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FROM AELIA TO AL-QUDS: THE NAMES OF ISLAMICJERUSALEM* IN THE EARLY MUSLIM PERIOD

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Özet

Aelia'dan Kudüs'e: Erken İslamî Dönemde Beytü'l Makdis'in Adları

Kudüs'ün ve Filistin'in adları yüzyıllar boyunca bir çok kez değişmiş ve bugün de değişmeye devam etmektedir. Bu değişiklikler, bazen yöneticilerin baskısı sonucu bazen de doğal seyri içerisinde gerçekleşmiştir. Erken İslamî dönemde Müslümanlar, daha önce kullanılan isimleri kullanmaya devam etmişlerdir. Fakat Kur'an-ı Kerim'de bu mekanların yeni isimlerle zikredildiği, Hz. Peygamber'in de başka yeni isimler kullandığı bilinmektedir. Müslümanlar, Kudüs'ü fethettikten sonra yeni bir isim dayatmasında bulunmamış, eski isimlerin kullanılmasına müsaade etmişlerdir. Ancak doğal seyir sonucu bu mekanın adı Kudüs olarak kalmıştır. Kudüs ismi, bu toprakların kutsallığına ve bereketliliğine işaret etmektedir. Bu makale, Hz. Peygamber'in vefatından sonra şehrin ve bölgenin Aelia, Beytü'l Makdis ve Kudüs isimlerini ve bunların çağrışımlarını, Kudüs olarak kesinleşene kadarki sürecini, ele almaktadır. Araştırma esnasında erken dönem İslam tarihi

* The term Islamicjerusalem is used to refer to the wider region of Bayt al-Maqdis, which includes many cities and towns. This new term is the result of serious academic debate that sees it as a developing concept helping better understand the dynamics of this region in its historical, theological, and political perspectives.

kaynaklarından, o dönemde basılmış çeşitli paralardan ve kitabelerden istifade edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kudüs'ün isimleri, Beytü'l Makdis, Filistin.

Abstract

Over the centuries the names of Jerusalem and Palestine have changed multiple times and continue to change. These changes are sometimes enforced by rulers or have evolved over time. In the seventh century Arabs were using numerous names and with the rise of Islam, new names and terminologies were introduced in the Qur'an and the Prophetic tradition. Following the Muslim conquest, the Muslims did not enforce a particular name, rather they continued to use the name Aelia in official transactions. It was used simultaneously with another name, Bayt al-Maqdis and gradually changed to the name al-Quds, which stressed the holiness of the city and its region surviving to our modern time. This paper examines the development of the names of the city and its region after the death of Prophet Muhammad up to the introduction and popularity of the name al-Quds. It also surveys the different uses and connotations of the names Aelia, Bayt al-Maqdis and al-Quds, drawing on examples from this period citing primary Arabic sources, coins and other artefacts.

Keywords: Jerusalem names, Early Muslim period, Holy Land, Palestine.

Kurte

Ji Aelfa heya Qidusê: Di Serdema Pêşî ya Îslamê de Navên Beytu'l-Meqdîsê

Navên Qidus û Felestinê bi sedsalan re guheriye ku roja îro jî diguhere. Ev guherînên han, carina bir zordariya serdestan, carina jî di herîkîna xwe ya xwezayî de hatine pê. Misilmanan di serdema pêşî ya Îslamê de navên ku berê dihatine bi kar anîn domandine. Lêbelê tê zanîn ku weke Qur'ana Kerîm û Hz.

Pêxember bi xwe jî ji bo van waran navên cuda bi kar anîne. Lê ji ber herîkîna xwezayî, navê vî warî weke Qidusê maye. Navê Qidusê pîrozî û bereketa vê axê destnîşan dike. Ev gotar, li ser pêvajoya piştî wefata Hz. Pêxember hûr dibe ka navên bajêr û herêmê –weke Aelfa, Beytu'l-Meqdîs û Qidus- çi tiştan tînin bîrê. Di lêkolînê ji çavkaniyên pêşîn yê dîroka Îslamê, pereyên ku di wê serdemê de hatine çapkirin û kîtabeyan sûd hatiye wergirtin.

Peyvên Sereke: Navên Qidusê, Beytu'l-Meqdîs, Felestîn.

چکیده

از "ایلیاء" تا "قدس": نامهای بیت المقدس در صدر اسلام

در طول تاریخ همواره شاهد تغییر نام بیت المقدس و فلسطین بوده ایم و این تغییر و دگرگونی در بیشتر حالتها در اثر گذشت زمان و نیز توسط حاکمان آن صورت گرفته است. در صدر اسلام نامهای قدیم و رومانی بیت المقدس توسط پیامبر و یاران وی به کار رفته اند و در قرآن نیز از برخی از آنها یاد شده است. نامهای جدیدی نیز توسط خود پیامبر به آنها اضافه شده است. بعد از فتح بیت المقدس توسط سپاه اسلام، برخی از آن نامها به همان شکل باقی ماندند و شاهد تلاشی از جانب مسلمانان در راستای بکارگیری اسم جدیدی برای آن نبودیم. کم کم وبا گذشت زمان نام شهر به يك اسم عربی تبدیل شد که بر شهر و نیز اماکن موجود در آن نوعی قداست و برکت می بخشید، اسمی که تا به امروز همچنان باقی مانده است.

این مقاله سعی بر آن دارد تا با تکیه بر منابع دسته اول عربی و نیز سکه ها و آثار باستانی دیگر به جای مانده از آن دوران، روند بکارگیری نامهای شهر بیت المقدس و نیز منطقه ی پیرامون آن و نیز دلالتهای معنایی آن را بعد از وفات پیامبر خدا تا زمانی که اسم قدس رایج و متداول گشت؛ مورد بررسی قرار دهد.

کلمات کلیدی: نامهای قدس، بیت المقدس، فلسطین

الملخص

من إيلياء إلى القدس: أسماء بيت المقدس في الفترة الإسلامية المبكرة

على مر العصور تغيرت أسماء بيت المقدس وفلسطين مراراً وما زالت تتغير على أيدي من يحكم تلك الأرض أو تتغير أحياناً بمرء الزمان. خلال

الفترة الإسلامية المبكرة كانت هناك عدة أسماء متداولة من قبل بعثة رسول الله (ﷺ) واستخدمها الرسول وصحابته وتم ذكر بعض الأسماء في القرآن الكريم وزاد الرسول بعض الأسماء الأخرى. بعد الفتح الإسلامي بقيت تلك الأسماء متداولة ولم يحاول المسلمون فرض اسم جديد بل استخدموا اسم المدينة الروماني وتدرجياً تم تغيير اسم المدينة إلى اسم عربي يضاف على المدينة وأكتفها معاني القداسة والبركة وما زال هذا الاسم متداولاً حتى هذا اليوم. هذه الورقة تناقش تطور استخدام أسماء المدينة والمنطقة و ودلالاتهم من بعد وفاة رسول الله إلى أن أصبح اسم القدس شائعاً ومتداولاً. وسيستند البحث إلى المصادر العربية الأولية، وبعض النقود المصكوكة وقطع أثرية أخرى من تلك الفترة المبكرة.

الكلمات الرئيسية: أسماء القدس، بيت المقدس، الفترة الإسلامية المبكرة، فلسطين.

Introduction

It is normal for names of cities and regions to change over time. Such change may be enforced by political or religious figures or institutions but it often happens quite naturally. A case in point is the city of Jerusalem and the region of Palestine, which changed their names multiple times since the beginning of written records and continues to change. Some of these names survive to this day while others have perished. The Arabic/Arabised names of city and region were well established long before the rise of Islam in the seventh century and since there has been a gradual change of the names. It is important to note, that before the rise of Islam in the seventh century, Arabs were acquainted with Aelia (Jerusalem) and the region around it mainly through trade and for religious purposes for Arab Christians. There are numerous accounts referring both to ancient names and to names used at the time. Some of the names were Arabised for the ease of the Arabic speaker, a practice that had a long history (Al-Jawaliqi 1969). One of the earliest references to the city, in Arabic, is by the famous Arab poet Imr'u al-Qays (d. 545 CE [80 BH]). In one of his famous poems, he talks of a Christian priest and refers to him as *Maqdisi* (Jerusalemite), a derivative from the name Bayt al-Maqdis (Imr'u al-Qays 1998:300; Mahmoud 1979: 110; El-Awaisi 2007b, 23). Another famous Arab poet, Al-A'shā, who died at the start of the Prophetic mission in Makkah, mentions in his poetry one of the ancient names *UriShalim* (Al-A'shā 2003:200). This particular name

was not contemporary to Al-A'shā's period, but it shows that the Arabs were aware of this place's ancient names and thus its importance. These are the only accounts of the names recorded from the pre-Islamic period through poetry. However, early Islamic traditions suggest that the pagan Arabs in Makkah during the rise of Islam were also aware of other names. This is evident from the numerous accounts recorded in the Hadith¹ of the Prophet which emphasise the sacredness of this region.² One example which clearly illustrates that the Arabs were acquainted with this sacred place is the story of the Night Journey around 620 CE. According to this tradition the Prophet on his return was confronted by the Makkans asking him for precise details of what he had seen. The name the Prophet used in the discussion is Bayt al-Maqdis as is recorded in many authentic hadith narrations (al-Bukhārī 2000, v.2: 956; Muslim 2000, v.1: 88). In another narration it is reported that the Makkans responded using the popular name of the time. It states that the Prophet said: "*I was taken on a journey by night (al-Isrā')*, they asked to where. He (the Prophet) replied to Bayt al-Maqdis. They said [you mean] Aelia, he replied: yes..." (al-Ṭabarānī nd, v.12:167-8; Ibn Abī Shaybah 1994, v.7:422-3, v.8:445; Ibn 'Asākir 1996, v.41:235). This clearly shows that the Makkans were acquainted with the name Bayt al-Maqdis and equated it with the Roman name Aelia, which was the most popular name at the time.

