linear formation of several morphological

⁹⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁸ John A. Haywood, *Arabic Lexicography: Its History and Its Place in the General History of Lexicography* (Leiden: Brill, 1960) 110.

⁹⁴⁹ This only includes the semasiological lexicon, which presents the lexical entry from signs to meanings. Each Arabic root here is the sign for the entry, and contained within each root are various derivations related to the signed root with myriad meanings. The onomasiological lexicon, however, starts from meanings to signs. This refers to the collection of entries within one group of joined meanings. See Tilman Seidensticker, Vol. 3, 31.

⁹⁵⁰ See for examples: Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 207. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, Vol. 1, 203-206. Al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī, Ahmad b. Yusuf, *ʿUmdat al-Huffāẓ fī Tafṣīr Asyhar al-ʿAlfāẓ* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1996) Vol. 1, 114. Al-Fayrūzabādī, Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (Beirut: Muʾassasah al-Risālah, 2005) Vol. 1, 344. Abū al-Baqāʾ al-Ḥanafī, Ayyūb b. Mūsā, *al-Kulliyāt Muʾjam fī al-Muṣṭalaḥāt wa al-Furūq al-Lughawīyah* (Beirut: Muassasah al-Risālah, n.d) 176. Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 68.

⁹⁵¹ Ibid.

⁹⁵² This is particularly observable among al-Azharī, Ibn Manẓūr, and Al-Fayrūzabādī. See Al-Azharī Vol. 15, 207. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, Vol. 1, 203-206. Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344.

forms that often begin with verbs.⁹⁵³ This refers to a set of templatic patterns of a root that sequences from perfective verb to imperfective to verbal noun and so on. For instance, *amara* (*māḍī*: perfective verb) - *ya'muru* (*muḍāri'*: imperfective verb) - *amrun* (verbal noun) – *awāmir/ umūr* (plural form of the verbal noun). This set of templatic patterns often becomes the standard entry for modern works. This is evident in the *Muḥīt al-Muḥīt* (1870), *al-Mu'jam al-Waṣīt* (1961), *al-Rā'id* (1965), *al-Mu'jam al-'Arabī al-Asāsī* (1989), and *al-Hādī ila Lughat al-'Arab* (1989).⁹⁵⁴ One major advantage of this style is the easier identification of the derivations of the root, especially its verb derivations and sequences. Nevertheless, they are still dependent on the meanings provided by the classical works. In fact, according to Taher Hassanein, modern Arabic lexicography is the extension of the classics, and the only difference is that modern works do have encyclopaedic proclivity, where they allow non-related entries related to certain historical, political, or geographical facts.⁹⁵⁵

However, this study finds that modern works as an 'extension' offer more than merely introducing derivational-based classification. Their relevancy is mostly through the way some of them also provide modern connotations for the entries of a root.⁹⁵⁶ This is expected in consideration of the growth of the Arabic language itself. Derivation have always been part of the *tawlīd* (tr. literal: giving birth) process of the Arabic language, which is the concept used as a reference for the process of creating new words.⁹⁵⁷ For instance, a modern dictionary usually would provide two meanings of two different connotations for this one particular derivation of the root 'mr discussed here in this study, which is *imārah*. These two meanings either refer to the classical meaning of position, rank, and power of an *amīr* or its modern understanding of a country with a principality system

⁹⁵³ Not all modern lexicography exercises this approach. Some of them arrange the entry alphabetically, disregarding the root of the lexicon and its category (noun or verb). This type of modern work often follows the European dictionary format, such as *al-Munjid* (1908). See Ahmad Taher Hassanein, 40.

⁹⁵⁴ For the date of the first edition of each work above, see Ibid, 39-42. For the description of the root 'mr and its first entry in the work above, see Buṭrus al-Bustānī, *Muḥīt al-Muḥīt* (Beirut: Maktabah Lubnan, 1987) 16. See also Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah bi al-Qāhirah, *al-Mu'jam al-Waṣīt* (al-Qāhirah: Maktabah al-Shurūq al-Dauliyyah, 2004) 26. Jibran Mas'ūd, *al-Rā'id* (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm li al-Malāyīn, 1992) 126. Al-Munazzamah al-'Arabiyyah li al-Tarbiyah wa al-Thaqāfah wa al-'Ulum, *al-Mu'jam al-'Arabī al-Asāsī*, 105-106. Hasan Sa'id al-Karmī, *al-Hādī ila Lughat al-'Arab* (Beirut: Dār Lubnan, 1991) Vol. 1, 85-86.

⁹⁵⁵ Ahmad Taher Hassanein, 39.

⁹⁵⁶ Ahmad Mukhtar 'Umar, *Sinā'at al-Mu'jam al-Ḥadīth* (al-Qāhirah: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 2009) 121-123.

⁹⁵⁷ Ramadan Ahmed Elmgrab, "The Creation of Terminology in Arabic", *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (2016): 76.

like the United Arab Emirates.⁹⁵⁸ Another example is *istimārah*, which could mean a single act of asking another for opinion or thought, and its modern meaning of simply to refer the noun for written or blank form.⁹⁵⁹ In that sense, the classical and modern Islamic-Arabic lexicon are both important as the primary corpus in determining the semantical development of the root 'mr in the Islamic period.

As previously affirmed in the first chapter, this study will not be limiting the references of both classical and modern Islamic-Arabic lexicography to certain selected sources. The only variable that determines the inclusion of a lexicon in undertaking the semantical analysis of the Arabic root 'mr and its derivations involves only the extent of the information, descriptions, and examples of each entry that it could provide. As Islamic-Arabic lexicons are mostly interdependent, it is subjectable to the same circulating description of entries, hence positioning the possibility of unavoidable similarity in their descriptions of entry. One could relate to this phenomenon in the case of *Lisān al-'Arab*, a work of twenty volumes that compiled and narrated the content of five lexicons before him. Ibn Manẓūr himself mentioned these five sources, which include Al-Azharī's *al-Tahdhīb*, Ibn Sīdah's *al-Muḥkam*, Al-Jawhari's *al-Ṣiḥāh* and its *ḥawāshī* (footnotes) by Ibn Barrī, and Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Nihāyah*.⁹⁶⁰ Al-Suyūṭī also speculated with another source, which is Ibn Durayd's *Jamharah al-Lughah*.⁹⁶¹

Although this study also partly refers to some of these works directly, it is an overlooking statement to consider Ibn Manẓūr's *al-Lisān* as unnecessary. He aimed to create a comprehensive lexicon, in which he put forward the content within these sources tallying to each other's opinions. He adduced his approach here in his elaboration upon, for example, the advantages of Ibn al-Athīr's lexicon. According to him, as Ibn al-Athīr's work have made use of Qur'ānic verses and Prophetic *ḥadīth* as contextual examples and proof for his lexicon's entries, it can make up for the lack of that contexts within the work of al-

⁹⁵⁸ Hasan Sa'id al-Karmī, Vol. 1, 85-86.

⁹⁵⁹ Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah bi al-Qāhirah, *al-Mu'jam al-Wasīṭ* 26. See also Hans Wehr, 27.

⁹⁶⁰ He is Jamāl al-Dīn, Abu al-Faḍl, Muhammad b. Mukarram b. Alī al-Ansārī (630-711 AH/ 1232 – 1311 CE), was a great scholar of linguistics and lexicographer. His preferred work here is *Lisān al-'Arab*, a massive work of twenty volumes that compiled and narrated the content of five lexicons before him. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 18. See also al-Ziriklī, Vol. 7, 108. See also Fārūq Mahmūd al-Ḥabūbī, "Manhaj Ibn Manẓūr fī Lisān al-'Arab", *Adab al-Rafīdayn*, Vol. 6, Issue 7 (1976): 543-564.

⁹⁶¹ See also al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, *Bughyat al-Wu'āh fī Ṭabaqāt al-Lughawīyyin wa-al-Nuḥāt* (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-'Aṣriyyah, n.d) Vol. 1, 248.

Jawharī, whom Ibn Manẓūr considered as to have the best system arrangement for its entries. Both according to him are the best of their position.⁹⁶² In that sense, Ibn Manẓūr's way of recalibrating these contents has the merit of understanding and arranging those contents to work for the same purpose in tandem with each other. Overall, personal touch is nevertheless evident within each lexicon objective to the author despite their interconnectedness and similarity. However, this study will try to select descriptions that are not similar to each other to avoid repetitive takes, as well as to provide as much description as possible for each entry related to the root 'mr following the new value and insight that each lexicon could have provided.

6.2.1 *Amrun* as an Antithesis to the Prohibition

The majority of the classical Islamic lexicography dictates this noun with this meaning as their first entry for the root 'mr.⁹⁶³ The meaning often implies the act of demanding from two different parties, the demander and those who are being demanded to. The definitions vary from; 'an antithesis to the prohibition',⁹⁶⁴ 'the enjoining of goodness,'⁹⁶⁵ 'a phrase indicating an act of demanding in a superior way',⁹⁶⁶ or just simply an act of 'demanding for action'.⁹⁶⁷ The verb formation that implies the same meaning is *amara* (perfective) - *ya'muru* (imperfective) - *amrun* (*maṣdar*: verbal noun) – *awāmir* (plural form of its verbal noun).⁹⁶⁸ Hans Wehr translated its perfective verb here as *amara*: to command, order, bid, or instruct, while its verbal noun is translated into command and order.⁹⁶⁹ Its active

⁹⁶² See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 18.

⁹⁶³ Out of fourteen classical Islamic lexicographic works that this study referred to, eight of them include this meaning as their first entry. See al-Farāhīdī, al-Khalīl b. Ahmad, *Kitāb al-'Ayn* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2003) Vol. 1, 85. Al-Azhārī, Vol. 15, 207. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 203-206. Al-Zamakhsharī, Mahmūd b. Qāsim, *Asās al-Balāghah* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1998) Vol. 1, 33. Al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī, Vol. 1, 114. Al-Fayrūzabādī, Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, Vol. 1, 344. Abū al-Baqā' al-Ḥanafī, 176. Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 68.

⁹⁶⁴ Al-Farāhīdī, Vol. 1, 85. Al-Azhārī, Vol. 15, 207. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 203-206. Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344. Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 68.

⁹⁶⁵ Al-Zamakhsharī, Vol. 1, 33.

⁹⁶⁶ Abū al-Baqā' al-Ḥanafī, 176.

⁹⁶⁷ Al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī, Vol. 1, 114.

⁹⁶⁸ This is the standard sequence and is also common in the modern dictionary. See for example, Al-Munazzamah, 105.

⁹⁶⁹ Hans Wehr, 26.

participle form (*ism al-fā'il*) varies from *al-amīr*, *dhu al-amr*, or *al-āmir*, all of whom indicate the doer, or the one who makes the demand.⁹⁷⁰ Most early examples are Qur'ānic verses,⁹⁷¹ such as [*and enjoin (wa'mur) al-salāh (the prayers) on your family*],⁹⁷² [*and we have been commanded (wa'umirna) to submit ourselves to the Lord of the 'Ālamin*],⁹⁷³ and many more.

Another form of derivation that is also expressing meanings related to this act is *i'tamara*. The general meaning of the verb is *qabila al-amr*,⁹⁷⁴ which is the act of receiving or obeying the command. This is like in the sayings of *i'tamara al-rajul*, which translates to a guy that has performed [the command upon him],⁹⁷⁵ or *amartuhu fa'tamira* (tr. I commanded him, and he received/obeyed/performed the command).⁹⁷⁶ Ibn Manzūr illustrated the usage of this word in the Qur'ān in the verse concerning the relationship of divorced spouses: [*and let each of you **accept the** advice of the other in a just way*].⁹⁷⁷ In some cases, the Arabs used the verb to express someone who pays heed to his own command. This is visible in the likes of the phrase *u'tumira bikhayr* (tr. [as if] one heeded to his own command in performing goodness),⁹⁷⁸ or *rajulun mu'tamir wa huwa mustabiddun bi ra'yih* (tr. a *mu'tamir* man, vis. a man adamant of his own view and opinion).⁹⁷⁹ This second expression links the issuer of the command and the one who receives it as having originated from the same person.

Acknowledging the ability to self-receive command in the Arabic language is also evident in another derivation of the root, which is *ammārah*. As a hyperbolic participle, it serves to exaggerate and intensify the act of demanding action. Discussion of this word in the classical lexicography seems scarce enough, and it is mostly available only within the

⁹⁷⁰ Ibn Manzūr is the only one who lists these three derivations for active participle form in this meaning. See Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 304.

⁹⁷¹ Ibid. See also al-Farāhīdī, Vol. 85.

⁹⁷² Tāhā: 132. For notes on translations, see *The Noble Qur'ān*, 427.

⁹⁷³ Al-An'ām: 71. For notes on translations, see *The Noble Qur'ān*, 180.

⁹⁷⁴ Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, 89. See also Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 205. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 68.

⁹⁷⁵ Al-Himyari, Nashwan b. Sa'īd, *Shams al-'Ulūm wa Dawā' Kalaā al-'Arab min al-Kulūm* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu'āsir, 1999) Vol. 1, 329.

⁹⁷⁶ See also Al-Fayyūmī Al-Hamawī, Abu Al-Abbas Ahmad bin 'Alī, *al-Miṣbāḥ al-Munīr fī Gharīb al-Sharḥ al-Kabīr* (Beirut: Al-Maktabah al-'Ilmiyyah, n.d) Vol. 1, 22.

⁹⁷⁷ Al-Ṭalāq: 6. For notes on translations, see *The Noble Qur'ān*, 767.

⁹⁷⁸ Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 205.

⁹⁷⁹ Ibid, Vol. 1, 206. Al-Zamakhsharī, Vol. 1, 33.

Qur'ānic-oriented lexicon, such as the work of al-Rāghib,⁹⁸⁰ and al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī.⁹⁸¹ Examples within these works also signify the derivation as Islamic in its origin, as they are all oriented around two specific Qur'ānic verses with no reference to pre-Islamic poetry or prose.⁹⁸² The first verse mentions how one's self is continuously deliberating the person to incline to evil, where it mentions; *inna al-nafs la ammāratun bi al-sū'* [tr. ...verily, the (human) self is inclined to evil].⁹⁸³

Al-Rāghib and al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī both affirmed the nature of this inclination of the self to evil during their description of the word *amran* in the second Quranic verse concerning this issue. This refers to the verse concerning the Prophet Yusuf's siblings and their excuses to their father regarding Yusuf's missing, in which his father replied: *bal sawwalat lakum anfusakum amran* (tr. nay, but your own selves have made a tale).⁹⁸⁴ Al-Hilālī translated the word *amran* here as a tale. Both al-Rāghib and al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī, however, contended that it is referring to an evil act that is 'self-commanded' upon each of Yusuf's siblings themselves, through which deliberating them in their attempt of making up tales to deceive their father on the Prophet Yusuf's missing.⁹⁸⁵ With the Islamic perspective, one's self is *ammārah* to evil due to its character that inherently and actively commands the person to that trajectory.

⁹⁸⁰ He is al-Rāghib, Abū al-Qāsim al-Asfahānī/ al-Asbahānī al-Ḥusayn b. Muhammad b. al-Mufaḍḍal (d. 502 AH/ 1102 CE), a lexicographer and linguist of Isfahān. He resided and rose to fame in Baghdad. *Al-Mufradāt* referred to here in this study is one of his most famous works, focusing solely on *gharā'ib* (rare and obscure) words of the Qur'ān. He also authored several other works in linguistics and literature, such as *Muhāḍarāt al-Uḍabā'* and *Tahqīq al-Bayān*. See al-Ziriklī, Vol. 2, 255. See also Seidensticker, Vol. 3, 34.

⁹⁸¹ He is Shihāb al-Dīn, Abū al-'Abbas Ahmad b. Yūsuf al-Ḥalabī, famously known as al-Samīn (d. 756 AH/ 1355 CE). Similar to al-Rāghib, his work *'Umdat al-Ḥuffāz* is also a specialized dictionary focusing on rare and obscure words in the Qur'ān. However, in comparison to the former, al-Samīn himself has argued his work here was to cover existing loopholes within three previous works of *gharā'ib* al-Qur'ān, including al-Rāghib's *al-Mudradāt* before. See al-Ziriklī, Vol. 1, 274. See also, Al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī, Vol. 1, 38.

⁹⁸² Al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, 89. See also Al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī, Vol. 1, 115.

⁹⁸³ Yūsuf: 53. See the translation in *The Noble Qur'ān*, 311.

⁹⁸⁴ Yūsuf: 18. See the translation in *The Noble Qur'ān*, 306.

⁹⁸⁵ Al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, 89. See also Al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī, Vol. 1, 115

6.2.2 *Amrun* as Matter, Affair, State of Being, Event, and Intention

This is the second most-listed first entry of meaning among the classical Islamic lexicographers.⁹⁸⁶ Others who have opted for the previous first meaning as their first entry include this as their second entry.⁹⁸⁷ Some of them have terminologically stated this second meaning within the definition of *wāḥid min umūr al-nās*,⁹⁸⁸ which simply means a singular term for one of the human matters/ affairs/ concerns.⁹⁸⁹ Others equate it to the word *sha'n*,⁹⁹⁰ which is more specific to indicate the aspect of one's affair and concern.⁹⁹¹ A specific contextual example often accompanied the definition *sha'n*; *amrun fulānun mustaqīm*,⁹⁹² which translates to 'one's affair is (on the) straight path'. However, the range of examples given is not limited to human contexts, such as one example from Ibn Manẓūr speaking about the affair of Allah: [and He made in each Heaven its affair (*amrahā*)],⁹⁹³ to which he narrated an opinion saying the affair here refers to the angels of Allah.⁹⁹⁴ The second definition equated the word *amrun* with the word *al-ḥāl*,⁹⁹⁵ which roughly translated to 'situation', 'position', 'circumstance', 'case', or 'state'.⁹⁹⁶ Some synonymized it with the word *al-ḥāditha*,⁹⁹⁷ which translates to 'event', or 'occurrence'.⁹⁹⁸ Lastly, some defined it within the word *maqṣad*,⁹⁹⁹ which is intention.¹⁰⁰⁰

⁹⁸⁶ Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 580. See also Ibn Fāris, Ahmad b. Fāris b. Zakariyya, *Mu'jam Maqāyis al-Lughah* (n.p: Dār al-Fikr, 1979) Vol. 1, 137. See also Al-Rāghib, 88. See also Al-Ḥanafī al-Rāzī, Zayn al-Dīn Muhammad b. Abū Bakr, *Mukhtār al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-'Aṣriyyah, 1999) 21. See also Al-Fayyūmī Al-Hamawī, Vol. 1, 21.

⁹⁸⁷ Al-Farāhīdī, Vol. 1, 85. See also Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 207. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 203-206. See also Al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī, Vol. 1, 114. See also Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344. See also Abū al-Baqā' al-Ḥanafī, 176. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 68.

⁹⁸⁸ Al-Farāhīdī, Vol. 1, 85. See also Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 207. See also Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 580. Ibn Fāris, *Mu'jam Maqāyis al-Lughah*, Vol. 1, 137. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 203-206.

⁹⁸⁹ For the translation of the word *amrun* in this meaning, Hans Wehr, 216.

⁹⁹⁰ Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, 88. See also Al-Ḥanafī al-Rāzī, 21. See also Abū al-Baqā' al-Ḥanafī, 177.

⁹⁹¹ The translation for the word *sha'n* is invariably diverse, but matter and affair are among the first entries. See for example, Hans Wehr, 449.

⁹⁹² Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 580. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 204. See also Al-Ḥanafī al-Rāzī, 21. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 69.

⁹⁹³ Fuṣṣilat: 12.

⁹⁹⁴ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 204.

⁹⁹⁵ Al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī, Vol. 1, 114. See also Al-Fayyūmī Al-Hamawī, Vol. 1, 21.

⁹⁹⁶ Hans Wehr, 216.

⁹⁹⁷ Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 68.

⁹⁹⁸ Hans Wehr, 162.

⁹⁹⁹ Al-Ḥanafī al-Rāzī, 21.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Hans Wehr, 767.

It is important to note that not all of them present those definitions above separately from each other. In some cases, they put two definitions together to indicate their resemblance to each other. For instance, Ibn Manẓūr narrated the meaning of matter/ affair (*sha'n*) and occurrence (*ḥāditha*) together,¹⁰⁰¹ while Abū al-Baqā' al-Ḥanafī¹⁰⁰² integrated the meaning of matter/ affair (*sha'n*) and intention (*maqsad*).¹⁰⁰³ Meanwhile, the rest of them were sufficient with either one of these definitions. All of them, however, agreed that these definitions are not synonymous with the aforementioned first meaning of *amrun*, which describes an act of demanding action.¹⁰⁰⁴ This is not only obvious in the differentiation of these definitions in comparison to the definition of the previous first *amrun*, but also discernible within the plural formations of both words, where it renders the first *amrun* as *awāmir*, while the second one as *umūr*.

Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī¹⁰⁰⁵ narrated the reason for this differentiation from the opinion of the *usūliyyūn*, where they asserted its reason as due to the nature of the meaning for both *amrun*. The first meaning (*amrun-awāmir*; an act of demanding for action) signals its nature of being the specific verbal command from the one who issues the command, while the second meaning (*amrun-umūr*: matter, affairs, state, event, intention) signals its nature of being the action or the state of the command.¹⁰⁰⁶ He noted that this opinion is not agreeable among the lexicographers, and the one who has agreed to it is only al-Jawharī in his *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*.¹⁰⁰⁷ He also narrated that some only asserted the reason for the differentiation is to enable the way to distinguish between the two *amrun* of the first and second meanings.¹⁰⁰⁸

¹⁰⁰¹ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, Vol. 1, 204.

¹⁰⁰² He is Abū al-Baqā' Ayyūb b. Mūsā al-Kufawī (d. 1094 AH/ 1683 CE) is the author of *al-Kulliyāt*, his referred work here in this study. Not much is known about him apart from him being a Hanafī jurist. According to the annotators of his work, *al-Kulliyāt* is considered as one of the most important sources of the Arabic lexicon, particularly in the way it helped display the growth and generative trend of the Arabic words. See al-Ziriklī, Vol. 2, 38. For annotators' comments on this work, see also Abū al-Baqā' al-Ḥanafī, 5.

¹⁰⁰³ Abū al-Baqā' al-Ḥanafī, 177.

¹⁰⁰⁴ See the previous discussion on the first meaning of *amrun* in this chapter, 198-200.

¹⁰⁰⁵ For his brief biography, see the footnote in Chapter 4 of this study, 138.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 69. See also Abū al-Baqā' al-Ḥanafī, 181.

¹⁰⁰⁷ He is al-Jawharī, Abu Naṣr Ismāʿīl b. Hammād al-Turkī (d. 393 AH/ 1003 CE), a philologist and lexicographer. According to al-Dhahabī, he was among the first who introduced examples and sayings in elaborating words. His referred work here is among the early Arabic lexicons of Islamic tradition. Amidst of permutative-phonetic arrangement of lexicon entries pioneered by al-Khalīl, al-Jawhārī developed and introduced a new system of alphabetical arrangement in his *al-Siḥāḥ*, which Ibn Manẓūr then emulated and regarded as the best system of arrangement. See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar al-Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*, Vol. 12, 526. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, Vol. 1, 18. See also al-Ziriklī, Vol. 1, 313.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 69.

Apart from that, most of them did not provide any verbal sequence for this noun except al-Rāghib and Al-Fayrūzabādī¹⁰⁰⁹ who have mentioned the word *amrun-umūr* as a verbal noun for the perfective verb *amartahu* (tr. you command him),¹⁰¹⁰ and *amara* ‘*alaina*’ (perfective verb, tr. ‘to become an *amīr*’, ‘to invest with authority’) respectively.¹⁰¹¹ Others are silent about it as if *amrun* in this meaning is actually a noun. Nashwan al-Ḥimyārī¹⁰¹² is among those who argued that the word *amrun* here in the context of this second meaning is a simple noun (*al-ism al-mujarrad*).¹⁰¹³ He also did not provide any verb derivation for this noun in contrast to the other *amrun* of the first meaning context, which he provided with its verb form *amara*.¹⁰¹⁴

6.2.3 *Amrun, Imrah & Imārah*: The Notion of Governing

The earliest mention of those two new terms *imrah* and *imārah* occurred in *al‘Ayn* by al-Khalīl al-Farāhīdī.¹⁰¹⁵ He briefly mentioned those two as similar to each other, before he

¹⁰⁰⁹ He is Majd al-Dīn, Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Shīrāzī al-Fayrūzabādī (729-817 AH/ 1329-1417 CE), a leading lexicographer and grammarian of his time. He was of Persian origin, born and educated in Shiraz. After his travels to many places, he finally settled down in Zabīd, Yemen. His referred work here in this study, *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt* became an important syllabus for the study of the Arabic language there, so much so that al-Murtaḍā based his *al-Tāj* upon it. His approach in *al-Qāmūs* is through combining two important lexicons before him, which he has considered as the most outstanding one. These refer to *al-Muḥkam* authored by Ibn Sīdah and *al-‘Ubāb* by al-Saghānī. See al-Ziriklī, Vol. 7, 146. See also John A. Haywood, *Arabic Lexicography*, 85. See also Stefan Reichmuth, 54.

¹⁰¹⁰ Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, 88.

¹⁰¹¹ al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344

¹⁰¹² He is Abū Sa‘īd, Nashwan b. Sa‘īd al-Ḥimyārī (d. 573 AH/ 1178 CE), a Mu‘tazilite linguist, lexicographer, grammarian, and jurist of Yemen. His referred work here (*Shams al-‘Ulūm*) was unconventional in comparison to other lexicons of his time. Unlike others who were adequate with the entry's classification based on the root of the word, he arranged his entries alphabetically in two groups structures; noun and verb. He then further classified the entries within these two groups into smaller groups of *wazn* (morphological pattern/ meter). Although it seems more complicated than others, his work here accommodated the easier identification of the nature of the word of either being a noun or verb, *mujarrad* (simple) or *mazīd* (additional), as well as its *wazn* (morphological pattern meter). See al-Ziriklī, Vol. 8, 19-20. See also Rasha Basyounī Yūsuf al-Dasūqī, “Manhaj al-Imām Nashwan b. Sa‘īd al-Ḥimyārī al-Yamanī fī al-Tafsīr wa ‘Ulūm al-Qur‘ān min Khilāl Kitābihi Shams al-‘Ulūm”, *Majallat Kulīyyah al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyyah li-al-Banāt bi al-Iskandāriyyah*, Vol. 7, No. 32 (2016): 189-196.

¹⁰¹³ Al-Ḥimyārī, Vol. 1, 317.

¹⁰¹⁴ Ibid, Vol. 1, 326.

¹⁰¹⁵ He is al-Khalīl b. Ahmad b. ‘Amrun b. Tamīm al-Farāhīdī al-Azdī (100-170 AH/ 718-786 CE), a great scholar of Arabic language and literature. Sībawayh, Ibn Shumayl, and al-Asma‘ī were among his notable students. Many considered him the first who had collected Arabic words and presented their meanings through a specific categorization based on their trilateral root. His arrangement of the root is based on a

followed by mentioning the active and passive participle for those two, which are *amīr* and *mu'ammār* respectively.¹⁰¹⁶ A much-detailed view of this is available in the later works. The earliest of them is al-Azharī's and his *Tahdhīb al-Lughah*.¹⁰¹⁷ He asserted this meaning in a simple verbal sequence of *amara al-rajul imāratan: idha šāra 'alaihim amīran*, which simply means a guy has become an *amīr* upon his people.¹⁰¹⁸ His predecessor al-Jawharī provided a similar verbal sequence but with an addition of the verb *amura* (perfective verb), which signals the same meaning of becoming an *amīr*. The word *amīr* to al-Jawharī is the active participle, while *al-imrah* and *al-imārah* are the verbal nouns for this sequence.¹⁰¹⁹ Both verbal nouns to him are equivalent to the meaning *al-wilāyah* (the sovereignty, government, rule).¹⁰²⁰ Hence, *amīr* here could mean someone who rules or takes charge of his people.

A similar presentation is available in the work of his contemporary, al-Šāhib Ibn 'Abbād in his work *al-Muḥīt fī al-Lughah*.¹⁰²¹ He only mentioned the lexeme *al-imrah* and *al-imārah* as interchangeable to each other, with a perfective verb form that was explicit to *amara 'alayna* and without *amura*, to which al-Šāhib defined as also in the same proximity of the meaning *waliya* (tr. to be in charge, to rule, to govern).¹⁰²² Ibn Sīdah, however, has differentiated those two lexemes apart,¹⁰²³ which he specifically defined *al-imrah* as *al-*

phonetic-permutative system, through which each root is inverted to create a new root. Al-Khalīl was also the first to develop and introduce the science of Arabic prosody (*al-'ilm al-'arūd*). See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar al-A'lam al-Nubalā'*, Vol. 7 97. al-Ziriklī, Vol. 2, 314. See also Tilman Seidensticker, Vol. 3, 31.

¹⁰¹⁶ Al-Farāhīdī, Vol. 1, 85.

¹⁰¹⁷ He is Abū Maṣṣūr, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Azharī al-Harawī (282-370 AH/ 895-981 CE), a Khurasanian philologist, lexicographer, grammarian, and a Shāfi'ite jurist. In a report narrated by Ibn Khallikan, Al-Azharī had been taken prisoner by the Qarmatians nomads in a raid on his way home to Baghdad after performing *hajj*. During his stay as a prisoner with the Qarmatian, he had managed to compile within his referred work here (*Tahdhīb al-Lughah*) a substantial number of rare words and expressions that he had collected from the Bedouins. See Ibn Khallikan, Vol. 4, 334. See also al-Dhahabī, *Siyar al-A'lam al-Nubalā'*, Vol. 12, 328. See also al-Ziriklī, Vol. 5, 311.

¹⁰¹⁸ Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 209.

¹⁰¹⁹ Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 580-581.

¹⁰²⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰²¹ He is Abū al-Qāsim, Ismā'īl b. Abī al-Ḥassan 'Abbād (326-385 AH/ 938-995 CE), famously known as al-Šāhib. He was of Persian origin, a scholar of Arabic language and literature, a lexicographer and a grand vizier of Rukn al-Dawla of the Buwayhid dynasty. Ibn Khallikan mentioned that al-Šāhib took his knowledge of language and literature from Ibn Fāris. In the case of his referred work here (*al-Muḥīt fī al-Lughah*), Ibn Khallikan noted that for the lack of *shawāhid* (contextual examples) in this work, al-Šāhib made up with the abundance of the word and derivations for each root. See Ibn Khallikan, Vol. 1, 230. See also al-Dhahabī, *Siyar al-A'lam al-Nubalā'*, Vol. 12, 453.

¹⁰²² Al-Šāhib, Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād, Vol. 10, 284.

¹⁰²³ He is Abū al-Ḥasan, 'Alī b. Ismā'īl al-Mursī (398-458 AH/ 1007-1066 CE), famously known as Ibn Sīdah. He was a blind man, but a great Andalusian scholar of philology and lexicography that originally hailed from

rif'ah (height, elevation), while *al-imārah* as *al-wilāyah* (sovereignty).¹⁰²⁴ His verbal sequence also differs from *al-Ṣāhib* and seems to encompass all three perfective verbs of *amara*, *amira*, and *amura*. In his *al-Muḥkam*, he mentioned all three of them to express the similar meaning mentioned by *al-Ṣāhib* before, which is *waliya*.¹⁰²⁵

Ibn Sīdah's predecessor in the east, Ibn Fāris has outlined another distinct element exclusive to this meaning in his *Maqāyīs*.¹⁰²⁶ He suggested the existence of a relation between these two terms to the second meaning of *amrun* through a saying; *min qawmin umur* (from a group of people (there will be) affairs).¹⁰²⁷ The saying indicates that whenever there are a lot of human affairs to be tended to, there will be a need for *al-imrah* and *al-imārah* governing them. His verbal sequence for these two terms was not limited to either three of *amara/ amura/ amira*, but permissible to all these three forms of perfective verbs. This is discernible through the absence of the vowel marks for the root 'mr in his example deliberating this meaning. This indicates the permissibility of all three marks *a/i/u* upon the letter /m/ in 'mr'.¹⁰²⁸ Ibn Manẓūr who has narrated most of Ibn Sīdah's work seemed to have also followed both Ibn Fāris and Ibn Sīdah's assertion in *al-Muḥkam* before, which allowed

the town of Murcia. Before learning from other great scholars, Ibn Khallikan mentioned Ibn Sīdah took the science of language at an early age from his father, who was interestingly also a blind scholar by himself. This study refers to two of his most important works in lexicography; *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* and *al-Muḥkam al-Muḥīṭ al-A'ẓam*. The former is a seventeen volumes onomasiological lexicon that classified the entries by grouping them in a joined meaning without consideration of their trilateral root. On the other hand, the latter is his fourteen volumes semasiological lexicon, which presents the entries based on its trilateral root. The latter then became among the principal sources for Ibn Manẓūr's *al-Lisān*. See Ibn Bashkuwāl, Vol. 2, 607-608. See also Ibn Khallikan, Vol. 3, 330. See also al-Dhababī, *Siyar al-A'lam al-Nubalā'*, Vol. 13, 353. See also al-Ziriklī, Vol. 4, 263. See also Seidensticker, Vol. 3, 33.

