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EVOLUTION OF GOVERNORIAL TERMS AND INSTITUTION OF GOVERNORSHIP DURING THE PIOUS CALIPHAL AND UMAYYAD PERIODS

Introduction

Wali, in the meaning of provincial governor is one of the most significant administrative institutions in the politico-constitutional hierarchy of the early Muslim state system. Its pivotal importance can be gauged from the undeniable fact that *wali* used to be a sort of caliph in miniature in the provincial setup, owing to the ground reality, the former being the direct nominee, representative and spokesman of the latter.

If we trace the etymology of the term, *wali*, plural *awliya,* it dawns upon us that it is basically an Arabic word with a number of meanings. It has been derived from its masdar, noun *wilaya* or *wilayat*. It has wide range of meanings like protector, helper, custodian, master, guardian, governing authority, governor etc.

In early phases of Islamic history, title or term of *wali* was used for administrative head, most particularly, to designate governors of administrative divisions or units called provinces. During the Holy Prophetic (SAW) era, certain other terms were also used like *amir*, *amil*, *sheikh*, *imam* etc which were interchangeable for various posts or positions and responsibilities.

Walis were delegated authority to take care of newly annexed territory by maintaining law and order situation and ensuring smooth sailing of administration of the local populace of a specific area called, *al wilayat*.

Amir generally was used for the military authorised commander. *Amil* for that matter was employed for the collection of revenue of a particular area as an additional duty with dissemination of Islam, while *imam* was used with spiritual connotation.

Once the Holy Prophet (SAW) laid the foundation of the basic administrative institutions of the Islamic polity including office of *wali* or authorised administrator, colossal edifice of civil pyramid was erected by his immediate successors who never compromised on the basics left to them by their mentor, trainer and law giver. Main contribution was made by Hazrat Umar by systematising, regularising, reforming and refining the whole administrative setup in general and the portfolio of *wali* or the provincial headship in particular.

The four commandments of the *amir ul mumanin* to be compulsorily obeyed and displayed as well on the main gate of the governor office in addition to the direct answerability, accountability and responsibility to the caliph of the day, augmented the significance of the office of *wali.*

Under the Umayyad setup, the caliphs heavily relied on the *walis*, most particularly the newly conquered areas and the border provinces. Some *walis* were further elevated to the rank of governor general or viceroy called, *wali ul iqleen* where the clusters of the small provinces were formed having their own respective governors at lower level. This research article is going to discuss, analyse and properly comprehend the etymology, origin, transitional phases, relative terms and juridico-theological usage of *wali* during the Pious Caliphate and Umayyad periods.

Governorial terms: *Wali, Amir* and Derivations

In modern politics and governance, the English term governor is generally used for the head of a province or the administrator of a specific region, an entity of the mainland, a country, using his constitutional authorities delegated to him by the central government. In the ancient Arabic anarchic set up prior to the advent of Islam, *wali* was used in the same sense. It is because the region was stated as *al wilayaha.* Both are nouns as *Al-Maward* presents the same thing, where *wilayaha* sans *al* means not only the rule but also jurisdiction, domain, period, time, term in the office and even state, province, or district.[1] If it is applied to the post of governor, the dictionary defines

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[1] Rohi Baalbaki, *Al-Maward*, *7th ed*. (Lebanon: Dar Eli-Ilm Lilmalayin, 1995), 1247-1248.

it clearly that it means "govern, rule, direct, run, have power (authority, command) over," while it has been used in many senses as a guardian, helper, companion, saint, lord or chief and even owner or master.[2] Therefore, it is likely that the first word used for a governor or an administrator is *wali*. However, Thomas Patrick states that when this is used as a prefix, a title, with some name, it means, *amir*, another Arabic word,[3] which means a person, who rules a Muslim country, but on the behalf of the caliph, the central authority, as what is stated as "Successor of the Apostle of God."[4] In this sense, the post of *wali* seconds him that it means a person who applies the policies of the central government as well as leads the region in the theological and political sense.[5]

Therefore, the term *wali* has four different connotations: theological, grammatical, political and administrative. In the theological sense, the term *wali* seems translated as a saint but it is not equal to it due to "history, institutions and cultural frameworks" of both religions[6], while in a reverse semantic sense, it is close to *arif billah*, an Arabic term, which means "The Knower of Allah."[7] However, in its extensive usage *wali* is Allah's attribute, which means that He is the Possessor of everything in this universe and that He acts as He pleases."…and apart from Him, they have no protector (*wali*)."[8] These simple references unravel a plethora of semantic senses ranging from a religious to spiritual authority in theological connections. It could be argued that a *wali*'s rule is the rule of a perfect man imbued with spiritual qualities,[9] though Milner has cited various sources to reach this conclusion.[10]

Grammatically, the term, *wali* has been derived from *waliyah* which is an infinitive of the term, *waliya*, which means having power over something/somebody. It has been derived from *waliya alayhi*, which means to set over or be governed by some person. Informally, it is used as plural as *wilaya* or *walaya*.[11] It means it has the same literal meanings as derived from the dictionary, *Al-Maward*. However, the term has highly unstable and fluctuating political nuances. Politically, this term signifies the office and the official authority e.g., 'he has authority over a region (such as a thing, or a country, region, province, town or city as commander or governor, or a lord, prince, royal authority, administrator or manager).[12] It clearly signifies a place or a region that is governed. Therefore, it is almost the same that grammar defines for a doer of the action is *wali*, while the region for doing that action is *al-wilaya* which enters the political realm. As politics and religion were intertwined during the early period, the term certainly has a divine touch, while administratively, it was later used during the Caliphatic and then Umayyad period shortly after the end of the caliphate. The terms, after they have been given in their equivalent English terms, have been used interchangeably in English and Arabic in the relevant meanings.

