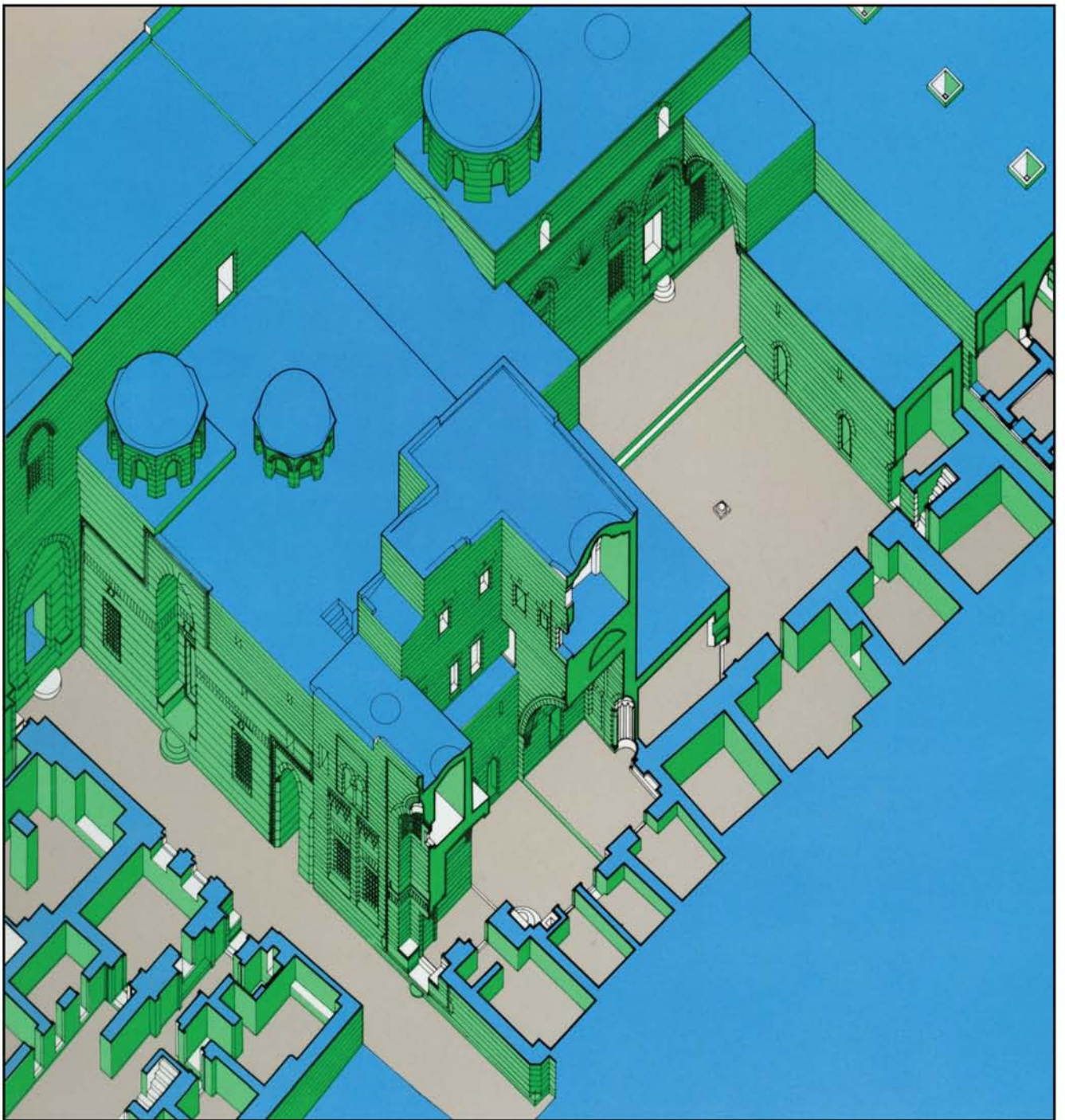


# MAMLUK JERUSALEM

AN ARCHITECTURAL STUDY



MICHAEL HAMILTON BURGOYNE

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AN ARCHITECTURAL STUDY

MICHAEL HAMILTON BURGOYNE

with additional historical research by D S Richards



Published on behalf of  
the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem  
by the  
World of Islam Festival Trust



## **MAMLŪK JERUSALEM**

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|                    |                  |
|--------------------|------------------|
| LAURENCE BAIN      | 1981             |
| PETER BEARD        | 1983 and 1985    |
| FRANK BOYLE        | 1981             |
| RICHARD BROTHERTON | 1976-1981        |
| JOHN BURGOYNE      | 1982             |
| MICHAEL BURGOYNE   | 1969-84          |
| ISABEL CARLISLE    | 1979             |
| GERRY CONNOLLY     | 1982             |
| TONY COYLE         | 1980             |
| C.F. EDWARDS       | 1968             |
| GRAHAM HAWORTH     | 1986             |
| JENNIFER HEDIN     | 1978             |
| ADRIAN KEAL        | 1979             |
| ROBIN KENT         | 1977-78          |
| CHRISTEL KESSLER   | 1975-78          |
| SHAWN KHOLUCY      | 1982-83          |
| BARRIE McCOLL      | 1983-84          |
| ANNA O'CARROLL     | 1985             |
| GRAEME PERT        | 1981-82 and 1985 |
| MARK POTTER        | 1980-85          |
| PAUL POWER         | 1983             |
| CHRIS SHANKS       | 1981             |
| ALISTAIR SCOTT     | 1980             |
| ARCHIBALD WALLS    | 1968-75          |
| STEVE WOLSTENHOLME | 1976             |
| HARRY WOOD         | 1980-81          |



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# FOREWORD

The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem was founded in 1919 as a centre for archaeological fieldwork in the Palestine area. Since that day it has (with the aid of its contributing members and of many generous donors) sponsored and supervised numerous archaeological digs and other investigations into the history of the Holy Land.

The present volume is the result of nearly twenty years' work by the School. In the minutes for early 1968 drawn up by the School's Council, the then Chairman, Dame Kathleen Kenyon, is recorded as making the first suggestion for work on a survey of Jerusalem's older Islamic buildings. She mentioned that her idea was supported by Dr W.A. Pantin of Oxford and Mr R.W. Hamilton, the former Director of the Ashmolean Museum. I have also heard from friends that Dame Kathleen had been considering the idea for several years and I have no doubt that she consulted many others with experience of the area.

In the summer of 1968 a start was made, and Mr A.G. Walls was engaged on a pilot survey from August to December of that year. The next year Dr M. Burgoyne started work on the main project, for several years in company with Mr Walls. Dr Burgoyne has been the pivot round which this volume has been prepared, both as regards the surveying on the site and the provision of most of the text, drawings and photographs. The School gratefully recognises the way in which he has devoted a good proportion of his working life to this enterprise. In 1983 Mr D.S. Richards spent a year in Jerusalem as an Historical Fellow and he too has devoted much time subsequently to researching and writing up the history of these buildings.

However, the authors have not been alone in their efforts. Many organisations and individuals have assisted, and I fear they are too numerous for them all to be mentioned in the text. Especial thanks are due to the Jordanian Ministry of Awqaf and Religious Affairs in Amman, and to the Supreme Muslim Council and the Department of Awqaf (Religious Endowments) in Jerusalem. Without their goodwill and advice and

particularly that of Mr Hasan Tahboub, Mr Yusuf Natsheh, Mr Ibrahim Daqqaq and Mr Issam Awad, it would not have been possible for those working on the survey to enter the many buildings belonging to the Awqaf, let alone those in private hands.

The School's Council is also conscious of the debt it owes to those who gave general direction and oversight to the work in Jerusalem. The period of the survey spanned the terms of office of several resident Directors: Professor B. Hennessy, Mrs C.M. Bennett and Canon J. Wilkinson, all of whom were called upon to give time and advice. In this context I also gratefully record the expert assistance so freely given by a member of the Council, Mr R.W. Hamilton, and Dr Christel Kessler, Advisor to the Survey from 1975 to 1978, and of the constant efforts of our steering committee under the chairmanship of Mr Brian Johnson.

Finance is a perpetual problem in prolonged surveys such as this, and many organisations have helped us. Our thanks are particularly due to the British Academy for their constant support, and to the World of Islam Festival Trust who came to our aid at a difficult time and mobilised very generous assistance in Amman and elsewhere for our work. We are particularly indebted to the Trust which has also borne the entire cost of publication. During the course of the survey, the Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust, the Russell Trust and the Leverhulme Trust also gave very welcome financial support.

This volume, therefore, stands not as an individual effort, but has evolved from the co-ordinated efforts of many individuals and organisations by no means all of a single religious faith, and impelled (as I like to think) by a common respect for the history of Jerusalem and the symbolism that city offers to the minds of a large proportion of mankind.

Michael Hannam  
Chairman, BSAJ

# PREFACE

When I was invited in 1969 to join a recently inaugurated project of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, the late Dame Kathleen Kenyon, then Chairman of the School, allowed me two days to make my decision. Within one week I was on my way to Jerusalem to begin work on the task that was to occupy much of my time during the subsequent sixteen years.

The School's initial aim was to record the medieval Islamic architecture of Jerusalem, which up till then was almost unknown. The Council of the British School perceived that, in the aftermath of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war when excavation would have been difficult if not impossible, this was a practical enterprise in keeping with the School's long history of archaeological research in the region.

Initially progress was painfully slow. The first architect engaged on the project, Dr Archibald Walls, had already spent months in 1968 endeavouring with the support of the School's Director, Professor J.B. Hennessy, to establish contacts and commence surveying. In this endeavour and at all times the Supreme Muslim Council and the Department of Awqaf, the authorities responsible for the management of Muslim holy places in Jerusalem, assisted us with willingness and courtesy in the highest traditions of Arab hospitality.

It was none the less hard so soon after the 1967 war to gain the confidence of the inhabitants of the buildings. To begin with we restricted surveying to three months of the year and concentrated on exteriors. Gradually, as the nature of our work became known, access was gained to interiors as well, and so complete records of buildings began to emerge. Most of these magnificent buildings now serve as dwellings. Though our presence in people's homes must have been at times an irritating intrusion, we were made to feel welcome. Indeed, it is astonishing how rarely we met with discourtesy of any kind.

From 1971 at least one architect was fully engaged, usually with the help of one local assistant and from 1976 onwards with additional help of one or two architects or students of architecture for periods of two months or more. Most of the students came from two outstanding schools, the Mackintosh School of Architecture in Glasgow and the Department of Architecture, Cambridge University. In addition to Dr Walls, special mention should be made of three architects, Robin Kent, Richard Brotherton and Mark Potter, who spent a longer time than the others in Jerusalem and made relevant and often fundamental contributions to the project. The success of the project is largely due to their efforts and the efforts of those other architects listed on page VI, who contributed their skills with enthusiasm and dedication in what were frequently difficult circumstances.

In such circumstances we learnt to rely on our constant surveying assistant Abu Muhammad, 'Abd al-Jawad al-'Abbasi, whose good reputation and dignified persistence made it possible for us to enter even the most unlikely places.

The contribution made to the project by Dr Christel

Kessler, who spent twelve months working with the survey between 1975 and 1978, cannot be overestimated. Her knowledge of Islamic architecture and her careful observation of architectural detail did much to heighten our awareness of the complex structural history of the buildings.

We are greatly indebted also to Dr J.C. Harle and Dr James Allan of the Department of Eastern Art in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: to Dr Harle for permission to house securely within his department the project's drawings, survey notes and photographs; and to Dr Allan for his many kindnesses in connection with that material and with photographs from the Creswell Archive in the same department, some of which are reproduced here by kind permission of the Trustees of the Ashmolean Museum.

Many people have substantially assisted the work in numerous ways. I should like to thank first of all members of the Department of Awqaf and its Department of Islamic Archaeology, especially Mr Hasan Tahboub and Mr Yusuf Natsheh, whose enthusiastic cooperation made our work possible.

A number of establishments have generously given me hospitality during field trips, among them the British Institute at Amman, the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo, the Orient-Institut of the German Oriental Society in Beirut and the French Institute in Damascus. To their directors and staff, especially Mrs Crystal-M. Bennett, Dr and Mrs Michael Meinecke, Professor and Mrs Heinz Gaube and Professor André Raymond, I offer my thanks. Financial help for my field trips was given by the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, the Gilchrist Educational Trust, the Wainwright Near Eastern Archaeological Fund and Magdalen College, Oxford.

My thanks go also to the directors, librarians and staff of the Ecole Biblique, the German Institute, The Albright Institute, the Mayer Memorial Institute and the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum in Jerusalem, the Dār al-Kutub and the American University in Cairo, and the Oriental Department of the Bodleian Library, the Griffith Institute, the Ashmolean Museum, the Oriental Institute and Magdalen College, Oxford.

From the international community of architects in Jerusalem I owe special thanks to Mr Issam Awad, architect in charge of the repairs to the Aqṣā Mosque, and his predecessor in that post, Mr Ibrahim Daqqaq; also Mr Adnan Hussein of the General Waqf Administration, Mr Hasan Abu Shalbak and Mr Bassam Hallaq of the Department of Islamic Archaeology, Mr Sameh Abboushi of Bir Zayt University, and Mr Paris Papatheodorou, architect to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. I deeply regret that two eminent architects, Père Charles Coüason OP and Herr Ernst Krüger, who generously shared with me their profound knowledge of architecture, did not live to see this study published.

My sincere gratitude goes also to academic colleagues and friends in disciplines and professions other than architecture: Mr Marwan Abu Khalaf, Dr Kamil al-'Asali, Dr and Mrs Graeme

Auld, Professor and Mrs David Ayalon, Mrs Jean Blount, Professor Edmund Bosworth, Professor and Mrs John Carswell, Professor Charles Dowsett, the late Professor Richard Ettinghausen, Dr Elizabeth Ettinghausen, Professor Jaroslav Folda, Professor Oleg Grabar, Dr J.D. Gurney, Miss Annabel Hamilton, Mr George Hintlian, Mr and Mrs Edmund Hull, Professor Ishaq Husseini, Mr Nazmi Joubbeh, Professor and Mrs Donald Little, Mr and Mrs Martin Lyons, Père J. Murphy O'Connor OP, Dr Denys Pringle, Mr Khadr Salameh, Professor George Scanlon, General Ensio Siilasvuo, and Dr Nicholas Stanley Price. Each of them contributed in some way useful in the study of the buildings of Mamlūk Jerusalem presented here.

This book grew out of my doctoral dissertation, written at Oxford between 1977 and 1979 based on material researched during the early years of the project. It was written under the supervision of Dr Christel Kessler and Dr Michael Rogers. My enduring debt to their scholarship is evident throughout this study. On completion of my dissertation one of my examiners, Dr Michael Meinecke, Director of the newly established German Archaeological Institute in Damascus, kindly offered to include it as the first in a series of monographs to be published by his institute. This, however, was not possible for a variety of reasons.

A sincere debt of gratitude is owed to Canon John Wilkinson, the School's Director from 1979 to 1984, whose initiative and effort in seeking financial support laid the foundation for this publication. He approached the World of Islam Festival Trust which under the Directorship of Mr Alistair Duncan generously made finance available for the final years of work in Jerusalem from 1982 to 1984 and for the complete publication of this book. It is a particular pleasure to acknowledge this handsome contribution.

This support allowed the appointment of a historian to research further details of the buildings and the people connected with them from literary sources. Mr Donald Richards of the Oriental Institute, Oxford University, undertook this task. During a period of one year which he and his wife Pamela spent in Jerusalem in 1983 he not only reviewed published texts but also delved into the vast and hardly decipherable archives of the Ottoman Court as well as the unpublished collection of recently discovered Hāram documents. The chapters 'The Mamlūk State' and 'Jerusalem under the Mamlūks' in Part I of this book and forty-one of the sections on history in Part II were written by him. This major contribution is a testament to his skill both as a historian and as a palaeographer.

In presenting the results of sixteen years' work we decided to divide this study into two parts. The first part includes chapters on the historical and geographical character of Jerusalem as well as brief accounts of its architectural development before and during the Mamlūk period. The second part consists of a catalogue of buildings, comprising more detailed architectural and historical analyses of

individual buildings along with plans and photographs. It is hoped that the first part will to some extent satisfy those with a general interest in the architectural development of Jerusalem under the Mamlūks, while the catalogue of buildings is intended to provide an accurate record of the buildings themselves together with our interpretations of their architectural evolution. It is not intended to be an exhaustive commentary which extracts every scrap of information that the buildings are capable of yielding. The purpose of this study has been rather to make new material available in what still remains an imperfectly explored subject.

Since 1981 Mr Brian Johnson as Chairman of the Architectural Survey sub-committee has administered the project on behalf of the School and has acted as liaison officer in London, undertaking the difficult and unrewarding task of coordinating large quantities of drawings, photographs and typescript. During 1984 and 1985 Mr Mark Potter supervised finishing work on the drawings. To both I express my sincere gratitude. I am grateful also to Hay, Steel and Partners, Architects, for providing dyeline prints of working drawings.

To the staff of Scorpion Publishing, and to Leonard Harrow, Colin Larkin and John Orley in particular, I am indebted for their help and attention in producing this volume.

Many of those from whose kindness, friendship and hospitality I have profited during the long period of research leading to this study have already been mentioned. I cannot leave unmentioned others who have helped me by reading and commenting on the text. Professor Bentley Layton read early drafts of sections of the Catalogue and Mr and Mrs John Burgoyne read the first draft of Part I; each of them made valuable suggestions. Above all I am indebted to Mr Robert Hamilton, former Director of Antiquities in Palestine and foremost authority on the Islamic archaeology of Palestine, who read my text in full. This study has benefited immeasurably from his careful reading and from his countless helpful suggestions.

Finally, I should like to thank my parents and family, who have always been ready to offer their assistance and supported me in any number of ways. My wife prepared not only the early drafts and final typescript – an awesome task – but also read and considered the text and helped me constantly to see it through to its conclusion.

M.H.B.  
Spean Lodge  
Inverness-shire  
November 1986

## NOTE ON SURVEYING

This study deals with distinctive Islamic buildings from one historical period in one city. It is hoped that our work will encourage others to make similar studies of Ayyūbid or Ottoman Jerusalem, for example, or of towns in the region, such as Gaza, Hebron, Ramla, Safad, Hama and Homs, which boast important Islamic buildings but are still virtually unpublished. It may be useful, therefore, briefly to outline our surveying procedure.

The surveying techniques we adopted are more or less conventional, based on the principle of trilateration whereby a particular point is fixed in relation to two other points by measuring the distances from one to the others – a process that usually involves a very large number of measurements. When, as often happened, the angle included by three points was too narrow to allow alignments to be determined accurately by trilateration alone, angles were calculated and offsets taken by theodolite. The same process was always used to determine the outline of streets. Once the street pattern was established the task of surveying the interiors of buildings between the streets was relatively straightforward and the possibility of cumulative error was minimized.

After the ground plan was drawn – usually at the scale of 1:100 – it was a relatively simple matter to relate the upper floor plans to it with plumb-lines. Walls were checked for straightness in both the horizontal and vertical planes and any significant deviations plotted. The interrelationship between adjoining structures is of course three-dimensional – that is, in section as well as in plan. To illustrate this, sectional drawings of each building complex were prepared. Floor levels were ascertained by theodolite or by water-gauge. Elevations were directly measured. By using a six-metre ladder and a measuring tape hooked to a six-metre aluminium pole the top of high buildings could be reached. Specially tall structures, such as minarets, were measured optically with a theodolite.

The surveying, like the drawing, was slow going. Owners and tenants had to be identified and consulted, keys tracked down, and furniture and other (occasionally unsavoury) impedimenta moved before measuring could begin. Rooms that had fallen out of use were frequently blocked up, and there the problems of surveying were complicated by having to work in the dark. The challenge made the effort the more worthwhile, of course, and had its reward in the satisfaction felt when, having surveyed round a large area back to the starting point, everything was found to fit perfectly. In order to achieve this, however, high standards of accuracy had to be maintained. In our case measurements were taken to the nearest centimetre.

Photographs were taken with a 35mm camera fitted with a wide-angle (28mm) perspective-control lens. Owing to the narrowness of the streets in relation to the heights of the buildings photogrammetry was considered impracticable.

## NOTE ON THE HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Most of the historical research for this book was done during 1983, a very happy year my wife and I spent in the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. I am grateful to the authorities of the Islamic Museum in the Ḥaram al-Sharīf and of the Sharī'a Court for permission to study in those institutions and to the personnel of both for their welcome and friendship.

The bulk of my writing, including many of the 'History' items of the catalogue section, was completed by the autumn of 1984. Some books that have recently appeared were therefore not available to me, namely, D.P. Little's *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem*, Beirut, 1984, and Huda Lutfi's *al-Quds al-Mamlūkiyya: A History of Mamlūk Jerusalem based on the Ḥaram Documents*, Berlin, 1985. The general background to the Bahrī period of the Mamlūk state can now be studied in Robert Irwin's *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The early Mamluk Sultanate 1250-1382*, Croom Helm, 1986.

D.S.R.

## NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND DATES

Since the Arabic alphabet includes letters that do not exist in the English alphabet some system of transliteration is needed to convey in English characters the original Arabic spelling of names and words for which no precise English translation is available. No standard system of transliteration has yet been universally adopted. The system we have used is the one devised for the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (but with *q* for *k* and *j* for *dj*), which seems to be acceptable to scholars without causing undue difficulties for nonspecialists. English plural endings (—s) have been substituted for Arabic plurals.

Dates are generally rendered according to both the Muslim (Anno Hegirae) and the Christian (Anno Domini) calendars with the Muslim year preceding the Christian one thus: 700/1300-1. (Since the two calendars rarely coincide the Christian equivalent is not usually exact.) Centuries are occasionally quoted in Christian era alone.

## COLOUR SECTION

The illustrations contained in this colour section are not, in themselves, of significance in terms of the Mamlūk period. Their purpose is two-fold: firstly to indicate to the general reader how the various periods of architecture blend in their juxtaposition, and secondly, to portray the Dome of the Rock, which forms the epicentre of Jerusalem, and around which the Mamlūk city was built.



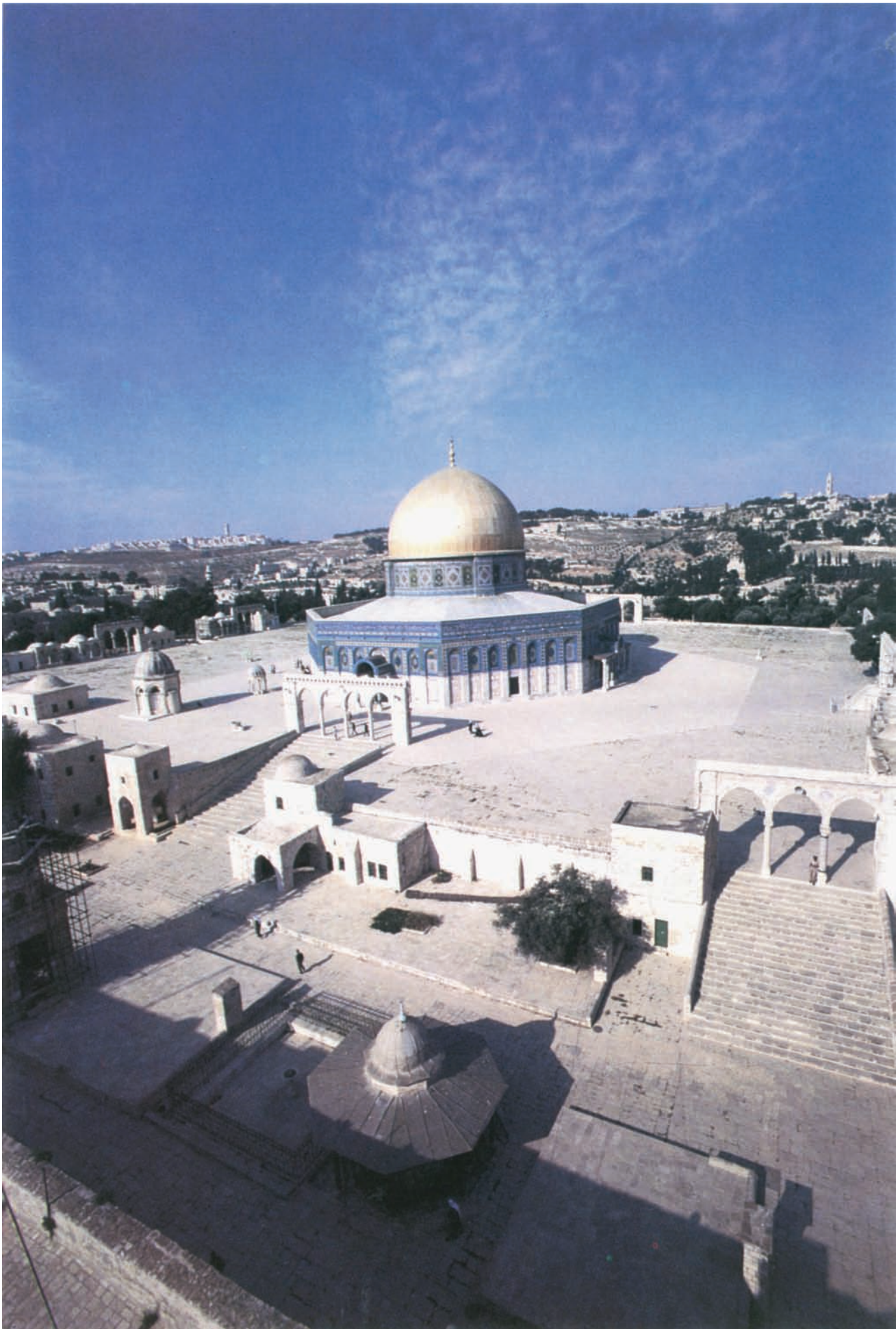


Plate 1 The Dome of the Rock, epicentre of Jerusalem





Plate 2 Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn (Gate of the Cotton Merchants)

Plate 3 Dome of the Rock with Bāb al-Silsila Minaret in the foreground





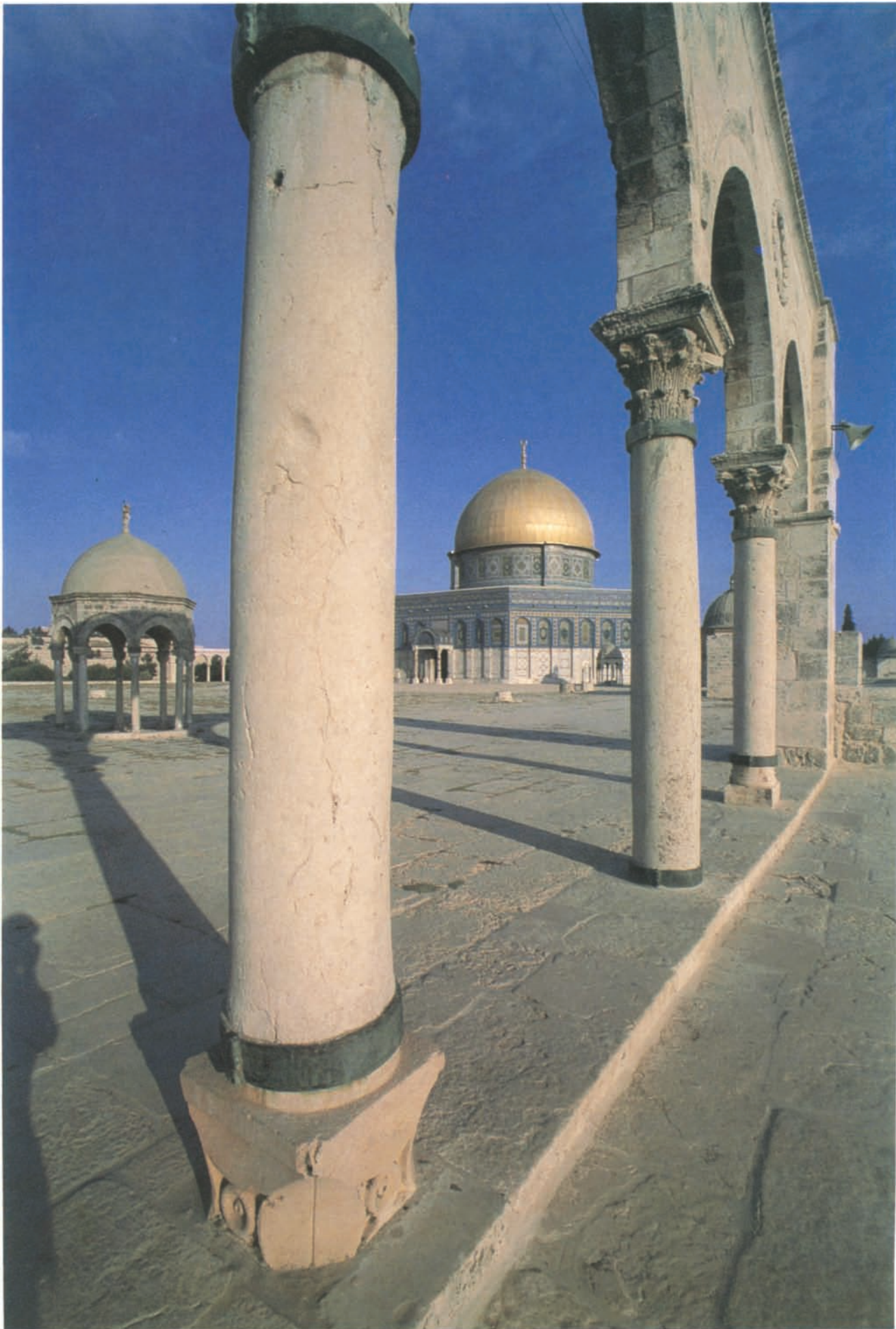


Plate 4 The North-west Qanāṭir and the Dome of Spirits (Qubbat al-Arwāh) left





Plate 5 Aerial view of al-Haram al-Sharif (the Noble Sanctuary), looking south

Plate 6 View east across the Old City: left, the Dome of the Rock; right, al-Aqsa Mosque







Plate 7 . Ribāṭ of Kurt al-Manṣūrī

Plate 8 View of Jerusalem from the east (Mt. of Olives)







Plate 9 Sabīl Sulṭān Sulaymān  
Plate 10 Al-Ghādiriyya







Plate 11 Entrance to the Arghūniyya





Plate 12 Interior of Bāb al-Sakīna

Plate 13 View north from Bāb al-Silsila Minaret







Plate 14 West side of the Ḥaram, looking towards Bāb al-Silsila Minaret

Plate 15 West Qanāṭir, looking towards Sabīl Qāyrbāy, al-'Uthmāniyya and Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn





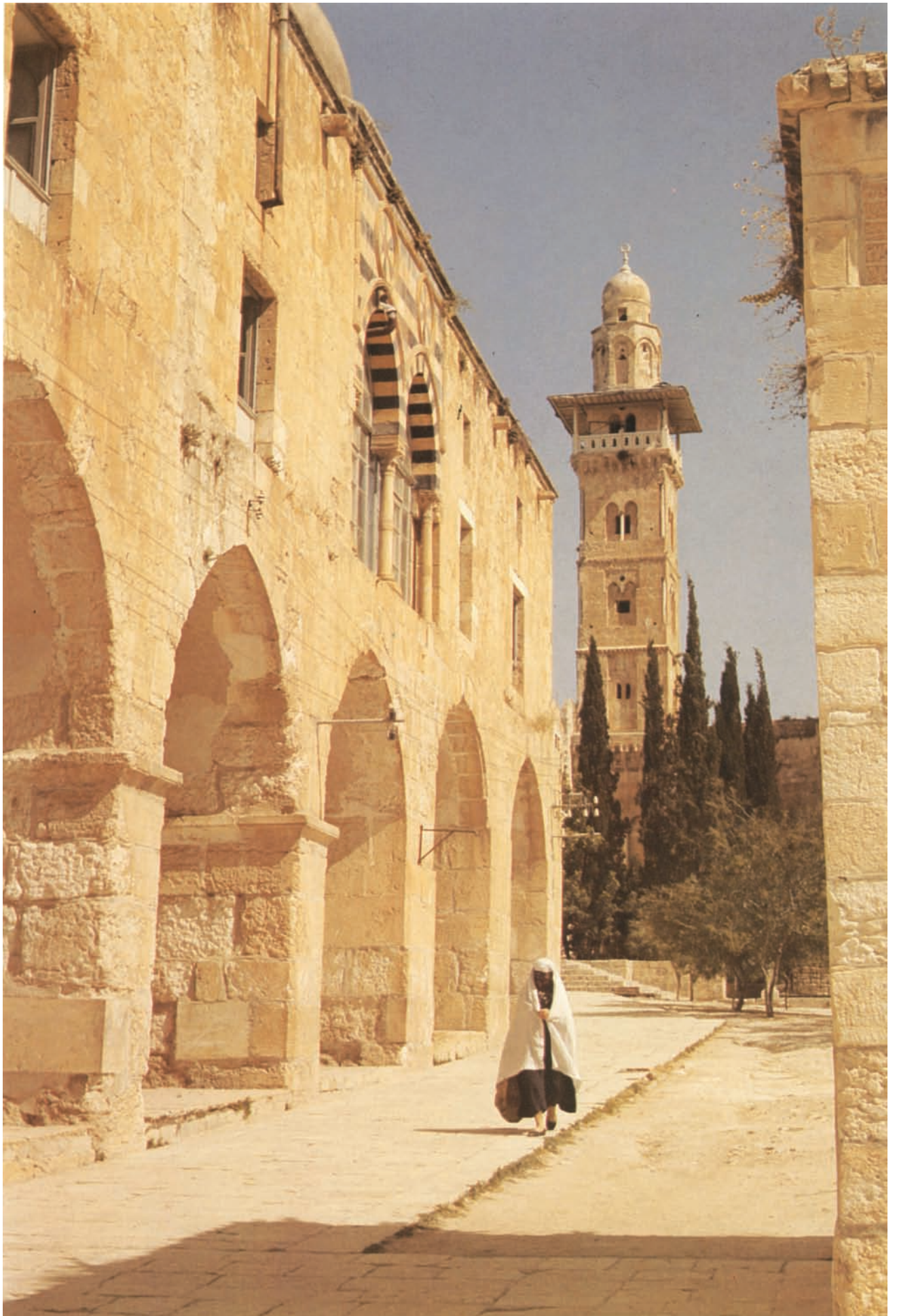


Plate 16 East façade of the Manjakiyya and the Ghawānima Minaret





Plate 17 Part of the Ḥaram north border, showing the Karīmiyya

Plate 18 Façade of the Is'ardiyya







Plate 19 Turba of Turkân Khâtûn

Plate 20 Vaulting above the entrance to the Tankiziyya

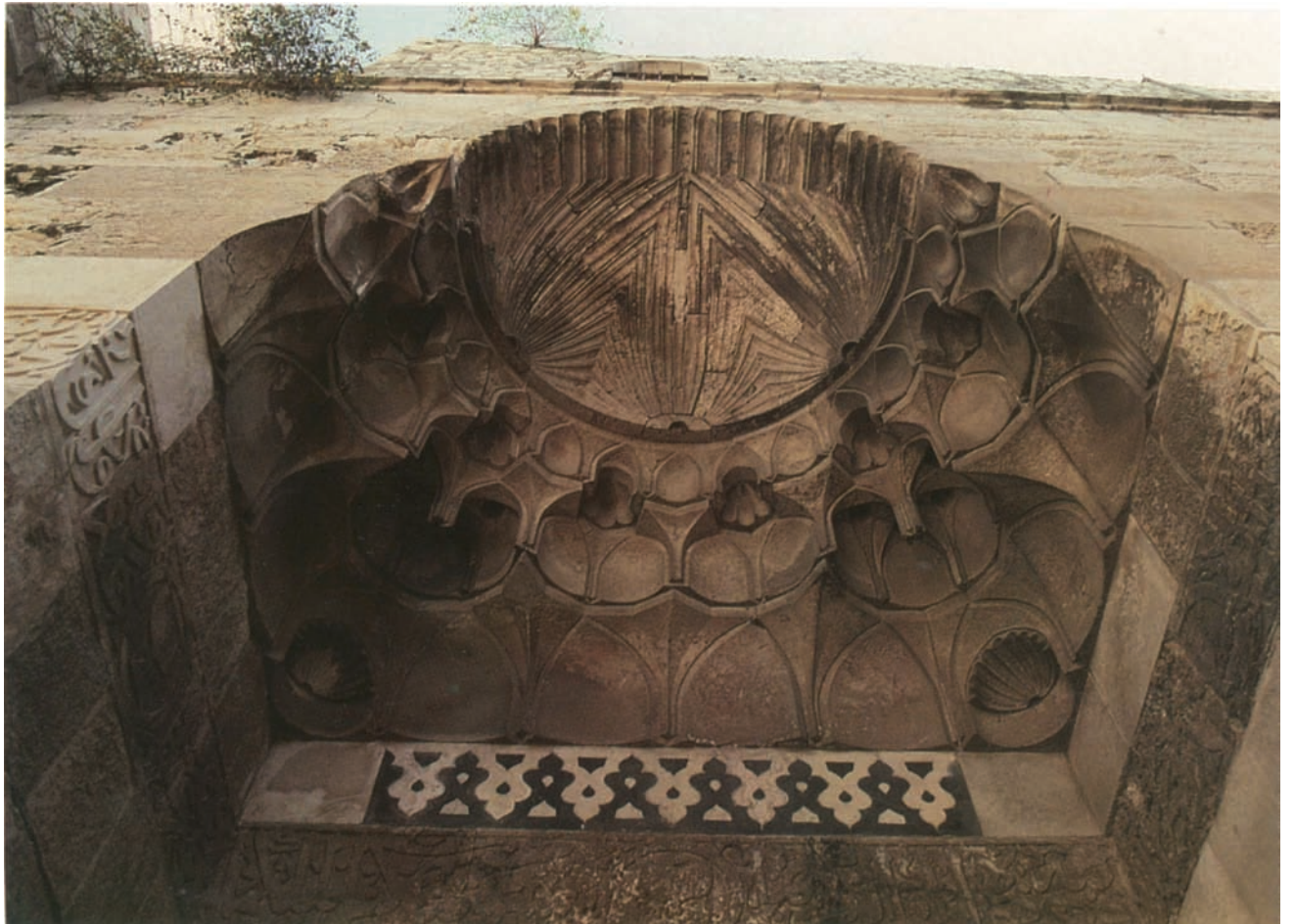






Plate 21 Vaulted ceiling above the entrance to the Ashrafiyya





Plate 22 Left, Qubbat Sulaymān; and the north side of the Haram

Plate 23 A fountain of Sultan Sulaymān on the corner of Ṭariq Bāb al-Nāẓir and Ṭariq al-Wād







