

Political, Social and Religious Changes in Islamicjerusalem from the First Muslim Conquest to the End of Umayyad Period (637-750 CE)

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Introduction

The questions of change have captured the interest of many researchers, historians and sociologists. The issue of change, which basically deals with development and civilization, has become a matter of great concern to the Muslim scholars since the fourteenth century as Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406 CE) discussed a pattern in the changes that occur in human social and political organization.¹ There have been a few attempts by modern Muslim scholars, who are interested in the Muslim sociological theories as opposed to the western sociological concepts such as Dawūd Rosser-Owen, Ja'far Sheikh Idrīs and Zahīd Parvez, to discuss the classical Muslim theories of change.

Fred McGraw Donner argues that the Muslim conquests had a profound change on the near East and on the general course of world history.² Therefore, in order to understand the Muslim concept of change, the researcher decided to examine social, religious and political changes in Islamicjerusalem in the early Muslim period, particularly during the first Muslim

conquest (637 CE) till the end of the Umayyads period (750 CE). This period seems very crucial to be explored, as it commenced the starting point of the Muslim era in ruling Islamic Jerusalem. Indeed, Islamic Jerusalem is a significant region with a unique value for all the millions of people of different religious persuasions who believe it to be their very own sacred place. Islamic Jerusalem is a symbol and centre of inspiration for the three great Semitic religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

Theoretical Framework of the Muslim Concept of Change

Although the question of change has become a matter of great concern to the Muslim scholars since the fourteenth century, the researcher has found very few materials elaborated in comprehensive approach regarding the topic. Most of the sources found discuss very brief about Muslim concept of change. Therefore, the researcher seeks to examine; what is the definition of Muslim concept of change? What instruments of change are Muslimally permitted? Why there are needs for the change? What means of change are appropriate?

Definition of Change

Dawūd Rosser-Owen defines the Muslim concept of change as *salāhah*, which means, 'being ameliorated.'³ According to him, *salāhah* contains four elements corresponding to the level of operation. These elements are *tajdīd*, *tajaddud*, *islāh* and *tabaddul*.⁴

Tajdīd (renewal) operates at the level of the individual and his close associates. *Tajdīd* is the means of renewing the adherence to the path and thereby enabling further advance. It is operable also with regard to those for whom one is responsible such as one's children and brothers. Thus it is the process of renewal of the pristine form of Islam and *fitrah* (natural constitution) within the individual and his close associates.

Tajaddud also means renewal or regeneration. It is a collateral form of *tajdīd*. It acts upon the fact of the institutions of society, and these cannot be tinkered with by unaware. Insight (*firāsah*), vision (*basīrah*) and 'inspiration' (*ilhām*) are essential for the task. Thus, *tajaddud* is 'the process of *tajdīd* performed within the group or society. It requires the presence of a *mujaddid* and its effect is twofold – locally and internationally – within the *ummah*. These two effects may occur simultaneously or there may be a time lapse between them.

Tabaddul means transformation or substitution. It is the transformation of existing institutions, cultures, or norms of a community in order to make them compatible with the Muslim vision. Where that is impossible their substitution – or compatible ones, *tabaddul* may be partial, or total.

Islāh means correction or amelioration. It is the restoring of a community to the right path. Where the community is disunited, this means bringing it to the right path, which emphasize on unifying divided groups to become a cohesive community. Any competent person or group could be *muslih* that is corrector or ameliorator.

Rosser-Owen's definition seems acceptable, however the researcher argues that it seems more appropriate to include the fifth element to be contained in the definition of change, which is *ibdā'*(innovation). *Ibdā'* literally means 'innovation and improvement. It is initiating changes in the community by introducing something in a new way, which is not having been or existed before and not after the similitude of anything pre-existing.⁵ For example, a chief executive officer initiates changes in his company by introducing a distinguished new company credo towards improving organizational effectiveness and efficiency. This kind of credo is a new innovation that could also be regarded as a change since it never being introduced before and not similar with anything preceding.

Objectives and Vision

The researcher observes that to develop the vision of Muslim change, it seems essential to examine major Muslim objectives in introducing change as follows:

Preserving Human Dignity and Freedom

Indeed, the Muslim concept of change aims to preserve human dignity, freedom and equality, which comprises principles of the concept of human's vicegerency. From Muslim viewpoint, the concept of vicegerency is comprehensive in its meaning and implications as it provides a number of values for shaping social life and clarifies the status of human beings and their position in relation to the rest of creation.

Islam subscribes to the view that human nature is pure and good. Human has been created in the best of forms and everyone is born in a state of purity and innocence. The Qur'ān is explicit on the dignity of man and the high esteem that God Almighty has bestowed on the progeny of Adam. Allāh says, "We have bestowed dignity on the progeny of Adam... and conferred on them special favours, above a great part of Our creation." (17:70) According to al-Alusī, "everyone and all members of the human race, including the pious and the sinner, are endowed with dignity, nobility and honour, which cannot be exclusively expounded and identified." Ibn 'Abbās has commented, however, that Allāh has honoured mankind by endowing him with the faculty of reason⁶.

Sayyid Qutb and Mustafā al-Sibā'ī argue that dignity is a natural right of every individual. The progeny of Adam have been honoured, not for their personal attributes, status in society, racial or tribalism distinctions, but for the fact that they are human beings. "Dignity is therefore the absolute right of everyone."⁷ Kamālī argues that the dignity of man is manifested in his freedom of conscience, moral autonomy and judgement.⁸ The Qur'ān overrides compulsion, which contravenes dignity, even in the acceptance and rejection of Islam itself: "There shall be no compulsion in religion" (2:256) is the clarion call and motto of the Qur'ān. Thus, invitation to the faith and *da'wah* must conform to the spirit of sincere advice and dignified persuasion.

In fact, one of the manifestations of personal liberty is the freedom of the individual to profess the religion of his or her own choice without compulsion. The individual must also have freedom to observe and practice his or her faith without fear of interference from others. Freedom of religion in its Muslim context thus implies that non-Muslims are not compelled to convert to Islam, nor are they hindered from practicing their own religious rites. Both Muslims and non-Muslims are entitled to practice their own religion and to defend it against attack or seditious provocation, regardless of whether such an attack is launched by their coreligionists or another group.⁹

Shad Salēem Farūqī argues that Muslim theory supports the idea of rights and fundamental rights. The rulers are supposed to rule through consultation. Implicit in the right to be consulted is the right to disagree with the governors, to give sincere advice, to exercise personal reasoning and to express an opinion. In Muslim political theory, human rights have been given an honorable place and it is noteworthy that not only political but also socio-economic rights have been given legitimacy.¹⁰ The poor, the orphan, the widow and the needy have rights to state protection irrespective of their religion. In short, Muslim change aims to preserve human dignity and freedom in status and rights for all individuals and members of the community.

Justice and Equality

Establishing justice was the main mission of the Prophets of Allāh. Muslims are urged in the Qur'ān to live with

justice and to carry on this prophetic mission in the world. Ibn Qayyim argues, “Justice is the supreme goal and objective of Islam. Allāh has sent scriptures and messengers in order to establish justice among people... Any path that leads to justice is an integral part of the religion and can never be against it.”¹¹ In many places in the Qur’ān Allāh reminded the believers and urged them to uphold justice for all people and under all circumstances. Allāh says, “O ye who believe! Stand out firmly for justice, as witnesses to Allāh, even as against yourselves, or your parents, or your kin, and whether it be (against) rich or poor... if ye distort (justice) or decline to do justice, verily Allāh is well-acquainted with all that ye do.” (4:135)

Islam teaches that Muslims should be just in every aspect of their life, to all people and things and at all times. The opposite of justice in Islam is not only injustice, but also oppression and corruption. The Prophet Muhammad was deeply concerned about justice as he grew up in a society with widespread inequities and oppression. Indeed, this central aim of his message became the core of his soteriology, and he dealt with the problems of his day with uprightness, balance and fairness.¹² Therefore, the objective of Muslim change enjoins that all citizens, irrespective of their race, colour or religious beliefs, be treated justly. No one should be discriminated against, abused and exploited in any way.

Generally, the Muslim Sharī‘ah applies equally to both Muslim and non-Muslim citizens in the sphere of public law and material affairs, but non-Muslims are free to follow their own

laws and traditions in religious and customary matters that may be said to be closely associated with religion, such as marriage and divorce.¹³ As for the question of equality before courts of justice, the evidence in the *Sunnah* is supportive of the equality of non-Muslims. The Prophet has emphasised in more than one *hadīth* the equal rights of litigants to a fair hearing and trial. Kamālī quotes one *hadīth*, which the Prophet said to ‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib, on the latter’s departure as judge to the Yemen, “When the litigants appear before you, do not decide for one until you hear the other. It is more likely that by doing so, the reasons for a judgement will become clear to you.”¹⁴

Combining both major objectives mentioned above, it could be derived a clear vision regarding the Muslim concept of change. Therefore, the researcher argues that the vision of Muslim change is ‘progressive’ as it exerts efforts to change people’s condition from any false domination towards establishing a just and better communal life based on the guidance of Allāh.

Muslim Methodology for Change

The researcher intends to examine the methodology for introducing change that could be derived from Islamic sources. It seems important as it translates the Muslim framework into its practical components and offers a broad strategy for change. To summarise the Muslim methodology of change, the researcher is inclined to highlight four major components that arise from the Qur’ānic verses and the Prophetic methodology of change; an

organised movement, striving for change, gradual change and establishment of just society.

An Organised Movement

Allāh says, “And hold fast, all together, by the rope which Allāh (stretches out for you), and be not divided among yourselves...” (3:103) Undoubtedly, building a structured, cohesive and disciplined movement was a major component of the work of all the Prophets. Ibn Khaldūn argues that the power to change can only be attained through a group because aggressive and defensive strength is obtained only through group feeling.¹⁵ In addition, the researcher argues that this component is very important, as the whole efforts for change will become more integrated, co-ordinated and hence effective. People will also be able to unite their human and material resources, which enable them to increase the social, religious and political capacity of the movement. As a result, it will optimise the effectiveness and efficiency of the actions for change.