Wali, Amir and Amil: Governorial Terms used During Prophetic and Caliphatic Period

A cursory understanding of these terms in their historical perspective and subsequent usages clarifies the term further. Where the term *wali* represents the political institution linked to the Islamic caliphate as the governor with delegated powers, various theoretical links exist between the institution and the term *al-wilaya*. However, as *wali* occurred prior to the existence of *al-wilaya,* it takes precedence in the subsequent analysis here.

Tracing the historical usage of this terminology lands into Yemen where the *Himiar Kings* used the title, *waliya al-ahd* (heir apparent). There is a story about its usage about Balqis when she happened to kill Umar Idhar, she stated to Himiar King that Umar entrusted her to sign a contract (*ahd*) with the king. Thereof, she contacted the king on the behalf of Umar with the legal claim of being the heir apparent to reign (*mulk*) in his post-death period.[13] When Bishar was ruling Makkah on the behalf of Balqis, he was titled as *amil*,[14] which is the same thing as later Muslim rulers used this title for administrators of other fields. It, however, is highly interesting that the Paganistic era witnessed the use of *hukam,* with the title as *nala-at-tahiyah*, honourable greeting methods in that cultural

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[2] Ibid., 1248.

[3] Thomas Patrick Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam* (New York: Scribner, Welford, & Co. London: W. H. Allen & C, 1885), 14. 65.

[4] Ibid., 652.

[5] Antony Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 252-253.

[6] Bryn S. Turner, *Weber and Islam, Vol-7* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 61.

[7] Sultan Bahoo, *Risala Roohi Sharif*, trans. Mrs. Ambreen Mughees (Lahore, Pakistan: Sultan-Ul-Faqar Publication, Lahore, 2015), 115.

[8] The Holy Qur'an 13-1. (Translated by Talal Itani), https://m.clearquran.com/downloads/quran-english-translation-clearquran-edition-allah.pdf.

[9] A. C. Milner, "Islam and the Muslim State," in *Islam in South East Asia*, ed. M. B. Hooker (The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1988), 42-43.

[10] Ibid., 43.

[11] Bernard Lewis, *The Political Language of Islam* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 34-35.

[12] Aiyub Palmer, *Sainthood and Authority in Early Islam: Al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi's Theory of Wilaya and The Re-envisioning of the Sunni Caliphate* (London: BRILL, 2010), 162-163.

[13] Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *History of al-Tabari Vol. 39, The: Biographies of the Prophet's Companions and Their Successors: al-Tabari's Supplement to His History,* trans. Ella Landau-Tasseron (New York: State University of New York Press, 2015), 32.

[14] Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Malik bin Hisham ibn Ayyub, *Kitab al-Tijan li ma'rifati muluk al-zamān fi akhbar Qahtān* (Hyderabad, India: Majlis Dairtul Muaraf, Deccan), 153.

milieu. However, *hukam* were chosen as arbitrators rather than true rulers; specifically, people with social status, glory, integrity from noble race to whom they would consider worthy of honour and take their problems for resolution. In fact, when it comes to *amil*, it was also used for regalities in Syrian and Iraqi regions.[15]

This brief analysis demonstrates the linguistic and pragmatic eloquence of the Arabic language with respect to the word *wali* and its connotative use in different regional settings. Simultaneously, the infidels of Makkah used to call the Holy Prophet (SAW) as *amir*, using it a prefix of Makkah, or alternatively Hijaz.[16] To their chagrin, the Holy Prophet (SAW) spurned such titles and regal niceties. It happened once that a new honoured the Holy Prophet (SAW), calling him a prince; the Holy Prophet (SAW) retorted, saying the title suits Allah and not him.[17]It means that despite holding various titles himself, the Holy Prophet (SAW) refrained from using regal titles associated with the past royal families and empires. It was also meant to warn the Muslim rulers of the future that they should not be despotic rather they should set examples in public and social service.