Plate 24 Entrance to Dār al-Sitt Ṭunshuq  
Plate 25 Bāb al-'Amūd (Damascus Gate)

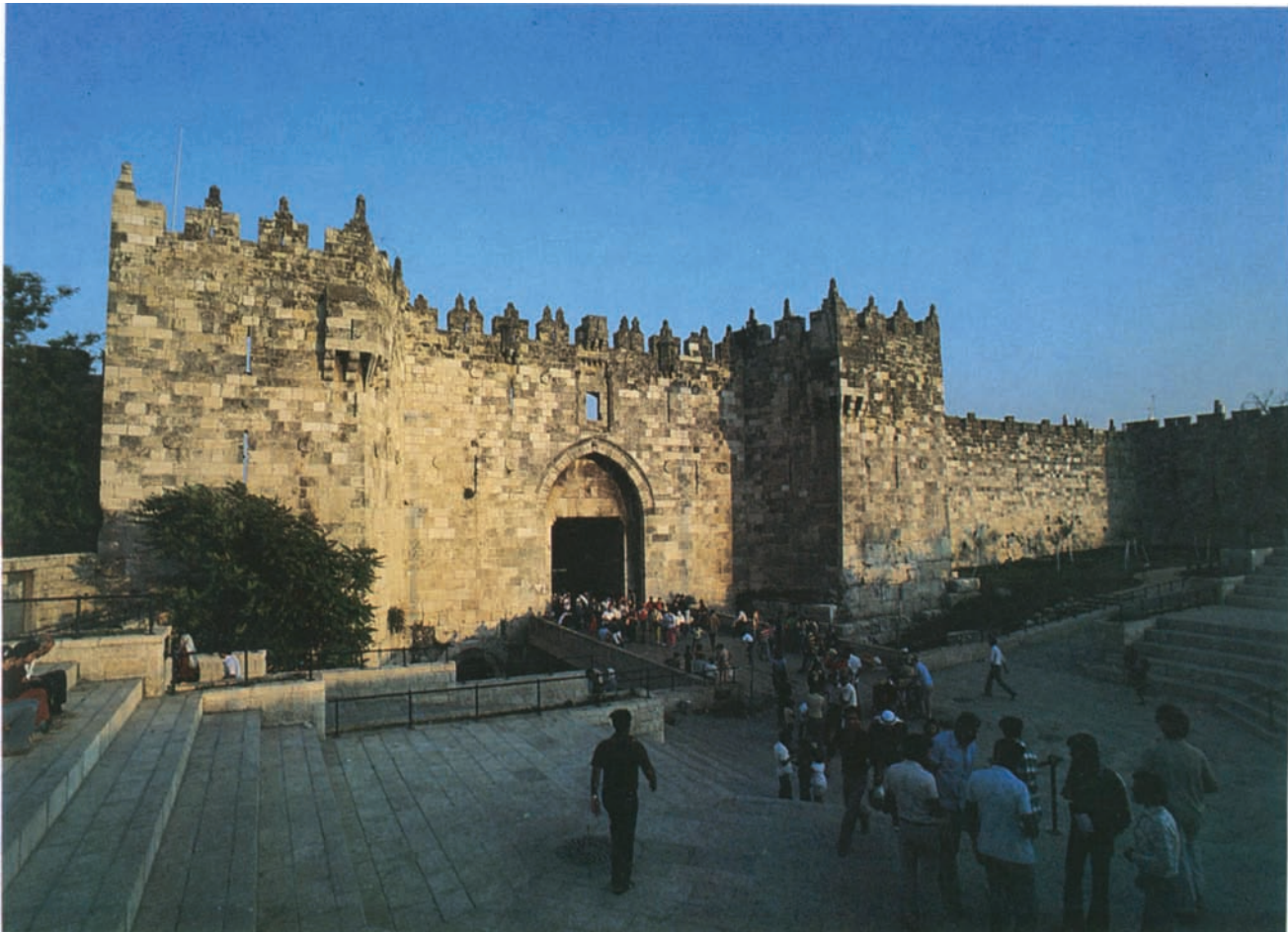






Plate 26 Haram north side  
Plate 27 Al-Kubakiyya (Māmillā Cemetery)







Plate 28 Bâb al-Silsila Minaret



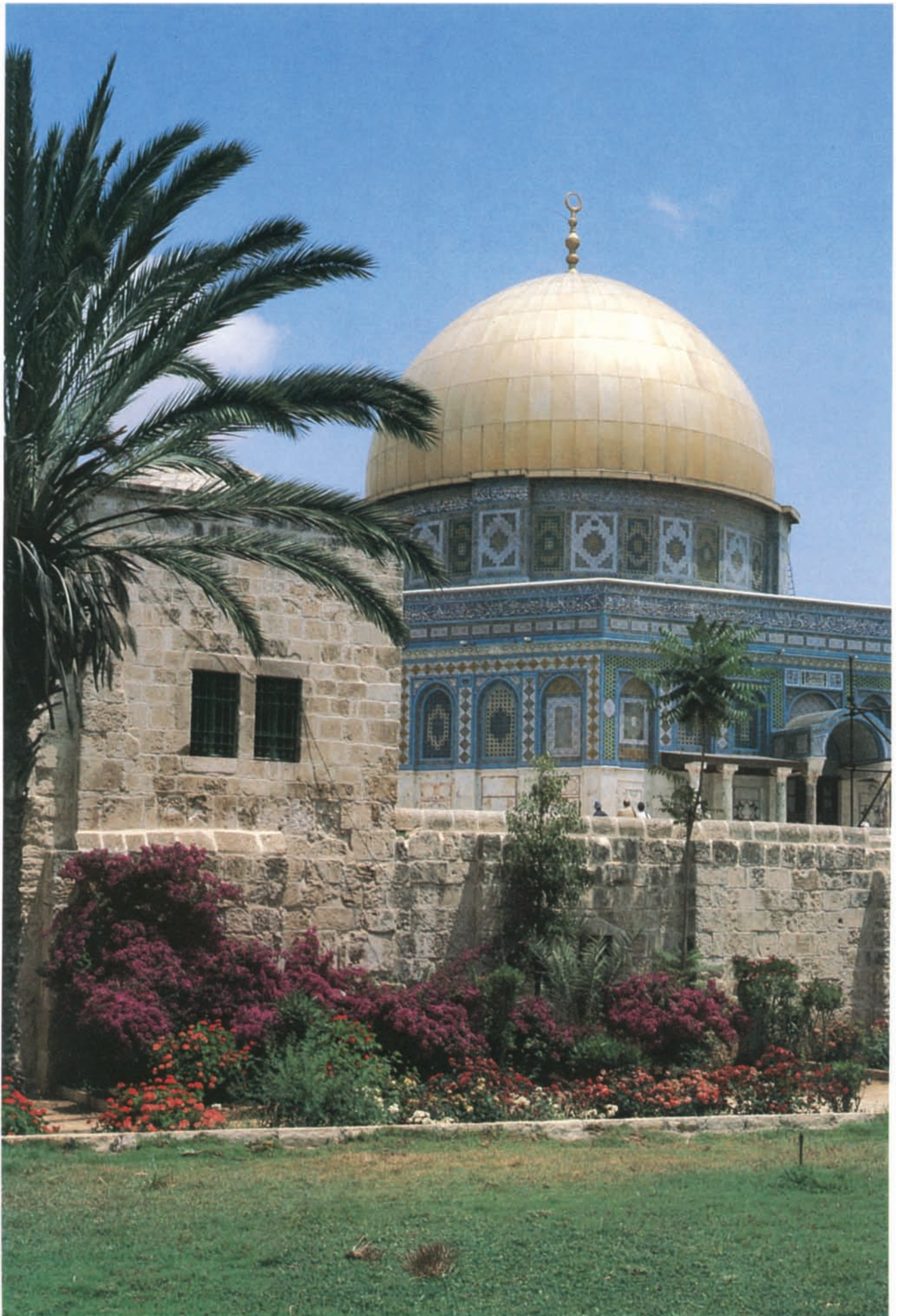


Plate 29 The Dome of the Rock





Plate 30 Sabīl Qāyrbāy





Plate 31 West Portico of the Haram  
Plate 32 A corner of the Haram. Left, Sabīl Qāsim Pāshā.



# PART I

## INTRODUCTION

Built over the ruins of an ancient city, the walled Old City of Jerusalem remains one of the best preserved medieval Islamic towns. The remarkable degree of its preservation is owed mainly to the fact that it was until recently a political backwater of little strategic or economic significance; above all, Jerusalem is a holy city full of sacred associations, revered by the faithful of all three of the world's great monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

For Muslims one place in particular predominates, for in Islamic tradition it is linked with Muḥammad's Night Journey and Heavenly Ascension. This is al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf,<sup>1</sup> a vast quadrangular enclosure on the eastern spur of the city. Here two of the earliest and most impressive monuments of Islamic architecture – the Dome of the Rock and the Aqṣā Mosque – stand in a majestic setting.

The Muslims' spiritual and emotional attachment to the place was later intensified by a growth of eschatological traditions associating it with the scene of the Last Judgement and the Resurrection. Jerusalem emerged as an increasingly important centre of pilgrimage, a place of religious study and retreat, and a chosen place in which to die and be buried. At the time of the Crusades the city became a symbol of Muslim aspirations. With the reconquest of Jerusalem in A.D. 1187 these aspirations once more found physical expression in architecture when Saladin initiated a building programme that reached its apogee under the Mamlūk sultans (1260-1517). Philanthropic foundations of all kinds were established: local mosques (*masjids*), theological colleges (*madrasas*), convents for Šūfī mystics (*khānqāhs*), abodes of holy men (*zāwiyas*), schools of the Traditions of the Prophet (*dār al-ḥadīth*) and of the Koran (*dār al-qur'ān*), a school for orphans (*maktab aytām*), a hospital (*māristān*), drinking fountains (*sabīls*) and a place for ritual ablution (*maṭhara*). Among these philanthropic institutions we should also count *ribāts*, which in Jerusalem had the particular purpose of providing accommodation for pilgrims.<sup>2</sup> Attached to many of the foundations were the tombs of their founders. Each foundation was provided with a *waqf*, an endowment in perpetuity – usually of land or property – from which revenues were reserved for the salaries of staff and for maintenance of the fabric. Commercial establishments were also set up to help finance the upkeep of some of these pious foundations and the Dome of the Rock and the Aqṣā Mosque. These included caravanserais (*khāns*), markets (*sūqs* and *qaysariyyas*), a bonded warehouse (*wakāla*) and bath-houses (*ḥammāms*).

Philanthropic institutions are typical of any reasonably large town of the period. What makes them exceptional in Jerusalem is their distinct relatedness to the Ḥaram. The map showing the location of Mamlūk monuments in Jerusalem (fig. 2) illustrates dramatically just how intensively construction was concentrated at the north and west, town-side, borders of the Ḥaram, either alongside the sanctuary itself or along the streets

leading to it. In no other medieval Islamic town can one find such a conglomeration of religiously-inspired buildings, several storeys high, frequently incorporating earlier remains on restricted sites, and with façades that are still a striking feature today. Yet after more than a hundred years of archaeological research in Jerusalem these buildings remained largely unstudied even though almost all the historical sources relating to them were known.

## PRIMARY SOURCES

The religious associations of Jerusalem have for centuries attracted Muslim, Christian and Jewish pilgrims, many of them writers, to the Holy City.<sup>3</sup> With few exceptions, however, their descriptions of the city were intended only to establish and report the location of the holy places. The authors customarily restricted themselves to sites and monuments connected with their own religion and so for Islamic monuments it is to Muslim authors we must turn for the most detailed accounts.

The earliest descriptions of the Islamic Ḥaram,<sup>4</sup> or al-Masjid al-Aqṣā as the sacred precinct was then known<sup>5</sup> – though they offer glimpses of pre-Crusader constructions and reconstructions – tend to be imprecise or even inaccurate. Muslim interest in Jerusalem has always been of an essentially spiritual nature, particularly during and after the period of the Crusades.<sup>6</sup> This spiritual concern is exemplified by the ritualistic and plentiful Faḍā'il, Muthīr and Ziyārāt literature:<sup>7</sup> laudatory guidances for Muslim pilgrims, which contain little of value concerning architecture.<sup>8</sup>

Of paramount importance for the accurate identification and dating of individual monuments are two historico-topographical descriptions of the town. The first, written by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Faḍlallāh al-'Umarī in about 745/1345,<sup>9</sup> lists constructions around the Ḥaram including the principal dimensions of various features. These dimensions were in fact measured by another author, Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Amīn al-Mulk,<sup>10</sup> a contemporary of al-'Umarī. His measurements are reasonably accurate<sup>11</sup> and represent the first attempt at a detailed survey of parts of the Ḥaram border, which at that time was the scene of considerable building activity. The second description was written a century and a half later by Mujīr al-Dīn al-'Ulaimī.<sup>12</sup> Mujīr al-Dīn was able to observe the town at the zenith of its development after the last Mamlūk building had been constructed. His indispensable catalogue of monuments is 'a little dry, but very accurate'.<sup>13</sup>

Later descriptions of the town, including those in the *Seyābatmāme* of the Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebī,<sup>14</sup> who visited Jerusalem in 1059/1649 and 1071/1660-61, and in the *Rihla* of al-Nābulusī,<sup>15</sup> who visited Jerusalem in 1101/1690 and 1105/1693, contain valuable information on the condition of the town in the Ottoman period.

In addition to these descriptions there are other primary



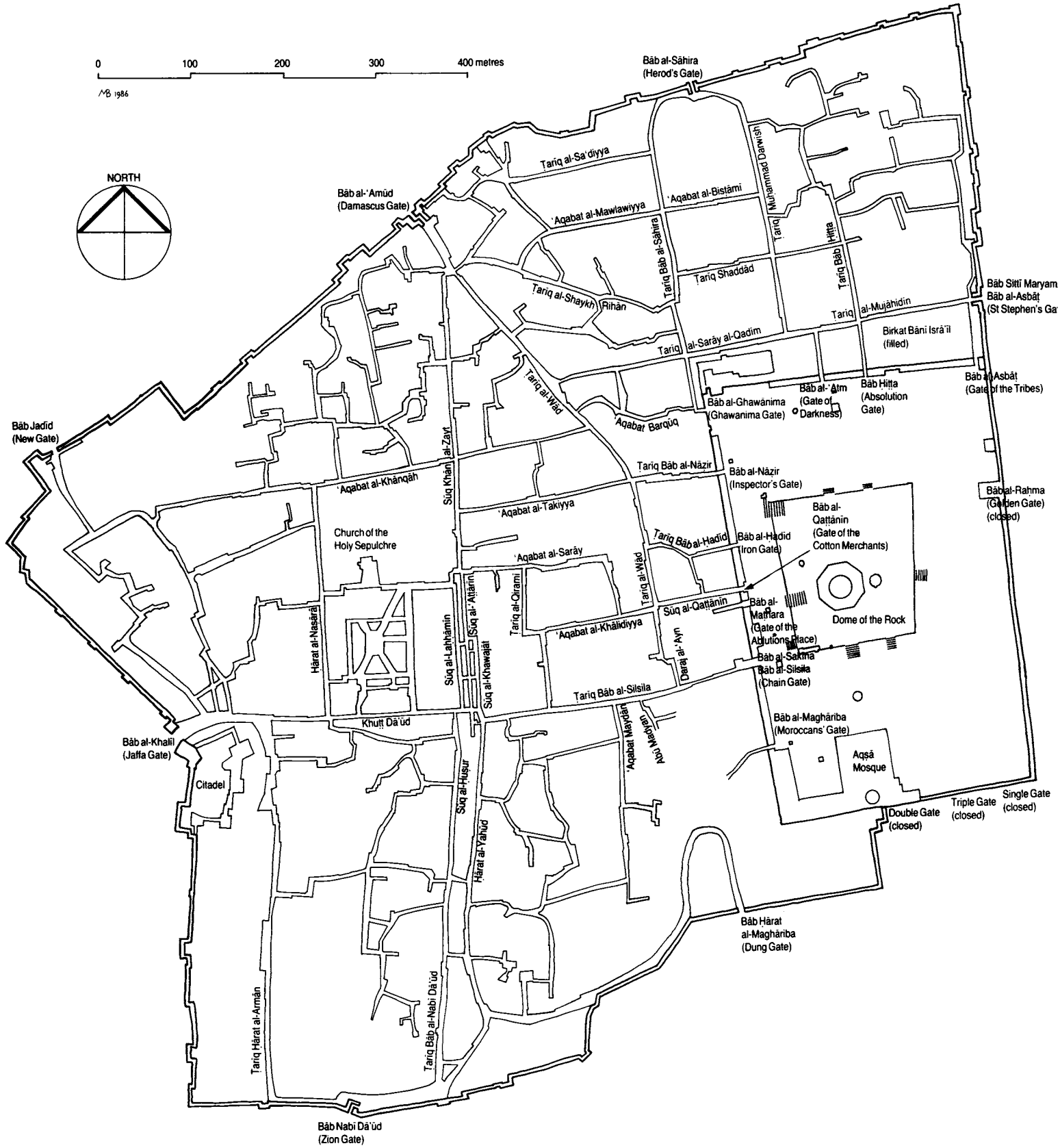


Fig. 1 Jerusalem: the Old City

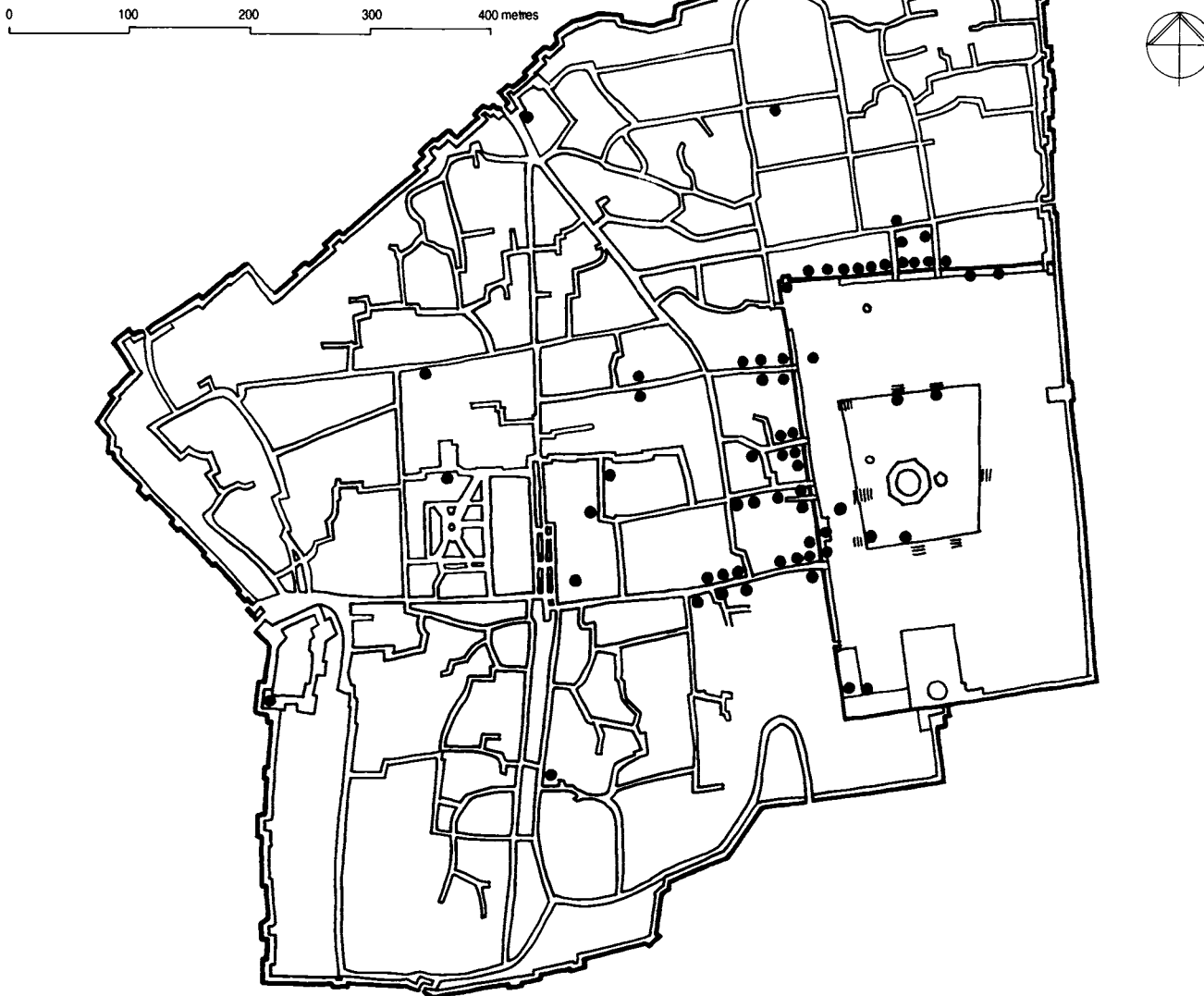
sources for the history of medieval Jerusalem. The first is a hoard of more than 900 legal documents dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which was found in the Islamic Museum on the Ḥaram and has become known as the 'Ḥaram Documents'.<sup>16</sup> The second is the Ottoman Shari'a Court Archives, a collection of sixteenth-century and later legal documents.<sup>17</sup> Both sets of documents are full of detailed information often directly relevant to the architectural history of Mamlūk Jerusalem.

In addition, many of the buildings bear inscriptions often giving explicit and determinate accounts of what the purpose of the building was, who built it and when it was completed. Most of these inscriptions have been meticulously published by the Swiss epigraphist Max van Berchem, instigator of the archaeological study of Islamic monuments in Jerusalem.<sup>18</sup>

enjoy a closer look at the Dome of the Rock. One of these pilgrims, named Felix Faber or Fabri, in 888/1483 described in considerable detail the work of craftsmen laying marble paving and wall-panelling to complete the construction of the Ashrafiyya Madrasa (see below, pp. 589-605). The Ḥaram could also be viewed from the Mount of Olives across the Kedron Valley and in the fifteenth century some pilgrims began to draw, or have drawn for them, the panorama of the city seen from that traditional vantage point.<sup>21</sup> These drawings, though fanciful enough, are clearly based on direct observation and do illustrate and corroborate the accounts of the Muslim topographers.

At the end of the sixteenth century Giovanni Zuallardo was the first of a succession of Franciscan artist-pilgrims<sup>22</sup> from Renaissance Europe to visit and draw the Christian shrines in

**Fig. 2 Map showing concentration of Mamlūk monuments around the Ḥaram**



## SECONDARY SOURCES

Previous westerners recording Jerusalem were intent only on the biblical past of the city. The Islamic monuments were not of interest unless they had become associated with events in the life of Christ. Thus the Crusader maps<sup>19</sup> (which are too stylized to allow other than the haziest impression of the city) only include sites with Christian associations, legendary or otherwise. After the Crusades Christian pilgrims continued to travel to the Holy Land but were forbidden entry to the Ḥaram.<sup>20</sup> By the end of the fifteenth century some of them were able to enter certain buildings at the Ḥaram border in order to

the Levant. Portfolios of their measured drawings occasionally include Muslim buildings which had acquired some Christian significance, notably the Jāwiliyya Madrasa (see below, pp. 201-210), then the first station of the Christian *Via Dolorosa*.<sup>23</sup>

The seventeenth century marked the beginning of a growth in secular travel. The Dutch artist Cornelius le Bruyn, for instance, was a trained draughtsman whose many drawings of famous sites convey a new sense of atmosphere as well as an accurate impression of the architecture.<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately, none among them includes a close-up view of Muslim monuments in Jerusalem. The same is true of other less accomplished seventeenth century artists. Likewise the accounts of observant

travellers such as Henry Maundrell,<sup>25</sup> Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and chaplain to the Levant Company's factory at Aleppo, often include careful descriptions of subjects of archaeological interest, whether directly concerned with the Bible or not, but do little to enhance our knowledge of the Mamlūk buildings.

In the eighteenth century the growth of antiquarian interest continued steadily but still with few results useful to the student of Islamic architecture. By the end of the century the first serious mapping of Palestine was undertaken for Napoleon, but the survey party did not penetrate beyond the coastal plain.<sup>26</sup> Jerusalem was outside their reach.

Above all the Ḥaram remained forbidden territory which no westerner might enter. However, in 1807 a Spaniard named Badia y Leblich, who is believed to have been a spy for Napoleon, succeeded in making five visits to the Ḥaram while travelling in disguise as 'Ali Bey el Abassi'.<sup>27</sup> The record of his travels contains a description of the Dome of the Rock but does not include details of the surrounding buildings. Nor does the account of the next western observer, an English doctor, Richard Richardson, who was enabled to visit the Ḥaram on several occasions as a result of having operated on the Ottoman Governor's eye.<sup>28</sup>

During the nine years after Muḥammad 'Alī's Syrian campaign of 1831-1832 when his son Ibrāhīm Pasha administered Palestine and much of Syria, travellers were encouraged under a new policy of westernization. In 1836, the American John Stephens remarked that the Governor of Jerusalem:

received me with great politeness; and when I handed him the pasha's firman, with a delicacy and courtesy, I never saw surpassed, he returned it to me unopened and unread, telling me that my dress and appearance were sufficient recommendation to the best service in his power.<sup>29</sup>

Admittance to the Ḥaram was still forbidden to non-Muslims, however: 'the Koran or the sword is the doom of any bold intruder within its sacred precincts.'<sup>30</sup>

But three years before Stephens's visit, Frederick Catherwood, a courageous and adventurous English architect-artist,<sup>31</sup> had become the first European since the Crusades to examine the Ḥaram in some detail. When sketching from the roof of the Governor's palace (the former Jāwiliyya Madrasa), the usual view-point for foreigners, he noted:

Having so often looked upon the interesting buildings, which now occupy this celebrated spot, I feel irresistibly urged to make an attempt to explore them. I had heard that for merely entering the outer court, without venturing within the mosque, several unfortunate Franks have been put to death, and you may therefore conceive that the attempt is somewhat rash . . . However, there were many circumstances in my favour; it was the period of the rule of Mehemet Ali in Syria, and the Governor of Jerusalem, with whom I was on good terms, was a latitudinarian as to Mahometanism, like most of the pasha's officers . . . and at last, notwithstanding the remonstrations of my friends, I entered the area one morning, with an indifferent air, and proceeded to survey but not too curiously, the many objects of interest it presents . . .<sup>32</sup>

This inevitably led to trouble but Catherwood was extricated by the timely appearance of the Governor who, assuming or pretending to assume that these activities had the authority of the Pasha, secured six weeks' uninterrupted surveying for Catherwood and his two colleagues. The resulting plan of the Ḥaram, the first with a claim to accuracy, shows that Catherwood also entered and roughly measured several Mamlūk buildings at the north and west borders of the Ḥaram.<sup>33</sup>

The middle of the nineteenth century was a time of intense exploration in Jerusalem. Many more western travellers, often

orientalists with the benefit of some scientific training, arrived in the Holy City. As always biblical illustration was their foremost concern, though their descriptions frequently include incidental details of later periods.<sup>34</sup> In the early 1850s the Ḥaram was still out of bounds, however, and while westerners occasionally managed to enter<sup>35</sup> no surveying was possible. Auguste Salzmann deprecated this attitude:

it is disheartening to see the good will of all those who are driven by an irresistible need to interrogate the past, thwarted in front of the brutishness of stupid guardians.<sup>36</sup>

Salzmann took a real interest in the Islamic architecture of the city and had 'the deepest regret not to have been able to study, as I would have wished, the Arab art of Jerusalem'.<sup>37</sup> Salzmann's most valuable contribution was in publishing two volumes of photographs of Jerusalem taken in 1854.<sup>38</sup> Even better photographs were taken by Francis Bedford in 1862 and published in the following year.<sup>39</sup> The age of photography had arrived changing the whole visual approach to the Holy Land.<sup>40</sup>

Meanwhile the Ottoman régime was endeavouring to introduce reforms<sup>41</sup> which, though opposed by the Muslim population and only partly implemented, do seem to have made access to the Ḥaram easier for foreigners.

The visit to the Ḥaram in March 1855 of the Duke and Duchess of Brabant (later King and Queen of Belgium) was officially authorized by the Sultan.<sup>42</sup> James Finn, the British Consul in Jerusalem at that time, subsequently reflected on that and succeeding visits:

The first time – when the Duke of Brabant entered – it had been necessary to take every possible precaution – to shut up the African guardians under the bayonets of infantry, to post troops at each gate, to surround the visitors with soldiers . . . The next occasion was when a representative of the Jewish people, Sir M. Montefiore, and his friends had this mark of distinction accorded to them . . . On that occasion there was little actual danger. The ice had been broken; Christians had been admitted, then why not Jews and English? . . . but the visitors were still guarded closely by infantry, and kept from wandering about. The visit of Archduke Maximilian was almost private. The next was that of a British Officer [Colonel Walpole] in command of Turkish troops and on active service; this also was almost private, and at a very early hour in the morning. But now in April 1856 [i.e. very shortly after the formal promulgation of the Khaṭṭ-i Humāyūn and the conclusion of the Crimean War] an immense crowd of British travellers were to visit the Sanctuary, with the full permission of the Pasha, who saw the moment was come when free access might be safely granted . . .<sup>43</sup>

Elsewhere it is reported that:

In former times it was death for a Christian to enter the Harem . . . Since the year 1856 a gift of twenty shillings has passed anyone safely within.<sup>44</sup>

The Marquis Melchior de Vogüé, unable to enter in 1853 and 1854, proclaimed on his return in 1863 that:

all powerful bakshish had forced the doors . . . and we took possession in the name of archaeology, of this enclosure so long closed to serious investigation.<sup>45</sup>

About this time Ermete Pierotti (who tended to ascribe every 'Saracenic' building he saw to 'Saladin' or 'Solyman') claimed to have 'easy access to the Ḥaram, and the power of introducing any person with me . . .'<sup>46</sup>

In these circumstances and encouraged by the success of British excavations at Nimrud and Nineveh,<sup>47</sup> a group of enthusiasts founded the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1865. The Fund's first task was to prepare an accurate plan of Jerusalem and the Ḥaram. Several plans of Jerusalem were then available,<sup>48</sup> but none was materially better than Catherwood's survey of 1833. To be sure of the best results the Fund had

wisely arranged for officers of the Royal Engineers, practised in the art of accurate surveying for the Ordnance Survey, to produce plans of Jerusalem. In the same year, 1865, the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem was published, including plans of the city at scales of 1:10000 and 1:2500 (which, with minor modifications,<sup>49</sup> are still the best available plans of the Old City) and a plan of the Ḥaram 'with cisterns, vaults and contours' to a scale of 1:500 (the largest scale survey available, even today).<sup>50</sup> In 1868 a team of excavators sent by the Palestine Exploration Fund arrived in Jerusalem. The purpose of their intrepid excavation of areas around the Ḥaram (excavation within the Ḥaram itself was expressly forbidden)<sup>51</sup> was to make discoveries for biblical illustration.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, many of their discoveries, and those of their successors,<sup>53</sup> are of tremendous importance in illustrating not only biblical Jerusalem but also the later development of the city. It is regrettable that not more use had previously been made of this formidable collection of hard-won information.

## MODERN RESEARCH

Since these early days of archaeological research in Jerusalem innumerable books have been written on the subject of the Holy City. Not a year passes without some 'new' publication, but virtually all authors neglect the later Islamic contribution to the present conformation of the city. Biblical illustration is still the predominant theme.

There are a few exceptions, however. The Palestinian historian 'Arif al-'Arif, himself a former mayor of the city, was the first person in modern times to endeavour to write the

history of Islamic Jerusalem. His book,<sup>54</sup> published in 1961, is based broadly on the work of Muḥir al-Dīn while taking into account the documentary material in the Ottoman court archives. More recently another Palestinian historian, Kāmil al-'Asālī, has published a series of important volumes on Islamic buildings in Jerusalem,<sup>55</sup> including copious reference to the same archives and to the Ḥaram documents.

Most archaeological research has naturally concentrated on the Dome of the Rock and the Aqṣā Mosque, which have been the subject of particular surveys and ingenious analyses greatly improving our knowledge of their history.<sup>56</sup> And in the past twenty years excavations adjacent to the south wall of the Ḥaram have revealed a large complex of buildings, attributed by the excavators to the Umayyad period.<sup>57</sup> But except for van Berchem's great corpus of inscriptions and particular architectural studies by Jules Bourgoïn and by William Harvey,<sup>58</sup> the development in later Islamic times, notably during the Mamlūk period when the city acquired much of its present architectural character, was largely ignored.<sup>59</sup> Only the British Mandate's Department of Antiquities in Palestine showed serious interest in the later medieval buildings. In the 1920s it began to compile photographic and bibliographic records (including a few sketch plans) of monuments of Muslim architecture in Jerusalem; these documents are still housed in the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum. The opportunity to complete these records did not arise for another forty years. In 1968 the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem initiated its project to survey, analyse and publish the salient medieval Islamic buildings in the city.

## Notes

1 The term 'Ḥaram' will be used throughout for the sake of convenience. The name al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf was not generally used for Jerusalem's sacred precinct until Ottoman times: see *CIA (Haram)*, 1 n. 1; and O. Grabar, 'Al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, *Et*².

2 The function of ribāṭs in Jerusalem and other urban areas should not be confused with that of early ribāṭs in North Africa and elsewhere, which were fortified outposts garrisoned by religiously inspired soldiers to protect and extend the frontiers of Islam. Here it should be noted that the Ribāṭ of Rāmisht in Mecca, built in 529/1135, appears to be the earliest example of a ribāṭ intended as a hospice for pilgrims – see: Muḥammad b. Zuhayra, *Al-jāmi' al-latīf fī fadā'il Makka wa binā' al-Bayt al-Sharīf* [written 960/1553] ed. and tr. F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig, 1859, 109-10; and S. Stern, 'Rāmisht of Sirāf: A Merchant Millionaire of the Twelfth Century', *JRAS*, 1967, 10-14.

3 The relevant literary sources, both oriental and western have been comprehensively surveyed. A. S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris, 1951; A. S. Marmardji, *Buldāniyya Filastīn al-'arabiyya*, Beirut, 1948; Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890; *CIA (Ville)*, viii-xxxii; Muḥir al-Dīn al-'Ulaymī al-Ḥanbalī, *Al-uns al-jalīl bi-ta'riḥ al-Quds wa'l-Khalīl*, new edition, Amman, 1973, introduction (no pagination); Eugene Hoade, *Western Pilgrims*, Jerusalem, 1950, reprinted 1970; R. Röhrich, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palestina*, Berlin, 1890, with supplements in *ZDPV*, xiv, 1891, 113-134, and xvi, 1893, 269-296, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1870-1894; *Palestine Pilgrims Text Society*, 10 vols., London, 1886-1897; Titus Tobler, *Bibliographia Geographica Palaestinae*, Leipzig, 1867; Peter Thomsen, *Die Palästina-Literatur (Eine internationale Bibliographie in systematischer Ordnung...)*, 9 vols. covering the years 1878-1945, Berlin, 1960-72; J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, Warminster, 1977. The Hebrew sources are outlined in E. Carmoly, *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte des XIII<sup>e</sup>, XIV<sup>e</sup>, XV<sup>e</sup>, et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles traduite de l'Hébreu*, Brussels, 1847, and E. N. Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, London, 1930; the Spanish ones in Z. Garcia Villada, 'Descripciones desconocidas de Tierra Santa en Códices españoles', *Estudios Eclesiásticos*, iv, 1925, 322-24; and the Russian ones in B. De Khitrowo, *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, St. Gallen and Paris, 1889.