Further research shows that these names not only refer to the city, but in actual fact have narrower or wider meanings (El-Awaisi 2007). Although many refer to the city they sometimes also refer to the Mosque (Al-Aqsa Mosque) or to a wider region. This is the case with the name Bayt al-Maqdis in the tradition of the Prophet which was used interchangeably to refer to these three different -but sometimes overlapping- concepts. The same can be argued for the other names and this paper will explore some of these usages, with the exclusion of particular terms introduced by the Prophet that only have a single connotation, such as "the Land of Raising and Gathering" (*Arḍ al-Maḥshar wal-Manṣhar*) which refers to the wider region. In addition the Qur'an introduces other names which were then used by the Prophet and

¹ Hadith although written down in later periods, it is taken here as the oral account of events passed down to later generations; these accounts are confirmed by numismatic and other sources. Only authentic and sound narrations are taken here while weak or fabricated narrations are not relied on, as sources from the seventh century.

² I have dealt with this issue in a separate article, The names of Islamic Jerusalem in the Prophetic period. *Journal of Islamic Jerusalem Studies*, vol. 8, summer 2007.

his companions and were used throughout Muslim history. The main two names that relate to Islamic Jerusalem in the Qur'an are the "Land of Barakah" and *al-Ard al-Muqadasah* (Holy Land). These became popular when referring to the wider regions around the holy city.

This paper examines how the names were used following the death of Prophet Muhammad and trace their development until the introduction of the name Al-Quds in the Abbasid period. Also it explores what these names and terms would have referred to in this early period and the different connotations they had. As investigation of every account and narration during this period is not feasible, this paper focuses on presenting an overview of the usage of the names.

Names during the Muslim conquest

The Muslim arrival was a turning point in the history of the region. This has been the source of numerous accounts recorded by historians from this early period. This section will explore in chronological order many of these accounts where the names of the city and the region are mentioned. Later sections will follow a more systematic approach by discussing each name and their development separately.

Muslims prior to the death of the Prophet Muhammad were already approaching the region and had numerous encounters with the Byzantines and their allies. The last military act in the life of the Prophet was to prepare an army led by Usamah Ibn Zayd to Palestine Tertia³. However the Prophet died while the army was getting ready to leave. Abū Bakr succeeded him in leading the Muslims and despatched this army twelve days after the Prophet's death (Omar 2005:60-2). On their return and after settling the Arabian front, Abū Bakr commissioned another four armies and directed them into the region. He directed one of them toward Aelia, telling the Commander in Chief of this army 'Amr Ibn al-'Āṣ "You are assigned for Palestine and Aelia (*'Alayka bi-Filistīn wa-Iliyā'*)" (al-Wāqidi nd: 31). What is used here is the names of the time Aelia which the Byzantines were still using centuries after it was first introduced.⁴ The

³ The Prophet named to Usamah the sites of *Yubnā* and *al-Dārūm*, on the borders of Islamic Jerusalem close to Mu'ta (Omar 2005:60-2) in Palestine Tertia. Others believe them to be in Palestina Prima, close to Ramla and Gaza (Shurrāb 1994)

⁴ The Arabic *Iliya'* come from the Latin Aelia introduced by Hadarian in 135CE. Moreover in some Arabic there is some discussion to try to prove that this has the meaning of the "house of the Lord" or claim it is the name of one of the sons of Sam, son of Noah, (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.1:348-9; Maḥmūd 1979:21,24; al-Ḥilū 1999:91).

other name Palestine would refer to one of the regions of Byzantine Palestine (Palastina Prima, Secunda or Tertia). This becomes clearer in another text, where Abū Bakr specifies the route to ‘Amr "*to Aelia until he reaches Palestine*" (al-Wāqidī nd: 29). From these texts it can be understood that Abū Bakr was referring to the region of Aelia (El-Awaisi 2003: 30-31; El-Awaisi 2005:30). This is the case with other texts about these same events. In each case the name refers to the region rather than the city. This is further clarified in a letter from ‘Amr written to Abū ‘Ubaydah, the overall commander of the Muslim armies in Historical Syria, informing him that he had conquered Palestine; he said: "... *I have arrived at the land of Palestine and fought the Roman army with a Patriarch called Rubīs with a hundred thousand knights and God has granted us victory ... and God has allowed the conquest of Palestine under my command...*" (al-Wāqidī nd:38-39). This is a reference to a fierce battle between ‘Amr and the Byzantines which took place in *Dathin*⁵ (Al-Balādhurī 1987: 151) in Palestina Tertia and before entering Palestina Prima. From this text one might get the impression that ‘Amr had conquered the whole of Palestine, when in fact he had not yet approached the area containing Aelia. This strengthens the argument that Aelia, at least to the Arabs, was a separate entity from Palestine, and Palestine in this case refers to Palestina Tertia (El-Awaisi 2003: 31).⁶

Abū Bakr sent more reinforcements to the armies in al-Sham. One of these was the army of Khalid Ibn al-Walīd, which was in Iraq. In the letter sent by Abū Bakr to Khalid, he said: "*Hurry to your brothers in al-Sham, by Allah, a qaryah*⁷ (town) amongst the *Qurā* (towns) from *Arḍ al-Maqdis*, Allah helps us conquer, is better to me than the conquest of a great province from the provinces of Iraq" (Ibn al-Murajjā 1995:55). This is the first reference to this area as *Arḍ al-Maqdis* (the land of *al-Maqdis*). From this statement it can be understood that *Arḍ al-Maqdis* was a vast area, had many *qura* ‘towns’, and could be equated to the land of Bayt al-Maqdis which is later used.

‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb succeeded Abū Bakr in leading the Muslims, and commanding their armies’ specifically in al-Sham. Already the

⁵ *Dathin* is known today as *Khirbat al-Dimaytha* south of Gaza City situated five km east of *Dīr al-Balah* (Shurrāb 1994:78)

⁶ There is a record of the name *al-Masjid al-Aqsa* being used, this was following the battle of Ajnadin, led by ‘Amr. The poetry is of the companion Ziyad ibn Ḥanzala who uses the name Al-Aqsa Mosque explicitly in his poem, which he says the leader of the Byzantines escaped to (إلى المسجد الأقصى وفيه حشور) (Abd al-Muhdī, 2002).

⁷ The word *qaryah* in Arabic does not imply its modern meaning ‘village’, rather it denotes a town or a city.

armies had won several battles and taken some areas and made treaties with others, and it is said that 'Umar became the Caliph on the day of the victory over Damascus (al-Wāqidī nd:132-33). Following the conquest of Damascus, Abū 'Ubaydah sent 'Amr to the land of Jordan and Palestine (al-Azdī 1970: 106-07); he was hesitant whether to head towards Aelia or Antioch. He asked his men *"Should I head with the army to Bayt al-Maqdis, as it is their greatest city and holds the throne of the Roman [Byzantine] Kingdom and is where their religion started off?"* (al-Wāqidī nd:137). After another small incident at *Dīr abī al-Quds* he was still unsure, so he wrote to 'Umar explaining the situation and asking where to head to: Heraclius (Caesarea) or Bayt al-Maqdis (al-Wāqidī nd:151). From these texts it is clear that the name used by Abū 'Ubaydah was Bayt al-Maqdis; he used it to refer to Aelia Capitolina (the walled city), as he shows clearly when saying *"It is their greatest city."* Moreover, Abū 'Ubaydah moved to Jordan where some battles took place such as *Fahl*, which led to many treaties for the region of Jordan. Following this Abū 'Ubaydah gave a speech in which he said, *"... I was planning to head with you to the people of Aelia and the people of Caesarea, however I hate to attack them in their city while they are well prepared and fortified..."* (Al-Azdī 1970: 143). He decided instead to go back to Damascus and from there to attack Homs, and he left 'Amr Ibn al-'Āṣ in charge of Jordan and some of the land of Palestine (Al-Azdī 1970: 144). After conquering Homs, the Byzantines sent large armies to confront the Muslims. The Muslims for tactical reasons withdrew from the cities they conquered (Al-Azdī 1970: 155-56). When the people from parts of Palestine and Jordan who were under the control of 'Amr Ibn al-'Āṣ heard of the Byzantine advances and the Muslim withdrawals, they broke their treaties. Following this, 'Amr wrote this to Abū 'Ubaydah, *"... The people of Aelia and a lot of the people of al-Urdun (Jordan) have broken the treaties..."* (al-Azdī 1970:162). The reference to Aelia probably referred to people within the region and not the city, as the city was not conquered nor did it have any truces at the time of this letter. However, the reference may have been to some of the other cities within the region of Aelia.

'Amr Ibn al-'Āṣ used the name Aelia frequently. During one of his speeches he said *"... everyone must prepare to march with me to the people of Aelia..."* He later called upon his army and said, *"Let us head to Aelia"*, then marched towards the land of Aelia (al-Azdī 1970:164). He also wrote to the Patriarchs of Aelia, saying: *"... from 'Amr Ibn al-'Āṣ to the Patriarchs of Aelia..."* (al-Azdī 1970:165). This might also refer to

Aelia as the region, as he mentioned the Patriarchs in the plural and so was possibly addressing all the Patriarchs of the region of Aelia, who may have been gathered in the city. However, there could have been more than one Patriarch to the city (for the different denominations), which would mean that he meant the city only. The Patriarchs, however, rejected his offer as they had also heard of the Byzantine advances and the Muslim withdrawals.

Following this the Muslims withdrew all their forces and relocated to the Jordan valley. This was the site of the decisive battle of *Yarmūk*, in which the Muslims defeated the Byzantines and their allied forces. Following the victory, Abū 'Ubaydah sent messengers to the people of Aelia to come out so he could give them assurances of safety, but they did not do so (al-Azdī 1970:242-43). It is mentioned in the account that he sent messengers (in plural) and not just one messenger, so possibly he sent a number of messengers to different sites within Aelia. However, after receiving no replies, he wrote a letter to the people of Aelia, saying: "...from Abū 'Ubaydah 'Āmir Ibn al-Jarraḥ to the Patriarchs of the people of Aelia and its population..." (al-Azdī 1970:242-43). In the letter he mentions the Patriarchs of the people of Aelia rather than Aelia alone. This seems to refer to the Patriarchs of the inhabitants of Aelia around the region. Following this letter Abū 'Ubaydah wrote to 'Umar informing him of the victory at *Yarmūk* and this development, saying: "...I have sent to the people of Aelia inviting them to Islam..." (al-Azdī 1970:244).