Striving for Change

Allāh says, “As for those who strive hard in Our cause, We will surely guide them to Our paths. And verily Allāh is with the good-doers.” (29:69) According to ‘Abd al-Hamīd Siddīqī the word *jihād* is derived from the verb *ja-ha-da* that means ‘he exerted himself’. Another derivative of the word is *juhdun* meaning ‘exertion’ or ‘striving’. So, literally *jihād*

means exertion, striving or struggle to be fully committed to one's obligations to Allāh and the Prophet's Sunnah in all aspects of life; but in juridico-religious sense, it signifies the exertion of one's power to the utmost of one's capacity in the cause of Allāh. Siddīqī argues that this is why the word *jihād* has been used as the antonym to the word *Qu'ūd* (sitting) in the Holy Qur'ān (4:95). Thus, *jihād* in Islam is not an act of violence directed indiscriminately against the non-Muslims; it is the name given to an all-round struggle, which a Muslim should initiate against evil in whatever form or shape it appears. *Qitāl ft sabīlillah* (fighting in the way of Allāh) is only one aspect of *jihād*. Even this *qitāl* in Islam is not an act of mad brutality. It has its material and moral functions. According to Muhammad Sharīf Chaudhry, the word *jihād* has been used by the Qur'ān to signify different meanings in different situations, right from earning of livelihood to fighting against the enemy. But the keynote remains the same; the exertion or striving undertaken to achieve an objective.¹⁶

In addition, the researcher argues that *jihād* moulds a positive, proactive and highly competent individual as he or she behaves well, acts sincerely within the confines of religion without regard for criticism or threats from others. As *jihād* also denotes strategic and organised action, it seems very crucial in commencing Muslim change. All the Prophets had striven against unjust powers and immoral practices. Likewise, Muslims are also required to do so. Parvez argues that simply sitting in mosques and praying all day long without any practical efforts can never lead to much positive change in the society.¹⁷ In short,

the researcher argues that Muslims need to strive for change, enhanced with a clear vision, practical agenda and strong commitment towards establishing just society.

Implementing Change Gradually

Introducing change is a very hard task as humans grow to be set in their beliefs, thoughts and leading practices, customs and traditions become part of their life. Indeed, it will necessitate a great deal of patience, hard effort and durable works to change those possessions. Hence, keeping human nature in mind, all the Prophets of Allāh strove according to the set priorities of Islam and commenced change gradually so that it could become firm in people's hearts and minds.¹⁸ As a priority, they endeavoured to stimulate and advise their people by drawing attention to injustices and wrongs that were rooted in social life. The Prophets invited them to God's way by appealing to them in rational and persuasive way.¹⁹

°Aisha, the wife of the Prophet Muhammad expresses the importance of keeping the priority set and introducing change gradually in the following *hadīth*; “ °Aisha said (about the Qur'ān), the first thing to be revealed was a chapter which mentioned paradise and hell (i.e. matters of faith). When people embraced Islam, the verses regarding legal and illegal things were revealed. If the first thing to be revealed was 'Don't drink alcohol' people would have never given it up, and if 'don't have illicit sex' was revealed, they would have never given up adultery and fornication.”²⁰

Once people begin to respond to Muslim values and ideas, the door to change is opened. Yet, even at this stage, change should be manoeuvred in gradually. If it rushes in, it could have a negative impact on individual or society that is being changed. The more hurriedly a change is introduced, the more short-lived it generally turns out to be. Parvez adds that as a priority, people should be given time to understand the projected changes and to reshape their lives according to them.²¹ Time must be allocated to disperse doubts, to adjust life-styles, to learn new practices and to adapt to change. Thus, the researcher argues that introducing change in hurry can backfire and perhaps result in greater social turmoil, and may cause unnecessary resistance.

Establishment of Just Society

Allāh says, “The same religion has He established for you as that which He enjoined on Noah - the which We have sent by inspiration to thee - and that which We enjoined on Abraham, Moses, and Jesus: Namely, that ye should remain steadfast in religion, and make no divisions therein...” (42:13). The establishment of a just society based on Allāh’s guidance is the final major component of the Muslim methodology of change. The Prophet Muhammad actually succeeded in establishing a just society based on Allāh’s guidance in Madinah. While conceding the value of courage and other virtues, he felt the need to assert Muslim values and principles to counter cruelty and harshness till they were instituted in all spheres and systems of life during his lifetime.²²

In other words, once a Muslim government properly formed, it should focus direct its concentration towards addressing the affairs of society and formulate effective solutions to all problems in the light of the Muslim guidance. This phase of the method encompasses the enjoining of moral and reasonable practices, establishing good traditions, and fair social, political and economic policies in society for the benefit of all citizens.²³

Patterns of Change

By analysing Muslim sciences such as history, jurisprudence, Hadīth and Qur'ānic studies, the researcher has come with several patterns of Muslim changes. The researcher attempts to discuss those patterns as follows:

Routine Change

This pattern of change is common and may also be called regular change. For instance, besides building a mosque, Muslims also built a house for the Prophet. While the mosque was being erected, the Prophet stayed in the house of Abū Ayyub Khalīd Ibn Zayd al-Ansarī. When the mosque was completed, they built on one side of it living quarters for the Prophet. These operations did not over-tax anyone, for the two structures were utterly simple and economical. Haykal describes more detailed about the mosque, which “consisted of a vast courtyard whose four walls were built out of bricks and mud. A part of it was covered with a ceiling made from date trunks and

leaves. Another part was devoted to shelter the poor who had no home at all. The mosque was not lit during the night except for an hour at the time of the night prayer.”²⁴

The living quarters of the Prophet were no more luxurious than the mosque although they seem more closed in order to give a measure of privacy. Then, Prophet Muhammad left the house of Abū Ayyub and moved into the new quarters upon completion of the construction.²⁵ In short, the researcher argues that this pattern of change seems common to any single individual as the accommodation is regarded amongst human needs. Thus, building houses upon migration could be classified as routine change.

Innovative Change

Muhammad Rājih Jad^can states that among the 1200 martyrs in the battle of Yamamah²⁶, were those who memorizing the Qur’ān. ‘Umar Ibn al-Khattāb thought deeply about the implication if wars continued and more such people were killed. He reached into a conclusion that the Qur’ān must be compiled into one volume to ensure its preservation. Then, ‘Umar went to the Caliph Abū Bakr and discussed his idea with him. Abū Bakr seems reluctant to accept the idea at the beginning because the Prophet had not approved it. However, after a lengthy discussion, Abū Bakr was convinced that ‘Umar was right and immediately commissioned for Zayd Ibn Thābit to compile the Qur’ān into one volume.

Indeed, Abū Bakr's compilation of the Qur’ān remarked an innovative change as it had guaranteed the existence of the

Qur'ān to be read, studied and referred even for the generation in the future centuries. Besides depending to the 'Huffaz', Muslims could also refer to the compiled version of the Qur'ān in dealing with disputes and disagreements among them regarding the issues in their daily life. Many people also regarded his compilation as his most significant feat, more significant even than the wars of apostasy and the conquest of Iraq and Syria. °Alī Ibn Abī Tālib says, "May Allāh have mercy upon Abū Bakr! He is worthy of being superbly rewarded, because he was unique in compiling the Qur'ān."²⁷

In the contemporary context, the establishment of Islamicjerusalem Studies could be a good example for innovative change. In fact, history of Islamicjerusalem has suffered distortion, falsification and alteration for years. According to El-°Awaisī, most of the historical researches related to the history of Islamicjerusalem before the Muslim conquest, are limited to biblical and orientalist studies.²⁸ Due to the orientalist's efforts to underestimate the relevance of the Qur'ān and Hadīth to the thinking of the Muslims, the pioneer of Islamicjerusalem Studies, °Abd al-Fattāh El-°Awaisī endeavours to innovate a new field of enquiry, which offers a Muslim reference to the Islamic perspectives on Islamicjerusalem. Islamicjerusalem Studies focuses mainly on Islamic sources such as the Holy Qur'ān and Hadīth of the Prophet as well as the commentaries on them, Islamic jurisprudence, Muslim historical sources and also secondary sources.²⁹ Undoubtedly, the discipline, which properly designed has performed an innovative

change with strong potential to create positive development in academia.

Immediate Change

Crimes of robbery represent the most serious crimes against property, and these, in turn, are considered to be the worst because of their evil purpose and adverse consequences.³⁰ In most cases this crime will lead to other crimes like homicide, to the extent that some robbers may kill close friends or family during commission of the serious offence.

The punishment for this crime is in the *hadd* category. As is stated in the Qur'ān, "The punishment of those who wage war against Allāh and His Messenger, and strive with might and main for mischief through the land is execution, or crucifixion, or the cutting off of hands and feet from opposite sides, or exile from the land..." (5:33)

This punishment could be regarded as immediate change as it was executed immediately after the revelation of the above verse on the eight men of the tribe of °Ukl, who were caught because they killed the shepherd that sent by the Prophet to accompany them, and even drove away the camels. He commanded about them, and (thus) their hands and feet were cut off and their eyes were gouged and then they were thrown in the sun, until they died. The Prophet commanded about them, and (thus) their hands and feet were cut off and their eyes were gouged and then they were thrown in the sun, until they died.³¹ In short, immediate change refers to the time factor in introducing and implementing the change.