4 The earliest Arabic descriptions were written by Ibn al-Faqīh (c.290/903); Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (300/913); Ibn al-Batīrīq (328/939); al-Iṣṭakhrī (c.340/951); al-Muqaddasī (c.375/985); as well as Nāsir-i Khusrāw, who wrote in Persian (438/1047) – see A. S. Marmardji, *op. cit.*, 210-224. Paradoxically the first notice of the Aqṣā Mosque in its earliest state was written by the Christian bishop Arculf – references in *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 34 n. 2.

5 Muḥir al-Dīn (Muḥir, 377) observes that the congregational mosque (*jāmi'*) containing the *minbar* and main *mihrāb* at the south end of the enclosure is commonly known as al-Aqṣā but in fact al-Aqṣā is the name of the whole (Ḥaram) area enclosed by the walls.

6 See, for example, Hadia Dajani-Shakeel, 'Jihad in Twelfth century Arabic Poetry: A Moral and Religious Force to Counter the Crusades', *The Muslim World*, lxvi, 1976, 96-113.

7 The Fadā'il literature concerning Jerusalem is discussed in: Charles D. Mathews, 'The *Kuṭūb Bā'itū-n-Nufūs* of Ibn al-Firkāh', *JPOS*, xiv, 1934, 284-93; *idem*, *Palestine-Mobammedan Holy Land*, New Haven, 1949; J. W. Hirschbeg, 'The Sources of Moslem Traditions concerning Jerusalem', *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, xvii, 1951-52, 314-50; S. D. Goitein, 'The Sanctity of Jerusalem and Palestine in Early Islam', *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, Leiden, 1966, 135-48; Emmanuel Sivan, 'Le caractère sacré de Jérusalem dans l'Islam aux XII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles', *Studia Islamica*, xxvii, 1967, 149-82; *idem*, 'The Beginnings of the Fadā'il al-Quds Literature', *Der Islam*, iii, 1972, 100-10; and I. Hasson, 'Muslim Literature in Praise of Jerusalem: Fadā'il Bayt al-Maqdis', M. J. Kister, 'A Comment on the Antiquity of Traditions Praising Jerusalem', and E. Ashtor, 'Muslim and Christian Literature in Praise of Jerusalem', all in *The Jerusalem Catbedra*, ed. L. Levine, Jerusalem, 1981, 168-89. The Muthīr literature is discussed in Guy Le Strange, 'Description of the Noble Sanctuary at Jerusalem', *JRAS*, xix, new series, 1877, 250; *idem*, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890, 11-12; Charles D. Mathews, 'The *Muthīr al-Gharām*' of Abul-Fidā' of Hebron', *JPOS*, xvii, 1937, 108-12. The Ziyārāt literature, which is similar to the Fadā'il and Muthīr genres, is discussed by J. Sourdel-Thomine in her introduction to *Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abī Baḥr al-Harawī, Guide des Lieux de Pèlerinage*, Damascus, 1957, xi-xlii.

8 Van Berchem (*CIA (Ville)*), 9-10 with references) remarks that the documentary value of Fadā'il literature 'est assez nulle... il faut descendre jusqu'à Muḥir al-Dīn (1495) pour trouver une étude sérieuse de la Jérusalem arabe'. Ahmad Zakī Pasha's discovery of section 1 of al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-Absār* was not published until 1924, three years after van Berchem's death (see note 9).

9 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-absār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, ed. Ahmad Zakī Pasha, Cairo, 1924. The exact date of compilation is unknown (but see below, p. 209 n. 3); al-'Umarī describes Bāb al-Qaṭānīn (737/1336-37) as 'recently made and newly opened' (*Masālik*, 161) and he is known to have visited Hebron (30 km south of Jerusalem) in 745/1345 (*Masālik*, 170). He died in Damascus in 749/1349 (Ṣafādī, viii, 251-70; K. S. Salibi, 'Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī', *Et*²) not long after his wife, who had died in Jerusalem after they had set out together on pilgrimage to Mecca. The published edition lists only buildings around the Ḥaram erected before 745/1345.

10 Al-'Umarī acknowledges that he copied Tāj al-Dīn's measurements (*Masālik*, 140). Al-'Umarī does not normally give detailed measurements. Since his every description of constructions in the Ḥaram is principally concerned with dimensions, it may be inferred that al-'Umarī has lifted Tāj al-Dīn's account lock, stock and barrel.

11 By comparing the dimensions given by Tāj al-Dīn with the actual size of surviving structures it is possible to deduce that his *abbrā'* measured 69.70cm. Even the heights of minarets appear to have been accurately measured, presumably by trigonometrical extrapolation. These measurements are useful, therefore, in determining what has altered since the time of Tāj al-Dīn's survey.

12 Muḥir al-Dīn al-'Ulaymī, *Al-uns al-jalīl bi-ta'riḥ al-Quds wa'l-Khalīl*, Cairo, 1866 [= Muḥir]; new edition with list of contents, Amman, 1973 [= Muḥir, ii].

13 *CIA (Ville)*, 10.



- 14 St. H. Stephan, 'Evlia Tshelēbi's Travels in Palestine', *QDAP*, iv, 1935, 103 (introduction); for Jerusalem, *QDAP*, ix, 1942, 81-104. Also J.H. Mordtmann (revised by J.W. Duda), 'Evlia Celebi', *Et*.<sup>2</sup>
- 15 'Abd al-Ghānī al-Nābulusī, *Al-ḥadīth al-unsūyīya fī l-riḥlat al-quḍsiyya* [in 1101/1690], ed. Dimitri Niquila, Cairo, 1902; J. Gildermeister, 'Des Abd al-Ghānī al-Nābulusī Reise von Damascus nach Jerusalem', *ZDMG*, xxxvi, 1882, 385-400; E. Sirriyyah, 'The Journeys of 'Abd al-Ghānī al-Nābulusī in Palestine (1101/1690 and 1105/1693)', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, xxiv, 1979, 55-69.
- 16 D. Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Ḥaram aṣ-Ṣarīf in Jerusalem*, Beirut Texte und Studien. Band 29, Beirut, 1984.
- 17 C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874*, i, London, 1899, 237, remarks that 'Abu's So'ūd told me that the archives of the Mehkemeh [lawcourt] of Jerusalem did not contain any documents which date more than three centuries back, all the documents of an earlier period than this having been removed into the Kal'a (the Citadel), where they are to this day'. The present whereabouts of these earlier documents is unknown. For the Ottoman Court Archives see: J. Mandaville, 'The Ottoman Court Records of Syria and Palestine', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, lxxxix, 1966, 311-19; *idem*, 'The Jerusalem Shari'a Court Records: A Supplement and Complement to the Central Ottoman Archives', *Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman Period*, ed. M. Ma'oz, Jerusalem, 1975, 517-24; B. Lewis, 'The Ottoman Archives as a source for the history of the Arab Lands', *JRAS*, 1951, 139-55, particularly pp. 154-55 and pl. ix for *waqfs* of Jerusalem including those of 'Saladin Qait-Bay, etc.'. Also: B. Lewis 'Studies in the Ottoman Archives', *BSOAS*, xvi, 1954, 469-601; J.W. Hirschberg, 'Ottoman Rule in Jerusalem in the Light of Firmāns and Sharī'a Documents', *IEJ*, ii, 1952, 237-48; Uriel Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, Oxford, 1960. To my knowledge only two *waqfiyyas* from Jerusalem have been published: 'Abd al-Latif Ibrāhīm, 'Wathīqat al-Sultān Qāytbāy' in the Proceedings of the *Mu'tamar al-ibālith li'l-āthār fī l-bilād al-'arabiyya*, *Fās* 1959, Cairo, 1961, 389-434; St. H. Stephan, 'An Endowment Deed of Khāṣṣeki Sultān dated the 24th May 1552', *QDAP*, x, 1944, 170-94.
- 18 Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum. Deuxième Partie: Syrie du Sud. Jérusalem*, i-iii. Part I, 'Ville', Cairo, 1922, 1923; Part II, 'Haram', Cairo, 1925, 1927; Part III, 'Planches', Cairo, 1920; 'General Index' by G. Wiet, Cairo, 1949. Other Arabic inscriptions, not recorded by van Berchem, are published as follows: St. H. Stephan, 'Two Turkish Inscriptions from the Citadel of Jerusalem', *QDAP*, ii, 1933, 132-35; S.A.S. Husseini, 'Inscription of the Khalīf al-Mustansir Billah 458 A.H. (= A.D. 1065)', *QDAP*, ix, 1942, 77-80; *idem*, 'Note on an Ayyūbid Inscription in the Interior of the Dome of the Aqsa Portico', *apud* R.W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, London, 1949, 47-48 and fig. 25; H. Nubani, 'Mamilla Cemetery. Historical tombstones in Arabic', *ADAJ*, iii, 1956, 8-14; A.S. Tritton, 'Three Inscriptions from Jerusalem', *BSOAS*, xx, 1959, 537-39; C. Kessler, 'Above the Ceiling of the Outer Ambulatory in the Dome of the Rock of Jerusalem', *JRAS*, 1964, 84-94; O. Grabar, 'A New Inscription from the Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem', *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honour of Professor K.A.C. Creswell*, Cairo, 1965, 72-83; M. Sharon, 'Arabic Inscriptions from the Excavations at the Western Wall', *IEJ*, xxiii, 1973, 214-20 (criticized by Y. Yadin, 'Four Epigraphical Queries', *IEJ*, xxiv, 1974, 30-36); M. Sharon, 'The Ayyūbid Walls of Jerusalem: A New Inscription from the Time of al-Mu'azzam 'Isā', *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem, 1978; M.H. Burgoyne and Amal Abul-Hajj, 'Twenty-four Mediaeval Arabic Inscriptions from Jerusalem', *Levant*, xi, 1979, 112-37; M.H. Burgoyne, 'A Recently Discovered Marwānid Inscription in Jerusalem', *Levant*, xiv, 1982, 118-21.
- 19 Z. Vilnay, *The Holy Land in Prints and Maps*, Jerusalem, 1965, 48-55. Earliest of the Crusader maps of Jerusalem, the 'Cambrai Plan' (Vilnay, *op. cit.*, 48), is the least stylized and most informative.
- 20 Following his conquest of Jerusalem, Saladin instituted a programme for re-Islamizing the Ḥaram which included an inscription prohibiting Christians, on pain of death or conversion to Islam, from entering: see below, p. 48 and *CIA (Haram)*, 88 n. 3 (citing Michael the Syrian, *RHCA*, i, 400). Also references in *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 98 n. 6.
- 21 Although sketching from the Mount of Olives was not always straightforward (Le Bruyn in *Voyage au Levant*, Paris, 1714, 286, states that he had his companions conceal his furtive sketching activities) and the distance was rather far to distinguish details, the drawing made by Erhard Reuwich of Utrecht to illustrate Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinationes in Terram Sanctam*, Mainz, 1486, is remarkably accurate. The drawing gives a valuable indication of, in particular, the façades of those buildings over the west portico of the Ḥaram, which were demolished subsequently by earthquakes.
- 22 Giovanni Zuallardo, *Devotissimo Viaggio di Gerusalemme*, Rome, 1586; see also: H.C. Luke, 'Extracts from the Diary of a Franciscan Pilgrim of the 16th Century', *Jerusalem 1920-1922*, ed. C.R. Ashbee, London, 1924, 41-45.
- 23 E.g. Bernard Amico, *Plans of the Sacred Edifices of the Holy Land*, tr. T. Bellorini and E. Hoade, Jerusalem, 1953, 79, pl. 18. Elzear Horn, *Ichmographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae, 1724-1744*, ed. and tr. E. Hoade, Jerusalem, 1962, 192-93, shows the fourteenth century Palace and Tomb of Sitt Tunshuq as the 'Hospital of St. Helena' before later alterations.
- 24 Corneille le Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, Paris, 1714.
- 25 Henry Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, A.D. 1697*, Oxford, 1703.
- 26 Y. Karmon, 'An Analysis of Jacotin's Map of Palestine', *IEJ*, x, 1960, 155-73, 244-53.
- 27 Ali Bey el Abbasi (Badia y Leblich), *Voyages en Afrique et en Asie, pendant les années 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806 et 1807*, 3 vols. and Atlas, Paris, 1814, iii, 131-52 and Atlas, pls. lxxxix-lxxxix.
- 28 R. Richardson, *Travels along the Mediterranean*, ii, 258-87, 294-304, cited in *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 67 n. 9.
- 29 John Lloyd Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and the Holy Land*, ed. V. von Hagen, University of Oklahoma Press, 1970, 343.
- 30 *Ibid.*
- 31 V. von Hagen, *Frederick Catherwood, Architect*, New York and London, 1950.
- 32 Letter from Frederick Catherwood reproduced in: W.H. Bartlett, *Walks about the City and Environs of Jerusalem*, London, 1844, 148-65.
- 33 Catherwood's plan of the Ḥaram was reproduced for the first time in: James Ferguson, *An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, London, 1847, pl. iv.
- 34 For example, Titus Tobler, *Denksblätter aus Jerusalem*, Constantz, 1856, pl. II, reproduces a fine engraving of the Kilāniyya Turba drawn by G. Borstell.
- 35 J.T. Barclay, *The City of the Great King*, Philadelphia and London, 1857, xv, 477-78.
- 36 A. Salzmänn, *Jérusalem: Etude et reproduction photographique de la Ville Sainte depuis l'époque judaïque jusqu'à nos jours*, 2 vols., Paris, 1856, 78.
- 37 *Ibid.*, 90.
- 38 *Op. cit.* (note 36).
- 39 F. Bedford, *Holy Land and Syria*, London, 1863. Other early photographs published [at that time include: Anonymous [photographs by John Anthony], *The City of our Lord, Twelve Photographs of Jerusalem*, London, 1861; Robertson & Beato, *Jerusalem: Album photographique de Robertson & Beato*, Constantinople, no date [photographs taken in 1857]; C. Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem - Photographs* [by Sergt. J. McDonald], London, 1865. Recently there has been great interest in the early history of photography in the Levant, and the associated programme of publication had made generally available copies of many of the earliest photographs. These photographs are invaluable historical documents showing Jerusalem before modern changes. The bibliography is now extensive. See, for example, C.E.S. Gavin, 'Bonfils and the Early Photography of the Near East', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, xxvi, 1978, 442-70; E. Onne, *Photographic Heritage of the Holy Land 1839-1914*, Manchester, 1980.
- 40 Mention should be made here of the volume of photographs published in 1920 as Vol. iii of *CIA Jerusalem*. These published photographs, and an even larger though unpublished collection of photographs taken by the late Sir Archibald Creswell in 1920-21 (many of which are reproduced in the present study) show several of the Mamlūk monuments around the Ḥaram prior to a restoration programme implemented between 1340/1921 and 1346/1928 and known otherwise by unpublished restoration inscriptions: e.g. the Jāwiliyya Madrasa (1342/1923-24), the Manjākiyya Madrasa (1342/1923-24), the Minaret al-Ghawānima (1346/1927-28) and the Is'ardiyya Khānqāh (1346/1927-28). The Khātūniyya Madrasa and the Sabil of Qāytbāy were evidently restored at this time but bear no epigraphic record of the fact.
- 41 These reforms (*tanzīmāt*), introduced by 'Abd al-Majīd with the Khatt-i Humāyūn of Gulhane in 1839 (N. Berkes, 'İşlah, iii. - Turkey', *Et*.<sup>2</sup>), were intended to guarantee civil liberties irrespective of creed and race. The Khatt-i Humāyūn of 1856 (text in E. Hertslet, *The Map of Europe*, ii, London, 1875, 1002-04, 1243-45), intended to reaffirm the provisions of the Tanzimat, was incorporated in the Treaty of Paris on the conclusion of the Crimean War. See also C. Orhonlu, 'Khatt-i Humāyūn and Khatt-i Sherif', *Et*.<sup>2</sup>
- 42 J. Finn, *Stirring Times, or Records from Jerusalem Consular Chronicles of 1853 to 1856*, 2 vols., London, 1878, 235-56.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 421-23. Creswell, *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 68 n. 2, alludes to two visitors who entered the Ḥaram in 1856 and claimed to have formed part of the seventh and ninth parties respectively to do so.
- 44 Anonymous [photographs by John Anthony], *The City of our Lord, Twelve Photographs of Jerusalem*, London, 1861, 9. This is confirmed by Eli Smith, first editor of Murray's guidebook to Palestine, who states that the Ḥaram was opened to European travellers in 1856 on payment of £1 each.
- 45 Melchior de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem, monographie du Haram . . .*, Paris, 1864, 47.
- 46 Ermete Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, tr. Thomas George Bonney, London and Cambridge, 1864, 154.
- 47 A.H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, London, 1849; *idem*, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1853.
- 48 The first Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem had been made in 1841 but did not include the Ḥaram 'lest they should offend the religious prejudices of the Moslems' (G. Williams, *Historical and Descriptive Memoir on the Town and Environs of Jerusalem to accompany the Ordnance Survey*, London and Cambridge, 1849, 9-11). The plan is published by G. Williams, *The Holy City: Historical, Topographical and Antiquarian Notices of Jerusalem*, London and Cambridge, 1845, the progress of the cartography of Jerusalem is outlined in C. Wilson and C. Warren, *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, London, 1871, 22-25.
- 49 . . . the sound basic survey of 1865, enabled the 1935 revision survey by the Survey Department for the Government of Palestine to be carried out speedily, at small cost, and with little inconvenience to the occupants . . . the great work carried out under difficult conditions during the Turkish regime by the 1865 Sapper Surveyors stood the test of time and was - in fact - a monumental survey' (J.H. Mankin, 'Survey of the Old City of Jerusalem 1865 and 1935', *PEQ*, 1969, 37-39).
- 50 C. Wilson, *The Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, London, 1865, one volume of plates and one volume of text including an 'Index to the Orthography of Jerusalem' supplied by Dr Sandreckzi, which includes details of Arabic toponymy and locations of Islamic monuments. Two subsequent large-scale plans of the Ḥaram have been prepared. The first, produced by the Survey of Palestine in 1944 to a scale of 1:624 was distributed only to a limited number of Government Departments: no copies were offered for sale to the public - see p. 2 of the pamphlet accompanying the 1962 plan of the Ḥaram (scale 1:750): 'Abd al-Rahman Sha'bān Riṣṣās, *Al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf*, Jerusalem, 1962.
- 51 C. Wilson and C. Warren, *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, London, 1871, 27-29. Later, in 1873-74, while working under the auspices of the P.E.F., Clermont-Ganneau succeeded 'as no European had done before, in examining, pick in hand, the soil of the Ḥaram, and better still, the thrice holy ground of the interior of Kubbet es Sakhra' (*Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874*, i, London, 1899, v).
- 52 'The Original Prospectus', *PEFQS*, 1869, 1-2. Results published in: C. Wilson and C. Warren, *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, London, 1871; *idem*,

*Underground Jerusalem*, London, 1887; C. Warren and C. Conder, *The Survey of Western Palestine: Jerusalem*, London, 1884; *PEFQS*, *passim*; and reviewed in *World of the Bible: Centenary exhibition of the Palestine Exploration Fund in co-operation with the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*, London, 1965.

53 Notably C. Schick, *Beit el makdas oder der alte Tempelplatz zu Jerusalem*, Jerusalem, 1887, and C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874*, 2 vols., London, 1896, 1899.

54 'Arif al-'Arif, *Al-Mufaṣṣal fi ta'rikh al-Quds*, Jerusalem, 1961.

55 Kāmil al-'Asali, *Ma'ābid al-'ilm fi Bayt al-Maqdis*, Amman, 1981; *idem*, *Ajdādnā fi tharan Bayt al-Maqdis*, Amman, 1981; *idem*, *Min ātibārinā fi Bayt al-Maqdis*, Amman, 1982.

56 References in O. Grabar, 'Al-Kuds: Monuments', *El*<sup>2</sup>.

57 B. Mazar, *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem: Preliminary Report of the First Season, 1968*, Jerusalem, 1969, and M. Ben Dov, 'The Omayyad Structures near the Temple Mount', in B. Mazar, *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem near the Temple Mount: Preliminary Report of the Second and Third Seasons 1969-1970*, Jerusalem, 1971. K.M. Kenyon, *Digging up Jerusalem*, London and Tonbridge, 1974, 275-78) criticizes these excavations and argues that the 'Omayyad palace complex' is in fact Byzantine.

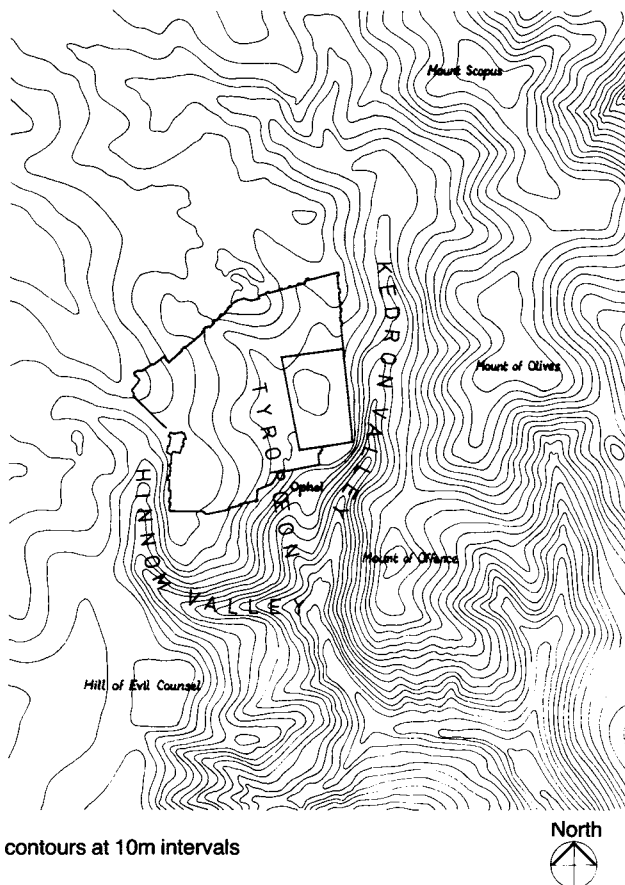
58 J. Bourgoïn, *Précis de l'art arabe*, Paris, 1892; W. Harvey, 'The Fountain of Kaït Bey, Jerusalem' and 'A Saracenic School, Jerusalem', *The Builder*, 1910, 16-17, 373-74; *idem*, 'Jerusalem Doorways', *Architectural Review*, xxxii, 1912, 201-6; *idem*, 'Native Street Architecture in Jerusalem', *The Builder*, 1914, 4-6.

59 None of the buildings had been accurately surveyed before 1968. Recent

studies of individual buildings in Jerusalem include: O. Grabar, 'A New Inscription from the Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem', *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honour of Professor K.A.C. Creswell*, Cairo, 1965, 72-83; L. Golvin, 'Quelques Notes sur le Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn et ses Annexes à Jérusalem', *BEO*, xx, 1967, 101-17; S. Tamari, 'Sulla conversione della chiesa di Sant'Anna a Gerusalemme nella Madrasa aṣ-Ṣalāhiyya', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, xliii, 1968, 327-54; *idem*, 'Al-Ashrafiyya: an imperial madrasa in Jerusalem', *Memorie della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche Accademie dei Lincei*, xix, 1976, 537-68; *idem*, 'Al-Madrasa al-Tankaziyya in Jerusalem' (in Hebrew), *Chadashot Bar-Ilan University*, Ramat-Gan, September 1976, 10-11; C. Kessler and M. Burgoyne, 'The Fountain of Sultan Qāytbāy in the Sacred Precinct of Jerusalem', *Archaeology in the Levant: Studies in Honour of Kathleen Kenyon*, ed. P.J. Parr and P.R.S. Moorey, Warminster, 1978, 250-68; and the publications of the B.S.A.J.: M.H. Burgoyne, 'Some Mameluke Doorways in the Old City of Jerusalem', *Levant*, iii, 1971, 1-30; *idem*, 'Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd – a Mamlūk Street in the Old City of Jerusalem', *Levant*, v, 1973, 12-35; *idem*, 'The Continued Survey of the Ribāt Kurd/Madrasa Jawhariyya Complex in Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd, Jerusalem', *Levant*, vi, 1974, 51-64; A.G. Walls, 'The Turba Barakat Khan or Khalidi Library', *Levant*, vi, 1974, 25-50; *idem*, 'The Mausoleum of the Amir Kilani', *Levant*, vii, 1975, 39-76; C. Kessler, 'The Taṣhtimuriyya in Jerusalem in the Light of a Recent Survey', *Levant*, xi, 1979, 138-161. I.W.J. Hopkins in *Jerusalem: A Study in Urban Geography*, Grand Rapids, 1970, and 'The Four Quarters of Jerusalem', *PEQ*, 1971, 68-84, attempts to throw new light on the city's physical development and geographical character.

# THE CITY

Jerusalem is situated about 740 metres above sea-level immediately to the east of the main watershed of the Judaeen Hills. It is encircled by hills and the only distant view from the Old City is through a narrow defile south-east to the mountains of Moab across the Dead Sea. Isolating the city from the surrounding hills are deep valleys (*fig. 3*), the Kedron to the



**Fig. 3** Jerusalem relief map

east and the Hinnom curving round from west to south. The ridge thus formed extends uninterrupted to the north-west leaving only the northern part of the city without the protection of a natural barrier. In antiquity this ridge was divided from north to south into two promontories by a shallower valley, known to westerners as the Tyropoeon but called in Mamlūk times Wādī al-Tawāhīn ('Valley of the Mills') or simply al-Wād. The natural bed of this valley has been filled with debris to such an extent that it is now barely discernible. Indeed, the city as a whole is built on the rubble and ruins of centuries; the present surface relief is markedly less dramatic than the underlying

natural rock mapped for the first time by Sir Charles Warren in 1867-70.<sup>1</sup> Within the city the gradients are nevertheless considerable. Many streets are stepped and therefore unsuitable for wheeled transport. To this day materials for building construction (and the debris of demolition) are transported by donkey through the narrow alleys – a limitation which in the past restricted the rate of architectural change within the city.<sup>2</sup>

No such restriction applies outside the great battlemented wall of the Old City, which is now surrounded by a vast urban sprawl where in Mamlūk times were orchards, vineyards, olive groves and cemeteries.<sup>3</sup> The present city wall is Ottoman, rebuilt by Sulaymān the Magnificent in the middle of the sixteenth century<sup>4</sup> on the lines of the city wall rebuilt by Saladin and his successors. During the Mamlūk period Saladin's wall lay more or less in ruins having been partly dismantled in 616/1219 for fear of its sustaining a Crusader reoccupation of the city (see below, p. 49). Long stretches of the wall appear to have been left more or less intact, however. An illustration<sup>5</sup> in a Latin manuscript of Ptolemy of the first half of the sixteenth century shows much of the wall standing apparently undamaged, and Mujīr al-Dīn, who chronicled the history of the city at the end of the Mamlūk period (see above, p. 33), lists ten gates in that wall.<sup>6</sup> Although the Mamlūks made no attempt to rebuild the city wall, the citadel at the western entrance to the city, which had been extensively refortified by the Crusaders in the twelfth century, was repaired and garrisoned.

The buildings in the city are described by Mujīr al-Dīn<sup>7</sup> as being of excellent workmanship. Most were erected over the remains of ancient structures<sup>8</sup> and were crowded into half the area the same number of buildings would typically occupy in other Islamic cities of the period. The buildings were vaulted and constructed entirely of stone. No bricks were used, nor wood for roofs. Only in the later nineteenth century did these traditional techniques and materials of construction begin to change with the introduction of iron and timber beams and clay roof tiles. Nowadays virtually all new construction is of reinforced concrete. A veneer of stone is usually applied in token observance of a planning ordinance introduced during the British Mandate in an effort to ensure that only stone was used for new building.

In Mujīr al-Dīn's day the city comprised various neighbourhoods or quarters, some named after the religious persuasion of the majority of the occupants (Christians, Jews) or their ethnic or tribal backgrounds (Moroccans, Kurds, Easterners, Blacks, Banū Ghānim, Banū Sa'd) while others were named after gates of the city or of the Haram (Bāb al-'Amūd, Bāb al-Hadīd) or important commercial establishments like the market of Fakhr al-Dīn where there were soap factories. The main market streets such as Tariq Bāb al-Silsila were divided into sections often named after the type of merchandise sold there such as the Sūq al-Ḥarīriyya (the Silk Market).<sup>9</sup> The streets of the city were in places covered with palm fronds or with vaults supporting buildings that span the street and provide

shade from the sun and shelter from the rain.<sup>10</sup> Three quarters, including that of the leather-workers, were located outside the west wall of the city.<sup>11</sup>

On the eastern spur of the city lies the Ḥaram, a vast trapezoidal platform (southern end: 281m northern end: 310m; eastern side: 462m; western side: 491m) artificially levelled in contrast to the surrounding hills. Its east wall and part of the south wall coincide with the city wall; the Aqṣā Mosque and adjoining structures occupy the western part of the south wall; the west and north walls are overlaid by buildings, predominantly Mamlūk religious foundations. Eccentrically placed within the Ḥaram, the Dome of the Rock stands on an irregularly shaped terrace (southern end: 129m; northern end: 159m; eastern side: 162m; western side: 166m) raised approximately four metres above the surrounding esplanade, from which it is approached by eight wide flights of steps, each surmounted by a colonnade.

## CLIMATE

Jerusalem's climate is Mediterranean, i.e. bi-seasonal. Summer is dry and warm, winter moderate and occasionally cold. Rainfall is concentrated in the winter months with a peak in January/February when the average is about 120mm/month. The annual average rainfall is 560mm – about the same as in London – though considerable fluctuations occur: the records for the years 1846/47 to 1971/72 show a maximum rainfall in 1877/78 of 1091mm and a minimum in 1959/60 of 210mm.<sup>12</sup> The annual average temperature is 17.1°C; the hottest month is August (average temperature: 23.8°C) and the coldest January (average temperature: 8.8°C)<sup>13</sup> although occasional frosts occur during the winter months. Because of the high altitude there are considerable diurnal variations in temperature; Jerusalem nights are cool even in mid-summer. The altitude also means that snowfalls occur once every few years but only very rarely is the snow more than a metre deep or on the ground for more than a few days. The statistical average is two days of snowfall per annum.<sup>14</sup> The prevailing winds are westerly;<sup>15</sup> there are cool breezes in summer with stronger winds and occasional violent storms in winter. During an approximately fifty-day period in spring the oppressive hot, dry desert wind, *al-khamsin* ('fifty'), often chokes the air with sand and dust. This relative severity of weather – wind, rain, snow and frost – has influenced (as will be seen) the individual layout of Mamlūk buildings in Jerusalem.

## MATERIAL RESOURCES

Forested in antiquity, large areas of the Judaeen mountains had been given over to terrace cultivation at least by the first century A.D.<sup>16</sup> Thereafter timber was never plentiful<sup>17</sup> and structural timber is almost wholly absent in the Mamlūk architecture of Jerusalem. The traditional construction material is stone, which has always been readily available in qualities and quantities eminently suitable for quarrying.<sup>18</sup>

Jerusalem is situated on the eastern flank of the Judaeen anticline; moreover, in the immediate vicinity of the city three distinct strands of surface rock run north–south following the line of the Kedron and Hinnom valleys.<sup>19</sup> The western strand is Cenomanian rock, a mixture of limestone and dolomite; the narrow central strand is Turonian, also limestone but softer and more easily quarried than the Cenomanian; the eastern strand is Senonian, quite different from the Cenomanian and Turonian, consisting of chalk with some thin banks of flint, unsuitable as a building material. The softer limestone of the Turonian zone lies in thin layers which are easily quarried and

worked. Remains of ancient quarries, which once exploited the rich Turonian layers to provide stone for building, can be seen in the vicinity of Jerusalem, notably 'Solomon's Quarries' which actually extend under the Old City.<sup>20</sup> Now that the Turonian layers are less accessible or exhausted it is the Cenomanian layers which are quarried for building stone. Modern quarrying techniques are fully capable of cutting the harder rock in these layers.<sup>21</sup>

In the Mamlūk period this harder rock was quarried only to obtain limited quantities of coloured stone for a special two-tone architectural effect, *ablaq*, which was popular at that time. The best quality, the rose-coloured 'Palestinian Marble' is still obtained from quarries near Bethlehem, and a yellow variety occasionally used for architectural decoration towards the end of the fifteenth century appears to have been quarried at Dayr Yasīn, 5km west of the city.<sup>22</sup> What genuine marble there is in the Mamlūk monuments was re-used from earlier buildings, mainly Crusader. Where this marble was quarried remains to be discovered; there is virtually no crystalline marble suitable for quarrying in the vicinity of Jerusalem.<sup>23</sup> The use of basalt is very limited, presumably because it is extremely difficult to work and, in any case, is not readily available. What little was used will have been transported from the region of the Basalt Barrier in southern Galilee, about 150km north of Jerusalem. Another black stone used in small quantities in Mamlūk Jerusalem seems to be a bituminous limestone, known as *Hajar Mūsā*, which comes from the Nabī Mūsā/Dead Sea region about 30km east of the city.<sup>24</sup>

## WATER

The only natural source of water in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem is a spring in the village of Silwan to the south-east of the city. By means of tunnels this spring was connected with the ancient city of Jerusalem ('David's City'), which lay to the south of the present Old City, but the spring is at too low a level to supply the present city. Other means of providing water therefore had to be devised. The nearest abundant springs at a level high enough for the water to flow to the city by gravity are at least 11km to the south. Water from these and other outlying springs (including 'Ayn 'Arrūb, some 8km further to the south) was collected in huge reservoirs known as 'Solomon's Pools' and carried to the city in an aqueduct dating from Herodian times.<sup>25</sup> This remarkable aqueduct was restored repeatedly in the Mamlūk period,<sup>26</sup> for it was Jerusalem's main source of water, feeding a complex system of cisterns under the Ḥaram. There were also several large reservoirs in which rainwater was collected in and around the city.<sup>27</sup> In addition, each building usually had its own cistern under it, filled by rainwater drained from the roofs and courtyards.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, until recently builders were required to provide each new house with a cistern, and such cisterns remained in everyday use in the Old City until about ten years ago when the city water main was extended.