The Muslims could not decide whether to head for Caesarea or Bayt al-Maqdis. It was suggested that a letter be sent to Caliph 'Umar on this issue for his opinion. So Abū 'Ubaydah wrote another letter to 'Umar informing him of both opinions, and they awaited his command. When 'Umar received the letter he read it to the Muslims in Madinah and sought their advice. Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib advised that the army should advance to Bayt al-Maqdis and once they conquered it then advance into Caesarea which would also be conquered, as he had been informed by the Prophet. 'Umar agreed with the opinion of Ali and wrote to Abū 'Ubaydah: "... I have received your letter in which you are asking counsel on which direction to advance; the Prophet's cousin has advised that you advance to Bayt al-Maqdis, so God may allow its conquering under your leadership..." (al-Wāqidī nd: 318-19). Also in one of 'Umar's replies he mentioned the booty from *Yarmūk* which was gathered in *al-Jābiyah*: "Don't do anything with it until you conquer Bayt al-Maqdis" (al-Ya'qūbī nd, v.2:142).

The people of Aelia did not accept his offer, so Abū 'Ubaydah dispatched the army and besieged them (al-Azdī 1970:244-45). Abū 'Ubaydah despatched thirty five thousand soldiers in seven separate armies. He told them to advance towards Bayt al-Maqdis, and gave specific instructions to some of the armies. He told the commander of the second army: "*Once you approach balad Iliyā' (city of Aelia) raise your voices with takbīr [saying Allah Akbar: God is the greatest] ...*" As for the third army, he commanded them to "*march towards Bayt al-Maqdis and once reaching it, besiege it.*" As for the fourth army, he commanded its leader to besiege its Citadel (al-Wāqidi nd:318-19). It can be seen here that two terms were used: the first and most frequent Bayt al-Maqdis, the second *balad Iliyā'* (city of Aelia). These terminologies refer to the same place –Aelia Capitolina (the walled city); here it was called Bayt al-Maqdis and also called *balad Iliyā'*, which could be a translation of the Latin Aelia Capitolina.

After a few months, the people within the city decided to surrender on condition that this be to the Caliph 'Umar. Abū 'Ubaydah wrote to 'Umar, saying, "... *and we are besieging the people of Madinat Iliyā' (City of Aelia)...*" (al-Wāqidi nd:326). In another version of the letter he says "...*and we are sieging Aelia...*" (al-Azdī 1970:248). Once 'Umar received the letter he read it to the Muslims in Madinah and sought their advice. 'Uthman Ibn 'Afan suggested he did not go; in his reply he said, "...*and our men are besieging Madinat Iliyā' (City of Aelia)...*" (al-Wāqidi nd:327). On the other hand, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib advised the contrary, namely that he should go so that the city is conquered (al-Wāqidi nd:327-28), which he did. It is clear from the letter and the discussion that they were talking only about Aelia Capitolina (the walled city), which they refer to in many forms, *Madinat Iliyā'*, *Iliyā'* and Bayt al-Maqdis.

Umar then headed towards Aelia with a large number of companions, nobles from both the *muhajirūn* (migrants), and the *Anṣār* (supporters) (al-Azdī 1970: 250). The scouts of Abū 'Ubaydah were looking out to see if 'Umar had arrived. 'Umar saw them and called them and asked what they wanted. They replied, "*O commander of the faithful, we have been eagerly awaiting your arrival so that God may allow the conquest of Bayt al-Maqdis by your hand*" (al-Wāqidi nd:330). 'Umar then conquered the city and decreed to its people the well-known 'Umar's Assurance of Safety (*al-Uhda al-Umariyah*). In its lines it mentions the name numerous times, as narrated by al-Ṭabarī (1998:191):

This is what was granted by the servant of God, ‘Umar, the commander of the faithful, to the people of Aelia ... and no Jew must reside in Aelia... and the people of Aelia must pay the *Jizyah*... And to them apply the same *Jizyah* as the people of Aelia... and those people of Aelia who would like... And to them apply the same *Jizyah* as the people of Aelia ...⁸

It is seen from ‘Umar's Assurance of Safety that ‘Umar uses the name Aelia five times; it was mostly used in the form *Ahl Iliyā*’ (the people of Aelia), as well as *Iliyā*’ on its own. The reference here is to the walled city (Aelia Capitolina). In other versions of the text, similar terminologies are used, for instance *Ahl Madinat Iliyā*’ (the people of the city of Aelia) (Ibn al-Biṭriq 1905, v.2:16; Abū-Munshar 2003:140). The use of the word *Madinat* leaves us in no doubt that the city was meant here. However, in one narration it is said that *Ahl Bayt al-Maqdis* was used (al-Ya‘qūbī nd, v.2:147), which would seem to be an alteration by the author as all the others agree that the name Aelia was used. Also al-Ya‘qūbī is known to be unreliable in his narrations (Shurrāb 1994:88). Moreover, the Muslims used to write assurances to people with the city names unaltered and not with a different name.

What strengthens the interpretation that the assurance was only to the city and not to the region is that other towns and cities around Aelia Capitolina were given similar assurances, such as Lud (al-Ṭabarī 1998, v.4:191). Al-Ṭabarī quotes with the Assurance of Safety contemporaries as having said "*‘Umar made the peace treaty with the people of Aelia in al-Jābiyah and he issued a treaty for every single town, except the people of Aelia ... All their other treaties are the same as the treaty of Lud...*" (al-Ṭabarī 1998, v.4:191). This means that he gave the people of every town and city within Aelia (the region) their own accords in al-Jābiyah. Nevertheless, this applied to every city and town except for Aelia (the city); the residents there had a different agreement, which would have not occurred in al-Jābiyah as is understood from the text. This understanding resolves what is believed to be a historical contradiction on where ‘Umar is believed to have granted the assurances of safety.

Al-Ṭabarī quotes more contemporaries to strengthen this argument that Aelia refers to a large area and region. He quotes two people as saying "*Aelia and its land were conquered at the hands of ‘Umar ...*" (al-Ṭabarī 1998, v.4:192).

⁸ A full translation can be found in El-Awaisi (2005:72-4)

This further strengthens the hypothesis that here he is talking about Aelia, the region. At this point one might object that in this case it does not refer to the region but to the immediate vicinity of the city. Such an interpretation, however, can be ruled out on the grounds that another narration mentions the names of towns or sites very far away, as for instance in a narration by contemporaries "*Aelia and all of its land was conquered by his [‘Umar’s] hands except for Ajnādīn which was conquered at the hands of ‘Amr, and Caesarea at the hands of Mu‘āwiyah ...*" (al-Ṭabarī 1998, v.4:192; Ibn Kathīr 1997, v.7:47).

This shows that all the land of Aelia (the region) was conquered by ‘Umar, except for the sites of Ajnādīn and Caesarea (see map 1). This explicitly means that these two named sites as well as other areas that came forth before these sites were part of the Aelia region.

From the above discussion it is clear that, when the Arab Muslims took over the region of al-Sham in general and Aelia in particular, they used a mixture of Latin and Arabic names. However, some of the denotations of the words have been lost in the process of recording. It seems that during that period there must have been a mechanism to show when a region or a city was being referred to. However when the information was handed down through the generations some of this was lost, though some of it was passed on. This is the case with the terms *Madinat Iliyā’* and *balad Iliyā’* which refer to the city only. However, when *Iliyā’* is used on its own it can refer to the region. But in many texts *Iliyā’* is used to mean only the city, which causes confusion and many contradictions. Moreover, in some cases the same term can be used in the same sentence to refer to both connotations. To lessen this confusion, it seems that during the reign of ‘Umar, the term Bayt al-Maqdis was used to refer to the city (Aelia Capitolina). This appears to be the case in most of the citations mentioned above during the time of ‘Umar, though not in the citations from the death of the Prophet till the end of the reign of Abū Bakr.

Keeping the Name Aelia

Following the Muslim conquest, the Muslims did not enforce a different name for the city. Rather the Latin name Aelia which was already used by Arabs in its Arabised form *Iliyā’* continued to be used throughout the early period and became the official name used by the new Arab rulers. The Latin name Aelia was then very popular, being mentioned in many accounts. One account is of the companion and

Quraysh leader Abū Sufyān (d.32AH/652-3CE), who recalls, years later to Ibn ‘Abbās (d. 68AH/687-8), his encounter with Byzantine emperor Heraclius in 628CE. Abū Sufyān was in the region with other merchants when called into Heraclius's court in Aelia. He narrates the full story, which is reordered in many of the Books of Ḥadīth (al-Bukhārī 2000, v.1:4-6; Muslim 2000, v.2:772-3). He had a very good knowledge of the area of al-Sham as he was a tradesman and used to travel very frequently to the area. In the narration Abū Sufyān uses the name Aelia frequently when describing the city, which he would have been well acquainted with, as well as with other names and terms.

In relation to the Al-Aqsa Mosque it is recorded that the name Mosque of Aelia was used. Ḥudhaifa Ibn al-Yamān (d. 36AH/656-7CE), states "*There is no I'tikāf, except in three mosques: the mosque of Madinah, the mosque of Makkah and the mosque of Aelia*" (al-San‘anī 2000, v.4:267). A similar reference to the mosque is recorded through another companion Abū Hurayrah (d.59AH/679CE) who recounts his meeting with *Salmān al-Aghar* who was making his way to al-Aqsa Mosque. Abū Hurayrah asked him what he was doing, he replied "*I have just prepared myself to head to the mosque of Aelia*" (al-Fakihī 1998, v.2:103). It is also recorded about this Mosque that "*Mu‘awiyah stood in the mosque of Aelia, and said what is within these walls are more beloved to me than the whole earth*" (Ibn Bataḥ nd:2635). In the following generation, known in Arabic as the *Tabi‘in*, many also used this same term. Sa‘id Ibn al-Musayyab (d.94 AH/713CE) one of the scholars from that generation gave a ruling using the name "Mosque of Aelia" (al-San‘anī 2000, v.8:395).

Others used the name Aelia in a different context referring to the region of Aelia. This can be deduced from a narration relating to the companion Murrah Ibn Ka‘b (d. ~55AH/675CE) who stood up to speak in support of Mu‘awiyah. It is narrated that "*After ‘Uthman (may God be pleased with him) was killed, many speakers stood up in Aelia, and the last amongst them to stand was a companion named Murrah Ibn Ka‘b*" (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.14:54-5). In another narration of the same story, rather than mentioning the name Aelia, the narration pinpoints a certain location where this incident took place; it mentions the name *Marj Ṣalwjā* (Ibn ‘Asīm nd: 1240). This means that Aelia in the first narration refers to the region and that *Marj Ṣalwjā* is part of it. A similar narration with a similar story uses the name Bayt al-Maqdis instead of the name Aelia (Ibn ‘Asīm nd2:1086), thus identifying them as one and the same. From surveying the accounts that mention the name Aelia it is clear that some

referred to the city, while others to the region and sometimes specified the Mosque of Aelia (Al-Aqsa Mosque).