¹⁰²⁴ Ibn Sīdah, Abu al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ismā'īl, *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* (Beirut: Dār Ihyā' al-Turath al-'Arabī, 1996) Vol. 1, 322. For the translation for *al-rif'ah*, see Hans Wehr, 350.

¹⁰²⁵ Ibn Sīdah, *al-Muḥkam wa al-Muḥīṭ al-A'ẓam*, Vol. 10, 299.

¹⁰²⁶ He is Abū al-Husayn, Ahmad b. Fāris b. Zakariyya al-Qazwīnī al-Rāzī (329-395 AH/ 941-1004 CE), a lexicographer and philologist of Persian descent. He authored several works in lexicography, and the most famous of them are *al-Mujmal* and *Maqāyīs al-Lughah*. Haywood regarded Ibn Fāris as one of the most innovative among the classical Islamic lexicographers, and this is mostly due to his attempt to create links and connections of meanings to the root or between different permutative roots. See al-Ziriklī, Vol. 1, 193. See also John A. Haywood, 98-102.

¹⁰²⁷ Ibn Fāris, *Mu'jam Maqāyīs al-Lughah*, Vol. 1, 137-138.

¹⁰²⁸ The relation, however, is not concrete enough due to the morphological form of *umur* in his example seems to be only exclusive to him in comparison to the actual plural form of the second meaning *umūr*. Although his verb sequence here lacks any vowel marks- hence indicating a presupposition that it is in the same parameter of *amara-ya'muru-amrun* the establishment of this sequence to the second meaning is still debatable. This is especially true in consideration of the silence of opinion among the lexicographers in relating this sequence to the second meaning of *amrun*. Ibid, See also previous discussion on the second meaning of *amrun* in this chapter, 201-203.

all these three vowel marks as the verbal sequence for *al-imrah* and *al-imārah*. Similar to those before him, he equated these three verbs in the same meaning provided by *waliya*: to govern and to rule.¹⁰²⁹

However, he did further explicate the construction of their grammatical sentences. For instance, the verb *amara* requires the preposition *'ala*, such as *amara 'alaina al-rajul - ya'muru – imāratan*, which means the man had become an *amīr* upon us.¹⁰³⁰ Another two usages of *amira* and *amura* do not necessitate any preposition, such as *qad amira/ amura fulān*, which means one had become an *amīr*.¹⁰³¹ The two examples of *amira* and *amura* by Ibn Manẓūr are absent in Ibn Sīdah's *al-Muḥkam*. Accordingly, Ibn Manẓūr's initial verbal sequence for this meaning is only *amara/amira/amura* (perfective verb) - *ya'muru* (imperfective verb) – *amrun* (verbal noun). However, following al-Jawharī, he also asserted that *al-imrah* and *al-imārah* are the other two forms of verbal nouns for those three forms of the verbs, while *amīr* and *amīrah* are their masculine and feminine plural form, respectively.¹⁰³² Al-Fayrūzabādī rejected *al-imrah* and *al-imārah* as verbal nouns in his *al-Qāmūs*, where he instead considered those two as nouns.¹⁰³³ Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī also agreed to this, to which he elaborated that those who held *al-imārah* as a verbal noun have mistook it as *al-ism al-maṣdariyyah*, which refers to a particular type of noun that is similar to the *maṣdar* (verbal noun) in its nature of signaling occurrence but did not encompass every letter of the root.¹⁰³⁴

The modern lexicons, however, seem to not have supported both opinions of al-Fayrūzabādī and Murtaḍā. Most of them concur that both, particularly *al-imārah* are indeed verbal nouns. The only difference among them is in determining the correct vowel mark for their verbal sequences. *Muḥīt al-Muḥīt*, for instance, specifies both *al-imrah* and *al-imārah* for the verbal sequence beginning with *amira-ya'muru-amrun-imrah* and *imārah*,¹⁰³⁵ while *Al-Wasīṭ* provided *al-imārah* for similar verbal sequences that begin with

¹⁰²⁹ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 206-207.

¹⁰³⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰³¹ Ibid.

¹⁰³² Ibid.

¹⁰³³ Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344.

¹⁰³⁴ Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 70.

¹⁰³⁵ Buṭrus al-Buṣṭānī, 16.

amara and *amira*.¹⁰³⁶ *Al-Rā'id* also contended with *al-imārah* but for both *amara* and *amura*,¹⁰³⁷ while *al-Mu'jam al-Asāsī* and *al-Hādī* specified only *al-imārah* as a verbal noun to *amara* and *amura* respectively.¹⁰³⁸ Regardless of these differences, they all agreed to define these verbal sequences within the phrase of someone who becomes an *amīr* (in governing). Their differences in determining those three verbal sequences are irrelevant as Ibn Manẓūr has asserted all three as related to both words. At this point, the possible verbal sequences for this meaning are possibly the: *amara/ amira/ amura* (perfective verb) - *ya'muru* (imperfective verb) – *amrun/ imārah/ imrah* (verbal noun) – *amīr* (active participle) – *mu'ammār* (passive participle).

The shared quality of those three perfective verbs *a-ma/mi/mu-ra* all denotes the quality or the notion of 'to govern'. It is through this meaning that other forms of derivations are generated, where they have at least connected relatively as part of that notion. Such derivations vary from; 1) *ammara - yu'ammiru - ta'mīran* 2) *ta'ammara-yata'ammuru - ta'ammuran*, 3) *āmara-yu'āmiru- mu'āmaratan*, 4) *ista'mara - yasta'miru- isti'māran*, and 5) *i'tamara - ya'tamiru - i'timāran*.¹⁰³⁹ The first verbal sequence is the transitive verb for the perfective verb *amara* that signals the act of appointing someone as an *amīr*.¹⁰⁴⁰ On the other hand, the second one is intransitive, which expresses the act of being dominant over others.¹⁰⁴¹ The other three are transitive, where all of them refer to the act of consulting and discussing with someone. This is particularly in the case of the verb *āmara* and *ista'mara*, which most of the classical lexicons identify as akin to the verb *shāwara*: 'to consult'.¹⁰⁴²

In the case of *i'tamara*, the foregoing discussion elaborated this meaning as performing/ receiving/ and obeying the command of one's self or of others. However, most

¹⁰³⁶ Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah bi al-Qāhirah, 26.

¹⁰³⁷ Jibran Mas'ūd, 126.

¹⁰³⁸ Al-Munazzamah al-'Arabiyyah li al-Tarbiyah wa al-Thaqāfah wa al-'Ulum, 105. See also Hasan Sa'id al-Karmī, Vol. 1, 85.

¹⁰³⁹ For complete verbal sequences of these five, see Hasan Sa'id al-Karmī, 85.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 582. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 208. See also Hasan Sa'id al-Karmī, 85.

¹⁰⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴² Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 582. See also Al-Zamakhsharī, Vol. 1, 33. See also Al-Himyari, Vol. 1, 330. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 206. See also Zayn al-Dīn al-Rāzī, 21. See also Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 76.

lexicographers agree that the word also carries another meaning ‘to consult’.¹⁰⁴³ Al-Rāghib stipulated that it happened due to how both parties who engage in the act of issuing and receiving commands are mutually responsive to each other, where each party perform a command that is ‘*ashāra ilaihi*’, which means has been pointed out to, suggested to, or referred to by another party. This nature of ‘*ashāra ilaihi*’ indicates the subject completed the command out of consultation with others at first.¹⁰⁴⁴ Some have justified this meaning of consult from another perspective, which is the act of obeying and performing the command from his own self. In doing so, the person also engages in the act of consulting with his own self, just like the sayings *i’tamara fulānun ra’yahu* (tr. a so and so consulted his own thought).¹⁰⁴⁵ This is the reason why there is an admonition for those who has too much self-consultation, as in this one poem reprimanded those who self-consult with their thought will err in their later actions due to the lack of consulting others.¹⁰⁴⁶ Another definition for *i’tamara* that is also worthy of the theme of consult is the one provided by Ibn Manẓūr, which is *ijma’ ū ārā’ahum* (tr. to collect other’s thoughts), which in some ways also related to the act of consultation.¹⁰⁴⁷

Interestingly, the Arabs also deemed a person who has too much consultation with others as a negative attribute, of which they also used another derivation of the root ‘*mr*’ in naming him; an *immaru* (masculine) or *immaratun* (feminine).¹⁰⁴⁸ The rationale behind the negativity upon this person is due to him being void of his own thoughts.¹⁰⁴⁹ Another meaning for *immaru* and *immaratun* refers to a concrete noun known in many Semitic languages,¹⁰⁵⁰ which is *walad al-ḍa’nu* (tr. a sheep’s lamb).¹⁰⁵¹ Excluding the concrete

¹⁰⁴³ Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 582. See also al-Rāghib, 89. See also al-Zamakhsharī, Vol. 1, 33. See also Al-Himyari, Vol. 1, 329. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 1, 205. See also al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī, Vol. 1, 115. See also Zayn al-Dīn al-Rāzī, 21. See also al-Fayyūmī al-Ḥamawī, Vol. 1, 22. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 76.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Al-Rāghib, 89.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 1, 205.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 211. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 1, 205.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 1, 205. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 76-77.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 210. See also Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 582. See also Ibn Fāris, *Mu’jam Maqāyis al-Lughah*, Vol. 1, 138. See also Al-Himyari, Vol. 1, 322. See also Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 73.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Ibid. See also Al-Ṣāhib, Vol. 10, 284.

¹⁰⁵⁰ See the Literature Review in Chapter 1 of this study, 9-20.

¹⁰⁵¹ Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 210. See also Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 582. See also Ibn Fāris, *Mu’jam Maqāyis al-Lughah*, Vol. 1, 138. See also Al-Himyari, Vol. 1, 322. See also Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 73.

meaning, however, *al-immaru* in its figurative meaning seems to have a connection to the notion of consulting and *shūra*. Both activities, particularly the latter are of course relevant to the art of governance, which is the primary meaning of *amrah* and *imārah* before. Although dominancy and consultation perhaps symbolize a much simpler and fundamental notion of governing, the examples of all derivations above that express meanings from to appoint someone as *amīr* (*ammara*), to be dominant upon others (*ta'ammara*), to consult (*i'tamara*, *ista'mara* and *āmara*), or too much consult (*immaru*) still signify the relevancy of these derivations to governance.

This is at least in the level of pre-Islamic Arab tribal ruling and politics that was either of two different poles; the Bedouin warrior aristocracy of being dominant through tribal military power or the consultative religious aristocracy of various clans in the cultic and religious centers throughout Arabia.¹⁰⁵² In fact, consultation is perhaps the most important policy in governance among the Arabs, as some lexicographers even reported that the *Jāhiliyya* Arabs used to call one of their month *al-Mu'tamar/ al-Mu'tamir*,¹⁰⁵³ and it was due to its function as a consultation month among the Arabs.¹⁰⁵⁴ Similarly, the day six and seven of *ayyām al-'ajūz* (*āmīr* and *mu'tamir*) also functions for the same designation.¹⁰⁵⁵ However, this does not suggest any restriction for the word to not exceed the pre-Islamic Arab politics. We have seen the development of the root into the Islamic epoch, where it became part of the Islamic principality system of the emirate, as evident in the previous Chapter 3 on the contemporary emirate.¹⁰⁵⁶ Apart from that, the modern lexicon has also further outlined another new derivation of the root *'mr* that also has a connection to the meaning of governance, which is the derivation *ma'mūr*. This derivation expresses modern connotation, which refers to the modern officers heading a part of the government division.¹⁰⁵⁷

¹⁰⁵² For political settings of the pre-Islamic Arabia, see Chapter 4 of this study, 125-131.

¹⁰⁵³ Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 212. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 209. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 14, 141.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī, *al-Mawā'iz wa al-I'tibār bi Dhikr al-Khuṭaṭi wa al-Athār* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, n.d) Vol. 2, 59.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Al-Azharī, Vol. 1, 30. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 209. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 14, 141.

¹⁰⁵⁶ See the discussion on Chapter 3 of this study, 112-115.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Al-Munazzamah al-'Arabiyyah li al-Tarbiyah wa al-Thaqāfah wa al-'Ulum, 106. Al-Wasīt defined it as those officers in the government office of Egypt. See Majma' al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah bi al-Qāhirah, 26.

6.2.4 Multiplication, Growth, Bliss, and Unaccustomed Wonder

The above meanings are often available in three verb forms of the root 'mr, which are *amara*, *āmara*, and *amira*. The first verb *amara* often denotes the nature of a female who is fertile or granted with many children or descendants. The earliest instance of this verb's usage within this meaning is available in the form of passive participle-cum-adjective attributed to an object. Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim¹⁰⁵⁸ is among the first of the Arabic philologists who described this form within this meaning in his *Gharīb al-Hadīth*.¹⁰⁵⁹ He exemplified the usage through a phrase of a *hadīth* of the Prophet; *khayr al-māl muhratun ma'mūrah* (*tr.* the best wealth is a fertile filly (female foal)).¹⁰⁶⁰ His description is followed by a sentence elaborating on the word *ma'mūrah* in the *hadīth*, which is the phrase *amaraha Allah fahiya ma'mūrah*.¹⁰⁶¹ The phrase translates to Allah having granted her (the foal) with many children, so she is *ma'mūrah*. His first example of the *hadīth* describes the usage of the word *ma'mūrah* as an adjective, while the following second sentence describes the verb *amara* as a transitive verb, which requires the subject (Allah) and the object (the fertile foal). In this regard, the foal is a *ma'mūrah* through the action of Allah, where He serves here as the subject of the verb in doing the act of making the object (the foal) have that fertile quality or in the state of having many children or descendant.

¹⁰⁵⁸ He is Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām b. 'Abd Allah (157-224 AH/ 774-838 CE), a polymath of many sciences including jurisprudence, Qur'ānic recitation, and Arabic language. Although the nature of his referred work here in this study (*al-Gharīb fi al-Hadīth*) was exclusive to the study of rare words and expressions in *hadīth* tradition, it is also part of lexicography literature. Similar to Ibn Sīdah's *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, Abū 'Ubayd's *al-Gharīb* was also actually an onomasiological lexicon. Instead of classifying the entries through the trilateral root, Abū 'Ubayd identified the entries through *hadīth* narrations. He then classified these narrations that correspond to the narrator of each narration. Seidensticker listed it as one of the earliest extant Arabic onomasiological lexicons. See al-Dhababī, Vol. 4, 107. See also al-Ziriklī, Vol. 5, 176. See also Seidensticker, Vol. 3, 33.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Although his particular work here is restrictive to the *hadīth* tradition, a proper consideration would include it as one of the early configurations initiating the development of a more proper style of Arabic lexicography within the works of his predecessors. Seidensticker, for instance, has argued the need to preserve and systemise the understanding of the Qur'ān and *hadīth* tradition has gone along with the same motivation of preserving and systematizing the meaning of the ancient pre-Islamic Arab poetry at that time, so much so that both strands later merged and become an impetus for the emergence of the conventional Arabic lexicography. See Tilman Seidensticker, Vol. 3, 31.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūt notes that the *isnād* of this *hadīth* narrated by Ahmad is considered weak due to the condition of one of its narrators. It is also a *mursal*, as evident in another version of this *hadīth* narrated by al-Bukhārī in his *al-Tārikh al-Kabīr*. See the *hadīth* and notes by al-Arna'ūt in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad b. Hanbal* (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-Risālah, 1995) Vol. 25, 173, no: 15845.

¹⁰⁶¹ Abū 'Ubayd, Vol. 3, 369.

This action is what Abū ‘Ubayd defines as equivalent to the word *akthara*, which is to multiply or to make something numerous.¹⁰⁶² Some lexicographers after him equated the verb *amara* to *kaththara*,¹⁰⁶³ while Al-Azharī and Ibn Manẓūr argued the term *ma’mūrah* is equivalent to the word *mukathharah/ mukaththirah*.¹⁰⁶⁴ Similar to *akthara*, both additions from those lexicographers also refer respectively to the act of multiplying and the quality or an attribute of being numerous. These two examples of Abū ‘Ubayd became the main framework among the lexicographers that came after him, specifically for defining the verb *amara* within this meaning. This is particularly apparent through their ways of quoting and narrating his opinions and examples.¹⁰⁶⁵ In *al-Maqāyīs*, however, Ibn Fāris has extended the usage of the word *amara*, where it has shown to have exceeded the limited expression of the female fecundity nature. Interestingly, he asserted that it is also usable to depict the meaning of Allah and his act of multiplying one's wealth. In his one exclusive example, he uses the phrase *amarallah mālahu* (tr. Allah had multiplied his wealth).¹⁰⁶⁶

Except for Ibn Fāris, however, other lexicographers also followed Abū ‘Ubayd in categorizing another form of the root *’mr* that embodies the same meaning as the previous verb *amara*. This refers to the form *āmara*, which is also a transitive verb that carries the same meaning ‘to multiply’. From Abū ‘Ubayd's perspective, both forms are the two ways of articulating the same meaning and function of multiplying something. He also provided a similar phrase as an example for both *amara* and *āmara* in describing its usage, which is *āmaraha Allah fa hiya mu’marah*.¹⁰⁶⁷ Similar to *amara*, the term *āmara* is the perfective verb for the act of multiplying while the term *mu’marah* is the passive participle for the

¹⁰⁶² Ibid, Vol. 1, 351.

¹⁰⁶³ See for example Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 209. See also Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 581. See also al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, 89. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 1, 205.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Al-Azharī did not provide any vowel mark for the root *tha* in the word *m/k/th/r*. On the other hand, Ibn Manẓūr asserted it as *mukaththir*, indicating it as an active participle for the verb *kaththara*. See al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 209. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 1, 205.

¹⁰⁶⁵ These two examples or either one of them are prevalent among these Arabic lexicographers in describing the meaning of both words *amara* and *āmara*. Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 209. See also Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 581. See also al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, 89. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 1, 205. See also Al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī, Vol. 1, 115. See also Zayn al-Dīn al-Rāzī, 21. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 72.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Ibn Fāris also included the same example of *muhratun ma’mūrah* in describing the conventional meaning of *amara* that relates to female fertility. However, instead of quoting Abū ‘Ubayd, he asserted the example as to have come from al-Asmā’ī. See Ibn Fāris, *Mu’jam Maqāyīs al-Lughah*, Vol. 1, 138.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Abū ‘Ubayd, Vol. 3, 369.

verb *āmara*. Both forms indicate the meaning of an attribute for a woman's fertility or her state of being with many children. Ibn Manẓūr, however, narrated another form of usage of *āmara* that is used upon a male object. This is evident in his example of *āmarahu Allah* (tr. Allah had made abundance for him), to which he narrated its definition as Allah has made abundance for him his offspring or livestock.¹⁰⁶⁸ The association of offspring specifically with livestock apart from other objects like wealth, money, or agricultural products could indicate a subtle similarity between those two. If one were to relate those two to the conventional example of the woman who was *ma 'mūrah* or *mu 'marah* before, the similarity lies within the multiplicity and increases through the same process of progeny and parturition. If that is the case, the initial usage of *amara* or *āmara* is mostly related only to the fecundity nature of a female human or non-human being.

In the case of determining the correct forms between *amara* and *āmara*, some early lexicographers narrate Abū 'Ubayd's opinion here neutrally without any verdict of determining the correct usage between either of both forms. Al-Azharī, for instance, narrated Abū 'Ubayd's opinion here without the affirmation of either of those two verbs as the correct usage. This is despite his additional elaboration that has provided an explanation and parameters for measuring the correct usage between those two verbs. Similar to Abū 'Ubayd, he agreed that both forms are two distinct ways of articulation, signifying the permissibility of both usages.¹⁰⁶⁹ Curiously enough, other lexicographers after him did take a stand in favouring one side of either of the forms. Most of them were against the usage of the verb *amara* and have pronounced *āmara* as the correct one. This is the opinion held by al-Jawharī, Ibn Fāris, and Ibn Manẓūr.¹⁰⁷⁰ Others like al-Rāghib, al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī, Zayn al-Dīn al-Rāzi,¹⁰⁷¹ al-Fayrūzabādī and Murtaḍa al-Zabīdī chose to tread upon the same path of al-Azharī before, which is void of any assertion or confirmation upon either

¹⁰⁶⁸ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, Vol. 1, 205. See also Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344. Murtaḍa al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 72.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 209.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 581. Ibn Fāris, *Muʿjam Maqāyis al-Lughah*, Vol. 1, 138. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, Vol. 1, 205.

¹⁰⁷¹ He is Zayn al-Dīn, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Rāzi, a Persian linguist hailed from the city of Rey. This study refers to his work *Mukhtār al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, which is an abbreviation of *Tāj al-Lughah* (*al-Ṣiḥāḥ*) by al-Jawharī. According to Haywood, al-Rāzi's *Mukhtār* has summarized most of al-Jawharī's *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* through various means, such as removing the quadrilateral root and trimming the entries to the max. This one feature helps identify the variation of the words easily. See al-Ziriklī, Vol. 6, 55. See also John A. Haywood, *Arabic Lexicography*, 76.

of both forms as the correct usage.¹⁰⁷² Regardless of the differences, neither of them narrates any additional verbal sequences for both verbs in elaborating this meaning, as they were all following the framework of examples provided by Abū ‘Ubayd before. In this regard, their provided verbal sequences mostly comprise both *amara* and *āmara* and their passive participle forms (*ma’ mūr & mu’ marah*).¹⁰⁷³

On the other hand, the verb *amira* within the context of this meaning is used to attribute the subject itself with being many, multiplying, and numerous. Unlike the previous transitive *amara* or *āmara* whom the subject is the one granting the multiplicity to the object, *amira* is an intransitive verb that indicates the attribution of being numerous and many to the subject itself. Al-Farāhīdī is the first to include this verb and its meaning in his work, where he exemplified it within two phrases: *amira waladuha* and *amira banū fulān amāratan*. He equated the first example with the phrase *kathuru mā fī baṭniha*, which signifies the growth and increased of a woman's child in numbers. On the other hand, he described the second example as the tribe of so and so multiplied and increased in its numbers and blessings (*kathurū wa kathurat ni’ amihim*).¹⁰⁷⁴ Following his example here, note that the subjects for the verb *amira* seem to be more general and invariably diverse *vis-à-vis* to the subject of the former in the previous *amara* and *āmara*, where apart from Ibn Fāris, all curbed themselves in defining the subject exclusively for Allah while the object specifically to indicate a female's fertility and her ability to carry offspring.

The word *amira* is then applicable upon articulating the multiplication, growth, increase, or expansion of someone’s wealth, as in *amira māluhu* (*tr.* his wealth has increased),¹⁰⁷⁵ *amira al-qawm* (*tr.* the tribe has expanded [in numbers]),¹⁰⁷⁶ *amira al-amr*:

¹⁰⁷² al-Rāghib, 89. See also al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī, Vol. 1, 115. Zayn al-Dīn al-Rāzi, 21. Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344. and Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 72.

¹⁰⁷³ Some of them only narrate either one of the verbs *amara* or *āmara*, while others narrate both verbs. For instance, al-Azharī, al-Jawharī, and Ibn Manẓūr included both forms in their discussion, while Ibn Fāris and al-Himyarī only listed their own selected form from both verbs. See Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 209. See also Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 581. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 1, 205. Ibn Fāris, *Mu’jam Maqāyis al-Lughah*, Vol. 1, 138. See also al-Himyarī, Vol. 1, 326.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Al-Farāhīdī, Vol. 1, 85.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 581. See also al-Himyarī, Vol. 1, 326. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 1, 205.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 581. See also Al-Rāghib, 89. See also al-Himyarī, Vol. 1, 326. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 1, 205. See also al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī, Vol. 1, 115.

ishtadda (tr. the matter had intensified [perhaps in its complexity]),¹⁰⁷⁷ and *amira al-rajul* (tr. the guy's [livestock] has increased).¹⁰⁷⁸ All the meanings above indicate the multiplicity nature of their subjects. According to Ibn Fāris, the multiplicity here is also synonymous with growth and blessings, indicating the positive value embedded within the verb *amira*. In one example, Ibn Fāris included the old Arab sayings of '*man qalla dhalla, wa man amira falla*', which translates to those who are little degraded, and those who are many conquer.¹⁰⁷⁹ This one example implies that the nature of being many and numerous is desirable among the Arabs, for which they aspire to for the strength of their respective tribe.

Al-Ṣāhib has delineated examples comprising various morphological forms of *amira* describing this tendency among the Arabs. For instance, its feminine active participle *amirah* in the Arab sayings of *imra'atun amiraton* (tr. a woman [who is] an *amiraton*) signifies her as a blessed wife to her husband.¹⁰⁸⁰ Its verbal noun *amarah* sometimes is used as an invocation upon someone in wishing and praying for their goodness, such as in *alqā Allah fi mālika al-amarah*¹⁰⁸¹ (tr. may Allah grant *amarah* [goodness, blessings] in your wealth).¹⁰⁸² Note that the lexicographers varied in determining the verbal nouns for the verb *amira* here in these examples above. Al-Ṣāhib, Al-Jawharī, and al-Fayrūzabādī mentioned the verbal nouns for this verb as *amrun* and *amarah*. On the other hand, Ibn Manẓūr also narrated another form of its verbal noun, which is *īmāran*. Following these assertions above, the possible verbal sequence for this verb is *amira* (perfective verb)- *ya'muru* (imperfective verb)- *amrun/ amarah/ īmāran* (verbal noun)- *amirun/amiraton* (active participle).

¹⁰⁷⁷ Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 581. See also Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344. Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 72.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 205. See also Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344. Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 72.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Ibn Fāris, *Mu'jam Maqāyis al-Lughah*, Vol. 1, 138.

¹⁰⁸⁰ The same function applies to the masculine active participle; *amirun*, yet al-Ṣāhib did not provide any example for that. However, Al-Azharī and Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī have affirmed the usage of both forms applied to the blessed one, either man or woman. Al-Ṣāhib, Vol. 10, 284. See also al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 210. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 72.

¹⁰⁸¹ The lexicographers varied in determining the verbal nouns for the verb *amira* here. Al-Ṣāhib, Al-Jawharī, and Al-Fayrūzabādī mentioned the verbal nouns for this verb as *amran* and *amaratan*. On the other hand, Ibn Manẓūr asserted its verbal noun as *īmāran*. See Al-Ṣāhib, Vol. 10, 283. See also al-Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 581. See also Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 205.

¹⁰⁸² Al-Ṣāhib, Vol. 10, 284.

Yet it is still important to point out that the same verb *amira* here that supposedly conjures the positive meaning of blessing may also express meanings imbued with negative aspects. This refers specifically to the derivation *imrun*. It is basically in the same formation as the word *amrun*, in which it contains all the letters of the root 'mr and without any addition. However, it differs in its vowel marks of the first letter that begins with the vowel /i/. In a report narrated by Ibn Sīdah, most of the early philologists contended that the term equates to either of these three terms; *‘ajaban*, *nukarun*, and *munkaran*.¹⁰⁸³ One would be able to deduce *‘ajaban* clearly as something wondrous, marvel, odd, or strange, while the terms *nukarun* and *munkar* as something unaccustomed, unacknowledgeable, and abominable.¹⁰⁸⁴ Note that those meanings seem to be opposite to the general meaning of *amira* that gestures of growth and blessings, hence questioning the real possibility of a connection between *amira* and *imrun*.

However, early reports of Arab philologists seem adamant in suggesting the relation between those two forms. For instance, Ibn Sīdah narrated an opinion of al-Kisā’ī arguing that the word *imrun* here is the derivation of the verb *amira*,¹⁰⁸⁵ specifically *amira al-qawm*: ‘the tribe has multiplied’. Unfortunately, both Ibn Sīdah and al-Kisā’ī did not mention any rationale behind the assertion.¹⁰⁸⁶ Similarly, al-Jawharī narrated the opinion of al-Akhfash,¹⁰⁸⁷ which has asserted the word *imrun* here as indeed a noun for the verbal sequence of *amira*, specifically for *amira al-amr* (a matter that has intensified).¹⁰⁸⁸ Al-Akhfash's opinion here is also perhaps what Al-Rāghib has picked up in his rationale for linking up *imrun* to the verb *amira*. According to the latter, *imrun* as *munkar* is from *amira al-amr*: *ishtadda/ kathura/ kabura/ istafhala al-amr*, which refers to respectively to the

¹⁰⁸³ Ibn Sīdah, Vol. 3, 370.

¹⁰⁸⁴ For the English translation of both words, see Hans Wehr, 591 & 998.

¹⁰⁸⁵ He is Abū al-Ḥasan, ‘Alī b. Ḥamzah b. ‘Abd Allah al-Asadī (d. 189 AH/ 805 CE), popularly known as al-Kisā’ī. He was a great philologist, grammarian and Qur’ānic recitation scholar from Kufah. He founded the grammarian school of Kufa and was one of the seven founders of Qur’ānic recitation. His reputation in philology and literature was also well-known, as he was a literary preceptor (*adīb*) for al-Rāshid’s son al-Amīn of ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate. See al-Ishbīlī al-Andalusī, 127. See also al-Dhahabī, *Siyar al-A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, Vol. 7, 554-555. See also al-Ziriklī, Vol. 4, 283.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Ibn Sīdah, *al-Muhkam wa al-Muḥīṭ al-A‘ẓam*, Vol. 10, 301.

¹⁰⁸⁷ He Abū al-Ḥasan Sa‘īd b. Mas‘adat al-Mujāshī‘ī (215 AH/ 830 CE), popularly known by the nickname al-Akhfash. More precisely, he is *al-Akhfash al-Awsat* (the Central Akhfash), which marks him as the second al-Akhfash among the other two scholars of the same agnomen who had come before and after him. A famous grammarian of his time, he took his knowledge and learned from the other two great scholars of language, al-Khalīl and Sībawayh. See al-Ishbīlī al-Andalusī, 73. See also al-Ziriklī, Vol. 3, 101.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 581.

intensification, multiplication, enlargement, and deepening of a matter.¹⁰⁸⁹ Al-Rāghib's assertion here seems to suggest these processes that have occurred on a matter (*amrun*) are perhaps what constitutes it to become complicated, odd, and a wonder. Still, this explanation may justify the marvel nature of *imrun*, but did not explain the radical changes of meanings; from the blessing within *amira* to the abominable, unaccustomed, detested nature of *munkar* in *imrun*. Such inability to relink may perhaps explain why another stream of the opinion of both philologists and lexicographers alike were only equating the word *imrun* here as '*ajaban* without the word *munkarun* or *nukarun*.¹⁰⁹⁰

6.2.5 Mark and Sign

Al-Farāhīdī was among the first who mentioned this meaning in his *al-ʿAyn*. He conjured this meaning through the term *al-amār*, of which he equated it to simply as *al-mawʿid*.¹⁰⁹¹ It has not been purely understood what he meant with *al-mawʿid* here. Hans Wehr's translation for *al-mawʿid* also varies from promise, appointment, pledge, commitment, date, and appointed time.¹⁰⁹² At first glance, it seems to point out something related to the act of making a promise, particularly through the examination of its root *wʿd*.¹⁰⁹³ However, a thorough observation of other Arabic lexicon works seems to suggest otherwise, which indicates the term *mawʿid* refers specifically to time and date. For instance, al-Azharī defined the word *amār* as *al-waqt wa al-ʿalāmah* (tr. the time and the sign),¹⁰⁹⁴ while Ibn Sīdah equates the words *al-amār* and *al-amārah* as *al-mawʿid wa waqt al-maḥdūd* (tr. appointed and specific time).¹⁰⁹⁵

¹⁰⁸⁹ Al-Rāghib, 90.