## EARTHQUAKES

An important feature of the geological structure of the region is its seismic character. Earthquakes have shaken Jerusalem at regular intervals during its long history.<sup>29</sup> Mamlūk builders actively endeavoured to limit the damaging effects of earthquakes and the surviving monuments mark their achievement. Several monuments recorded in reliable textual sources were, however, ruined by earthquakes. The most severe earthquakes which are known to have damaged or destroyed Mamlūk buildings occurred in 702/1303,<sup>30</sup> 863/1458,<sup>31</sup> 952/1546,<sup>32</sup> 1249/1834<sup>33</sup> and 1346/1927.<sup>34</sup>

## Notes

- 1 *Plans, Elevations, Sections showing the Results of the Excavations at Jerusalem 1867-70 executed for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund by Captain Warren R.E.*, London, 1884, pls. ii and iii.
- 2 In the Jewish Quarter, currently undergoing general reconstruction, access has been cleared for conventional construction (and demolition) plant.
- 3 Mujīr, 409, 413-14.
- 4 *CIA (Ville)*, 431-49.
- 5 Reproduced in Fra Francesco Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, tr. Th. Bellorini and E. Hoade, Jerusalem, 1949, fig. 4.
- 6 Mujīr, 406-7.
- 7 Mujīr, 400-1, 406.
- 8 Apart from the process of destruction and renewal so typical of ancient sites, two ambitious projects to fill the valleys and depressions within the city should be noted. The first, part of Hadrian's development of the city as Aelia Capitolina, levelled the area now occupied by the Muristan by means of a fill 8.25 metres deep (K.M. Kenyon, *Digging up Jerusalem*, London and Tonbridge, 1974, 261; Ute Lux, 'Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabung unter der Erlöserkirche im Muristan in der Altstadt von Jerusalem in den Jahren 1970 und 1971', *ZDPV*, lxxxviii, 1972, 185-201). The second levelled the area between Ṭarīq al-Wād and the west wall of the Ḥaram sometime before or during the construction of the Bahri Mamlūk buildings adjoining the west wall of the Ḥaram. Although Israel's Ministry of Religious Affairs has tunnelled along the west wall of the Ḥaram about a dozen metres below the present surface, the undertaking has not been controlled archaeologically and so the date of the fill is unknown.
- 9 Mujīr, 396-406.
- 10 Mujīr, 637.
- 11 Mujīr, 403-4.
- 12 N. Rosenan, 'One Hundred Years of Rainfall in Jerusalem', *IEJ*, v, 1955, 137-53; D.H.K. Amiran, 'The Development of Jerusalem, 1860-1970', *Urban Geography of Jerusalem: A Companion Volume to the Atlas of Jerusalem*, ed. D.H.K. Amiran, A. Shachar and I. Kimhi, Jerusalem, 1973, 20-52, particularly 21-22.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 22.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 22.
- 15 *Atlas of Israel*, Jerusalem, 1970, Map IV/3v. Since very few of the medieval buildings in Jerusalem face westward wind erosion of the architectural detail has been minimized, albeit fortuitously.
- 16 Z. Ron, 'Agricultural Terraces in the Judean Mountains', *IEJ*, xvi, 1966, 113; C.H.J. de Geus, 'The Importance of Archaeological Research into Palestinian Agricultural Terraces, with an Excursus on the Hebrew Word *gbi*', *PEQ*, 1975, 69. The decline of the forests is outlined in M. Zohary, *Plant Life of Palestine*, New York, 1962, 75-76, 90-91, 210, and E. Ornie and E. Efrat, *Geography of Israel*, Jerusalem, 1973, 177.
- 17 Though scarce, timber was still available in medieval times: *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 25 nn. 5 and 6.
- 18 Mujīr, 406.
- 19 M. Avnimelech, 'Influence of Geological Conditions on the Development of Jerusalem', *BASOR*, clxxxi, 1966, 24-31. A full bibliography in M. Avnimelech, *Bibliography of Levant Geology*, 2 vols., Jerusalem, 1965, 1969.
- 20 A useful list of the local stones, their popular names and where they are quarried is given by T. Canaan, 'The Palestinian Arab House: its Architecture and Folklore', *JPOS*, xii, 1932, 233-47. See also the chapter entitled 'Rock and Quarries about Jerusalem' in S. Merrill, *Ancient Jerusalem*, New York, etc., 1908, 367-404; and *Atlas of Jerusalem*, Jerusalem, 1973, Map 1:4.
- 21 Asher Shadmon, *Stone in Israel*, Jerusalem, 1972.
- 22 T. Canaan, *art. cit.* (n.20), 232.
- 23 A. Shadmon, *Marble in Israel*, Jerusalem, 1965, reprinted with revised addenda 1966, 6.
- 24 L. Picard, 'Synopsis of Stratigraphic Terms in Palestinian Geology', *JPOS*, xviii, 1938, 260.
- 25 A. Mazar, 'The Aqueducts of Jerusalem', *Jerusalem Revealed*, ed. Y. Yadin, Jerusalem, 1975, 79-84; J. Wilkinson, 'Ancient Jerusalem: Its Water Supply and Population', *PEQ*, 1974, 33-51.
- 26 Notably by the Amīr Tankiz in 728/1328 and Sultans Kushqadam and Qāyṭbāy (between 865/1461 and 888/1483), see: *CIA (Ville)*, 240-48, 338-43.
- 27 Mujīr, 409; C. Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, London, 1865, 77-87.
- 28 Mujīr, 401.
- 29 D.H. Kallner-Amiran, 'A Revised Earthquake-Catalogue of Palestine', *IEJ*, i, 1950-51, 223-46, and *IEJ*, ii, 1952, 48-65; *Atlas of Israel*, Maps III/4 E, III/4 F.
- 30 Al-Maqrīzī in Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, ii<sup>2</sup>, 216, cited in *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 182 n. 19.
- 31 Mujīr, 400.
- 32 L.A. Mayer, 'A Sequel to Mujīr al-Dīn's chronicle', *JPOS*, xi, 1931, 85-97, argues that, according to the chronological sequence of the text, the 952/1546 earthquake must have occurred in 902/1497 when Mujīr al-Dīn was still alive. Archaeological evidence suggests otherwise: significant quantities of inscribed and sculpted stones taken from the Ashrafiyya Madrasa in Jerusalem (completed in 887/1482 and partly demolished by the earthquake in question) were re-used in the construction of a philanthropic foundation (*imaret*) named 'Khaṣṣaki Sultān' after Khaṣseki Hürrem [= Roxelana], wife of Sulaymān the Magnificent, who ordered its construction. An endowment deed dated 959/1552 establishes a *terminus ante quem*, for the completion of the building (St. H. Stephan, 'An Endowment Deed of Khaṣseki Sultān dated the 24th May 1552', *QDAP*, x, 1944, 170-94). It seems likely that the quarrying of the ruins of the Ashrafiyya Madrasa took place shortly after the earthquake, i.e. after 952/1546, the date given in the sequel to Mujīr al-Dīn's chronicle, but before 959/1552 by which time Khaṣseki Hürrem's *imaret*, had been built. If so, then Mayer's arguments favouring the date 902/1497 for this earthquake should be rejected: it is possible that a later scribe copying Mujīr al-Dīn's original text made additions to the text without maintaining chronological continuity in this instance. A *firmān* dated 959/1552 referring to damage done to the Jerusalem city wall by an earthquake serves to corroborate the archaeological evidence (U. Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, Oxford, 1960, 156).
- 33 S.N. Spyridon, 'Annals of Palestine, 1821-1841', *JPOS*, xviii, 1938, 92-93.
- 34 B. Willis, 'Earthquakes in the Holy Land', *Bulletin of the Seismological Society of America*, xviii, 1928, 73-103; M. Blanckenhorn, 'Das Erdbeben in Juli 1927 in Palästina', *ZDPV*, 1927, 288-96.



# THE PRE-MAMLŪK DEVELOPMENT OF JERUSALEM

The Mamlūk development of Jerusalem is part of a long historical process. A complex patchwork of earlier construction is incorporated into various Mamlūk buildings and these surviving traces of earlier structures undoubtedly influenced the Mamlūk development of the city in general and of the Ḥaram borders in particular. A proper understanding of the monumental history of Mamlūk Jerusalem demands, therefore, an awareness of the earlier architectural history of the city.

Literary evidence has been adduced for reconstructing the evolution of the city during various periods and archaeological observation has identified remains of earlier constructions which existed in the Mamlūk period. The biblical history of the city has received particular attention.<sup>1</sup> Structural remains from the earliest state of the city are unlikely to have survived within the Ḥaram itself, however, and excavation is prohibited, though surveying by Captain Warren for the Palestine Exploration Fund last century has provided invaluable descriptions of the underlying labyrinth of undated galleries and cisterns.<sup>2</sup> The bulk of the historical evidence is published in a prodigious collection of books and articles. In the following account of the pre-Mamlūk architectural development we have endeavoured to summarize the published evidence and to introduce within a historical framework those new and as yet unpublished discoveries resulting from archaeological excavation or, in our case, careful observation and measurement. We have, in principle, restricted this account to structures where some physical remains survive, though we have included certain features known only from literary sources to give a more complete impression of the overall development.

## HELLENISTIC, ROMAN AND BYZANTINE REMAINS (37 B.C.-A.D. 638)

Although the history of Hellenistic Jerusalem is richly documented and archaeological excavation has unearthed early city walls and building remains, all that survives from this period above ground seems to be limited to an exposed vertical joint in the masonry some thirty metres north of the south-east corner of the Ḥaram enclosure where the Herodian southern extension of the Temple Area abuts earlier stonework of contested antiquity.<sup>3</sup> Therefore our account of the architectural development begins with the period of Herod the Great (37-4 B.C.).

The Herodian reconstruction and redevelopment of the Temple Area is well known in its general outline, and measurements are given in the Mishnaic tractate *Middoth*<sup>4</sup> (compiled c.A.D.200). These measurements and the more detailed descriptions of Flavius Josephus<sup>5</sup> have to a certain extent been corroborated by observation and by excavation and clearance outside the walls.

In redesigning the Temple enclosure Herod enlarged the Salomonic Temple platform, supporting it partly on a massive substructure of vaults and piers known today as 'Solomon's Stables'.<sup>5</sup> The lower courses of the walls enclosing the Herodian temple precinct, founded on bedrock, are clearly visible along the length of the south wall. The Herodian masonry is quite distinctive: beautifully dressed ashlar with smooth margins around a smooth flat boss. These ashlar are generally between 1m and 1.2m in height and 1m to 3m long, though one enormous stone at the south-west corner is no less than 12m long. From the south-west corner the western enclosing wall of the Herodian precinct has been traced, mostly under later constructions, as far as a point approximately 30m south of the north-west corner.<sup>7</sup> At the north-west corner the bedrock projected above the surface of the precinct. It was cut away to create a more or less level surface, leaving an exposed scarp up to 10m high.

Above that scarp stood a massive fortified tower which Herod had built on the site of an earlier Hasmonean structure shortly before commencing work on the Temple. This new fortress he named Antonia after his Roman overlord, Mark Antony. The extent of the Antonia has been more precisely defined by our recent discovery of extensive remains of its southern wall incorporated into Mamlūk buildings now occupying part of the site (see below, p. 204). Details in Josephus's account of the siege of Titus show that the north wall of the Temple enclosure adjoined the Antonia. A north-west corner stone of the enclosing wall, with typical Herodian marginal drafting on both north and west outer faces verifying that it is *in situ* (see p. 204), confirms Josephus's account.

At the north-east corner of the Ḥaram the Herodian masonry survives to a height of approximately 10m in places. There the intriguing variety of masonry types scattered among the Herodian stones (*plates 1 and 2*) belongs to later repairs and is not, as has been suggested, evidence that the Herodian stones are in secondary use.<sup>8</sup>



Plate 1 North-east corner of Ḥaram enclosing wall: east face



Plate 2 North-east corner of Haram enclosing wall: north face

Given the exact positions of the north-west and north-east corners and the line of the south wall of the Antonia, we may conclude that the present north wall of the Haram follows the line of the north wall of Herod's Temple enclosure. The present east wall of the Haram where, as noted above, the north and south corners are Herodian, is largely built on the remains of the Herodian wall.



Plate 3 Antonia rock scarp showing beam socket (at top of plate) and remains of vaulting springer (below)

Several large sockets (*plate 3*), 0.48m square, cut into the rock scarp under the Antonia<sup>9</sup> almost certainly held the roof beams of a continuous portico, which according to Josephus was built by Herod in Hellenistic style with monumental columns supporting a timber roof against the inner face of west, north and east walls of the Temple enclosure (with a larger structure, the 'Royal Stoa', against the south wall). Josephus reports that the height of the columns was 27 feet (*Antiquities*, xv), that is, about 8.37m (if the foot used by Josephus was the standard one of approximately 0.31m<sup>10</sup>). This dimension corresponds reasonably well with the height of the sockets in the rock scarp, which are about 8.9m above the level of the Haram. Apart from these sockets no trace of that portico remains *in situ*.<sup>11</sup>

Gates opened through the Herodian enclosing walls and vestiges of several survive: at 'Barclay's Gate'<sup>12</sup> below the present Bāb al-Maghārība, at the 'Double' and 'Triple'<sup>13</sup> gates in the south wall, and possibly at the 'Golden Gate'<sup>14</sup> in the east wall. Access to the precinct at several other points is indicated by the remains of massive arches: 'Wilson's Arch'<sup>15</sup> under the

present Bāb al-Silsila/Bāb al-Sakīna double gate, 'Robinson's Arch'<sup>16</sup> at the southern end of the west wall and possibly at 'Warren's Arch'<sup>17</sup> at the south end of the east wall. 'Warren's Gate',<sup>18</sup> north of Wilson's Arch, is now a cistern but may well have been a Herodian gate passage. More northerly gates are known to have existed though their precise location is unknown (but see p. 45 below).

The present boundary of the Haram thus follows the line of the Herodian enclosure, lower courses of which have been identified along the west, south and east sides, while vestiges of Herodian construction define the line of the north wall. Of the Temple nothing at all appears to have survived. The general orientation of the enclosure, originally dictated by topographical considerations which probably influenced the siting of the temples of Herod and of Solomon, happens to approximate very closely to the *qibla*, the ideal Mecca orientation for Muslim religious constructions.

In addition to the monumental constructions of the Temple, Herod also built a palace for himself in the western part of the city, which was protected by three great towers added to the old city wall. The substructure of one of these towers is still extant, forming the base of the north-east corner salient of the Citadel.<sup>19</sup> Under Herod's successor Herod Agrippa I the city wall was extended north from the Citadel in A.D.41, taking in northern parts of the city.<sup>20</sup>

The Temple and surrounding porticoes are said to have been completely destroyed by the army of the Roman general Titus when he captured Jerusalem to quell the First Jewish Revolt in A.D.70.<sup>21</sup> Thereafter, although a fragment of Hippolytus records a tradition that a statue of Caesar was set up before the altar of the dismantled temple, perhaps the statue of 'Kore' described in another literary fragment, the site probably was left in ruins.<sup>22</sup>

Hadrian, having crushed the Second Jewish Revolt in A.D.135, rebuilt Jerusalem as Aelia Capitolina, a Roman colony on the Graeco-Roman metropolitan model with a central forum and maintaining the Hippodamian grid pattern of streets which, Wilkinson has argued,<sup>23</sup> was introduced by Herod. Today the street plan still follows roughly the grid pattern developed by Hadrian which, naturally following the lines of the north and west borders of the Temple precinct, extended the general *qibla* orientation into the surrounding streets. Otherwise the Hadrianic conversion of the city purposely neglected the Temple precinct where the only innovation was the erection of a statue of Hadrian, which was probably joined later by a statue of his successor, Antoninus Pius.<sup>24</sup>

These statues are last mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim in A.D.333.<sup>25</sup> They seem to have been destroyed following the Emperor Constantine's (A.D.312-37) policy of official toleration and promotion of Christianity within the Roman Empire. Then the site appears to have been deliberately left as a ruin, though elsewhere splendid churches were erected to commemorate events associated with Christian tradition. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was founded by a decree of Constantine at the time of the Nicaean Council of A.D. 325-26, Constantine's mother, the Empress Helena, travelling to Jerusalem to preside over the initiation of the work.<sup>26</sup> Splendid churches were built on Mount Olivet and on Mount Zion and elsewhere around the city. Pilgrimage to the Holy City was encouraged by the provision of hospices, infirmaries, etc.,<sup>27</sup> while the Roman streets were repaired and extended to include the southern part of the present Old City, where vestiges of the great new Mary Church complex built during the reign of Justinian (A.D.527-65) have recently been discovered.<sup>28</sup>

Under Julian the Apostate, who sought to break the *de facto* alliance between Church and State, an attempt was made in A.D.363 to restore the Jewish temple but it was abandoned on the night of the first day's construction.<sup>29</sup> The absence of the Temple precinct in the detailed representation of Jerusalem in the celebrated Madaba Mosaic Map executed in the sixth century gives evidence of its continued neglect. Avi-Yonah<sup>30</sup> in his discussion on the Madaba Mosaic Map has suggested that a



chapel dedicated to the memory of St. James's martyrdom existed at the south-east corner of the Temple enclosure (the 'pinnacle') and while there is no good literary evidence for this,<sup>31</sup> there is reason to believe that a church there dedicated to St. Simeon in the Crusader period<sup>32</sup> occupies a tower that was used as a Christian chapel in Byzantine times.

The Persians, led by Chosroes II (A.D.590-628), who invaded Jerusalem in A.D. 614 and damaged or destroyed large numbers of Christian buildings, would have found nothing to occupy them in the Temple precinct. But shortly thereafter, even before the Byzantine Emperor Heraklius's expulsion of the Persians from Jerusalem in A.D.629, a major restoration of the holy places was implemented by a monk called Modestus. It has been asserted that Modestus was also responsible for the restoration of the 'Double Gate' in the south wall of the Temple precinct and the complete reconstruction of the 'Golden Gate' in the east wall,<sup>33</sup> but there is no proof of this. Modestus had small funds, and though it is reported that Heraklius carried in the True Cross via the Golden Gate, this story is first known from a document of A.D.830.<sup>34</sup> Part of the original Herodian interior structure of the Double Gate survives; almost nothing but the layout survives of the presumed Herodian origins of the Golden Gate. Now a growing body of opinion considers these gates to be Umayyad,<sup>35</sup> and this view is corroborated to some extent by our discovery of evidence for less elaborately decorated gateways in the north wall of the Ḥaram which match other gates, considered to be Umayyad, in the west and south enclosing walls (see below). But regardless of the exact date of the restoration of the Double Gate and reconstruction of the Golden Gate, we may be sure that the Temple precinct was largely or entirely empty when in 17/638 the city surrendered to the advancing armies of Islam.<sup>36</sup>

## 'UMAR'S CONQUEST AND THE FIRST AQṢĀ MOSQUE

However uncertain are the events surrounding the capitulation of Jerusalem, the appropriation of the Temple precinct for Muslim use is sure. In a city where by treaty Christian buildings were not to be expropriated, here was a vast empty space visible from many points in the city: the ideal site for a *masjid* to serve the new Muslim community. Other factors may have affected the choice: the early Muslims are said to have been influenced by Jewish converts who pretended to knowledge of the holy significance of the Temple Area; and there may have been some prior spiritual attachment to the place, but this is difficult to demonstrate.<sup>37</sup> Although derelict, the remains of gates and the ruins of porticoes and long stretches of crumbling enclosing walls survived. It was probably amongst the ruins of the southern portico (Herod's Royal Stoa) that the Caliph 'Umar erected a 'rectangular place of prayer . . . roughly built by setting big beams on the remains of some ruins . . .' thus described shortly before 66/685 by the Christian pilgrim Arculf.<sup>38</sup> Nothing survives of this first mosque in Jerusalem.

## THE UMAYYAD DEVELOPMENT (19/640-132/750)

The earliest extant Islamic monument is the Dome of the Rock, completed by 'Abd al-Malik in 72/691-92.<sup>39</sup> A symbol of the political supremacy and moral prestige of Islam, it was intended, as R.W. Hamilton says:

to embody, in the universal language of architecture, the voice of Islam declaring to the People of the Book [specifically: Christians] the authentic revelation of Christ's humanity and God's indivisible unity.<sup>40</sup>

Immediately to the east stands the Qubbat al-Silsila, evidently built by 'Abd al-Malik, perhaps as a Treasury though its original purpose remains obscure.<sup>41</sup> The raised terrace on which the

Dome of the Rock stands and at least one of the stairways leading up to it must have existed then.

The Aqṣā Mosque also was begun by 'Abd al-Malik, according to the researches of Henri Stern based on R.W. Hamilton's archaeological analysis. It was, however, 'Abd al-Malik's son and successor, al-Walīd (86-96/705-15), who was responsible for the main construction. Parts of al-Walīd's mosque, the 'second Aqṣā Mosque' in Creswell's terminology<sup>42</sup> or 'Aqṣā I' in Hamilton's,<sup>43</sup> survive today. In fact, as Stern has convincingly argued,<sup>44</sup> the layout of the present much-rebuilt structure follows that of al-Walīd's original construction. Byzantine influence may be detected not only in the form of the Dome of the Rock (which imitates that of the rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) but in the apparently conscious placing of the Aqṣā Mosque in line with the central *qibla*<sup>45</sup> axis of the Dome of the Rock in a manner which echoes the relationship between the congregational basilica and the commemorative rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>46</sup>

Both the Dome of the Rock and the Aqṣā Mosque have been studied in considerable detail,<sup>47</sup> but not yet in conjunction with extensive urban remains currently being uncovered just outside the Ḥaram walls to the south and south-west. Excavations there have revealed substantial remains of a group of buildings whose date and function is not known. The excavators tentatively associate these buildings with a *dār al-imāra* mentioned alongside the Aqṣā Mosque in the Aphrodito Papyri,<sup>48</sup> and date them accordingly to the time of al-Walīd.<sup>49</sup> Included within this building complex are streets and stairs leading to the Double and Triple Gates and thence to the interior of the Ḥaram.

The south wall of the Ḥaram forms the *qibla* wall of the Aqṣā Mosque.<sup>50</sup> The rebuilding of the Ḥaram wall and the refurbishing of the Double Gate immediately below the Aqṣā must have preceded the construction of the Mosque, as, presumably, did the reconstruction of Solomon's Stables and of the 'Triple Gate' connecting the new Arab quarter in the south with the interior of the Ḥaram.<sup>51</sup>

Our recent survey of the Dawādāriyya Khānqāh (see below, p. 156) at the north wall of the Ḥaram has revealed that the present Bāb al-'Atm/Bāb Fayṣal is actually the westernmost opening of a triple gate (the two eastern bays having been incorporated into the construction of the khānqāh) and that this triple gate in the north wall, though slightly smaller overall, is otherwise identical to the 'Triple Gate' in the south wall. Their common features are identical layouts in plan, semicircular arches over each opening with distinctive chamfering of the lower outer edge of the voussoirs;<sup>52</sup> and above the semicircular arches, segmental rear vaults of slightly greater span so that the door leaves might fold back flush with the piers.<sup>53</sup> Similar features are to be found on three other gates: Bāb Ḥiṭṭa (which may have been a double gate – see below, p. 174) in the north wall and, in the west wall, the Bāb al-Silsila/Bāb al-Sakīna double gate (retained in a later rebuilding) and Bāb al-Nāzir (which lacks the chamfering on the voussoirs). The similarities are so striking that there can be no doubt that these gates were built contemporaneously.<sup>54</sup> Allowing that the Triple Gate belongs to the period of rebuilding of the south wall of the Ḥaram shortly before the construction of the Aqṣā Mosque, this dates the gates in the north and west walls and, by implication, the rebuilding of the walls themselves to the time of 'Abd al-Malik. It is reasonable to suppose that the east wall was rebuilt and the Golden Gate completed (see above) at the same time.

Though the extent of the Umayyad development of the Ḥaram (e.g. the size of the Aqṣā Mosque, or the number of stairways leading to the Dome of the Rock) cannot be determined, it seems clear that the original boundaries of the site were re-established to contain the Dome of the Rock and the Aqṣā Mosque. The 'monumental and ideological Islamization of an ancient site'<sup>55</sup> was thus achieved. Thereafter the Ḥaram was to remain the object of constant pious attention as each succeeding ruler endeavoured to gain the prestige that

embellishment or restoration would bring.

There is little evidence of other Umayyad construction in the city. A late source reports that new gates were added,<sup>56</sup> and Mujīr al-Dīn cites a report that in the time of ‘Abd al-Malik they were covered with gold and silver.<sup>57</sup> Excavations in the Citadel have unearthed a segment of a round tower with attached curtain walls and fragments of stone window grilles that may belong to an Umayyad palace.<sup>58</sup>

## ‘ABBĀSIDS, FĀṬIMIDS AND SALJŪQS (132/750-492/1099)

The history of Jerusalem during the next three and a half centuries is poorly documented. Ideally the various architectural contributions of each ruling dynasty should be treated separately but the archaeological and epigraphic evidence is scanty and we rely for much of our information on the descriptions of fourth to fifth/tenth to eleventh-century authors. Since there is no clear way of knowing whether some of the structures they describe were built in an earlier period, we have deemed it prudent to deal with the whole period under a collective heading until more evidence becomes available.

The population of the city seems to have remained predominantly Christian. Al-Muqaddasī, writing c.375/985, ruefully observes that the Christian holy days regulated the rhythm of the year also for the Muslim population.<sup>59</sup> Under the ‘Abbāsids considerable interest was shown in the Holy City by Christian rulers of Western Europe. Charlemagne is said to have exchanged embassies with the ‘Abbāsīd caliph Harūn al-Rashīd, and many new buildings catering for the needs of Christian pilgrims and newcomers were erected in Jerusalem by the emperor and his successors.<sup>60</sup>

Repairs and restorations of the Dome of the Rock<sup>61</sup> and radical reconstructions of the Aqṣā Mosque<sup>62</sup> necessitated by repeated earthquakes illustrate the continuing Muslim concern for the maintenance of the Ḥaram. While this concern was focused on the two dominant monuments, we know from literary sources that certain contributions were made to the general architectural development of the area. The testimony of geographers like Ibn al-Faqīh (c.290/903)<sup>63</sup> and al-Muqaddasī<sup>64</sup> shows that by the tenth century porticoes had been built along the west and north sides of the Ḥaram, six stairways led up to the platform and, according to Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi (300/913), there were four minarets.<sup>65</sup> Various shrines, *maqāms*, *qubbās* and *mibrābs* commemorated three main themes: the Night Journey of the Prophet, the biblical and Koranic patriarchs or prophets, and divers eschatological subjects with evident funerary associations. Professor Grabar has observed that the last are probably to be related to the development of the Muslim cemetery.<sup>66</sup> The Ikhshīdīd governors of Egypt, for example, were buried in Jerusalem.<sup>67</sup>



Plate 4 Empty sockets for vaulting springers in Antonia rock scarp

Inscriptions record the pious endowment of a house (c.290/903),<sup>68</sup> a restoration of the Ḥaram esplanade (c.300/913) and, probably, the construction or restoration of a colonnade at

the top of the western stairway leading to the Dome of the Rock terrace (artisan’s ‘signature’, 340/951-52)<sup>69</sup> as well as the restoration of the eastern Ḥaram wall by the Amīr ‘Alī b. Ikhshīd (350/961-62).<sup>70</sup> Sockets for the springers of vaults (*plate 4*) cut at regular intervals into the rock scarp under the Herodian beam sockets (see above) at the western end of the north wall of the Ḥaram most probably represent the only surviving traces of porticoes described first by al-Muqaddasī (see below, p. 104).

Little is known of constructions outside the Ḥaram at this time. There seems to have been a mosque founded early in the fourth/tenth century on the eastern side of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but nothing is known of its architecture.<sup>71</sup> A piece of fourth to fifth/tenth to eleventh-century stonecarving found in a collection of architectural sculpture in the grounds of the Church of St. Anne in Jerusalem suggests that important monuments dating from that period once existed and were destroyed, perhaps by the Crusaders.<sup>72</sup>

The rise of the Ismā‘īlī Shiite Fāṭimids in North Africa changed the geopolitical situation in the Eastern Mediterranean. They took Egypt in 358/969, and shortly afterwards Palestine, with Jerusalem, came under their domination. In Cairo al-Azhar College was founded as a centre for propagating the Ismā‘īlī faith but no similar institution was set up in Jerusalem.

General persecution of Christians and Jews by the Muslims culminated in the destruction of churches, including the systematic demolition of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 400/1009 on the order of the Caliph al-Ḥākīm. Although al-Ḥākīm subsequently granted the Christians permission to begin restoring their churches, reconstruction work on the Holy Sepulchre did not start until 438/1046<sup>73</sup> after severe earthquakes in 407/1016 and 425/1034 had caused considerable damage to many buildings in the city. The dome of the Dome of the Rock collapsed in the earlier earthquake and was rebuilt in 413/1022-23; the glass mosaic decoration under the dome was repaired in 418/1027-28.<sup>74</sup> The Aqṣā Mosque suffered very badly in these earthquakes and most of the northern part of the mosque was rebuilt, greatly altering the appearance of the building, in 425-27/1034-36 during the reign of al-Zāhir (411-27/1021-36).<sup>75</sup>

Otherwise work within the Ḥaram was restricted to general repair and embellishment. Al-Zāhir began to restore the city walls, including those parts coincident with the east and south Ḥaram walls and perhaps parts of Solomon’s Stables, concurrently with his reconstruction of the Aqṣā Mosque.<sup>76</sup> At this time the old Muslim quarter to the south seems to have been abandoned<sup>77</sup> and the Double and Triple Gates in the south wall blocked. Thereafter the main entrances were, as today, in the west and north walls.

The narrative of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited Jerusalem in 438/1047, describes the Bāb Dā‘ūd (the present Bāb al-Silsīla/Bāb al-Sakīna) as elaborately decorated with mosaics.<sup>78</sup> Although much of Nāṣir’s evidence has been criticized as inaccurate, or exaggerated,<sup>79</sup> it is here corroborated by the fact that pick-marks made to improve adhesion of the bonding medium holding the mosaics to the wall may still be seen in the jambs of these gates. No mosaics survive. (Possibly these resembled the fine Fāṭimid mosaics in the Dome of the Rock and in the Aqṣā Mosque.)<sup>80</sup> None of the other surviving Ḥaram gates which were built contemporaneously with the Bāb al-Silsīla/Bāb al-Sakīna (above, p. 45) are pick-marked.

Six stairways, one each in the north and east sides and two in the south and west sides are noted by Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who gives the text of an inscription at the south-eastern colonnade.<sup>81</sup> The present south-eastern colonnade bears on the central spandrels two obviously contemporaneous inscriptions, one dated 421/1030. The recently edited text<sup>82</sup> of these inscriptions corresponds reasonably closely with that given by Nāṣir-i Khusraw. However, a third inscription<sup>83</sup> on a northern spandrel of the same colonnade records a restoration in 608/1211-12, which suggests that the two earlier inscriptions are not exactly



*in situ*, having been moved to their present position during the restoration.

Such confirmations of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's account encourage greater faith in its accuracy than earlier scholars have had, which is indeed fortunate since his is the only detailed description of the Ḥaram during the century preceding the Crusader conquest of Jerusalem.

In addition to the features outlined above, Nāṣir-i Khusraw refers to the three small domes on the platform of the Dome of the Rock, to the Qubbat Ya'qūb and the Miḥrāb Zakariyā, and to the porticoes along the north and west wall, all previously listed by al-Muqaddasi.

He also mentions a mosque near the Golden Gate<sup>84</sup> and 'places of prayer' for Ṣūfis<sup>85</sup> located outside the north wall of the Ḥaram. This is an early reference to Ṣūfis in Jerusalem where, later, large numbers gathered. It is also one of the earliest indications of construction near the Ḥaram border outside the walls. This new development of the area north of the Ḥaram following the blocking of the gates in the south wall seems to be attested by a recently discovered inscription re-used as a building stone in the northern porch of Bāb Ḥiṭṭa, which records the endowment in 445/1053-54 by the Marwānid Amīr Aḥmad b. Marwān of two adjoining houses in favour of pilgrims from Diyārbakr.<sup>86</sup> The charitable provision of accommodation for pilgrims is, as we shall see, another theme which characterized the Mamlūk development of Jerusalem.

In the latter part of the fifth/eleventh century, Fāṭimid authority in Palestine, never absolute, was being increasingly undermined. The expanding Saljūq empire was steadily advancing on Syria. Jerusalem was taken by a Turcoman warlord, Atsiz, early in 463/1071.<sup>87</sup> He was eliminated by the Saljūq governor of Damascus in 470/1078 and the city incorporated into the Saljūq empire. For a brief period from 479/1078 Jerusalem and the rest of Palestine were bestowed on Artuq b. Ekseb, founder of the Artuqid dynasty, but his sons were unable to maintain themselves there against the Fāṭimids, who retook the city after bombarding it for forty days in 491/1098.<sup>88</sup> Virtually nothing is known of any architectural development during these twenty-seven years except for an inscription commemorating the construction of a mosque (*masjid*) in 482/1089-90.<sup>89</sup>

Meanwhile a movement which was to have the most profound effect on the subsequent architectural character of the city was under way; within the year the avowed goal of the first Crusade had been realized and in 492/1099, after nearly five centuries of Muslim rule, Jerusalem once more became a Christian city.

## CRUSADER AND AYYŪBID REMAINS

When the Crusaders took Jerusalem in 492/1099 the population was either slaughtered or expelled, leaving the city more or less empty of all but the invading army. As the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem was established and some measure of stability obtained so the Crusaders began to erect new buildings. The Citadel was enlarged and refortified, market places were built or rebuilt and hospices and hospitals were constructed to cater for the growing influx of pilgrims and settlers.<sup>90</sup> The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was remodelled to take on the appearance it has largely retained to the present day.<sup>91</sup> Other churches, especially those in the vicinity of the Holy Sepulchre, were rebuilt and elsewhere in and around the city new churches were going up at a tremendous rate. In his recent survey of ecclesiastical buildings of which some material trace survives, Denys Pringle lists no fewer than sixty-one Crusader churches in Jerusalem.<sup>92</sup>

Contemporary accounts suggest, however, that under Crusader control few changes were made to the Dome of the Rock and the Aqṣā Mosque, both of which retained much of their pre-Latin character.<sup>93</sup> In the Dome of the Rock, which the Crusaders in real or pretended ignorance of its Islamic heritage

regarded as the *Templum Domini*, the sacred rock itself was covered with marble and surrounded by a finely wrought iron screen – a necessary precaution to prevent pilgrims chipping it away.<sup>94</sup> The Aqṣā Mosque was thought to be the royal palace of Solomon and called *Templum Salomonis*; it served as a palace for the Kings of Jerusalem and later for the Knights Templars.<sup>95</sup> The plan to build a new church beside the Aqṣā Mosque was reported by Theodorik in the late sixth/twelfth century as under way but seems never to have been completed.<sup>96</sup> A great hall of the Templars that extends westwards from the Mosque along the southern Ḥaram wall has bare vaulting springers in its north frontage indicating that this work also was never completed (see below, p. 261). The great hall now houses the Women's Mosque and part of the Islamic Museum. Crusader eastern annexes to the Aqṣā Mosque were recorded before being cleared away during the repairs of 1938-42.<sup>97</sup> John of Wurzburg states that 'illustrious people' were buried within the Ḥaram in the vicinity of the Golden Gate.<sup>98</sup> Solomon's Stables provided stabling for the destriers of the knights and, since the Triple Gate was blocked, a new gateway, the 'Single Gate', was pierced in the southern wall to give access from outside the Ḥaram.

On the Ḥaram the Qubbat al-Silsila, decorated like the Dome of the Rock with Christian paintings and inscriptions,<sup>99</sup> was dedicated as a chapel to St. James<sup>100</sup> and, according to T.S.R.



Plate 5 Qubbat al-Mi'rāj



Plate 6 Qubbat Sulaymān

Boase,<sup>101</sup> inspired other small shrines built with open arches and cupolas such as the Qubbat al-Mi'rāj (plate 5), which Boase considered to be the Crusading baptistery, and the Qubbat Sulaymān (plate 6), known also as the 'Throne of Jesus'.<sup>102</sup> But

the true origin of these enigmatic constructions remains uncertain. The common absence both of Crusader masons' marks and of their distinctive diagonally dressed masonry (see below) suggests non-Crusader construction, but this in a country of local workmen and, frequently, captive labour, may be misleading. However, the unsystematic arrangement of capitals of different types in the Qubbat al-Mi'rāj (plate 7) supports the view that this is not a Crusader but probably an Ayyūbid construction composed mainly of Crusader *spolia* and that the inscription<sup>103</sup> dated 597/1200-1 above its entrance door commemorates its construction and not its restoration.<sup>104</sup> A *mīhrāb* in Qubbat Sulaymān (plate 8) seems to be an integral



Plate 7 Adjoining capitals in interior of Qubbat al-Mi'rāj

Plate 8 *Mīhrāb* in Qubbat Sulaymān



part of the structure, suggesting that this building also is Ayyūbid. Another unusual domed edifice was located on top of the Antonia scarp overlooking the Ḥaram. This was the outer cell of the Chapel of the Repose of Christ (see p. 204 below), which was later used as a tomb for an Ayyūbid amīr and became known as the 'Madfan al-Shaykh Darbās'. Little of it survives today,<sup>105</sup> but old photographs (plates 14.4 and 14.5) reveal an amalgam of Eastern and Western styles that suggests that it was indeed an original Crusader construction.

The difficulty in distinguishing between Crusader work *in situ* and in re-use, as exemplified by the Ayyūbid reconstruction of the porch of the Aqṣā Mosque, led R.W. Hamilton judiciously to identify work of the period as 'Crusader and Ayyūbid'.<sup>106</sup> Certain features of Crusader architecture are distinctive, however. Romanesque style, characteristic masons' marks and

a technique of diagonal stone dressing peculiar to the Crusader masons all facilitate identification. Naturally with wholesale re-use of masonry and sculpture common in Jerusalem, homogeneity of construction must be established before any given structure can be assigned to a particular period: the western porch of Bāb al-Silsila/Bāb al-Sakīna, for instance, is built mostly of Crusader elements but the construction is actually Ayyūbid, datable between 583/1187 and 595/1199.<sup>107</sup>

Not much is known of those Crusader monuments which no longer survive. North of the Dome of the Rock stood conventual buildings of the Augustinian canons, which by all accounts were richly adorned with architectural sculpture,<sup>108</sup> but nothing remains in place. Fragments of Crusader masonry and sculpture are to be found throughout the city incorporated into later Islamic constructions. No-one has a clear idea of their original purpose and location, and very few can be precisely dated. The literary sources are frustratingly vague on the topic, the epigraphic evidence is almost non-existent,<sup>109</sup> and only recently have systematic surveys of the surviving monuments and architectural *spolia* been attempted.<sup>110</sup>

The destruction of Crusader buildings following the reconquest of Jerusalem was a predictable result. The sanctity of Jerusalem for Islam had been proclaimed in poetry and prose for many years<sup>111</sup> and the virtue of recapturing the city was implicit. The reconquest had thus become a primary goal for the Ayyūbids in their drive to expel the Crusaders from Palestine and Syria. It can come as no surprise that one of the first duties undertaken after the successful reconquest of Jerusalem in 583/1187 under the leadership of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn/Saladin was to reconsecrate it.