Radical Change

With regard to the effect of change, there is a radical pattern of change, which denotes remarkable impact following the efforts to initiate changes. For instance, during the occasion of the pilgrimage in the twelfth year of Prophethood, which attended by the group of twelve disciples comprised five of the six who had met the Prophet on the previous year, the First ʿAqabah Pledge was concluded. It was related that ʿUbadah Ibn al-Sāmit said: “The Messenger of God accepted our pledge as he accepted from woman, that we would not associate anything with Allāh, that we would not commit theft, that we would not commit adultery, that we would not kill our children, and that we would not lie concerning one another. And whoever keeps his pledge, his reward is with Allāh...”³²

After the pledge, Musʿab Ibn ʿUmair was sent by the Prophet to Yathrib to teach the people there the doctrines of Islam, give them practical guidance and make attempts at spreading Islam. Musʿab stayed in Yathrib carrying out his mission diligently and successfully until all the houses of *al-Ansar* had Muslims elements, men and women. So prepared was the ground, and so zealous the propagation that the Islam spread rapidly from house to house and from tribe to tribe.³³ Obviously, the First ʿAqabah Pledge and Musʿab assignment as the first ‘ambassador’ in Islam had radically changed the environment of Yathrib to become the new fertile soil of Islam.

Gradual Change

The researcher has found that there is another pattern of change, which emphasizes on step-by-step change and seems gradually introduced due to the situation society need. It seems appropriate to look at the change in legalizing the prohibition of drinking wine within the Muslim society. Islam came into confrontation with alcohol via the grossly sensual life-style of the pre-Muslim Arabs. It was a status symbol; a symbol of courage and pleasure, linked with music and women was the epitome of civilization in pre-Muslim Arabia.

Because of the centrality of wine in the life-style of the Arabs, they could not accept Islam's prohibition of wine, which according to them was the fountain of honour, virtue, bravery and generosity. To eradicate this pervasive evil from society, Islam adopted a wise course of education and training prohibiting it in measured stages.

Stage One: Educating people that the harm of drinking wine is greater than its benefits. "They ask thee concerning wine and gambling. Say: in them is great sin and some profit for people: But the sin is greater than the profit..." (2: 219)

Stage Two: Encouraging them not to go to prayer intoxicated. "Oh you who believe! Approach not prayers in a state of intoxication until you can understand all that you say..." (4: 43)

Stage Three: After understanding and practising the above, the total and decisive prohibition of wine was declared: "Oh you who believe! Truly intoxicants and gambling and

divination by arrows are an abomination, of Satan's doing: avoid it in order that you may be successful.” (5: 90)

Remaining Existing Arrangement

It is worth mentioning here that the Muslim concept of change does not intend to change every single thing, but it goes to preserve the existing arrangement when there is no need to introduce change. Apparently, the document of the Charter of Madinah maintained some of the old traditions followed by the Arabs before Islam.³⁴ As stated in Section 3 and in those following it, the parties mentioned in the document, “according to their present custom, shall pay the blood wit within their number” and “shall pay the bloodwit they paid previously; every section shall redeem its prisoners with ... kindness.”

El-^cAwa states that the rise of the Muslim state, as these provisions show, did not bring about complete abolition of the social functions of the tribe, which were not all evil. Accordingly, Islam preserved some functions of the tribe that stood for cooperation in righteousness and commendable benevolence. He argues that this was the pattern of all Muslim legislation. “In situations involving Arab traditions, the laws preserved what was sound and abolished or modified that which was corrupt or in conflict with Islam’s fundamental principles.”³⁵

A Discussion of Political Changes in Islamic Jerusalem

The researcher attempts to examine the changes happened in Islamic Jerusalem from 637 to 750 CE, which relates to political affairs. It will contain discussions about name and the geographical boundaries, sovereignty, and administration and political significance of Islamic Jerusalem.

Names and Geographical Boundaries of Islamic Jerusalem

The researcher argues that investigating the name and defining the geographical boundaries of Islamic Jerusalem after the first Muslim conquest is very significant to examine any change invented in that region. According to John Wilkinson, the Byzantine boundaries for this region can be traced to the reign of Hadrian, when he decided to forbid any Jew to reside in the city and its region, and for this purpose he established a district and name it Aelia around 135 CE.³⁶ The exact decree stated: "It is forbidden to all circumcised person to enter and to stay within the territory of Aelia Capitolina. Any person contravening this prohibition shall be put to death."³⁷ Therefore, Wilkinson argues that the boundaries of Aelia included Gophna and its district to the north, Herodium and its district to the south and the area west of (Muslim) Jerusalem that was called 'Oreine', or 'Hill Country'.³⁸

On the other hand, Muslim scholars such as Al-Maqrīṣī (d. 390 AH/ 1000 CE) has also mentioned specific estimates of the area of Islamic Jerusalem region after the first Muslim conquest.³⁹ They have estimated that the boundaries extended to 40 miles. Simultaneously, they present a description, which

seems to be more precise than the description presented by other scholars about the topography of this region and its boundaries from the four directions. Al-Maqqdisī describes about the whole region: “The limit of the Holy City (Islamicjerusalem) extends over the area around Jerusalem for forty miles, including the capital and dependent towns, twelve miles of the seashore, towns Zoar and Ma’āb, and five miles of desert. To the south it extends to beyond al-Kusayfa and the land parallel to this. To the north it reaches the limits of Nablus...”⁴⁰

A contemporary study by Khalīd El-^cAwaisī has revealed that al-Maqqdisī meant a forty miles diameter and not radius as the maximum distance from the centre was to Zoar, which calculated to be 82.8km, slightly less than the maximum value of 85.04km.⁴¹ Accordingly, the researcher is inclined to agree with Khalīd El-^cAwaisī, who argues that the boundaries of Islamicjerusalem established by Al-Maqqdisī are merely accurate as he is Islamicjerusalemite, who knew the area better than any other visitor from outside the region. Additionally, he was among the most prominent geographers of his time, as he has developed the science noticeably.⁴² Consequently, Khalīd El-^cAwaisī derives that the extent of the boundaries of Islamicjerusalem will be as follows⁴³:

North West

- To **Ramla** + 12 miles (25.512 km) into the sea = 76.87km [1 mile = 2.126 km]

South East

- **Zoar** lower basin of Dead Sea = 82.8km

- To **Ma'āb** = 69.6 km + 5 miles (10.63 km) into the **desert** = 80.23Km

South

- **Kuseifa** = 57.6 km + the surrounding area

North

- Northern boundaries of **Nablus**, unknown
- **Qaysariyya** just over 80 km.

Therefore, the researcher will use the boundaries of Islamicjerusalem as mentioned above in conducting this study. Although the administrative boundaries of the various districts in Historical Syria changed under each reign and the terminologies used for this region seems to have fluctuated through different eras, the extent of the boundaries of Islamicjerusalem is not subject to change. Therefore, the researcher is inclined to conclude that Muslims simply endorsed the existing arrangements and did not attempt to change the existing boundaries of Aelia region during the first Muslim conquest.

With regard to the name of Islamicjerusalem region, Al-Tel argues that Muslim historians did not pay any attention to distinguish between the different eras of the Byzantines and the Muslims and thus they fell into many contradictions because of their use of different terminologies such as Aelia, Bayt al-Maqdis, al-Quds and others.⁴⁴

As mentioned earlier, the region's name before Muslim conquest was Aelia. So, did Muslim intend to change that name? The researcher argues that Muslims did not change Aelia's

name, even they never intended to change its name immediately after the conquest. Al-Tabarī quotes from Sayf ibn ʿUmar a version of ʿUmar’s Assurance, “This is the assurance of safety (*Amān*), which the servant of Allāh, ʿUmar, the Commander of the Faithful, has granted to the people of Aelia...”⁴⁵ This assurance indicates that ʿUmar used the name, Aelia, to address the people of that region and did not change it with any other term. El-ʿAwaisī quotes Armstrong argument that it was a common practice performed by Rightly-Guided Caliphs as they simply endorse existing arrangements and not to go for huge changes.⁴⁶

From the above analysis, the researcher argues that the official name of Islamic Jerusalem region after the first Muslim conquest till the Umayyad period was Aelia besides the name Bayt al-Maqdis, which commonly used among the Arabs to denote the significance of the region as ‘the Purest House’. Indeed, Muslims did not attempt to change its name immediately after the conquest, as there is no need to change the existing name, which seems more familiar and suitable to use within the community. Undoubtedly, this evidence affirms their commitment to the Muslim concept of change as the change in name could be classified under the gradual change pattern. El-ʿAwaisī has also come with a leading argument regarding the topic as he states that what prevented Muslims to do that change is their inclusive vision of Islamic Jerusalem.⁴⁷ In other words, Muslims initiate change in Islamic Jerusalem, which suit their inclusive vision only.

Sovereignty

A discussion about sovereignty is also significant in analysing the political changes in Islamic Jerusalem. The researcher has found that Aminurraasyid Yatiban has come with a study focusing on the implementation of the Muslim concept of sovereignty in Islamic Jerusalem during the first Muslim conquest.⁴⁸ Yatiban argues that the Muslim concept of sovereignty consists of two main divisions; sovereignty over the people and sovereignty over the land.⁴⁹ Accordingly, the researcher attempts to analyse the changes happened according to the theoretical framework of Muslim concept of sovereignty as already developed.

In fact, the first Muslim conquest of Islamic Jerusalem witnessed significant changes regarding the implementation of Muslim concept of sovereignty, as the sovereignty held by the Roman Emperor transferred to Muslim sovereignty, which developed on God's supremacy. Allāh the sovereign is the primary law-giver while agents such as the Muslim state and the *khalīfah* enjoy marginal autonomy necessary to implement and enforce the laws of their sovereign.