¹⁰⁹⁰ This is the opinion of al-Ṣāhib, Ibn Fāris, al-Zamakhsharī, and al-Ḥimyarī. All four of them equate *imrun* as '*ajaban* without any mention of the word *munkar*. Al-Ḥimyarī did narrate the word *munkar* as one of the definitions, but he only asserted it as an opinion of someone. He himself equates the word *imrun* to *al-shaiʿ al-ʿajab* (tr. something of wonder and marvel). See al-Ṣāhib, Vol. 10, 284. See also Ibn Fāris, *Muʿjam Maqāyis al-Lughah*, Vol. 1, 138. See also al-Zamakhsharī, Vol. 1, 33. See also al-Ḥimyarī, Vol. 1, 319.

¹⁰⁹¹ Al-Farāhīdī, Vol. 1, 86.

¹⁰⁹² Hans Wehr, 1081.

¹⁰⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 209.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Ibn Sīdah, Vol. 5, 122.

Abū ‘Ubayd, however, has selected al-Kisā’ī’s definition for *al-amār*, which seems to be more general in understanding. The definition asserted the word as *al-‘alāmah allatī yu‘rafu bihā al-shai’*, which translates to sign or mark that helps identify something.¹⁰⁹⁶ However, Abū ‘Ubayd further narrated al-Kisā’ī’s opinion on this matter, in which the latter said that whenever a group of people have appointed a certain day for them, it is also considered as part of *al-amār*.¹⁰⁹⁷ This further statement by al-Kisā’ī evokes the previous understanding of *al-amār* as *al-maw‘id*, which could also being specific to the context of time and date. Nevertheless, *al-amār* in general and without any binding context still only refers to its function as a sign for something. This explains why Ibn Fāris also defined the word *al-amār* as *ma‘ālim al-ṭarīq*, which contextually translates to landmarks. By following al-Asmā’ī’s definition, he also affirmed that *al-amār* is a plural form for *al-amārah*, and both carry the same meaning of signs and marks.¹⁰⁹⁸ Others like Ibn Manẓūr, al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī, and Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī also narrated this opinion.¹⁰⁹⁹

In modern lexicons, Hasan al-Karmī included *al-amārah* as a sign for anything, including cloud as the sign (*al-amārah*) for rain, or a proof for something in an argument, as in the saying *a‘tina amāratan ḥatta nuhzir* (tr. give us something (as sign) so that we can guess).¹¹⁰⁰ He also asserted that a leader of a group of people can establish an *amārah* to mark something, as in the saying *kānat amāratun fulān ‘ala sanat kadha wa kadha*, which translates to: (that is the sign of that so and so in the year so and so).¹¹⁰¹ This is parallel to the only verbal sequence within this topic of *al-amārah*; *amara fulānun amāratan*, which Al-Azharī asserted as *ṣayyara ‘alaman* (tr. [a so and so] erected a sign and mark, or contextually wise: a monument).¹¹⁰²

Another form that also exhibits meanings resembling the previous two forms is *al-amarah*. On one hand, it is equivalent to the previous meaning of the sign and post like *al-amārah* before. On another hand, other people claimed that it is two different

¹⁰⁹⁶ Abū ‘Ubayd, Vol. 5, 75.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Ibid, 76.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ibn Fāris, *Mu‘jam Maqāyis al-Lughah* 139.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 1, 208. See also al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī, Vol. 1, 116. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 74.

¹¹⁰⁰ Hasan Sa‘id al-Karmī, Vol. 1, 85.

¹¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰² Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 209. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 1, 206.

morphological structures, where the latter has *al-amarāt* as its plural form.¹¹⁰³ Besides the abstract meaning of sign and post, *al-amarah* also specifically expresses meanings for concrete nouns, such as *al-rābiyyah*;¹¹⁰⁴ which refers to anything that has risen upon the ground,¹¹⁰⁵ or what Hans Wehr defined as the hill.¹¹⁰⁶ In some cases, the word *al-amarah* also expresses the meaning of *al-manārah fawqa al-arḍ*, which translates to ruins of towering construction of ancient civilization on the mountain.¹¹⁰⁷ Some also briefly defined *al-amarah* as simply *al-ḥijārah* (tr. stone).¹¹⁰⁸ Al-Azharī provided some elaboration on that issue with an opinion by Ibn Shumayl,¹¹⁰⁹ in which the latter has asserted that those stones are stacked-up stones that one would see as if it is man-made.¹¹¹⁰ Nashwan al-Ḥimyari also viewed the same, where he termed it as *al-ḥijārah al-manḍudah* (tr. stacked up stones).¹¹¹¹ Some functionally explained the uses of the stones in their definitions, which is *al-a'lām al-mufāwiz*, a phrase that categorically defines the landmarks and signs used in travelling the desert.¹¹¹² Unlike *al-amarah* of the previous meaning of the sign and post, *al-amarah* viewed in the context of concrete nouns has the plural form of *al-amaru* instead of *al-amarāt*.

It is imperative to point out that even though those three meanings of concrete objects seem to differ from each other, they all share two similarities. The first one is their plural structure all in the form of *al-amaru*. Secondly, they share the same function of being

¹¹⁰³ Ibn Manẓūr narrated these two different opinions on *al-amarah*. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 1, 208.

¹¹⁰⁴ Ibid. See also Al-Fayrūzabādī, 344. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 74.

¹¹⁰⁵ Al-Khalīl al-Farāhīdī is the first to define *al-rābiyyah* as in this meaning. He included three similar words to *al-rābiyyah*, which are *al-rabwah*, *al-rubwah*, and *al-ribwah*. All of them carry the meaning of something that has risen from the ground. See al-Farāhīdī, Vol. 2, 94.

¹¹⁰⁶ Hans Wehr, 324.

¹¹⁰⁷ Ibn Manẓūr narrated an opinion asserting that this construction is wide and high, man-made of stacked-up stones, and originated from the civilization of Iram or ‘Ād. These stones are also stacked up together using clay. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 1, 208.

¹¹⁰⁸ Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 210. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 1, 208. See also Al-Fayrūzabādī, 344. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 74.

¹¹⁰⁹ He is Abū al-Ḥasan, al-Naḍr b. Shumayl al-Tamīmī (122-203 AH/ 740-819 CE), famously known as Ibn Shumayl. According to Ibn Khallikan, Ibn Shumayl is an expert in *gharā’ib* (rare and obscure words and expressions), jurisprudence, poem and literary, as well as the *ayyām al-‘Arab* (the days of the Arab literature, which is literature concerning the history of wars, battles and skirmishes among the Arabs of pre and early Islamic period). See Ibn Khallikan, Vol. 5, 397. See also al-Ziriklī, Vol. 8, 33. For details on *ayyām al-‘Arab*, see E. Mittwoch, “ayyām al-‘Arab” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by B. Lewis, V.L. Menage, Ch. Pellat, and J. Schacht (Leiden: Brill, 1986) Vol. 1, 795-796.

¹¹¹⁰ Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 210.

¹¹¹¹ al-Ḥimyari, Vol. 1, 320.

¹¹¹² Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 1, 207. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 74.

the mark and sign to something. The hill, ruins, or stones are all concrete objects the Arabs used to see in their travel as landmarks. For instance, Murtaḍā al- Zabīdī pointed out this function during his discussion of the word *al-marqabah*, in which he described the latter as the place where the *raqīb* (tr. watcher, lookout)¹¹¹³ climbs upon to look out for any '*alam* (tr. sign) and *rābiyyah* from afar.¹¹¹⁴ The relation between *al-rābiyyah* with the other two definitions is also visible in Ibn Shumayl's assertion on the second definition of ruin, in which he contended that these ruins are often on the high land, to which resemble the physical character of *al-rābiyyah* that is risen upon the ground.¹¹¹⁵ This quality of being high and towering is what construed these three concrete nouns to embed the general meaning of sign and mark and the contextual meaning of landmark, as it enables them to be perceivable from afar. However, the physical height is not what determines the essence of being a landmark for the stacked-up stones, as Ibn Manẓūr narrated that sometimes, *al-amarah* also means small stones used by the Arabs as landmarks to guide them in the desert.¹¹¹⁶ In this regard, the question of the size, height, material or type of that physical object is irrelevant as the only thing that connects these physical objects of *al-amarah* is their function as landmarks. In this regard, *al-amarah* in the meaning of this concrete noun does not necessarily signal the object itself but also embeds together the functions of those objects, which is a sign and mark for the Arabs.

¹¹¹³ Hans Wehr, 352.

¹¹¹⁴ Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 2, 516.

¹¹¹⁵ Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 210.

¹¹¹⁶ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al- 'Arab*, Vol. 1, 207.

	Meaning 1	Meaning 2	Meaning 3	Meaning 4	Meaning 5
Definitions	Antithesis to prohibition, enjoining goodness, indicating an act of demanding in a superior way, demanding for action	<i>wāḥid min umūr al-nās</i> a singular (term) for one of the human matters/ affairs/ concerns	Governing	Abundance	<i>al-‘alāmah allatī yu‘rafu bihā al-shai’</i> , the sign or mark that helps identify something
Noun sing.		<i>amrun</i> : matters/ affairs/ concern/ situation/ position/ circumstance/ case/ state/ event/ occurrence/ intention			<i>al-amār</i> sign, mark <i>al-amarah</i> tower, stacked up stones/ landmark
Perfective Verb	<i>amara</i> to command		<i>amara/ amira/ amura</i> to govern/ rule	<i>amira</i> To be numerous/ abundant	
Imperfective Verb	<i>ya’muru:</i>		<i>ya’muru</i>	<i>ya’muru</i>	
Verbal Noun sing.	<i>amrun</i> : command/ order		<i>Imrah</i> height/ elevation <i>imārah</i> sovereignty government rule	<i>amrun/ amarah/ imāran</i> blessing, goodness	
Verbal Noun/ Noun pl.	<i>Awāmir</i>	<i>Umūr</i>			<i>al-amārah</i> <i>al-amarāt/ al-amaru</i>
Active Participle	<i>amīr/ dhu al-amr/ āmir</i> the doer/ the one who makes the demand		<i>amīr</i> masc. <i>amīrah</i> fem. Ruler	<i>amirun</i> masc. <i>amiratun</i> fem. blessed person	

	Meaning 1	Meaning 2	Meaning 3	Meaning 4	Meaning 5
Related Derivations	<i>i'tamara</i> receiving/ obeying a command <i>ammārah</i> self-commanding		<i>Ammara</i> To appoint someone <i>ta'ammara</i> to be dominant <i>ista'mara & i'tamara</i> to consult <i>immaru</i> lamb lit. /fool fig.	<i>ammara</i> To make something numerous <i>imrun</i> Wondrous, marvel, odd, unacceptable, abominable	
Context	Religious The command of Allah exemplified in the Qur'ānic verse: [and enjoin (<i>wa'mur</i>) <i>al-salāh</i> (the prayers) on your family] Social Used in a general context	Religious <i>Amr</i> Allah in the Qur'ānic verse: [and He made in each Heaven its affair (<i>amrahā</i>)] Social Ranges from being one's affair, matter, or situation	Social Used only for human context, as evident in the previous discussion of <i>al-</i> <i>imārah</i> from the Islamic legal- political epistemic in Chapter 3	Religious <i>amaraha/ āmaraha</i> <i>Allah fa hiya</i> <i>ma'mūrah/ mu'marah</i> (<i>tr.</i> Allah having granted her (the foal) with many children, so she is <i>ma'mūrah/</i> <i>mu'marah</i>) <i>amarallah mālahu</i> (<i>tr.</i> Allah had multiplied his wealth) Social <i>Amira banū fulān</i> (<i>tr.</i> the tribe so and so had multiplied	Social Used only as an indicator for signs, such as landmarks, signs for something that is going to happen

Table 6.1 Attestation of the Root 'mr and Its Derivations in Islamic-Arabic Lexicography¹¹¹⁷

¹¹¹⁷ A breakdown of the above discussion in this chapter on the attestations of the root 'mr and its derivations in Islamic-Arabic lexicons, 198-219.

6.3 THE ROOT 'MR IN ISLAMIC-ARABIC LEXICONS: AN OVERVIEW

One of the obvious points inferred from the above delineation of the meanings of the Arabic root 'mr in the Islamic-Arabic lexicography is their uncanny similarity with the pre-Islamic Arabs in providing their ranges of meanings to that root. However, unlike the ASA, ANA, and *Jāhili* poetry that have attested differently to some of the meanings of the root and its derivations, the Islamic-Arabic lexicography attested to all of their meanings together in the same place. For instance, the ANA-provided meanings 'to be abundant', 'promise', and 'matter',¹¹¹⁸ or the ASA-provided meaning 'signal station' all corresponding to the Arabic language respectively.¹¹¹⁹ In some ways, the Arabic language functions as the nucleus joining all the separated meanings contained within the previous profiles of pre-Islamic Arabia, including both authoritative and non-authoritative meanings. The former was evident within the Islamic-Arabic lexicon's narration of the meaning 'to command', 'to govern', and 'to rule', while the second meanings were evident in meanings 'matter'/'affairs', 'to be abundant', and 'mark' & 'sign'.

However, bearing the similarity of having the same duality of meanings for the root 'mr, one would assume that the worldview of both profiles in conceiving the root 'mr is also similar, particularly in the notion of authority of the root 'mr. However, that assumption seems far from being the truth. Unlike the pre-Islamic Arab's authoritative conception of the root 'mr that mostly of two polar opposites; the authority of deities (ASA and one ANA-Taymanitic), and the human authority (most ANA-Safaitic), the Arabic lexicon combines both contextual usages within the same root with the aim of a more general usage applicable to both authorities (Allah or human).¹¹²⁰ The Islamic-Arabic lexicography also did not provide lordship titles through the word *mr*' in the same manner as the ASA, Dadanitic, and Nabatean did. Such title in the Islamic-Arabic lexicon culminates through the same root 'mr instead, which is the Qur'ānic *ūlu al-amr* or *amīr*.¹¹²¹ The Islamic-Arabic lexicons also possess three derivations that are non-comparable and

¹¹¹⁸ See Table 5.1 in Chapter 5 of this study, 169.

¹¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹¹²⁰ See Table 6.1 of this chapter, 220-221.

¹¹²¹ Ibid.

unattested within pre-Islamic Arabia, which are the self-commanding (*ammārah*), unaccustomed wonder (*imrun*), and lamb (*al-immaru*).

In a simpler sense, the general similarity of these two semantical profiles lies in them having the duality of meanings for the root *'mr*, authoritative and non-authoritative. The different non-authoritative meanings existed within the ASA, ANA, and *Jāhiliyya* amalgamated together within the non-authoritative meanings within the Islamic-Arabic lexicon profile. Nevertheless, the latter remains unexplainable, particularly in establishing its semantical connection to the authoritative meaning. Similar unexplained situation also remains in the way the human or secular authority represents itself through the word *mr*' within the ASA and non-Safaitic ANA languages in comparison to the ANA-Safaitic, *Jāhiliyya*, and Islamic-Arabic lexicon that have maintained the root *'mr* for the same purposes. On top of that, there is also the differentiation of their worldview in applying the root semantically and connotatively, which classifies into three groups: 1) divine-oriented [ASA and one Taymanitic] 2) human-oriented [mostly Safaitic] 3) both divine and human-oriented [*Jāhiliyya* and Islamic-Arabic lexicons].

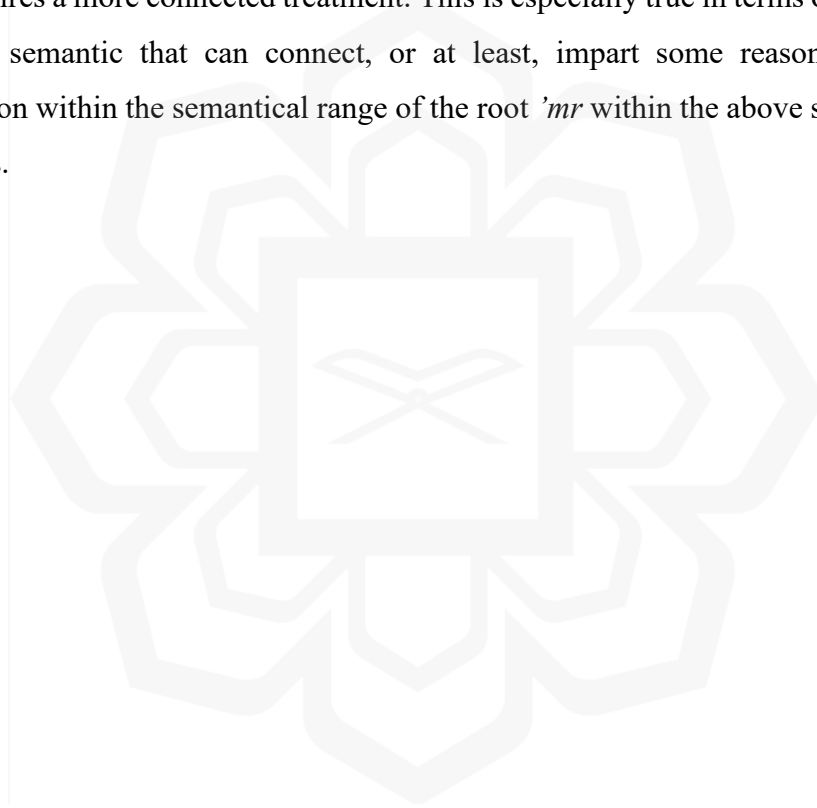
	Meaning 1	Meaning 2	Meaning 3	Meaning 4	Meaning 5
Description	To command, obeying command, self-commanding	Matter, affairs, state of being, event, intention	To govern, to rule, to appoint someone, to be dominant, to consult, too much consult (fool), and lamb	To make abundant/ to be abundant, unaccustomed wonder	Mark, sign, landmark
Authoritative					
Non-authoritative					

Table 6.2 Authoritative and Non-Authoritative Meanings of the Root *'mr* in Islamic-Arabic Lexicography¹¹²²

¹¹²² A breakdown of the above discussions on the authoritative and non-authoritative meanings of the root *'mr* attested in the Islamic-Arabic lexicons, 198-219.

6.4 CONCLUSION

Although the Islamic-Arabic lexicons could have served as the nucleus in connecting other meanings attested in the documentary and literary sources of pre-Islamic Arabia, yet there are still several matters remain unanswered and vague. These matters concern the non-authoritative meanings of the root '*mr*', the secluded usage of the word '*mr*' in portraying secular authority among the ancient South Arabians in comparison to other profiles who only utilize the root '*mr*', as well as the exclusivity of the root '*mr*' that was in either of these two poles; divine or secular context. All the above necessitate a further need of analysis that requires a more connected treatment. This is especially true in terms of establishing the possible semantic that can connect, or at least, impart some reasons explaining the connection within the semantical range of the root '*mr*' within the above seemingly distinct elements.



CHAPTER SEVEN

THE WORLDVIEW OF *AL-IMĀRAH* THROUGH THE ROOT 'MR

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous two chapters have elaborated on how *al-imārah* has subsisted through the root 'mr within two different semantical profiles, the pre-Islamic Arabia and the Islamic-Arabic lexicography. Both profiles bear semblance in terms of providing the same range of both authoritative and non-authoritative meanings of the root but remain different in other particularities. These particularities vary from the existence of various words depicting human authority, such as *mr'*, *amīr*, and *ūli al-amr*, the exclusive usage of the root 'mr in the pre-Islamic Arabia documentary sources that was either solely for the divine or the human contexts, as well as the general usage of the root 'mr depicting both divine and human context in the literary sources (*Jāhiliyya* poetry) and Islamic-Arabic lexicography. In understanding these particularities and how they relate to each other, this chapter aims to first examine the reason for the occurrences of these particularities before constructing the semantical abstraction of the root 'mr shared within these semantic profiles. This semantical abstraction functions as the synthesis of where the particularities of each profile have diverged, which this study argues is the general worldview of this root shared by all examined profiles.

7.2 THE SEMITIC ROOT-PATTERN AND WORD-BASED PARADIGMATIC MORPHOLOGY

The Semitic languages have one feature that differentiates them from their Indo-European counterpart, which is its root-pattern morphology.¹¹²³ With the Arabic language, the most basic unit of the Arabic word is the root or radical, which comprises two, three or (rarely)

¹¹²³ Janet C.E Watson, *The Phonology and Morphology of Arabic...*, 3.

four consonants that project basic semantic abstraction.¹¹²⁴ This unit of consonants then forms certain words through the superimposition of templatic patterns,¹¹²⁵ mostly through vocalism or the insertion of any consonantal affix.¹¹²⁶ Take the root *ktb*, which semantically relates to the notion of writing. Once a vowel sets in, it forms the root into a specific word that now has both morpheme and lexeme values. If the vowels are the unit /a/, the root then becomes *K/a/T/a/B/a* with a pattern of CvCvCv, which carries the lexeme meaning of ‘he wrote’.¹¹²⁷ Now if another vowel is set in along with other variables, such as a consonantal affix, it then carries another templatic pattern. Examples of those are *K/i/T/ā/B* (book) *m/a/K/T/a/B* (desk), or *m/a/K/T/a/B/a* (library). All of those are derived words from the previous root *ktb* with different templatic patterns of CvCvCv, mvCCvC, and mvCCvCv respectively. Although their lexeme meanings also indicate changes, the initial broad semantical meaning of the root *ktb* pertains to the notion of writing remains within those words.

However, as a family of languages that employ nonconcatenative morphology, the question of the validity of the root-pattern morphology that implies the existence of the morpheme base system in their speaker's mental lexicon becomes the most contested issue in linguistic study.¹¹²⁸ A stronger wave of contestation comes with the paradigmatic view that has established the morphology upon the relation between words, to which the root never had any part on it as an autonomous morpheme.¹¹²⁹ Semantically, the criticism of the

¹¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹¹²⁵ Clive Holes, *Modern Arabic: Structures, Functions and Varieties* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2004) 99.

¹¹²⁶ Muayad Abdul Halim Ahmad Shamsan & Abdul Majeed Attayyib, “Inflectional Morphology in Arabic and English: A Contrastive Study”, *International Journal of English Linguistics*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (2015): 140.

¹¹²⁷ Note how a single wording of the Arabic word *kataba* carries two morpheme values of (he + wrote). This is due to the nature of the Arabic language as a non-concatenative language, where it lacks the ability to divide the morpheme. This also explains how a single Arabic word can carry two morpheme values. In a much-detailed explanation, the root *ktb* in *kataba* expresses the semantic notion of ‘writing’, while the vowel /a/ at the end of the word represents the cumulative exponence of a 3rd person singular-masculine. Meanwhile, the pattern CvCvCv signifies the perfective aspect of the verb, hence – the action of the past, while the vocalization of /a/a/a/ indicates that it is in the active voice. See Janet C.E Watson, “Arabic Morphology Inflectional and Derivational”, in *The Cambridge Handbook of Arabic Linguistics*, edited by K.C Ryding & David Wilmsen (Cornwall: Cambridge University Press, 2021) 406.

¹¹²⁸ John J. McCarthy, “A Prosodic Theory of Nonconcatenative Morphology”, *Linguistic Inquiry*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (1981): 373-418. See also Jean-Francois Prunet and et. al, 609-648.

¹¹²⁹ Jacobus A Naudé, “The Consonantal Root in Semitic Languages”, *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (2003): 15-32. Adam Ussishkin, “Semitic Morphology: Root-based or Word-based?”, *Morphology* Vol. 16, No. 1 (2006) 37–40.

latter upon the root-pattern morphology originates in how the root does not possess a concrete relationship with the meanings provided by the words that come from the root. Robert R. Ratcliffe, for example, brings forth an argument from Pierre Larcher that has asserted the generative derivations of the word *maktāb* and *maktabah* from the root *ktb* were both not derived in a precise manner from the latter, but instead from the word *kitāb*. According to him, both *maktab* and *maktabah* are *ism al-makān* (noun of place). The former employs the meaning of where the process of writing is done, while the latter reflects the meaning of where the book is kept.¹¹³⁰ In that sense, a concrete relationship is more evident in their relationship with the word *kitāb* (book) instead of the root itself. These two opposing views have become the most conventional view in linguistics, particularly in the issue of Semitic roots. Although the former may have had its adherents, the ascendancy of the latter was nevertheless inevitable. At this point, this study must establish its position between these two opposing views.

7.3 SEMANTIC ABSTRACTION OF THE SEMITIC ROOT: MULTIPLE VIEWPOINTS

Semantic abstraction in the Arabic root and its relation to the root's derivations is not necessarily a modern issue. Muslim scholars of the past have already discussed it either briefly or in detail. For instance, Sībawayh¹¹³¹ asserted that this is a normative principle among the Arabs.¹¹³² He illustrated this through the phrases *al-hijārah al-razīn* (heavy stones) and *al-mar'ah al-razān* (respectable, polite woman).¹¹³³ Both words share the similarity of having the same root *rzn*, which portrays the semantical notion of 'having to be heavy'. According to him, the former means the heavy rock (literally), whereas the latter

¹¹³⁰ Robert R. Ratcliffe, "Morphology", in *The Oxford Handbook of Arabic Linguistics*, edited by Jonathan Owens (New York: Oxford Press, 2013) 71-91.

¹¹³¹ He is Abū Bishr, 'Amrun b. Uthman b. Qanbar al-Ḥārithī (148-180 AH/ 765-796 CE), popularly known as Sībawayh or Sībawayhi, was a great Basrah grammarian and linguist of Persian origin. His work on grammar and linguistics (*Al-Kitāb tr. The Book*) is considered among the most excellent works that have been ever written under that genre. See al-Ziriklī, Vol. 5, 81. See also Ibn Khallikan, Vol. 3, 464. See also al-Ishbīlī al-Andalusī, Muhammad b. al-Hasan, *Ṭabaqāt al-Nahwīyyin wa al-Lughawīyyin* (n.p: Dār al-Ma'ārif, n.d) 66.

¹¹³² Sībawayh, Abū Bishr 'Amrun b. Uthman, *Al-Kitāb* (Cairo: Maktabah al-Khānjī, 1988) Vol. 2, 102.

¹¹³³ Ibid.

indicates the politeness of the woman that comes from her firmness and staid character (figuratively).¹¹³⁴ Meanwhile, Ibn Jinnī also discussed this principle in his elaboration of *al-Ishtiqaq al-Saghīr* (The Small/ Lesser Derivations).¹¹³⁵ He elaborated this principle through the relation of the meaning of the root *slm* that carries the semantical notion of being safe with its hyperbolic participle *salīm*, which means people who get severely bitten and stung.¹¹³⁶ The latter relates to that notion in terms of how the word *salīm* acts as an invocation for the person (that being stung) ‘*to be safe*’.¹¹³⁷

Another similar contention comes from the Arabic grammarians of the past, who had also discussed this within the issue of tracing the origination of words. Most contention went with nouns being the origin of verbs, an assertion that certainly had not gone uncontested and silent in the past. The grammarians of Basra, for example, postulated nouns as the origin in contrast to their counterpart, the grammarians of Kufa, who argued for the perfective verb as the origin. Both have their proofs and analyses to back their assertions, for which this study will not indulge deeper. It is adequate to point out that the consensus among the Muslim scholars of the past and present is upon the former.¹¹³⁸ These Basra grammarians were also definite enough to categorize the nature of that origination, which is the *maṣḍar* (verbal noun) being the origin of derivations and not simply a noun without any classification.¹¹³⁹ The *maṣḍar* is not the end of that chain of evolution, as most of them agreed that *maṣḍar* itself also has its origin.

Ibn Jinnī is among the ones who touched on the issue of the origin of *al-maṣḍar* in his discussion on *al-aṣl*.¹¹⁴⁰ He specified this within the evolution of the word *nabtun* (*al-aṣl*) – *nabāt* (*maṣḍar*/ verbal noun) - *nabata* (perfective verb). According to him, the word *nabtun* is *al-aṣl* due to its essence of being the *jawhar* (substance),¹¹⁴¹ while the word *nabāt*

¹¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹¹³⁵ For his brief biography, see the footnote in Chapter 1 of this study, 29.

¹¹³⁶ Ibn Jinnī, Vol. 2, 136.

¹¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹¹³⁸ For details of their arguments, see Abū al-Barakāt, Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad, *al-Inṣāf fī Masā’il al-Khilāf Bayn al-Naḥwiyyin: al-Baṣriyyīn wa al-Kūfiyyīn* (n.p: Maktabah al-‘Aṣriyyah, 2004) Vol. 1, 190-196. For the discussion on the verdict proposed by modern linguists on that issue, see ‘Abbas Hassān, *al-Naḥw al-Wāfī* (Miṣr: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, n.d) Vol. 3, 182.

¹¹³⁹ ‘Abbas Hassān, Vol. 3, 182.

¹¹⁴⁰ Ibn Jinnī, Vol. 3, 245.

¹¹⁴¹ Ibid.

derives from it to signal the occurrence and action of being *nabt*.¹¹⁴² Subhī al-Ṣālih defined the term *jawhar* in Ibn Jinnī's assertion here as *al-ism al-'ayn*, which is the thing that one can sense with his five senses.¹¹⁴³ The foreseeable conclusion is also obtainable within most of the classical Arabic lexicon, such as the description of the word *nabtun* as *hashīsh* (*tr.* weeds, herbs) in the earliest Arabic lexicon by al-Khalīl al-Farāhīdī,¹¹⁴⁴ thus indicating its concrete nature.¹¹⁴⁵ He then also went on to describe the word *nabāt* as the *maṣḍar* (verbal noun) that symbolizes the action of being *nabtun*.¹¹⁴⁶ However, Muslim scholars have resorted to the *maṣḍar* as the origin in the issue of tracing the origin of derivations due to the few occurrences delineating examples of straight derivation from *jawhar* or *ism al-'ayn*.¹¹⁴⁷ The view of the majority of Arabic linguists also lies in preventing the act of deriving the derivations straight from *ism al-'ayn* without any concrete reason.¹¹⁴⁸

Nevertheless, both root-pattern-based and word-based morphology would argue that these historical contentions provided by the Muslim scholars of the past support their side theoretically. The former would argue that *al-aṣl* of the derivations is indeed referring to the root itself. On the other hand, Lacker has argued on behalf of the latter that *al-aṣl* from the grammarian perspective does not necessarily refer to the root, but is only a word form perceived to be the base for *al-maṣḍar*.¹¹⁴⁹ In that sense, *al-aṣl* is not a root, but a known word itself. Yet Ibn Jinnī as one of the propagators of the term *al-aṣl* re-stated the relation of that term with the root as well as its influences upon the shared meanings of its derivations. In his example of *slm* before, he asserted that *al-ishtiḳāq al-saghīr* is to take an origin of all supposed origins contained within the derivations (*ta'khudhu aṣlan min al-uṣūl*), where one can see the shared meanings between these derivations, despite of their

¹¹⁴² Ibid.

¹¹⁴³ Subhī al-Ṣālih, *Dirāsāt fī al-Fiḥ al-Lughah* (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm li al-Malāyīn, 2004) 181.

¹¹⁴⁴ For his brief biography, see the footnote in Chapter 6 of this study, 203.

¹¹⁴⁵ al-Farāhīdī, al-Khalīl b. Ahmad, Vol. 4, 180.

¹¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁴⁷ Muḥammad Siddīq Ḥasan Khān, *al-'Ilm al-Khaḍq min al-'Ilm al-Ishtiḳāq* (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyyah, 2012) 29.

¹¹⁴⁸ According to Subhī al-Ṣālih, this is permissible only whenever the *maṣḍar* is unable to derive itself from *jawhar* or *al-ism al-'ayn* due to the condition of the latter that makes it unattainable. 'Abbās Hassan also contributed a fruitful discussion on this issue, where he provided a resolution by the Cairo Academy of Arabic Language (*al-Majma' al-Lughawī al-Qāhirī*), as well as examples and regulations on how to practice and apply this process of extracting derivation straight from *al-jawhar* and *ism al-'ayn*. See Subhī al-Ṣālih, 181. See also the footnote in 'Abbās Hassan, 183-185.