The process of reconsecration took various forms: ecclesiastical buildings were demolished or converted; everywhere Christian symbols were replaced by Islamic ones.<sup>112</sup> In the Ḥaram the golden cross on top of the Dome of the Rock was replaced by an Islamic crescent finial,<sup>113</sup> from the interior Latin inscriptions and Christian icons were removed,<sup>114</sup> the dome redecorated<sup>115</sup> and a wooden screen erected around the Rock.<sup>116</sup> Halls to the south of the Aqṣā Mosque were converted into a *zāwiya* called al-Khanthaniyya and endowed in 587/1191.<sup>117</sup> The conventual buildings of the Augustinian canons were torn down leaving no trace.<sup>118</sup> *Mīhrābs* were introduced wherever possible, not only in the conversion of Christian buildings into Muslim ones like the Church of St. Anne, which in 588/1192 became the Ṣalāḥiyya Madrasa,<sup>119</sup> but even to re-assert the original Islamic character of constructions like the Qubbat al-Silsila<sup>120</sup> and the Aqṣā Mosque.<sup>121</sup> At the same time the celebrated wooden *minbar* ordered expressly for Jerusalem by Nūr al-Dīn (564/1168-69) was installed beside Saladin's new *mīhrāb* in the Aqṣā Mosque.<sup>122</sup> Christians were excluded from the Ḥaram and an inscription curiously reminiscent of the Herodian prohibition of gentiles in the Temple is reported to have been posted at one of the entrances.<sup>123</sup>

The Ayyūbids regarded themselves as the new champions of orthodox Sunnī Islam and this pious consecration of the Ḥaram clearly parallels the original Umayyad transformation of the site into a Muslim holy place.<sup>124</sup> In 're-islamizing' the Ḥaram, the Ayyūbids, like the Umayyads, were indebted to pre-existing Christian architecture: most of the Muslim religious buildings founded in the first ten years following the conquest are Crusader in origin and were simply expropriated as, for example, the Ṣalāḥiyya Khānqāh (endowed in 585/1189) established in the former Latin patriarch's residence,<sup>125</sup> the Ṣalāḥiyya Madrasa<sup>126</sup> (mentioned above) in the Church of St. Anne (588/1192), the Mosque of al-Afdal (589/1193) in part of the Latin hospital opposite the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,<sup>127</sup> and the Maymūniyya Madrasa (endowed in 593/1197) in the Church of St. Mary Magdalen.<sup>128</sup>

In a time of great upheaval and the continuing threat of a Crusader counter-attack, however, the rebuilding of the city's defences had to take priority. The Ayyūbids restored the Citadel and long stretches of the city wall.<sup>129</sup> They also undertook



essential public works like the conversion of the Hospitaller's church into a hospital (*māristān*) named after Saladin and the construction of a water installation (*siqāya*) ordered by Saladin's brother, al-Malik al-'Ādil, in 589/1193.

After the death of Saladin in 589/1193, the struggle for power concentrated the attentions of the Ayyūbid amīrs on matters political rather than architectural. But gradually the situation stabilized. Al-'Ādil was formally proclaimed Sultan of Egypt and Syria and successfully negotiated a series of truces with the Crusaders.<sup>130</sup> About this time the Afdaliyya Madrasa (*plate 9*)<sup>131</sup> for adherents of the Mālikī rite was founded in the North Africans' quarter of the city and a Koran School near Bāb al-Silsila was endowed in 595/1198-99.<sup>132</sup>



Plate 9 Afdaliyya Madrasa: entrance (possibly incorporating re-used Crusader material)

In 597/1200 al-'Ādil appointed his son, al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā, governor of the province of Damascus, including Jerusalem.<sup>133</sup> Under al-Mu'azzam's enlightened governorship Jerusalem enjoyed a brief period of relative peace and prosperity during which the business of refurbishing the Haram progressed. The colonnade (*qanāṭir*) above the south-eastern stairway leading to the Dome of the Rock terrace was restored (608/1211-12),<sup>134</sup> the Nāsiiriyya Zāwiya above the Golden Gate rebuilt (610/1214),<sup>135</sup> the central porch of the Aqṣā Mosque rebuilt (614/1217-18),<sup>136</sup> the northern portico reconstructed<sup>137</sup> and new wooden doors were made for Haram gates (?617/1220?).<sup>138</sup> (It is unclear how these structures – described in their original form by Nāsir-i Khusraw – became ruinous, whether they were destroyed by the Saljūqs in the massacre of 469/1076,<sup>139</sup> or whether quarried or simply neglected during the years of Crusader rule.) A certain amount of new building was also undertaken: the Qubbat al-Naḥwiyya (604/1207-08), a small domed aedicule at the south-west corner of the platform evidently originally intended as a Koran School, but becoming later a school of grammar as the name implies;<sup>140</sup> a prayer place for the Ḥanbalīs, known as 'Sūq al-Ma'rifa', at the south-east corner of the Haram esplanade;<sup>141</sup> and two cisterns or tanks (*ṣabrij*) for drinking water (607/1210-11 and 613/1216-17).<sup>142</sup>

Outside the Ḥaram work continued on the city walls and gates,<sup>143</sup> and further religious institutions were established. The Badriyya Madrasa (610/1213-14)<sup>144</sup> and the so-called Zāwiya al-Darkāh (c.613/1216-17)<sup>145</sup> were founded for Shāfi'īs, while the completion of the Mu'azzamiyya Madrasa in 614/1217-18<sup>146</sup> for Ḥanafīs meant there was provision for all four schools of Islamic law (*madbhabs*). Domed tombs, such as that of the Amīr Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Jarrāhī<sup>147</sup> in the eponymous Shaykh Jarrāh quarter of the modern city and that of the Qaymarī family<sup>148</sup> north of the Jaffa Road, were erected in open country outside the town.

With the advent of the Fifth Crusade<sup>149</sup> the military and political situation deteriorated once more and in 616/1219 al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā was obliged to march on Damietta to assist his brother al-Malik al-Kāmil in its defence.<sup>150</sup> As a result so few troops were left in Syria that for fear the city might be reoccupied by the Crusaders it was decided to dismantle strategic sections of the newly rebuilt walls of Jerusalem.<sup>151</sup> They remained in this ruined state until the Ottoman Sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent rebuilt them in their present form in 944-47/1537-41.<sup>152</sup>

Ten years after the dismantling of the walls the city did return to Crusader control but this time by treaty, not by force.<sup>153</sup> The peace treaty of 626/1229 between al-Kāmil and Frederick II guaranteed to the Crusaders possession of Jerusalem for a decade; the Ḥaram remained in the hands of the Muslims with full freedom to worship there, while the Christians were permitted to enter to pray.<sup>154</sup>

Despite the expiration of the peace treaty, the Crusaders stayed in the practically unfortified city for, with the death of al-Kāmil in 635/1238, the Ayyūbid amīrs were again thrown into violent and complex rivalries. These left them with little interest in Jerusalem, although al-Nāṣir Dā'ūd of Kerak did briefly reoccupy it in 637/1239.<sup>155</sup>

The increasing Mongol threat from the north persuaded the Ayyūbids to renew their uneasy alliance with the Crusaders, who thereby not only regained control of the territory won by Frederick in 626/1229 but also, in 641/1244, were actually granted full possession of Jerusalem including the Ḥaram.<sup>156</sup> Within six months, however, Khwārizmian forces under Barka Khān and almost certainly with the encouragement of the Sultan of Egypt, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, swept down through the Bekaa Valley to capture and sack Jerusalem.<sup>157</sup>

The occupation was decisive; the Muslims never again surrendered Jerusalem to the Crusaders. The Khwārizmians, dispossessed of their homeland by the Mongols, soon moved on, raiding the Frankish countryside and joining one Ayyūbid faction after another as they went until they were conclusively defeated near Homs in 644/1246.<sup>158</sup> Meanwhile the Sultan of Egypt, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, controlled Jerusalem with the surrounding territories and by 645/1247 his suzerainty had been recognized by the Ayyūbid princes of Syria.

There is no evidence of any construction whatsoever in the city during these forty years of conflict, in which Jerusalem was regarded as a bargaining counter rather than a holy city. Even when the city once again was firmly in the hands of the Ayyūbids only one building was erected on the Ḥaram: Qubbat Mūsā (647/1249-50) built by order of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb.<sup>159</sup>

## Notes

1 The archaeological evidence is reviewed in: K.M. Kenyon, *Digging up Jerusalem*, London and Tonbridge, 1974, and J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem as Jesus Knew It*, London, 1978. The older book by J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament*, Leiden, 1952, presents the then available archaeological data in a convenient form with full references (which the first two books lack) but some of Simons's conclusions are doubtful. E.M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule, from Pompey to Diocletian*, Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity XX, Leiden, 1976, brings some of Simons's discussions up to date and includes more recent archaeological evidence. *Jerusalem Revealed*, ed. Y. Yadin, Jerusalem, 1975; B. Mazar, *The Mountain of the Lord*, New York, 1975; and N. Avigad, *Discovering*

*Jerusalem*, Nashville, 1983, present more recent archaeological discoveries. Bibliographies of excavations in Jerusalem include: E.K. Vogel, 'Bibliography of Holy Land Sites', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, xlii, 1971, 1-96; and 'Concise Bibliography of Excavations in Palestine: Jerusalem', *QDAP*, i, 1932, 163-99.

2 C. Wilson and C. Warren, *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, London, 1871, 17-21, with plan facing p. 8 showing the 'Results of the Researches of Capt. C.W. Wilson R.E. & Capt. C. Warren R.E.'

3 K.M. Kenyon, 'New Evidence on Solomon's Temple', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, xlvii, 1970-71, 139-49; *eadem*, *Digging Up Jerusalem*, London and Tonbridge, 1974, 111-12; E.M. Laperrousaz, 'Quelques résultats récents des

fouilles archéologiques, conduites à Jérusalem et aux alentours de la Ville Sainte', *Revue des Etudes Juives. Historia Judaica*, cxcix, 1970, 158; *idem*, 'A-t-on dégagé l'angle sud-est du "Temple de Salomon"?' *Syria*, l, 1973, 355-99; *idem*, 'Angle sud-est du "Temple de Salomon" ou vestiges de l'"Acra des Séleucides"?' Un Faux problème', *Syria*, lii, 1975, 241-59; Y. Tsafirir, 'The Location of the Seleucid Akra in Jerusalem', *Jerusalem Revealed*, ed. Y. Yadin, Jerusalem, 1975, 85-86.

4 *The Mishna* tr. with notes H. Danby, Oxford, 1933.

5 Flavius Josephus, *Collected Works*, 9 vols., Loeb Classical Library, London etc. 1926-65.

6 C. Wilson, 'The Masonry of the Haram Wall', *PEFQS*, 1880, 9-65; E. Pierotti, *Jerusalem Explored*, tr. Thomas George Bonney, London and Cambridge, 1864, 77; C. Schick, 'Reports from Jerusalem: Discoveries in "Solomon's Stables"', *PEFQS*, 1891, 198-99; *idem*, 'A Newly Discovered Arch in "Solomon's Stables"', *PEFQS*, 200-21; J. Hanauer, 'A Subterranean Passage in Solomon's Stables', *PEFQS*, 1891, 204; and T. Wrightson, 'On the Relation of Certain Arch Springings found within the Area of the Temple of Jerusalem', *PEFQS*, 1891, 219-24.

7 *PEFQS*, 1877, 135-37; C. Warren and C. Conder, *The Survey of Western Palestine: Jerusalem*, London, 1884, 212-15; C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874*, i, London, 1899, 135-37.

8 The coursing of the Herodian masonry continues on both east and north faces of the wall where the distinctive ashlar long and short work is indisputable evidence of Herodian construction (as may be seen at the south-west and south-east corners). The reason why the masonry stands to this height is exactly because the corner is so strongly built. Indeed, the south-east corner survived in just the same way and has for centuries been noted as a remnant of the Temple enclosure (the so-called pinnacle, p. 45).

9 These sockets were noticed by C. Clermont-Ganneau, *op. cit.*, 137.

10 R. Grafman, 'Herod's Foot and Robinson's Arch', *IEJ*, xx, 1970, 63.

11 Elsewhere the roof beams of the colonnade were built into the enclosure wall, which has disappeared at that level.

12 C. Wilson and C. Warren, *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, London, 1871, 111-16.

13 S. Corbett, 'Some Observations on the Gateways to the Herodian Temple in Jerusalem', *PEQ*, 1952, 7-14; cf. *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 463-66.

14 M. de Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1860, 12, fig. 2 and pl. iii, 3.

15 C. Wilson and C. Warren, *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, London, 1871, 76-94. There is little doubt that in Herodian times this arch formed part of a bridge across the town's central 'Tyropoeon' valley. In the absence of reliable archaeological data the date of the present arch remains disputed: W.F. Stinespring, 'Wilson's Arch Revisited', *The Biblical Archaeologist*, xxix, 1966, 27-36: '... I am also challenging the current view that the almost perfect condition of Wilson's Arch, in contrast to that of Robinson, is due to reconstruction in the 6th, or the 5th, or the 4th, or the 2nd century; and I am going to support Wilson's first timid opinion by proposing that we have here one span of the bridge as originally built by Herod ...' (pp. 35-36). *Idem*, 'Wilson's Arch and the Masonic Hall, Summer 1966', *The Biblical Archaeologist*, xxx, 1967, 27-31, with the best plan currently available of Wilson's Arch and the adjoining structures, by Oliver Unwin, on p. 28, fig. 15. See also the remarks by the most recent excavator of the site outside the south-west corner of the Haram, B. Mazar, *The Mountain of the Lord*, New York, 1975, 221-22, who considers the upper part of Wilson's Arch to be Umayyad: 'The [Umayyad] restoration of the upper arch, particularly at the point where it joins the retaining Western Wall, was so precise that it requires a trained eye to recognize its close imitation of Herodian masonry' (p. 222).

16 C. Wilson and C. Warren, *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, London, 1871, 94-111. The views expressed by Wilson and Warren must be revised in accordance with the most recent discoveries at Robinson's Arch, which show that the 'bridge' it supported turns due south to support a staircase leading up to the Temple enclosure from the Tyropoeon Valley: B. Mazar, *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem near the Temple Mount, Preliminary Report of the Second and Third Seasons 1969-1970*, Jerusalem, 1971.

17 G. Shamis and D. Shalem, *The Jerusalem Guide*, Jerusalem, 1973, 110-12.

18 Warren Report No. xli, 'Bab el-Mathara', *PEFQS*, 1869, 107.

19 C.N. Johns, 'The Citadel, Jerusalem: A summary of work since 1934', *QDAP*, xiv, 1950, 121-90.

20 J.B. Hennessy, 'Preliminary Report on Excavations at the Damascus Gate Jerusalem, 1964-6', *Levant*, ii, 1970, 22-27.

21 Description of the siege and capture in E.M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, Leiden, 1976, 322-26. Josephus wrote that Titus gave his army orders to destroy both the Temple and the city, apart from the tallest towers at the present Citadel and the wall enclosing the western part of the city. There cannot have been time to complete the wholesale destruction ordered by Titus since only three weeks were spent on it. The whole army began the work of demolition very soon after 26 September A.D. 70, but by 24 October the Tenth Legion was left on its own and Titus and the rest of the army was in Caesarea. While the Tenth Legion would have continued with the demolition work their main task must have been to secure their own camp to the south of the Citadel and undoubtedly much of the city survived this notorious 'destruction'.

22 E.M. Smallwood, *op. cit.*, 423, 460 n. 125.

23 J. Wilkinson, 'The Streets of Jerusalem', *Levant*, vii, 1975, 118-36.

24 *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 29-32. The second statue, described by the Pilgrim of Bordeaux as being also of Hadrian, was more likely that of Antoninus Pius, from which came the inscription re-used upside-down next to the ornamental archivolt in the rebuilding of the Double Gate (C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1903, 492).

25 J. Wilkinson, 'Christian Pilgrims in Jerusalem during the Byzantine Period', *PEQ*, 1976, 75-101.

26 C. Couâsson, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1972, London, 1974, 12-13.

27 *Jérusalem Nouvelle, passim*; J.T. Milik, 'La topographie de Jérusalem vers la

fin de l'époque byzantine', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, xxxvii, 1960-61, 127-89.

28 N. Avigad, 'Excavations in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, 1969/70', *IEJ*, xx, 1970, 129-40; *idem*, 'Excavations in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, 1971', *IEJ*, 1972, 198; *idem*, *Discovering Jerusalem*, Nashville, 1983, 240-46; J. Wilkinson, 'The Streets of Jerusalem', *Levant*, vii, 1975, 118-36.

29 S. Brock, 'The Rebuilding of the Temple under Julian: a new source', *PEQ*, 1976, 103-7.

30 M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map*, Jerusalem, 1954, 59 n. 74.

31 The only relevant text is the *Breviarium* 6 (version B) which says, 'From there you come to that pinnacle of the Temple where Satan tempted our Lord Jesus Christ.' Up to this point version B closely follows version A, then version B adds: 'And there (*ibi*) is a basilica set out as a cross (*in cruce posita*).' The *Breviarium* does not say that the basilica was *inside* the Haram, but that it was in the vicinity of the 'pinnacle'. Canon John Wilkinson has suggested to me that the basilica in question was the chapel of the enclosed convent 'beneath the pinnacle of Temple' (Theodosius, *De Situ*, 11) and that the author of the *Breviarium* had seen it outside the Haram wall when he visited the pinnacle. The church to which Avi-Yonah refers, appearing at the top right-hand corner of the Madaba Map of Jerusalem next to a break in the mosaic, is more likely to represent Holy Wisdom Church. (Cf. J. Wilkinson, 'Christian Pilgrims in Jerusalem during the Byzantine Period', *PEQ*, 1976, 75-101, especially p. 100 and fig. 8.)

32 R.D. Pringle, 'Les édifices ecclésiastiques du royaume latin de Jérusalem: une liste provisoire', *RB*, 1982, 92-98.

33 *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 465-66.

34 J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, Warminster, 1978, 161. Cf. F. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, ed. M. Hasluck, Oxford, 1929, 752.

35 R.W. Hamilton, 'Some Capitals from the Aqsa Mosque', *QDAP*, xiii, 1948, 103-20; S. Corbett, 'Some Observations on the Gateways to the Herodian Temple in Jerusalem', *PEQ*, 1952, 7-14; Monneret de Villard, *Introduzione allo studio dell'archeologia islamica*, Venice, 1966, 181-215.

36 L. Caetani, *Annali dell'islam*, iii, 932, fixes the year as 17/638.

37 R.W. Hamilton, 'Jerusalem: Patterns of Holiness', *Archaeology in the Levant: Essays for Kathleen Kenyon*, ed. P.R.S. Moorey and P.J. Parr, Warminster, 1978, 194-201; O. Grabar, 'Al-Kuds: Monuments', *EP*, *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 34-35; *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, 431-32.

38 References in *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 32-34.

39 *CIA (Haram)*, 223-55.

40 R.W. Hamilton, 'Jerusalem: Patterns of Holiness', *Archaeology in the Levant: Essays for Kathleen Kenyon*, ed. P.R.S. Moorey and P.J. Parr, Warminster, 1978, 197.

41 *CIA (Haram)*, 173-83; *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 100, 202. The work at Qubbat al-Silsila in 1976 has revealed six windows with semicircular arches, one in each face of the upper hexagon (below, n. 120). The surviving glass mosaic decoration of the embrasures appears to be late, perhaps the work of Baybars (659-76/1261-77), who restored the glass mosaics on the Dome of the Rock (see below, p. 236). The proposed removal of the glazed tiles from the interior may shed more light on the original form and function of the structure.

42 *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 373-374.

43 R.W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, London, 1949, 22.

44 H. Stern, 'Recherches sur la Mosquée al-Aqṣā et sur ses mosaïques', *Ars Orientalis*, v, 1963, 24-27.

45 The *qibla* changed from Jerusalem to Mecca in 2/624.

46 The most up-to-date discussion on the Constantinian Holy Sepulchre is by the architect involved in the recent restoration, the late Père C. Couâsson, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, London, 1974.

47 Creswell (*EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 124-29) gives a bibliography for the Dome of the Rock up until 1964, to which should be added: O. Grabar, 'The Umayyad Dome of the Rock', *Ars Orientalis*, iii, 1957, 33-62; C. Kessler, 'Abd al-Malik's inscription in the Dome of the Rock: a reconsideration', *JRAS*, 1970, 2-14. For the Aqṣā Mosque the major works are: R.W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, London, 1949, and H. Stern, 'Recherches sur la Mosquée al-Aqṣā et sur ses mosaïques', *Ars Orientalis*, v, 1963, 27-47, and *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 373-80.

48 H.I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, iv, 75-76, cited in *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 373 n. 11.

49 B. Mazar, *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem: Preliminary Report of the First Season 1968*, Jerusalem, 1969, 16-20, and M. Ben-Dov, 'The Omayyad Structures near the Temple Mount' in B. Mazar, *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem near the Temple Mount: Second Preliminary Report 1969-70 Seasons*, Jerusalem, 1971, 37-44.

50 R.W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, London, 1949, 66-70.

51 For an analysis of the structure of the Double Gate and the Golden Gate together with details of the Triple Gate, see the important article by S. Corbett, 'Some Observations on the Gateways to the Herodian Temple in Jerusalem', *PEQ*, 1952, 7-14.

52 Similar vousoirs though with a narrower chamfer are a feature of the pointed arch over the entrance to the Ayyūbid Burj al-Imām at the citadel in Cairo. Creswell (*MAE*, ii, 19) remarks that this treatment is 'only found elsewhere in Cairo in the Fāṭimid fortifications'. His reference to *MAE*, i, 168, pl. 51b, does not, however, appear to show this.

53 The inner arches of the blocked Triple Gate in the south wall are now invisible but were seen by Warren, who was able to inspect the gate outside and inside (*The Survey of Western Palestine: Jerusalem*, London, 1884, 164-65, pl. xxv; *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, London, 1871, 23-31). The access to the interior of the gate via Solomon's Stables has since been blocked.

54 In the absence of more conclusive evidence, the fact that the principal arches over each opening are semicircular and not pointed supports the view that these gates are Umayyad rather than 'Abbāsīd or Fāṭimid: E. Herzfeld, 'Die Qubbat al-



Sakhra', *Der Islam*, ii, 1911, 237. An illegible inscription incised at waist-height in the eastern jamb of the present Bāb al-ʿAtm appears, from its pronounced serifs, to belong to the ʿAbbāsīd or Fāṭimid period. None the less this gate may be Umayyad, since the very informal setting and the irregular alignment of the inscription suggest that it is a graffito which was cut some time after the gate was built.

- 55 O. Grabar, 'Al-Ḳuds: Monuments', *El<sup>2</sup>*.  
 56 Ibn Kathīr xi, 226, cited by S.D. Goitein, 'Al-Ḳuds: History', *El<sup>2</sup>*.  
 57 Mujīr, 250.  
 58 C.N. Johns, 'The Citadel, Jerusalem: A summary of work since 1934', *QDAP*, xiv, 1950, 160.  
 59 S.D. Goitein, 'Al-Ḳuds: History', *El<sup>2</sup>*.  
 60 Very little reliable information is known about contacts between Harūn al-Rashīd and Charlemagne, and most Christian sources which describe them are clearly legends (F.W. Buckler, *Hārūnu'l-Rashīd and Charles the Great*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931). No oriental author mentions them. When Bernard the Monk came to Jerusalem in about A.D. 870 he stayed in what he calls 'the hospice of the Glorious Emperor Charles' and wrote that 'all who come to Jerusalem for reasons of devotion and who speak the Roman language are given hospitality there. Beside it there is a church in honour of St. Mary, and thanks to this Emperor it has a splendid library . . . In front of this hospice is the forum' (J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, Warminster, 1977, 142). Thus there was a hospice for Christian pilgrims near the Holy Sepulchre in the area now called the Muristan. For churches built after the Muslim conquest and before the arrival of the Crusaders, see: D. Pringle, 'Church-building in Palestine before the Crusades', *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda, Oxford, 1982, 5-46.  
 61 *CIA (Haram)*, 246-66 and 259-61; *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 65-100; C. Kessler, 'Above the Outer Ambulatory in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem', *JRAS*, 1964, 83-95.  
 62 *CIA (Haram)*, 379; R.W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, London, 1949, 70-74; *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 374-75.  
 63 Ibn al-Faṭīh al-Hamdānī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. M. de Goeje in *Bibliotheca Geographica Arabica* [= BGA], v, Leiden, 1885, 261 ff., tr. A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris, 1951, 211-12, and G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890, *passim*.  
 64 Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fi ma'rifa al-aqālim*, ed. M. de Goeje, *BGA*, iii, Leiden, 1906, 168 ff., tr. A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris, 1951, 214-16, and G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890, *passim*.  
 65 Ibn ʿAbd Rabbīh, *Al-ʿiqd al-farīd*, tr. A.-S. Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris, 1951, 212-13; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890, *passim*. Clermont-Ganneau ingeniously suggests that these four minarets 'correspond to certain strategic fortified points in the ancient enclosing wall of the Temple' (*Archaeological Researches*, 145) but there is no real evidence for this apart from the parallel of the Great Mosque in Damascus (*EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 177-79).  
 66 O. Grabar, 'Al-Ḳuds: Monuments', *El<sup>2</sup>*.  
 67 *CIA (Haram)*, 13-15.  
 68 *CIA (Haram)*, 257-59.  
 69 *CIA (Haram)*, 9-11. Van Berchem's mis-reading of the inscription (*CIA* No.145) was corrected by S.A.S. Husseinī (Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum Archives, File 88 Jerusalem A1: Haram, General; 2', 4-49) in a note dated 11 June 1943. L.A. Mayer, *Islamic Architects and their Works*, Geneva, 1956, 40 n. 1, publishes his reading, which is identical with that of Husseinī. The craftsman named in the inscription, Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-barnā' (the builder), was, according to Mujīr al-Dīn (Mujīr, 44), the son of the famous builder of the Ṭulūnid harbour at Akkā/Acre and father of the great geographer al-Muqaddasī.  
 70 *CIA (Haram)*, 11-15.  
 71 *CIA (Ville)*, 52-68.  
 72 R. Ettinghausen, 'The "Beveled Style" in the Post-Samarra Period', *Archaeologia Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, New York, 1952, 72-83, especially p. 76.  
 73 C. Coüasson, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, London, 1974, 19-20.  
 74 *CIA (Haram)*, 261-88.  
 75 G. Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems*, London, 1890, 89-114; *CIA (Haram)*, 379-92; R.W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, London, 1949, *passim*; H. Stern, 'Recherches sur la Mosquée al-Aqṣā et sur ses mosaïques', *Ars Orientalis*, v, 1963, 27-47; *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 375-80.  
 76 *CIA (Haram)*, 15-18; R.W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqṣā Mosque*, London, 1949, 69-70.  
 77 M. Ben-Dov, 'The Omayyad Structures near the Temple Mount', B. Mazar, *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem near the Temple Mount: Second Preliminary Report 1969-70 Seasons*, Jerusalem, 1971, 37-44.  
 78 Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, *Safar nāma*, ed. and tr. C. Schefer, Paris, 1881, 22, 73; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890, 175.  
 79 See, e.g., *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 375. Of course, Nāṣir-i Khusrāw's own admission that all his life he had 'been addicted to the pleasures of the wine cup' ('Diary of a Journey through Syria and Palestine' tr. G. Le Strange, *PPTS*, iii, London, 1888, iii) would do little to instil confidence in some readers.  
 80 H. Stern, 'Recherches sur la Mosquée al-Aqṣā et sur ses mosaïques', *Ars Orientalis*, v, 1963, 27-47.  
 81 Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, *Safar nāma*, ed. and tr. C. Schefer, Paris, 1881, 31, 95.  
 82 M.H. Burgoyne and Amal Abul Hajj, 'Twenty-four Mediaeval Arabic Inscriptions from Jerusalem', *Levant*, xi, 1979, 115-17; and G. Wiet, 'Un proconsul fatimide de Syrie: Anushakīn Dizbiri (m. en 433/1042)', *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, xvi, 1970-71, 385-407.  
 83 *CIA (Haram)*, 73-82.  
 84 Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, *Safar nāma*, ed. and tr. C. Schefer, Paris, 1881, 24, 76.  
 85 Nāṣir-i Khusrāw's text is confused at this point. The relevant passage is

translated by Schefer (p. 75) as 'Il y a une galérie dont le mur est percé d'une porte qui donne accès à deux couvents de soufis. Ceux-ci y ont établi de beaux oratoires et des mihrabs magnifiques. De soufis en grand nombre y demeurent pour se livrer aux pratiques de la dévotion'. The problematic passage has been italicized. It would be interesting to know more about these early convents for Sūfīs in Jerusalem, but on closer examination it transpires that they did not really exist. Schefer's edition (p. 23) gives the Persian text as *dū dar-yūzeb-i ṣūfiyān*. But *dar-yūzeb* means 'begging' not convent. *Lughatnāme-i Dibkebudā*, fascicule no. 90, Tehran, 1963, gives the usual meaning as begging, and while noting the unusual interpretation of it as convent in exactly this passage of Nāṣir-i Khusrāw (using Dabīrsiyāqī's edition, Tehran, 1956, 29) confesses that no dictionary gives convent as a meaning of the term. However, M. Ghanizādeh's edition, Berlin, 1922, 33 n. 7, discloses that the Paris manuscript does not have *dū dar-yūzeb* at all but *dū dar-vīzeb*, which is meaningless. Ghanizādeh, confessing that the passage is confused, follows Schefer in correcting it to *dū dar-yūzeb*. But Dr J.D. Gurney of the Oriental Institute, Oxford, who very kindly discussed this problem with me, thinks it would be emended better to read *dū dar vīzheb*, and he has suggested the following translation of the full passage: 'In addition to that gate [in the north wall of the Haram] there are two gates specially for the Sūfīs, and there they have made places of prayer and beautiful mihrābs. Groups of Sūfīs are always close to them and they make their prayers there'.

- 86 M.H. Burgoyne, 'A Recently Discovered Marwānid Inscription in Jerusalem', *Levant*, xiv, 1982, 118-21.  
 87 C. Cahen, 'Atsiz b. Uvak', *El<sup>2</sup>*; 'Seldjuks', *El<sup>2</sup>*; *CIA (Haram)*, 254; *AHOTC*, i, 151.  
 88 S.D. Goitein, 'Al-Ḳuds: History', *El<sup>2</sup>*.  
 89 M.H. Burgoyne and Amal Abul-Hajj, 'Twenty-four Mediaeval Arabic Inscriptions from Jerusalem', *Levant*, xi, 1979, 117-18.  
 90 J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, London, 1972, 208-9, 323-24, 408-10; M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1970, 31-32, 49-74.  
 91 C. Coüasson, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, London, 1974, 20, 57-62.  
 92 R.D. Pringle, 'Les edifices ecclésiastiques du royaume latin de Jérusalem: une liste provisoire', *RB*, 1982, 92-98.  
 93 Al-Harawī, *Al-ishārāt ilā ma'rifa al-ziyārāt*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus, 1953, 24-25. Some later historians suggest that there were substantial changes; e.g. Ibn al-Athīr in *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. F. Gabrieli, London, 1969, 1-11, mentions the looting of gold and silver lamps and candelabra along with 'a great deal more booty' from the Dome of the Rock.  
 94 A description of the Dome of the Rock under Crusader rule is given in *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, 917-83; see also T.S.R. Boase in *AHOTC*, iv, 86-91, for an analysis of the distinctive sculptural style of the 'Templars' workshop'. The Dome of the Rock was consecrated as a church (*Templum Domini*) only in the early 1140s; the exact date is unknown. Nor is it known why this was done after such delay, but the founding of the Augustinian Monastery north of the Dome of the Rock no doubt had a bearing on the decision.  
 95 *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, 969-70; T.S.R. Boase in *AHOTC*, iv, 86-87. The Aqṣā Mosque was a royal residence until c.527/1131, and then the Templars moved in.  
 96 *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, 970; T.S.R. Boase in *AHOTC*, iv, 87.  
 97 R.W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, London, 1949, 48-53.  
 98 John of Würzburg, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, tr. A. Stewart as 'Description of the Holy Land (A.D. 1160-1170)', *PPTS*, v, London, 1896.  
 99 *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, 970.  
 100 *CIA (Haram)*, 176.  
 101 T.S.R. Boase, 'The Arts in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, ii, 1938, 16.  
 102 *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, 604-9; T.S.R. Boase in *AHOTC*, iv, 86.  
 103 *CIA (Haram)*, 35-56.  
 104 Note, however, that R. Krautheimer's analysis of the design of medieval baptisteries suggests that the form of the Qubbat al-Mi'rā' is reminiscent of Christian baptisteries of that period: 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, v, 1942, 1-33.  
 105 J. Folda, 'Three Crusader Capitals in Jerusalem', *Levant*, x, 1978, 139-55; see also: Mujīr, 390; *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, 580, fig. 238, pl. lix; M. de Vogüé, *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1860, 300; C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés*, ii, Paris, 1928, 201-4; G. Jeffrey, 'The Secondary Churches of Jerusalem and its Suburbs', *JRIBA*, xviii, 1911, 754-55.  
 106 R.W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, London, 1949, pl. 1, fig. 1, etc. See the remarks on this subject in *CIA (Haram)*, 413.  
 107 M.H. Burgoyne and J. Folda, Review of H. Buschhausen, *Die süditalienische Bauplastik im Königreich Jerusalem*, Vienna, 1978, in *The Art Bulletin*, lxiii, 1981, 321-24.  
 108 References cited in *CIA (Haram)*, 48 n. 3. See also T.S.R. Boase in *AHOTC*, iv, 86.  
 109 S. de Sandoli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Cruciatorum Terrae Sanctae*, Jerusalem, 1974.  
 110 A major survey of churches in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem is now being prepared for publication by R.D. Pringle. A comprehensive catalogue of Crusader sculpture in Jerusalem has recently been published by H. Buschhausen: *Die süditalienische Bauplastik im Königreich Jerusalem*, Vienna, 1978. The pioneering work of M. de Vogüé, *Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1860, is still valuable in spite of its age. The standard study is C. Enlart, *Les monuments des Croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem, architecture religieuse et civile*, 2 vols. and 2 atlases, Paris, 1928, with a representative sample of sculpture re-used on the Haram (vol. ii, 207-26). But neither tackles satisfactorily the multitudinous problems associated with the Crusader architectural remains around the Haram. Vincent and Abel (*Jérusalem Nouvelle*) analyse in detail the architecture and sculpture outside the Haram but remain strangely silent on that within.

Monographs on particular monuments or particular aspects of Crusader architecture include: J. Germer-Durand, 'La sculpture franque en Palestine', *Conférences de Saint-Etienne, 1910-1911*, Paris, 1911, 253-57; P. Deschamps, 'La sculpture française en Palestine et en Syrie à l'époque des Croisades', *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et Mémoires*, xxxi, 1930, 91-118; J. Strzygowski, 'Ruins of the Tombs of the Latin Kings', *Speculum*, xi, 1936, 499-508. Of the plethora of articles on the lintels of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre the best is A. Borg, 'Observations on the Historiated Lintel of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxxii, 1960, 25-40, with an additional note: 'The Holy Sepulchre Lintel' in the same journal, xlv, 1972, 389-90. More recent articles on specific topics are: Z. Jacoby, 'The Tomb of Baldwin V, King of Jerusalem (1185-1186), and the Workshop of the Temple Area', *Gesta*, xviii, 1979, 3-14; B. Kühnel, 'Crusader Sculpture at the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem', *Gesta*, xvi, 1977, 41-50; *eadem*, 'Steinmetzen aus Fontrevaux in Jerusalem: eine Bauplastikwerkstatt der Kreuzfahrerzeit', *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, xxxiii, 1980, 83-97; and the articles by H. Buschhausen ('Die Fassade der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem'), H. Plommer ('The Cenacle on Mount Sion') and V. Pace ('Italy and the Holy Land: Import-Export 2. The Case of Apulia'), in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda, Oxford, 1982. Probably the best conspectus is to be found in volume four of *A History of the Crusades*, ed. H.W. Hazard, Madison, 1977.