Aelia on coins and milestones

In addition to the textual accounts, there are artefacts surviving from this early period that confirm the usage of the name Aelia by the Arab/ Muslim rulers. Numismatic evidence is particularly useful in this regard. One coin survives from the time of Mu‘awiyah which contains a record of the official name used during his reign (40-60AH/661-680) in Arabic. A coin with the name Aelia was minted in Palestine at this time, which has both the names Iliyā’ (Aelia) and Filistīn (Palestine) minted on it.



Figure 1: Arab-Byzantine coins minted in Aelia, 660-680 CE

Source: (Goussous 1996: 84, 85)⁹

This clearly confirms that the official name during the time of Mu‘awiyah was Aelia. But does Aelia refer to the city or the region? The coin makes it certain it is the city and not the region, since to the left side of the coin it has the name Iliyā’ minted and on the right side it has Filistīn. Therefore Palestine refers to the province and Aelia to the city, as is the case with many coins from the area of Sham in that period (Album & Goodwin, 2002). However in many cases the name of the province was also used to refer to a city as in al-Urdunn for Tiberius, and Filistīn for Lud/Ramla. But this is only the case with the capital of the province, and Aelia was not the capital at that time. Moreover both a name of a city and a province are shown; so it can be concluded that Aelia on these coins referred to the city and not the region.

⁹ See also <http://users.rcn.com/j-roberts>

In most official transactions during the reign of the fifth Umayyad Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān (d.86 AH/705CE), the name Aelia was predominant in its Arabised version, and continued to be minted on coins during the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik. The coins referred to the city as was the case with most mints.



Figure 2: Arab coins from the time of ‘Abd al-Malik

Source: (Goussous 1996: 85)

The use of Aelia on coins continued after ‘Abd al-Malik and there are records from his predecessors, one dating to his son al-Walid I (d.96 AH/ 715)¹⁰. Another medium that gives an accurate record of what names were used during the Umayyad reign comes from distance signs – milestones– found on many major routes. These were mainly erected during the time of the Umayyad Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān (Durī 1990:110-111; Krachkovski 1963:61). Some of these milestones dating back to his reign have survived. One of them was found close to a church in *Abū Gosh*, about 14km north-west of the walled city, with the following engraved on it (Van Berchem 1992: 19-21; Foucart 1922: 1.I) (Figure 3):

...From Aelia to this milestone there are من ايليا الى هذا الميل سبعة اميال
seven miles

¹⁰

<http://www.coinarchives.com/w/lotviewer.php?LotID=1150161&AucID=1052&Lot=443&Val=f5b9d8d620b31dcb85c4dab0390b1b8>



Figure 3: Milestone found in Abū Gosh

Another milestone was found at a watchtower in *Bāb al-Wād*, about 19km north-west of Aelia, on the route to Ramla. The milestone had nearly identical wording engraved on it (Van Berchem, 1922:17-21; Foucart 1922: P1.II) (Figure 4):

... From Aelia to this milestone there are eight miles.

... من ايلياء إلى هذا الميل ثمانية اميال

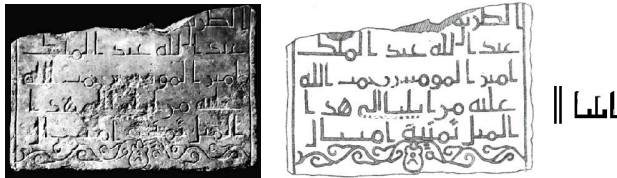


Figure 4: Milestone found near Bāb al-Wād

Other milestones were also discovered on the route to Damascus around Jericho bearing names of other cities in the region. Moreover these milestones give an exact record of what was used in that period, without the slightest alteration. They make it clear that Aelia was used by the administration of the area. In this case again the reference is to the city as is normally the case with most milestones and coins; they give reference to a known site rather than an area or province, especially if the milestone is from within that province.

Another record

During the reign of al-Walīd Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik (d.96 AH/ 717 CE), the work on the construction of al-Aqsa Mosque compound continued. Some of the workers came from Egypt, and this was recorded

in the letters of Qurrah Ibn Sharīk. The letters which have reached us are in Greek and bear discussion of this. Many contemporary scholars quote this in Arabic to bear the name al-Quds in the form *Masjid* (Mosque of) *al-Quds* (Abū Ṣafiyah 2004:111-2, 275-77; ‘Abd al-Muhdī 2002:242-3; Mufḍī 1988:87-8). However, after a lengthy investigation it seems that these authors actually refer back to the work of Harold Bell who published the translation of the Greek Aphrodito Papyri in the British Museum (Bell 1908:97-99, 116-7; 1911:374, 383; 1912:136-7). This clearly shows that these works are in Greek and the text translated as *Masjid al-Quds* comes from Bell's translation Mosque of Jerusalem which he translated from the Greek (μασγίδα Ἱερουσολύμων) (Bell 1908:116). These Abū Ṣafiyah explains to be a translation of the original Arabic letters which have not reached us (Abū Ṣafiyah 2004:17). In the Arabic document it most likely was not the name al-Quds but rather Aelia or Bayt al-Maqdis, as the name al-Quds had not been introduced in this period. Also in other official documents, the name Aelia was always used and thus it would have most probably been used in the form "Mosque of Aelia".

Aelia in Arabic Poetry

During the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik, Al-Farazdaq (d.110 AH/728CE) wrote a great deal to glorify the Umayyads and ‘Abd al-Malik especially. In one of his verses of poetry glorifying what the Umayyads had control over, he says (al-Farazdaq 2006:275):

17

Mukaddime,
Sayı 4, 2011

ومقر بأعلى إيلياء مشرف

وبيتان: بيت الله نحن ولاته

And two mosques we are
custodians of, the house of
God

And another high up in Aelia
making us proud

Here he is talking about the Ka‘bah and al-Aqsa Mosque; he refers to al-Aqsa Mosque as being geographically elevated. The Aqsa Mosque certainly is on a high mount in the city of Aelia, but not the highest. In another poem he states:

واسط من إيلياء لملت

لو أن طيرا كلفت مثل سيره

If a bird was commanded to
advance like him

to Wāsiṭ from Aelia it would
have been weary

This can be taken to refer to the city as he mentions two cities and the distances between them. Thus Aelia here would be the walled city.

In short, the name Aelia during this period was used to refer mainly to the city and sometimes the region. Some of the times this was clear-cut, and at other times it was vague and could be applied to either. Moreover the name Aelia was used for the city officially during this Umayyad period¹¹, as was recorded on coins and milestones, which also indicates that people of the time were well aware of the name. The names were also written in Arabic, thus mainly addressing the Arabic speaker; however, surprisingly, the name Bayt al-Maqdis was not used in these official signs although it was another popular name at the time. Moreover it is clear Aelia continued to be used frequently until the introduction of the name al-Quds, which superseded it.

Use of the Name 'Bayt al-Maqdis'

The Arabic name Bayt al-Maqdis used by the Arabs prior to the Prophetic period and by Prophet Muhammad himself continued to be popular throughout this era. This was so since most of the Prophetic traditions included this name, which was memorised and written down by many in this period. The name can be read as Bayt al-Maqdis or *Bayt al-Muqaddas*. The name consists of two words, the first *Bayt* literally means "a house". It is used in the Qur'an on its own to refer to the Ka'bah with the definite article *al*, *al-Bayt* (Qur'an 2:125,127,158; 106:3; etc). As for *al-Maqdis* or *al-Muqaddas*; both come from the root q-d-s which carries many meanings: holy, pure and blessed.¹² However, the first is a noun and the second is an adjective stressing the holiness. Thus literally it means "the Holy House" or "the House of Holiness", especially when the definite article *al-* is used before the name. The name Bayt al-Maqdis or *Bayt al-Muqaddas* does not necessarily have this literal meaning, as it is

¹¹ The name Aelia seemed to be also used by the early Abbasid, especially during their overtake of power from the Umayyad, where some narrations (both weak and fabricated) were in circulation such as a narration attributed to the Prophet that he said "from Khurasan black flags emerge nothing will stop them until they are raised in Aelia" (Ibn Hanbal and al-Tirmidhi). This narration and others like it cannot be attributed to the Prophet, as is argued by many scholars of hadith, and would have emerged in the early Abbasid period to consolidate their power.

¹² This root is a common trilateral Semitic form and the name is found in other Semitic languages. Al-Azharī (d.370 AH/ 980-1CE) a linguist and under the root q-d-s, he mentions Bayt al-Maqdis as coming from the same root "From this [root] is Bayt al-Maqdis that is the purified house where sins are cleansed" (al-Azharī nd:1163).

common in that region to use *Bayt* for names of places from ancient times, for example *Bayt Lahm* (Bethlehem) is not translated literally into Arabic as "house of meat"¹³. This type of composite name has been popular from the time of the Canaanites in the region. Moreover the name was not used to mean a particular site¹⁴, but normally the city and sometimes the region or the mosque. The different connotations of the name would be the focus of the following sections.

Bayt al-Maqdis rivals Aelia

Bayt al-Maqdis was not recorded in any official documents and although it was not the official name, it survived for its religious significance. There was however a trend to push for the name Bayt al-Maqdis to be adopted and used instead of the name Aelia. This is attributed to Ka'b al-Aḥbār (d. 62 AH/682CE) who was clearly against using the name Aelia. It is narrated that Ka'b was passing by his nephew and a friend and asked them "*Where are you heading to? They said Aelia. Ka'b said: Do not say Aelia, but rather say Bayt Allah al-Muqaddas...Don't you know the likeness of Bayt al-Maqdis to God?*" (al-Wāsiṭī 1979:21). In another narration he said "*Don't call Bayt al-Maqdis Aelia, call it by its name, Aelia is a name of the woman who built the city*" (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.5:194). It is clear that Ka'b disliked the use of the name Aelia and preferred Bayt al-Maqdis because of its religious connotations. Also his Jewish background could have coloured his opinion of the name Aelia. As the name Aelia was introduced by Hadrian in 135CE after he raised the city and expelled the Jews from the city and its region.