ʿUmar, was the sovereign of the Muslim state during that time. He was not only the head of the Muslim community but also the political leader of the state. As the leader of the state, ʿUmar executed command over Muslims as well as non-Muslims citizen. He had sovereignty over all Muslims since he was the successor of the Prophet as mentioned in the Qur'ān: "O believers obey Allāh and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you..." (4:59) On the other hand, he ruled over

the non-Muslims by virtue of the pacts that were agreed by the authorities and the inhabitants of the conquered regions such as Syria and Iraq.⁵⁰ Hence, in Islamic Jerusalem, 'Umar's Assurance of safety to the people of Aelia has affirmed Muslim sovereignty over its inhabitants.⁵¹

One could argue that; did the inhabitants of Islamic Jerusalem in need to be ruled under Muslim sovereignty? Why did Muslims strive to change existing sovereign and introduce the new concept of sovereignty? Fortunately, the researcher has found the answer in the text of 'Umar assurance itself, as there is a condition that the inhabitants of Aelia should expel Byzantines and robbers from the region. "The people of Aelia... must expel the Byzantines and the robbers."⁵² El-'Awaisī argues that the common reason, which driven 'Umar to put the Byzantines and robbers in the similar category is that they were all thieves since the Byzantines had occupied the land and appropriated its wealth, whereas the robbers had stolen people's belongings.⁵³ Undoubtedly, the inhabitants of Aelia need a change, which is the implementation of new concept of sovereignty to keep away from Byzantine oppression and colonial rules towards developing a just society.

Indeed, Muslims' attempt to make a change is justifiable as they strove to liberate them with clear aim and inclusive vision enhanced with strategic means. Apparently, in order to introduce this new vision, it would need the power, which is here the sovereignty over Islamic Jerusalem. Moreover, forcing out the Byzantines did not contradict with the inclusive Muslim

vision of Islamicjerusalem because the inclusiveness would not compromise with the oppressors and thieves even would go against that. The researcher is inclined to argue that establishing Muslim sovereignty is the priority in Islamicjerusalem on that situation since it will lead to reshaping the foundation of the future community. However, Muslims had shown that the change also needs to avoid any kind of brutality as mentioned in the assurance, “As for those who will leave, their lives and possessions shall be safeguarded until they reach their place of safety...”⁵⁴ Apparently, justice, harmony and security are assured in inventing Muslim change.

Yatiban argues that the most important point regarding the implementation of Muslim concept of sovereignty over the Islamicjerusalem is the implication of its status. He argues that ‘Umar’s visit to the Islamicjerusalem peacefully, which followed by granting its inhabitants an assurance of safety had begun a significant moment in Islamicjerusalem, as it became a part of Muslim territory.⁵⁵ Accordingly, he argues “the Muslim conquest of Islamicjerusalem has changed its status into *Dār al-Islām*, which has affirmed Muslim sovereignty over the whole territory that never becomes *Dār al-Harb* again.”⁵⁶

One could argue; what is further implication of this status? Was it really a change that assures better condition in Islamicjerusalem? Therefore, the researcher argues that the status of Muslim territory makes the sovereign and Muslims responsible to every single thing happens within the Islamicjerusalem region. They are responsible to the security, economic and development as well as social affairs whether it

relates to Muslims or non-Muslims citizen as well as to the visitors from outside the territory. Hence, ‘Umar has given a great emphasis to secure the conquered territories especially Islamic Jerusalem by placing Alqamah Ibn Mujazziz as a military and administrative governor there.⁵⁷

Furthermore, the change of its status had proven the successful of the establishment of just society, which consisted of multi-religious and multicultural communities for the first time in history. Armstrong argues that, “The Muslims had established a system that enabled Jews, Christians and Muslims to live in Jerusalem together for the first time.”⁵⁸ Evidently, Muslims had secured others’ rights towards developing peace and harmony. For instance, the agreement between ‘Umar and Sophronius regarding the assurance of safety has affirmed Muslim’s emphasis on controlling aspect especially in dealing with non-Muslims. In addition, Muslim rulers also employed *dhimmi*s to fill administrative posts in several offices established in Islamic Jerusalem.⁵⁹

Administration and Political Significance of Islamic Jerusalem

Marwan Abū Khalāf argues that Islamic Jerusalem has political as well as religious significance to Muslims.⁶⁰ On the other hand, Donner in his argument relating to the point of ‘Umar’s visit to Syria and his arrival in Aelia claims that, “In any case, it is hardly surprising that he (‘Umar) should have shown an interest in Jerusalem.”⁶¹ Thus, the researcher attempts

to analyse both argument with regard to the changes in administration and the significance of Islamicjerusalem politically.

In fact, ʿUmar had made several changes after the first Muslim conquest of Islamicjerusalem. Al-Tel quotes from Sayf Ibn ʿUmar (d. 180 A.H/ 796 A.D), Khalīd Ibn Miʿdān (d. 103 or 108 AH/ 721 or 726 A.D) and ʿUbadah Ibn Nusayy (d. 118 A.H/ 736 A.D) with regard to ʿUmar’s appointment of a special ruler for Islamicjerusalem when he arrived there,⁶² “In addition to ʿUmar’s appointment of Alqamah Ibn Mujazziz as a military and administrative governor of Islamicjerusalem, there are other sources, which indicate that ʿUmar appointed another person with Alqamah, whose name was Salāmah Ibn Qaysar as an *Imām* (leader of prayer) in Islamicjerusalem.⁶³ According to Abū Zirʿā al-Dimashqī, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr and Ibn Hajar al-ʿAsqalānī, ʿUbādah Ibn al-Sāmit (d.34 AH) was appointed by ʿUmar as a judge and teacher in Islamicjerusalem. Al-Maqdisī, Ibn Manzūr, al-Hanbalī and al-Dhahabī also agreed with this statement and noticed that ʿUbādah was the first Muslim judge in Islamicjerusalem.⁶⁴

The researcher argues that the change initiated by ʿUmar by appointing those three figures for the post of military and administrative governor, leader of prayer, and judge along with teacher has a significant impact to the development of Islamicjerusalem. Implicitly, those three posts have major roles in assuring safety, human development and justice, which lead to peace and stability in the Islamicjerusalem region. In short, the researcher argues that changes in political affairs particularly

in administration of Islamic Jerusalem were initiated on reliable religious guidance, which emphasized on the effectiveness of management as well as dynamic human development. On the other hand, those appointments had also shown 'Umar's great concern for the Islamic Jerusalem region, thus, gave it distinctive status. Therefore, the researcher argues that this special attention has made Donner's argument seems unjustifiable as 'Umar also preserved those posts in Islamic Jerusalem during his next visit while he cancelled some appointments in other places such as al-Ramla.⁶⁵

An Analysis of Social and Religious Changes in Islamic Jerusalem

Indeed, historical development of Islamic Jerusalem has a very closed link with religious matters, as it is a significant region for all three major religions, Islam, Christian and Judaism. Through ages, Islamic Jerusalem had experienced social and religious changes. Therefore, the researcher attempts to examine in this section social and religious changes in Islamic Jerusalem after the first Muslim conquest specifically during the four Rightly-guided Caliphs and Umayyad period. It focuses mainly on the communities' relations, demographical aspects, and development of religious affairs.

Communities' Relations in Islamic Jerusalem

Al-Tel claims that the first Muslim conquest of Islamic Jerusalem was accomplished during 'Umar's second visit

to Islamicjerusalem. According to him, °Umar came to help the Muslims conquer the walled city, especially after being failed in several attempts. Finally, the inhabitants of the walled city came to a decision to surrender shortly after his arrival since they had no more hope of any reinforcement from outside.⁶⁶ Subsequently, the foundations of future relations among the inhabitants of Islamicjerusalem were laid down in the form of what is known as *Al-°Uhda al-°Umariyya* or °Umar's Assurance of Safety to the people of Aelia.⁶⁷

According to El-°Awaisī, the arrival of °Umar in Islamicjerusalem signaled the commencement of a new era during which, it became an open region. He argues that, “°Umar granted the people of Aelia an assurance of safety for themselves, their property, their churches and their religion.”⁶⁸ This assurance makes it understandable that the lives, properties and religion of the non-Muslim subjects would be protected from any kind of interfering or hindrance. Accordingly, the churches would not be destroyed, and no harm would be done to them, nor would any violation be made on the areas near the churches. Freedom of religion is assured by the condition that there would be no coercion on them in respect of their religions. Undoubtedly, the researcher argues that the great initiative taken by °Umar in developing the assurance marked a significant change, which influentially reshaped the future development of Islamicjerusalem region socially, religiously and politically. One could argue, why this assurance was so special? Did the

inhabitants of Islamic Jerusalem really need immediate social changes after the conquest?

Undeniably, the researcher argues that 'Umar Assurance was very significant and remarkable as for the first time in history of Islamic Jerusalem such assurance was introduced, which cancelled out the exclusive vision of the previous rulers. To analyse the need to introduce that significant change, the researcher is inclined to examine the social condition preceding the Muslim conquest. In fact, the population of Aelia dominated by Christians during that period. They were Arab and non-Arab, who originated from different places, with different languages, cultures, and civilizations. Although they followed similar religion, they were divided into various sects and groups. This situation had effected in instability within the religious life of them in Aelia.⁶⁹ The disputes among the different sects of Christians became more obvious after the rise of the crisis over the nature of Christ as Monophysites disagreed with the Byzantine emperor.⁷⁰

Māher Abū Munshar quotes Ranciman's claim that the Byzantine-Christian emperors were very intolerant as they intended to use Christianity as a unifying force to bind all their subjects to the government.⁷¹ In short, the situation of the Christian communities in Aelia was full of conflict, clash and disagreement accompanied by maltreatment for those who did not follow the empire's beliefs.⁷² Therefore, the researcher argues that the inhabitants of Aelia were extremely in need for change in order to solve the existing social relation problems

and disputes even within the Christian communities themselves. Undoubtedly, its great importance had prompted ʿUmar to give the assurance, which clearly defines the rights and status of the inhabitants of Aelia regardless of their sects, groups, races and beliefs under the new Muslim rule and establishes the foundation of the way Muslims should treat them in Islamic Jerusalem. As a result, Armstrong concludes that it was not surprising that Nestorian and Monophysite Christians welcomed the Muslims and found Islam preferable to Byzantium.⁷³

In addition, according to Gil, tenth-century Karaite commentators on several occasions note the dramatic impact of the Muslim conquest on Islamic Jerusalem. For example, he quotes Daniel al-Qumisi's writing towards the end of the ninth century, "Before his arrival (of the king of the Ishmaelites, who was victorious over the king of the Negev, the Byzantine emperor), they (the Jews) could not enter Jerusalem... Now that he has arrived, he has brought the Jews to Jerusalem and has provided them with a place, and many of them settled down there. Since then Jews from all over the worlds come to pray and study in Jerusalem."⁷⁴

In addition, El-ʿAwaṣī argues, "Muslims have made Islamic Jerusalem an inclusive region, which opened to all traditions, backgrounds and cultures to live together in peace."⁷⁵ Hence, the researcher agrees with him that this inclusive vision is the main vision of Islamic Jerusalem.⁷⁶ Armstrong adds, ʿUmar was "faithful to the Muslim inclusive vision. Unlike the Jews and Christians, Muslims did not attempt to exclude others from

Jerusalem's holiness”⁷⁷ and instead of excluding these religions in Jerusalem, “Muslims were being taught to venerate them.”⁷⁸ Here, the researcher tends to conclude that the establishment of this inclusive vision denotes the most remarkable change, which influentially affected the entire social changes in IslamicJerusalem after the first Muslim conquest.