A brief analysis of the title used by the Holy Prophet (SAW)'s successor may unravel the semantic conundrum. It means as the Holy Prophet (SAW) used various titles, the term *wali* did not become an official term as it is used for Hazrat Ali (RA) by Shi'te sect where he is supposed to wield political, administrative, divine, and spiritual authority over the Muslim nation, though, it, too, has varied connotations.[18] On the other hand, it is a fact that Hazrat Abu Bakr (RA) did not agree to use Allah's Prophet. Instead, he contented to use the Holy Prophet (SAW)'s caliph.[19] The second caliph, Hazrat Umar (RA) assumed the title of the commander of the faithful or *amir al-muminin.* This title still seems better, representing a representative having supreme power, though, not a sovereign (*malik*), yet equal to have power as a prince. On the other hand, if Islamic history is reviewed regarding the title, *amir*, it is observed that various deputies of the Holy Prophet (SAW) used this title in different capacities such as *amir-e siria* or a detachment commander that the Holy Prophet (SAW) appointed to lead the Muslims against the infidels of that time.

Its plural *al-umra* has been used at different places for the same commander of different detachments. It is stated that the first such expedition was led by Hazrat Hamza bin Abdul Muttalib, the uncle of the Holy Prophet (SAW) towards a coastal area. However, at some other place, it is stated that it was Ubaida bin Al-Harith dispatched to Thaniyat al-Murra to confront the Quraish en route to Makkah.[20]

Both of them were titled as *amir*. Second such expedition was led by Abdullah bin Jahsh to the region of Naklha.[21]The title that follower carried during this expedition was *amir* or the commander of the detachment as is written in Urdu.[22] It means that the title was used even before the establishment of the caliphate with ambiguity about its usage in other expeditions sent by the Holy Prophet (SAW). There is evidence that the term *amir* was used even before this during the first planned skirmish with the Quraish for Hazrat Amir Hamza (RA), the paternal uncle of the Holy Prophet (SAW). It took place in March 623AD, according to Mubarakpuri.[23] If taken literally according to the nature of the task, the term means that it is applied to the military duties of the followers appointed by the Holy Prophet (SAW) following his migration to Madina.

Apart from this the Holy Prophet Muhammad (SAW) also sent emissaries to spread the message of the new religion among the tribes living in the boundaries of the Arabian Peninsula of that time. Those followers were called teachers whom the Holy Prophet (SAW) dispatched to different regions, such as Musab bin Umair who was deputed to instruct people of Yathrib (Madina) and teach them Islam. He was also called *amir*[24]though in Urdu version he is the ambassador or emissary.[25] However, Bahjat Kamil Abd al-Lafti has translated *amir* as "the head of the delegation"[26] that connotes ambassadorial sense. Certainly, the teachers sent to other regions by the Holy Prophet had due instructions that they should treat the people gently with love and not with contempt. Usman bin Abi al-As

[15] Ibid., 269.

[16] Al-Imam Abdul Rahman ibn Mohammed ibn Khaldoun, *Introduction of Ibn Khaldoun*, trans. Rami Touqan, (Beirut: Dar Al-Kutab Al-ilmiyah, Beirut, 2016), 267.

[17] Thomas W. Arnold, *The Legacy of Islam*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), 286. Also see Ibn Khaldoun, *Introduction,* 267.

[18] Maria Massi Dakake, *The Chrismatic Community: Shi'ite Identity in Early Islam* (Albany: State University of New York, 2007), 15-16.

[19] Ahmet Seyhun, *Islamist Thinkers in the Late Ottoman Empire and Early Turkish Republic* (New York: BRILL, 2014), 128.

[20] Muhammad Hussayn Haykal, *The Life of Muhammad*, trans. I. R. A. al-Faruqi (Chicago: North American Trust Publications, 1935), 256. https://muqith.files.wordpress.com/2010/10/muhammadbyhaykal.pdf. Cf, Safi ur Rahman Mubarakpuri, *Al-Raheequ-ul-Makhtoom* (Lahore, Pakistan: Maktaba Al-Salfia, Lahore, 2000), 270.

[21] Mubarakpuri, *Al-Raheequ-ul-Makhtoom,* 273.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., 270.

[24]Abd-al-Malik ibn Hisham, *Sirat an-Nabi,* ed. Muhammad Muhyiad-Din Abdal Hamid (Cairo, Egypt: Matabat Al-Madani, 1963),

[25] Mubarakpuri, *Al-Raheequ-ul-Makhtoom,* 207.

[26] Bahjat Kamil Abd al-Latif, "The Prophet Muhammad and the Universal Message of Islam" in *Different Aspects of Islamic Culture*, Vol. 3, ed. Idris El Hareir and El Hadji Ravane M'Baye, (Paris: UNESCO Publishers, 2011), 50.

was another person who was appointed as governor (*amir*) of Taif region, as Doner, has translated this term.[27] These appointments continued even after the sad demise of the Holy Prophet (SAW), for Usman continued even during the period of the second caliph.

Disregard of their continuation, these titles evince the prudence and intellectual capacity of the figures dispatched for the education or administration of the masses rather than simply governing them. Therefore, their semantic connotations are entirely different from the titles used earlier. However, at a time, the same title is used for a different purpose. One such case of the revenue collection is of Khalid bin Sa'id. He was dispatched to Sanna titled as *amir* as Al-Baladhuri has attributed this to *Al-Wakid Al-Aslami*, a great historian of that time, saying that he has used the word *amir* for both Khalid bin Sa'id as well as Muadh bin Jabal; the first for the collection of revenues from Yemen and second for administering justice.[28] Muhammad Riaz, too, has given the same titles to these two appointed officials[29] as did al-Baladhuri in his history referring to Al-Wakid al-Aslami.