¹¹⁴⁹ Robert R. Ratcliffe, 71-91.

differences in pattern and word formations. This new origin is what he termed as the *tarkīb slm*.¹¹⁵⁰ Note that he used the term *tarkīb* (composition, structure) here to refer to *slm*,¹¹⁵¹ which indicates him to be pointing out the root and not an already constructed word, such as *salima*.

In another place, he used the exact term *al-aṣl* in a specific phrase *al-aṣl min al-uṣūl al-thalāthah*, which translates to “the origin of all origins of three”. According to him, this *al-aṣl min al-uṣūl al-thalāthah* is even related to each other after the *muqallab* process, which is the process of root inversion or permutation.¹¹⁵² Again, the reader would also notice clearly that he was indeed talking about the trilateral root instead of the already established word from that very root. In his examples, he depicted the inversion of the root *jbr, jrb, and bjr*, all of whom project the semantical notion of strength and durability within the word *mujarrab, al-jarāb, al-abjur, al-bajrah*, and many more.¹¹⁵³ One would be able to apprehend a more detailed practical example of this relation between permuted roots within the work of his contemporary, Ibn Fāris and his *Kitāb al-Thalāthah*, which was a work dedicated to tracing the origin or common meaning of certain trilateral roots and their multiple inversions.¹¹⁵⁴

In another critique of the paradigmatic word-based morphology, modern studies in psycho-linguistics also indicate the existence of root within the mental lexicon of Arabic speakers. Boudelaa, for instance, argued for the establishment of the root through the priming experiment, where he managed to prove the relation between roots is more perceivable by the speakers rather than the relation based on semantic and orthographic formation. According to him, the relation through root is still perceivable even if the compared words do not have any semantical relation, such as the word *kitāb* (book) and

¹¹⁵⁰ Ibn Jinnī, Vol. 2, 136.

¹¹⁵¹ For the English translation of the Arabic word *tarkīb* and its range of meanings, see Hans Wehr, 357.

¹¹⁵² Ibid.

¹¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹¹⁵⁴ John A. Haywood contended that both Ibn Jinnī and Ibn Fāris' efforts in tracing the connection between different permutative roots is a linguistic dead end, while Ahmad Rāshid asserted that the modern Arabic linguists find that both claims are in fact, problematic and too arbitrary. For a direct reference of the work, see Ibn Fāris, “*Kitāb al-Thalāthah*”, *Majallat Ma‘had al-Makhtūṭāt al-‘Arabiyyah*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1964): 309-378. For additional notes on Ibn Fāris and *Kitāb al-Thalāthah* and his other works, see John A. Haywood, *Arabic Lexicography*, 98-102. See also ‘Adnan Ahmad Rāshid, “Min Ṣawāhir al-Lughah al-‘Arabiyyah al-Ishtiqāq”, *Majallah al-Fath*, Vol. 58 (2014): 390.

katībat (regiment/ squadron).¹¹⁵⁵ The reason for that is that Arabic speakers still perceive these two as having some basic relationship despite the non-commonality within their semantical aspects.¹¹⁵⁶ Boudelaa viewed that the root functions along with the morphological pattern in aiding the lexical system to acquire, store, and access the linguistic knowledge out there.¹¹⁵⁷ He examined this through the notion of 'causativity'. In Arabic, the morphological pattern that exclusively provides this meaning is *fa''ala* or *af'ala*. Whenever one considers the notion of writing within this causative form, the root then plays its role in providing it through the consonant *ktb*.¹¹⁵⁸ From here the lexical unit then manifests in the form of *kattaba* or *aktaba*. In another instance, a study by Jean-Francois Prunet would even include data from an aphasic patient's metathesis error of a bilingual French-Arabic speaker, which also resulted in affirming Boudelaa's contention before on the existence of the root and pattern order as a lexical unit in the mental lexicon of Arabic speakers.¹¹⁵⁹

Following the arguments above, it is at least agreeable for now to further the discussion upon an assumption that there is inter-connectedness of meanings within the Semitic derivations. The root-pattern morphology may assess this inter-connectedness through an abstraction of the meaning of the root itself, while the paradigmatic word-based morphology may view it through the already established word and lexical unit that projects meanings. Nevertheless, both share the same conclusion regarding the existence of a network of interrelated meanings within Semitic languages. Between these two, this study argues that the former is more accurate in depicting the importance of the root in understanding the interconnectedness of meanings. Both assertions of Ibn Jinnī and Boudelaa are also in tandem with this, at least within the level of the importance of the root along with the pattern in aiding lexical units to organize the linguistical and semantical information in a comprehensive and organized manner.

This hypothesis does not deny the grammarian and Ibn Jinnī's assertions on the existence of *al-aʕl* before *al-maʕdar*, which in the perspective of Lacker may not

¹¹⁵⁵ Sami Boudelaa & William D. Marslen-Wilson, "Discontinuous Morphology in Time: Incremental Masked Priming in Arabic", *Language, Cognition and Neuroscience*, Vol. 20, ½ (2005): 207-260.

¹¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁵⁹ Jean-Francois Prunet and et. al, 610-648.

necessarily be the root itself. But as Ibn Jinnī has elaborated before, he used the same term *al-aṣl* for both *ism al-ʾyn* (the concrete being as the origin of the Arabic derivations) and the root.¹¹⁶⁰ A preferable take upon this is not to view Ibn Jinnī as having contradicted himself but instead to assert him as having defined *al-aṣl* in different levels. The former refers to it being the origin for the meanings of all derivations including *al-maṣḍar*, while the latter is being the origin in the sense of the lexical or linguistic unit that one can store, organize and access to. The latter seems to have attained a more important position than the former, particularly in consideration of its availability and easy accessibility. On the other hand, the former is arguably rare in its existence, as well as it needs a more thorough analysis to discover its relation to the *al-maṣḍar* and the rest of the derivations.

Nevertheless, the preoccupation of the past Islamic scholars with the *ism al-ʾyn* and *al-maṣḍar* as the origin of the Arabic word is also evident among most of the classical Islamic lexicons. For instance, John A. Haywood argued that the reason why modern Arabic lexicography works often begin the first entry of the root with verbs is to standardize the sequences of the root entries,¹¹⁶¹ while the rationale for its classical counterparts in prioritizing the noun first is due to the possibility of some of the nouns being the origin of the verb.¹¹⁶² He adduces an example of this in the discussion of the root *rʾs*, where he points out that the classical Arabic lexicographers often list its noun first, which is *raʾsu* (head) before listing its verb and other derivations.¹¹⁶³ According to him, the word *raʾs* is the primitive noun, a simple noun denoting a common object in the primitive society, where it then later becomes the origin of other derivations to form, such as *raʾasa* (perfective) - *yarʾisu/yarʾasu* (imperfective) - *riʾāsat* (verbal noun), all denoting the meanings related to ‘to be chief (of a tribe)’.¹¹⁶⁴ The root in the lexicography then functions as the lexical unit or symbol that contains the linguistic information of the meanings of the primitive *raʾs* and all of its derivations, enabling one to access it.

¹¹⁶⁰ Ibn Jinnī, Vol. 2, 136 & Vol. 3, 245.

¹¹⁶¹ John A. Haywood & H.M Nahmad, *A New Arabic Grammar of the Written Language* (London: Lund Humphries, 1965) 327.

¹¹⁶² Ibid,

¹¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

In another instance, some lexicographers viewed tracing words to their origin as so important, so much so that they not only list the noun as the first entry but extend beyond to abstract the meaning of the root. This was available within these classical lexicons, like the cited work of Ibn Fāris before, which has attempted to retrace the common meaning between different permutative roots. His other work, *Mu'jam Maqāyīs al-Lughah* also treads upon a quite similar approach; retracing the common meaning of the derivations from the same root.¹¹⁶⁵ To put into some context, Boudelaa's previous assertion on *kitāb* and *katībat* as being related in their root but not semantically¹¹⁶⁶ - is actually contradicting Ibn Fāris's perspective that still perceives the semantical inter-connectedness. According to him, the root *ktb* symbolizes an abstract meaning of gathering, collecting, or combining something into something.¹¹⁶⁷ In this framework, a *kitāb* is the collection of writings or letters, while *katībah* is the bringing together a group of soldiers, the same as the way Arabs used to phrase its plural form on horses; *katā'ib al-khayl*.¹¹⁶⁸ Similarly, in the case of the root *r's* in Haywood's example before, Ibn Fāris asserted that its abstract meaning refers to the act of making something to rally together, to bring together, or elevation.¹¹⁶⁹ All refers to the quality of being the chief, to rally people together and to have a higher position.

In the case of the root '*mr*', the same situation is not observable within the work of Ibn Fāris as he did not provide any abstract meaning in deciphering it. This study will seek to establish the abstract meanings of the root '*mr*' through the previous corpora provided by both pre-Islamic Arabia and Islamic-Arabic lexicography. Unlike the legal-political epistemic that approached the definition of *al-imārah* through one of the meanings of the root of '*mr*' that only relates to the meaning 'to govern',¹¹⁷⁰ this study confers to a much deeper epistemological quest through semantical abstraction of the root '*mr*' provided from all of its authoritative and non-authoritative meanings. The intention is never for a complicated philological discussion, but only to the extent of exploration of the possibility of establishing the semantic abstraction for that root that links its derivation together.

¹¹⁶⁵ Ibn Fāris, *Mu'jam Maqāyīs al-Lughah*, Vol. 1, 3.

¹¹⁶⁶ Sami Boudelaa & William D. Marslen-Wilson, 207-260.

¹¹⁶⁷ Ibn Fāris, *Mu'jam Maqāyīs al-Lughah*, Vol. 5, 158.

¹¹⁶⁸ Ibid, Vol. 5, 159.

¹¹⁶⁹ Ibid, Vol. 2, 471.

¹¹⁷⁰ For modern examples of the politically oriented etymological definition of *al-imārah*, see Bilāl Ibrāhīm Mahmūd, 82. See also Fātimah Ahmad al-Jatlawī, 352.

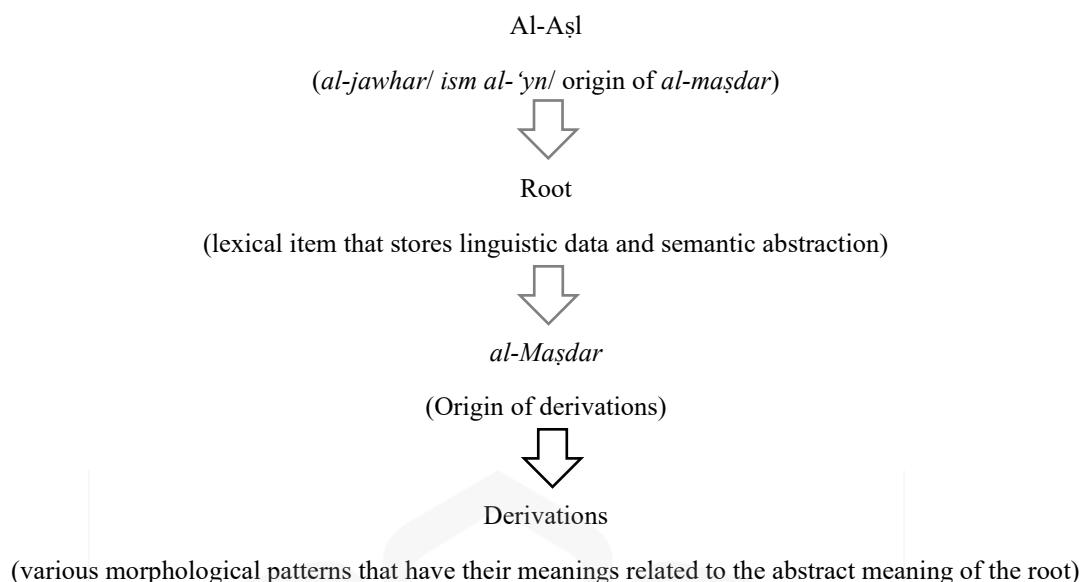


Figure 7.1 The Constructs of the Root Abstraction and Its Components¹¹⁷¹

7.4 CONSTRUCTING THE SEMANTIC ABSTRACTION: CONNECTING 'MR TO AL-AŞL

It is noteworthy to add that the attempt to formulate the semantic abstraction of the root 'mr is not essentially a novel effort. Hamīd al-Zayyān has formulated this before in his abstraction of the Arabic root 'mr, where he has connected four meanings of the root; 'mr for opposition to prohibition, 'mr for one of human matters and affairs, 'mr for abundancy/ blessing, and 'mr for mark and sign.¹¹⁷² Unlike this study that includes the meaning 'to govern' as another category, he included this meaning within the first meaning 'the opposition of prohibition'. He also classified the meaning 'to govern' and its derivations as part of the first meaning structurally and essentially.¹¹⁷³ In his view, the most basic semantic

¹¹⁷¹ Reconstructed from Ibn Jinnī, Vol. 2, 136 & Vol. 3, 245; Sami Boudelaa & William D. Marslen-Wilson, 207-260.

¹¹⁷² Hāmid Zayyān, *Mafhūm al-Amr fī al-Qurʿān al-Karīm* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 2010) 53-58.

¹¹⁷³ Ibid, 53- 55.

abstraction connecting these four meanings is the notion of visibility (*zuhūr*),¹¹⁷⁴ where he traversed through several presuppositions connecting these meanings.¹¹⁷⁵

Zayyān's presuppositions begin with tracing the notion of *zuhūr* through the first meaning of to make abundance (*āmara* and *amira*). From here other meanings will emerge and become visible. For instance, whenever a tribe multiplied (*amira al-qawm*) and had tremendous growth, their affairs (*amrun min umūr al-nās*) would emerge and become visible along with their numbers. The need for governance (*al-imārah*) will soon also emerge due to the appearance and the need to govern these human affairs. The *amrun* as in the meaning of command is then visible through the high and superior status of the one who issued the command upon those who are being commanded to. Even those derivations like *al-i'timār* and *al-isti'mār* that express meaning to consult or *shūra* are due to the visibility of thought among the two parties related to the act. Similarly, meanings related to signs and marks within the root 'mr also connected due to the visibility and emerging nature of those marks and signs, abstract or concrete alike.¹¹⁷⁶

Zayyan's assertion, however, is arguably comprehensive. One thing that highlights this inadequacy is his limited approach that centres upon the Arabic root 'mr without reference to any other Semitic semantical profiles. This is despite the root is indeed a known Semitic root.¹¹⁷⁷ This limited approach may help in formulating the abstract meaning of the root but is nevertheless inadequate in projecting the worldview of the root 'mr etymologically. This does not mean mistakes on his part, but more like the issue of preference of approach in undertaking the study. The discussions from the foregoing have asserted that the Semitic root contains the linguistical and semantical data of the derivations contained within it. Exploring how other Semitic languages perceive and understand the same root helps construct its worldview peculiar to each language/ semantical profile. Embedded within this worldview are the shared meaning, purpose, function, or even particularities occurred among the speaker of each examined language/ semantical profile in understanding and applying that root within their daily lives. In this regard, Zayyan

¹¹⁷⁴ For the translation of *zuhūr*, see Hans Wehr, 584.

¹¹⁷⁵ Hāmid Zayyān, 53-58.

¹¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 59-60.

¹¹⁷⁷ Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament (TDOT), “'āmar”, Vol. 4, 328.

successfully provided the abstraction of the root on his part, but his different approach is nevertheless lacking for comparison to begin with.

Another criticism centres on the way Zayyān has determined the all-origin of the root 'mr, which he asserted to have come from the concrete meaning of landmark and sign.¹¹⁷⁸ His attempt to trace the origin of the root 'mr to a concrete noun is commendable, as he seems aware of the assertions of both classical and modern Islamic philologists on that matter, as well as the modern Western view of connecting the Arabic root to a specific concrete noun that varies in its terminology of *al-aṣl*, *al-jawhar*, *ism al-'yn*, or primitive noun.¹¹⁷⁹ However, identifying the meaning of landmark and sign as the only concrete noun derived from the root 'mr seems lacking as it had neglected another concrete noun-derivation of the Arabic root 'mr, which is *immaru*; a term that may express the concrete meaning of a sheep's lamb or the abstract meaning of a man who is void of his thought and often consult others.¹¹⁸⁰ The reason for his neglect remains unknown as he did not mention this derivation in any of his four meanings at all. This situation is odd enough to perceive, as it is a normative definition provided by Islamic lexicon in discussing the Arabic word *immaru*.¹¹⁸¹

7.4.1 Identifying 'Mark' and 'Sign' as *al-Aṣl* For the Root 'MR

In determining the concrete noun for the root 'mr between both *al-amārah/ al-amarah* (landmark, sign, post) and *al-immaru* (sheep's lamb), it is imperative to firstly understand the essence and development of those two nouns. Discussions from the foregoing have determined that any derivation of the root 'mr that conveys the meaning of signs, marks, or posts has to have included both abstract and concrete contextual usages and meanings.¹¹⁸² In a simpler sense, it encompasses everything that functions as sign and marks, or as

¹¹⁷⁸ Ibid, 59-60.

¹¹⁷⁹ See the previous discussion in this chapter, 227-234.

¹¹⁸⁰ Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 210. See also Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 582. See also Ibn Fāris, *Mu'jam Maqāyis al-Lughah*, Vol. 1, 138. See also Al-Himyari, Vol. 1, 322. See also Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 73.

¹¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹¹⁸² See the previous discussion in Chapter 6 of this study, 216-219.

brilliantly defined by al Jurjānī: "what knowledge obligated from it (*al-amārah*) a conjecture (*ẓann*) of the existence of something".¹¹⁸³ For instance, *al-amārah* as *al-maw'id* refers to it being an abstract sign in the form of an appointed time and date upon something that is happening soon. Similarly, clouds as *al-amārah* serve as a physical sign of the rain that may descend soon. Note here the flexibility of *al-amārah* as a sign, which does not necessarily exist concretely within something solid or perceivable from the ordinary sense, but can remain in something as abstract as *al-maw'id* or physically in the form of clouds as the sign for rain. This understanding here also suits al-Kisā'ī's definition of *al-amārah* in the previous points of this chapter.¹¹⁸⁴

On the other hand, the derivation *al-amarah* and its plural form of *al-amaru* are likely to be more suitable to project concrete nouns. This is evident in their definitions provided by lexicographers in the previous discussion, where it has multiple concrete contextual usages ranging from hill (*rabiyyah*) to ruins of previous civilizations and to stacked-up stones (*al-ḥijārah al-manḍudah*).¹¹⁸⁵ Nonetheless, the concrete nature of *al-amarah* here does not conform to one single object but varies following these three objects. It is therefore entailing indefiniteness, as the *rabiyyah* (hill) is likely to become *al-amarah* as well the ruins and the stacked-up stones could too. As this study has concluded before, all three objects only share one single definition, which is their function of being landmarks for the Arabs.¹¹⁸⁶ Hence, *al-amārah* in the meaning of these three objects is still not a 'concrete noun' per se but is used as a symbol to denote their similar functions of being the landmark for the Arabs in navigating their ways in the desert. In some ways, *al-amarah* remains an abstract designation of landmark expressed through concrete nouns.

This study views the usage of the abstract meaning of marks and signs within concrete nouns as actually a continuation of pre-Islamic Arabia's understanding. This refers to the previous discussion in Chapter 5, where the epigraphic evidence pointed to how those

¹¹⁸³ Al-Jurjānī, 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Zayn al-Sharīf, Kitāb al-Ta'rīfāt (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1983) 36.

¹¹⁸⁴ Al-Kisā'ī defined it as *al-'alāmah allatī yu'rafu bihā al-shai'*, which translates to sign or mark that helps identify something. See Abū 'Ubayd, Vol. 5, 75. See also Chapter 6 of this study, 217.

¹¹⁸⁵ See Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 210. See also Al-Fayrūzabādī, 344. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 74. See also al-Farāhidī, Vol. 2, 94. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 208. See also al-Himyarī, Vol. 1, 320.

¹¹⁸⁶ See the previous discussion in Chapter 6 of this study, 216-219.

pre-Islamic Arabs used to inscribe elements indicating the omens and signs from their deities. One epigraphic evidence shows how they inscribe the root *'mr* to express the general meaning of the divine sign, such as in RES 4830/1.-4., where it says; [*'mr 'lmqh*], which translates to ‘divine sign of *'lmqh*’ (their deity).¹¹⁸⁷ In the CSAI's translation of MNAO 10326, it shows an invocation of a person asking a deity to grant him *'mr* (*tr.* an oracular vision), which is perhaps in the form of a visible sign and omen.¹¹⁸⁸ Meanwhile, CIAS 39/11 portrays the word *'mr* in a more particular way. It became a command of their deity as well as a divine sign or omen for the oracle in instructing a woman and his daughter to erect a statue as a penance for their fault.¹¹⁸⁹

The same divine sign for penance was also evident in the Haram 10/ CIH 547.¹¹⁹⁰ In a detailed discussion around the inscription, De Blois asserted that the authors of this inscription were the two clans of *'mrm/ 'Amīrum* and *'ttr/ 'Aththaru*, which had confessed for their negligence of a ritual duty to their deity *Hlfn/ Halfān*. Due to their negligence, they believed the latter had been withholding rain for two months. Their wary led them to confess as a penance. What is interesting is in terms of how they ended their inscription, to which it used the same root *'mr*, where it says; ‘*'mr/ Hlfn*’. De Blois translated this phrase as ‘this confession took place by the command of *Hlfn* (their deity)’.¹¹⁹¹ In another translation, the word *'mr* in the inscription means ‘this confession took place by the divine sign of *Hlfn*’, possibly referring to the withheld rain as the divine sign.¹¹⁹² The absence of rain here could reflect the concreteness of this particular omen. In many other cases, these

¹¹⁸⁷ Sabäische Wörterbuch, “RES 4830/1.-4” <<http://sabaweb.uni-jena.de/SabaWeb/Suche/Suche/SearchResultDetail?idxLemma=2289&showAll=0>> (accessed on 10 February 2024).

¹¹⁸⁸ DASI, CSAI, “MNAO 10326”, <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=480086167&recId=7420&mark=07420%2C005%2C007>> (accessed on 10 February 2024).

¹¹⁸⁹ DASI, CSAI, “CIAS 39.11”, <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=480086167&recId=5904&mark=05904%2C014%2C008>> (accessed on 10 February 2024).

¹¹⁹⁰ DASI, CSAI, “Haram 10/ CIH 547”, <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=480086167&recId=4018&mark=04018%2C016%2C001>> (accessed on 10 February 2024).

¹¹⁹¹ François de Blois, “*Qur’ān 9:37 and CIH 547*”, Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies: Papers from the Thirty-Seventh Meeting of the Seminar for Arabian Studies, Vol. 34, 17-19 July 2003 (2004): 101-104.

¹¹⁹² Sabäische Wörterbuch, “CIH 547/15.-16.” <<http://sabaweb.uni-jena.de/SabaWeb/Suche/Suche/SearchResultDetail?idxLemma=2289&showAll=0>> (accessed on 10 February 2024).

pre-Islamic Arabs regarded the divine signs as so important, so much so that they guided them even in constructing buildings. Sawdā' 97 A shows how two members of the *Bqln/Bāqīlān* clan built and completed a tomb in two halves following the sign of their deity.¹¹⁹³

All these examples above indicate the religious importance of the 'signs and omens' from their deities upon the life of those pre-Islamic Arabs, which they were so dependent upon as if those were instructions or assurance for them to perform something. These signs and omens came in two forms, namely the assumption of a physical omen from their deity that had withheld upon them the rain, and any signs that the deities provided through 'oracle'. Both, however, did not possess any dominancy upon the other, hence signaling the uncertainty of the root 'mr as to whether to reflect concrete or abstract objects. Hoyland has elaborated on this in details in his discussion on the art of divination among the pre-Islamic Arabs.¹¹⁹⁴ According to him, an oracle is a 'place' or an 'instrument of asking'. The deities are believed to have answered them in several ways, such as making them see a vision (oracular vision in MNAO 10326), direct speaking, dreams, or human medium. On the other hand, they understand the omens through the observation of animals and their movements and what Hoyland termed heavenly bodies, probably referring to the stars, planets and their movements. All of these are observed within a belief that higher or divine forces are in reality 'governing' them in providing omens.¹¹⁹⁵ It is through here that other physical usage of the word entered, such as the word 'wmr (signal-station) in the ASA, resembling the previous Classical Arabic usage of *amarah* (landmark).¹¹⁹⁶

Following the previous representations of 'mr in both pre-Islamic Arabia and Classical Arabic, one could see that the notion of marks and signs in the root 'mr both

¹¹⁹³ Sabäische Wörterbuch, "Sawdā' 97 A." <<http://sabaweb.uni-jena.de/SabaWeb/Suche/Suche/SearchResultDetail?idxLemma=2289&showAll=0>> (accessed on 10 February 2024).

¹¹⁹⁴ Robert G. Hoyland, 153-157.

¹¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁹⁶ W.F. Jamme, "JA 576", in *Sabaeen Inscriptions from Mahram Bilqis*, 315. See also CSAI, "Ja 576+Ja 577," *DASI* <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=78921948&recId=9044&mark=09044%2C013%2C026>> (accessed on 20 April 2024). See also Sabäische Wörterbuch, "'wmr" <<http://sabaweb.uni-jena.de/SabaWeb/Suche/Suche/SearchResultDetail?idxLemma=2622&showAll=0>> (accessed on 20 April 2024). See also Norbert Nebes, "Sabäische Texte", in *Staatsverträge, Herrscherinschriften und andere Dokumente zur politischen Geschichte*, edited by Francis Breyer & Michael Lichtenstein (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2005) 349.

reflects abstract and concrete usages. If the root *'mr* and its meaning of mark and sign are used upon any concrete object, it is not to express the concreteness of the meaning of mark and sign but instead actually referring to the content of the sign, its usage and what it is leading to. It is probable from these examples that the Arabs understood *al-amarah* in this framework, which is not to express the concrete nature of where the sign has appeared, but the function of those concrete nouns as conjectures to the existence of something or the direction to somewhere in the form of landmarks. In this regard, *al-amārah* and its plural form *al-amār*, or *al-amarah* and its plural form *al-amaru* were never concrete in the first place and have remained abstract, probably since its earliest inception as mark and sign through the word *'mr* in Arabia of antiquities.

7.4.2 Detemining '*Immaru*' as *al-Aṣl* for the Root '*MR*

The foregoing discussion has elaborated on the development of the derivations of the root *'mr* that specifically express meanings related to the notion of mark and sign, particularly in terms of its semantical evolution from abstract to concrete meanings. At this point, it is important to understand the development of another presumable concrete noun of the root *'mr* attested within those examined profiles before, which is the Arabic word *immaru* and its feminine counterpart; *immaratu*. Both *immaru* and *immaratu* may project the meaning of a foolish person who often follows others and is void of his own thoughts.¹¹⁹⁷ It is, however, figurative in its expression and meaning. This is in contrast to its concrete meanings, which often translates to *waladu al-ḍa'nu* (lamb), *khurūf* (male lamb), or *rikhlu* (female lamb) respectively.¹¹⁹⁸ In comparison to the previous derivations of marks and signs, the concrete meanings for both derivations here are so precise and do not vary in terms of the concrete object they represent. The variation only exists within the gender of the object, *khurūf* for *immaru* and *rikhlu* for *immaratu*. In general, all of them symbolize

¹¹⁹⁷ Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 210. See also Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 582. See also Ibn Fāris, *Mu'jam Maqāyis al-Lughah*, Vol. 1, 138. See also Al-Himyari, Vol. 1, 322. See also Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 73.

¹¹⁹⁸ Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 209 & 210. See also Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 582. See also Ibn Fāris, *Mu'jam Maqāyis al-Lughah*, Vol. 1, 138. See also Al-Himyari, Vol. 1, 322. See also Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 73.

the meaning of a 'young sheep'. This alone is more than enough to help affirm the concreteness of the word *immaru*.

As *al-aṣl* within the framework of grammarian has assumed the position as the origin of an Arabic word, it has to be theoretically a concrete thing (*jawhar/ ism al-ʿyn*) that one can perceive through his physical senses, and not an *ism al-maʿāni* that is non-physical and exist within the mental ideas.¹¹⁹⁹ Acknowledging the literal sense of *immaru* should suggest that the root *ʿmr* could have originated from the Arab's possession of goat and sheep since it is the only remaining possibility of the concrete nouns for the root. This is especially true after the previous removal of *al-amarah* and *al-amārah* which have symbolized the meaning of mark and sign. Although it seems a far-fetched rationale, it is nevertheless a coherent hypothesis following the previous Arabic grammarian's framework. The only question that remains is the ways in which this word can relate to the various contextual usages of the root *ʿmr* provided in both pre-Islamic and Islamic-Arabic lexicography. Furthermore, between all semantical profiles of the root (ASA, ANA, *Jāhiliyya* poetry, and Islamic-Arabic lexicon), the word *immaru* is only attested in the Islamic-Arabic lexicography. An early hypothesis should suggest that *immaru* is an Islamic-Arabic invention, hence explaining its absence within the other three profiles. If that is the case, it negates the possibility of comparison.

It is then perhaps in the best interest to trace the origin of this word within other ancient Semitic languages. One of the reasons for that is to determine the possibility of *immaru* as Islamic-Arabic origin or in fact, a Semitic word of antiquity. Accessing this word within the dictionaries of Semitic languages, however, favors the second possibility. We have mentioned previously on the proto-Semitic nature of the word *immaru* and its meaning that is related to lamb as attested by Militarev and Kogan in their SED before in the Chapter 1 of this study.¹²⁰⁰ Apart from those two, Sulaymān al-Dhīb in his *al-Muʿjam al-Mufradāt al-Arāmiyyah al-Qadimah* also has testified to this, where he listed *immaru* in its concrete meaning of lamb as to have been also attested within Phoenician, Punic, Hebrew Bible, Aramaic, Ugaritic, Palmyrene-Aramaic, Syriac, and even as early as the

¹¹⁹⁹ See Ibn Jinnī, Vol. 3, 245. See also Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, 181.

¹²⁰⁰ Alexander Militarev & Leonid Kogan, *Semitic Etymological Dictionary: Animal Names*, 7-9. See also Chapter 1 of this study, 18-19.

Akkadian.¹²⁰¹ His preferred source, the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary included this word as to have come earlier within the various Akkadian dialects from the Old Assyrian and the Old Babylonian period,¹²⁰² both of whom spanned from second to first millennium B.C.¹²⁰³ The way in which it was attested, however, varied in terms of its root formation and pronunciations, ranging from Akkadian (Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian) *immeru*, the Palmyrene-Aramaic *'mry*, Syriac *'mra*, or a mere consonantal form *'mr*.¹²⁰⁴ Unlike al-Dhīb who merely mentioned the appearances of this word in various Semitic languages without any contextual or connotative examples, a search within the CAD shows the diversity of its connotations and contexts in its concrete meaning of Akkadian *immeru*, and that is as early as it was understood within the Akkadian dialects. It ranges from two connotations: religious-cultic to literal.

The former connotation reflected *immeru* as being the sacrificial sheep or lamb for offerings or divinations, while the latter was more towards its usage as the literal word for sheep, lamb, ram, or mountain sheep. Contextually, the former has a range of semantical meanings that reflected *immeru* within two contexts, either of it being used for sacrificial offerings or divination process in revealing and making visible the omens of their purported deities and divine beings.¹²⁰⁵ On the other hand, the latter was contextually visible in three aspects: the literary texts that reflected *immeru* being the concrete word for lamb and sheep, the economic texts documenting the trading process of *immeru*, and the shepherding process; ranging from the aspects of its age (young sheep), size and fattening process, provenance (classification of sheep based on its origin), or its personal characteristics (perfect horns or hooves).¹²⁰⁶ Myriad appearances and documentation of this word within broad semantical ranges in ancient Semitic languages seem to suggest that it is indeed a Semitic word of antiquity and not exclusive to Arabic language.