Mu'awiyah Ibn Ṣāliḥ (d. 158AH/ 775CE) was another individual from a later generation who is recorded to have said and narrated sayings that discouraged the usage of the name Aelia and endorsed the use of the name Bayt al-Maqdis. It is narrated that he said "*Do not name Madinah, Yathrib nor Bayt al-Maqdis, Aelia*" (Ibn Tamīm al-Maqdisī 1994:211; al-Kanji 1985:278). This mentions both the pre-Islamic names and discourages their usage. For Madina it discourages the use of the name Yathrib, which however is used by the Qur'an (33:13), but before his death another name was introduced (from the same root as the name he advocated) which eventually meant the name Aelia was no longer used. This opinion however carried resonance in later centuries and the author of one of the books on the merits of Bayt al-Maqdis, Ibn Tamīm al-Maqdisī adds the reason of why this should not be used, is that it is a

¹³ In Aramaic *Lahm* refers to food and not necessarily meat as is in Arabic (al-Hilū 1999:138-9)

¹⁴ Except when the definite article, al, was used, it referred normally to the al-Aqsa Mosque.

name of one of the Roman Emperors, referring to Hadrian (Ibn Tamīm al-Maḡdisī 1994:211).

Bayt al-Maḡdis engraved

The first epigraphical evidence for the name Bayt al-Maḡdis is the endowment in al-‘Umarī Mosque in the village of Nuba north-west of Hebron. It is claimed that it dates back to before the end of the reign of the fourth Caliph 40 AH (Abū Sara 1993: 3-7). On the stone the following is engraved:



Figure 5: Stone engraving in Nuba, Hebron.

..هذه الضيعة نوبا بحدودها وأطرافها وقف على صخرة بيت المقدس والمسجد الأقصى وأوقفها أمير المؤمنين عمر ابن الخطاب..

This village *Nuba* with all its territories and its boundaries are an endowment on the rock of Bayt al-Maḡdis and al-Aqsa Mosque, as it was entrusted by the commander of the faithful ‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ...

On the stone the name *Ṣakhrat* (Rock of) Bayt al-Maḡdis was used to refer to the rock within the al-Aqsa Mosque enclave. This record which is dated to the early Muslim period illustrates the use of the name in a religious context. This engraving is recording a *Waqf* (endowment) from the time of Ali ibn Abi Talib but pre-dating it to ‘Umar. As the only record of the name still surviving in its original form, this is quite revealing, moreover it confirms the other records which were memorised and written down from this period.¹⁵

¹⁵ There is another record from the time of the Prophet, the endowment of Tamim, but it does not mention the name of the city but rather the area around Hebron.

Bayt al-Maqdis, the Mosque

Although the Qur'anic name for the Mosque is *Al-Masjid al-Aqsa* as is recorded in the Quran (17:1) and would have been recited and memorised by many in this period, many used other names (see above Mosque of Aelia). There are numerous narrations that associate the name Bayt al-Maqdis with only the Mosque. This is recorded a few times in the Prophetic traditions (El-Awaisi 2007), many of the companions and later Muslims also used the name with this connotation. Two examples are listed below. It is narrated by al-Aḥnaf Ibn Qays (d.72AH/691-2CE) that he entered Bayt al-Maqdis and saw the companion Abū Dhar (d. 32AH/652-3CE) praying; he states "*I enter Bayt al-Maqdis and found a man prolonging his Sujūd (prostration)*" (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.15:531). Another narration states "*I used to pray with Abū Dhar in Bayt al-Maqdis, when he used to enter he would take his shoes off...*" (Ibn Sa'd 1997, v.4:175). From both these narrations it is clear that the use of the name Bayt al-Maqdis was referring to Al-Aqsa Mosque. The second narration emphasises this as some companions used to also take off their shoes due to the sanctity of the site.

A similar usage of the name referring to the Mosque is attributed to another companion Ḥudhaifa Ibn al-Yamān (d. 36AH/656-7CE). It is narrated by Zir Ibn Ḥubaysh (d.82AH/701CE) that he came to Ḥudhaifa while he was speaking about *al-Isrā'* (the Night Journey) and said firstly quoting the Prophet, "*Until we (the Prophet and Gabriel) got to Bayt al-Maqdis; however they did not enter it.*" Meaning that they went directly to heaven, here that narration records the objection of Zir who said: "*No, they did enter it and even prayed inside it.*" So Ḥudhaifa asked him for evidence and Zir recited the first verse of al-Isra (17:1) quoting the name *al-Masjid al-Aqsa* (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.16:593, 598). Therefore the understanding of both Ḥudhaifa and Zir to the word Bayt al-Maqdis here is to al-Aqsa Mosque, mentioned clearly in the Qur'anic verse recited by Zir.

Ibn 'Abbās (d.68AH/ 687-8CE) narrates that a woman vowed if God cured her illness she would go and pray in Bayt al-Maqdis. So when she was cured she prepared herself and went to say farewell to Maymūnah bint al-Ḥarith (d. 51AH/ 671CE), and told her what she planned. She was told by Maymūnah to eat what she had prepared for the journey and pray in the Mosque of the Prophet, as she had heard the Prophet say "*A prayer in it (the Mosque of the Prophet) is better than a thousand prayers in any other except the Mosque of the Ka'bah*" (Muslim 2000, v.1:565). From their discussion it can be surmised that Bayt al-

Maqdis here refers to al-Aqsa Mosque. When the lady told Maymūnah that she was going to pray in Bayt al-Maqdis, the latter understood that she meant she was going to the mosque of Bayt al-Maqdis, and that is why she mentioned the mosque of the Prophet and the al-Ḥarām Mosque and linked the rewards of praying in them with al-Aqsa Mosque.

It is also narrated that Sa'd Ibn Abī-Waqāṣ (d.55 AH/ 675CE) was sitting with some of the *Tabi'in* (followers) and at the end of his dialogue he said, that God did not want to burden people but rather wanted their ease. Then he added: *"I swear by God that a Ghazwa (expedition) for the sake of God is better than making Hajj twice, and one Hajj to the house of Allah is better than twice making 'Umrah, and One 'Umrah is better than three visits to Bayt al-Maqdis"* (Ibn Manṣūr nd:2347). In this it is referring to Bayt al-Maqdis the mosque since he is equating it to religious rituals. Within Bayt al-Maqdis there is no place that holds any special religious significance for such rituals except for al-Aqsa Mosque.

Many other account on praying in the mosque are related to another companion Mu'awiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān (d.60AH/680CE). In a narration by Ya'lā Ibn Shaddād mentions an account of a prayer in Bayt al-Maqdis, he states *"I was with Mu'awiyah in Bayt al-Maqdis, and I looked and saw the majority of those in the mosque were companions of the Prophet"* (Abū Dawūd 2000, v.1:189). A further narration by Abū Qabīl (d.127AH/745CE) states *"I witnessed Mu'awiyah in Bayt al-Maqdis giving a sermon on the pulpit..."* (al-Miknasī 1985: 309). Here Bayt al-Maqdis clearly refers to al-Aqsa Mosque, as is explicit from the rest of the narrations where it specifies the mosque, pulpit and the many companions present. Moreover there is a record of an agreement signed between Mu'awiyah and 'Amr Ibn Al-'Āṣ (d.43AH/663CE) following the assassination of the third Caliph in 38AH/658CE. It states *"...this is what Mu'awiyah Ibn Abī Sufyān and 'Amr Ibn Al-'Āṣ agreed in Bayt Al-Maqdis after the assassination of 'Uthman..."* (Ibn Sa'd 1997, v.4:191). Here the name Bayt al-Maqdis which was used and written down in their agreement could refer to the mosque as such agreements at that time, in order to be more binding, would have been done within a mosque, and al-Aqsa would have been an ideal place and was were Mu'awiyah conducted a lot of his work as is mentioned above.

Commenting on a Hadith of the Prophet *"...and whosoever comes to Bayt al-Maqdis for nothing except praying in it goes back with all sins obliterated..."* Abd Allah Ibn 'Amr Ibn al-'Āṣ (d. 65AH/684-5CE) states *"Whosoever comes to this mosque"*, referring specifically to al-Aqsa Mosque (al-Ḥakim 1990, v.1:84). Further narrations of Bayt al-Maqdis

used in reference to the mosque are recorded throughout Muslim history, and from the periods following that of the companions there are numerous accounts. One is of a scholar named Ṭāwūs (d.106AH/724CE), who was asked about a person vowing to walk to Bayt al-Maqdis or visit it (al-Sanʿanī 2000, v.8:396). This again would have referred to the mosque in particular as it is a matter of a religious act/ ritual.

Thawr Ibn Yazīd (d. 153AH/ 770CE) who lived and died in Bayt al-Maqdis narrates many narrations on this topic. Munabih Ibn ʿUthman al-Lakhmī narrates of him that "*Thawr Ibn Yazīd used to live in Bayt al-Maqdis and a pious worshipper from one of the qura of Bayt al-Maqdis used to come and sit with Thawr Ibn Yazīd, he used to leave his village every morning and pray all the five prayers in the Masjid Bayt al-Maqdis and leave after the last prayer to his village*" (Ibn Tamīm al-Maqdisī 1994: 353). In this short passage, we find three terms being used. The first is Bayt al-Maqdis for the city, where Thawr was residing, the second is of one of the *qura* of Bayt al-Maqdis, which refers to one of the villages where this worshipper and student of Thawr dwelled, and finally *Masjid Bayt al-Maqdis*, which refers to al-Aqsa Mosque where the student used to worship and learn from Thawr from dawn until late evening. All these are within one short passage referring to the mosque, city and region.

Al-Muʿalā Ibn Ṭarīf (d. ~169 AH/785CE) worked for the Abbasid Caliph al-Mahdī and ruled in his name in many places. He wrote verses of poetry which referred to Bayt al-Maqdis and its mosque, he states (Ibn Khurdādhbah 1906:79):

فَرتُ بيت المقدس

يا صاح إني قد حججتُ

O friend I have performed Hajj and I have visited Bayt al-Maqdis

Reference here to Bayt al-Maqdis is either to the city or the mosque; however as he is coming from his pilgrimage he is probably referring to the Mosque. As it would have referred to the ritual of visiting the Holy Mosques as is recommended by the Prophet himself in many of his sayings and traditions.