These terms used for these specific positions were either messengers (ambassador or emissary) and *amil* (administrator), which are both different in functions from *amir* and *wali* commonly used for governance rather than for simple administration, though, it seems that *amir* has worked at a time for governance, too, which seems that it is holistic governance and not specific one excluding ambassadorial tasks and other revenue collection issues. Even yet, it seems that sometimes this difference also got diluted in usage that only the circumstances of that time could unravel, though a try could be made. Taking the first two titles that the Holy Prophet (SAW) used such as *rasul* and *amil;* the first has been translated in political language as an ambassador and the second as an agent. In this connection, Yemen could be cited as a case in point where Phillip K. Hitti has stated al-Baladhuri having used the words, *rasul* and *amil,* in the same semantic sense,[30] though, the tasks associated with them were different. For example, Muadh bin Jabal was *amir* as a messenger. Leaving aside this singular and plural issue, it becomes clear that *amil* and *amir* has been in usage at that time for different people, leading others differently. In fact, *amir-e rasul* is linked with the Holy Prophet (SAW)'s title *Rasul Allah* which means the messenger of Allah. However, the Holy Prophet (SAW) assumed this title when he was on his way to Tabuk for a military expedition.[31] The title was also used for the first caliph Hazrat Abu Bakr (RA) when he led the Muslims to Hajj to Makkah in 630AD.[32]

Peters has used the word "led" by which he means not a simple governor or administrator, but someone having complete authority as a chief or *amir.* Pascal Buresi and Hicham El Aallaoui has translated these terms *amil* as an agent but has equated to the governor, *wali* as governor and *amil* as collector or governor of the collection with the same meanings for *amil* citing its plural as *ummal.[33]* Michael Brett, too, has used *ummal* term for collectors of revenue and *wali* for governors.[34] It points to three major conclusions that *amir* was the leading term to represent the centrality of the administration while *wali*, *ummal, as* Hitti has remarked that *amir* also refers to "commander-in-chief," having the power to delegate authority to the lower level,[35] though, it is interesting that the same Phillip K. Hitti has translated *imam* or leader of the prayer, too, in the same sense.[36] Words at both places are quite identical. It could be that he has stayed away from further interpretations to come to the definitive conclusion with the sense that this simple double-connotation could be permitted to stay with the intention to create further fissures in the Muslim communities, or he might not have been able to reach the sematic temporality of the word used during those times. The reason is that the consideration of *imam* goes directly in the favour of Shi'a sect, which has already used the term *wali* for the fourth pious caliph as the first *imam.[37]*

The comparative analysis of all these terms demonstrates that whereas the term *amir* mostly used the Holy Prophet (SAW) for the military commanders or detachment commanders seems to have some superiority over all other terms. For example, *wali* is semantically limited to a region within the Islamic polity, while the term *amir*, too, has been used for several such officials but with some prefixes or suffixes to denote the real meanings and functions of the person or official concerned. The same goes for *ummal* which has been interchangeably used for the official

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[27] Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, Volume X: The Conquest of Arabia, A.D. 632–633/A.H. 11*, trans. Fred M. Doner, (New York: State University of New York Press, 1993), 158.

[28] Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, *Futuh al-Buldan* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Tijariyyah al-Kubra, 1959), 76.

[29] Ibid., 78.

[30] Aḥmad ibn Yaḥya al-Baladhurī, *The Origins of the Islamic State:Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, trans: Philip Khuri Hitti (New York: Columbia University, 1916), 106-115.

[31] Al-Baladhuri, *The Origins of the Islamic State:Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, 67.

[32] Francis E. Peters, *Muhammad and the Origins of Islam* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1994), 251.

[33] Pascal Buresi and Hicham El Aallaoui, *Governing the Empire: Provincial Administration in the Almohad Caliphate (1224-1269)* (Netherland: Brill NV, Leiden, 2012), 172.

[34] Michael Bret, *Ibn Khaldun and the Medieval Maghrib, Vol-1* (Michigan: The University of Michigan, Ashgate/Variorum, 1999), 61.

[35] Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, (London: MacMillan & Co Ltd, 1953), 173.

[36] Ibid.,173-121.

[37] Joseph S. Meri, *Medieval Islamic Civilisation: L-Z Index, Vol-2* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 2006), 736.

for different duties based on their functions within the state or within some region of the state. Yet, the major function of the term *amir* has been to show centrality as *amir al-muminin* used by the second pious caliph[38] and subsequently the other caliphs. The impacts of these titles go far beyond mere semantics; whereas *amir* was associated with the centrality of the Islamic polity, *wali* and *amil* were associated with regional entities the individuals of the titles were supposed to manage or the functions they were supposed to perform.