111 See above, p. 37 n. 7.

112 Ibn al-Athīr and 'Imad al-Dīn al-Isfahānī in *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. F. Gabrieli, London, 1969, 144-45 and 164, 168-69.

113 *Ibid.*, 144.

114 Al-Harawī, *Al-isbārāt ilā ma'rifa al-ziyārāt*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus, 1953, 25; *ibid.*, tr. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus, 1957, 63.

115 *CIA (Haram)*, 289-98.

116 *CIA (Haram)*, 301-03 and 305. The Crusader wrought iron screen was retained, however. The wooden screen was placed within the iron screen; the relative positions of the two screens is shown in *CIA (Planches)*, xxv. See also Ibn al-Athīr and 'Imad al-Dīn in *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. F. Gabrieli, London, 1969, 145 and 168-69.

117 Al-'Umari, *Masālik*, 166-67; Mujīr, 367, 368, 392; G.O. Wray, 'Southern Projection from the Masjid al-Aksa, Jerusalem', *PEFQS*, 1891, 320-22; *PEFQS*, 1892, 19-24; L.-H. Vincent, *Jerusalem de l'Ancien Testament*, ii, Paris, 1956, 568-71.

118 Some of the re-used Crusader sculpture found in and around the Haram may well have come from these buildings: T.S.R. Boase in *AHOTC*, iv, 91; H. Buschhausen, *Die süditalienische Bauplastik im Königreich Jerusalem*, Vienna, 1978, 200-4.

119 S. Tamari, 'Sulla conversione della chiesa di Sant'Anna a Gerusalemme nella Madrasa as-Salāhiyya', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, lxiii, 1968, 327-54.

120 The recent (1976) work at Qubbat al-Silsila involved stripping the Ottoman tiles (dated 969/1561-62 and 1174/1760-61) and Baybars's marble revetment of the *mibrāb* (659-71/1261-73) to reveal an earlier *mibrāb* with a moulded arch resting on imposts for columns at either side. The date of this *mibrāb* is not precisely known. Fragments of Romanesque capitals, apparently Crusader, are incorporated within the structure, however, and this suggests an early Ayyūbid dating. An inscription (now gone) commemorating '... the renovation ... the carving (*naqsb*) of the ceiling, and the paving, finished in the months of the year 596 (1199-1200)' was recorded about 738/1338 by a pilgrim from Spain (A.S. Tritton, 'Three Inscriptions from Jerusalem', *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 537-39). It is possible that the earlier *mibrāb* belonged to that Ayyūbid restoration. Nevertheless it should be recalled that Nāṣir-i Khusraw's description of Qubbat al-Silsila mentions a 'beautiful *mibrāb*' – see *CIA (Haram)*, 173-183 with full references. Under the Crusaders Qubbat al-Silsila was a chapel dedicated to St. James and it is conceivable that the *mibrāb* mentioned by Nāṣir-i Khusraw was removed then, as van Berchem has suggested (*CIA (Haram)*, 182).

121 *CIA (Haram)*, 403-15.

122 *CIA (Haram)*, 393-402. The *minbar* was almost totally destroyed by fire on 21 August 1969.

123 Michael the Syrian in *RHCA*, vol. i, 400 cited by van Berchem, *CIA (Haram)*, 88 n. 3.

124 Ibn al-Athīr in *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. F. Gabrieli, London, 1969, 145-47: 'So Islam was restored there in full freshness and beauty'.

125 Mujīr, 345, 398, 400, 409; Elinor Moore, *The Ancient Churches of Old Jerusalem*, Beirut, 1961, 49; *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, 268.

126 *CIA (Ville)*, 90-95.

127 *CIA (Ville)*, 95-103; *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, 962-63.

128 Mujīr, 399; *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, 992; *PEFQS*, 1887, 158-59.

129 *CIA (Ville)*, 119-23, 129-41; *CIA (Haram)*, 23-31. To the two inscriptions discussed by van Berchem we must now add three inscriptions recently discovered and edited, which were intended for the walls of the city. None of these inscriptions is *in situ* – M.H. Burgoyne and Amal Abul-Hajj, 'Twenty-four Mediaeval Arabic Inscriptions from Jerusalem', *Levant*, xi, 1979, 113-23.

130 *AHOTC*, ii, 352, 696-97.

131 Mujīr, 397; transcript of *waqfiyya* in AL. Tibawi, *The Islamic Pious Foundations in Jerusalem*, London, 1978, 13-15, Appendix II; *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, 988; P. Kahle, 'Die moslemischen Heiligtümer in und bei Jerusalem', *Palästina-Jahrbuch*, vi, 1910, 70; *MAE*, ii, 123. This building was destroyed in June 1967 (see A.-M. Goichon, 'L'actuelle destruction de Jérusalem', *Oriente Moderno*, liii, 1973, 271-80). Its former location about 75m west of the Wailing Wall is given by Sandreczki in *ZDPV*, vi, 57, who calls it [Masjid] Shech 'Aid (No. 1547). A single photograph and a brief description are preserved in the archives of the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum: medieval doorway with two cross-vaulted chambers and a domed middle chamber; dome carried on four arches, corner squinches and drum with four windows; in south wall of middle chamber is a *mibrāb* with a moulded arch, in west chamber a wooden cenotaph.

132 *CIA (Ville)*, 108-19.

133 *AHOTC*, ii, 696; N. Elisséeff, 'Dimashk', *EP*<sup>2</sup>.

134 *CIA (Haram)*, 73-82. Van Berchem did not see a sixth line of the restoration inscription (*CIA* No. 161) which is partly obscured by mortar but undoubtedly reads: *fi wilāyat al-amīr al-ajall 'Izz al-Dīn 'U[mar] ibn Yağmur* = 'During the governorship of the illustrious Amīr 'Izz al-Dīn 'Umar son of Yağmur.' Cf. *CIA*, Nos. 43 and 162.

135 Mujīr, 264-5, 380, 386; *CIA (Haram)*, 163-65.

136 *CIA (Haram)*, 415-19.

137 *CIA (Haram)*, 82-97.

138 Mujīr, 353; *CIA (Haram)*, 56-59, 102-4.

139 If the Saljūq restoration of the Great Mosque in Damascus (475/1082-83) is anything to go by, it is unlikely that the Saljūqs would have intentionally destroyed buildings on the Haram in Jerusalem (see *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 167-68). The Saljūqs also restored the Great Mosques at Aleppo (483/1090) and at Diyārbakr (484/1091).

140 *CIA (Haram)*, 59-68. Al-'Umari, *Masālik*, 146, gives the date A.H. 608 when describing this inscription. The inscription definitely reads *arba*, 'four'. Cf. Mayer's translation in *QDAP*, i, 1932, 49 n. 3, where both possibilities (604 and 608) are mentioned.

141 Mujīr, 369.

142 *CIA (Haram)*, 68-72, 98-102. A list of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa's building works including those outside Jerusalem is given by N. Elisséeff, 'A propos d'une inscription d'al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isa', *Les Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*, iv-v, 1954-55, 3-28.

143 *CIA (Ville)*, 131-41; C.N. Johns, 'The Citadel, Jerusalem: A Summary of work since 1934', *QDAP*, xiv, 1950, 170; M. Sharon, 'The Ayyūbid Walls of Jerusalem: A New Inscription from the Time of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa', *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem, 1977, 179-93.

144 Mujīr, 390, 398; *CIA (Ville)*, 125-29.

145 Mujīr, 153, 398; *CIA (Ville)*, 177-85.

146 Mujīr, 353, 393; *CIA (Ville)*, 168-77.

147 Mujīr, 399; M.H. Burgoyne and Amal Abul-Hajj, 'Twenty-four Mediaeval Arabic Inscriptions from Jerusalem', *Levant*, xi, 1979, 124-25.

148 Mujīr, 399-400.

149 *AHOTC*, ii, 377-428.

150 *AHOTC*, ii, 699.

151 *CIA (Ville)*, 121, 133 n. 3; *AHOTC*, ii, 699.

152 *CIA (Ville)*, 431-49.

153 *AHOTC*, ii, 451-61, 702; *CIA (Ville)*, 134-35, 385-86; *CIA (Haram)*, 295-96.

154 *AHOTC*, ii, 455-56, 702.

155 *AHOTC*, 472-73, 706; *CIA (Haram)*, 296 n. 3.

156 *AHOTC*, ii, 709.

157 *AHOTC*, ii, 674, 709; *CIA (Ville)*, 135.

158 *AHOTC*, ii, 674, 710.

159 *CIA (Haram)*, 105-7.



# THE MAMLŪK STATE

## THE ANTECEDENTS

Before his death in 1193 the great Kurdish Sultan, known to the West as Saladin, had established a large dominion, comprising Egypt, the Yemen, Syria and Palestine (excluding the areas held by the reduced, and by now only titular, Kingdom of Jerusalem), and the Jezira or northern Mesopotamia. The various lands and cities within this large empire were left in the control of members of his own family, the Ayyūbids, of their senior Kurdish or Turkish amīrs, and of representatives of dynasties, such as the Zengids of Mosul and other Jezira towns, which Saladin had brought under his suzerainty. After a period of adjustment the controlling hand became that of al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr, Saladin's brother. For the half century or so that remained to the Ayyūbid dynasty *bis* direct descendants held the greater share of power and provided the suzerain who ruled from Cairo.

The Yemen, too remote and turbulent, soon went its own way, and the Zengids and other minor dynasties of the Jezira reclaimed a flimsy independence. The main centres of Ayyūbid rule, Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo, Homs and Hama, continued in an uneasy alliance based on family ties. Mutual suspicions and personal ambitions were reflected in a bewilderingly varied pattern of alliances between the separate 'kingdoms' (*mamālīk*). In each one a separate army and bureaucracy was maintained and the ruler claimed the rank of sultan. Cairo invariably had difficulty in establishing its suzerainty.

This is not to say that the Ayyūbids were unable to cooperate successfully when threatened in a serious way from without, as for example during the Fifth Crusade in 1218. However, as family ties were loosened and interests became more particularised, so the level of conflict escalated and accommodation became less easy.

The Kurdish element in the army and the ruling hierarchy had always been strong but far from being exclusive. They were free tribesmen who had been attracted into the service of the state owing to its prestige and success. The Turkish element, far from negligible from the very beginning because of the manpower taken over from their Zengid predecessors, increased in the first half of the thirteenth century. The Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb was especially associated with this process in his efforts to build up an army powerful and ruthless enough to impose his will on the whole Ayyūbid state.

It was this army which was able to defend Egypt against the Crusade of Louis IX and defeat and capture him at the battle of Manṣūra in 1249, but it was also this army or the élite amongst it which, after the inopportune death of al-Ṣāliḥ and the triumph over the Sixth Crusade, felt confident enough to assassinate his son and successor, Tūrān Shāh, and take power for itself. At the core of this army was a regiment, called the *Bahṛiyya*, which was formed of imported Turkish mamlūks.<sup>1</sup>

## THE MAMLŪK SYSTEM

After the decline of that political and social cohesion amongst the Arab tribesmen which had conquered an empire for Islam,

and established and maintained for almost a century the Umayyad dynasty in Damascus, Islamic rulers, following the lead of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs of Baghdad, from the early decades of the ninth century looked for manpower to support their régimes on the eastern and north-eastern borders of the Islamic world among the Turks. As part of the human merchandise, captured in campaigns against the Turkish tribesmen or sold as a result of inter-tribal raiding, or even, as the system was established, willingly sold to slave dealers, came youths destined to serve in the households of rulers, or to develop their natural arts of warfare as members of élite guards or often to do both these things. Their status was that of slaves but far removed from what is normally understood by that word. They were called mamlūks, which literally means 'owned ones' (*mamlūk*, pl. *mamālīk*), or as often as not in earlier years and in the east 'youths, pages' (*ghulam*, pl. *ghilmān*). They were certainly not to be confused with slaves for menial and lowly tasks, who might often be black, and for whom the word *ʿabd* (pl. *ʿabid*) was used. Even less did they resemble the slaves of large plantations, such as the Zanj, the black East African slaves in lower Iraq during the tenth century.

The classic definition of a mamlūk is as follows: a person imported before he has reached mature years from beyond the boundaries of the Islamic world, to be turned into a good Muslim, to serve at court or in the army, where with his fellows he helped to form a trusty power base for his master, devoid as he was of any previous social or political ties, bound into a cohesive group through shared experience and interest with his immediate fellow mamlūks, and exercising his admired talent for the art of Turkish warfare, namely as a mounted archer.

Whether all these ideal conditions operated at all times and in all places throughout Islamic history is open to doubt. The slave status was in any case normally replaced through emancipation by that of clientage. This personal bond, the rights and obligations of which are defined in Islamic law, was after all the important one. Perhaps as important was the solidarity between mamlūks of the same master which could produce powerful interest groups for social and political action.

That Turkish commanders and their troops entered the political arena and made and unmade their rulers is one of the clichés of Islamic history. Furthermore, there were examples of mamlūks overthrowing the dynasty they served and taking power for themselves before the Ayyūbid sultan was removed so bloodily in Egypt. However, the régime that followed the Ayyūbids is the only one that is qualified as 'Mamlūk', because it alone was dominated over such a long period, two and a half centuries, by a hierarchy of mamlūks as a self-perpetuating ruling élite, even if the men who held the highest office in the state were not themselves at all times mamlūks.<sup>2</sup>

## HISTORICAL SURVEY

The early years after the coup d'état in 1250 were years of confusion and experimentation, in which Egypt was ruled at

one time by Shajar al-Durr, a former concubine of al-Ṣālih Ayyūb, and young Ayyūbid princes were at others given nominal authority to make a show of legitimacy. Meanwhile, in Syria, the Ayyūbids, united under a grandson of Saladin, made some attempt to recover Egypt by military action. All this was brought to an end by the Mongol invasion of Syria under Hulagu in 1259.

The battle at Goliath's Spring south of Nazareth, in which the Mamlūk army was victorious, may not have been the decisive turning-point that it is sometimes said to have been – for Mongol raids and full-scale invasions had to be met for the next half-century or so, until their conversion to Islam and their own internal problems in the Īlkhānid state they established in Iran and Iraq put an end to the threat they represented – but it did mean that the Mamlūks moved into the vacuum left in Syria, since the Ayyūbids had been swept away by the Mongol horsemen, and in the aftermath of these events Baybars emerged as sultan.

Baybars in an energetic and ruthless reign from 1260 to 1276, when he died at the age of fifty-six, was the real founder of the Mamlūk state. By his defence of Islam against the Mongols and by his successes against the Crusader possessions on the Syrian littoral, and by his careful and thorough organisation of his realm, he gained for the Mamlūk state an effective claim to legitimacy, quite apart from the paper legitimacy gained from the re-establishment at Cairo in 'shadow' form of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate, which the Mongols had destroyed at Baghdad in 1258.

He was succeeded after an interval by a close associate of his who had also been a member of the Bahriyya regiment, Qalāwūn (1279-1290). The latter's son, Khalīl, completed the destruction of the Crusader kingdom by taking Acre and its few dependencies in 1291.

The sultanate of another son, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, which lasted for nearly half a century but was interrupted by the short reigns of three of his father's mamlūks, was in many ways the confident high-water mark of the Mamlūk period. Free from any major external threats, not yet affected by the social ills of the later fourteenth century and the ravages of the Black Death, and enjoying the profits of the Far East trade and the benefits of Egypt's and Syria's strategic position astride the trade routes to the Mediterranean and the West, Cairo and the main provincial centre, Damascus, boasted a high level of civilised life and urban amenity, the most obvious evidence for which is the surviving architecture of the mosques and schools and other public buildings. Although the social life and the administration of the period had its dark side, and scholarship and literature had more than a touch of the silver age about them, travellers from Europe were not infrequently impressed by what they saw, and that is true for the whole of the Mamlūk period.

The history of the sultanate in the fourteenth century at first sight suggests that a dynasty had been established. Twelve descendants of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, down to the level of great-grandson, became sultans in a period of just over forty years. But this also speaks for itself. It was a period dominated by the factionalism of the mamlūks, in which sultans were made and unmade, while their power remained strictly limited by the oligarchy of amīrs, many of whom we shall meet in the context of their religious foundations at Jerusalem. None of them was quite strong enough to seize supreme power for himself.

The Mamlūk hierarchy was itself deeply split in this period because the previous dominance of the Qipchaq Turks was being challenged by increasing numbers of Circassians. In the mid-thirteenth century most of the Bahriyya had been purchased from the steppes north of the Black Sea, where the Mongol invasions and the establishment of the Golden Horde had conveniently provided a reservoir of manpower for sale. This source continued well into the fourteenth century, and the term 'Bahrī period' is used to describe the period of the Mamlūk state up to the end of the line of Qalāwūn.

The second, or the Circassian, period began with the

sultanate of Barqūq (1382-89, 1390-99). His son, Faraj, did reign for some six years after him, but as a general rule in the Circassian period there was not even a semblance of dynastic continuity. With monotonous regularity an emerging strong amīr pushed aside the son of his predecessor, the only function of whose reign appeared to be to allow time for the real succession struggle to be decided.

The sultans of consequence during this second phase of Mamlūk rule were the following: al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (1412-1421), al-Ashraf Barsbāy (1422-1438), al-Zāhir Jaqmaq (1438-1453), al-Ashraf Īnāl (1453-1461), al-Ashraf Qāyrbāy (1468-1496), and al-Ashraf Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī (1503-1516).

The problems of the state grew and grew. As with the branches of the Ayyūbid family, so with the competing factions of mamlūks, the differences became more frequent and more disruptive. Although more research may shed light on details there is general agreement, which is not likely to be rejected, that the fifteenth century was a period of social and economic decline. Agricultural revenues and the land under cultivation shrank. Taxation continued burdensome and arbitrary, and the evil effects of this more and more damaged the trade and industry of towns. The internal security of the state, the lives and crops of farmers, the passage of goods and even the urban centres themselves were threatened by the lawlessness of Bedouin in Egypt and Syria.

The whirlwind invasion of Syria by Tamerlane and his Mongol and Turcoman armies (1400) was greatly destructive, and the coastline of the Mamlūk state also lay open to attacks by Christian corsairs. The attempt to hold on to northern possessions beyond Aleppo led to innumerable campaigns against the new Turcoman federations of the Akkoyunlu and the Karakoyunlu, the White and the Black sheep. The Mamlūks' claim to suzerainty over the other Turcoman states, such as the Qaramānids, brought them into increasing conflict with the Ottomans. The latter's power grew steadily eastwards after the temporary setback of Tamerlane's victories against them. The Ottomans' expansionism, backed by the 'new army' of the Janissaries, was eventually to remove the Mamlūk régime from Syria and Egypt after the victories at Marj Dābiq near Aleppo (1516) and at Raydaniyya north of Cairo (1517).<sup>5</sup>

## THE ORGANISATION OF THE STATE

There are a number of expositions of the way the state was organised, how in broad principles the bureaucracy functioned and how the army and the mamlūks were maintained. These were written by functionaries of the state and clearly aimed to systematise everything as neatly as possible.<sup>4</sup> Quite evidently in such a large realm and over such a long period there was change and development, but within the scope of this introduction we must plead guilty to a similar oversimplification. What follows should be understood as the presentation of the standard model, from which there were departures at all times and places.

The army was divided into three main groups, that is if we concentrate on the army of Egypt. The Syrian provinces, which inherited much of the organisation of the separate Ayyūbid principalities, maintained local standing and auxiliary forces, the various elements of which were less clearly defined than those of Egypt. In Egypt there was first and foremost the corps made up of the royal mamlūks, which is to say, the mamlūks of the ruling sultan and those of his predecessors not transferred to other service. The second category consisted of the troops maintained by the amīrs, the officers of the army and the leading men in the government of the state. The last group was that called the *Halqa*. In name, if not in direct line of development, this body went back to the élite corps of the Ayyūbid army. Its members were not mamlūks, but were free men, much integrated into indigenous society. In origin they might be Kurdish, Turkish, even Mongol, or the descendants of mamlūks.

The resources of the state were applied to the



maintenance of the sultan's court and household departments, the army and the administration, and the judicial and religious institutions. The general principle seems to have been that certain sources of revenue were assigned to meet specific items of expenditure. Naturally a large proportion of the state's income was at the disposal of the sultan and the heads of the central departments of state. Apart from the administration and the maintenance of his royal estate in the great citadel in Cairo, which was his residence and the seat of government, the sultan purchased his mamlūks, bore the expense of their training and continued upkeep, as they received their salaries and allowances in kind in the barracks of the Citadel. The mamlūks acquired by a particular sultan were known collectively by derivation from that sultan's ruling title. Thus the mamlūks of Qalāwūn, whose title was al-Manṣūr (lit. the God-aided), would be known as the Manṣūriyya. It was from these powerful groups that the amīrs were appointed, and from the amīrs that the high officers of state were created and that the contenders for royal authority arose.

Apart from considerations of personal merit and aptitude, a mamlūk's career depended largely on the success of his master. His own promotion prospects grew as his master rose in rank and influence. The converse was also true, of course. This is well exemplified by what Ludolph von Suchem, who resided in the Holy Land between 1336-1341, wrote of three 'renegades' from Minden in Germany whom he met in Hebron. Two had been in the service of their lord (an amīr?) and the third their servant. Now one was a water carrier, another a labourer, and their former servant a soldier, 'because he was thought a better looking fellow in every way by the Soldan's officers.' They had hoped that their lord would obtain riches and honour but he had disappointed them.<sup>5</sup> This story also indicates that Europeans were found amongst the mamlūks, often, no doubt, sold into slavery by corsairs. The various travellers always seem to meet at least one such.

To maintain themselves and their troops the amīrs received *iqṭā's*. An *iqṭā'*, which literally means 'assignment, allotment', was the grant of the usufruct of the agricultural revenues of an area, village or part of a village, or the yield from a certain tax. The amīrs received *iqṭā's* of appropriate size according to their rank. The ranks came to be defined by reference to the number of troops which the amīr was obliged to keep. The highest was the amīr of a 100, followed by the amīr of 40, then of 10, and the lowest the amīr of 5. There was variation in practice, because the figures represented the minimum number of troops an amīr was expected to maintain, yet this remained the conventional terminology for rank. In addition, at the level of the amīr of 40 and above, each amīr enjoyed the privilege of maintaining a band of wind and drums which played before his residence at certain times of the day. This band was called a 'drumery' (*ṭablkhāna*). Amīrs of 40 were often termed *ṭablkhāna* amīrs. An amīr of 100 also commanded bodies of 1,000 men when actually on campaign and so could also be referred to as commander of 1,000 (*muqaddam alf*).

The grants of land in such form had under the Mamlūks' predecessors, the Zengids and the Ayyūbids, shown a tendency to become hereditary, which had allowed the tentative growth of an aristocracy with territorial roots. This was cut short by the Mongol invasion. If under the Mamlūks there was any suspicion of hereditary privilege it was not based on the entrenched holding of specific landed resources.

The highest commands in the army and the amirates, along with the influential positions at court, to which they were so often the key, on the whole passed from one generation of mamlūks to the next, which prevented the development of any aristocracy of birth at that level. As Pero Tafur wrote: 'When they arrive here they become Moors and they teach them the law and instruct them in horsemanship and to shoot with the bow ... No man can become Sultan, nor admiral [amīr], nor have any honour or office except he be one of those renegades. It is the Mamelukes who have all the honours of knighthood. Their

sons have somewhat less honour, and the grandchildren still less again, and after that they are accounted as Moors by birth.' What happened is that the descendants of mamlūks held positions in the Ḥalqa. There they also received *iqṭā's*, although the Ḥalqa share of the resources of the state steadily declined both on account of, and simultaneously with, the decline of its military effectiveness. These Ḥalqa *iqṭā's* did have a greater tendency to be passed on by inheritance and to be treated as property to be bought and sold. However, if the offspring of mamlūks, who were as a class referred to as 'sons of the people', only rarely held on to high rank and influence in Cairo, in the provinces they not infrequently received minor governorships, and in the urban centres fulfilled an important intermediary role between the Mamlūk hierarchy proper and the indigenous notables with whose families they intermarried and to whom they culturally assimilated.

Many state offices were held by mamlūks, by men of military rank (men of the sword) rather than by civilians (men of the pen). This is particularly true of the offices which were in their essence functions of the sultan's household. The influence of these household posts tended to grow and to take on a wide role in the general administration of the state.

The two main departments were those of the army and the chancery. The *dīwān* of the army administered the *iqṭā'* system in all its financial and accounting ramifications, whereas the chancery (*dīwān al-insbā'*) handled all the official correspondence and the engraving of *iqṭā'* diplomas and all the various documents of appointment.

The financial departments were throughout the Mamlūk period, as before it, largely staffed and sometimes controlled by Copts. These Coptic secretaries had deep experience at all levels of the technique of administering and taxing Egyptian agriculture, both in the central offices of state and in the smaller 'carbon copy' administrative cadres maintained by the amīrs. Particularly in the early decades of the fourteenth century, but also at periodic intervals thereafter, zeal for Islam and the tensions within society produced demands for the application of the Shari'a ban on the employment of such non-Muslim servants of the state. Bowing to pressure, there were large scale conversions to Islam at these times.<sup>6</sup>

## THE STATE AND THE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION

It took several centuries for Islam to elaborate its dogma, its sects, its piety at the personal level and its public institutional face. Even though the 'Abbāsids had come to the Caliphate in the middle of the eighth century, claiming religious sanction and justification for their rule, the ulema (the learned men of religion) in their working out of the theological implications of the Koran and the construction of the edifice of Islamic law continued apart from the apparatus of the state. *A fortiori* this was true for the heterodox branches of Islam.

After the tenth century, in which the heterodox Shi'a had been politically dominant in the heartlands of Islam, the Saljūq Turks created a large, although often loosely held together, empire, which lasted from the mid-eleventh century until the mid-twelfth century. They also presided over the creation of the mature forms of Islam which endured in their broad lines down to modern times. Firstly the madrasa spread quickly as the classic institution for the study of the Islamic sciences, above all the law of the four orthodox schools. Then Sūfism, the movement within Islam which sought for direct knowledge of God through mystic experiences and spiritual exercises, developed corporate forms and distinct orders (*tariqas*). As the teachers and lecturers (sing. *mudarris*) gathered with their students in the new residential 'colleges', maintained by appropriate salaries, so the Sūfis, the shaykhs and the neophytes, lived, and assembled for their devotions, in foundations variously called *khānqāhs*, *ribāts* or *zāwiyyas*. It is broadly true that many of the cultural phenomena of Islam

suffer from an extremely inexact or fluid terminology. This is nowhere truer than it is for such religious institutions, and the problem is complicated further when we admit that at times the activity of one particular place could embrace both academic study and devotional exercises, if we may so term the opposite poles. Specialised offshoots from the madrasa concept were the centres for the study of the Koran (sing. *dār al-Qur'ān*) and similarly those for the Tradition of the Prophet (sing. *dār al-Hadīth*).

The dedication of these institutions to this range of activity and the provision of the necessary funds for their upkeep and the support of the teaching staff and students was made possible through the system of *waqf*. As developed in the Sharī'a a *waqf* is the irrevocable declaration of the inalienability of some property for a declared charitable purpose. In the case of the institutions mentioned, the buildings themselves would have to be so 'set aside' for the purposes intended and, as for upkeep, agricultural lands or urban properties would typically be designated, the rents of which would be assigned to them in perpetuity.

Such legal acts must be effected by individuals disposing of their own property, whether they be sultans, amīrs or any ordinary citizen, and cannot be by action of the state. Once amortized, the property must also be provided by the *wāqif*, the person making the *waqf*, with an inspector (*nāzir*). The *wāqif* could, and often did, take on this duty, but the role he exercised was a circumscribed one, as he had given up the rights of ownership through his act of endowment.

The successors of the Saljūqs, the Zengids under such a ruler as Nūr al-Dīn, and the Ayyūbids in their turn, continued to act within this framework and this strengthened the link of the accommodation that had been arrived at between the state and

the ulema. The rulers, mainly of Turkish origin, undertook to uphold orthodoxy and to operate within the broad limits of the Sharī'a, accepting in this the guidance of the indigenous ulema class. This involved the local religious hierarchy in the administration and the judiciary of the state, not always avoiding the qualms which had earlier accompanied service to the secular authorities. Muḥīr al-Dīn counted it a blessing for a Mālikī Qāḍī that he died after less than a month of office 'before becoming embroiled in judgments and entering dubious affairs'.<sup>7</sup> Of a Ḥanbalī qāḍī (died 844/1440) it was later written, 'we know nothing with which to fault him, except that he served as qāḍī (may God satisfy the litigants on his behalf)'.<sup>8</sup> In general the ulema tried to be a medium of communication between the populace at large and the rulers and to moderate the demands of the latter. In return for the influential support for their régimes and the legitimacy lent them, the rulers and the other great men by *waqf* foundations fostered learning, extended the salary and career potential of the ulema and raised their prestige.

This policy was continued by the Mamlūks. They more than others, lacking as they did any deep roots in the world of Islam, felt the need to establish their Islamic credentials and to justify their position. The mutually supportive action of Mamlūks and ulema was aided by the roles both played in the continuation of the jihād, the rhetoric of which was taken over from their predecessors. In acting as the defenders of Islam and willingly taking on the norms of Islamic government as established from Saljuq times, the Mamlūks gave their empire, Cairo and the other urban centres a series of institutions housed in handsome buildings, madrasas, khānqāhs and the like. Jerusalem, owing to its position in Muslim consciousness, benefited significantly from this activity.<sup>9</sup>

## Notes

1 For further information, see M.C. Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin: the politics of the Holy War*, Cambridge, 1982, and R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: the Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193-1260*, Albany (N.Y.), 1977.

2 The reader is referred to Patricia Crone, *Slaves on horses: the evolution of the Islamic polity*, Cambridge, 1980, and D. Pipes, *Slave Soldiers and Islam: the genesis of a military system*, Yale University Press, 1981.

3 For a fuller general history of the period, see G. Wiet, *L'Égypte Arabe*, vol. iv of *Histoire de la nation Égyptienne*, ed. G. Hanotaux, Paris, 1937, 387-636.

4 See, for example, the works of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umārī, both the *Masālik* and the *Ta'rīf*, and also of al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, and Khalīl al-Zāhirī, *Zubda*.

5 Von Suchem, *Description*, 92.

6 For further details, see D. Ayalon, *L'Esclavage du Mameluke*, Oriental Notes and Studies no. 1, Jerusalem, 1951; *idem*, 'Studies on the Structure of the Mamluke Army', *BSOAS*, xv, 1953 and xvi, 1954; *idem*, 'The Circassians in the Mamluk Kingdom', *JAOS*, lxi, 1949; H. Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt, A.H. 564-741/ A.D. 1169-1341*, O.U.P., 1972; also *EF*, s.v. *iktā'*.

7 Muḥīr, ii, 256.

8 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Qalā'id*, 375.

9 M.G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, The University of Chicago Press, 1974, vol. ii.



# JERUSALEM UNDER THE MAMLŪKS

## THE SOURCES

This section does not aim to be an exhaustive evaluation of all the sources used, medieval or modern, Middle Eastern or Western, for the history of Jerusalem in the Mamlūk period. That would be a genuinely mammoth task. The intention is merely to give the reader an idea of the nature of the most important and therefore most used sources. As for the others, the Arabic chronicles and biographical dictionaries, and the vast secondary literature, the brief appearance of some with their publication details in the bibliography must suffice.

### MUJĪR AL DĪN AL-'ULAYMĪ

Pride of place must go to Mujīr al-Dīn.<sup>1</sup> His work on his native city of Jerusalem has long been available but still does not have a critical edition, nor a complete translation into a European language. Nevertheless, the book has been used over and over again by researchers and rightly so, for one wonders where one would be without it. It falls into distinct sections in some of which the author is more original than in others. One contains an exposition of the place of Jerusalem in the religious consciousness of Islam and a description of its most sacred sites; another gives a summary history of Jerusalem in Islamic times; a third is an invaluable section of topographical information, mixed with historical and epigraphical commentary; a fourth is a compendium of the biographies of notables and scholars who were connected with Jerusalem in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times; and lastly a chronicle section which begins with the year 872/1468, that is, the beginning of the reign of Sultan Qāytbāy, and continues to the year 900/1495, at the end of which year Mujīr al-Dīn began to write.<sup>2</sup>

Our essential guide to Jerusalem was born in that city on the eve of Sunday, 23 Dhu'l-Qa'da 860/23 October 1456.<sup>3</sup> As a young man he studied in Cairo and became Qāḍī in Ramla in 889/1484, and three years later Chief Qāḍī in Jerusalem. He finished his book in less than four months, he claims, in 901/about mid-January 1496. His death was in 928/1522, also in Jerusalem.

### CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM ARABICARUM

The great Swiss scholar van Berchem acknowledged his debt to Mujīr al-Dīn, whom he dubbed 'the chronicler' and mentioned on almost every page of his own great collection of the Arabic inscriptions of Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> His meticulous study of this surviving, or in some cases no longer surviving, epigraphical material and his wide-ranging and enlightening commentary upon it make these volumes an indispensable tool for any historical investigation of Jerusalem's medieval past.

### THE ḤARAM DOCUMENTS

Far less well known than these two admirable works is an impressively large body of documentary material extant in the Islamic Museum of Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem. The discovery

of these Islamic documents from the Mamlūk period was first announced in 1978. Since then they have been well described by Donald Little.<sup>5</sup> They amount to 883 numbered items and there is also a sizeable collection of so far unsorted and unnumbered fragments, some quite extensive. The survival of these documents is hard to explain. They cannot really be described as an organised archive and yet they have a certain unity, both from the fact that they by and large refer to a narrow band of time, the last decade of the eighth century A.H. or fourteenth century A.D., and because there is constant mention in one capacity or another of the Shāfi'ī Qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn 'Isā b. Ghānim al-Anṣārī. He died in late 797/1395, and, since so many of the documents fall into the period 793-96/1391-94, one wonders whether they were not his papers which form the core of this most happy find.

In substance the Ḥaram documents (for they shall be referred to in this manner) cover a wide range. The reader is referred to Little's article and to his catalogue, which, it is hoped, will appear soon, for a detailed description. There are royal decrees, applications for, and appointments to, positions in Jerusalem, private letters and petitions, financial accounts, wills, inventories of the possessions of deceased persons or persons on the point of death, legal declarations on manifold subjects, such as divorces, the maintenance of orphans, and endowments, and finally property transfer deeds. From the point of view of this present volume one may regret that the most optimistic hopes for copies, if not originals, of endowment deeds and such like for the Mamlūk institutions, likely in date to be represented in the collection, are not fulfilled. However, despite this and despite the many difficulties of reading and interpreting these documents, they have been used to inform the picture of Jerusalem here presented, even if it is in a provisional way which will inevitably be modified when the whole corpus has been fully evaluated. There are many treasures to come and not the least of them are those moments of strange excitement for the researcher when, through the curtain of obscurely written Arabic letters, he glimpses the lives of the citizens of that former Jerusalem.

### OTTOMAN COURT ARCHIVES

To attempt to follow the history of the Mamlūk foundations into the first centuries of the Ottoman period one can turn to the Ottoman court archives of Jerusalem. This official record of all the varied business of the Shari'a Court is contained in a truly awesome series of bound volumes, which commences with the year 936/1529. The volumes which we were able to see appear to cover on average a little over a year each, so there are literally hundreds of them. The entries, which deal with all the conceivable business of the Court and therefore present an unparalleled source for the history of Jerusalem and the surrounding area, occur in no logical or ordered way but just as the various items of business arose and were recorded. Searching for information on the further history of the madrasas and Ṣūfī institutions, and above all with the hope,

which was largely frustrated, of coming across copies of Mamlūk endowment instruments brought forward as evidence in later legal business, we examined in all 33 volumes. This was only scratching the surface and there is no doubt much more information to be found. The only drawback with material from such a source is that it inevitably presents a relentlessly legal and formal face. It concerns itself (for our present purposes) with the legal status of the institutions, the worry over their fabric, and the accounting for the income and expenditure of their revenues, without allowing us to see clearly what actually went on in them, whether they retained anything of their intended nature or not.

The separate entries in the early sijills have been numbered throughout, but for the sijills, in which this had not yet been done, we quote the page followed in brackets by the number of the entry on the page, where that is appropriate.

## JERUSALEM AND ISLAM

When 'Imād al-Dīn al-İşfahānī wrote his chronicle to celebrate Saladin's victories, he suggested that Islam had with the achievements of his master entered upon a new era, comparable to that ushered in by the first Hījra of the Prophet. This vast hyperbole contains a suspicion of truth for the city of Jerusalem. The occupation by the Crusaders, almost a century in duration, had inevitably left a powerful physical mark on the city and brought about a serious discontinuity in Muslim life and experience. Great changes in local nomenclature and in the locating of holy sites can be explained by this break in tradition caused by the Frankish presence. The reconquest was a new beginning for Islam.