¹²⁰¹ Sulaiman b. Abd Rahman al-Dhīb, *al-Mu'jam al-Mufradāt al-Arāmiyyah...*, 35.

¹²⁰² The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (CAD), *immeru*, edited by A. Leo Oppenheim (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2004) Vol. 7, 129.

¹²⁰³ Richard Caplice, *Introduction to Akkadian* (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2002) 4.

¹²⁰⁴ Sulaiman b. Abd Rahman al-Dhīb, *al-Mu'jam al-Mufradāt al-Arāmiyyah...*, 35.

¹²⁰⁵ CAD, *immeru*, Vol. 7, 130.

¹²⁰⁶ Ibid, Vol. 7, 129-133.

7.4.3 *Immaru* and Divination: The Sacred Nature of the Root 'MR

One of the most intriguing things to observe within the usage of the root 'mr in pre-Islamic Arabia is how that root has different authoritative contexts within the three profiles of ASA, ANA, and *Jāhiliyya* poetry. Among these three, the propensity of using the root 'mr to express only the divine authority within the ASA inscriptions and one attested in ANA-Taymanitic surely has raised some questions, particularly upon the rationale behind that distinctive measure.¹²⁰⁷ Within their usage, the root 'mr became exclusive to divinities, contrasting how the ANA-Safaitic inscriptions and the *Jāhiliyya* profiles that were also including the secular usage of the root.¹²⁰⁸ In some ways, the ASA's authoritative usage of that root became too culturally specific to be even grouped with the other three profiles. In exploring this tendency, this study argues that forwarding the word *immaru* as *al-aṣl* could help delineate the divination tendency of the root 'mr in the ASA inscriptions, at least in its historical usage as provided through the religious-cultic function of this word within the Akkadian contexts before.

With the absence of *immaru* from the ASA inscription, the closest usage of that word is of course within the Arabic language itself. However, the latter did not offer much in its context, as the Arabic *immaru* was more towards revealing two meanings; figuratively for a fool who is void of his own thought and too much-consulting others, or the literal meaning of lamb. The plain relation of the word with the religious or cultic tendency is perhaps more evident in other sources closest to ASA, which is found in the North-West Semitic compendium of Hebrew-Bible tradition.¹²⁰⁹ The Hebrew word *immār* in the Old Testament appeared on three occasions to reflect meanings related to offerings and sacrifices.¹²¹⁰ In Ezra, the word appeared not only to reflect the concrete meaning of lamb but also to indicate the connotative function of this lamb as the sacrificial animal for

¹²⁰⁷ See Table 5.3 in Chapter 5 of this study, 192.

¹²⁰⁸ For the discussion on the differences between these four profiles' connotative usage of the root 'mr, see Table 5.3 in Chapter 5 of this study, 192.

¹²⁰⁹ Biblical-Hebrew is part of the Northwest Semitic languages under the sub-group Canaanite. See Gary A. Rendsburg, "Ancient Hebrew Phonology", in *Phonologies of Asia and Africa*, edited by Alan S. Kaye (Indiana: Eisebrauns, 1997) 65. For reference of Semitic languages family tree, see Figure 5.1 in Chapter 5 of this study, 150.

¹²¹⁰ William Gesenius, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, translated from Germany by Edward Robinson and edited by Francis Brown and et al. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1939), 1081.

¹²¹⁰ Ezra 6: 9, 17 & 7: 17.

offerings.¹²¹¹ The contexts of these three verses were all about the decree of two Persian kings, Darius I (Ezra 6: 9 & 17) and Artaxerxes I (Ezra 7: 17) in helping the Israel exiles of their time in rebuilding their temple in Jerusalem, to the extent of even supporting the expenses of the sacrificial animals including the *immār* (sacrificial lamb).¹²¹² The purpose of these two sacrifices was for purification offering in rebuilding their temple.¹²¹³

Delving into much more ancient texts would perhaps provide a deeper relation of how a mere lamb had functioned within the sacrificial rites of antiquity. One of the most relatable texts is the Babylonian *šumma immeru* texts, which provide the function of *immeru* as the lamb used in the divination process specifically for interpreting the omens from deities.¹²¹⁴ The phrase *šumma immeru* translates to "if the lamb", which Yoram Cohen argued indicates the behaviours of the lamb in giving omens and signs. These behaviours include the condition of the animal after slaughtering, including its position, the flow and the colour of its blood, and the observation of its body parts.¹²¹⁵ Similar to other form of omens within the convoluted Mesopotamian divination history, the formulation of the *šumma immeru* omens also comprises two parts; the protasis (observation and description of the object), and the apodosis (prediction of the observed object through positive or negative readings).¹²¹⁶ In some ways, the Babylonian usage of *immeru* in this function seems to have at least explained the divinatory function of the root *'mr*, if not the whole process of *'mr* in pre-Islamic Arabia, particularly within the ASA contexts.

Although it is still unclear how the connection of this Babylonian usage of the word *immaru* upon that divination of *'mr* within the ancient South Arabian culture, revealing the

¹²¹¹ Ezra 6: 9, 17 & 7: 17.

¹²¹² For further discussion on Darius I and Artaxerxes I and their good gesture towards Judean in rebuilding their temple, see for example, P. Gerart Damsteegt, "The Contributions of Cyrus, Darius I, and Artaxerxes I to the Decree to Restore and Build Jerusalem", *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society*, Vol. 31, No. 1-2 (2020): 155-174. See also Nelci Nafalia Ndolu & Ezra Tari, Religious Tolerance Based on Ezra 5-6, *Biblical Theology Bulletin*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (2020): 77-82. For further discussion on Artaxerxes I, see Lisbeth S. Fried, The Artaxerxes Correspondence of Ezra 4, Nehemiah's Wall, and Persian Provincial Administration, in *Go Out and Study the Land' (Judges 18:2): Archaeological, Historical and Textual Studies in Honor of Hanan Eshel*, edited by Aren M. Maeir (Leiden: Brill, 2012) 35-57.

¹²¹³ Roy E. Gane, "Sacrifice and the Old Testament," in *St Andrews Encyclopaedia of Theology*, edited by Brendan N. Wolfe et al., <[https://www.saet.ac.uk/Christianity/Sacrifice and the Old Testament](https://www.saet.ac.uk/Christianity/Sacrifice%20and%20the%20Old%20Testament)> (accessed on 2 June 2024), 43.

¹²¹⁴ Yoram Cohen, *The Babylonian šumma immeru Omens: Transmissions, Reception and Text Production* (Munster: Zaphon, 2020) xv.

¹²¹⁵ Ibid.

¹²¹⁶ Ibid.

relation of the word to divination practices in obtaining signs and omens could have at least provided a possibility of the evolution of these cultic functions within the Semitic speakers in the past. This is particularly true if one were to adopt the Classical Arabic lexicon approach in determining *immaru* as being part of the the root 'mr. Nevertheless, the net effect of divination upon the ancient South Arabian's usage of the root 'mr is so prominent, so much so that one of the derivations of the root 'mr indicating the meaning 'to consult' is also contextually applicable within this divinatory sphere. The previous example within Ma'īn 116, for instance, had attested the word *y'mr* to portray the bestowal of agreement and satisfaction of his deity 'ttr d-[Qbd] for his journey to the north, where interestingly enough, purportedly attained through offering.¹²¹⁷ It is uncertain, however, to assume that the author in Ma'īn 116 could have indeed offered *immaru*/ lamb to their deities with regards to this, but it is nevertheless clear that he resorted to 'offering' as an intermediary to obtain the said sign, satisfaction and omen from his pagan deities.

However, one would still question the reason for the existence of ASA inscription indicating that the root 'mr was also contextually used by human, depicted before in the previous two Hadramitic inscriptions on 'mr as the command of their *mkrb* (*mukarrib*).¹²¹⁸ In answering this question, one needs to identify the *mkrb* position within the social hierarchy of ancient South Arabian society. As this study has indicated before in Chapter 4, Jawad Ali argued that *mkrb* is the earliest title used by the rulers in the early development of South Arabian states i.e. Saba'.¹²¹⁹ According to him, the title is upon the root *qrb* (*muqarrib*), which means near to God, a religious title that displays its importance as the mediator between God and their community.¹²²⁰ Regardless of the etymological debates on this term (either *qrb* or *krb*), it is undeniable that the one who held this title was important for the regal function in the first millennium BCE.¹²²¹

Alessandra Avanzini also asserted that *mkrb* has many important functions; declaring wars, managing public works, as well as cultic duties of possessing a special

¹²¹⁷ For detail discussion, see Mounir Arbach & Mohamed Maraqtan, 251-256. See also the previous discussion in Chapter 5 of this study, 156-157.

¹²¹⁸ See the previous discussion on the 'mr of *mukarrib* in Chapter 5 of this study, 153-154.

¹²¹⁹ See the footnote in Chapter 4 of this study, 126. See also Jawad Ali, Vol. 3, 286.

¹²²⁰ Jawad Ali, Vol. 3, 286.

¹²²¹ Alessandra Avanzini, *By Land and By Sea: a History of South Arabia before Islam Recounted from Inscriptions* (n.p: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2016) 81.

relationship with their deities, which enables him to perform rituals exclusive only to him.¹²²² In this sense, it is expected to hypothesize that the command of a *mkrb* is not secular in nature but embedded with religious and cultic weight. In the case of the one single ANA-Taymanitic inscription, the author of that inscription also had infused the divine element within his contextual usage of '*mr*' in the phrase '*mr Ṣlm* (command of *Ṣlm* [a Taymanitic deity]).¹²²³ Although it did not offer much in terms of how it can relate to the divination process, it has at least agreed to the divine context of the root '*mr*' similar to how the ASA had utilized it. Yet not much is known apart from this single and restricted information.

Since the root '*mr*' was exclusive for portraying the authoritative meanings related to religious-cultic divination practices, the ASA seems to have portrayed the secular-human authority through another word from another root, which is *mr'*. It is important to firstly note, however, that the demarcation of contexts between these two terms '*mr*' and *mr'*' in the ASA is not clear as the latter's context also applicable to their deities. However, the root '*mr*' is fully exclusive to divine authority while the word *mr'*' is usable in both contexts with a greater degree of inclination towards human overlordship. Evidence in Minaic inscriptions pointed to this proclivity clearly, where all attested inscriptions use this word within the human context.¹²²⁴ Interestingly, this study has elaborated before on how Jawad Ali has contended that the word *mr'*' is the representation of *al-imārah* in the ASA languages.¹²²⁵ Its plural form of '*mr'*' resembles the Arabic form *umarā'*' consonantly and seems to suggest the truth within Jawad's assertion. However, if his assertion is true, it entails another query on the reason for their distinctive functions respectively.

Apart from Dadanitic, most of the ANA scripts that had attested to this word (Taymanitic & Nabataean) were also inclined to use it within the meanings of human overlordship. The discussions from the foregoing have concluded that there are indeed some forms of influences from Aramaic upon this word through its cognate *mārē*.¹²²⁶

¹²²² Ibid.

¹²²³ See *Taymā' II*, 205.

¹²²⁴ CSAI, "mr' (Minaic)", *DASI* <https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=32&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=830795011&wl_group=17&wl_subgroup=51> (accessed on 15 January 2022).

¹²²⁵ See Chapter 1 of this study, 1-4. See also Jawad Ali, Vol. 9, 219.

¹²²⁶ See Chapter 5 of this study, 159-160.

Outside Aramaic, however, the Akkadian of the Standard Babylonian era also has its own cognate that resembles both ANA and ASA *mr'*, which was in the form of *mār banī*, (*tr.* nobilities).¹²²⁷ Similar to *immaru* and the root '*mr*', the word *mr'* also seems to be a well-known Semitic word that has existed far longer throughout history. Within this semantical range, the usage is then more contextually similar to its authoritative contexts and usages within the ASA, Dadanitic, Taymanitic, and Nabatean. Speculatively for now, there are two possibilities for the word *mr'*. The first one suggests the word as a derivation of the root '*mr*' itself, where it became a non-exclusive form to symbolize the authoritative title usable for both divine and human overlord. The differentiation could perhaps happen in the attempt to specialize the root '*mr*' only for the divination process.

Another possibility conjures that they are of two different Semitic roots. The reason is twofold. Firstly, the exclusive divination nature of the root '*mr*' in the ASA suggests for a specific cultural inclination within the usage of that root, hence removing any non-divine context of that word or its derivations. The second reason, however, relates to the word *mr'* that has been attested within other Semitic languages for the non-religious, secular-human contexts. An early establishment of this root within that specific context cemented the fact that it is known for that function, thus removing the possibility of it being the derivation of the root '*mr*'. Regardless of either possibility, both of them suggest a separation between the root '*mr*' and *mr'*'. These two arguments above, however, would only suggest the existence of differentiation between these two roots and nevertheless are still inadequate in rendering any definite answers with regards to its relation to the Semitic root '*mr*' examined in those two profiles before, not to mention its relation to *al-imārah* as Jawad Ali has pointed out.

7.4.4 *Immaru* and Shepherding: The Secular Nature of the Root '*MR*'

The divination sphere of the root '*mr*' seems to not have attained any secure position within the other northern counterparts of the ASA. The latter instead have inclined more towards

¹²²⁷ CAD, *mār bani*, Vol. 10, 256.

the secular context in applying this root. Such attestations were evident in the previous one Dadano-Arabic inscription and multiple Safaitic inscriptions, all of which correspond more towards the meanings inclusive to the human overlord of *amīr*, appointing someone, controlling (govern), and making abundance of pastoral animals.¹²²⁸ This stark contrast has at least necessitated the need to identify the reason for their secular usages, especially in comparison to the contrasting images provided by the ASA in utilizing the same root.

Following the same established theory on *al-aṣl* through the word *immaru*, this study seeks to unravel another background for the root *'mr* other than the previously discussed divination context. The foregoing discussion has elaborated the semantical ranges of the Akkadian word *immaru* into two connotations: religious-cultic and literal. In contrast to the divination context embedded within the former religious-cultic connotation, the literal connotation brings forth the secular contexts of *immaru*; which are literary, economical trading of *immaru*, as well as the shepherding activities, particularly in how the word is used in defining the age, the size, and the quality of the sheep.¹²²⁹ In Safaitic, the third context of shepherding or general animal-rearing is the most clearly visible context within their usage of the root *'mr*. This study views that the most possible examples lie in the previous two Safaitic meanings of that root, which are *'to control'* and *'to make abundance'* of the herd.

However, it is necessary to point out that Jallad has argued that the Safaitic root *'mr* better accords with the most basic semantical range of Semitic language of *'to know'*, or *'to make know'*.¹²³⁰ According to him, the notion of making something known in the Safaitic root *'mr* is through the sense of the meaning *'to be widespread'* and *'to be manifest'*, which also reflects the Arabic *amira* and *āmara* *'to multiply'* or *'to make it many'*.¹²³¹ His takes here probably refer to the previous examples on the phrase *t'mr/ h-s²hš* (HaNSB 158, KRS 995, KRS 1102).¹²³² Previously in Chapter 5 of this study, we have provided translation from Harahshah upon that phrase as *'to make abundance/ to multiply*

¹²²⁸ See the previous discussion in Chapter 5 of this study, 154-156 & 166-167.

¹²²⁹ CAD, *immaru*, Vol. 7, 130.

¹²³⁰ Ahmad al-Jallad, *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions...*, 300.

¹²³¹ Ibid.

¹²³² The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Safaitic Inscriptions: Preliminary Edition*, 4462, 6526, 6561.

the fat sheep'.¹²³³ Harahshah's translation of $s^2h\dot{s}$ here is due to how the Arabic lexicon often indicates *shaḥṣu* as a fat sheep that does not have milk and not pregnant,¹²³⁴ probably serves the herder for its meat or wool. Jallad, however, asserted the phrase to relay the meaning of 'the widespread of dearth'.¹²³⁵ Both translations from Harahshah and Jallad relay the basic meaning of Semitic *'mr* 'to know' or 'to make know' by the virtue of visibility through increasing quantity, scale, or size. They differ, however, in terms of how they expressed the increase. Unlike Harahshah who translates the phrase as to make abundance of fat sheep, Jallad translated it as the widespread of dearth *vis.* the abundance of dearth.¹²³⁶

According to Jallad, he agreed with the word $s^2h\dot{s}$ to relate to the Arabic *shaḥṣu* (*tr.* ewe that does not have milk) as attested in the Safaitic inscription KRS 761 ($s^2h\dot{s}$ *'bl tr.* camels that do not have milk), but it should be understood in that sense when there is a clear indication of its usage upon the animal.¹²³⁷ Whenever the context was much more general, like in the KRS 6 ($s^1lm/ w\dot{g}nyt/ l-\dot{d}s^2h\dot{s}/ tr.$ grant security and freedom for whoever is in $s^2h\dot{s}$), it became seemingly absurd then to limit the meaning only to that animal context.¹²³⁸ Instead, the translation 'grant security and freedom for whoever is in need or scarcity) is much more suitable here.¹²³⁹ Jallad's assertion seems to have also followed other inscriptions that are reverberating the same theme for the word *t'mr*. In RWQ 340, the root *t'mr* is attested within a phrase $t'mr/ ms^2't$, which is also similar in its translation to the previous phrase $t'mr/ s^1h\dot{s}$ before (the widespread of need).¹²⁴⁰ Unlike the word $s^2h\dot{s}$, however, the word $ms^2't$ has its equal cognate in Arabic (*mashī'at*), which clearly translates to 'need' and 'want'.¹²⁴¹ Similarly, Al-Mafraq Museum 14 also has attested the word *t'mr*

¹²³³ Rafe Harahshah, *Nuqūsh Safaiyyah min al-Bādiyah...*, 89. See also the previous discussion in Chapter 5 of this study, 166-167.

¹²³⁴ Ibn Sīdah, *al-Muḥkam wa al-Muḥīṭ al-A'ẓam*, Vol. 3, 100.

¹²³⁵ Ahmad al-Jallad, *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic...*, 344. See also Ahmad al-Jallad & Karolina Jaworska, *A Dictionary of Safaitic...*, 125.

¹²³⁶ Ahmad al-Jallad, *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic...*, 344.

¹²³⁷ Ibid.

¹²³⁸ Ibid.

¹²³⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁴⁰ The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Safaitic...*, 8263.

¹²⁴¹ See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 7, 251.

with the same theme, but towards defining the widespread of hard times (*t'mr/ h-s²n*).¹²⁴² Regardless of either translation, both of them are all addressing the contingency of animal rearing in the Safaitic community. Jallad's translation of dearth, scarcity, need, or hard times may refer to the scarcity of the respective Safaitic-nomadic author, which of course refers to their possession of herded animals, milk, meat, or anything that constitutes the socioeconomic of the Safaitic nomadic society. On the other hand, Harahshah's translation assumed the abundance of the author's sheep, which again, also relates to the notion of shepherding.

Nonetheless, there are still other phrases in the Safaitic inscription that still concur with the relation of the Safaitic root *'mr* and its meaning of shepherding activity. In AMSI 31, for example, the root is attested within the phrase */t'mr/ h-wrdt/*. OCIANA translated the term *t'mr* as 'to control' while did not provide any translation for the term *wrdt*.¹²⁴³ On the other hand, Jallad only translated the term *wrdt* independently in his Safaitic dictionary, which to him is a toponym for perhaps a watering place.¹²⁴⁴ Jallad's translation, however, seems unavailing here. Viewed from the shepherding context, however, this study argues that the word *wrdt* could refer to horses- particularly the ones that are reddish in colour (dun gene). In Islamic-Arabic lexicons, the term *wardatu* is also the name of a female reddish horse, while *wardu* is for the male one.¹²⁴⁵ Meanwhile, in RSIS 250, OCIANA translation seems to indicate the term *t'mr* also as 'to control'.¹²⁴⁶ But instead of horses, the context of that inscription relates to camel-rearing activity.¹²⁴⁷ Jallad, however, did not provide any specific translation for this inscription.

ABMNS 2/ RWQ 333 provided another phrase, which is *t'mr/ h-wḥd*. OCIANA's translation provided the phrase as someone (the author of that inscription) who controls (*t'mr*) alone (*h-wḥd*) in an area.¹²⁴⁸ The context of what the Safaitic author was controlling

¹²⁴² The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Safaitic...*, 524.

¹²⁴³ The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Safaitic...*, 568.

¹²⁴⁴ Ahmad al-Jallad, *An Outline of the Grammar...*, 353.

¹²⁴⁵ Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 550. See also Ibn Sīdah, *al-Muḥkam...*, Vol. 9, 424.

¹²⁴⁶ The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Safaitic...*, 8126.

¹²⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁴⁸ Ibid, 480/8260.

is perhaps related to another line after the phrase, which is the author's prayer to his deity for his goat (*m'zy*) to give birth more in that year (to multiply, to be abundant).¹²⁴⁹ Provided the assumption of the context to be true, the root *'mr* in that inscription may refer to the author controlling his flock of goats in an area alone.¹²⁵⁰

In another perspective provided by Ṣabrī al-‘Abbādī on the phrase *t'mr h-whd*, he contended that apart from solely indicating the author to herd his pastoral animal alone, the phrase could also indicate the author to make abundance/ grow/ multiply (*t'mr*) his sheep (*whd*).¹²⁵¹ On one hand, translating the Safaitic *whd* seems absurd as conventionally, Jallad has asserted elsewhere in his Safaitic dictionary that the word *whd* refers to the notion of 'being alone', reflected in the Safaitic inscriptions within the word *whd* (by oneself) or *twhd* (to be alone).¹²⁵² However, Ṣabrī al-‘Abbādī asserted that semantically, the word *whd* in that inscription also correlates to another Classical Arabic noun for sheep, which is specifically for the sheep that only gave birth once.¹²⁵³ Conclusively, however, both meanings still use the root *t'mr* in relation to the notion of widespread or manifest as contended by Jallad before, but more in the context of controlling or shepherding aiming for making abundance of the flock as argued in this study. In this regard, both meanings of 'to make abundance' and 'to widespread' in the Safaitic root *'mr* all symbolized the semantical range of 'to know' and 'to make known', most possibly through the quantitative aspect of it.

In the case of the root's attestation in KRS 27, OCIANA translated the phrase *t'mr/ 'h-h/ b'd* as '*his brother was appointed as a commander far away*'. It is uncertain, however, whether the word *t'mr* here is actually really referring to military context. Again, although Jallad has suggested before on the need to establish the Safaitic meaning of *'mr* within the

¹²⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁵⁰ In this regard, Jallad did assert that every Safaitic inscription has a normative methodology that often consists of three parts; genealogy, narrative, and prayers. The genealogy comprises the author's name and his lineage, while the narrative often mentions the secular activity of the author that he wanted to communicate in the writing. The last component is often the prayer to his deities that almost semantically connected to the narrative. According to him, if the narrative was on his pastoralism activities, the prayers often went with the same semantical repertoire, usually asking for abundance. See Ahmad al-Jallad, *The Religion and Rituals of the Nomads of Pre-Islamic Arabia* (Leiden: Brill, 2022) 10-11.

¹²⁵¹ Ṣabrī Karīm al-‘Abbādī, 106-123.

¹²⁵² Ahmad al-Jallad & Karolina Jaworska, *A Dictionary of Safaitic...*, 351-352.

¹²⁵³ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Vol. 15, 234.

context of making something to widespread or to manifest, we are yet unable to precisely determine his view as he seems to be silent on determining the meaning for the phrase *t'mr/ 'h-h/ b'd* here in KRS 27, as well as in the other three previous animal-related phrases in ABMNS 2/ RWQ 333 (*t'mr h-wḥd*), AMSI 31 (*/t'mr/ h-wrḏt/*), and in RSIS 250. But if one was to adopt Jallad's theory here, it is still possible to argue that the word *t'mr* in KRS 27 is also referring for shepherding-related activity, where the brother was to be appointed for shepherding or breeding the livestock in a distant pastoral land. Another possibility is the word was never related to the meaning to be appointed to begin with, but was used to inform that the brother of the author was shepherding, breeding, and multiplying the livestock in a faraway pastoral land. Such inference is never a far-fetched one. Discussions from the foregoing has elaborated on the pre-Islamic Arab nomad's pastoralism farming and how they had learned and excelled the way to cultivating pastoralism through utilizing seasonal pastures and different wells for their herds, where they were used to migrate often.¹²⁵⁴ Moreover, Jallad also suggested that the meaning command in the Semitic root *'mr* is relatively a later semantical development, hence the need to limit it to the meaning of to make it widespread.¹²⁵⁵ In that case, the meaning related to the shepherding related activities is the most possible one apart from those meanings related to military appointment.

Nevertheless, one new inscription published by Harahsheh (HaDNSJ 160) seems to suggest a different context for the Safaitic root *'mr*. The narrative provided by this inscription shows how the author stumbles upon an inscription from his ancestor, to which he built (*n'm*) upon that inscription *m'mr*, a temporary shelter shielding one from elements.¹²⁵⁶ It is through his act here that he phrased his prayers to his deity with one simple invocation, *'mr ṣdq*.¹²⁵⁷ However, within that narrative, the translation provided by Harahsheh seems to reflect the author was trying to tell his deity that what he did was indeed a true matter or promise. If that is the case, it is not contextually referring to the deity as the subject of the *'mr*, but it is the author himself that becomes the subject establishing the *'mr*,

¹²⁵⁴ See “*Societal Construction in the pre-Islamic Arabia*” in Chapter 4 of this study, 113-118.

¹²⁵⁵ Ahmad al-Jallad, *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic...*, 300.

¹²⁵⁶ Rafe Harahshah, *Dirāsāt Nuqūsh Ṣafaiyyah Jadīdah* 151-152, no: 160. See also Chapter 5 of this study, 159-160.

¹²⁵⁷ Ibid.

which is the construction of the *m'mr* (temporary shelter). Provided his translation here is correct, the inscription still reflects the secular usage of the root *'mr* in Safaitic inscription, but it does not indicate anything related to the context of shepherding or to be widespread as respectively contended by this study and Jallad before.

However, to put it in another perspective, the word *n'm* (to build, construct) in this inscription often correlates with the act of building *na'āmah* in Classical Arabic. Ibn Manẓūr and Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī defined the latter within the same definition of *al-amarah* (landmark), which is *al-a'lām al-mufāwiz yuhtadā bihā* (*tr.* the landmarks in the desert that people read it as sign).¹²⁵⁸ Within this perspective, the author's prayer *'mr/šdq/* might have been related to his intention of making this building a true *amarah* (landmark/sign) for desert dwellers to read. This prayer seems more contextually related to what the author had stated in the narrative of this inscription beforehand. This is also seemingly relatable to the basic Semitic meaning of to know and to make known as contended by Jallad before, as well as befitting to the contention of this study concerning shepherding, at least in terms of making the sign visible in guiding people in the desert.

This notion of shepherding and guiding people in the desert is also attested to another ANA inscription, which is one Dadano-Arabic inscription (JSLih 071) mentioned before in the previous chapter.¹²⁵⁹ As previously discussed, this inscription is linguistically mixed between Dadanitic and Arabic.¹²⁶⁰ The context provided by Beeston accorded it being an honorific inscription from a group of sedentary Dadanites to a person who had been paid to protect the caravan and settlement of these Dadanites in the desert, whom Beeston argued as a Bedouin nomad from north Arabian.¹²⁶¹ His profession within that inscription is *'mr/ b-lhgr/* (*amīr* of al-Higr/ Hegra), which Beeston contended is was due to his knowledge about the desert and temporary like the Muslim *amīr al-ḥajj*.¹²⁶² Apart from this, not much can be said about this inscription. However, following Beeston's assertion, it is safe to assume for now that this person could be a guide, leader of an envoy

¹²⁵⁸ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 14, 211. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 33, 506.

¹²⁵⁹ See Chapter 5 of this study, 154-155. See also The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Dadanitic...*, 451.

¹²⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁶¹ A.F.L Beeston, F.V. Winnett, Jacques Ryckmans, and Mahmud al-Ghul, 69-72.

¹²⁶² Ibid.

or guard for these Dadanites sedentary during their time in the desert, and probably hired for his expertise in the knowledge of the desert.¹²⁶³ The implication of this context entails that the root 'mr' attested here still relates to the basic Semitic meaning of 'to know' or 'to make know' as contended by Jallad before, at least in terms of this person's profession as the one who was knowledgeable about the desert and served to guide the Dadanites sedentary there. In this regard, it also relates to the notion of shepherding as contended by this study, but not in the sense of Jallad's assertion of 'to be widespread' or 'to be abundance' as if in shepherding livestock, but more towards guiding and protecting this sedentary Dadanites in the desert.

Lastly, another interesting point to observe on the Safaitic and Dadano-Arabic usages of 'mr' within the secular-human context is how it relates to their Southern counterpart. Unlike the latter who restricted the root 'mr' to divine context and resorted to the word *mr'* for their secular context, the inscriptions from both Safaitic and that one Dadano-Arabic, however, were rather in the opposite way. They instead have attested to the root 'mr' in full secular contexts. In the case of the root *mr'*, Jallad in his dictionary of Safaitic inscriptions recorded that the Safaitic *mr'* only conveys two meanings; a man or a husband.¹²⁶⁴ On the other hand, the feminine counterpart of Safaitic *mr'*, which is *mr't* translates to a woman or a wife.¹²⁶⁵ In some ways, it is strikingly similar to how Classical Arabic defined the same consonantal noun, which often translates to male and female person in the form of masc. *mar'u* and *imru'u* or fem. *mar'atu*, and *imra'atu*.¹²⁶⁶ Acknowledging Jallad's previous argument on Safaitic as the dialect continuum of Old Arabic and sharing various isoglosses with the latter might perhaps answer the reason for this similarity.¹²⁶⁷ On the other hand, although the Dadanitic inscriptions also attested to the word *mr'* in the same manner as ASA for secular lordship,¹²⁶⁸ it seems to have not been applied to this one particular Dadano-Arabic inscription above. A possible reason for that

¹²⁶³ Ibid.

¹²⁶⁴ Ahmad al-Jallad & Karolina Jaworska, *A Dictionary of Safaitic*..., 98.

¹²⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁶⁷ Ahmad al-Jallad, "The Earliest Stages of Arabic and its Linguistic Classification" 323.

¹²⁶⁸ Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Dadanitic Inscriptions*..., 93, 164 & 406. See also the previous discussion in Chapter 5 of this study, 159-160.

is that the attested phrase *amīr* of al-Higr/ Hegra in this inscription is linguistically Old Arabic and not Dadanitic to begin with.

7.4.5 *Immaru*: Merging the Sacred and Secular Nature of the Root 'MR

Unlike the ASA and the Safaitic that tend to demarcate the line between the divination and secular contexts of the root 'mr, the *Jāhiliyya* and Islamic-Arabic lexicon profiles inclined to use this root within both contexts, reflecting a non-differentiation approach. The two profiles have attested to the root within both divine and secular context, without having to resort to another word *mr*' the way the ASA did, or being fully secular like the Safaitic. The *Jāhiliyya* portrays the divine authority through the derivation *amrun* in the sense of the divine will or affair of Allah while also at the same time using the same derivation to depict human authority.¹²⁶⁹ Similarly, the Islamic-Arabic lexicon used the same authoritative meaning for both divine and human usage through the word *amr*, both in the command (*amr*) of Allah and the human context of *ūli al-amr*.¹²⁷⁰ In this regard, it is possible to assume that the root 'mr in both *Jāhiliyya* and Islamic-Arabic lexicon have the construed understanding of both divine and secular connotations within their contextual uses of the root. Again, by theorizing the word *immaru* as *al-aṣl*, this study will try to extrapolate both connotations of the root 'mr within these two profiles.

Most Islamic-Arabic lexicon have provided the word *immaru* often figuratively to mean someone who is fool and void of his own thought *vis.* someone who often consults others.¹²⁷¹ Such character of 'too much consulting others' in its specific sense could indicate it to be contextually secular, related to the issue of governing, particularly when one has to consider the relative sense of consultation with the *shūra* system of the Arabs.¹²⁷²

¹²⁶⁹ See Table 5.3 in Chapter 5 of this study, 192.

¹²⁷⁰ See Table 6.1 in Chapter 6 of this study, 220.