However, the shift started creeping further in these titles and the functions of the titleholders which means that these terms were in their evolution to be used later for the governorial roles. The first such shift occurred during the period of Hazrat Umar (RA) which al-Baladhuri, too, pointed out that the *amir* was given the responsibilities of *qadis* or judges to dispense justice in the areas of their influence. For example, the followers appointed in Syria and Hims were titled as *amirs* and given the responsibilities of dispensing justice, too, along with other responsibilities.[39] However, these were reforms in the political system where new officials were appointed with the same titles but different responsibilities among which the governing was the prime factor. Therefore, the terminology used for governorial positions went overhaul. Hitti again translates the same term for different people as stated by al-Baladhuri in *Kitab* that their roles involve governing through administration as done by Usman bin Al-As in Bahrain and then the collection of revenue by Qudama bin Madun in Bahrain again.[40]

Despite myriads of variations, the caliphs have used other titles for their deputies according to the requirements of the circumstances. For example, the first caliph, Hazrat Abu Bakr (RA) used the title the commander of the public when he asked Abu Ubaida to lead the people by joining hands with Yazid bin Abu Sufyan.[41]

In the original Arabic text, it is stated to be *amir* with some suffix, which shows the centrality of the caliphatic command. Similarly, the same context occurred when Khalid bin Walid, the legendary commander, invaded Syria after leaving Iraq with the title as "commander of commanders" as Hitti states *amir ala al-umara* given in Arabic.[42] Later, he was dismissed and ordered by the second caliph, Hazrat Umar (RA) to return to Madina to be replaced with Abu Ubaida as *amir ala al-umara*[43], though in Urdu there is just mention of *amir* and not *umara*.[44] This evolution of the administrative, theological, judicial and military terms for the governors continued through transitional process during the first pious caliphatic period.

The term *amir*, however, stayed the most usable and strong term in terms of connotations that it exudes towards the public and the officials due to its association with military and force as Hitti has highlighted through his translation of "commander of the commanders."[45]

Terms used During the Umayyad Caliphatic Period

It is, therefore, clear that in the initial phase of political Islam, these titles were also used for the military officials or were conjointly used for the politico-military, theological-military or revenue-military officials such as the commander was also a governor or the administrator was also a legion commander. However, things started emerging distinctly in a linguistically semantic sense the Umayyad dynasty used the term *amir* different from *amil* as well as *wali*. In fact, *wali* was connected more to *amir* than to *amil*. Despite this close connection or association, *amir* during this era accumulated more powers in their hands; be they administrative, financial, or theological. In some cases, some of the *umara* equalled themselves to the caliph based in Madina. For example, the eastern provinces used to see the *amir* as *katkhuda*, a term used for the Deputy of Allah or Shah, which is used for the king in the eastern regions. Perhaps that is the reason that the modern historians have used the word, viceroy,[46]for the governors appointed by the Umayyad Dynasty such as in the case of Ziyad bin Abihi, it is stated that he was the viceroy of Iraq or that Hajjaj bin Yousuf, governor of Hijaz, was later appointed the governor of Iraq including the region of Transoxiania by the Umayyad caliph, Abdul Malik.[47] Similarly Musa bin Nusair, was appointed as *amir* of Africa, who was stated as the viceroy of Africa.[48] In all these cases, the said *umara* had military as well as political affairs completely in their hands. That is why the term viceroy was used by modern historians, though they were

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[38] Seyhun, *Islamist Thinkers in the Late Ottoman Empire and Early Turkish Republic,*128.

[39]Al-Balādhurī, *The Origins of the Islamic State*:*Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, 173.

[40] Ibid., 124-125.

[41] Ibid., 166.

[42] Ibid., 109.

[43] Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 149. Cf, Ahmad bin Abi Yaqub bin Jaafar bin Wahab bin Wazah, *Tareekh-e Yaqubi, Vol. II,* trans. Maulana Akhtar Fatehpuri (Karachi: Nafees Academy, Urdu Bazar, 2015) 224-225.

[44]Ibid., 225.

[45] Al-Balādhurī, *The Origins of the Islamic State*:*Kitab Futuh al-Buldan,* 109.

[46] John S. Esposito. *Islam and Politics*, 4[th]ed. (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1984), 152-153.

[47] Syed Ameer Ali, *A Short History of the Saracens* (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1899), 100.

[48] Ibid., 105.

appointed as representatives (of Allah or people) or [49] the central authority to govern the provinces and not completely rule them as in the earlier dates.

Whereas the term *amil* is concerned, it is used for a director. In fact, it has been used at that time when the administration was separated from the finance department; the term *amil* was used for the finance director in the capital cities of the provinces such as in the case of Iraq or Khurasan. Despite these clarifications, it is required that a review of the terms used by the Umayyads, specifically those, which distinguished them from the pious caliphs, is required to pinpoint the actual differences.