Immediately upon the completion of the reconquest in 583/1187 a start was made upon cleansing as much as possible of the city, above all the Ḥaram area, of the Christian accretions and upon restoring and rededicating the Ḥaram to its Muslim purposes and taking over other Crusader buildings in the city to convert them to Muslim uses. The institutions thus created by Saladin continued to function throughout and beyond the Mamlūk period. Of special importance were the Ṣalāḥiyya Madrasa and the Ṣalāḥiyya Khānqāh (see above, p. 48). Both maintained their pre-eminence during the whole of our period.

The long struggle to recover Jerusalem, waged by a number of Islamic sovereigns to a greater or lesser degree, but above all exemplified in the careers of Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin, had gained its ideological nourishment from a re-elaboration of the doctrine of Jihād and a rediscovery of the position that the Holy Land (*al-Ard al-Muqaddasa*) and especially Jerusalem itself had gained in Muslim tradition.<sup>6</sup> This was based upon the interpretation of certain texts of the Koran and a variety of ḥadīths of the Prophet and the association of the area with the tombs of prophets, honoured as predecessors of Islam's own seal of the prophets, with the tombs of heroes of the original Islamic conquest and with the lives of generations of holy men and scholars. Of crucial importance in this tradition was the identification of Jerusalem as the site of the 'Furthest Mosque' (*al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*), to which Muḥammad travelled during his 'Night Journey' (*İsrā'*) from Mecca. In the words of the Koran: 'Praise be to Him who travelled by night with His servant from the Masjid al-Ḥaram to the Masjid al-Aqṣā, whose surroundings we blest, in order to show him Our signs' (Sūra xvii, v.1). Prophetic Tradition also claimed that Jerusalem was the starting-point for Muḥammad's visit to Heaven, his 'ascension' (*Mi'rāj*). Originally the whole area of the Ḥaram, the sacred precinct where formerly the Temple had stood, was referred to as the Masjid al-Aqṣā, but this name came to identify in particular the mosque on the south edge of the Ḥaram area. All these associations were gathered together in a series of works on the 'Excellencies of Jerusalem', which had its beginnings early in the eleventh century.<sup>7</sup>

To mark the arrival of Islam as a religious and political power to be reckoned with, 'Abd al-Malik, the Umayyad Caliph,

had built the Dome of the Rock near the very centre of the Ḥaram. Its liberation by Saladin and the restoration of the original inscriptions which had in chosen quotations from the Koran challenged the position and basic tenets of Christianity, no doubt renewed the triumphs of the Umayyad period. The residue of this heightened awareness and the continuing importance of Jerusalem in Islam's own tradition are in themselves enough, apart from more specific explanations, to account for the interest shown by individuals in conserving and adding to the Muslim institutions and the Muslim character of the city. The range of these individuals within society and their geographical distribution we will attempt to set forth later.

## JERUSALEM AND THE POLITICS OF THE PERIOD

### GENERAL SURVEY

After the expulsion of the Crusaders from the Syrian littoral, the political role of Jerusalem declined. For some time there had been no serious threat to the city from that direction, and now the occasional interest in Jerusalem shown by the western states could be treated with disdain, as when envoys of Philip VI of France came to Cairo in 730/1330 'to demand Jerusalem and the coastal lands' but received short shrift from the Sultan.<sup>8</sup> There was little apart from its status in religion to keep the city in the forefront of men's minds, and yet, when one has said that, one is already conceding it a great symbolic role, with which the world is only too familiar in our own time. As a city, rather than as an idea and an inspiration, it possesses no great strategic importance and guards no great trade route and no great source of commercial wealth (if one sets aside its role as a pilgrim centre). It was a large producer of soap from the abundant olives of the region, and exported enamelled silver widely, or so Khalīl al-Zāhirī claimed.<sup>9</sup>

During the Mongol invasion under Hulagu in 658/1260 there is no direct mention of Jerusalem. However, since Mongol raiding parties are said to have sacked Nablus and Hebron and even reached Gaza territory, it is hardly possible that Jerusalem escaped.<sup>10</sup> Likewise, when Ghāzān Khān temporarily seized Damascus in 699/1300 the Mongols raided in the Jordan Valley and reached Jerusalem.<sup>11</sup> A century later when Tamerlane had taken Damascus a delegation of the ulema of Jerusalem went to surrender the city to him, taking with them in formal token of this the keys of the Dome of the Rock, but Tamerlane had retired before they reached Damascus. Large scale flight of the population from the cities of the area is hinted at.<sup>12</sup>

Jerusalem played its part although a minor one, throughout the Mamlūk period in the internal politics of the state. Inevitably the governors of the city joined either willingly or by compulsion in the factional disputes and uprisings. Thus, in 842/1438-39 the governor Tūghān was approached for support by Aynal al-Jakamī who was continuing to back the son of Barsbāy against Jaqmaq. Together with the governor of Safad, Tūghān decided to act circumspectly and stay loyal to Jaqmaq.<sup>13</sup> Wrong decisions in such cases frequently cost a man his career or more.

The ulema were also faced with such political dilemmas. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dayrī (d. 827/1424) on the request of Sultan Faraj delivered a fatwa against rebel amīrs, one of whom was Shaykh. A little later, while holding session in the Dome of the Rock, Shaykh, now Sultan al-Mu'ayyad, called upon Shams al-Dīn to answer for his fatwa. The latter's response, that he had merely been upholding duly constituted authority and that he would now do the same for al-Mu'ayyad, was accepted.<sup>14</sup>

The long grasping arm of the central government reached out as far as Jerusalem, for instance, to order the seizure of the property of the shaykh of the Zāwiya of Muḥammad Beg, for reasons we can only guess at, in late 793/1391.<sup>15</sup> Since the shaykh's property was sequestered a little before his death by



the Amīr Balat, an agent of the Major-Domo in Cairo, Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd, is it possible that the hand of the Qādī 'Isā b. Ghānim was at work here? He was a client of the Major-Domo, and it is claimed that they worked together to seize waqf funds and individuals' fortunes.<sup>16</sup> The motivation behind the order for the seizure of the property of a certain Khidr, deceased, is clear. He was stigmatised as a rebel and supporter of Mintāsh, Barqūq's rival, who was killed in captivity the same month the order arrived in Jerusalem (Ramadhān 795/July 1393).<sup>17</sup>

Despite its being situated off the main routes, an impressive list of visitors could be established for the Mamlūk period. Practically every sultan who reigned for any length of time visited Jerusalem. They came to see, and pray at, the holy sites or, like Baybars I in 661/1263 when he came for a little over a week in the spring, to organise the administration of the city, to inspect and give the necessary orders concerning the fabric of the Sanctuary and to investigate the accounts of the endowments, and to initiate some charitable foundation – in this particular case of Baybars, the construction of his caravanserai, the Khān al-Zāhir, outside the city to the north-west.<sup>18</sup>

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn wrote to his governor in Damascus, Tankiz, to prepare provisions for his visit to Jerusalem and Kerak in 717/1317.<sup>19</sup> Barqūq in 797/1394 rode up from Ramla with a small following to 'visit' the city. The word used (*al-ziyāra*), implies a pilgrimage, a religious purpose, as it would when used of the tomb of a holy man.<sup>20</sup> Barqūq's son, Faraj, came on several occasions. When he was there in 812/1409-10 he distributed large sums of gold and silver as alms.<sup>21</sup> Such direct largess or the sending of money or produce to swell the amount of what was at the disposal of the administrators of the waqfs of the Ḥaram was not uncommon. Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh passed through in late 817/1415, and performed his *ziyāra*.<sup>22</sup> Again in 820/1417 'he distributed ample sums of money, attended the Friday Prayer and held session in the Aqṣā when Bukhārī's 'Genuine Traditions' was recited. Its various parts were given out to the fuqahā' who had come from Cairo to meet him and the local Jerusalem scholars. The court poet performed when they had finished. The Sultan gave them all gifts. It was a splendid occasion'.<sup>23</sup>

It sometimes happened that the visit of a sultan resulted in the removal of some local fiscal grievance. Then an inscription would often be set up in a public place (on the façade of the Aqṣā, on the Dome of the Rock or in the surrounding porticoes of the Ḥaram were obvious places) and several still survive. When Sultan Ṭaṭār came to Jerusalem, 'it was brought to his attention that it was customary for the governor of Jerusalem to levy on the peasants of the [local] villages about four thousand dinars each year, and that because of this the agriculture of Jerusalem was in a ruined state. The governor was given an alternative source and a proclamation was made announcing the abolition of these levies and the setting up of an inscription to record this in the mosque'.<sup>24</sup>

The visit of Sultan Qāytbāy in 880/1475 is well known, both because of the details which Mujīr al-Dīn records and because it was then that the Ashrafiyya in its initial form failed to please him and led him to give orders within the next few years for its demolition and replacement. No doubt as a result of his visit an inscription was set up just inside the Bāb al-Sakīna to the north recording the abolition by royal decree of abuses, which were very similar to those earlier abolished by Ṭaṭār.<sup>25</sup>

Disturbances could, and did, arise from the townsmen. Their last resort when pushed too far was rioting. In 807/1405 the governor of Jerusalem attempted to levy money from the inhabitants. They refused and, after they had assembled in the Mosque (the Ḥaram?), they found the gates locked on them and the demand for money being pressed. Over ten persons were killed and several wounded in the ensuing fracas, from which the governor fled. He was subsequently replaced.<sup>26</sup> However, Mujīr al-Dīn described in some detail the forced sale of olive oil from Nablus in the last years of the fifteenth century, when it was being sold at three times its current price, without giving

any hint of a violent reaction at that time.<sup>27</sup>

The greatest and commonest threat to the peace of Jerusalem came from the Bedouin and the semi-Bedouin of *Jabal al-Quds*, the upland hinterland of the city. The sources frequently speak of the 'Ashir' (a collective noun, which also has a plural, *Usbrān*). These people are not uncommonly distinguished from the Bedouin (*al-Urbān*) and Turcoman tribesmen. Various examples gathered by Quatremère<sup>28</sup> confusingly identify the Ashir with 'mountain people in Syria', or with the Kurds or even the Druze. It is assumed that the distinction is one between the semi-nomads of the more favoured uplands (the Ashir) and the Bedouin of the lower areas, Gaza and the Negev or those coming in from Sinai, and from the Jordan Valley and the Syrian desert.

At all events there were constant troubles. In 680/1281-82 the Ashir sacked Gaza and then Nablus and a new governor was sent to restore order.<sup>29</sup> From Gaza Sanjar al-Jāwili led a large force to Sala' in Wādī Mūsā to suppress Bedouin trouble in 717/1317.<sup>30</sup> Major disturbances blew up in 749-50/1348-49 in the districts of Jerusalem and Nablus. The population of both Jerusalem and Hebron were driven out by the Bedouin.<sup>31</sup> Similar examples could be quoted time and time again from the sources.

Many travellers from the West described the wretched economic state of the Bedouin. De Rochechouart, a visitor to Jerusalem in 1461, has a typical passage on those who live in the Jordan Valley. He adds that 'they are most hostile to the Saracens [i.e. the townspeople], and while we were in Jerusalem they killed before the very gates of the city sixty persons, whom we saw brought in on biers'.<sup>32</sup>

A significant cause of the Bedouin troubles was that the chiefs were brought into the wider political struggles. Their backing was sought by one faction or another and governors also tried to influence the choice of leaders amongst the tribes, which led to disputes.

In time-honoured fashion certain groups amongst the Bedouin or the Ashir would be promoted to attempt to police the others.<sup>33</sup> At the end of the fifteenth century these same forces were used to police the town and to provide a governor with sufficient means of coercion. If a governor attempted to control them, there was trouble. When Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ayyūb seized and killed several of the Banī Zayd in 885/1480, large numbers of their kinsmen amongst the Ashir attacked the city. The governor, overtaken in his flight at the Gate of the Tribes, only escaped by spurring his horse through the Ḥaram and out by the Moroccans' Gate, while the Ashir pursued him with drawn swords.<sup>34</sup>

In 889/1494 when the then governor of Jerusalem, Jānim al-Ashrafī, went to Ramla to join the expedition marching against the Ottoman Bayezid II, he took with him Ashir assembled from the *Jabal al-Quds*.<sup>35</sup> Such levies were not satisfactory. In a further campaign three years later a new shaykh of the Nablus area was appointed and money distributed through him. At the same time the governor of Jerusalem handed out to recruits from the Jerusalem and Hebron areas 5,000 dinars from the central Royal Treasury. Later the money from Nablus was forcibly recovered because of 'their inadequacies and their return from Anatolia without permission'.<sup>36</sup>

#### ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

For most of the Bahrī period Jerusalem was dependent in terms of administrative organisation on the governor of Gaza.<sup>37</sup> This official appointed a *wālī*, district governor, for the district (*'amal*) of Jerusalem, and also one for the district of Hebron. As Ibn Faḍl Allāh's description makes clear, the region of Gaza, which included among others the districts of Jerusalem and Hebron, was itself one of four regions into which the province of Syria, centred on Damascus, was divided.<sup>38</sup>

Damascus at times exercised direct control. This was particularly so in the period of Tankiz's governorate. Writing in the fifteenth century, al-Qalqashandī states<sup>39</sup> that Jerusalem 'in

former times' – and when he writes thus he usually means the first half of the fourteenth century, in the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad – was an insignificant district governorship (*wilāya ṣaġbira*), where responsibility was exercised by a trooper (*jundī*), that is, a person not of amīral rank. The subordinate posts in Jerusalem, such as the separate governor of the Citadel and the city prefect, were appointed by the governor in Damascus. Indeed Qalqashandī claims that all officials, the muḥtasib<sup>40</sup> and the Shāfi'ī Qāḍī, functioned as deputies for their various superiors in Damascus. The same was true of Hebron.

In this first period the role of the governor of Gaza in the affairs of Jerusalem and the extent of his control over appointments depended on his power and strength of personality relative to the Governor of Damascus. Certainly it was possible for the Governor of Gaza himself to hold the post of Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams, those of Jerusalem and Hebron, which was initially a more important post than the district governorships of the two towns. The superintendency was held by several persons of high rank, although in the Mamlūk period as a whole it was far from being the preserve of mamlūks. Many were appointed directly by the reigning sultan. For example, Baybars I sent the Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Nahār, one of the Ṣālihiyya amīrs, to oversee the construction of his waqfs in Jerusalem and appointed him Superintendent concurrently.<sup>41</sup> 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydughdī, when blind, held the post for Baybars and Qalāwūn and probably supervised Qalāwūn's building works there.<sup>42</sup> The prince of the Ayyūbid line, al-Awḥad Yūsuf,<sup>43</sup> and the Qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān, son of the vizier, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Khalīlī, were among those who held the post up to the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>44</sup> An amīr, appointed in 729/1328, paved part of the Aqṣā Mosque on the orders of Tankiz, governor of Damascus – but then Tankiz dominated all the Syrian province.<sup>45</sup>

As far as its status in the hierarchy of administrative posts is concerned, the year 777/1375-76 in the reign of al-Ashraf Sha'bān was a crucial point, because it was then that the independent governorate of Jerusalem, still subject to the overriding authority of Damascus of course, was introduced. That is what Qalqashandī tells us.<sup>46</sup> Yet Frescobaldi in late 1384 was at Gaza and he claimed that the governor of Jerusalem was at that time subject to Gaza.<sup>47</sup> Mujīr al-Dīn wrote: 'In former times the appointment to the offices of governor and inspector was made by the governors of Damascus. This continued to be the case until about the year 800 [1397-98]. Then the responsibility for that reverted to the Sultan in Egypt, and so it continues till the present day.'<sup>48</sup> All such general statements usually prove not to be true. In 796/1394 Aḥmad al-Yaghmurī's appointment as governor of Jerusalem was made by the Sultan in Cairo.<sup>49</sup> The historian, Ibn Taghrībirdī, on the other hand, notes in passing that his father, when he was governor of Damascus in the early fifteenth century, appointed the governor of Jerusalem and Ramla, apparently a joint office.<sup>50</sup>

In Qāyṭbāy's reign Ramla was transferred from the authority of the governor of Damascus and bestowed upon the governor of Gaza. This move is described as an innovation by Mujīr al-Dīn.<sup>51</sup> After about three years, that is in 900/1494, the control of Ramla and the power to appoint what was by then called the *kāshif* of Ramla was handed to the governor of Jerusalem.<sup>52</sup> The dispute between the two officials over the extent of the authority of Jerusalem and Gaza was solved in 901/1495 by bringing in a new man to unite Gaza, Jerusalem, Hebron and Ramla under his control, a return to the earliest pattern of administration.<sup>53</sup>

There were occasions when senior amīrs and holders of high office in Cairo would appoint to such positions as the governorate of Jerusalem if for some reason they found themselves in Syria or Palestine. For example, in 877/1472 Duqmāq al-Īnālī was sent to Jerusalem as governor by the Dawādār, the Amīr Yashbak, when he was at Ramla returning from a campaign in the East against Shāh Suwār.<sup>54</sup> The Amīr Khidr Beg was appointed to Jerusalem by the Sultan's dawādār

on the latter's passing by Ramla in 896/1491. Three months later confirmation came from Cairo and the appointment document was read publicly in the Aqṣā.<sup>55</sup>

Since there are gaps in continuity, since, that is, the date of dismissal of a governor is not always followed more or less immediately by the date of the appointment of his successor, one may assume that there were acting governors who filled those gaps. A Ḥaram fragment<sup>56</sup> contains an order from Barqūq addressed to the acting governor of Jerusalem (if one is correct in so understanding *nā'ib al-ghayba* in that context). On one occasion Qāyṭbāy ordered the *nā'ib* of Gaza to send his own dawādār to Jerusalem till such time as a new appointment was made by the Sultan in Cairo.<sup>57</sup>

One striking fact is the number of persons sent from time to time to govern Jerusalem and in many cases the extreme brevity of their stay. A reasonably full list begins from about the year 777/1375, the year in which we are told that Jerusalem was given the honour of being governed by a *nā'ib* rather than a *wālī*, although the reason for this change is not explained. From then until roughly the end of the fifteenth century we have gathered a list of 86 names. That means a change of governor on average about every 17 months. Mujīr al-Dīn's account of the first twenty-eight years of Qāyṭbāy's sultanate records a new appointment nearly every two years. However, the general length of service was undoubtedly shorter, since the total 86 which we have given was swelled by a summary list of thirty-five after which number Mujīr al-Dīn added 'and others' – and that was for a period of only half a century or so.<sup>58</sup>

This quick change-over of office was very burdensome for the Jews and Christians who were obliged to pay extraordinary imposts on the arrival of each new governor. This practice was abolished in 853/1449 by Jaqmaq and a decree to that effect set up at Bāb al-Silsila.<sup>59</sup>

What this situation implied for the good governance of Jerusalem can only be guessed at. Continuity must have been a problem. For many governors it was surely difficult to begin to understand the local situation and to come to terms with the existing power alignments of the local élite. Naturally the same problem would not have arisen for those individuals, and such there were, who were in some sense local. There were sons who succeeded their fathers and therefore may be assumed to have had a local base on which to build. A member of a family of importance, whose name was taken for a quarter in Jerusalem, the Ibn al-'Alam family, that is, the Amīr Zayn al-Dīn 'Umar, was governor and superintendent at the beginning of the fifteenth century<sup>60</sup> and his nephew and great-nephew held the post of *hājib* (chamberlain) in Jerusalem.<sup>61</sup>

The position of the Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams was an important one, which gave control of large resources, their extensive waqf properties. This is perhaps why this post was often held by the governor of Jerusalem.<sup>62</sup> The Sultan Faraj attempted to break this linkage by decreeing that the governor should never hold the additional responsibility of the superintendency.<sup>63</sup> His order had little effect, and the joint holding of the two posts soon became the norm again. However, if the post was from time to time held separately, it is not surprising to find that it was held by persons of some local standing. Aḥmad, the son of the Amīr Āmalik, whose own connections with Jerusalem had been strong, became Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams, if only for a short period.<sup>64</sup> A connection with Hebron could be equally important, of course, and that was possessed by the son of the vizier, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Khalīlī, who also served as superintendent.<sup>65</sup> Both Shāfi'ī and Hanafī ulema, who belonged to the upper religious hierarchy of Jerusalem, exercised the office of superintendent from time to time. For example, the Hanafī Amīn al-Dawla 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Dayrī held that position towards the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>66</sup> Near the end of that century in the reign of Qāyṭbāy there was a long tenure of the post by the Amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Nashāshībī, the first mention of a name which remains well known in Jerusalem down to the present day.<sup>67</sup>



## JERUSALEM AS A PLACE OF EXILE

Jerusalem features prominently in the Mamlūk period as a place to which individuals were sent when *battāl*.<sup>68</sup> This term meant 'being on the inactive list'. It was normally applied to men in the military sphere but not exclusively. The term could be used of administrative cadres.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, Jerusalem was far from being the only city for *battāl* personnel. It seems as though there was no reason why any city should not be chosen for the designated residence of a *battāl* amīr.

An individual could receive this status because he was out of favour. Illness or incapacity could also be the reason. It was, however, possible in the right circumstances to return to full service. A status somewhat similar was that of the *tarkhān*. This was if anything a more honourable condition. It implied retirement after completion of service. The one clear difference is that a *battāl* person had to reside where ordered and had no freedom of movement, whereas a *tarkhān* could choose for himself where to reside. There is evidence that a *battāl* amīr was obliged to adopt a certain style of dress.<sup>70</sup> If in the *battāl* status there was at times an element of wishing to remove individuals from the political scene into a quiet backwater, that could explain why Jerusalem was so often selected. On the other hand, it was clearly deemed preferable to other places, such as Mecca or Tarsus,<sup>71</sup> and people requested transfers to Jerusalem.

An amīr sent to Jerusalem as *battāl* could paradoxically be appointed to the superintendency of the Ḥarams. The Amīr Kuray in 709/1309 lost his *iqṭā'* in Egypt when allowed to reside in Jerusalem but was given the superintendency with an allowance 'sufficient for his needs'.<sup>72</sup> Another amīr, Būrī al-Aḥmadī, was 'banished' to Jerusalem in 780/1378 and granted the same post.<sup>73</sup> Most examples show that a *battāl* amīr was well provided for. Usually a *tablkhānah* amirate was given. More specific information mentions 'a village with the annual income of about 200,000 dirhams', or 'half the villages of Bethlehem and Bayt Jāla'.<sup>74</sup> When Khalīl b. Shāhīn was released from prison in Aleppo and came to Hebron as *battāl*, the Sultan Jaqmaq assigned him as *iqṭā'* the town of Qāqūn and gave him in full ownership, after purchasing it from the Treasury, the village of Yatta, south of Hebron.<sup>75</sup>

These may well be extreme examples, but we may guess that *battāl* status could be recognised as a not unattractive proposition from the words that were put into the mouth of Tatar, when still an amīr, speaking of some colleagues who had suffered exile, and disruption of their careers, 'Each one wants only enough to meet his needs, such as a Ḥalqa *iqṭā'* with residence in Jerusalem, or a pension (*murattab*) and Damietta to live in, or something from the poll tax.'<sup>76</sup>

In one of the Ḥaram documents we have a glimpse of persons not likely to rate mention in the chronicles but also described as *battāl*. They were four eunuch *muqaddams*, that is to say, tutors to young mamlūks, although whether they should be understood to have belonged to the barrack schools in the Cairo Citadel is not clear. At all events they jointly leased in 785/1383 to a retailer of Bāb Ḥiṭṭa a house in the Easterners' Quarter, which was a waqf in their favour.<sup>77</sup>

## THE POPULATION

In Jerusalem lived a mixed population, whose size at any stage in the Mamlūk period it would be very difficult to gauge. Can the figure of ten thousand Muslim householders, which is the figure Rabbi Meshullam ben Menahem of Volterra gave for 1481, be anything other than a wild guess?<sup>78</sup> His total for the Jewish community, 250 householders, is more reasonable. The earliest figures available from the Ottoman archives show that in 932/1525-26 Jerusalem contained only 934 households (616 Muslim, 199 Jewish and 119 Christian).<sup>79</sup>

The sanctity of the city attracted pilgrims from many distant parts, east and west. For people of all conditions in Syria and Palestine Jerusalem had long been a place of pilgrimage to

rival the two holy cities of the Ḥijāz, but never to replace them. For pilgrims further afield it was common practice to visit Jerusalem on the way to perform, or on the return from, the prescribed Ḥajj to Mecca. People stayed on then, to benefit from residing in the holy city, in a word, to be a *muḥāwir*, either for the remainder of their declining years or for a limited period, perhaps combined with some study.

A large number of papers among the Ḥaram documents contain inventories of the property of persons recently deceased or facing death. Officials from the Qāḍī's Court, and as often as not representatives of the governor, would have attended to establish personal details and the location, and to record the effects and other property and ascertain the identity and whereabouts of the legal heirs. The aim, no doubt, was to secure whatever share was due to the Treasury. These inventories and the similar direct testimonies *re* heirs and estates offer what Little has called 'a large, possibly even representative demographic sampling'.<sup>80</sup> They give us, where known, details of origin and residence. Little was also right to stress the need for caution in the use of the geographical *nisbas* as an indication of any person's place of birth. However, one's confidence in so proceeding with the Ḥaram documents is strengthened by the fact that in a large number of cases the place behind a person's *nisba* corresponds with the actual place of residence of the surviving or prospective heirs. Is one to assume that the people for whom this is true were merely short-term visitors? Some individuals, although they have 'foreign' *nisbas*, were described as 'resident' (*muqim*) or 'present' (*hādīr*). Did these have contrasting meanings? And did they always imply a long-term or short-term stay? The answer, perhaps, is yes, because of a carpenter, called 'the Egyptian' and said to be 'present now in Jerusalem, . . . resident (*sākin*) [i.e. normally] in his [own] city at the Bāb al-Naṣr', that is, in Cairo surely.<sup>81</sup> A more detailed analysis will answer these questions more securely, as will a close investigation of the actual contents of the inventories. For example, one could hardly credit that the couple with their supply of cash, necessary clothes and Ṣūfī *kashkūl* or begging bowl, one of whom died in one of the hospices of Jerusalem, were permanent inhabitants.<sup>82</sup> The case of a merchant from Khurasan is clearer. He had come to reside in the Khanthaniyya Zāwiya, the shaykh of which, Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. Zayn al-Dīn Abī Bakr al-Ḥanafī al-Khurāsānī, he appointed his executor. He left 1,000 dirhams for Koran readings and charitable distribution at the discretion of the shaykh. His freed slaves were to have 200 each and the residue was for his son 'absent in Khurasan'.<sup>83</sup> Similarly, a merchant born in Tabriz came to Jerusalem, aged about 40, and continued to trade while pursuing his study of law and Arabic language there.<sup>84</sup>

The distribution of *nisbas* in the Ḥaram inventories is as follows. We give these figures well aware of their provisional nature, and without trying to distinguish between residents and visitors. Each figure is followed in brackets by a break-down into males and females respectively.

|                                       |     |           |
|---------------------------------------|-----|-----------|
| 1. Syria and Palestine                | 114 | (33:81)   |
| 2. Egypt and Ḥijāz <sup>85</sup>      | 37  | (10:27)   |
| 3. Maghrib (North Africa)             | 17  | (8:9)     |
| 4. Anatolia, Mesopotamia and the East | 75  | (31:44)   |
| Sub-total                             | 243 | (82:161)  |
| 5. Unidentified and/or undeciphered   | 32  | (22:10)   |
| 6. No <i>nisba</i>                    | 120 | (51:69)   |
| Total                                 | 395 | (155:240) |

It is possible that the individuals for whom no place of origin was recorded were indigenous inhabitants of Jerusalem. That remains to be tested in detail. From category number 1, however, 6 (2:4) did have identification as Jerusalemites. This same category contains at least one mention of almost every significant settlement. The fourth group above includes *nisbas* which are racial: Turki(yya) (Turkish) 14 (2:12), Turcoman 6 (4:2), Kurdish 5 (3:2), 'Ajami(yya) (non-Arab, Persian) 14 (7:7).

How does one account for the imbalance between men and women in the figures? This is brought about chiefly because of the large number (49) of women who were from Damascus according to the evidence of their *nisba*, or from Egypt (26). One or two of these were definitely widows and others died in the hospices of which several in Jerusalem made special provision for old women. However, our notes are not sufficient to show whether that could form the basis of an explanation for the imbalance.

We have also attempted to take note of the various trades and professions mentioned in the generality of the Ḥaram documents, this time trying to include only individuals for whom there seemed little doubt that they did work in Jerusalem. There are few surprises and in most cases the incidence of a trade or a profession is such that it seems inappropriate in this context to give precise statistics. It is simply the range of occupations which is of interest.

The civilian agents and accountants of the Treasury or the office administering the property of the orphans are frequently named in the appropriate documents alongside the intendants (sing. *shādd*) of the military class. Some of the latter appear to be mamlūks, like the Amīr Ṣayf al-Dīn Bāyūq (?) al-Timrāzī, who features as intendant of the Treasury in a large number of documents from 793/1391.<sup>86</sup> Three years later there was a Qarābughā in that post.<sup>87</sup> Two major-domos in the service of amīrs, an armourer, a commander of the governor's detachment and an interpreter further represent the official or military stratum.

In the religious and judicial sphere, apart from the qādīs and their deputies, we find a secretary of the Treasury (*amīn*), a court bailiff (*rasūl*), an inspector of the Ḥisba, a rent collector for the Ṣalāhiyya Madrasa, a muezzin at the Aqṣā, a Koran school teacher and a lecturer at the Dome of the Rock.

Service employment in the city is represented by two gate-keepers, one at the Gate of the Tribes and the other at the Hospital, and by no less than eight water-carriers (including two females), porters, servants in various religious institutions, hirers of riding-animals (one of them a Christian), a street-sweeper and a hawker of sweetmeats.

Eleven individuals were described as merchants, and of those, three were engaged in some sort of long-distance trade, to judge by their description as 'travelling merchant' (*tājir saffār*). Commercial life was served by a variety of middle-men. We have encountered in the documents six brokers (five referred to as *dallāl* and one *simsār*) and one money-changer and five retailers (two called *mutasabbib* – one of them a Jew – and three *muta'ayyish*). Perhaps in view of the Cotton Market which one meets in the sources and the name of the covered bazaar built by Tankiz, it is not surprising to meet nine cotton-merchants in the documents.

One man is termed a surgeon (*jarā'ihī*), and of two oculists (sing. *kabḥāl*) one was a Christian and the other expressly connected with the Hospital of Saladin. Apart from these 'professionals', many of the common trades are represented. There are cooks, perfumers, slaughterers, a (Jewish) shoe-maker, builders (including one Christian), a mason, a blacksmith, five bakers and five tailors, a tanner, a glass-maker (*zajjāj*), who was also a servant in the Tankiziyya Madrasa, three goldsmiths, a coppersmith, a polisher (*saqqāl?*), carpenters, millers, charcoal burners, five mat-makers, a confectioner, five sellers of clarified butter, a furrier, a butcher, a milk-seller, old clothes merchants, and, the largest category of all, no less than eighteen weavers, two of whom are specified as being workers in flax.

#### THE ULEMA

A detailed study of the 'civilian élite' in the Mamlūk state has shown a considerable and cosmopolitan immigration of personnel into Cairo both from within the empire and from without.<sup>88</sup> The open, international character of the whole class of the ulema is well revealed in this. Palestine, and Jerusalem in particular, played a small but not entirely insignificant role in

this supply. At the same time Jerusalem itself attracted a host of scholars and Ṣūfīs from many parts of the Islamic world, not least from Iran. Reputations could be established amongst one's peers by saintliness or learning, but career advancement could best be achieved by clientage of the Mamlūk military aristocracy. Through such personal contacts many ulema were invited to take up posts at the capital, and profitable provincial posts, like the headship of the Ṣalāhiyya Madrasa in Jerusalem could be acquired through the influence of a senior amīr in Cairo.<sup>89</sup> The movement to Cairo was balanced by the opposite tendency for scholars to return to Jerusalem, perhaps towards the end of their careers, or for members of prominent families to maintain, as it were, branches in Cairo and Jerusalem and to move between them.

Certainly towards the end of the fourteenth century Jerusalem in the milieu of the ulema was dominated by certain families, who held the top positions in the institutions open to their expertise. They intermarried and were able to preserve their pre-eminence well into the Ottoman period.

One of the most important families of the later period was that of al-Qalqashandī, of whom Tāj al-Dīn Ismā'īl (died 778/1376) was the first to come from Egypt to settle. His sons Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad had a house in the Bāb Ḥiṭṭa district.<sup>90</sup> The Qalqashandī family was Shāfi'ī and tended to accumulate posts in the Shāfi'ī institutions. For example, Tāj al-Dīn's grandson, Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad (782-826/1380-1423) 'was a preacher in the Aqṣā, taught in the Ṭāziyya, the Karīmiyya, the Khaṣṣikiyya [in Ramla], the Maymūniyya, the Qashtimuriyya and the Āmalikiyya and was a *mu'īd* (repetiteur) in the Ṣalāhiyya'.<sup>91</sup> These and similar posts, such as the headship of the Bāsiyya, were shared or passed around the family if, for example, an encumbent moved to a position in Cairo. Another outstanding Shāfi'ī family was that of the Banū Jamā'a. Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (596-675/1200-77) was the first to settle in Jerusalem. The family provided many shaykhs for the Ṣalāhiyya Khānqāh.<sup>92</sup>

A further Shāfi'ī family of note was that of the Banū Ghānim after whom the Ghawānima Minaret in the north-west corner of the Ḥaram is named because the gate nearby led into a district which bore their name. Ghānim b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn was born in a village in the Nablus district in 562/1167. Saladin made him shaykh and inspector of his Ṣalāhiyya Khānqāh, a post the family continued to hold, later with the Banū Jamā'a. Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ghānim (814-69/1411-65) ceded half the post to the Banū Jamā'a in the first instance after 839/1435.<sup>93</sup> This was the beginning of a long dispute between the two families, the sort of in-fighting for prestige and income very characteristic of the period.

A dispute over this post is reflected in what appears to be a draft document,<sup>94</sup> beginning 'at such-and-such date', in which a Sharaf al-Dīn Mas'ūd al-Mukhlisī was to swear before the judiciary and ulema of Jerusalem that Sharaf al-Dīn 'Īsā b. Ghānim b. 'Īsā b. Ghānim is the legitimate shaykh of the Khānqāh and that he will never endeavour to take his place.

The Sharaf al-Dīn 'Īsā involved is the Qādī who features prominently in the Ḥaram documents. He it was who converted the lands of the Ṣalāhiyya waqf (to the west of Jerusalem), known as al-Buq'a, into permanent leasehold land (*hiker*) and is said to have increased the yield for the waqf.<sup>95</sup> There are contradictory reports of his bad administration. The accusation that he seized waqf and private funds has already been mentioned. Complaints went to Cairo from Jerusalem but he died in 797/1395, the day before a royal letter came ordering an investigation and his public beating.<sup>96</sup> In that light it is a strange coincidence that Ḥaram document no. 71 comprises a complaint against him by a servitor of the Dome of the Rock for taking three carpets for improper use. Moreover, although Sharaf al-Dīn 'Īsā is not named in an undated petition<sup>97</sup> in which a complaint is made to the authorities on behalf of some orphans that the Shāfi'ī Qādī will not authenticate the will concerned until he gets 200 dirhams, it is more than likely that it refers to him.



The Bānu Ghānim family is not so easy to fit into a coherent family tree, but many members are mentioned by Mujīr al-Dīn down to the late fifteenth century.<sup>98</sup> Mujīr al-Dīn also alludes to yet another Shāfi'i family of note, the Banū Qāsim, whom he traces to a settler from the Hauran, a special associate of the Amīr Sanjar al-Dawādār<sup>99</sup> (see p. 156).

The leading Ḥanafī family of Jerusalem from the late fourteenth century was the al-Dayrī family.<sup>100</sup> Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh (744-827/1343-1424) came to live in Jerusalem, probably when his father moved.<sup>101</sup> A namesake cousin was born in Jerusalem in 770/1368. They came originally from the Nablus district. Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh made Shams al-Dīn the Chief Qāḍī in Cairo, which made him the real founder of the family's fortune. His son, 'Amīd al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān (died 856/1453) deputised for him as Chief Qāḍī in Cairo and also served as Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams at Jerusalem and Hebron.<sup>102</sup> Others held high office in Cairo, while in Jerusalem the family tended to monopolise the main Ḥanafī institutions, such as the Mu'azzamiyya<sup>103</sup> and the Manjakiyya. They continued to do so into the Ottoman period as many entries in the Court registers testify.