¹²⁷¹ Al-Azhari, Vol. 15, 210. See also Al-Jawhari, Vol. 2, 582. See also Ibn Fāris, *Mu'jam Maqāyis al-Lughah*, Vol. 1, 138. See also Al-Himyari, Vol. 1, 322. See also Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 73.

¹²⁷² Al-Azhari, Vol. 15, 210. See also Al-Jawhari, Vol. 2, 582. See also Ibn Fāris, *Mu'jam Maqāyis al-Lughah*, Vol. 1, 138. See also Al-Himyari, Vol. 1, 322. See also Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 73. See also the previous discussion in Chapter 6 of this study, 208-209.

However, tracing the origin of *immaru* in this figurative meaning could also be linked down to another context, which is the divination context of pre-Islamic Arabia. As thoroughly explained before, the divination context of *immaru* existed within the ancient Mesopotamian has provided instances of how a mere lamb literally influenced the cultic practices in the sense of providing omen and signs from their purported deities.¹²⁷³

The ASA inscriptions further provided examples of how divination affected every inch of the ancient South Arabian culture, from performing penances to constructing buildings and journeying to a place. The Classical Arabic form of *i'tamara* (obeying command/ to consult) even persisted in the ASA within the context of someone who consulted, obeyed, and performed the command of his deities.¹²⁷⁴ Al-Rāghib has previously mentioned the consulting context in the root 'mr, where both parties who engage in the act of issuing and receiving commands are mutually responsive to each other, where each party perform a command that is '*ashāra ilaihi*' - a command that has been pointed out to, suggested to, or referred to by another party.¹²⁷⁵ The Arab's usage of *immaru* in its figurative sense of someone foolish then may refer to their unique worldview of looking at these cultic practices, which perhaps to them were also foolish practices. At this point, one could even argue that *immaru* in its figurative sense as a fool was never figurative to begin with. It may perhaps refer literally to the foolishness of someone who has too much consultation through divination in doing something without any consideration of his own thoughts.

This disparaging paradigm within the figurative *immaru* is perhaps a continuation of the *Jāhiliyya* period. In the case of al-*i'timār* (consulting), the latter seemed to have its secular notion of consultation, which mostly refers to human consultation. The previous line by Ṭarafah is one of the pieces of evidence for this argument, where he said:

¹²⁷³ Yoram Cohen, xv. See also the previous discussion in this chapter, 244.

¹²⁷⁴ Mounir Arbach & Mohamed Maraqtan, "Notes on the root *L'K* "to send" and the term *ml'k* "messenger" in the Ancient South Arabian inscriptions" in *Semita et Classica*, Vol. 11 (2018): 251-256. See also See CSAI, "M 246", *DASI* <<https://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=924546544&recId=2966&mark=02966%2C002%2C032>> (accessed on 15 January 2022). See also the previous discussion in Chapter 5 of this study, 156-157.

¹²⁷⁵ Al-Rāghib, 89.

*And when it comes upon you **amr**, then seek council from the wise, and do not disobey (his advice).*

One would argue that the term *labīb* in its meaning of someone wise may refer to anything from human even to deities, hence suggesting the *Jāhiliyya* Arabs are also similar to their Southern counterpart in consulting deities through divination. However, other evidences seem to suggest that they are not alike, such as the previous report by most lexicographers on the name of the first month of the *Jāhiliyya* calendar system, *al-Mu'tamar/ al-Mu'tamir*.¹²⁷⁷ Al-Maqrīzī described the reason for its name as due to its function for consultation among the Arabs for anything that may ensue throughout that year.¹²⁷⁸ Days six and seven of *ayyām al-'ajūz* (*āmīr* and *mu'tamir*) also function for the same designation.¹²⁷⁹ This also indicates secular consultation instead of a divine one.

Nevertheless, the *Jāhiliyya* Arabs still acknowledged and had their own divine context in using the root *'mr*, despite being restricted only to Allah and not to other pagan deities like the ASA did. One poetry by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib attested to this assertion, where it associated the root with Allah through the phrase *amr Allah*, which refers to the authority or affairs of Allah.¹²⁸⁰ Despite their acknowledgement, it does not eliminate their association of other pagan deities with Allah, which was nevertheless condemned by the Qur'ān. However, the crux of the issue here lies in how they imparted the divine context upon the root solely to Allah without resorting to the ways of the divination and omen as the ASA had practiced. Apart from that one line by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Qur'ān also confirms this attribution of the *Jāhiliyya* Arabs and their understanding of the divine *'mr* of Allah in conducting their worldly affairs:

Say (O Muhammad): "Who provides for you from the sky and the earth? Or who owns hearing and sight? And who brings out the living from the dead

¹²⁷⁶ See al-Baghdādī, Vol. 1, 398.

¹²⁷⁷ Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 212. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 209. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 14, 141.

¹²⁷⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī, *al-Mawā'iz wa al-I'tibār bi Dhikr al-Khuṭaṭi wa al-Athār* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, n.d.) Vol. 2, 59.

¹²⁷⁹ Al-Azharī, Vol. 1, 30.

¹²⁸⁰ For the discussion on that poetry by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, see the previous discussion in Chapter 5 of this study, 182-183.

*and brings out the dead from living? And who (yudabbir al-amr) disposes the affairs?" They will say: "Allah." Say: "Will you not then be afraid of Allah's punishment? (for setting up rivals in worship with Allah)"*¹²⁸¹

Apart from that possible construed criticism of the divination practices through the word *immaru*, the *Jāhiliyya* Arabs and the Islamic-Arabic lexicon also addressed the secular nature of that word. In the case of the latter, Al-Azharī is the one and only lexicographer who has mentioned and narrated this kind of example in this context. It is not a wonder that it had come from him, as he had spent many years living with the Qarmatians Bedouins,¹²⁸² affirming his solid background in narrating the pure Arabic language from them.¹²⁸³ According to al-Azharī, the Arabs used to call people who were being struck with poverty and deficiency with the phrase '*mā lahu immarun wa-la immaratun*', which translates to 'he has nothing of either a male or a female lamb'.¹²⁸⁴ This could have figuratively meant that the person is in poverty and deficiency. The phrase, however, seems to be also valid literally. Again, such literal context is evident if one would consider the status of sheep and goats among the Arabs. It becomes most apparent firstly through the revered status of pastoral activity among the Arabs, particularly shepherding.

Historically, pastoral activities have culminated among the primitive Arabs around the vast Arabia region in remote ages. It is one of the hallmarks of being an Arab, viewed in the third perspective as early as in the Hellenistic literature. For instance, in describing the divinatory expertise of the Arabs, Cicero affirmed the Arabs as those who are so acquainted with pasturing, travelling the plains in winter and mountains in the summer, so much so that it provided them enough time to learn and aware of the sounds and flights of the birds as a tool of providing them signs and omens.¹²⁸⁵ The Biblical historiography also mentioned this attribute, in which it states the abundance of flocks possessed by the people

¹²⁸¹ Yūnus: 31.

¹²⁸² See Ibn Khallikan, Vol. 4, 334.

¹²⁸³ The Arabs since the earliest inception of Islam during the Prophet's period have also acknowledged the fact that the Bedouins possess the most eloquent Arabic language. See Alwi Alatas and et.al., "Nomadic and Sedentary Life in the Times of the Prophet Muhammad", *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (2020), 57-70.

¹²⁸⁴ Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 29.

¹²⁸⁵ Cicero, *On Divination*, translated from Latin and Greek with commentary by David Wardle (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006) 76.

of Qedar,¹²⁸⁶ and how they became the merchants who mostly traded with them.¹²⁸⁷ The Qedarites referred to here were the confederation of Arab tribes dominating the Arabian Peninsula at that time.¹²⁸⁸ Not only in antiquities, the attribute of Arabs as a herding and rearing society has also dominated the classical Islamic discourse, such as in the Ibn Khaldūn's classification of Arabs as those who were breeders of camels alongside sheep and goats.¹²⁸⁹ This acknowledgement even continues until the modern period.¹²⁹⁰

Nevertheless, as the Bedouin's nobilities and strength are considered through their status as the camel-herder tribe, the possession of goats and sheep of small or great amounts is, however, the basic attribute of any Arab tribe, including the Bedouins and those sedentary community who live in the cities.¹²⁹¹ Thus, not having possessed anything as meagre as a male or a female lamb is indeed an indicator projecting their extreme scarcity. This is the reason why the absence of *al-immaru* could act as an indicator of poverty and deficiency, while the abundance of it then projects otherwise. Interestingly, the same Arabic root 'mr also portray people who have been blessed with fortunes. A fertile foal, a human female, or a wife are *ma'mūrah* in the sense of them being fertile and bestowed with many offspring,¹²⁹² as if indicating the relation between the young offspring nature of *al-immaru* and the productive nature of these *ma'mūrah* women as the subject. Similarly, the Arabs call the blessed people who are fortunate enough to acquire wealth and possessions *al-amiru* or *al-amiratu*.¹²⁹³ Although this blessed person does not necessarily mean to only

¹²⁸⁶ Isaiah 60: 7.

¹²⁸⁷ Ezekiel 27: 21.

¹²⁸⁸ The mentioning of the people of Qedar is available in many historical sources. The Biblical narrative provides the Qedarites as the dwellers in the black tent who possessed numberless flocks of sheep. Other sources from South Arabian inscriptions to Arabic historiographical literature have more elaboration on these people. The most important hallmark of the Qedarites is that they were the nomadic Arabs descended from Ishmael who were living in North Arabia. It is unknown of when they began to reside there, but their earliest appearance in historical sources is in the Tiglath-Pileser's inscription of 738 BCE. For a detailed and recent study of the people of Qedar from multiple historiographical sources, see Marwan G. Shuaib, "*The Arabs of North Arabia in later Pre-Islamic Times: Qedar, Nebaioth, and Others*" (PhD thesis, The University of Manchester, 2014) 139-174.

¹²⁸⁹ Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddimah*, 135.

¹²⁹⁰ Previously, this study has provided background discussions on the societal and political environment of the pre-Islamic Arabs in the past chapters, which points out how camels and sheep have become one of the most important commodities among the Arabs, particularly the nomadic Bedouins and semi-nomadic Arabs. See the previous discussion in Chapter 4 of this study, 120-125.

¹²⁹¹ Louise Sweet, "Camel Raiding of North Arabian Bedouin," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 67, no. 5 (1965): 1134.

¹²⁹² Abū 'Ubayd, Vol. 3, 369. See also the previous discussion in Chapter 6 of this study, 210-216.

¹²⁹³ Ibid.

possess sheep, it is nevertheless interesting to think that the most important and basic possession among the most primitive Bedouins was indeed their pastoral animals, from which in innermost among these animals is a mere sheep or a lamb.

The relation of to be abundance in *amira* to the concrete noun *al-immaru* is also evident in the way the Arabs perceived the person who becomes the subject of the verb. For instance, one of the definitions for the general phrase *amira al-rajul* (tr. the person has become abundance, multiplied, grew) is the phrase *kathurat māshiatahu*, which translates to the abundance, multiplying or growing numbers of his livestock.¹²⁹⁴ When the verb becomes transitive, such as in the phrase *āmarahu Allah* (tr. Allah had made abundance for him), the definition indicates its meaning as Allah has made abundance his offspring and livestock for him.¹²⁹⁵ The mentioning of offspring and livestock seems to indicate a hidden similarity, which is their ways of growth and multiplication that usually come through parturition and progeny. Similarly, the intransitive phrase *amira al-qawm* (tr. a tribe/ people had become abundance) also has the definition indicating them to have increased in numbers,¹²⁹⁶ which is perhaps also through their increase of children and heirs.

These three general examples signal the proximity between the increase of one's offspring with the growth of his livestock, indicating the existence of the youngster and juvenile notion similar to *al-immaru* in both growths. This indication seems to suggest that the general notion of making something abundance expressed through the verbs *amara/āmara* and *amira* in its primordial basis is related to the increase through progeny. This is either the progeny of his livestock or offspring. To signal the increase of anything that does not relate to those two, the phrase specifically includes the specific word for that, such as in the sayings of *amira māluhu*, which translates to a person's increasing wealth.¹²⁹⁷ However, in the general usage of referring the abundance of someone or a clan through *amira al-rajul*, *āmarahu Allah*, or *amira al-qawm*, all of those refer to the possession of either livestock or offspring that has increased through labour and birth. In between those

¹²⁹⁴ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, Vol. 1, 205. See also Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344. Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 72.

¹²⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁹⁶ Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 581. See also Al-Rāghib, 89. See also al-Ḥimyarī, Vol. 1, 326. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, Vol. 1, 205. See also al-Samīn al-Ḥalabī, Vol. 1, 115.

¹²⁹⁷ Al-Jawharī, Vol. 2, 581. See also -Ḥimyarī, Vol. 1, 326. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, Vol. 1, 205.

two, to make abundance the livestock is the most primordial and vital to a Bedouin as that increase may provide a chance for him to lead a better quality of life, at once assuring the safety of his family, clan, and tribe.

The issue of abundance may also explain the secular function of the word *mr'* (lord) attested in the ASA, Taymanitic, Dadanitic, and Sabaic before. The previous conclusion has suggested the word to have originated from different root other than *'mr*. Unfortunately, that established differentiation set off without any information that can help explain its etymological development into what it is known today.¹²⁹⁸ Applying this secular-abundancy notion along with Alexander Militarev's etymological analysis of the root may shed some light on this matter. Militarev hypothesized the root and its various Semitic cognates to have coalesced together through the meaning 'woman'.¹²⁹⁹ Within this one particular meaning, other meanings seem to have also overlapped within it, such as the meanings child, boy, son, baby, family, clan, human, man, people, person, and lord.¹³⁰⁰ In the first instance, the attestations of these diverse meanings seem to render Militarev's abstraction of this root under the semantic '*woman*' before as questionable, considering that the same word *mr'* also attested to meanings that seemed to not have the same semantical range with the former (man, lord, people).

This is even though their respective cognates seem near and similar to each other, such as Akkadian *māru* (boy, child), Qatabanic and Sabaic *mr'* (man, male, child, lord), Mehri *ha-mro* (children), Arabic *mar'u* or *mar'at* (man and woman), and many more.¹³⁰¹ Out of all those meanings of that root listed by Militarev, the closest meaning together in terms of the frequency of their attestation are either between these two; woman and any term that equates to child or younglings. Viewed from the Arabic concept of abundance of the root *'mr*, however, the relation of woman, child, and other meanings of the word *mr'* became more coherent and relatable to each other. Most particularly, the relation becomes clear with regards to how abundance had been generated in the Arabic language, where it often includes issue pertinent to the blessed female through her fertility in child bearing. At

¹²⁹⁸ See the previous discussion in this chapter, 246-247.

¹²⁹⁹ Alexander Militarev, "A complete etymology-based hundred wordlist of Semitic updated: Items 75–100", *Journal of Language Relationship*, Vol. 11 (2014): 159-185.

¹³⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹³⁰¹ Ibid.

this point, such meanings are reflecting the same multiplication and abundance nature. Speculatively, the end of the semantical range of the word *mr'* that indicates the lordship is perhaps a semantic shift from those who are blessed with many possessions. The lordship itself may refer to those people who have their family, clan or livestock multiplied in abundance, or it could have started first with viewing those people as socially dominant before it evolves into a proper social lordship as understood in the ASA, Dadanitic, Taymanitic, and Nabataean before. If that is the case, there is truth in Jawad Ali's assertion on *mr'* as part of *al-imārah* before, at least to the point of *mr'* being connected to the semantical range of the root '*mr*' of abundancy.

Regardless of this complex human social abundance, the primordial basis of *immaru* and abundance still relates firstly to the notion of shepherding. This is also the reason why the contextual example of the figurative meaning of *al-immaru* as someone foolish sometimes also come to indicate the uncanny relation to the livestock as well as the shepherding and rearing skills that come with it. In one poetry example provided by Ibn Manẓūr and Ibn Fāris, *al-immaru* in its figurative sense is sometimes used to indicate a foolish person in animal rearing and shepherding skills.¹³⁰²

إِذَا طَلَعَتِ الشَّعْرَى سَفَرًا فَلَا تُرْسِلْ فِيهَا إِمْرَةً وَلَا إِمْرًا

Whenever the star al-Shi'ra (Sirius) had set in, do not send either the immaratan or the immaran

Both Ibn Fāris and Ibn Manẓūr asserted that the action of sending the *immaru* and *immaratu* here refers to the act of sending them to camels (*al-ibilu*), which could contextually mean shepherding, rearing or tending to the camels.¹³⁰³ Unfortunately, their explanation seems not to be in detail enough to provide the background of that poetry. Ibn Qutaybah,¹³⁰⁴ however, explains this clearly in his discussion on the star *al-Shi'rā*. According to him, the coming of that star mentioned in the first verse acts as an indicator by the Arabs for the extremely hot weather that will come after its sighting. This is

¹³⁰² Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 207. See also Ibn Fāris, *Mu'jam Maqāyis al-Lughah*, Vol. 1, 138.

¹³⁰³ Ibid.

¹³⁰⁴ For his brief biography, see the footnote in Chapter 1 of this study, 12.

especially true if the second line of the first verse indicates the absence of water.¹³⁰⁵ Although the narrated verse provided by Ibn Manẓūr here did not include any mention of the absence of water, a thorough examination of the poem indicates that it is not a complete version. Tha‘lab has narrated the complete version,¹³⁰⁶ where it says:¹³⁰⁷

إِذَا طَلَعَتِ الشَّعْرَى سَفَرًا * وَلَمْ تَر فِيهَا مَطَرًا * فَلَا تُرْسِلْ فِيهَا إِمْرَةً وَلَا إِمْرًا

Whenever the star al-Shi‘ra (Sirius) had set in in the morning and you are not seeing any rain, do not send the immaratan and not the immaran

In this complete verse, the second line indicates the absence of water with the set of the star *al-Shi‘ra*. This extreme weather situation will imply a more complicated pasturing situation, hence necessitating the need for someone who has expertise in tending the camels. This is the reason why the second verse reprimands *al-immaru* and *al-immaratu*, both of whom are not suited for the job.¹³⁰⁸ The use of *al-immaru* negatively here is perhaps metaphorically due to the juvenile and infant nature of its concrete meaning that only follows its maternal, hence indicating the green experience and lack of decision-making of an *immaru* person in that activity related to the camel.

Although in particular the word *al-ibilu* in that line signals camel-rearing activities and is not precisely shepherding, it nevertheless relates to the pastoral activities of the Arabs as it is essentially referring to their expertise in matters related to livestock animals. Similarly, the *Jāhiliyya*’s depiction of shepherding through the root ‘*mr*’ also did not specifically for with sheep-rearing activities, as the word *amr* poetry attested in that poetry encompassed anything that involves animal-rearing and husbandry. The reason is mostly due to the one similarity shared among the Arabs in the activity of animal rearing, which is

¹³⁰⁵ Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Anwā’ fī Mawāsīm al-‘Arab* (Baghdad: Dār al-Shu‘ūn al-Thaqāfiyyah al-‘Ammah, 1988) 56.

¹³⁰⁶ He is Abū al-‘Abbas, Ahmad b. Yaḥyā b. Yazīd al-Naḥwī (200-291 AH/ 816-914 CE), famously known as Tha‘lab. He is a grammarian, *muḥaddith* (traditionist) and scholar of poetry. Al-Dhahabī mentioned that Tha‘lab was a man known with a good memorization of knowledge. According to ‘Abd al-Salām Hārūn, his referred work here (*Majālis Tha‘lab*) was a written collection of his lectures that he had delivered on many occasions of his *majlis*. The contents of his work here are mostly related to grammar, most particularly issues of Kūfī school of grammar. See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar al-A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, Vol. 11, 5. See also al-Ziriklī, Vol. 1, 267. See also Tha‘lab, *Majālis Tha‘lab* (Miṣr: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, n.d) 23-24.

¹³⁰⁷ Tha‘lab, *Majālis Tha‘lab*, 490.

¹³⁰⁸ Ibid.

more towards its function towards the affairs of herded animals in general, and not specifically designated for each type of animal. The previous term *al-ibilu* is the most basic example, where it can signal the rearing activities of both camel and sheep alike. This is through the derivation *abala - ya'bilu - abālatan*, which refers to having expertise in establishing the *maṣlahah* (benefits and interest) of both camels and sheep.¹³⁰⁹ Another word that displays these meanings, which is *al-ri'āyah* also dwells within the periphery of the word *al-abālah*. Its definition conveys the notion of taking care of and protecting the interest of livestock (*yaḥūtuha wa yahfaẓuha*).¹³¹⁰

7.5 THE WORLDVIEW OF THE ROOT 'MR AND ITS COMPONENTS

The utilization of the word *al-immaru* as *al-aṣl* in understanding the root 'mr attested within the examined semantical profiles confirmed three different connotations: divination, secular, and the combination of those two. At this point, these three different connotations contribute to further demarcation in the attempt to construct the semantic abstraction of the root. However, if the previous points were upon revealing their connotative and contextual differences in basing their usage of the root, this current discussion will illustrate their similarity despite the obvious differences. This similarity is the components that constitute the abstraction and the general worldview of the root, which are the point of synthesis before their respective particularities start to diverge.

7.5.1 *Al-Zuhūr*: The Abstract Meaning of the Root 'MR

In the first instance, the meanings of all derivations of the root 'mr attested within the examined semantical profiles in this study seem to be partly connected. An early observation may indicate the intra-connectedness through their sub-grouping of

¹³⁰⁹ Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 278. See also Ibn Sīdah, *al-Muḥkam wa al-Muḥīt al-A'ẓam*, Vol. 10, 409.

¹³¹⁰ Al-Azharī, Vol. 3, 103.

authoritative and non-authoritative meanings. However, it is hard to establish the interconnection outside the boundary of this sub-grouping, particularly with regard to the non-authoritative meanings that seem more arbitrary in its semantical range. It does not mean that it is an impossible feat to achieve. For instance, a quick recourse to Zayyan's attempt before may help elucidate how the authoritative and the non-authoritative meanings of the root *'mr* relate to each other, to which he asserted has happened through the notion of *zuhūr* (visibility).¹³¹¹ His arranged presuppositions on how every meaning of the Arabic root *'mr* is related to each other surely help, particularly in constructing the idea of *zuhūr* as an embedded notion that binds these meanings together.

In actuality, this notion is not entirely new. Abstracting the root *'mr* to the notion of visibility contains semantical traces of ancient Semitic languages of the past, where 'to know' and 'to make known' had become the common definition for the root *'mr*, particularly in the Akkadian and Ugaritic languages.¹³¹² Etymological examination of the Judeo-Christian root *'mr* also resolves to link their *'mr* to these two meanings.¹³¹³ This is despite their unique semantical range of the root, such as the Hebrew verb *'āmar* (אָמַר), which is predominantly used in the Old Testament to correspond to the meaning of 'to say' and 'to speak'.¹³¹⁴ With that kind of definition, a rough estimation will perceive the Hebrew verb *'āmar* as a non-parallel to the Arabic verb *amara*, which mostly testifies to the meaning of 'to command'. However, if one were to view it from the notion of *zuhūr*, it is relatable in making visible the object of each respective verb, particularly in communicating the subject of the speech or the command itself. Matityahu Clark, for example, contended that the definitions for root *'mr* in Hebrew-Bible are mostly symbolizing the meaning of organizing speech to be heard and understood.¹³¹⁵ Such attempt relates to the efforts of communicating something, or to make visible what needs to be communicated.

¹³¹¹ Hāmid Zayyān, 53-58.

¹³¹² Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament (TDOT), " *'āmar*", Vol. 4, 328.

¹³¹³ Ibid.

¹³¹⁴ P. Heinsch, " *'āmar*", in *Theological Wordbook of Old Testament*, Vol. 1, 54.

¹³¹⁵ Matityahu Clark, *Etymological Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew* (New York: Feldhem Publishers, 1991) 12.

A similar situation is evident in this study. For instance, the preoccupation of the ancient South Arabian people with divination and cultic practices in understanding signs and omens from the deities displays their systematic and persistent ways of communicating with their supposedly divine beings. An effort of that scale reflects their society as the one that was continuously trying to communicate with their pagan deities. This communication functions specifically for one task, which is to know, to reveal or to make visible the omen, intention, command, signs, and marks of the latter that supposedly guide their adherents in their daily life. Other meanings of that root in the ASA -authoritative or not-, such as *mr*'s (tribal leadership), or *'wmr* (signal station), all relate to the notion of *zuhūr* in their own specific way. The former is connected to the notion of visibility and emergence through its high position at the apex of any tribal pack, while the latter is visible in its literal sense of being the signal station itself, which of course also serves as a landmark for the people and the army at that time.

The notion of *zuhūr* within the secular understanding of *'mr* in the Safaitic inscription is also built upon the same semantical range of 'to know' and 'to make known'. However, it is limited to the meaning of 'to make abundance' or 'to be widespread' as discussed before in the previous points.¹³¹⁶ This study has delineated before how this meaning related to abundancy affected the secular worldview of the nomadic Safaitic through their preoccupation with the nomadic pastoralism life.¹³¹⁷ This is not an absurd observation. Al-Jallad, for example, contended that every Safaitic inscription has a normative methodology that often consists of three parts: genealogy, narrative, and prayers. The genealogy comprises the author's name and his lineage, while the narrative often mentions the secular activity of the author that he wanted to communicate in the writing. The last component is often the prayer to his deities that almost semantically connected to the narrative.¹³¹⁸

According to him, if the narrative talks about his pastoralism activities, the prayers often went with the same semantical repertoire, usually asking for abundance.¹³¹⁹ Similarly,

¹³¹⁶ Ahmad al-Jallad, *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic Inscriptions...*, 300. See also the previous discussion in this chapter, 247-255.

¹³¹⁷ Ibid.

¹³¹⁸ Ahmad al-Jallad, *The Religion and Rituals of the Nomads*, 10-11.

¹³¹⁹ Ibid.

if the narrative speaks about the widespread of dearth, the entailed prayers also asked for abundance or well-being.¹³²⁰ Regardless of both narratives on pasturing or dearth, both relay the idea of *zuhūr* through the secular paradigm of physical abundance and growth. In some cases, the notion of *zuhūr* also relates to the secular-shepherding activities through the meaning to guide, such as attested before in one Safaitic inscription (HaDNSJ 160) newly published by Harahshah and in one Dadano-Arabic inscription (JSLih 071), both of which reflects the meaning of the root 'mr as guidance for the people in the desert.¹³²¹

The *Jāhiliyya* paradigm also has the same secular nature within their usages of the root 'mr. But attestation of other secular activities other than shepherding was more numerous, particularly in military and tribal leadership.¹³²² At this point, this new semantical shift adopts the notion of *zuhūr* not through the meanings of abundancy or widespread anymore, but through the meaning of being visible as the highest political order within their community. Similarly, the Islamic-Arabic lexicon also portrayed this through its secular term of *amīr* and *ūlū al-'amr*.¹³²³ This type of visibility occurs through what Ibn Sīdah has defined as *al-rif'ah* (tr. height, elevation) and *al-wilāyah* (tr. sovereignty).¹³²⁴ Through this semantical meaning, the *Jāhiliyya* period also adduced another new context contrasting the previous secular typology of 'mr of the Safaitic, which is the divine context of 'mr through *amr* Allah.¹³²⁵

An unadorned view would simply assert that the divine context of Allah in the *Jāhiliyya* sources should be similar to the Islamic idea of that root. It is, however, a false inference to begin with. Unlike the *Jāhiliyya* who adduced the visibility of *amr* Allah as His undisputable matter or affair that came through His position as the Highest Sovereignty, the Islamic-Arabic lexicon provided the idea of *zuhūr* of the *amr* Allah differently. A type of lexicon that narrates Islamic worldview through its entries mostly comes from Qur'ānic lexicons, such as Abu al-Baqā' al-Ḥanafī's *al-Kullīyyāt* and al-Rāghib's *al-Mufradāt*. The

¹³²⁰ This is evident in AMSI 31, KRS 995, KRS 1102, AbMNS 2/ RWQ 333. See The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Safaitic Inscriptions...*, 568, 6526, 6561, & 8260/ 480.

¹³²¹ For the discussion on JSLih 071, see Chapter 5 of this study, 154-155. See also the previous discussion in this chapter, 253-254.

¹³²² See Table 5.2 in Chapter 5 of this study, 188.

¹³²³ See Table 6.1 in Chapter 6 of this study, 220.

¹³²⁴ Ibn Sīdah, *al-Mukhaṣṣas* Vol. 1, 322.

¹³²⁵ See the discussion on that poetry by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib in Chapter 5 of this study, 182-183.

former, for example, narrated one Qur’ānic verse that simply demolishes the idea of *zuhūr* in both the divination and secular nature of the pre-Islamic Arabia profiles:¹³²⁶

*Verily, they had plotted sedition before, and had upset matters for you, until the truth (victory) came and the Decree of Allah (**amr Allah**) became manifest though they hated it.*¹³²⁷

The provided translation by al-Hilali used the word decree in describing the word *amr Allah* here in this verse.¹³²⁸ Regardless of its etymological meaning of decree, that word in its Qur’ānic context here in this verse varies from either of these three; the *dīn* (religion) of Allah, the Qur’ān or the Prophet himself.¹³²⁹ In another example, Abū al-Baqā’ provided the word *amr* with another meaning, which according to him signifies revelation (*al-wahy*):¹³³⁰

*He manages and regulates [**yudabbir al-amr**] every affair from the heavens to the earth; then it (affair) will go up to him, in one day, the space whereof is a thousand years of your reckoning (i.e. reckoning of our present world-time).*¹³³¹

All Qur’ānic examples above signify new semantical contexts provided through the Islamic-Arabic lexicon in furthering the meaning of the root *’mr*. Instead of succumbing to normative examples narrated through the Arabic philological narrations, some lexicons like the previous Abu al-Baqā’ al-Ḥanafī provide a new extent of meanings for the root *’mr* relative to those Qur’ānic verses that used it. In this sense, the word *amr* in Islamic-Arabic lexicon must not be understood merely through its literal meaning of ‘matter’ and ‘affair’, but also necessitates the meaning contained from within the Qur’ānic context that mostly defies the past inherent idea before Islam. In this case, it re-aligned the normative worldview of the root *’mr* at that time, which often posits itself from within two semantical contexts; the sacred-divination and secular-shepherding.

¹³²⁶ Abū al-Baqā’ al-Ḥanafī, 177.

¹³²⁷ Al-Tawbah: 48.

¹³²⁸ For the translation of this verse, see al-Hilali, *The Noble Qur’ān*, 252.

¹³²⁹ Abū al-Baqā’ al-Ḥanafī, 177.

¹³³⁰ Ibid.

¹³³¹ Al-Sajdah: 5. For the translation of this verse, see al-Hilali in the Noble Qur’ān, 555.

Within these two examples above, the Qur'ānic context re-defined the fulcrum of the abstract meaning of *zuhūr* of the root 'mr. It is now neither a product of visibility and emergence through communication with the pagan deities by divination practices nor secular activity of shepherding aiming for materialist growth. It is now the visibility through its nature of being the revelation from Allah. Such re-defining perspective is also evident within other Qur'ānic examples used by most lexicons in further deciphering the root 'mr, such as in explaining the verb form *amara* with its meaning to command, where Qur'ānic contexts further elaborate the crux of visibility of its commands in its unique forms. Such commands include: [*and enjoin (wa'mur) al-salāh (the prayers) on your family*],¹³³² or [*and we have been commanded (wa'umirna) to submit ourselves to the Lord of the 'Ālamin*].¹³³³ These Qur'ānic contextual examples offer a new worldview shared by these Islamic-Arabic lexicon that denies the usual understanding of the notion of *zuhūr* within that root provided by other semantical profiles.

7.5.2 Al-Ri'āyah: The Abstract Function of the Root 'MR

Although the notion of *zuhūr* may describe the relation between all meanings of the derivations of the root 'mr through their nature of being visible, it hardly mentions the rationale behind this visibility. Grasping the rationale peculiar to this notion of *zuhūr* is important, for it could further describe its functions. Such visibility that manifests without any function is an object of arbitrariness and randomness. And to reside this notion within such thought is impossible, particularly in consideration of how those three semantical realms of 'mr had manifested and operated. For instance, to conclude that the ASA and their attempt to establish communications with their deities through divination as an act of no sense is no less absurd than being disparagingly indifferent to the Safaitic efforts and consciousness in fulfilling the materialist reality of abundance in their life. Similarly, disregarding the reason behind the Qur'ānic affirmation of the religion Islam and the revelation as the *amr* of the whole mankind is inefficacious in understanding the reason

¹³³² Tāhā: 132.