As a newly caliphate emerging out of the legitimate foundations of the pious caliphate with doubts on its legitimacy due to various rebellions in the ranks of the Holy Prophet (SAW)'s followers, the Umayyad's founding father, Hazrat Amir Muawia (RA) understood the significance of finance at the very outset. Hence, he appointed special revenue collection officials and kept them independent of all influences even from the governors. New official titles were created for other officials such as *sahib ash-shurta* for the Police Head to work under the supervision of the governor to assist him in civil law and order situation, though, it happened during the time of Umayyad caliph Hisham. Another force, argues, Syed Ameer Ali, was created to work as a para-military-force *sahib ul ahdas* to work as the police as well as the military, while the naval force used to have a new title for its head as *amir-al-bahr,*(admiral) or Commander of the Naval Forces.[50]

However, for this, *Diwans* were separated for other departments including tax, finance, correspondence and miscellaneous revenue collection duties.[51] However, it is interesting to note that when the Abbasids forced Umayyads to run for lives, they established their rule in Spain where they used the title of *amir,* that Kathryn Hinds point could be used for a prince, too.[52] Ian Heath seconds this stipulation of Hinds in his book, *Armies of the Dark Ages* saying that the first person using this title as Amir Abdur-Rahman ad-Dakhil who became "the *amir* of Cordoba" in 756 AD.[53]

Following their elimination from the Arab world, the Umayyads established themselves in Spain where they used the title *amir* until Abdul-Rahman al-Nasir started using the title of caliph for the central head. However, on the other hand, the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt used the title *wali* instead of *amir* for the central authority, while the title of *amil* was used for the governors for financial and administrative issues.

These multiple titles were used during different regimes in the Islamic world and they were used in African territories as well and that too in the same sense. The examples of Africa and Morocco are cases in point that *amir* had extensive power due to his being the representative of the caliph as well as the direct military commander and theological head. However, *wali* was only to second him, while *ummal* were used to command or act as governors yet they were all the representatives of the caliphatic authority on the conquered lands.[54] Therefore, *amir*, during its prolonged usage has come to the point, evincing various nuances. However, it is stated that in later history, it equalled to master and was mostly used during battles or skirmishes. It happened in Egypt in the year (916-17 AD) that two separate posts for *amir* existed simultaneously in a province; one for military command and the other for revenue collection. For example, in the case of Isfahan province, there was a special army administration called *mutawalli-l-harb* as well as a revenue collection authority as *mutawali-l-kharaj*; both having separate *amirs*.[55] Despite this, the surprising thing is that the title of *wali* continued declining not only in its usage but also in its official significance despite its limited usage for the same functionaries as its equivalent term *amir*. On the other hand, the third term, *amil*, continued to be used for the revenue collections and administrative officials. Despite having the tendency of the Arabs to use various terms for the appointment of the deputies of the Holy Prophet (SAW), it has baffled the historians that the term *amir* and *wali* later emerged due to historical and theological schism in the Islamic governance since its inception and immediately followed the sad demise of the Holy Prophet (SAW).

Wilayat or Wilaya and Governance

To understand the vast semantic nuances of *wali*, it is fair to explore its root *wilaya* thoroughly. Regarding its etymology, the term *wilaya*, as reviewed and interpreted above, gives birth to *al-wilaya*, or *wilayat,* which means the sovereignty of the central authority, the power delegated by that central authority to someone or some official such as governor, or powers the governor assumes in the name of the central authority such as Anthony Black refers

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[49] Ibid.,191.
[50] Ibid.,191.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Katherine Hinds, *The Palace* (Singapore: Marshal Cavendish, 2009), 18.
[53] Ian Heath, *Armies of the Dark Ages* (Washington: Wargames Research Group Ltd, 2015), 32.
[54] Jamil M. Abu-Nasr, *History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 33.
[55] Reuben Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 363.

to as the "political function" and related to "military power."[56]In certain other Islamic political thoughts, it went beyond its perceived meanings here such as in Shia sect, Sayed Mohammad Moghimi equates with sovereignty,[57] jurisdiction[58], and "the principle of grace"[59] though jurisdiction, too, differs in respect to meanings stipulated in other schools of thought as it is associated with faqih in Shia terminology.[60] It also implies guardianship in civil legal jurisdiction[61] as well as in purely political terms on wider scale.[62] In this sense, it entails guardianship of man over the affairs of woman.[63]

Hence, *waliya* is the office of the governor that implies arrangement, exercise and administration of the delegated powers through the governor or *wali.* The review demonstrates that the Holy Prophet (SAW) or the pious caliphs (RA) appointed governors to represent them or the central Islamic authority in different territorial tracts conquered at that time. The term, therefore, encapsulates not only the governor's powers, but also his authority and jurisdiction on the region brought by the Islamic army under the Islamic government's control. Therefore, the term demonstrates judicial as well as theoretical underpinnings. The importance of *wali* becomes more important when Reuben Levey argues that *jihad* is community's obligation but the responsibility falls upon *imam.*[64] He states that it is the duty of imam to collect war equipment, ask people to join hands and wage *jihad.*[65] In fact, the word *imam* seems to have fallen into disuse due to earlier Islamic schematic tendencies during the establishment of the pious caliphate, for it moves towards *wali*, which is all encompassing and holistic term, not only taking the state but also the guardianship into its meanings.[66]

It means that if taken together, *jihad* and *wali* become entwined, for the *wali* as the governor is to wage *jihad* on the delegated authority of the central command, the caliph or *amir* (in some respects). Although it presents various other terms that are linked to *wilayat*, the region under the rule of *wali*, various other terms enter the governorial jargon such as *dar*, which also means a region or the whole territory as it has been associated with *harb* or *Islam* to denote different meanings for the Muslim inhabitants.