Another well-known poet during the early Abbasid period was Abū Nuwās (d.198AH/ 813CE) who composed many verses glorifying the Abbasid rulers. In one of his poems he mentions *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, he says (Abū Nuwās 2005: 205):

وَأَصْدُبْحَنَ قَدْ فَوَزْنَ مِنْ نَهْرٍ فُطْرُسٍ وَهُنَّ عَنِ الْبَيْتِ الْمُقَدَّسِ زُورُ

They were able to cross the River Quite a distance from *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*

In this verse, the poet is talking about some ladies who passed over the river *Fuṭrus*, which is the river *al-Ujā*, at a distance from *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*. This would clearly refer to al-Aqsa Mosque, as is specified by the poet when he says *al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, with the definite article *al*.

Al-Ṣanʿanī (d.211 AH/826CE) named a section "*Bab al-Nathir bil-mashī ila Bayt al-Maqdis*" (vowing to walk to Bayt al-Maqdis) (al-Ṣanʿanī 2000, v.8:395), and another section "*Bunyan Bayt al-Maqdis*" (the building of Bayt al-Maqdis) (al-Ṣanʿanī 2000, v.5:295). Both cases seem to refer only to the mosque as can be seen from the sections' contexts. The reference to the mosque as only Bayt al-Maqdis in this period was relatively rare.

Bayt al-Maqdis, the region

The name Bayt al-Maqdis was used mainly for the city or the mosque and rarely used on its own for the region in this period. It seems that many did not feel comfortable referring to the region as just Bayt al-Maqdis, as this would cause some confusion to the hearer or reader. Thus it seems that they found a way around this problem and used another term with the same name to denote the region. This was done by using the term *Arḍ* (land) prior to the name Bayt al-Maqdis, with it thus becoming *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* and referring precisely to the region.

One of the first narrations of the region was recorded by Abu Bakr in his letter to Khalid, mentioned above. Another is that of contemporaries of the companion ʿAbd Allah Ibn ʿUmar (d. 73AH/692CE) who mention this when talking about him commencing his *Ihrām* for pilgrimage from *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* (the land of Bayt al-Maqdis) (Ibn Abī ʿArubah nd:101). This is also the first time the name *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* was used. *Arḍ al-Maqdis* was used at the time of Abū Bakr, but this is the first time we have *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* as one term together. This implies that Bayt al-Maqdis had a substantial area associated with it as a whole. Also it could mean that pilgrimage did not necessarily need to be commenced from the city of Bayt al-Maqdis or its mosque but could be from anywhere within its region, referring to the Prophetic tradition of starting this ritual from Bayt al-Maqdis.

Tamīm Ibn Aws al-Dārī (d. 40AH/ 661CE) was granted some land by Prophet Muhammad in and around Hebron, and when ‘Umar Ibn al-Khattāb conquered the region, he appointed him as *Amīr* (Prince) of Bayt al-Maqdis (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr 2002, v.2:82; Ibn Tamīm al-Maqdisī 1994:319). Bayt al-Maqdis here could refer to the city or the region; however, a prince is normally appointed over a substantial piece of land, thus the region and it most likely would have included Hebron. This title continued to be given in the Umayyad period and although for official records the name Aelia was used during the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān, the name Bayt al-Maqdis was also popular. ‘Abd al-Malik was crowned Caliph in Bayt al-Maqdis in the year 65AH/685CE (Ibn Khayāt 1993: 200). During his reign (65-86AH/ 685-705CE) Bayt al-Maqdis was in the forefront of many developments. And he was given the title "*Amīr Bayt al-Maqdis*" (al-Ḥamawī nd, v.2:372).

Qatadah (d.118 AH/ 736 CE) was another scholar who used the name *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis* when talking about the water well Prophet Joseph was thrown into "*It is a well in Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis, and its site is well known*" (al-Ṭabarī 1998, v.1:203). There are many disagreements on where this water well is; some say it is close to Jinin, Tiberius and Sinjil, though most of these sites are quite far from the city. That is probably the reason why the land of Bayt al-Maqdis is mentioned, meaning it is within its region.

Many accounts that refer to the region came from the famous exegetist Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān (d. 150 AH/ 767 CE), who visited Bayt al-Maqdis and delivered many lessons in its Mosque. He is also famous for a selection of narrations on the *Faḍā’il* (excellences) of Bayt al-Maqdis; numerous scholars quote these specifically when talking about the excellences of Bayt al-Maqdis.¹⁶ These are long and can be divided into three or four categories, some talking about the Mosque, others about the city and others on the region and sometimes even beyond. Here a few of the references to the region will be listed:

Abraham migrated from Kutha(rba) وهاجر إبراهيم من كوثاريا إلى بيت المقدس.
to Bayt al-Maqdis.

¹⁶ Many quote these as facts and mention them without attributing them to Muqātil, however many refer them back to Muqātil. The first reference to this I found was Ibn al-Faḥḥ (d.291AH/904CE) (1885:93-6). Most books of Faḍā’il also quote these, such as: Ibn al-Jawzī (1989:71-73), Ibn al-Murajjā (1995:260-2), al-Khawārizmī (2000:428-30), al-Nabulsi (1990:29-31), Ibn al-Firkaḥ (1935:76-78)

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob ordered to be buried in Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis. وأوصى إبراهيم وإسحاق ولما ماتا أن يدفنا في أرض بيت المقدس.

And the Holy Land in the verse (Qur'an 5:21) is Bayt al-Maqdis. وقوله (ادخلوا الأرض المقدسة...) هي بيت المقدس.

Jesus was born in Bayt al-Maqdis. وولد عيسى ببيت المقدس.

Jesus kills the Antichrist in Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis. ويقتل عيسى الدجال في أرض بيت المقدس.

The gathering of the dead and their resurrection will be to Bayt al-Maqdis. والمحشر والمنشر إلى بيت المقدس.

In some instances Muqātil refers to the region by the name Bayt al-Maqdis and in other cases *Arḍ* Bayt al-Maqdis. It is clear that he is referring to a region since most of the above events are not related to the city of Bayt al-Maqdis, but in actual fact have either happened or will happen around it, namely in Hebron, Jericho, Bethlehem, and Lud. Abraham migrated to the region and finally settled in Hebron, where he and many of his direct decedents were buried. Jesus was born in Bethlehem, and he will kill the antichrist in Lud (according to Islamic sources), both places Muqātil considers to be part of Bayt al-Maqdis. Finally the most general reference to the Holy Land is taken to be equivalent to Bayt al-Maqdis and is also the Land of Raising and Gathering.

Other accounts come from other contemporaries such as Zuhair Ibn Muhammad (d. 162AH/ 778CE), after narrating a Ḥadīth of the Prophet about *al-Sham*, adds "*Some people say that al-Rabwah is Ramla, while others say al-Rabwah is the lands of Palestine, meaning the areas of Bayt al-Maqdis, may God increase its Holiness*" (al-Kanji 1985:290). Zuhair is referring here to the disagreement on where *al-Rabwah* was, in which Prophet Jesus and his mother dwelled. The first opinion he gives is of those who believed it to be a city, Ramla, and the second is of those who believed it to be a region. Those who understood it to be a region took it to mean the region of Bayt al-Maqdis in every direction.

During the following generation great interest was shown to the Muslim conquest and details were being recorded for different cities and regions. One of the first books solely on *Faḍā'il* Bayt al-Maqdis was

written by Ishaq Ibn Bishr al-Bukhārī (d. 206 AH/ 821-2CE). Unfortunately his book has not survived, but the book's title was "*Futuh Bayt al-Maqdis*" (Hajī Khalīfah 1990, v.2:1240; al-ʿAsalī 1984: 25). From the name of the book it is clear that *Futuh*(conquests) here is mentioned in the plural, which implies that it is the conquest of many areas in the plural and not one site or location, or he would have used the singular form of conquest *Fath*. This implies that Bayt al-Maqdis is a large area and not just the city. The same is also recorded by the famous historian Al-Wāqidi (d. 207 AH/ 822 CE), and to him date back many of the accounts of the conquest of Bayt al-Maqdis. In his book *Futuh al-Sham* he mentions that the knowledge of *Futuh* used to be revised with scholars such as ʿUbadah ibn ʿAwf al-Daynawurī. He mentions that he was one amongst them and states "...One day we were reading *Futuh al-Sham and Futuh Bayt al-Maqdis beside the grave of Abū Hanifa*..." (al-Wāqidi nd:333). In this statement he clearly talks about the conquests of al-Sham in the plural as it contains many areas and regions; so he mentions *Futuh* in the plural and not in its singular form *Fath*. He also talks about *Futuh* Bayt al-Maqdis and not *Fath* Bayt al-Maqdis, thus implying that it is a large area and not just the city. He also equates the area of al-Sham and the area of Bayt al-Maqdis, thus in some way making it equivalent to the region of al-Sham and not just a city of al-Sham.

As seen above most of the accounts mention a site or a few within the region but do not give the extent. One of the first to give an extent of this region was the Grammarian Abū ʿUbaydah (d. 209 AH/824CE). He states this while explaining a Qurʾanic verse and talking of the extent of wilderness of the Israelites "*And some of the boundaries of the wilderness are Bilād Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*" (Abū ʿUbaydah nd: 9). Here we have reference to *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*, the land of Bayt al-Maqdis. What is interesting is that he does not take that to mean the region, but stresses *Bilād*, the counties in front of it. Thus he clearly talks of a large region that has boundaries and frontiers with the wilderness.

Al-Jāhiz (d.255 AH/ 869-70CE) was another linguist to mention a region Bayt al-Maqdis. He talks of the place of burial of Prophet Joseph and states that he was moved after the Israelites left Egypt and he adds "*And his grave is known in Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis in a village called Ḥusamī. Also Jacob died in Egypt and was moved to Aelia the town of Bayt al-Maqdis and that is where the grave of Isaac the son of Abraham is...*" (al-Jāhiz nd: 165). Here again we have reference to a site named Ḥusamī as being part of the region known as *Arḍ Bayt al-Maqdis*. This is

in addition to Aelia extending to include the city of Hebron where Prophets Jacob and Isaac are buried.