¹³³³ Al-An'ām: 71.

why Islam and revelation became the *amr* in the first place. Such a quest of discovering the functions of the root 'mr requires one to envisage the shared aim behind both divine and secular consciousness projected by the previously examined semantical profiles. An easier step, to begin with, is to start from the most profane semantical realm of them all, which is the secular consciousness of the root 'mr contained within the secular-materialist abundance notion of the shepherding context.

It is imperative to first understand that the notion of materialist-abundancy interpreted previously from the construed relation of *al-immaru* and shepherding is not necessarily the end of the social evolution of the Arabs, nomadic or not. In a Bedouin society, shepherding could have been the utmost goal of their life, where the aim was more on maximizing and capitalizing the livestock to the best interest of their life. However, in a much more sedentary community, pastoral activity might not have been their only intended passion, lest to say unnecessary as the activities still have their roots firmed within these sedentary Arabs. However, as this study has noted before in the previous chapter 4,¹³³⁴ sedentary Arabs had a much more diverse economic activities, illustrated within the 'semi/ lesser nomads' or 'villagers', who practice both nomadic pastoralism and local settled agriculture in certain degrees subjected to the conditions that they lived in.¹³³⁵ The diversity was also evident among those city-dwellers Arabs who were active in commerce, mercantile, artistry and agriculture.¹³³⁶ This could have at least entailed a possibility of differentiation between the type of abundance specific to each stratum of their society.

Al-Ṭabarī has mentioned this in his elaboration of the Arabic verb *amira* and its meaning 'to multiply and become abundant'. According to him, the word could express two situations. The first one being is *amira banū fulān*, which simply means a clan of so and so had grown and multiplied. The second phrase is *amira al-qawm wa-ya'murūna amran*, which al-Ṭabarī defined as *kathurū wa 'aẓuma amrahum* (tr. tribe had grown/ multiplied and their matter and affair had become more prominent).¹³³⁷ The latter phrase of 'prominent matter and affair' in al-Tabari's example here could express either the concrete

¹³³⁴ For the discussion on the societal construction of the Arabs in the pre-Islamic Arabia period, see Chapter 4 of this study, 120-125.

¹³³⁵ Christoffel A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze, 51. See also Donner, 16.

¹³³⁶ Donner, 16.

¹³³⁷ Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān fī Ta'wīl al-Qur'ān*, (n.p: Dār Hijr, 2001) Vol. 14, 532.

wealth that had increased, such as the increase of their camels and sheep - like any shepherding society could have aimed for, or they could refer to the abstract increase of their status in society. All symbolize a relation to the meaning abundance of the root 'mr before, particularly within the definitions of *amrun* as affair, matter, and state of being. This also equates to another example provided by the Islamic lexicographers before in the previous points, which is the phrase *amira al-amr* and its definition the phrase *ishtadda al-amru*, both of whom translate to a matter that has intensified in its greatness and complexity.

In an advanced Arab tribe that is growing exponentially, discussing or fine-tuning matters related to livestock, husbandry, or any other pastoral affairs from here could have evolved into other matters and affairs that are more complicated and suited to their increasing quality of life. This could refer to the more complicated legal matters, tribal war and domination, etc. A reflection of this social evolution is evident within the attested poetry of the *Jāhiliyya* period before, where one could see how the semantical range of the root 'mr had become broader than the Safaitic understanding of 'mr and started to encompass matters related to the military and tribal system.¹³³⁸ Although one may argue that the information within the Safaitic inscriptions is not enough to determine the trajectory of the root's evolution, a case could have still been made upon Jallad's assertion before on the early semantical range of the root 'mr that was more towards the basic meaning of visibility and to make things widespread rather than the much later semantical notion of 'to command'.¹³³⁹ Interestingly, this also fits Ibn Khaldūn's observation before on the chronological changes of a civilization from a simple menial society that then has evolved and adapted to a more complicated state of beings.¹³⁴⁰ This is also what Zayyan has asserted before on the visibility of one's affairs and matters due to the higher elevation of his status among his people, indicating his complexity and increase of status in contrast to the common people.¹³⁴¹ At some point, the complexity even transforms into odd and absurdity, as illustrated in the derivation *al-imru* before in the previous discussion.¹³⁴²

¹³³⁸ See Table 5.3 in Chapter 5 of this study, 192.

¹³³⁹ Ahmad al-Jallad, *An Outline...*, 300.

¹³⁴⁰ Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddimah*, 135. See also Chapter 3 of this study, 43-47.

¹³⁴¹ Hāmid Zayyān, 53-55.

¹³⁴² See Chapter 6 of this study, 215-216.

This ever-increasing nature of a clan or tribe and their more complicated affairs will push the notion of shepherding to a much higher level. Most of the time this new type of shepherding will suit other groups of people who are not essentially coming from pastoral society. This refers to the notion of shepherding human affairs, or in its actual terms- the governance. It is interesting to note that this is also the point where Ibn Fāris's ideas on the relation between governance and human affairs occurred. As this study has mentioned before, Ibn Fāris asserted that *min qawmin umur* (tr. from a group of people [there will be] affairs).¹³⁴³ His phrase here indicates that whenever there are a lot of human affairs to tend to, and their affairs are getting more complicated, there will be a need for *al-imrah* and *al-imārah*, which is a type of sovereignty governing them and their affairs.¹³⁴⁴ Sometimes the word *amrun* also sets off to depict the people who are governing these human affairs, often in the phrase *amīr* or *ūlū al-amri*, which translates to those who hold the affairs and matters (of his people).¹³⁴⁵

From here other derivations related to the notion of human governance enter, and that includes the meaning of to appoint someone as *amīr* (*ammara*), to be dominant upon others (*ta'ammara*), to consult (*i'tamara*, *ista'mara* and *āmara*), or the negative connotation of the figurative expression upon a foolish person who has too much consultation without his thought (*al-immaru*). At this point, instead of dealing with abundance within the context of animal shepherding, this new form of shepherding started to indulge in new elements of discussion. The *Jāhiliyya* poetry had attested to these new elements before, where the derivations of the root 'mr reflected non-authoritative meanings related to human shepherding and governing, such as *amr* as responsibility carried by tribal leader, *amr* as collective affairs that unites people, *amr* as enjoining goodness, or *i'tamara* (following order/ or receiving council) by disassociating from evil.¹³⁴⁶ In some ways, these elements also become axiological in the sense that they seem to also describe the *Jāhiliyya* Arab's social ethics and morality in fine-tuning the ways of human-shepherding within their society.

¹³⁴³ Ibn Fāris, *Mu'jam Maqāyīs al-Lughah*, Vol. 1, 137-138.

¹³⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁴⁵ The phrase in the Qur'ān often translated to 'those of you (Muslims) who are in authority'. See the translation by al-Hilālī in *The Noble Qur'ān*, 118.

¹³⁴⁶ See Table 5.2 in Chapter 5 of this study, 188.

This function of human shepherding/ governing also exists within the meaning of *al-amārah* as a mark and sign. The most primitive understanding of shepherding in this meaning could vary from a person installing an *amārah* in guiding the navigation in the desert, or in providing conjecture in identifying something that is bound to happen.¹³⁴⁷ In a much-developed case, a person or an *amīr* can install *al-amārah* as a sign for his or other people's specific deed for others to see,¹³⁴⁸ transforming his *al-amārah* here as also an *amrun* of the second meaning within the definition of event and occurrence (*al-ḥaditha*). Within the meaning of governance also lies another definition of the root, which is the mandate of giving command and order. As Abū al-Baqā' al-Ḥanafī has defined before, an *amrun* (command) is 'a phrase indicating the act of demanding in a superior way (*al-isti'lā'*).¹³⁴⁹ This superiority exists within the notion of human shepherding and governing, as Ibn Sīdah has defined before through the words *al-imrah* and *al-imārah*, which he asserted as *al-rif'ah* (*tr.* height, elevation) and *al-wilāyah* (*tr.* sovereignty) respectively.¹³⁵⁰

It is perhaps that the previous meaning 'to say' in the Hebrew and Aramaic's root of 'mr also originates from this high-position notion. Al-Azharī, for instance, mentioned that people used to call their king *qayl*, which is a word derived from the Arabic verb *qwl* (to speak, to say) – indicating his high position, so much so that his word is executed instantly according to his need.¹³⁵¹ Although al-Azharī did not mention which kingship he referred to, it is assumable that this here refers to the ancient South Arabian and their *qayls* system.¹³⁵² This also explains why Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī has previously categorized *qayls* and their political system of *al-qiyālah* as similar to *al-imārah*.¹³⁵³ Interestingly, it is similar to the Hebrew-Bible attribution of the word 'āmar and its meaning 'to say' to God in the particular aspect of His creative command - instantaneous and without any effort. It is through this superiority and high position within the domain of human shepherding that all those pertaining to meanings of "to say, command, or order, and instruction, or consultation" emerge and become visible through the notion of *zuhūr*.

¹³⁴⁷ See the previous discussion on the root 'mr and its meaning of mark and sign in Chapter 6, 216-219.

¹³⁴⁸ Hasan Sa'id al-Karmī, Vol. 1, 85.

¹³⁴⁹ Abū al-Baqā' al-Ḥanafī, 176. For the translation of *isti'lā'*, see Hans Wehr, 640.

¹³⁵⁰ Ibn Sīdah, *al-Mukhaṣṣas* Vol. 1, 322.

¹³⁵¹ Al-Azharī, Vol. 9, 234.

¹³⁵² Ibn Manzūr, Vol. 11, 575.

¹³⁵³ Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 30, 297. See also Chapter 4 of this study, 138.

Apart from that, a hint of different ontological governance also existed within this root *'mr*. Such existence was more apparent within the divination context of the root. As pointed out beforehand, the ASA inscriptions have illustrated how the root *'mr* had operated within the cultic adherent among the Southern Arabs at that time. One could make a valid case on the function of shepherding and governance upon this divination practices in the ASA, particularly through how all of the inscriptions had narrated and associated the revelation of these alluded signs and omens were *-supposedly-* in their belief, - within the governance of their deities in shepherding them to their good and interests.¹³⁵⁴ In some cases, they became the indicators or cues for many aspects of their life, such as in building something, protecting them, dedicating statues for penance, etc.¹³⁵⁵ Some omens purportedly helped them with their war victory (Ir 69)¹³⁵⁶, in giving assuring signs in controlling flash floods (JA 788 + JA 671),¹³⁵⁷ in providing signs for the construction of monuments (al-'Uhdūd 2).¹³⁵⁸

Although one can always question the validity of their belief in these cultic practices, they nevertheless reflect the consciousness of these people upon realizing the supposedly higher-being authority in guiding them for their good interest. And the ways in which they actualized this consciousness is through the divination process symbolized by the root *'mr*. Meanwhile, the *Jāhiliyya* Arabs despite their secular proclivity did have their unique understanding that reverberates part of divine context within the root *'mr*. They did not resort to viewing the root *'mr* through divinations in the forms of omens and signs but had instead acknowledged the divine context of *'mr* solely to Allah. Nevertheless, they remained secular in perceiving this divine function within the root *'mr*, particularly in

¹³⁵⁴ Robert G. Hoyland, 153-157.

¹³⁵⁵ For detailed discussions, see Chapter 5 of this study, 156-157. See also the discussion in this chapter, 236-240.

¹³⁵⁶ CSAI, "Ir 69", DASI, <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=175787304&recId=6641&mark=06641%2C009%2C011>> (accessed on 3 November 2022).

¹³⁵⁷ CSAI, "Ja 788", DASI, <<http://dasi.cnr.it/index.php?id=37&prjId=1&corId=0&collId=0&navId=175787304&recId=6067&mark=06067%2C016%2C004>> (accessed on 3 November 2022).

¹³⁵⁸ Sabäische Wörterbuch, "'mr" <<http://sabaweb.uni-jena.de/SabaWeb/Suche/Suche/SearchResultDetail?idxLemma=2289&showAll=0>> (accessed on 3 November 2022).

limiting the authority of Allah in conducting and shepherding their *umūr* (affairs) to their interest solely for the sake of materialistic abundance.¹³⁵⁹

A search within the Islamic-Arabic lexicons, however, shows that Islam did not acknowledge those two extreme poles of consciousness in utilizing the divine context of the root 'mr. For instance, the semantical range of that root in the forms of omens and signs that once had existed within the divination context of ASA now has only persisted in the Islamic tradition within the secular context, where it appeared only to convey the meaning of both abstract and concrete meaning of mark, sign, and landmarks.¹³⁶⁰ The previous two Qur'ānic contexts of the noun *amr* provided by Abū al-Baqā' al-Ḥanafī before also attested to this change.¹³⁶¹ By associating the word *amr* (matter, decree, affair) with the Qur'ānic context of *amr* as the *dīn* (religion) of Allah or revelation, it then invalidates any other forms of divine communication in the form of signs, marks, or omens that have claimed divinities in shepherding and guiding mankind to their best interest before. As the religion or the revelation of Allah, the Qur'ānic context of the word *amr* now then has taken over as the new abstract function of shepherding and providing the pathway and manual for mankind in guiding their life to their good interest and benefits, whether in their worldly affairs or the afterlife.

Interestingly, it also addressed the extreme secular proclivity of abundance within the shepherding notion of the root 'mr in Safaitic and *Jāhiliyya* profiles at the same time. This refers to how the Qur'ānic context of 'mr in the Islamic-Arabic lexicon also acknowledged the idea of abundance and its divine source, such as asserted within the phrase *āmarahu Allah* (tr. Allah had made abundance the offspring and livestock for him).¹³⁶² However, most Islamic-Arabic lexicon also adduces one specific phrase of a Qur'ānic verse speaking about abundancy through the root 'mr:¹³⁶³

And then we decide to destroy a town (population), We (first) send a definite order (to obey Allah and to be righteous) to those among them [or We (first) increase in number those of its population] who lead a life of luxury. Then,

¹³⁵⁹ See the previous discussion in this chapter, 257-258.

¹³⁶⁰ See the previous discussion in Chapter 6 of this study, 216-219.

¹³⁶¹ See the previous discussion in this chapter, 264-269. See also Abū al-Baqā' al-Ḥanafī, 177.

¹³⁶² Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 205. See also Al-Fayrūzabādī, Vol. 1, 344. Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 72.

¹³⁶³ Al-Isrā': 16.

*they transgress therein, and thus the word (of torment) is justified against it (them). Then we destroy it with complete destruction.*¹³⁶⁴

In this verse, the Muslim lexicographers discussed the appropriate meaning of the word *amanā mutrafihā*, from which it developed into two understandings. The above translation provided two of them. The first one brings forth the meaning that whenever Allah decides to destroy a town or population, he firstly commands those who live in a life of luxury a definite order (*amarnā*) to obey Allah and to be righteous. The second interpretation asserted the word *amarnā* here as Allah multiplies/ increases the number of those who lead a life in luxury. Among the exegetes, al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr affirmed that the correct interpretation is the former,¹³⁶⁵ while al-Qurṭubī asserted that most of the exegetes went with the first one, yet the second interpretation is still permissible.¹³⁶⁶ Regardless of either of the two, the results of their situation conveyed at the end of the verse reflect that Allah had destroyed them utterly due to one single cause, their transgression.

Note that both interpretations are actually dealing with the notion of abundance. It is imperative to first ask the rationale of Allah addressing the command to obey and to be righteous to the *mutrafihā* (tr. those people among them who live in luxury). Al-Qurṭubī argued that the reason is to convince other people to follow the command.¹³⁶⁷ If that is the case, it is slightly odd to think that Allah did not address the command instead to their leader, ruler, or lord. This study views that the Qurʾān is actually addressing the ways of antiquity in perceiving their lordship, which has its root in the notion of abundance. Previous discussion on the lordship of *mr'* posits this possibility, as its etymological meanings within various Semitic languages signify its relation to the meaning of woman and child, which often signals the abundance of offspring, family, or clan.¹³⁶⁸ The Arabic language's views on abundance also reflect the same tendency, often through the progeny of women who are blessed with fertility and many offspring.¹³⁶⁹

¹³⁶⁴ For notes on translation, see *The Noble Qurʾān*, 370.

¹³⁶⁵ Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʾ al-Bayān fī Taʾwīl al-Qurʾān*, Vol. 14, 532. See also Ibn Kathīr, Abu al-Fida Ismaʿil b. Umar b. Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿAẓīm* (n.p: Dār al-Ṭayyibah, 1999) Vol. 5, 62.

¹³⁶⁶ Al-Qurṭubī, Vol. 10, 234.

¹³⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁶⁸ See the previous discussion of *mr'* and its relation to the notion of abundance in this chapter, 261-262.

¹³⁶⁹ See the previous discussion in Chapter 6 of this study, 210-216.

In the context of tribalism, the bigger the clan that they had, the more political power they possessed, and the more sustainable their economy was. Ibn Fāris narrated the sayings of the Arab concerning this, *man qalla dhalla, wa man amira falla* (whoever is few in numbers will be perished by the number of his enemy, and whoever are many in numbers will dominate his enemy).¹³⁷⁰ On that basis, the abundance of their numbers went hand in hand with the abundance of their wealth, making them a force to be reckoned with in their society, subduing those lesser units in their society and dominating them. On the other hand, the second interpretation deals with the issue of abundance directly through the word *amarnā*, which translates here as Allah increases the number of these *mutrafihā*, then they transgressed, so Allah destroyed them. Nevertheless, both interpretations seem to suggest that the Qur'ān is addressing the secular-materialist worldview of abundance. The highlight is the fact that abundance is not necessarily a good thing to achieve if one were to transgress against Allah. Within this perspective, abundance is also ontologically related to the divinity and authority of Allah.

Another major element that makes Islamic-Arabic lexicography differ from its pre-Islamic Arabia counterpart is the addition of the derivation *ammārah*, which this study argues here as purely an Islamic origination. As delineated before, this derivation seems to be part of the meaning 'to command'.¹³⁷¹ What makes it different is how the examples for this derivation were mostly Qur'ānic verses without any additional *shawāhid* or contextual examples from the pre-Islamic poetry or sayings. The second character that differentiates it is how *al-ammārah* does not relate to either human affairs or the higher being's governance. It instead has become a precaution for men on the ever-commanding nature of human-self that is lenient to evil and misdeeds.¹³⁷² Elsewhere, the Qur'ān also mentions other types of self, which are *al-nafs al-lawwāmah* (censuring-self/ soul) and *al-nafs al-muṭma'innah* (tranquil self/ soul), both of whom are the next upper stages of the previous bestial nature of the *al-nafs al-ammārah*.¹³⁷³ From here it is clear that the root 'mr is now associated with another typology of the shepherding process, which is the self-shepherding

¹³⁷⁰ Ibn Fāris, *Mu'jam Maqāyīs al-Lughah*, Vol. 1, 137-138.

¹³⁷¹ See the previous discussion in Chapter 6 of this study, 198-200.

¹³⁷² See the previous discussion on *ammārah* in Chapter 6 of this study, 198-200.

¹³⁷³ For a detailed discussion on these three types of self, see Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, *Prolegomena to the Metaphysics of Islam...*, 121.

and governing in distancing oneself from evil and wrongful deeds. Such particularities of the self-shepherding notion are unique to the Islamic worldview, as other profiles never addressed this typology of the root *'mr*.

Conclusively, the notion of shepherding seems to have carried all derivation of the root *'mr* through its abstract position as the sole function of that root. And that is the function of shepherding the people for their good interest and benefits. The discussion from the foregoing has elaborated that one of the similarities shared among the Arabs in depicting the activity of animal rearing is all of them tend to be defined through cultivating the interest for the herded animals as a whole, and not specifically classified and designated from the type of animal that they herded. The previous example of *al-ibilu* is the most basic example of this phenomenon, where it can signal the rearing activities of both camel and sheep alike by the means of its definition to establish the *maṣlaḥah* (benefits and interest) of both camels and sheep.¹³⁷⁴ Another Arabic word that displays these meanings is *al-ri'āyah* (*tr.* keeping, guardianship, custodianship, protection, observance),¹³⁷⁵ which is the most general and dynamic term that can be used within myriad domains of shepherding activities. In animal rearing activities, *al-ri'āyah* could invoke a definition that pertains to the act of taking care and protecting the interest of livestock,¹³⁷⁶ while in governance, it lies in taking care of and protecting the interest of the subject of the governance.¹³⁷⁷ Despite different realms of operation, *al-ri'āyah* projects one similar aim and function, which is to take care of the interest of the subject (*yahūtuha wa yahfaẓuha*).¹³⁷⁸ Such dynamic definition contained in this concept of *al-ri'āyah* is the most suitable to convey the abstract function of the root *'mr* discussed here at this point of this study.

¹³⁷⁴ Al-Azharī, Vol. 15, 278. See also Ibn Sīdah, *al-Muḥkam*..., Vol. 10, 409. See also the previous discussion on the relation of *al-ibilu* to *maṣlaḥah* in this chapter, 262-264.

¹³⁷⁵ Hans Wehr, 346-347.

¹³⁷⁶ Al-Azharī, Vol. 3, 103.

¹³⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁷⁸ Ibid.

7.5.3 Epistemic Authority: The Abstract Mode of the Root 'MR

The last component of the worldview of the root 'mr involves the question of how the root 'mr and its derivations operate. This refers to the modes, methodology, and ways in which this root and its related derivations made themselves visible. Semantically, the foregoing discussions have elaborated two ways in which the root 'mr or the word mr' could have formed and appeared through their specific derivational forms, which refers to their authoritative and non-authoritative meanings. The former refers to the derivations that are imbued with authoritative essence, comprised of meanings related to command, divine signs and omens, and human governing. On the other hand, the latter refers to the derivations that are more arbitrary in their meanings and are not connotatively authoritative, such as the meanings to make or to be abundant, things, matters, affairs, landmarks, and signal stations.¹³⁷⁹ These are the two sub-groups that define the modes of how the root 'mr and its derivations appear and are visible in each examined semantical source.

It is hardly an effort to grasp that those meanings related to command, divine signs and omens, and governing are authoritative in nature. Sharing the same nature of their high position within a dominant-subordinate relationship, one can easily perceive the abstract authoritativeness behind each derivation despite their respective individual meanings. In the divination practices of the ASA, for example, the authority of the command, sign, and omen provided by their deities are perceivable through its nature of dictating the supposed path and route for an adherent of South Arabian paganism had to traverse. Many examples portrayed this, where these divine commands and signs have appeared as instruction of guidance for the ancient South Arabian people and served indicatively as metaphysical authority in many aspects of their life. The fact that they followed these divination instructions in itself reflected the authoritativeness of the latter. In some cases, the authoritative image of this divination happened through the process of consulting deities in doing something, to which the invoker attempted to attain the '*satisfaction*' of their deities by performing an offering.¹³⁸⁰ All of these instances of authority are also categorically

¹³⁷⁹ For non-authoritative meanings in pre-Islamic Arabia sources, see Figure 5.2 and Table 5.3 in Chapter 5 of this study, 191 & 192. For non-authoritative meanings in Islamic-Arabic lexicon, see Table 6.1 in Chapter 6 of this study, 220-221.

¹³⁸⁰ See the previous discussion in Chapter 5 of this study, 156-157.

epistemic, reflected through the modality that their deities '*supposedly*' have upon their believers epistemologically in determining their human affairs.

Similarly, the secular context of the root '*mr*' that reflects the meaning 'to command' and 'to govern' is also clearly authoritative, indicating the higher position of one party upon another within the human dominant-subordinate relationship. The difference between these two spectrums of divine and secular authority is more on the matter and affairs that the root '*mr*' is referring to, where the authority of omens and signs seems to be centred on something that is beyond the human power to control while the latter is more towards human worldly-affairs. Nevertheless, it is hard to determine the existence of epistemic nature within the authority of the latter in the way in which the former supposedly does.

This is due to the latter's position that resides within a secular realm and often objects to questionings upon the validity of their authority. This is unlike the divination authority of the ASA, where its position within the sacred realm of the divine enables it to hide from further scrutiny with the help of a strong bastion of its adherents and believers surrounding it. Within this framework, the secular authority of the root '*mr*' often subjected to be in either of two modalities; a full authority with coercive power or an epistemic authority of knowledge. The secular context of this root within the documentary sources did pinpoint to epistemic authority through the one Dadano-Arabic inscription before (JSLih 071), which Beeston speculatively asserted that the person became an *amīr* due to his expertise in guiding and protecting the Dadanite sedentary in the desert.¹³⁸¹ Not much can be said on Safaitic inscriptions and their proclivity of controlling and making abundance of animal.

However, the *Jāhiliyya* Arabs seem to have acknowledged and associated themselves more with the modality of knowledge upon the secular authority of '*mr*'. Examples in the previous discussion has shown how the *Jāhiliyya* Arabs often associate '*mr*' and its derivations with the attribute of being wise and knowledgeable. In seeking advice and counsel (*i'tamara*) from someone about an *amr* (affairs, matter), the *Jāhiliyya* Arabs seemed to recognize that it must come from those who are wise and

¹³⁸¹ A.F.L Beeston, F.V. Winnett, Jacques Ryckmans, and Mahmud al-Ghul, 69-72.

knowledgeable.¹³⁸² They even acknowledged the modality of knowledge in council, illustrated before in how they named one of their months as *al-Mu'tamir/ al-Mu'tamar*, two designation that symbolize the month of meeting and consultation among them.¹³⁸³ This modality of knowledge has even entered into their military and tribal authority, determining the selection process on who is supposed to hold the position of *'mr* within those two fields, which is often decided by their possession of knowledge on that matter respectively.¹³⁸⁴ Interestingly, this is not restricted to a narrow understanding of political authority, but is even applicable to the most primordial professions of human history; the livestock-shepherding activity. For instance, in discussing the authority of a camel-herder, the *Jāhiliyya* Arabs considered the need of them having to possess authority in the form of knowledge in their *amr* (matters) of camel-pasturing.¹³⁸⁵ At the same time, the Arabs mock those who are unknowledgeable on that matter with a disparaging word derived from the same root (*immaru*).¹³⁸⁶

Theoretically, the implication of such a knowledge-driven framework in animal shepherding leads to a good practice that later will yield better outcomes in terms of abundance and growth of the livestock. As the most primordial authority that relates to this root, it is possible that other meanings may have entered through here in providing the semantic shift, transforming the mere shepherding activity into human-shepherding or governing. Good governance with an aim of abundance will further lead to the growth and development of their matters and affairs (*amr* and *umūr*). It is also through here that Ibn Khaldūn's idea of sophistication before continues to occur, necessitating them to further indulge with new authorities relative to their newly occurring socio-political sophistication.¹³⁸⁷ At this point, the previous non-authoritative meanings of *'mr* that relate to abundance, matter, things, affairs and so on were actually contingencies of having to possess the knowledge and proper conduct of various ontological levels of shepherding.

¹³⁸² See the line from Ṭarafah b. 'Amr on consulting the wise in Chapter 5 of this study, 180-181.

¹³⁸³ See the *mu'tamir* and *mu'tamar* in Chapter 6 of this study, 209.

¹³⁸⁴ See the line from Laqīṭ b. Ya'mur describing his advice to his people in electing an army commander in Chapter 5 of this study, 179-180.

¹³⁸⁵ See that one line from Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā on this issue in Chapter 5 of this study, 181-182.

¹³⁸⁶ See the discussion on *immaru* in Chapter 6 of this study, 208-209. See also the discussion on that same topic in this chapter, 262-263.

¹³⁸⁷ See Ibn Khaldūn's idea of sophistication in Chapter 3 of this study, 50-55.

Although these non-authoritative meanings may not have epistemic authoritative connotations and rather project arbitrariness in comparison to their authoritative meaning's counterpart, they are nevertheless still interrelated to each other, at least as the product of a knowledge-driven framework within various levels of shepherding processes.

However, the *Jāhiliyya*'s greater preponderance with the secular-materialist abundancy worldview led them to another extreme, which is the expectation that the epistemic authority of divine 'mr to have acted only upon their worldly benefits. Although they did acknowledge Allah as the one who conducted every *amr* (matter or affair), that kind of divine authority to them was epistemologically limited to this materialist worldview. If one were to consider Jallad's assertion before on Safaitic as the dialect continuum of the Old Arabic, it is expectable to assume that this kind of materialist understanding of 'mr among the *Jāhiliyya* Arabs is actually a continuity of the Safaitic perspective upon the very same root. From the perspective of the latter, most of their attestations of the root 'mr relate to the notion of shepherding through the semantical range of making it more widespread and abundant. This is mostly reflected through their prayers and curses after each narration of the root *t'mr* in the epigraphic evidences, where they mostly pertained to prayers asking for more abundance,¹³⁸⁸ well-being,¹³⁸⁹ or curses for those who steal their livestock.¹³⁹⁰ In this regard, the shepherding aim of nomadic Safaitic was purely materialist, which only concerned the condition of their animals and life resources. Although they did invoke their deities in asking for abundance, the gist or the crux of their prayers and curses often centred on the worldly benefits or threats without any hint of influences that may affect them metaphysically.¹³⁹¹

In discussing the metaphysical worldview of both nomadic Safaitic and the *Jāhiliyya* Arabs, Jallad, for example, examined it through both perspectives on the issue of

¹³⁸⁸ AMSI 31, KRS 995, KRS 1102, AbMNS 2/ RWQ 333. See The Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA), *The OCIANA Corpus of Safaitic Inscriptions...*, 568, 6526, 6561, & 8260/480.

¹³⁸⁹ HaNSB 158. See Ibid, 4462.

¹³⁹⁰ RSIS 250. See Ibid, 8126.

¹³⁹¹ Jallad asserted this lack of metaphysical influences in the Safaitic worldview through the typology of the Safaitic curses towards the enemy and those who vandal the writings, where all of them were concerned with only the physical effects upon those who were doing so without any hint of threat in the afterlife. See Ahmad al-Jallad, *The Religion and Rituals of the Nomads*, 81.

death (*al-manāyā*).¹³⁹² Both profiles view death as a cold element and unresponsive to any invocation, offering, or ritual. Nothing can appease death, and even the deities themselves lack the authority to prevent someone from encountering it.¹³⁹³ Jallad also highlights the afterlife notion among these nomadic Safaitic, where he asserted that there is no accountability in the afterlife for them as the punishment from their deities ended at the grave.¹³⁹⁴ Interestingly, the same worldview of the afterlife is also evident among the *Jāhiliyya* Arabs, to which the Qur'ān addressed them: {*Verily, these people (Quraysh) are saying: there is nothing but our first death, and we will not be resurrected.*}¹³⁹⁵ A metaphysical worldview of this kind surely suggests that they were indeed secular. The most possible reason for that was due to how engrossed they were in changing their worldly affairs to their best interest. But the inevitability of death itself as a course of nature forced them to view the latter as an element of life that even the deities do not have authority upon. At the same time, their preoccupation with the living world necessitates them to view the life after death as only absolute nothingness, void of any reward or punishment as all that matters to them is only their past worldly living life.

The Islamic-Arabic lexicon, however, projected a moderation between these two extreme worldviews of authorities of the root 'mr. This is mostly through their acknowledgement of both divine and secular authorities of the root 'mr. A typical example of the divine authority of the root 'mr discussed within those lexicons was through the previous Qur'ānic examples of *amr*: {*until the truth (victory) came and the Decree of Allah (amr Allah) became manifest though they hated it.*}¹³⁹⁶ Such contexts of divine authority are clear enough merely through the Qur'ānic translation and are in no need of further explanations. However, one aspect worth mentioning is how the typology of this Qur'ānic divine authority contrasts the previous divination connotation of the same root in the ASA. Rather than rendering the divine authority of 'mr in the form of constant communication between human and their deities in attaining sign, mark, or omen for their daily affairs and

¹³⁹² Ibid, 77.

¹³⁹³ Ibid.

¹³⁹⁴ Ibid, 81.