Demographical Changes

The Muslim conquest of IslamicJerusalem had ended the exclusive Byzantine-Christians hold on the region. For centuries, the government had scrupulously prevented the permanent residence of Jews in IslamicJerusalem, yet one of the most salient results of the Muslim conquest was the settling of Muslims and Jews in the region. Unfortunately, it seems difficult to determine precisely what were the proportions of the three religious communities in the inhabitants of IslamicJerusalem during that period as there is no available statistical data, which would enable the researcher evaluate roughly the size of the population. However, the researcher is attracted to examine the demographical aspects of IslamicJerusalem as Armstrong argues that Christians remained in majority in IslamicJerusalem, while Muslims remained in minority until the Crusaders period.⁷⁹ Therefore, the researcher attempts to examine some historical facts, which seems useful in discussing this matter.

Before the rise of Christianity, several Arab tribes in addition to the Byzantines inhabited Aelia. According to ‘Irfān

Shahīd, among those tribes were branches from Ghassān, who were the first to reside in Palestina Prima in addition to their being the majority population in Palestina Secunda in the fifth and sixth centuries CE.⁸⁰ Among other Arab tribes who resided in Aelia was the °Āmila tribe who lived by the west of the Dead Sea,⁸¹ branches from Lakhm, Judhām and Kinānah who inhabited °Asqalān and branches from the Kinda tribe who resided in the south west of the Jordan river, al-°Arabāt valley, and al-Jaīl.⁸² Most of the Arabs of the Aelia region converted to Christianity after the efforts of Emperor Constantine who ruled between 288-327 CE. He patronised the religion throughout the empire, which led to it being made the official state religion.⁸³ In short, most of the inhabitants of Aelia before the Muslim conquest were Christian Arabs and non-Arabs.

Subsequently, the researcher intends to investigate Muslims population after the conquest as Muslims regarded as the 'new' settlers, who came to live in Islamicjerusalem. In fact, Muslim historians such as Ibn Sa°d, al-Dhahabī, Ibn al-Athīr and al-Maqdisī have recorded quite a number of well-known Muslim figures living in Islamicjerusalem immediately after the conquest, or who came to settle there in succeeding generations, in the days of Umayyad caliphs.

According to Ibn Sa°d, among the Muslims who lived in Islamicjerusalem during °Umar's time was Uways Ibn °Āmir al-Qarni. He was from Banu Madhij, a Yemeni tribe, who is described as one of the first righteous souls of Islam.⁸⁴ Ibn Sa°d also mentions that Abū Ya°la Shaddad Ibn Aws had settled in Islamicjerusalem. The Prophet Muhammad stated to him that

“Al-Shām will be conquered, and Jerusalem will be conquered, and you and your sons will be *Imāms* there, if God wills”.⁸⁵ He died at the age of ninety-five in Islamic Jerusalem in the year 58 AH/678 CE, towards the end of Mu‘awiyah’s reign.⁸⁶ Significantly, El-‘Awasī notes about Abū Ruqayyah Tamīm al-Dārī, an Arab of the Banū Lakhm, who joined the Prophet and became his follower during the latter’s stay in Madīnah. Solid evidence, including information attributed to the Prophet himself indicates that land in Hebron was the first Muslim charitable endowment in Islamic Jerusalem, and indeed the first charitable endowment in Islam.⁸⁷ The Prophet endowed it to the companion Tamīm Ibn Aws al-Dārī, his brothers and successors until the Day of Judgement. Tamīm was the first inhabitant of Islamic Jerusalem to be converted to Islam.⁸⁸ The endowment consists of Land of Hebron or Bayt Ibrāhīm, *Qaryah* Bayt Ainun, after Hebron, *Mazra‘ah* (*qaryah*) al-Martūn, known as *al-Rihiyyah*, after Hebron and shops in Hebron market, known as the endowment of Tamīm at Bayt Ibrāhīm. When Islamic Jerusalem was conquered, it is told, ‘Umar fulfilled the Prophet’s promise and gave those areas to Tamīm al-Dārī.⁸⁹

According to the above reports, the researcher argues that Muslim new settlers in Islamic Jerusalem came to the region from various locations of Muslim territories, from Yemen in the south to Khurasān in the north. As mentioned earlier, they were well-known figures due to their knowledge, piety as well as their position within the local tribes. Hence, the researcher argues that they might also come with their family and the followers to

settle in Islamicjerusalem, which indicates a significant increase of Muslim inhabitants of Islamicjerusalem day by day after the Muslim conquest.

Accordingly, the researcher takes into consideration Grabar⁹⁰ and Armstrong's⁹¹ argument based on Arculf's report, as they estimate that Muslim worshippers in al-Aqsā Mosque in Islamicjerusalem during the reign of Mu'awiyah might number up to 3,000 people. Arculf describes al-Aqsā Mosque as "a simple oblong building in the Haram area, mostly in wood, which could accommodate 3,000 people."⁹² In addition, Dūrī also argues from this figure that the Muslims of Islamicjerusalem probably numbered two or three times this figure. Thus, he concludes that it would be generally accepted that the greater part of the indigenous population of Palestine and Islamicjerusalem in particular was becoming Muslims in the early Muslim period.⁹³

However, the researcher argues that Grabar, Armstrong and Dūrī's estimations seem limited only to the Muslim population of the walled city. Since Islamicjerusalem is a wider region rather than a city, the researcher argues that Muslims possibly numbered more than their estimations. With regard to the Muslim settlements in other localities within Islamicjerusalem region, the researcher has found that most of the settlements in the coastal cities such as Ramla, Caesarea, Jaffa and Ascalon were built as garrisons for military purpose. Considering that the total 24,000⁹⁴ Muslims soldiers to historical Syria might be stationed after the completion of the conquest in 12 coastal cities along the Syrian *Ajnad*, which include Ramla,

Caesarea, Jaffa and Ascalon as mentioned by Salibi.⁹⁵ Those cities within Islamic Jerusalem region would have at least 2,000 Muslims each or even more. The similar number could be estimated in Hebron, which was well-known with the first Muslim charitable endowment in Islamic Jerusalem and Lydda (Lod), which was an early administrative centre.⁹⁶ Therefore, the researcher is inclined to estimate that Muslims might possibly range between 20,000 and 30,000 during that time.

Amnon Linder argues that there may have been periods of demographic increases in the number during the time of intense construction under the Umayyad rule. However, it was true also for the Christians in Islamic Jerusalem, yet they were a fairly significant part of the total population.⁹⁷ In fact, the Christian community in Islamic Jerusalem was heterogeneous. It consisted of various sub-communities, affiliated with churches and sects such as Nestorians, Jacobites and Gregorians, which grew out of the body of the Imperial Byzantine Church in the course of the theological turmoil that disconcerted it since the fourth century.⁹⁸ The distinctly orthodox nature of the Greek Orthodox community in Islamic Jerusalem remained unchanged even after the Muslim conquest, when it could no longer count on the support of the secular authorities.⁹⁹

Gil reveals information found in the list of Christian holy places *De casis Dei*, according to which the Islamic Jerusalem Patriarch pays the Muslims 580 dinars annually. This was apparently the global sum imposed on the Christians in Islamic Jerusalem, and was possibly statutory since the time of

the conquest. Accordingly, he argues that at the time of the conquest there were 580 Christian families living in Islamic Jerusalem¹⁰⁰. T.W. Arnold argues that during the Muslim conquest there were approximately 15,000 Christians under Islamic Jerusalem patriarchate.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, al-Ya'qūbī mentions that in 670 CE, the total income from non-Muslim of *Jund Filastin kharaj* taxes was approximately 450,000 dinars.¹⁰² Implicitly, there were large numbers of non-Muslims including Christians and Jews, who paid income taxes from their land to Muslim rulers.