The geographer Al-Iṣṭakhrī (d. 346AH/957CE), like Abū ‘Ubaydah, when talking of the wilderness of the Israelites he allocates its geographical extent, and mentions one of its frontiers with Bayt al-Maqdis; he states: *"As for the wilderness of the Israelites ... One of its sides extend to al-Jafar ... another of its limits extend to beside Bayt al-Maqdis and what is connected with it from Palestine..."* (al-Iṣṭakhrī 1927:53). What interests us here is the reference to Bayt al-Maqdis being along the borders of the wilderness. Between the city of Bayt al-Maqdis and the frontier of the wilderness is a very long distance well over a hundred kilometres, so it seems to be clearly referring to the region of Bayt al-Maqdis. A more detailed extent of the region of the region is given by the geographer al-Maqdisī (d. 390 AH/ 1000 CE) (see Map 2).

In short, the name Bayt al-Maqdis was popular in this period and was used simultaneously with other names of the time. It was used mainly in a religious context and was mainly used to refer to the city and also for the mosque or region. However additions were used to resolve the meaning of the Mosque and region to make the reference clearer. Though not the official name it was used by many people including governors and officials.

Introduction of Name Al-Quds

The name al-Quds, "the Holy", the most popular Arabic name of the city since it acquired this name in the ninth century CE. The name comes from the root q-d-s, meanings holy, pure and blessed. It is also a derivative of the name Bayt al-Maqdis and may be considered an abridged form of it. The first surviving records of the name al-Quds in its original form is a coin minted by the Abbasid Caliph Al-Ma'mūn (d. 218 AH/ 833 CE) who paid much attention to the city and region. This was following numerous restoration projects in the city and especially its mosque following the earthquakes that hit the area. Al-Ma'mūn's name was recorded in the Al-Aqsa Mosque following its restoration. Another of his accomplishments was the minting of a new coin in the city on which the new name *al-Quds*, was recorded. This would have occurred during his twenty-year reign (197-218 AH/ 813-833CE) and can be specifically traced to the end of his reign in the year 217 AH/ 832 CE. What is special about this mint is that it contains the first display of the new name for the

city on a coin. The previous generations of Muslim mints had the Arab form (إيليا) Iliyā' (Meshorer 1996:419).

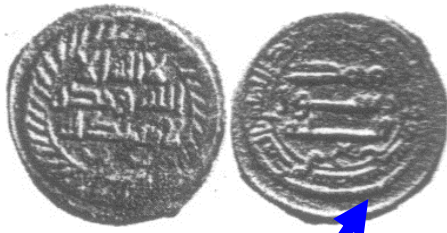


Figure 4.6: Mint of al-Ma'mūn bearing the name al-Quds

source: Meshorer 1996:417

On the coin's outer circle it has the following minted:

In the Name of God, This filis was struck on *al-Quds* in the year 217

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفليس بالقدس
سنة سبع عشرة ومنتين

This was the first time the name al-Quds is known to have been minted on a coin. However, it maybe not the first time it was used. There are a few accounts (some listed below) of the name being used before this mint was struck, which would mean that it was adopted by the authorities after it started to be used by some people. This also implies that the new official name for the city became al-Quds from that year.

Al-Wāqidī (d. 207 AH/ 822 CE), was one of the first to have used the name al-Quds when explaining how 'Umar divided up al-Sham; he states "*And he ['Umar] gave the land of Palestine and the land of al-Quds and the coast to Yazīd Ibn Abī Sufyān...*" (al-Wāqidī, nd:339). Here he talks about the administrative division made by 'Umar, distinguishing between these three areas. In the previous sentence he talks of the division of al-Sham into two parts, one part with Yazīd and the other with Abū 'Ubaydah from Ḥurān to Aleppo. This implies that the rest of al-Sham south of Ḥurān is what is considered here as the lands of Palestine and al-Quds and the Coast. From this we can say that it refers to the three Palestines (Palestina Prima, Secunda, Tertia), of which the land of al-Quds and the rest of the coast are a part. This also confirms a distinction between the land of Palestine and the land of al-Quds. Thus here *Arḍ al-Quds* refers to a relatively large area at the heart of which would have

been the walled city. Also al-Wāqidī in another place in his book is cited as having used al-Quds again, but this time as the city. He states as part of a discussion between Heraclius and some soldiers that it was said to him "*He saw in the building a drawing of al-Quds and the cities of al-Sham*" (al-Wāqidī nd, v.1:419-20). In this narration it is clear that the words are those of al-Wāqidī and not of Heraclius or his soldiers, since it is obvious they would not have used Arabic words but rather Greek.

Another of the people to use this new name was Naʿīm Ibn Ḥammād (d.228AH/843CE), who is very famous for his writings on *al-Fitan* (turbulences). He narrates two narrations from Kaʿb, in which he mentions the name al-Quds. However the chain of narrators after the second narrator is weak and therefore the wording should be taken to be around a generation or two before the time of Naʿīm Ibn Ḥammād rather than dating it to the time of Kaʿb¹⁷; he may have possibly worded it differently. The parts of the narrations that interest us are as follows (ibn Ḥammād nd: 707, 1278):

The most beloved part of *al-Quds* to
God is the mount of Nablus

أحب القدس إلى الله جبل نابلس

As long as the Caliphate is in *Arḍ al-Quds* and al-Sham

ما كانت الخلافة في أرض القدس والشام

In both these narrations there is a talk of a large area; in the second citation he talks of a land that belongs to al-Quds, and in the first citation he includes Nablus as being part of al-Quds. This could also mean that the use of the name al-Quds from these narrations dates back to before the coin of al-Maʾmūn and the citation in al-Wāqidī but, with a weak chain of narration, this cannot be absolutely certain. However the region is once referred to as al-Quds, on its own, and the second time as *Arḍ al-Quds*, with the term for land in front.

It is narrated that Abū al-Hadhīl (d. 235 AH/849-50CE) said "*Satan said to Jesus, Peace be upon him, when he saw him on the Mount of al-Quds.*" (al-Aṣḥāhānī nd: 595). Here the mountain of al-Quds is used to refer to a mountain outside the city, but there is no specification to where it might be, in the narration. But what is interesting is the switching of

¹⁷ There is another narration dated to Kaʿb using the name al-Quds during the time of ʿUmar (Ibn Ḥanbal 1995, v.1:276-7), again the chain of narrations is weak before it was written down. Thus the name may have been tempered with during the time of one of the narrator around when the new name was introduced (El-Awaisi 2007, 140).

using the term Bayt al-Maqdis in the religious context to the new name al-Quds. This was also the case for the famous collector of Hadith Imam Muslim (d. 261 AH/ 875 CE). He quotes Prophet Muhammad using Aelia and Bayt al-Maqdis, but when it came to naming a section within the book of Mosques, he names it as "*Section on the change of the Qiblah from al-Quds to al-Ka'bah*" (Muslim 2000, v.1:212). Here Imam Muslim uses the name al-Quds, for a section where he lists numerous *Aḥādīth* which mainly use the name Bayt al-Maqdis. This could mean that Imam Muslim was trying to use a name that people found familiar for this area during his time. The name al-Quds here most likely would have referred to the city.

From this point on, the name al-Quds is found in many books. There it was used together with other names, but gradually became the predominant name of the city in the area of al-Sham and surrounding area. This was evident in many lines of poetry quoting this new name, one of the famous poets Abu al-‘Alā al-Ma‘ari (d.449AH/ 1057CE) who mentions the name al-Quds many times in his poetry, once in relation to it being the first Qibla of the Prophet.¹⁸ He also mentions as being in al-Quds, the spring of Silwan, south of the walled city and compares its water with Zamzam in Makkah (‘Abd al-Muhdī 2002).¹⁹ Moreover one of the best accounts of the use of the name is what is mentioned by the Persian traveller Nāsir Khisroo (d.481 AH/ 1088CE) who went on a journey around the Muslim world, and reached the city of Bayt al-Maqdis in March 1047. He used the name Bayt al-Maqdis in most of his writing. He then gave an explicit account of what the people of that area used for this city, stating "*The people of al-Sham and the area around it call Bayt al-Maqdis, 'al-Quds'. And those who cannot go to Makkah in the season of Hajj would come to al-Quds instead*" (Khisroo 1983: 55). This text implies that Khisroo was surprised to find the people of al-Sham and surrounding area giving this place a different name to the one he was acquainted with. This gives us an indication that in Khisroo's background and place of living, Persia, they still called it Bayt al-Maqdis. Also it seems that all the people of al-Sham used this *new* name since it was introduced by al-Ma'mun centuries earlier. The same can be said for other regions, as scholars from Iraq, Egypt and other regions when writing used the name al-Quds for example the geographer Al-Iṣṭakhrī (d.~346 AH/957CE), Ibn al-Kandī (d. 355AH/ 966CE) amongst others.

¹⁸ وصاحب الأشرع كان القدس قبلته صلى إليها زماناً ثم حولها
¹⁹ وبعين سلوان التي في قدسها طعم يوههم أنه من زمزم

In short, as can be seen, the name al-Quds became the most popular name for the city after being adopted officially in the year 217AH. Within two centuries, it became the norm and the most popular name for the inhabitants of the region, the surroundings and even the whole of al-Sham. However it seems that people in Persia continued to use the old names, mainly Bayt al-Maqdis.²⁰ It seems that the name became popular with Arabs for many reasons. The first was the ease of pronunciation of this name and its shortness; al-Quds was much shorter and could be pronounced much more easily than its previous counterpart Bayt al-Maqdis. Another reason was that the Abbasid Caliphate at this stage ruled over areas from Morocco to the west to India in the east, so it had the authority to use or introduce any name it wished. This new name brought an end to the use of the name Aelia, despite the fact that some scholars in their books were aware of it and would mention it occasionally. The new name seem also to have become a rival for the name Bayt al-Maqdis and was used in religious contexts. In later writings authors would use a mixture of the names al-Quds and Bayt al-Maqdis, sometimes in the same sentence.

Moreover, the name al-Quds was being used in different connotations, as was the case with the previous names, Aelia and Bayt al-Maqdis. Although the name al-Quds was also mainly used for the city it was also used to refer to the region, as al-Quds or, in some cases, together with the term *Arḍ*, land. This was taken by al-Maqdisī over a century after the name had been introduced and expanded into a full map of what the region of al-Quds would have referred to, see map 2 (al-Maqdisī 1906:173, El-Awaisi 2007).