¹³⁹⁵ Al-Dukhān: 34-35. For the translation of this verse, see al-Hilali in the *Noble Qur'ān*, 673.

¹³⁹⁶ Al-Tawbah: 48.

matters, the Qur'ānic context provides the authority of Allah through establishing the *amr* here directly as His *dīn* (religion).¹³⁹⁷

Al-Ṭabarī in his commentary of this verse has affirmed the authoritativeness of the word *amr* here in its meaning of the *dīn* of Allah in terms of how Allah has made this religion visible for His creation through command and obligation.¹³⁹⁸ In this regard, the religion Islam and its embedded epistemology from the Qur'ān to the *ḥadīth* tradition became the highest source of authority. This is not in the sense of the ASA and its divination tendency and their constant communication with pagan deities before, but more towards Islam as the religion that establishes the higher moral imperative for mankind.¹³⁹⁹ The authority of the word *amr* as *dīn* here is also not limited to governing the physical reality of this world, such as held by the *Jāhiliyya* Arabs. It instead has extended into the metaphysical reality, where the *amr* Allah as *dīn* here serves as the yardstick. This refers to how everything is being measured by the *sharia*, where every deed is countered with not only physical benefit or drawback but metaphysically in various terms of *thawab* (*tr.* reward),¹⁴⁰⁰ *'iqāb* (*tr.* punishment),¹⁴⁰¹ and so on.¹⁴⁰² In this regard, the Islamic divine authority of the root *'mr* also epistemic, as it provides how one may be able to determine right from wrong.

The discussions around this root in the Islamic-Arabic lexicon also at the same time hinted at and acknowledged the secular aspect of authority of the root *'mr*. This mostly revolves around their discussions on *ūli al-amr*. The term *ūli al-amr* is interesting due to its unique form that is not attested within other semantical profiles. Others before have instead attested to the secular authority using the term *mr'* (ASA, Taymanitic, Dadanitic, and Nabataean), *amīr* (Dadano—Arabic, *Jāhiliyya* & Islamic-Arabic lexicon), or simply through the verb *t'mr* (Safaitic). As previously discussed before, the term *mr'* in ASA mostly represented the secular human overlordship of socially high-status people or

¹³⁹⁷ Abū al-Baqā' al-Ḥanafī, 177.

¹³⁹⁸ Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān fī Ta'wīl al-Qur'ān*, Vol. 11, 488.

¹³⁹⁹ Wael Hallaq, *The Impossible State: Islam, Politics, and Modernity's Moral Predicament* (New York: Colombia University Press, 2013) 161.

¹⁴⁰⁰ For the English translation, see Hans Wehr, 108.

¹⁴⁰¹ Ibid, 627.

¹⁴⁰² Mohd Khairul Nizam Zainan Nazri and et al., "The Concept of Rewards and Punishments in Religion: A Special Reference to Kitab Al-Adab of Sahih Bukhari", *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (2011): 249-254.

nobilities, which was at the same time a contingency of secular-materialist abundancy worldview.¹⁴⁰³ Meanwhile, the Dadano-Arabic terms *amīr* and Safaitic *t'mr* were all secular designations respective to the background of where the root had thrived. They were often carrying the same contextual usages of multilevel ranges of shepherding activities that comprised either the animal herding or guiding and protecting sedentary people in the deserts.¹⁴⁰⁴ On the other hand, the *Jāhiliyya amīr* have attested to a more recent semantical range that started to become pertinent to military and tribal functions.¹⁴⁰⁵ All of them were nevertheless functioning authoritatively within this secular-materialist worldview.

Meanwhile, the Islamic *ūlū al-amr* is the most general and broad of them all. In its literal sense, it only signals the meaning of those who hold the affair. However, its terminological meaning varies in the Islamic-Arabic lexicons. Some like Ibn Sīdah and Abū al-Baqā' al-Ḥanafī asserted that the term firstly refers to the Companions of the Prophet, and those who followed their path from scholars or rulers, provided that they possess knowledge and religion together.¹⁴⁰⁶ A broader definition for this term in the Islamic-Arabic lexicon only includes these two groups without any condition whatsoever, which is the group of scholars or leaders.¹⁴⁰⁷ A lengthier definition concerning this in these lexicons is perhaps coming from al-Rāghib, where he has classified *ūlī al-amr* into four classes: the prophets who govern both general and particular of outward and inward affairs of mankind, the rulers who govern outward affairs of mankind, the wises who govern the particular inward affairs of mankind, and the preachers who govern the general of the inward affairs of mankind.¹⁴⁰⁸ Regardless of their differences, all three definitions seem to share one broad similarity in determining *ūlī al-amr* within two different units; those who come from scholarly groups that are knowledgeable and wise, and those who rule and lead.

Beyond the Islamic-Arabic lexicons, the traditional Muslim exegetes have tried to determine the accurate group between these two. For instance, Al-Ṭabarī asserted that between the scholars and rulers, the latter group is the actual one that corresponds to the *ūlī*

¹⁴⁰³ See the previous discussion on *mr'* and abundancy in this chapter, 258-262.

¹⁴⁰⁴ See the previous discussion on this ranges of shepherding in this chapter, 247-255.

¹⁴⁰⁵ For examples of *Jāhiliyya* poetry concerning this, see Chapter 5 of this study, 174-183.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Ibn Sīdah, *al-Muḥkam wa al-Muḥiṭ al-A'zām*, Vol. 10, 395. See also Abū al-Baqā' al-Ḥanafī, 181.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Vol. 1, 207. See also Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Vol. 10, 71.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Al-Rāghib, 90.

al-amr.¹⁴⁰⁹ His rationale lies in the issue of obedience to the rulers, which he considered important as long as that obedience serves the benefit and interest of the Muslims in general.¹⁴¹⁰ Some others determine it as the former group, where it varies from multiple opinions explicating the correct typology for this group of scholars, from those who hold the knowledge in general, or in *fiqh* (comprehension), or both knowledge and *comprehension*, or who hold the *comprehension* in religion and reason.¹⁴¹¹ Unlike the first opinion, the typology of the scholars provided in the second definition is epistemically oriented, as evident through the stress upon the need for knowledge and comprehension. On the other hand, others like Ibn Taymiyyah followed the same classification within most lexicons, which went for both scholars and rulers as *ūlū al-amr*. His rationale lies in the fact that both groups share one function, which is being responsible for the good interests of the people.¹⁴¹²

In actuality, all the above three definitions are indicating epistemic authority. The rationale behind al-Ṭabarī's affirmation that favoured the rulers based on the obligation of obedience to the rulers does not entail blind following, but instead requires modality of knowledge. Such a requirement is necessary in determining the extent of that obedience, which he asserted to become valid as long as it entails obedience to Allah and His Prophet.¹⁴¹³ In the case of the third opinion, it seems to have also suggested the need for epistemic modality, as determining people's affairs and interests necessitate at least the ability to be just in making decisions, hence the need for knowledge. According to Ibn Taymiyyah, the modality of knowledge is prior before justice, as to identify the just from injustice requires the possession of the knowledge.¹⁴¹⁴ This is the point where the scholars are being the significant units of *ūlū al-amr*. Ibn al-Qayyim, for example, asserted that the obedience to the rulers corresponded to the latter's obedience to the scholars, while the

¹⁴⁰⁹ Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān fī Ta'wīl al-Qur'ān*, Vol. 7, 182.

¹⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹¹ Ibid, Vol. 7, 179-182.

¹⁴¹² Ibn Taymiyyah, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm b. 'Abd al-Salām, *Majmū' al-Fatāwā* (al-Madīnah: Majma' al-Malik al-Fahd, 1995) Vol. 28, 184.

¹⁴¹³ Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān fī Ta'wīl al-Qur'ān*, Vol. 7, 183.

¹⁴¹⁴ Ibn Taymiyyah, *Majmū' al-Fatāwā*, Vol. 28, 179.

scholars themselves were bound to their obedience to the Prophet.¹⁴¹⁵ The importance of scholars for the rulers here then implies epistemic authority.

Ibn ‘Āshūr seconded this statement when he compared how the scholars become part of *ūlū al-amr* solely by the essential quality of their knowledge and expertise, unlike the rulers who attain their position through someone else who appointed them. According to him, the epistemic character of a scholar does not require sovereignty, as it is known by the people through his quality as a scholar, perhaps through his experiences in teaching and giving legal rulings.¹⁴¹⁶ This does not mean that *ūlū al-amr* is restricted to the scholars, as he also argued that the term symbolized everyone apart from the Prophet who holds the affairs of Muslims, ranging from the highest authority, the Caliph to military leaders or from scholars among the Companions to scholars in the contemporary era.¹⁴¹⁷ His affirmation was more on the epistemic modality among those two groups of scholars and rulers, which in his view was more predominant upon the former.

It is also noteworthy to point out that the involvement of the Islamic institutionalized *ūli al-amr* within the issue of human affairs and interest invokes the terrestrial imagery of this root depicted in the Islamic-Arabic lexicons, which mostly unattested within other semantical profiles except in Safaitic, Dadano-Arabic, and *Jāhiliyya*. It is not unconventional, as all of them are part of Arabic to begin with, including the Safaitic that Jallad has contended as the dialect continuum of the old Arabic.¹⁴¹⁸ Within that framework, the Classical Arabic attestations of human-authoritativeness upon this root are the continuation of these three profiles, but within a different worldview ushered by the Islamic moral imperative. Such moral philosophy is uniquely inherent to the secular functions of *ūli al-amr* within the Islamic tradition, where it did not function fully for the secular-worldly abundancy goals but begins initially with establishing the divine authority

¹⁴¹⁵ Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, *I‘lām al-Muwaqqi‘īn ‘an Rabb al-‘Ālamīn* (Saudi Arabia: Dār Ibn al-Jawzī, n.d) Vol. 2, 16.

¹⁴¹⁶ Ibn ‘Āshūr, Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *al-Tahrīr wa al-Tanwīr* (Tūnis: Dār al-Tūnisiyyah li al-Nashr, 1984) Vol. 5, 98.

¹⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴¹⁸ Ahmad al-Jallad, "The Earliest Stages of Arabic and its Linguistic Classification" 323.

of *'mr*. This refers to the need to first establish the power and rule for the sake of Allah, as well as to establish the rights of the *dīn* of Allah from what is lawful and unlawful.¹⁴¹⁹

Nevertheless, this feature of the secular authority of the root *'mr* is particularly unique to the Old-Arabic dialect continuum, as other pre-Islamic Arabian languages like the ASA had this root rooted deeper within the sacred contextual usages rather than for secular functions. Interestingly, they were not alone on this matter as the Judeo-Christian tradition, for example, has also been enamoured with their Hebrew cognates of the Arabic root *'mr*, which is *'āmar* and its divine functions. The term *'āmar* is often equated to or used hand in hand with other religious terms like *dābār*,¹⁴²⁰ the Word of God.¹⁴²¹ Institutionally, it also serves that way. This refers to the word *amora*, which is a derivation of the Hebrew root *'āmar* used in the Talmud.¹⁴²² Unlike *ūlī al-amr* which serves and combines both religious and secular functions, this term had only served for two religious functions. One of those is being an officer who stood beside a lecturer in the academy and acted as interpreter, speaker, and *meturgeman* (translator) from academic Hebrew to the audiences of Aramaic speakers.¹⁴²³ The second usage has a wider context in the sense of *amora* as the teachers that flourished for three hundred years before the completion of the Babylonian Talmud in the 5th century.¹⁴²⁴ As an institutionalized designation, all two of them had existed within a very strict religious context respectively. Such designations were in fact lacking in comparison to the Islamic-Arabic derivation of *ūlī al-amr*, which has its own importance in both religious and secular authority epistemically.

¹⁴¹⁹ Ibn Taymiyyah, *al-Siyāsah al-Shar‘iyya fī Iṣlāḥ al-Rā‘ī wa al-Ra‘iyyah* (Jeddah: Dār al-‘Ālim al-Fawā’id, n.d) 241.

¹⁴²⁰ Some differentiate *'āmar* and *dābar* in the sense of their focus on meanings. The former is more on the content of what is spoken, while the focus of the latter is more on the activity of speaking. In a simpler sense, the *'mr* cannot be used without the content of what had been said while the latter can. See Georg Braulik, “*dābār*”, in *Theological Wordbook of Old Testament*, edited by R. Laird Harris and et. al Vol. 1, 179.

¹⁴²¹ The ‘word of God’ here refers to a specific term *dābār* that often equates in the Christology and its Greek translation as *logos* or *rhema*, which could be anything from commandment, act, history, event, etc. George Braulik, for instance, argued that there are eighty-five different translations of *dābār* alone, as it is essentially encompassing the multiplicity and diversity of issues that God has said. See Ibid.

¹⁴²² Moses Mielziner, “AMORA” in *The Jewish Encyclopaedia* <<https://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/1421-amora>> (accessed on 21 May 2024).

¹⁴²³ Ibid.

¹⁴²⁴ Ibid.

7.6 CONCLUSION

Following the Arabic theorization of *al-aṣl*, this study proposed the derivation *immaru* in assessing the different trajectories of how the root 'mr is being used within the previously examined profiles. In particular, these trajectories of the root 'mr existed within three realms of connotations: sacred connotations mostly within the ASA, secular connotations mostly within the ANA-Safaitic, and both sacred and secular connotations within the *Jāhiliyya* poetry and Islamic-Arabic lexicon. These are the particularities of each profile in utilizing the root. Understanding these particularities is inadequate as it still does not provide the point of origin of where they started to diverge. In this regard, it requires the abstraction process upon the root. This study has managed to trace and synthesize three components of abstraction from these three particularities, which are the abstract meaning of *zuḥur*, the abstract function of *al-ri'āyah*, and the abstract mode of epistemic authority. These three components of abstraction serve as the anchor of where all the particularities of the root 'mr within all examined profiles had diverged in constructing their own respective worldviews.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

The conventional understanding of *al-imārah* discussed in this study has properly delineated this concept as a system of governance that has always been an invention with its genesis traced back to Islamic civilization. However, it is a part of invention that is nevertheless ever-changing and adaptative to its surrounding environment. From the perspective of the Islamic legal-political epistemic, its adaptative nature is evident in the way it has morphed from the military *amīr* of the Prophet and the Four-Rightly Guided Caliph to the political-administrative system of the later Caliphate into the current era of neo-*al-imārah* in the Gulf countries or the recent emirate of the Taliban in Afghanistan. Interestingly, if one were to consider the neo-*al-imārah* as indeed a form of modern *al-imārah* by evolution, he would have to relinquish the standard Islamic legal-political framework's definition of *al-imārah* itself. The conventional definition by Al-Māwardī, for instance, has bounded *al-imārah* to the Caliphate institution, whereas this neo *al-imārah* is residing in an era of where the Caliphate is already a defunct political system. A much-preferred definition to explain the morphing and transformation of *al-imārah* lies in Ibn Khaldūn's chronological observation, which has asserted the concept to have its primordial origin before the Islamic period. His observation necessitates a historical point of view, a point where *al-imārah* needs to be understood in its barest sense before being draped with the Islamic legal-political veils.

Ibn Khaldūn's statement, however, remained mostly as a mere statement that was insufficient of any evidence -historical or not- in further delineating how this concept had existed in pre-Islamic Arabia. In stripping down *al-imārah* to its core, this study has instead opted for a recourse to the semantical epistemic through the comparative epistemology approach. This firstly involves a semantical analysis of the root of *al-imārah* and the way it was being understood before Islam emerged in the Arabian Peninsula theatre. Although there were several instances rejecting the existence of *al-imārah* in the period before Islam, this study finds that those are nevertheless originated from their view of *al-imārah* as a

specific Islamic system of governance - restricted within the definition provided by the Islamic legal-political epistemic. Such views also occurred due to the constrictions in understanding the tribal nature of the pre-Islamic Arabs that often being relegated to specific socio-political systems, disregarding the '*asabiyya*' notion that has moulded a much dynamic tribal mechanism - embedded within nomadic to sedentary or tribal council to monarchy. By applying a broader lens provided by Khaldūn on both *al-imārah* and '*asabiyya*', a glimpse of *al-imārah* in this period started to transpire in this study. Several other introductory assertions on the whereabouts of *al-imārah* in pre-Islamic Arabia have also further supported this assertion. These refer to the previous assertions by Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, Ṣāliḥ Ahmad al-ʿAlī, and Jawad Ali, all of whom suggested the existence of *al-imārah* in the pre-Islamic Arabia period through several related Semitic roots, predominantly through the root '*mr*' and '*mr*'.

But rather than relying solely upon those introductory assertions, this study indulged deeper in excavating the attestations of those mentioned roots within two primary sources: the documentary and literary sources. The two sources provide the semantical profiles for pre-Islamic Arabia in utilizing these roots, where they have indeed provided much richer information about the contextual attestations of these roots in comparison to those introductory assertions. Following these attestations, the only similarity that both sources have with regards to the way the legal-political *al-imārah* has evolved in the Islamic period to date is that all their contextual usages of the root pervade authoritative essence. This is despite their differences in socio-political institutions respectively. However, unlike the Islamic concept of *al-imārah* that is restricted to human socio-political institutions, the connotations of those authoritativeness in the primary sources of the pre-Islamic Arabia were inherently varied from depicting the authority of the divine to the human authority. Within the documentary sources, the divine authority is evident mostly through the ASA usage of the root '*mr*', while the human authority was through the usage of the word '*mr*' in both ASA and some parts of ANA (Dadanitic, Taymanitic, and Nabataean). The ANA-Safaitic, however, has predominantly attested to the root '*mr*' only for human authority without the divine and without resorting to the word '*mr*'. Similarly, the literary sources of *Jāhiliyya* also attested only to the root '*mr*', but for both divine and secular contexts of authority.

Yet the similarity of these pre-Islamic Arabia sources with regards to the Islamic legal-political *al-imārah* in narrating the authoritative meanings still does not explain the non-authoritative meanings attested together within these two primary sources, particularly through the root 'mr. Accordingly, this highlights the deficiency of the Islamic legal-political epistemic view on *al-imārah*, where it mostly resorts etymologically to the authoritative meanings of the Arabic root 'mr, disregarding its non-authoritative meanings as unrelated to the concept of *al-imārah*. This inadequacy necessitates the need for another semantical profile that can address the ways in which the Islamic tradition addressed these non-authoritative meanings. It is through this crevice that the Islamic-Arabic lexicons play its role as another semantic profile. The attestations of both authoritative and non-authoritative meanings of the root 'mr in Islamic-Arabic lexicons have further provided a more established basis for comparative measures. One of the most important findings peculiar to the Islamic-Arabic lexicon is the latter has concisely included all meanings of the root 'mr attested in the pre-Islamic Arabia primary sources together in one place.

Interestingly enough, these lexicons also followed the Safaitic and the *Jāhiliyya* profiles in disregarding the word *mr*' as part of the human authority. In contrast to the ASA, the word *mr*' in these three profiles only reflects the meaning 'man' or 'woman' (*mr't*) without any hint of human authority. Nonetheless, the Islamic-Arabic lexicon attestations of the root 'mr still serve as the anchor of where the separated meanings of that root contained within the previously examined profiles of pre-Islamic Arabia has joined together, including both of its authoritative and non-authoritative meanings. Up to this point, a corollary assertion to that phenomenon is the possibility of semantical connectedness of the root 'mr between these examined profiles, at least in the sense of the Islamic-Arabic lexicon as the main semantical hub connecting them all. However, the rationale behind the differentiation of authoritative and non-authoritative meanings of the root, as well as the disconnected attestation of the word *mr*' within these profiles remain visibly enigmatic for now.

In addressing those issues above, this study has dedicated the last part of this study fully to the process of interpreting the connection and differentiation of these semantical profiles in utilizing these *al-imārah*-related roots. Most particularly, it discussed and addressed the issues of the authoritative and non-authoritative meanings of the root 'mr,

the differentiation of the trajectories in limiting the root '*mr*' only to divine, secular, or both contexts, as well as the issue of disconnected attestation of the word '*mr*' for human authority in only some part of these profiles. The semantical abstraction introduced by the Arabic grammarian, philologist, and lexicographer in understanding Arabic root is what this study has undertaken in interpreting and discussing these issues. One of the most important means provided through semantical abstraction is the proposition of *al-aṣl*, which is the concrete origin of a root. Of all the derivations of the root '*mr*' attested in those examined semantical profiles, this study has speculatively argued for the derivation *immaru* (lamb) as its concrete origin. Scouring the relation of *immaru* to the particularities and differentiations invoked by each profile has managed to indicate how the differentiations and particularities of these semantical profiles in utilizing the root '*mr*' and '*mr*' have occurred. This refers to the three systemized connotation structures discovered by this study: the sacred-divination, the secular-shepherding, and the combination of the sacred and secular connotations.

Each of these connotations is represented by different semantical profiles, and each of those has their respective trajectory in utilizing the root '*mr*'. In a simpler sense, these connotations represent the respective worldviews of those previously examined semantical profiles. The ASA mostly represent the sacred-divination connotations, where their utilization of the root '*mr*' was more towards divine authority through the divination practices within their cultic-paganism beliefs. The usage of the word '*mr*' to convey secular-human authority was also predominantly visible within the profiles associated with this connotation. Meanwhile, the secular-shepherding connotations were mostly attested to the ANA-Safaitic, which it relates to their usage of the root in relaying meanings substantially related to animal-shepherding activities. On the other hand, the third connotation that incorporated both sacred and secular connotations of the root is mostly visible within the *Jāhiliyya* and the Islamic-Arabic lexicon profiles. Although both shared the same connotations, they had their respective sub-worldviews permeating through their usage of the root within both connotations. The former validates divine authority in the sense that it only affects their secular-materialist worldview, while the latter infuses divine authority deeper, permeating and affecting both the physical and metaphysical world. Both have secular authority rooted primordially within animal-shepherding activities before evolving

and morphing into other secular activities that involve human-shepherding activities or governance. This study finds that the notion of abundance through the verb *amira* or *amara* (to be and to make abundance) mostly became the embedded catalyst for secular activities of each profile, regardless of animal or human shepherding (governance) activities. Even the word *mr* used predominantly by ASA in reflecting their secular authority is also connected to this abundancy notion, as evident through its etymological meaning that is arguably similar to the Arabic verb *amira* and *amara*, both of which is pertinent to the abundancy and multiplication of offsprings and related unit of the family or clan through the progeny of fertile woman.

However, it is significant to note that the identification of these particular worldviews of each semantical profile of the root '*mr*' is insufficient to represent the semantical abstraction of the root. This study considers the process of abstracting the root as cardinal to the efforts of understanding *al-imārah* in its barest sense. If those connotations serve as the worldviews of their respective profiles, the semantic abstraction of the root functions as the general worldview of the root shared by all these semantical profiles. Stripping *al-imārah* to its barest condition requires the construction of this general worldview contained within this root '*mr*' shared by all semantical profiles. Fortunately, this study has managed to identify the abstraction of this root within three components, the abstract meanings of *al-zuhūr*, the abstract function of *al-ri'āyah*, and the abstract mode of epistemic authority. These three semantical abstractions of the root '*mr*' are the most essential elements for the root '*mr*', regardless of what meanings it conveys through its various forms of derivational morphology or what connotations it chose to have resided with.

The first component *al-zuhūr* reflects the abstract meaning of this root, which is peculiar to the notion of visibility. In the sacred-divination connotation, meanings such as sign, mark, omen, and command of cultic-deities all reflect this notion, particularly in the sense of making visible the communication of these deities to their adherents through divination. In secular-shepherding connotations, this abstract visibility appears in terms of making abundance and multiplication of herded animals, which relays the notion of visibility through the quantitative aspect of it. The third connotation of both sacred and secular within the *Jāhiliyya* and Islamic-Arabic lexicon also attests to this abstract meaning

of visibility. In its divine connotation, the *Jāhiliyya* usage of the root 'mr through the phrase *amr* Allah embeds this visibility notion through the Height and Elevation of Allah as the Highest Sovereignty governing their worldly affairs. On the other hand, the Islamic-Arabic lexicon portrayed this notion in its divine connotation in the sense of *amr* Allah as the religion Islam or revelation provided by Allah to mankind. In this sense, the visibility of divine 'mr of the latter denies the previous divine connotation of both sacred-divinations utilized by ASA that relies on the pagan form of constant communication with deities and the limited divine context of the *Jāhiliyya* Arabs that only symbolizes the visibility of *amr* Allah merely through Him being the Highest Authority. Secularly, the visibility notion of both *Jāhiliyya* and Islamic-Arabic lexicon were all emerging through the secular-abundancy of animal shepherding, as well as through other evolved forms of secular activities of 'mr, such as in military or tribal *amīr*, or *ūlū al-amr*, all of whom embed the visibility notion through their high position among the people in their society.

Meanwhile, the second component involves the abstract function of the root 'mr, which relays the notion of *al-ri'āyah* (shepherding, custodianship, guardianship). In some ways, *al-ri'āyah* also serves as the function for the visibility notion before, providing rationale behind all of the visibility that occurred through the root's 'mr derivations. The sacred-divination connotation symbolizes this function in the sense of how the omen, mark, or sign that emerged and became visible through the divinations were *-supposedly-* in their belief, transpired as the governance of their deities in shepherding them to their good interests. In the case of the secular-shepherding connotation and their aim of visibility through the abundance notion, the good practices of *al-ri'āyah* serves as a way of maximizing and capitalizing on that aim. The divine context of the third connotation in the *Jāhiliyya* only resorted to the *amr* Allah as His shepherding process that only involves and affects their secular-worldly life - specifically in fulfilling the abundancy goals. The Islamic-Arabic lexicon, however, reflects the shepherding of Qur'ānic *amr*, which refers to the visibility of the religion Islam or revelation as to provide the pathway and manual for mankind in guiding their worldly and hereafter to their good interest and benefits. In secular contexts, the Islamic-Arabic lexicon did affirm the *ri'āyah* process with the goal of abundancy through the example of *amarahu Allah* (Allah has made abundance) or *ūlū al-amr* (those who hold the affairs/ authority). But these lexicons also adduced the Qur'ānic

rejection of the full dependency of secular-materialist abundancy goals in favour of transgression to Allah. Another aspect of *al-ri'āyah* uniquely inherent to the latter involves the derivation *ammārah*, which is a form of Qur'ānic precaution for men against the ever-commanding nature of the human self to evil and misdeeds. Although the *Jāhiliyya* did address the ethical need to disassociate from evil in following the order and council of others (*i'timār*), they did not mention the self or the soul itself as to have the capability of doing so.

The third component, however, reflects the epistemic authority of the root, mostly evident through the authoritative meaning of the root *'mr*. This study finds that each authority in those three connotations signals the epistemic modality in their authoritativeness. The sacred-divination context displays the authoritative nature through the meanings command, mark, sign, and omen of their deities in instructing and guiding the supposed path or matters that their adherent is supposed to do or traverse in seeking and obtaining something. As part of the decision-making mechanism, these signs, omen, or command of their deities provided by the divination were also epistemic in some sense. Unlike the sacred-divination authority that resides comfortably without any scrutiny from their believers, the authority of secular-shepherding is varied from two modalities, either being authoritative coercively or through the epistemic authority of knowledge. The *Jāhiliyya* did incline to the latter, where they had attested to the need for knowledge in *'mr*, no matter the context referring to the animal or human shepherding (governance). The Islamic-Arabic lexicon also attested to this in their secular authoritative designation, the *ūlū al-amr*, which is a term for both scholars and leaders. Between these two, the epistemic modality was greater upon the former, where they became part of *ūlū al-amr* because of their essential quality of being knowledgeable, and not appointed like the latter. At some point, the former also pay heed to this maxim, as the obedience of the masses to the ruler is also bounded by the obedience of that ruler to the scholars. In the case of the divine connotation, the *Jāhiliyya* only expected the epistemic authority of Allah to act only upon their worldly benefits. The Islamic-Arabic lexicon, however, laid the authority upon the religion Islam. This entails the authoritativeness of its embedded epistemology (Qur'ān and *hadīth* tradition) as well as the *sharia*, where they provided a new moral imperative to

mankind, as well as the new measurement of sharia that encompasses the physical and metaphysical reality determining the right from wrong in the sense of *thawāb* and *'iqāb*.

Meanwhile, the non-authoritative meanings of matter, affair, abundance, landmark, mark, and many more were all carrying the same abstract meaning of *al-zuhūr* (visibility). For instance, those meanings related to mark and sign such as the Arabic landmark (*amarah*), and ASA signal station (*'wmr*) are all connected to this notion in the sense of how it emerged as something to be looked at as a guide for something, while those meanings related to command becomes visible in the sense of it coming from people of higher status or superior. Not much can be said on the other two components, as not all of these non-authoritative meanings reflect the notion of *al-ri'āyah* or epistemic authority. However, most of them are the contingencies of those two components. To put it briefly, an epistemic-driven shepherding process leads to a good practice that will yield better outcomes in terms of achieving abundance. The most primordial type of abundance circulates around the nomadic socioeconomic activities, which aims for maximizing the material abundancy of their animal-shepherding and pastoralism life (livestock, milk, etc.). However, that simple abundance then evolves and complicates within a non-pastoral society, and started to include their status, wealth, and progeny. The increase of these elements will affect the way the society views them, hence increasing the visibility of their *amr*, which now may relate to the non-authoritative meanings, such as *amr* as affair, matter, and so on. This notion of abundance also explains the word *mr*' used in the ASA before to depict their secular authority of lordship, which again, supposedly reflects and originates from their view upon those who have many possessions as to have possessed superior societal stature. Within this abundance notion, the root *'mr* is essentially addressing the issues of secular growth, progressiveness, dynamicity, and adaptability.

However, the Islamic-Arabic lexicon has refurbished the etymological proclivity of this root towards secular abundance. Although they already adduce examples of acknowledging the abundancy through Allah (*āmaraha/ amaraha* Allah), most of the lexicons also include the discussion on the Qur'ānic verse of *amarnā mutraḥḥā*, mostly to convey the discussion on the meaning of the word *amarnā* in that phrase. This study finds that regardless of either interpretation, the verse reprimands the full dependency on the secular-abundancy notion without heeding to Allah in obedience and being righteous. In

some sense, the Qur'ān is being wary and providing caution upon the potential danger of the full secular-abundance goal. Nevertheless, a more convincing conclusion on the Qur'ānic examples for the root 'mr adduced by these Islamic-Arabic lexicons requires a much thorough study of the Qur'ānic semantics on the root 'mr, which this study fails to offer with details. Etymologically, however, this study has stripped down *al-imārah* to its core by analyzing the semantics of its root attested in various semantical profiles in pre-Islamic Arabia. This refers to the previous three components of semantic abstraction before, which this study argues as the most essential components of the root. Regardless of any connotation or derivation that the root shall take, *al-imārah*, *al-i'timar*, *al-istimārah*, etc, these three components will persevere as the abstraction of the root.

Conclusively, re-orienting the legal-political to semantical epistemic does provide a different and new perspective on the concept of *al-imārah*. Reading and comprehending *al-imārah* within those three components shall offer a much refreshing and rejuvenating outlook on that concept. Instead of having to perceive this concept legally or politically through the Islamic legal-political spectrum, *al-imārah* can now enter into the discussion of social ethics, which of course contemporarily related to those three components, particularly *al-ri'āyah* and epistemic authority. The spectrum of social ethics that this new breath of *al-imārah* can embark on is ubiquitously important to many fields, such as public administration ethics, social work-code ethics, or even political ethics itself. Furthermore, the attestations of *al-ri'āyah* through this root within the previously examined semantical profiles do involve and concern with the issues of rights between the dominant-subordinate relationship. Such an issue has become vital in many contemporary issues currently. Assessing *al-imārah* from this outlook may provide a new finding for the issues of rights within any dominant-subordinate relationship, particularly in re-incorporating the epistemic authority of the divine that seems to have lost its bastion nowadays. Within that free and loose environment, *al-imārah* shall have rejuvenation, at least in terms of offering itself as a new social or political ethical theory or perhaps, a model for a new institutionalized system. Nevertheless, one could have always resorted to developing *al-imārah* traditionally as a system of governance, as it has always been in the Gulf countries or as recently in Afghanistan and Syria.

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