The researcher argues that Gil and Arnold's estimation refer only to the number of Greek-Orthodox Christians under Islamic Jerusalem patriarchate in the walled city. With the existence of other sects of Christians besides the Greek-Orthodox such as Nestorians, Jacobites and Coptics, who settled in the walled city, the number might increase to 20,000 people.¹⁰³

Since the above estimation focuses only on the population of the walled city, the researcher takes into consideration the facts that there were also other Christian localities in Islamic Jerusalem region with significant numbers of population such as Bethlehem, Bethany, Bethel, Jaffa, Nazareth, Ascalon, Jericho, Nablus, Caesarea, and Hebron to get the estimation of the population of the whole region.¹⁰⁴ Although, the number of the Christians in each of those localities might not be larger than the Christians in the walled city, their number might possibly merely similar or at least half of the Christian people in that city. Therefore, the researcher argues that the

number of the Christians in Islamic Jerusalem region might possibly range between 120,000 and 240,000 people during that period. If both estimation of Muslim and Christian inhabitants of Islamic Jerusalem are added up, the maximum number will be 270,000 people. Indeed, it corroborates with Michael Avi-Yonah's estimation of total population of Palestina Prima¹⁰⁵ before the Muslim conquest, which was approximately 250,000¹⁰⁶ and Linder's argument that the total population of Islamic Jerusalem might be increased during Umayyad rule after being decreased during the conquest.¹⁰⁷

Another new settlers in Islamic Jerusalem were Jews. According to Gil, a section of the Jewish chronicle, which was written sometime during the eleventh century, notes that, when they spoke with ʿUmar about the possibility of a renewed Jewish community in Islamic Jerusalem, the Jews asked for permission to settle in the southern part of the walled city, near the Pool of Siloam. On receiving ʿUmar's consent, the Jews proceeded to build there, using construction materials that were readily available and that had previously been used in the old, now ruined structures. It was reported that the number of families at first permitted to settle in Islamic Jerusalem after the conquest was seventy. According to this source, the area in which the Jews took up residence is the site of the Jewish marketplace "to this very day." The Jewish quarter was still located in the southern part of Islamic Jerusalem towards the end of the early Muslim period, a point that is supported in a Geniza letter.¹⁰⁸

Based on the above analysis, the researcher tends to conclude that the Christians were remaining majority in Islamic Jerusalem after the Muslim conquest until the end of Umayyad period (750 CE). Hence, the researcher argues that it is significant to note here that Muslims did not intend to change the demographical visage of Islamic Jerusalem immediately after the conquest by using politics of settlement – encouraging Muslims to settle in and pressuring indigenous people to go out. Even, the increase of Muslim numbers in Islamic Jerusalem happened naturally and gradually without any specific government policy or particular planning besides allowing others to settle in the region as well.

The researcher argues that the pattern of demographical changes in Islamic Jerusalem developed as routine change. This kind of change had affirmed the uniqueness of the Muslim concept of *Tadāfu*^c or counterbalance, which inspired as means of adjusting positions using movement instead of conflict: “Counterbalance the evil deed with one which is better”(41:34).¹⁰⁹ El-^cAwaisī argues that this conflict-free method is what Muslim teachings see as a means of maintaining a non-Muslim existence in this life.¹¹⁰ In short, *Tadāfu*^c is given a great emphasis by Muslims towards preserving a plurality of religious communities or the plurality of religions.¹¹¹

Changes in Religious Activities

In Islam, religious activities are not confined to specified prayers and litanies, which are to be performed on particular occasions. Rather, Islam considers every virtuous action, which

has been sincerely performed, and with the view to carry out the commandments of God and in order to seek His Pleasure, an act of worship for which man will be rewarded.¹¹² Therefore, the researcher includes development of religious institutions, intellectual activities and performing rituals in the discussion of religious changes.

Development of Religious Institution

The two most important changes and impressive constructions in IslamicJerusalem after the Muslim conquest were certainly al-Aqsā Mosque (al-Masjid al-Aqsā) and its Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat al-Sakhrah*). However, Amikam Elad argues that the history of al-Aqsā Mosque, particularly on the early stages of its construction, is ambiguous.¹¹³ Therefore, the researcher attempts to analyse the historical facts relating to the reconstruction of al-Aqsā Mosque.

The researcher has found that ʿUmar had chosen the location of the al-Aqsā Mosque, commemorating of the place to which Prophet Muhammad translocated. Interestingly, its location was the area of the present al-Aqsā enclave, which is on the eastern edge of the walled city. It seems distinguished as usually Muslims used to establish their mosque in the middle of the conquered cities such as in Damascus.¹¹⁴

Al-Ratrout argues that the selection of the area, which Muslims believe it (al-Aqsā Mosque) was already exists in, to reconstruct a building had shown ʿUmar's adherence to his assurance of safety. Although, it was not in the centre of

Islamicjerusalem, Muslims did not intend to convert the church of the Holy Sepulchre into a mosque or even of taking over part of the church or of its area for benefit of a mosque.¹¹⁵

On the other hand, K. A. C. Creswell argues that “none of the earlier Muslim writers, such as al-Baladhūrī (d. 279 AH/ 892 AD) or al-Tabarī (d. 310 AH/ 922 AD) mention the construction of a mosque” at the time of ʿUmar.¹¹⁶ However, his claim seems unjustifiable as Al-Ratrout argues that he has found an important source of al-Wāqidī (207 AH/ 822AD), which was ignored by Creswell in his study. Significantly, it is much earlier than the two early sources presented by Creswell. Al-Wāqidī mentions ʿUmar entered Jerusalem on Monday and stayed until Friday. He “*khatta*” demarcated the Mosque where he came and prayed with his companions the Friday prayer at that place.¹¹⁷ Al-Ratrout adds that the word delineation “*Ikhtatta*” as used in the Muslim sources is always accompanied by structural activity according to J. Akbar; irrespective of how the building might look and what its construction materials might be. This reference clearly indicates construction activity.¹¹⁸

There is possibly remain a question; what is the significance of reconstructing al-Aqsā Mosque immediately after the conquest? What kind of change that ʿUmar intended to do? Here, the researcher argues that ʿUmar’s great concern for religious change by reconstructing al-Aqsā Mosque has affirmed its centrality in the Muslims’ mind as well as its centrality of the blessed land, Islamicjerusalem region in particular and of the world as a whole. In short, ʿUmar’s initiative did restate the

special status and great significance of al-Aqsā Mosque and its surrounding area of Islamic Jerusalem.

Moreover, the researcher argues that the construction of mosque regarded as among the most important agenda in introducing change as it played very influential role in developing the society. In fact, for Muslims, a mosque is not only a religious symbol, but it is also an educational institution, cultural centre, administrative venue as well as community hub. Umar seems a visionary personality, who endeavoured to inculcate religious consciousness within the community especially Muslims, as the strong basis for further development of Islamic Jerusalem. Hence, the researcher argues that religious change for Muslims is properly planned to maintain the peace and harmony with strong emphasis on human development as well as on the material side.

Subsequently, the researcher attempts to examine the change with regard to the construction of the Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat al-Sakhra*). As soon as Abd al-Mālik became caliph, he planned the construction of the Dome of the Rock. Elad states that his first act was to expand the boundaries of the Mosque within the enclave, which in the year 685 CE did not include the rock upon which the Dome of the Rock was to be erected.¹¹⁹ He may have referred to Saʿīd al-Bitriq who says: “Abd al-Mālik added to the area of the Mosque so that the rock was included in this area.” This tradition was copied by al-Maqrizī with a significant modification in the wording: “He included the rock in the Haram,” and by Ibn Khaldūn, who also

included the same modification.¹²⁰ However, the researcher argues that Elad's statement is questionable as al-Ratrout mentions that undoubtedly, ʿUmar had acknowledged the entire area of the enclave as a mosque. He quotes an example from al-Wāqidī that “ʿUmar first prayed with his companions at the Sacred Rock where today *Qubbat al-Sakhrah* (the Dome of the Rock) is located; and on another occasion he prayed at the front of the site.”¹²¹

Since there were no Jews in Islamic Jerusalem at the time of the Muslim conquest of the region, there could not then have been a synagogue in Islamic Jerusalem. However, Gil argues that, “In accordance with Muslim religious law, the Jews were not allowed to have a synagogue in Jerusalem... forbade the construction of a new synagogue.”¹²² The researcher has found that his argument is unjustifiable since Muslim Sharīʿah does not mention about the prohibition of building other religious places, including churches and synagogues. Even al-Ratrout also affirms that there is no construction of a new synagogue during the Muslim conquest till the end of Umayyad period. The researcher argues that no synagogue was built during that period because the number of Jews was very few as they just migrated to Islamic Jerusalem. Moreover, ʿUmar assurance itself clearly stated non-Muslim inhabitants' rights to perform their religious duties and secure their religious places.¹²³

Religious Rituals and Intellectual Activities

The Muslim conquest of Islamic Jerusalem has witnessed a change in religious policy. Obviously, Muslims showed their

respect to others to secure freedom of religion for the inhabitants of Islamic Jerusalem irrespective their numbers, races or colours. This kind of policy has affirmed the continuation of pilgrimage to that holy place. Bishop Arculf states that the pilgrims had continued to come to Islamic Jerusalem especially from the western world.¹²⁴ Le Strange elaborated that: “The Christians and the Jews come up to Jerusalem in great numbers, in order to make their visitation of the Church of the Resurrection and the synagogue that is there.”¹²⁵

Furthermore, the Jews were also permitted to move their religious council legislative body from Tiberia to Islamic Jerusalem during that period.¹²⁶ Apparently, Muslims had introduced change with regard to the religious matters as they welcomed others to visit and do the pilgrimage in Islamic Jerusalem safely. Thus, the researcher is inclined to argue that Muslim concept of change will never exclude any religious community, but dynamically inspired to encourage an inclusive vision towards fostering peace and harmony.