Following its entry into the administrative language, the term has also entered the judicial nuances, evincing different shades of meanings. In judicial meanings, the term w*ilayat al-jihad* has been divided into three distinct parts; the first *dar al-harb* that means the country of the enemy and *dar al-Islam*, the Islamic country. It could be a *dar al-harb* but has transformed after the conquest and establishment of complete Islamic rule. As far as the second is concerned, it means a completely Islamic country, having Islamic laws enforced from the central authority. The non-Muslim population has submitted to the Islamic sovereignty under the Islamic law, getting protection for paying *jizya.*[67]Following a long interpretation and hermeneutic of the Quranic extracts, Heck says that it is a unique "spiritual exercise, including ascetic discipline of the body"[68]which point to the mysticism and spirituality associated with the term *wali.*[69]

Al-Baladhuri states that *imam* was the title given to the prayer leader.[70]As time passed, the pious caliphate system established itself on sound foundations, the *wilaya* system becomes specialised, separating *amir* from *wali* with additional powers of judicature. Schism widened in the succession of the Holy Prophet (SAW), taking all governorial jargons into account with highly differing nuances. Whereas *imam* is considered a venerated term in Shia Islam on account of its association with Hazrat Ali (RA), it has lost its meanings in the maze of theological leadership in the mosque and learning as associated by the Sunni School of Thought.[71] The generalisation of the term in the second school of thought made it to lose some of its administrative nuances, leading the Umayyads to do away with it and rather take up other terms. The dominance of term *amir* has been apparent in Amir Muawia (RA)'s appointment as *amir* to rule for Yazid, his brother, while he himself adopted this term in the same year in 18AH as

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[56] Anthony Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 107.

[57] Sayed Mohammad Moghimi, *Principals and Fundamentals of Islamic Management* (Bingley: Emerlad Publishing House Limited, Bingley, 2019), 230.

[58] Ibid., 227.

[59] Ibid., 231.

[60] See note 60.

[61] Ibid., 231.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ziba Mir-Hosseini, "Stretching the Limits: A Feminist Reading of Shari'a in Post-Khomeini Iran", *In Feminism and Islam: Legal and Literary Perspectives*, edited by Mail Yamani and Andrew Allen (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 204, 300.

[64] Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, 254.

[65] Ibid., 257.

[66] Ibid., 330.

[67] Paul L. Heck, "Jihad Revisited," *The Journal of Religious Ethics*, 32, no. 1, (Spring, 2004): 95-128.

[68] Ibid., 98.

[69] Matthew Bennet, *40 Questions About Islam* (Grand Rapids: MI, Kregel Academics, 2020), 50-51.

[70] El-Sayed el-Aswad, *Muslim Worldviews and Everyday Lives* (New York: Altamira Press, 2012), 19-20.

[71] Ibid., 20.

Yaqubi states.[72] However, the second caliph is stated to have used the word *imam* and appointed two persons on this post to lead the *taraveeh* prayers.[73] However, in both of these developments, there does not seem any intentionality underlying the use of term to downgrade the significance of *imam* and upgrade the importance of *amir.* Yet, this preference seems to have far-reaching consequences later in the Islamic polity and its chaotic administration. Al-Mawardi has later distinguished this term only for the religious leaders, outlining three distinct types and sub-types, almost all of them concerned with the religious rites and rituals and following of the public in those directions,[74] though it is unclear how Al-Mawardi has reached this conclusion after this theologically associated polemic regarding the Shi'a school of thought's main pillar in the governance structure. However, a strong tradition of the *imam* working as a *qadi* or judge is found in the example of Muadh bin Jabal in Yemen when he was also appointed to collect *zakat* and *sadqat.*[75] Referring to earlier source, al-Baladhuri, Hitti also verifies that the second caliph (RA) appointed *qadi* in "Hims and Qinnasrin" provinces.[76] Obviously, they were titled as *imams*, a reverend title at that time, though, later it might have lost the same prestige but *wilayat* used to be commonly present in governance terms.