Other names

These were the popular names of the time. However, many people knew and also used other terms. For example the Qur'anic term Al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah was used by companions of Prophet Muhammad. When one of them, Abū al-Dardā', wrote to Salmān al-Farīsī inviting him to join him in the Holy Land, he wrote "hasten to al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah". (Malik 2000:296; al-Bukhārī 2000). Also al-Bukhārī (d. 256AH/ 870CE) named a section in his book "section on who desires burial in al-Arḍ al-Muqadasah". This is done whenever there is a reference of Qur'anic or hadith concepts in relation to this land in linguistic, geographical and

²⁰ This name is still used in Persian today refereeing to the city.

other religious books. Ancient names were also mentioned such the name UrShalm, one of those to mention it was Aṭā' (d. 114 AH/732CE), where he mentioned a narration in which he states "*Be glad Urī Shalm*" (Ibn al-Jawzī 1979:100; Maḥmūd 1979:22). Here this shows an awareness of other names for the city in particular and for the area in general.

One other good example to quote is Al-Maqdisī (d. 390 AH/ 1000 CE), a native of the region and a renowned geographer. Although he came at a later period he uses nearly all the names of the city and region. He regularly used both Bayt al-Maqdis and *al-Quds*, this is in addition to Aelia which he used in two contexts: the city and the region. It is clear that he was still aware of the previous names and utilised them with more than one meaning. However, these names have died out in most of the writings and hardly exist in others. In a section on names and their diversities, al-Maqdisī lists names for cities with more than one name, and lists four names for this city "*Bayt al-Maqdis, Iliyā', al-Quds and al-Balaṭ*" (al-Maqdisī 1906:30). The last of the names *al-Balaṭ* was rarely used and may have come from Latin palatium "the palace" (Le Strange 1975) and during the time of al-Maqdisī one of the gates of the city was named Gate of *al-Balaṭ*.

Conclusion

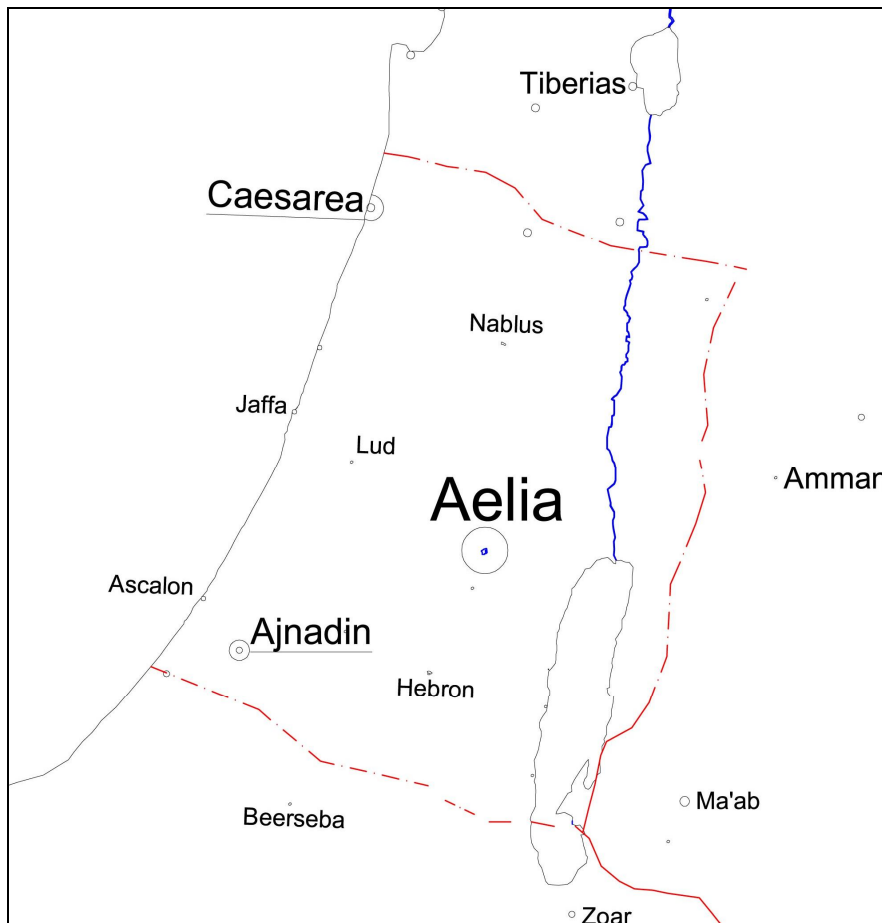
It is clear that Arabs before Islam were using the name Aelia for a few centuries. Arabs had a good knowledge of the whole area in general, and the city in particular, some through their trade connections. Most importantly, though, the Christian Arabs had a better knowledge of their homelands, as they had lived in many areas in al-Sham for centuries. The Arabs, in addition to being aware of the Latin name, were also using other names such as UriShalim or UriSalim, and Bayt al-Maqdis. With the rise of Islam, Prophet Muhammad was using the name Bayt al-Maqdis together with many other terms introduced in the Qur'an and his Prophetic tradition. Moreover many of his companions continued to use the term Aelia as well as Bayt al-Maqdis. This was the case during the conquest of Aelia when a mixture of terms were being used; Aelia and Bayt al-Maqdis. In order to distinguish the city from the region sometimes terms such *Madinat* or *Balad* were added to the name Aelia to make clear that the city is meant and the word *masjid* for the mosque. At other times no addition was used and either the city was meant or the region as is evident from numerous sources. Indeed the term Aelia was taken to be the official name used by both 'Umar, in his assurance and

Mu'awiyah minted it on coins, both referring to the city. Later Caliphs used only Aelia in official records and signs, as was the case with 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwān who also minted Aelia on coins and engraved it on milestones. Moreover there was a trend to adopt the name Bayt al-Maqdis rather than the Latin name Aelia, although this movement does not seem to have picked up pace and the name Aelia continued to be used by officials.

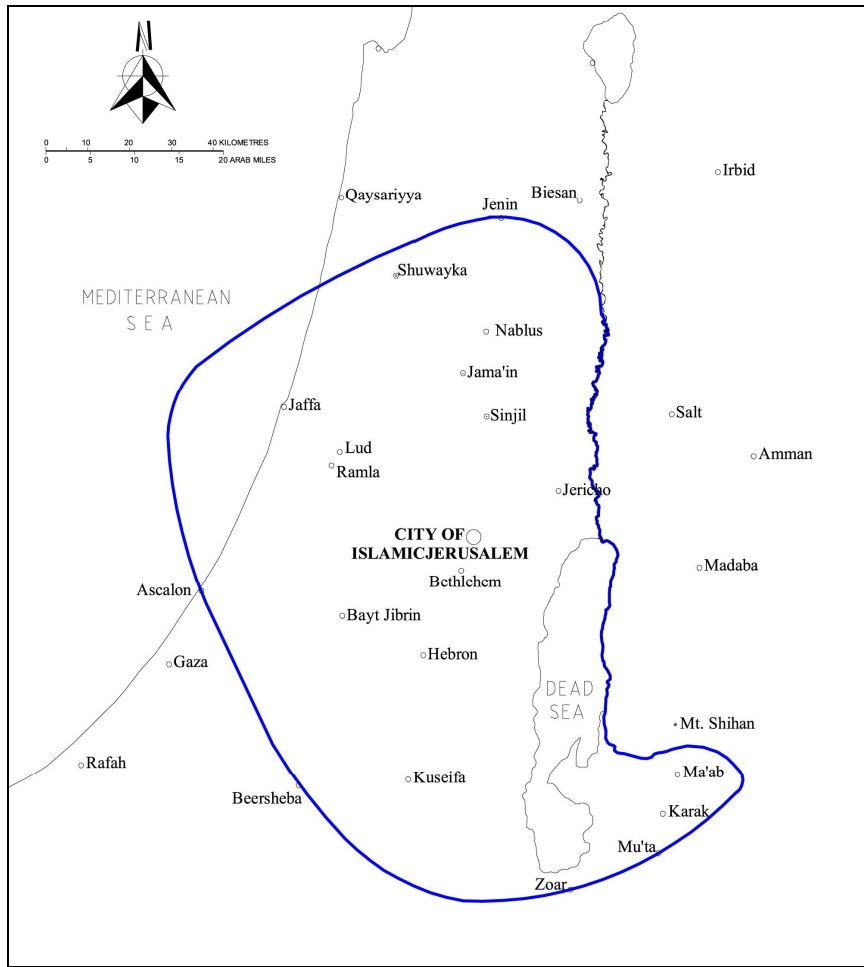
The name Bayt al-Maqdis, during this period, continued to be popular, especially in spoken and written literature. The first record of the use of the name, still surviving, is the endowment of Nuba, which uses the name Bayt al-Maqdis. Most other written records were mainly also used within religious connotations and this name continued to be popular in different connotations. It was mainly in reference to the city during the conquest but also used on its own with reference to the Al-Aqsa Mosque. Moreover reference to the region was emphasised with additions such as *Arḍ* or *Bilād*, but nonetheless it was sometimes used on its own to refer to the region. The name Bayt al-Maqdis moreover had to compete at a later stage with the new name al-Quds and there is a clear reduction of the use of the name Bayt al-Maqdis in later periods.

The name al-Quds, which was officially adopted in the year 217 AH on a minted coin, gradually became more widely used and it grew to become the predominant name amongst the public. Lines of poetry and many historical and geographical texts began to quote the new name as did religious literature. This new name also had the effect of slowly eliminating the name Aelia from the public domain, and reduced its use to a few references in books. This is normally the case with new names; if they are accepted and used, they force older names to die out eventually from day to day usage in the public sphere, and they end up being referred to as once being a common name. There was an increase in explicit references to the region by using the term *Arḍ*, land, or *Bilād* (counties) in front of the name. This however did not mean the complete abrogation of using the name of the city to refer to the region; this continued. Indeed, the first detailed account of the extent of this region used just the term al-Quds to refer to it. These accounts meant a change in the understanding of this region from a place not clearly defined to one that was. The name al-Quds saw further development a few centuries later, around the time of Salah al-Din and the following periods, namely during the reign of the Mamluks and Ottoman, where numerous additions were added to the name. Such additions were to emphasise the holiness with terms such as *Sharif* (Noble). Moreover the name al-Quds

introduced over twelve centuries ago continues to be the most popular name in Arabic to this day.



Map 1: Location of Caesarea and Ajnadin within the province of Palestina Prima which can be equated with the region of Aelia



Map 2: The boundaries of the region of Bayt al-Maqdis/ Islamic Jerusalem

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