Ranciman discusses how upon the Muslim conquest of Islamic Jerusalem, Christians alongside the Jews became *dhimmi*s; they were allowed freedom of religion and worship in return for their paying *jizyah*. He adds that each sect was treated as a ‘semi-autonomous community’ within the city, each under its religious leader who was responsible for its good behaviour to the Caliph’s government. Armstrong argues that the Muslims had introduced a policy, which included Jews, Christian and Muslims to live in Islamic Jerusalem together in peace and

harmony. She adds that this was due to the inclusive vision, which successfully developed by the Muslims in Islamicjerusalem, a vision that appreciates the presence and devotion of others but respects the rights of others and celebrates plurality and coexistence.¹²⁷

Ritual worships in Islamicjerusalem in the early Muslim period were mainly concentrated on the Al-Aqsā enclave. There are a number of early testimonies of these rituals, and they certainly confirm the trend developed and encouraged by the first Umayyad caliphs. Many of these rituals were performed in and around the Dome of the Rock.¹²⁸

From the beginning of the Muslim period after the conquest, a significant number of the Prophet's companions came to Islamicjerusalem to visit and pray in its holy places. In addition, some Muslim pilgrims came to Islamicjerusalem before the season of the *hajj* in order to sanctify and prepare themselves for the *hajj* or the *umrah* in Makkah. This sanctification ceremony was called *ihrām* (meaning that the person sanctifying himself, the *muhrim*, announced out loud his intention and readiness to enter into a state of *ihrām*). Early traditions, which can be dated back to at least the first quarter of the second century AH, extol the sanctification of the *hajj* or the *umrah*, from Islamicjerusalem. There is information on a number of prominent Muslim scholars who went up to Islamicjerusalem to perform the *ihrām* there before the *hajj*, namely *Abdullāh Ibn Umar* (d. 73 or 74 AH/692-694 CE), *Abdullāh Ibn al-Abbās* (d. 68 AH/678 CE), *Mahmūd Ibn al-Rabī*, *Abū Nu'aym* (d. 99 AH/717 CE)¹²⁹

Muslims in IslamicJerusalem after the conquest till the end of Umayyad period did also actively engage with various religious activities such as Muslim teaching and religious visit besides the daily rituals. This is due to the fact that since ʿUmar’s time, he had shown his strong emphasis to inculcate intellectual environment of IslamicJerusalem by appointing ʿUbādah Ibn al-Sāmī as a teacher besides having responsibility as a judge.¹³⁰ Furthermore, numbers of followers (Ṭābiʿīn), theologians and ascetics also moved to IslamicJerusalem.¹³¹ Some of these left their countries of origin, to live near al-Aqṣā Mosque. Among the followers who settled in IslamicJerusalem were Ibrāhīm Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sirj al-Firyābī, Rūh Ibn Zanbaʿ al-Judhamī, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Muhayriz, Jubayr Ibn Nāfir, Umm al-Dardā’ the Younger: Hujaymah Bint Huyay (Abū al-Dardā’'s second wife), Rajā’ Ibn Haywa, and Ibrāhīm Ibn Adham. Among those who died there are ʿUbādah Ibn Nusay al-Kindī (who died in Tiberias), al-Hasan Ibn Wāqīʿ (who died in al-Ramla), Thawr Ibn Yazīd al-Kayla’ī (who died in IslamicJerusalem), and Adam Ibn Iyās (who died in Ascalon).¹³²

Undoubtedly, the researcher argues that the first Muslim conquest of IslamicJerusalem has gradually changed the role of the region to become a centre of knowledge and intellectual activities. Although, the development of Muslim teachings in IslamicJerusalem seems increased, Muslims never thought to stop any activity of other faiths or even intervene in others’ religious affairs. In short, the first Muslim conquest was followed by introducing change in religious policy, which

attempted to express the importance of freedom of expression and religion.

Conclusion

This study has arrived at some significant conclusions. It reveals that Muslims in Islamicjerusalem had successfully applied the Muslim concept of change in that region since the first Muslim conquest till the end of Umayyad period. Muslims' profound understanding and strong commitment to apply that distinctive concept obviously shown by the diversification of the pattern of changes in Islamicjerusalem, which employed due to the needs, time factor and suitability. Interestingly, all kind of changes initiated by Muslims in Islamicjerusalem were beneficially projected for all the inhabitants of the region regardless of their religions, colours and races. This fact has affirmed the progressive vision of the Muslim concept of change.

Furthermore, the study finds that Islamicjerusalem seems crucial important and pretty worth to be analysed regarding the implementation of the Muslim concept of change. This is due to the fact, which also proven by this study that the non-Muslims were remaining majority in Islamicjerusalem region during that vital period. Hence, the researcher argues that Islamicjerusalem region could be the best model in representing the implementation of the Muslim concept of change within the multi-religious and multi-cultural communities, where Muslims only formed the minority. Apparently, besides the Muslim concept of change concern on plurality and diversity, it also

emphasizes on determining others' rights, responsibilities, treatment, tolerance and means of co-existence. Thus, the researcher concludes that Muslims attitudes towards introducing changes in Islamicjerusalem are well-developed in line with Muslim's vision of Islamicjerusalem, which promotes inclusive vision towards establishing peace and stability in that region.

The study also reveals that Islamicjerusalem has witnessed Muslims' efforts to introduce changes in major aspects of human life, namely, political, social and religious affairs. Significantly, those kinds of changes were implemented hand in hand with balanced emphasis among each other. Although the researcher did not explore changes in other aspects of human life such as economic and intellectual affairs of Islamicjerusalem region, it seems justifiable to conclude that Islam has inspired its followers with comprehensive concept of change, which all-encompasses every single aspect of life.

The study finds that Muslims were very keen to initiate changes in Islamicjerusalem. However, they seem very patient, attentive and strategic in dealing with the needs and attitudes of the people of Islamicjerusalem. Therefore, the researcher concludes that this kind of approach performed by Muslims has affirmed its vulnerable condition, which might cause negative impacts to that region and other parts of the world in general, if any incorrect step is being taken. Evidently, the situation in Islamicjerusalem could become the yardstick of the peace and stability in the world. Thus, the researcher agrees with El-^oAwaist's argument that Islamicjerusalem region acts as centre

of peace and for conflict in the world. "If there is peace in that region, there will be peace and stability around the whole globe."¹³³

This study also notices that there is no resistance from the inhabitants of Islamicjerusalem region against the changes, which introduced by Muslims during that period. Although, Al-Tel states that most of the inhabitants of Islamicjerusalem, particularly the Christians were going against the Muslim conquerors during the conquest, he also notes that they had changed their attitudes towards Muslims after the Byzantines being defeated and significantly after the arrival of ʿUmar to the region granting the people of Aelia the assurance of safety (*amān*).¹³⁴ The researcher has found that no resistance or rebellion from Islamicjerusalemities indicates that they were satisfying with the implementation of the Muslim concept of change, which aims to instil *rahmah* (mercy) for all nations. "We sent thee not, but as a Mercy for all nations." (21:107). Undoubtedly, this fact corroborates with the status of Islamicjerusalem region as *al-Ard al-Mubārakah* (blessed land) for all nations regardless of their faiths, races and colours. "The land which We have *Barakah* for all nations." (21:71)

¹ Ibn Khaldūn (1978), *The Muqaddimah (An Introduction to History)*, translated from the Arabic by Franz Rosenthal, abridged and edited by N.J.Dawūd, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul in association with Secker and Warburg, p.ix. (Hereinafter cited as: Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*).

² Donner, Fred McGraw (1981), *The Early Muslim Conquests*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, p.273. (Hereinafter cited as: Donner, *The Early Muslim Conquests*).

- ³ Rosser-Owen, Dawūd G. (1976), *Social Change in Islam – The Progressive Dimension*, Slough Berks, UK: The Open Press Limited, p. 19.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁵ Lane, E. W. (1984), *Arabic – English Lexicon*, vol. 1, Cambridge: The Muslim Text Society, p. 166. (Hereinafter cited as: Lane, *Arabic – English Lexicon*)
- ⁶ Kamālī, Mohammad Hashīm (2002), *The Dignity of Man: An Muslim Perspective*, Cambridge: Muslim Texts Society, p.1 (Hereinafter cited as: Kamālī, *The Dignity of Man*)
- ⁷ Qutb, Sayyid (1954), *al-‘Adālah al-Ijtimā‘iyyah fī al-Islām*, 4th ed., Cairo: Mustafā ‘Isā al-Bāb al-Halabī, p.59. See also al-Sibā‘ī, Mustafā (1960), *Ishtirākiyyat al-Islām*, 2nd ed. Damascus: Dār al-Qawmiyyah, p.67.
- ⁸ Kamālī, *The Dignity of Man*, *op.cit.*, p. 39
- ⁹ Abū Zuhrah, Muhammad (n.d), *Tanzīm al-Islām li al-Mujtamā‘*, Cairo: Matba‘ah Mukhaymar, p.190. (Hereinafter cited as: Abū Zuhrah, *Tanzīm al-Islām li al-Mujtamā‘*)
- ¹⁰ See Shad Saleem Farūqī (1992), *Human Rights in Legal And Political Philosophy*, in *INSAF – The Journal of the Malaysian Bar*, Malaysian Bar Council, vol. XXI, No. 1, Dec., (publisher) pp. 2-4.
- ¹¹ al-Jawziyyah, Ibn Qayyim (n.d.), *al-Turūq al-Hukmiyyah fī al-Siyāsah al-Shar‘iyyah*, ed. Muhammad Jamīl Ghāzī, Jeddah: Matba‘ah al-Madanī, p.16. (Hereinafter cited as: al-Jawziyyah, *al-Turūq al-Hukmiyyah*) See also the Cairo edition. by Mu‘assasah al-‘Arabiyyah, 1380/1961, quoted by Kamālī, Mohammad Hāshim (2002), *Freedom, Equality and Justice in Islam*, Cambridge: Muslim Texts Society, p. 109 (Hereinafter cited as: Kamālī, *Freedom*)
- ¹² Sachedina, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz A. (1986), *A Just Social Order in Islam, from State, Politics and Islam*, ed. Mumtāz Ahmad, Indiana: American Trust Publications, p.130 (Hereinafter cited as: Sachedina, *A Just Social Order in Islam*)
- ¹³ Kamālī, *Freedom*, *op.cit.*, p. 78
- ¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 88.