Inclusion of *qadi* is just a cursory mention under the *wali* and *wilaya* in that it also amounts to administrative structure running parallel to *amir*, *amil* and *wali*. The importance of this concept of governance lies in that *qadi* was also a theological teacher and well-versed in Islamic judicial system established by the pious caliphatic on the lines of the Prophethood period. However, the term *wilayat* was quite common such as it was used for the head of the pilgrimage as *wilayat al-hajj* during the reign of the first caliph.[77] This term later gave birth to several other such terms as *fi al-wilayatala al-hurub, wilayat al-qada* and *wilayat al-mazalim* which relates to wars waged for public, justice system and court of redress.[78] Sometimes, another term *wilayat al-mawsim*, too, was used for some *al-umara* engaged in arranging seasonal festivals.[79] The same term was used during the Umayyad period in different senses and for different posts but it seems that its use was mere generalisation and less governance or better to state that it was for appeasement of the concerned officials and for less concern of the public administration or governance. For example, *wilayat al-mawsim* was led by *amir al-mawsim.* Obviously, such a leader has a short-term deputation. Such an appointment was of Abu Rahm al-Ghifari at Median when the Holy Prophet (SAW) led the expedition.[80] He was appointed as *amir al-mawsim.*[81] In term of this *wilaya*, an incident of Ziyad is of significance when he wrote to the then caliph, Amir Muawia (RA) that he was appointed in Iraq but had the capacity to do multiple jobs over which he was appointed governor of Hijaz on the post of *wilayat al-mawsim.*

This evolution in *wilayat* occurred during the first fifty years of caliphate which also witnessed sea changes in the delegation of powers from democratic ways to despotic transfer of authorities in the case of the Umayyad Dynasty. Strangely, within six decades, in 68AH, there were four pilgrimage caravans with four different *amirs* such as Ibn al-Zubair, Abu Hanifa bin Ali, Mubad bin Al-Hanafiyya and the leader of Kharijites with the deputy Abdul Malik. However, due to the sacred site, no squabble or fight occurred at that time.[82]

The conclusion could be drawn that this *wilayat* could not be linked to any specific clan or tribe. However, it is also true that no permanent official was appointed for this post after the end of the pious caliphate and this term used its utility as well as prestige when it came to the second generation of caliphs in the Umayyad dynasty.

Besides this, *wilayat* was also used with *wilayat tafwid* which means full authority and *wilayat al-takwid* which means delegated authority as interpreted by Abdul Malik Ahmed in his *Social Ethics of Islam.*[83] Besides this *wilayat sadqat* also exists with different followers appointed at this post to collect *sadaqat* or *zakat* or both.[84] For example, Amir bin Hazm was also such appointment for *khums*[85] with Muadh bin Jabbal too for the same region.[86]Cutting it short, as stated earlier the terms *wilaya* and *walay* are different in their connotations, for in personal law, every person is a *wilaya* (independent) on himself. He can delegate this power to somebody else. This

[72] Al-Yaqubi, *Tareekh-e Yaqubi, Vol. II,* trans. Maulana Akhtar Fatehpuri, 239-240. Cf, Muir, *The Caliphate and its Rise, Decline and Fall*, 165.

[73] Abdus Salam Nadvi, *The Ways of Sahabah: Companions of The Prophet,* trans. Muhammad Younis Qureshi (Lahore: DarulIsha'at, 2000), 484.

[74] Al-Mawardi, *The Ordinances of The Government,* trans. Professor Wafa H. Wahba, (Reading: Garnet Publishing, 1996), 114-115.

[75] Gul Muhammad Khan, *Quest for Islamisation the Legal Way* (Lahore: University of Punjab, Pakistan Study Centre, 1999) 131.

[76] Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 173.

[77] Mulayati, *Islam and Development: A Politico-Religious Response* (Montreal, Canada: LPMI, 1997), 13.

[78] Ibid., 13.

[79] Habib al-Sukkari, *Kitab al-Muhabbar* (Haiderabad, India: Maṭba'atal-Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyah, 1942), 127.

[80] Ibid.,127.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Muir, *The Caliphate and its Rise, Decline and Fall*, 337.

[83] Abdul Malik Ahmed Al-Sayed, *Social Ethics of Islam: Classical Islamic-Arabic Political Theory and Practice* (New York: Vantage Press, 1982), 145, 338.

[84] S. A. Q. Hussaini, *Arab Administration* (Delhi: IDarah-I Adabiyat-i Dellhi, 1949)19, 21.

[85] Al-Baladhuri, *The Origins of the Islamic State:Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, 77.

[86] Ibid., 77.

turns into *walaya* that is used in Islamic *fiqh* extensively. It happens in the case of *waqf* properties as well as in the will of father for the children where it stated as *walayat al-nikah* and *walayat al-mal*.[87]

Conclusion

This prolongated review of the various terms its origin, its etymology, its connotations and denotations, its syntactic and stylistic features and its interchangeable jargons demonstrate that from the initial period of Islamic history to throughout different caliphates and other princely systems, it has been used to demonstrate the powers used in different aspects of the social, political, religious, military and economic spheres. The main objective of the coinage of the neologisms regarding basic terminology has always been to facilitate governance and administration. From the pious caliphate to the final Abbasid caliphate, the terms have witnessed various transformations, prefixes and suffixes and even outright neologisms. However, all of those *terms* serve different purposes of the central authority to delegate powers to the officials; In fact, Muslim civilisation not only emerged from the Arabic Peninsula but also borrowed Arabic linguistic features for its governance and administration to vastly use officials for different purposes with the expansion of the Islamic caliphate and those terms came handy to serve all the purposes with little changes in term.

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[87] Levy, *Social Structure of Islam*, 142, 143.