- 15 Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, *op.cit.*, p. 123.
- 16 Chaudhry, Muhammad Sharīf (2000), *Dynamics of Muslim Jihad*, Lahore: Burhan Education and Welfare Trust, available at <http://www.muslimtents.com/shaufi/b17index.htm> on 15 July 2004.
- 17 Parvez, *Building a New Society*, *op.cit.*, p. 159.
- 18 *Ibid*, p. 163.
- 19 *Ibid*, p. 164.
- 20 *Ibid*.
- 21 *Ibid*, p. 165.
- 22 Sachedina, *A Just Social Order in Islam*, *op.cit.*, p. 131. See also Parvez, *Building a New Society*, *op.cit.*, p. 163
- 23 *Ibid*, p. 161.
- 24 Haykal, *The Life of Muhammad*, *op.cit.*, p. 174
- 25 *Ibid*.
- 26 A battle between Muslims and the followers of Musaylamah al-Kazzāb, who claimed himself as a prophet in 633 CE.
- 27 Muhammad Rājih Jad^can, *Abū Bakar al-Siddiq*, available at http://www.witness-pioneer.org/vil/Books/RJ_AbuBakr/Chapter6.htm on 15 July 2004.
- 28 ^cAbd al-Fattāh el-^cAwaisī (1997), *Jerusalem in Muslim History and Spirituality, The Significance of Jerusalem in Islam: An Muslim Reference*, Muslim Research Academy, p. 5. (Hereinafter cited as: El-^cAwaisī, *Jerusalem in Muslim History*)
- 29 *Ibid*.
- 30 Bassiouni, M.S. (1982), *The Muslim Criminal Justice System*, New York: Oceana Publications Inc, p. 195.
- 31 Muslim, *Sahīh Muslim*, rendered in to English by ^cAbdul Hamīd Siddīqī, corrected and revised by: Dr Hassan (1990), Lahore: Ashraf Muslim Publisher, Vol.III.A, Chap. 2, no. 1671R1, p. 223.
- 32 Muslim (n.d), *Mukhtasar Sahīh Muslim*, revised and translated by Ahmad Zaidān and Dina Zaidān, Cairo: Muslim INC. Publishing and Distribution, Vol. 1, no. 1050, p. 575.

- 33 al-Mubārakpuri, *al-Raheeq al-Makhtūm*, *op.cit.*, pp. 154-155.
- 34 El-^cAwa, *On The Political System*, *op.cit.*, p. 22.
- 35 *Ibid.*
- 36 Wilkinson, John (1990), 'Jerusalem under Rome and Byzantium', in *Jerusalem in History*, New York: Olive Branch Press, 1st Edition, pp. 87-89 (Hereinafter cited as: Wilkinson, *Jerusalem*)
- 37 Avi-Yonah, Michael (1976), *The Jews of Palestine*, Oxford, p. 19, 132-133, 222, 241.
- 38 Wilkinson, *Jerusalem*, *op.cit.*, p.88.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 49-50.
- 40 *Ibid*, p. 145 .
- 41 El-^cAwaisī, Khalīd (2003), *Geographical Boundaries of Islamicjerusalem* (unpublished), M. Litt. Dissertation under Islamicjerusalem Studies, Al-Maktoum Institute for Arabic and Muslim Studies, University of Abertay Dundee. p. 54. (Hereinafter cited as: El-^cAwaisī, *Geographical Boundaries*)
- 42 *Ibid*, p. 62.
- 43 The researcher has rechecked the map drawn by Khālīd El-^cAwaisī and found that he used incorrect direction (North East and South West). Hence, the researcher has changed it into new direction North West and South East.
- 44 Al-Tel, *The First Muslim Conquest*, *op.cit.*, p. 45.
- 45 Al-Tabarī, Abī Ja^cfar Muhammad ibn Jarīr (n.d.), *Tarīkh al-Tabarī, Tarīkh al-Umam wa al-Muluk*, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-^cAlamiah, , Vol. 2, p. 449. (Hereinafter cited as: Al-Tabarī, *Tarīkh al-Tabarī*)
- 46 El-^cAwaisī, ^cUmar's Assurance, *op.cit.*, p. 56.
- 47 El-^cAwaisī, *Exploring Identity*, *op.cit.*, p. 3.
- 48 Yatiban, Aminurraasyid (2003), *The Muslim Concept of Sovereignty: Islamicjerusalem During the First Muslim Conquest As a Case Study*, (unpublished), M. Litt. Dissertation under Islamicjerusalem Studies, Al-Maktoum Institute for Arabic and Muslim Studies, University of

- Abertay Dundee, p. 4. (Hereinafter cited as: Yatiban, *The Muslim Concept of Sovereignty*)
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.
- ⁵¹ El-^cAwaisī, *Umar's Assurance, op.cit.*, p. 47.
- ⁵² Al-Tabarī, *Tarikh al-Tabarī, op.cit.*, p. 449.
- ⁵³ El-^cAwaisī, *Umar's Assurance, op.cit.*, p. 65.
- ⁵⁴ Al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Tabarī, op.cit.*, p. 449.
- ⁵⁵ Yatiban, *The Muslim Concept of Sovereignty, op.cit.*, p. 51-52.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52.
- ⁵⁷ al-Tel, *The First Muslim Conquest, op.cit.*, p. 257.
- ⁵⁸ Armstrong, Karen (1997a), *A History of Jerusalem: One City Three Faiths*, London: Harper Collins Publishers, p.246. (Hereinafter cited as: Armstrong, Karen, *A History of Jerusalem*)
- ⁵⁹ al-Tel, *The First Muslim Conquest, op.cit.*, pp. 237-238.
- ⁶⁰ Abū Khalāf, Marwan (1999), *The Significance of Jerusalem to Muslims*, Journal of Islamic Jerusalem Studies, Muslim Research Academy, Summer, vol. 2, no.2, p. 76. (Hereinafter cited as: Abū Khalāf, *The Significance of Jerusalem*)
- ⁶¹ Donner, *The Early Muslim Conquests, op.cit.*, p. 152. See also Al-Tel, *The First Muslim Conquest, op.cit.*, p. 254.
- ⁶² Al-Tel, *The First Muslim Conquest, op.cit.*, p. 254.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 255.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 256.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 258.
- ⁶⁶ al-Tel, *The First Muslim Conquest, op.cit.*, p. 168.
- ⁶⁷ El-^cAwaisī, *Umar's Assurance, op.cit.*, p. 47.
- ⁶⁸ El-^cAwaisī, *Exploring Identity, op.cit.*
- ⁶⁹ Māher Younes Abū Munshar (2003), *A Historical Study of Muslim Treatment of Christians in Islamic Jerusalem at The Time of Umar Ibn Al-Khattāb and Salāh al-Dīn with Special Reference to Muslim Value of Justice*, unpublished, PhD, Thesis under Islamic Jerusalem Studies, Al-

Maktoum Institute for Arabic and Muslim Studies, University of Abertay Dundee, p. 125.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 126.

71 *Ibid.*

72 *Ibid.*

73 Armstrong, *A History of Jerusalem, op.cit.*, p. 232.

74 Gil, *A History of Palestine, op.cit.*, pp. 165 -166.

75 El-^cAwaisī, *Exploring Identity, op.cit.*

76 *Ibid.*

77 Armstrong, *Sacred Space, op.cit.*, p. 14.

78 *Ibid*, p.18.

79 Armstrong, *Sacred Space, op.cit.*, pp. 14-15.

80 Al-Tel, *The First Muslim Conquest, op.cit.*, p. 216.

81 *Ibid*, p. 217.

82 *Ibid.*

83 *Ibid*, p. 219.

84 The Prophet says, "The best of the followers of the Companions was a man by the name of Uways Ibn ^cĀmir from the tribe of Qarn, a part of the tribe of Murad. He was known for his kindness to his mother. He had been inflicted with leprosy from which he was cured - except for a small spot. Should you meet Uways al-Qarni, ask him to make supplication to Allah to forgive you." Indeed, ^cUmar Ibn al- Khattāb did during his caliphate when some reinforcements from Yemen came to Madīnah to support the Muslims in their battle with the blasphemers. The reinforcements had come to ^cUmar, in Madīnah so that he would tell them where to go and what to do according to his battle strategy. ^cUmar inquired whether or not Uways was with them. When he found him he asked him, "Are you Uways, the son of ^cĀmir?" Uways said, "Yes." ^cUmar asked him if he was good and kind to his mother and again Uways replied, "Yes." ^cUmar asked him, "Were you inflicted with leprosy and cured except for a spot as small as one dirham?" He said, "Yes." Then ^cUmar was remembering the order of the Prophet, asked Uways to make supplication to Allāh to forgive him. Out of his

humbleness, Uways told ʿUmar that ʿUmar’s supplication would more likely be answered since ʿUmar had recently returned from performing Hajj. However, ʿUmar told Uways about the order of the Prophet, and Uways made supplication for him. See Ibn Saʿd, Muhammad (1957), *al-Tabaqat al-Kubrā*, Beirut: Dār Sādir wa Dār Beirut, vol. 6, p. 111-115. (Hereinafter cited as: Ibn Saʿd, *al-Tabaqat al-Kubrā*)

- 85 El-ʿAwaisī, *Jerusalem in Muslim History, op.cit.*, p. 23.
- 86 Ibn Saʿd, *al-Tabaqat al-Kubrā, op.cit.*, vol. 3 (2), p. 63.
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- 88 *Ibid.*
- 89 Ibn Saʿd, *al-Tabaqat al-Kubrā, op.cit.*, vol. 1(2) p. 75.
- 90 Grabar, Oleg (1996), *The Shape of The Holy: Early Islamic Jerusalem*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, p.50.
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- 92 Adomnan, *The Holy Places, in Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, newly translated with supporting documents and notes by John Wilkison (2002), Warminster, England: Aris and Phillips Ltd, p. 170.
- 93 Dūrī, *Jerusalem in the Early Muslim Period, op.cit.*, p. 109.
- 94 Al-Baladhūrī, *Futūh al-Buldān*, p.116. See also Donner, *The Early Muslim Conquests*, p.119.
- 95 Salibi, *Syria Under Islam, op.cit.*, p. 22. Al-Baladhūrī also mentioned that Muslim rulers continued to pay attention to fortifying the Mediterranean Coast area and stationing military garrisons there for a long time after ʿUmar’s era. See also Al-Baladhūrī, *Futūh al-Buldān, op.cit.* pp.134-145
- 96 al-Yaʿqūbī, Ahmad Ibn Abi Yaʿqūb Ibn Jaʿfar Ibn Abī Wādih (1891), *Kitab al-Buldān*, ed. M.Y.D. Goyge, Leiden. pp. 148-149.
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