The post of Qāḍī in Jerusalem was the preserve of the Shāfi'īs until near the end of the fourteenth century. The first Ḥanafī qāḍī was appointed in 784/1382, this being an innovation of Sultan Barqūq.<sup>104</sup> Later, in 811/1408, Jerusalem and Ramla were granted the privilege of having a Chief Qāḍī for each school of law. Mujīr al-Dīn claimed that until after 800/beginning of the fifteenth century the Qāḍī of Jerusalem, as also of Hebron, Ramla and Nablus, was appointed by the Chief Qāḍī of Damascus.<sup>105</sup> This is contradicted by the appointment made by Barqūq, mentioned above, and earlier, in 746/1345, the Qāḍī of Jerusalem, Ibn Salim, who had been dismissed, engineered his re-appointment in Cairo by bribing the sultan and other Court officials.<sup>106</sup> In the fifteenth century the sultan could delegate the making and unmaking of qāḍīs throughout Syria to an official, the *wakīl al-Sultān*.<sup>107</sup>

The Qāḍī would receive his appointment documents and don his robes in a ceremony before the *mibrāb*, the prayer niche, of the Aqṣā Mosque, and then go in procession to his house. There seems not to have been a regular place for the qāḍīs and their deputies to hold their sessions. In the early fourteenth century, the 'Palace of Queen Helena', which cannot be positively identified, was the seat of the Qāḍī and his councillors.<sup>108</sup> The Tāziyya and the Koran Institute (*dār al-Qur'ān*) were both used in 815/1412, as was a brother's stable building at the top of the Lady's Hill (*Aqabat al-Sitt*) by a Ḥanafī qāḍī in 879/1474-75.<sup>109</sup> The Tankiziyya could be used for sessions by the Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams.<sup>110</sup> There is some indication that the Tankiziyya became the regular place for the dispensing of justice in the reign of Qāytbāy, as it continued to be in the Ottoman period.

The early monopolisation of the Qāḍīship in Jerusalem and the fact that the majority of the institutions there (especially the two most prestigious, the Madrasa and the Khānqāh of Saladin) were in favour of the Shāfi'īs gave them a pre-eminence in the city in the Mamlūk period. It is expressly said of Muḥammad b. 'Atā Allāh al-Rāzī that when he came to Jerusalem, in 815/1412 or before, he saw that the Shāfi'īs had the greater career opportunities and prestige, so he abandoned his previous Ḥanafī allegiance.<sup>111</sup>

There is a surprising number of examples of change of madhhab allegiance mentioned by Mujīr al-Dīn. Yet the changes from the Ḥanafī or Mālikī to Shāfi'i school are balanced by changes from the Shāfi'i to Ḥanafī or Mālikī. There is one case of a move through three, Ḥanbalī to Shāfi'i to Ḥanafī. The point is that men were willing to change if opportunities for career advancement presented themselves.

Clearly not everyone was able to advance to high positions and receive salaries from endowments. The Mamlūk biographical dictionaries offer many examples of the more humble levels of the ulema who had to earn their own living. Mujīr al-Dīn mentions many whose profession was that of

notary. One acted as clerk in the governor's residence, others were specialists in drawing up marriage contracts or were copyists of books, taught children, or traded, selling cloth in the Merchants' Market, for example. Yet others manufactured 'rosaries', or sold sweetmeats, and the shaykh, whom Sultan Barqūq particularly came to visit, earned his living by weaving.<sup>112</sup>

## THE ŠUFĪS

The sanctity of Jerusalem was particularly attractive to the Šufī brotherhoods who established many communities there. As early as the tenth century Muqaddasī wrote of the many Karramiyya devotees in Jerusalem, who held sessions in their own khānqāhs. Many orders were represented both within and without the city during the Mamlūk period. To mention only the most important, the Qādiriyya order was led by a member of the Sa'id family, many of whom were shaykhs of the Zāwiya of the Portico (*al-Dārgāb*), the former Hospital of the Knights of St. John.<sup>113</sup>

The Ḥaydariyya and the Qalandāriyya orders, both of which originated in the eastern Islamic world, exhibited bizarre and unorthodox social behaviour. The former first appeared in Damascus about 610/1213, as refugees from the Mongols. Their zāwiya in Jerusalem was at the top of the Harāfish Steps, south of David Street.<sup>114</sup> The Qalandāriyya on the other hand had a zāwiya in the Māmillā Cemetery.<sup>115</sup> The Lady Tunshuq (see pp. 485-486) showed favour to the Shaykh Ibrāhīm, who seems to have brought the first community of Qalandārs to Jerusalem. De Rochechouart described those he saw in 1461, as wandering the streets begging alms and singing the praises of Muḥammad with pipes and drums. They wore chains and practised infibulation. He was told that one had even cut off his penis that same year in an excessive zeal for chastity. The populace held them to be saints and they walked about the city in a trance, making signs and emitting frightful calls.<sup>116</sup>

The Biṣṭāmiyya's zāwiya will be dealt with later (see p. 419). One passing reference in a Haram document to a 'quarter of the 'Alāwina' suggests that there was also a presence in Jerusalem of the 'Alwāniyya, a Yemeni order of the late thirteenth century.<sup>117</sup> The 'Indians', perhaps members of the Naqshabandī order, took over the Rifā'iyya Zāwiya outside the Gate of the Tribes. Perhaps that was in about 831/1428 when an Indian ruler sent envoys to seek permission to build a ribāt in Jerusalem.<sup>118</sup> The community was destroyed by plague in 897/1491-92.<sup>119</sup>

To the north of the city in a cave below the Sāhira cemetery the Šufīs of the Adhamiyya had their zāwiya. It was built and endowed by the Amīr Manjak.<sup>120</sup> This same Amīr also showed favour to a family of the Sharīfs, descendants of the Prophet. The history of the family as outlined by Mujīr al-Dīn is very instructive.<sup>121</sup> Before the middle of the thirteenth century they possessed a zāwiya in Eagles' Valley west of Jerusalem, where Badr al-Dīn was buried in 650/1252-53. His grandson, 'Abd al-Ḥāfiz, moved to Shurafāt with his immediate family and retainers, where his son, Dā'ūd (d. 701/1301) drove out the Christian peasants, took over the tenancy from the *iqṭā'* holder, and built a zāwiya there. About the middle of the fourteenth century Manjak converted the village of Shurafāt into a waqf for the family. The following generation, in the person of Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 803/1401), moved into Jerusalem, where he bought, and added to, a house in 782/1380-81. Throughout the fifteenth century his descendants were the shaykhs of the Wafā'iyya order in Jerusalem.<sup>122</sup> So this family history stretches across the whole Mamlūk period, in which they are transformed from village 'saints', thanks to an amīr's patronage and greater economic support, into urban ulema.

## MAMLŪK SOCIETY

There was no large garrison at Jerusalem, but there was what one might call a Mamlūk society in the city. It comprised the official element, the governors and their staff. There were also

the many retired and banished members of the Mamlūk hierarchy, and the offspring and the freedmen and the freedwomen of both groups, not to speak of freedmen employed by civilians.

The Ḥaram documents, for the short period which they cover, allow us tantalising glimpses into this 'Mamlūk' society. A mamlūk, called Urnubughā, commonly known as the Ḥājj Mūsā, who was a freedman of Sayf al-Dīn Yalbughā al-Khāssakī, died in the Zāwiya of Muḥammad Beg. The sale of his effects, which raised 425 dirhams, was managed by Ṭaybughā, the *ra's nawbat*, 'Chief of the Guards', of Shihāb al-Dīn, son of Yalbughā al-'Umārī, which means that they were sequestered on orders from Cairo.<sup>123</sup> Another freed mamlūk, Altunbughā al-Shihābī, the freedman of the Shaykh Fūlād, left as his estate weapons, horses, and deposits of cash.<sup>124</sup> In addition he possessed commodities (*matājir*) in the villages of Bayt Unya and 'Ayn 'Arik, both mentioned elsewhere as waqf for the Ḥaram,<sup>125</sup> and he was due his pay as intendant of the villages, sixty dirhams and an allowance of one *ghirāra* of wheat. The heir of a certain freedwoman was her full-brother, Qarābughā al-Nāsirī, who was absent in Damascus in the service of Sayf al-Dīn Aytamish al-Zāhirī, the governor of Damascus.<sup>126</sup> A Sayf al-Dīn Maliktimūr, who, judging by his *nisba*, was a mamlūk of Manjak, testified that he owned property in the Old Clothes Market and that he had converted into a waqf a house he owned in the Ghawānima Quarter.<sup>127</sup> A house in the Easterners' Quarter was the property of Shāhīn, the wife of a certain 'Alā' al-Dīn Altunbughā. She converted this house into a waqf for her two daughters and for Sundak Dā'ūd, son of Sharaf al-Dīn Ya'qūb Shāh. This may well be the one time governor of that name – and perhaps her former husband? An amīr called 'Alā' al-Dīn Aqbughā, who was the chief cup-bearer of Sharaf al-Dīn, was also to share in the waqf of the house – but what the relationship was, or why he should benefit, is not made clear.<sup>128</sup>

The inventories of military men contain as a rule the expected tools of their profession. One finds riding equipment, and bows, arrows, quivers, swords and clubs listed and described. But the necessary reminder of other inclinations comes, for example, from the record of the sale of a person's belongings.<sup>129</sup> A mamlūk, called Taghrībarmish, purchased the *'Umda*, most likely the concise treatise of Ḥanbalī law by Ibn Qudāma (d. 620/1223), and other books for 14 dirhams – along with a wooden reading-stand (*kursī*)<sup>130</sup> for 6 dirhams. A Fakhr al-Dīn Iyās bought four books, including the Traditions of Muslim for 161 dirhams and a commentary on the same for 110. These passing references add flesh to the entries in biographical dictionaries in which the religious learning of various 'men of the sword' is alluded to.

It is not uncommon to find a family split between military and ulema professions. A Sayf al-Dīn Muḥarak b. Muḥammad described as 'one of the Ḥalqa troops of Gaza', had a full-brother who was the Muftī of Gaza.<sup>131</sup> We may also compare the case of two brothers, Qulanj (?) and Khalīl, the sons of Kaykaldī. We would like to think that one could identify Kaykaldī with the person who built a minaret for the Amīr Salār in Hebron in 702/1302, perhaps in the capacity of Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams.<sup>132</sup> Qulanj followed a military career and was an amīr, whereas Khalīl (694-761/1295-1359) was a Shāfi'ī scholar of note whom Ibn Baṭṭūta met in Jerusalem.<sup>133</sup> He was linked to the Qalqashandī family through his daughter's marriage. Qulanj's own son, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, became a scholar of Tradition in Jerusalem (715-76/1315-75).<sup>134</sup>

All this may not amount to much and certainly remains impressionistic, but to me it portrays the 'Mamlūk' class establishing roots for itself in local society. One recalls the family of the Amīr Manjak, who maintained a position in society with the status of amīrs, and continued to administer and exploit their waqfs, well into the Ottoman period (see p. 387).

### THE RELIGIOUS MINORITIES

The Jewish community in Jerusalem, if travellers' reports are to be accepted, lived on the whole in peace and harmony with

their neighbours. Isaac ben Chelo, who went to Jerusalem in 1334, wrote of a numerous community, gathered from many different parts of the world, the majority from France. 'They live there in happiness and tranquillity, each according to his own condition and fortune, for the royal authority is just and great.'<sup>135</sup> This was the time of the Sultan al-Nāsir Muḥammad and his great governor in Syria, Tankiz. 'Many . . . are engaged in handicrafts such as dyers, shoemakers, etc. Others carry on a rich commerce in all sorts of things, and have fine shops.' A similar list of occupations is given by Elijah of Ferrara (1434), although he also specifies goldsmiths and dealers in silks. 'The Jews ply their trades side by side with the Ishmaelites, and no jealousy between them results such as I remarked in other places.'<sup>136</sup>

Quite clearly relations were not harmonious all the time. One of the Ḥaram documents records a demand, after the requisite fatwa, that the Jews no longer slaughter animals for their own or for Muslim consumption.<sup>137</sup> Sometimes hardship suffered was a manifestation of the sort of fiscal pressure of the state, from which all inhabitants could suffer equally. For example, the authorities in Jerusalem seized the estate of a deceased Jew in 795/1393. The Shaykh of the Moroccans in Jerusalem took the part of the Jewish community and made representations to the governor in Damascus. This obviously brought him into trouble from the governor in Jerusalem and he was obliged to undertake not to interfere in affairs again.<sup>138</sup> The Jerusalem governor had claimed to be acting under instructions and, as it happens, there *was* a decree in 755/1354 that estates of Jews and Christians should go to the Bureau of Escheats till the heirs could establish their rights in law.<sup>139</sup> In the case above, the authorities were clearly not making it easy for the heir to do so by detaining him in prison.

In the reign of Qāytbāy Jerusalem was in turmoil and the Muslims themselves deeply divided over the notorious case of the demolition of a synagogue in the Jewish Quarter, near which stood a mosque. The affair<sup>140</sup> lasted for several years and betrayed a depth of fanaticism, comparable to that behind the seizing of Christian orphans to raise them as Muslims. In this matter too strong disapproval was expressed by some of the ulema.<sup>141</sup>

Little is known about the Eastern Christians in Jerusalem during the Mamlūk period. The Western travellers are on the whole silent about them, or, if they acknowledge their existence, they write disparagingly of them. The Georgian community, after a difficult period because of the early alliance of Georgia with the Mongols, became influential and acquired property in Jerusalem from the beginning of the fourteenth century. Strategic and economic considerations counselled favourable treatment, as many Mamlūk merchants travelled through Georgia to purchase Circassian manpower. On the other hand the flourishing Georgian presence in Jerusalem provided hostages for the treatment Muslims might receive in Georgia.<sup>142</sup>

The possession of the Holy Sepulchre was a trump-card often played by the Mamlūk Sultans in their diplomatic dealings with, or reprisals against, European powers. The Franciscans at the Holy Sepulchre and Mount Zion and in Bethlehem had at times to bear the brunt of the Muslim response, as when some were arrested on the order of the Sultan after the capture of four Muslims at Alexandria in 881/1476.<sup>143</sup> The Franciscans have a long and admirable record of hospitality and care for the Western pilgrims. They were responsible for meeting them at their common disembarkation point at Jaffa with Muslim officials and dragomans (even the governor of Jerusalem in person, if certain accounts of visitors are to be believed) and shepherding them up to Jerusalem and around the various holy sites. 'Foreign merchants, and even Saracens, praised them much for they did good offices to all men.' Thus Ludolph von Suchem,<sup>144</sup> who spent the years 1336-1341 in the Holy Land. Were the merchants (Europeans, one presumes) doing business in Jerusalem?

One regrettable feature of the religious tensions which

lurked below the surface is that from time to time an excess of zeal would lead some individuals into a frantic grasp at martyrdom. Ludolph von Suchem heard of some Greeks who made their way into the Ḥaram and 'trampled upon the Saracens' books. As they refused to renounce their faith, they were cut in two.<sup>145</sup> The historian Maqrīzī alluded to an incident of the same sort. In 795/1393 four Christian monks, probably Greeks, invited some Muslim canon lawyers to dispute with them and then used the opportunity to revile and attack Islam. They too were executed.<sup>146</sup> In Mujīr al-Dīn's time a local Christian was executed in the residence of the Governor after a trial for insults offered to 'Alī and Fātima, the son-in-law and daughter of the Prophet.<sup>147</sup>

As is well known, the non-Muslim communities used the Muslim legal procedures to make their own properties waqf. In 796/1394 there was a house in Zion Quarter near the zāwiya of Shaykh Ya'qūb al-'Ajāmī, which was a waqf in favour of unidentified monks.<sup>148</sup> Some five years earlier a Christian builder lived in his own waqf property, also in Zion Quarter.<sup>149</sup> There was also a waqf house of the Serbians, in a quarter the name of which is illegible,<sup>150</sup> and a Christian from Shawbak, who lived in the Christian Quarter of Jerusalem, left his belongings by special bequest to the monks of the Monastery of St. John in the Jordan Valley.<sup>151</sup>

## THE RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS

### MOTIVES

A sceptical age such as ours should not deny the professed religious motivation in acts of charity, and immediately set to to reveal the social and economic motives in the background. Piety found typical expression in the wording of the Sultan Qalāwūn's endowment deed for his hospital in Cairo (685/1286), '... that our Lord the Sultan ... may benefit from this "on the day when neither wealth nor children shall avail, save to him who shall come to God with a sound heart",<sup>152</sup> that he may take thereby a useful profit from God, follow a straight path to the after-life and receive his Lord's kindness and bounty in large measure on the day when every soul shall find the good that it has done present before it and [as for] the evil it has done, it would wish for it to be a long way off.'<sup>153</sup>

A Tradition of the Prophet sets forth some basic notions quite succinctly: 'When a man dies, all his works cease, except for three things, an on-going act of charity, some learning which gives benefit and a pious child who will pray for him.'<sup>154</sup> This brings into consideration the concepts of intercession and surrogate good deeds, in that it recognises, as popular religion did generally, whatever the views of formal religion, that charitable acts continue to win merit after a person's death, and prayers for his soul and pious readings done in his name can store up benefit.

This belief gave rise to a practice very similar to Western medieval chantries. In Muḥarram 780/May 1378 a man from Ramla gave ten dirhams monthly to Burhān al-Dīn (see p. 73) to read Tradition and Koranic exegesis three times a week adding that 'after that he should pray for me and my parents'.<sup>155</sup> The next year, an amīr, possibly a relative of the governor, Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan al-'Askarī, instituted a *mi'ād* (also for Burhān al-Dīn), bidding him 'pray after his reading for the person who instituted this goodly practice. We have sought by this, God willing, His generous countenance.'<sup>156</sup> Such posts in the Dome of the Rock or the Aqṣā were endowed with sumptuous Koran copies to be read from, some of which are still in the Ḥaram. It was, after all, accepted that one could benefit, even posthumously, from a surrogate pilgrimage to Mecca. There are several instances amongst the Ḥaram documents of people providing for this in their wills.<sup>157</sup>

If a person was moved to make an endowment to meet a social need, to provide for the poor, to support students in an institution dedicated to Islamic learning, and such like, then

there was a whole tradition to persuade him that Jerusalem was an especial place to do so. A good action done there was multiplied many times in its effect and reward, it was said.

It has been argued that founders of institutions tried to build in as close a proximity as possible to the Ḥaram, as though that very proximity conveyed blessing (*baraka*). But this does not seem to be true in any special sense of those built in the first century of the Mamlūk period. From then on one could interpret certain building as attempting to infill around the Ḥaram or to gain contact with it through building over existing structures. The only direct evidence we know is the inscription within the mosque of the Tankiziyya, '... [God] ... made this mosque the neighbour of the Aqṣā Mosque [i.e. the Ḥaram] and how goodly is a pure neighbour ...'<sup>158</sup>

It is in the institution of waqf, which supplied the economic underpinning for schools and Ṣūfī establishments, that we may begin to look for secular motivation at work. Charity may be said to begin at home in Islam, since the Koran specifically named relatives and orphans in the forefront of recipients.<sup>159</sup> 'Family' waqfs (*waqf abli*) met the needs of sons and future descendants. Tying up one's property in this way was an attempt to avoid the exactions of the authorities, and also to avoid the limitations imposed by the Sharī'a on testamentary gifts – they were limited to a third of the estate – and, generally, to circumvent the provisions of the law which tended to lead to the fragmentation of property.

But endowments with a wider social purpose (*waqf khayri*, charitable waqfs) could also be a way of providing for descendants by designating them as inspectors (sing. *nāzir*) of the waqf, for which employment a salary was drawn or the surplus income could be assigned them. A Qādi Fakhr al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Faḍl made a waqf of two portions of the village of 'Itāb in favour of the 'poor and indigent of Jerusalem and religiously motivated residents (*mujāwirin*). He designated himself as inspector for his lifetime, to be followed by his sons. For this he and they were to receive 30 silver (*nuqra*) dirhams monthly, 'as is normal for inspectors'.<sup>160</sup> The Amīr Baktimur al-Jūkāndār, the viceroy of Egypt who was killed in 716/1316-17, had made a village near Hebron a waqf for the water supply and the sick of the town,<sup>161</sup> and also for his descendants. His family were administering the waqf in Mujīr al-Dīn's day<sup>162</sup> and in 987/1579 the inspector was his great-great-great-grandson.<sup>163</sup>

This aspect of the waqf institution could apply at the highest level. When al-Nāsir Muḥammad was being kept under strict tutelage around 708/1308, he would have been unable to make ends meet, 'were it not for the income received from his father's (Qalāwūn) waqfs'.<sup>164</sup>

The sort of religious institution that was built in the period in Jerusalem could also be intended to furnish living quarters for the founder. This appears to have been the case for certain amīrs, those who were at the time looking forward to some period of residence in the city in retirement or banishment. For an even longer period of residence, if one may so express it, there was a care to build a tomb chamber as part of the complex one endowed. This not only gave one the benefit of awaiting the Last Day in the very city where tradition said all mankind would then be assembled, but it meant that one could benefit after death from the prayers and devotions of the personnel one's endowment was supporting.

One should recognise that founders were solicitous to provide maintenance and lodging in their foundations for their dependants, their freedmen and freedwomen. The Amīr Tankiz reserved to himself, as first *nāzir* and to any subsequent *nāzir*, the right to choose any residents he wished for the two sets of rooms above his madrasa in Jerusalem. His own freedmen had precedence if they chose to take any of the 15 places for Ṣūfīs (even if they were not Ṣūfīs themselves) and his freedwomen had first claim on places in his hospice for old or widowed ladies.<sup>165</sup> This clause in the Tankiziyya *waqfiyya* confirmed my belief, gained from one or two slight indications from the history of other institutions in Jerusalem, that the



securing of places for dependants, at least in the first generation and perhaps after that, was an important consideration for founders. Others, mainly those founders who came from outside the boundaries of the Mamlūk state, favoured those from their own places or regions of origin. That this was an old practice is shown by the inscription dated 445/1053-54, in which is recorded the endowment by a Marwānid prince of two houses in Jerusalem to maintain pilgrims from Diyārbakr, where he ruled.<sup>166</sup>

### THE ECONOMIC SUPPORT

All charitable institutions needed endowed funds for their maintenance and the fulfilment of their designated task. The extent of these funds varied according to the scale of the foundation, but would typically consist of the agricultural income from villages or from a share in a village and from urban property and industrial undertakings. A royal foundation, such as the Ashrafiyya of Qāytbāy, had an impressive list of waqf sources, but that for a royal establishment in Cairo of the size and magnificence of the Madrasa of Sultan Ḥasan was astoundingly long. Details where they are known, of the various Mamlūk foundations' resources will be given in the individual catalogue entries. As an example we give here the property which belonged to an institution, of which nothing is known to survive. A waqf summary (Ḥaram document no. 643) of the Turba of the Amīr Muḥammad Beg and the connected zāwiya lists three separate endowments. The first was land at Baramūn<sup>167</sup> in the Egyptian province of Daqahliyya, dating from 751/1350. In 753/1352 property in Homs, Aleppo and elsewhere was added. Only the Homs property is mentioned in detail and comprised a *kbān*, two plots of land within the city, on one of which the founder had erected two shops, and another plot outside the city, and two other shops near the Corn Market. This particular endowment was to benefit the Amīr's wife, Khātūn Fāṭima, for her lifetime, and then pass to the Turba. The third endowment came in the following year, 754/1353, and consisted of land in Lydd.

Saladin had endowed his foundations with a great deal of property. However, further endowments were added by people in Jerusalem, as examples from the fourteenth century show. After first reserving the benefit of an orchard in the Banū Sa'd quarter for herself and her sister for their lifetime, a lady stipulated that it should pass to the Hospital of Saladin, with the Qāḍī of Jerusalem as inspector.<sup>168</sup> A coppersmith treated his house in the Damascus Gate quarter in a similar manner, specifying that all the conditions of the existing Hospital waqfs should apply.<sup>169</sup> The Hospital in the person of the official responsible for the Hospital's waqfs, laid claim to a legacy from a freedwoman, Qutlū, but her sons brought evidence that she had rescinded this legacy and made them the beneficiaries. The parties came to a compromise, the sons receiving 24 *mithqāls* of gold and the Hospital 35<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>.<sup>170</sup> The Ṣalāhiyya Khānqāh also benefited from the waqf of a house, which a Shaykh 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Turkī left initially to his wife, Dawlat, for her lifetime. Upon its passing to the Khānqāh its shaykh for the time being was to be the inspector of the waqf and to spend the income on the resident, and any visiting Ṣūfīs.<sup>171</sup>

The Dome of the Rock and the Aqṣā Mosque, both at the very heart of the religious life of Jerusalem, benefited from the pious giving of Muslims, not least in the sense that individuals gave money in trust to promote study and instruction there.<sup>172</sup> The details of the career of a Shāfi'i scholar will give examples of this (see p. 72), and Mujir al-Dīn remarks on having seen a list of Ḥanbalī scholars in receipt of stipends from the waqf of a certain Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mi'mār, which list was dated Ramaḍān 773/March 1372. The original waqf condition had stipulated 'assiduous application to higher study and attendance at the Aqṣā Mosque for lectures on the customary days'.<sup>173</sup> Foreign rulers, such as the Ottoman Murād II in 833/1430, and the Qaramānid Ibrāhīm II in 858/1454, instituted Koran readerships at the Dome of the Rock.<sup>174</sup>

The actual fabric of the Ḥaram was maintained by the

efforts of the Mamlūk hierarchy, part of the obligation of their wealth and position which they accepted. The chronicles and the surviving epigraphic corpus record these efforts throughout the period. They intervened to ensure an adequate supply of funds, by preventing abuses, but the attentions of the government and its servants were not always consistent and disinterested.

The Ḥaram documents contain some examples of royal interest in the affairs of the Ḥaram waqf. In 664/1266 Baybars I in a decree addressed to all Syrian provincial authorities, reaffirmed that the village of Awjā' in the Jordan Valley was a waqf of the Ḥaram and that 'no dirham, no dinar, nor any crops from it should be spent on other than the Ḥaram'.<sup>175</sup> According to Maqrīzī, Baybars in 661/1262-63 at Jerusalem had already 'looked into the waqfs and ordered their protection'.<sup>176</sup> What was the effect, one wonders, of the decree signed by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 701/1302,<sup>177</sup> ordering the authorities to treat the waqfs of the Jerusalem and Hebron Sanctuaries with respect, not to make heavy demands and to ensure that the waqf officials received their dues, in commodities and cash, without delay. The very existence of the decree suggests that there had been grounds for complaint.

Any foundation would necessarily have an inspector (*nāzir*), who in some cases might leave the day-to-day running to an administrator (*mutawallī*), but here again the fluidity of terms is a difficulty and such a distinction was not always made. In the foundations of some size there was a complete staff, factors to deal with the estates and the urban property, collectors of rents, accountants and clerks. To provide for the possibility that a designated line of inspectors might be extinguished, it was usual to name the occupant of some office to carry on that task, such as the Shāfi'i Qāḍī of Jerusalem. The Qāḍīs exercised in any case a general supervision over the waqfs. We imagine that the collective 'Court charities (*al-sadaqāt al-hukmiyya*)' are those waqfs which have for some reason come under the direct administration of the Qāḍī. The lease of the Cotton Bazaar (*Khān al-Qum*), a waqf of Rukn al-Dīn Mīq, for 580 dirhams in the year 798/1395-96 by the officials of the 'waqf of the Court Charities in Jerusalem', and a whole list of properties, dye-works, mills, ovens, shops, etc. – note the phrase 'may God show His mercy to the souls of those who made endowments' – leased by the Shāfi'i Qāḍī and Inspector of the 'Court Charities', 'Isā b. Ghānim, for the year 795/1392-93, are found in two of the Ḥaram documents, respectively nos. 410 and 62.

No charitable trust was allowed to fail for want of an object. Thus, an endowment deed would specify a series of beneficiaries, always ending with some permanent category, typically 'the poor of such-and-such a place'. There was an ambiguity about the 'poor (*fuqarā*)'. Did it refer to economic deprivation or to the sort of voluntary dependence on God and the God-fearing charity of others adopted by the Ṣūfīs?

In law, however, the first charge on the income was the maintenance of the productivity of the waqf, the proper management of its land and the care and upkeep of its real estate, both income-producing and the buildings of the institution itself. After the payments to the specified objects of the waqf, any surplus was subject to the terms of the original endowment instrument or the decision of the inspector. Special recipients of any surplus might well have been named, and the inspector might have scope to add to the holdings, and therefore the income of the waqf, by further purchases at his own discretion. A particularly good example is in the terms of the first endowment of the Muḥammadiyya Turba. After all expenditure had been met, the inspector could, as he thought fit, purchase arable land or orchards in Cairo, Fuṣṭāṭ and their surroundings, or in Jerusalem, to be added to the waqf on the existing conditions.<sup>178</sup>

Our evidence on the management of the waqfs of Jerusalem institutions of the Mamlūk period is very limited.<sup>179</sup> What we do have is a number of documents relating to the waqfs of the Ḥaram and to some of the properties which

supported the Khānqāh of Saladin. We intend to set out the details of some of these in the belief that the arrangements for the management of the other institutions that existed by the end of the fourteenth century were likely to be very much the same.

The urban properties, productive of a rent, were referred to as 'roofed' (*musaqqaḥāt*), and the same term continues in use in the Ottoman court records. Such real estate was let for a year or so at a time, and, depending on the agreement, the rent could be paid in a lump sum for the whole period, or perhaps more commonly in instalments, with the rent falling due at the end of each month. Consider the following cases of waqf property of the Ṣalāhiyya Khānqāh: a shop in the Covered Market (*qayṣariyya*) was let for a year at 12 dirhams;<sup>180</sup> a tradesman (a seller of clarified butter) rented a shop for a year at a rent of 25 dirhams, due at the end of each month.<sup>181</sup> The sum of 186 dirhams was received by the authorities of the Aqṣā Mosque (i.e. Ḥaram) from the estate of the deceased lessee of a shop in the 'Middle Market',<sup>182</sup> their waqf property. The monthly figure was split out, 15½ dirhams, but the date of the receipt is 12 Rabi' I 797/5 January 1395 and the amount received is the whole year's rent for 797/1394-95, which means that the lessee had not been paying monthly, and that the rent contract was not terminated by his death.<sup>183</sup> A very similar case had risen in 794/1392 when a claim had been brought on behalf of the beneficiaries of the Ṣalāhiyya Khānqāh's waqf land at al-Buq'a outside Jerusalem. The deceased had leased this land in Sha'bān 791/August 1389 for thirty years at an annual rent of 76 dirhams. The Shāfi'ī Qādī of Jerusalem, Taqī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Latīf,<sup>184</sup> allowed that the contract was not invalidated by the death of the lessee and that the rent should be paid out of his estate.<sup>185</sup>

In the case of bath-houses the rent was regularly collected each day. In a rent agreement (dated 747/1346) for the Patriarch's Bath, again a waqf of the Ṣalāhiyya Khānqāh, the daily rent was 13 dirhams, but the actual amount to be paid was reduced to 10 to compensate for the use of the bath by the Ṣūfīs of the Khānqāh according to the waqf conditions. In fact, the two lessees were to pay a month's rent (100 dirhams) and thereafter the daily sum, due at sunset. Their other responsibilities, such as cleaning the cistern (*birka*) and removing the ashes from the furnace, were also set down, but any repairs to the fabric were to fall on the waqf.<sup>186</sup> By the end of 791/1389 the rent of the Patriarch's Bath for a little under two months produced 1,000 dirhams for the Khānqāh. Its other real estate in Jerusalem (shops, a mill, storehouses (*makhbāzin*), two ovens and another undeciphered item) produced 1,210 dirhams.<sup>187</sup> All the rent for the bath had been received, which suggests a day-to-day payment, but the other sum was 431 dirhams in arrears. Expenses listed included the cost of soap, wheat allowances and cash payments for the Ṣūfīs. It is possible that the rent for the Bath of 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Baṣīr was also on a daily basis, as that arrangement is found in force for the Ottoman period, but so is monthly payment.<sup>188</sup>

Judging by several Ḥaram documents, which again mostly concern the Ṣalāhiyya Khānqāh or the Ḥaram waqf, the agricultural holdings of the charitable trusts were exploited in a relatively direct manner, by sale under the control of waqf representatives, or contracts and leases made with the cultivators, individually or collectively, through the headmen of a village. Olives from al-Buq'a were sold for 36 dirhams, income for the Khānqāh, from which 7 dirhams were deducted to pay workers.<sup>189</sup> Another document contains an account for wheat and chick-peas from al-Buq'a in 763/1361-62.<sup>190</sup>

The following documents concern villages held by the Ḥaram waqf:

Ḥaram no. 320 (706/1306): an inhabitant of Bayt Unya purchases from Amīr 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar, who serves the Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams, all the olives, both on and fallen under, the trees, for 5,000 dirhams.

Ḥaram no. 265 (22 Rajab 706/27 January 1307): an individual from Bayt Unya, guaranteed by four headmen of the

village, undertakes to cultivate his lands and pay his rent to the Ḥaram waqf.

Ḥaram no. 697 (Rabi' I 707/September 1307): an undertaking by the headmen and peasants (*fellāhin*) of 'Ayn Ibrūd to cultivate the land and not to abandon it.

Ḥaram no. 348 (707/1307): an undertaking by three inhabitants of 'Ayn 'Arīk to pay the waqf of the Ḥaram 750 dirhams by the end of Rabi' I/September for the crops (grapes, figs, apples, apricots and walnuts are mentioned) for the tax year 705/1305-6, harvested 706/1306-7.

Ḥaram no. 459 (18 Muḥarram 708/8 July 1308): two headmen of 'Ayn 'Arīk acknowledge a debt of 410 dirhams to the Ḥaram from the tax year 706/1306-7.

Ḥaram no. 202 (25 Dhū'l-Hijja 705/8 July 1306): three headmen of Nūbā acknowledge that they hold 111 *ghirāras* (Hebron standard) of crops (wheat, barley, chick-peas, lentils, beans and vetch are mentioned). A little over 20½ *ghirāras* to be kept for seed (*taqāwī*) for the following year.

It is worth noticing that a property in a waqf village could be the subject of a separate contract, as when the Amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn Qarā Saqal, the major-domo of the Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams, leased a work-shop (*ḥānūt al-sinā'a*) in Bayt Unya to a Christian from Bayt Rīmā (Lydd district) for two years at a monthly rent of 37½ dirhams (due at the end of each month).<sup>191</sup>

The uncertain state of life in the country is demonstrated by two undertakings (sing. *qasāma*) dating from the early fourteenth century, one by some inhabitants of Nūbā (Hebron district) to avoid causing trouble or pay a 1,000 dirhams fine to the Treasury, and the other by headmen of the same village that they would cooperate without trouble, not have recourse to arms, to cultivate the waqf as profitably as possible, and also to present themselves when requested before the Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams or his deputies.<sup>192</sup>

Such direct administering of the waqf lands can be predicated for the generality of the Jerusalem Mamlūk foundations, at least till the beginning of the fifteenth century. This assumption is strengthened by other Ḥaram documents, in which particular institutions other than the Ḥaram itself and Saladin's foundations make an appearance. One is a lease, dated 1 Sha'bān 796/1 June 1394, in which a sweetmeat-seller agreed with the person responsible (*mutakallim*) for the waqf of Aydaḳīn (an amīr?) to lease some land of the zāwiya (of Aydaḳīn?) and some land of the Jarrāhiyya Madrasa outside Jerusalem for ten years at an annual rent of 150 dirhams.<sup>193</sup> Another contains a receipt for the waqf income of the Khānqāh (*sic*) of Muḥammad Beg, dated 5 Jumādā 775/22 November 1373. In it the Shaykh of the Zāwiya (*sic*), who is also the Imām of the Dome of the Rock, the inspector and the attendant (*kbādim*) of the Khānqāh acknowledge receipt of the waqf income from the inspector's brother. The money totalled 2,914 Syrian dirhams from the waqf property in Homs and Aleppo (respectively 2,545 and 369 dirhams). The expenses of collection had been deducted already<sup>194</sup> and accounted for in a separate document which has not survived. The three officials also undertook to distribute to the beneficiaries the sum delivered.<sup>195</sup>

By the sixteenth century in most of the renting agreements for the Jerusalem madrasas and such like a further link had been introduced between the waqf inspector and the cultivators or the village headmen, in the shape of a 'farmer' of the rents, often a member of the city's ulema class or of the Ottoman military hierarchy, who guaranteed a sum, say, in one or two instalments to the particular waqf and then negotiated his own terms with (or imposed them upon?) the cultivators.

In theory waqfs were drawn up to last in perpetuity. In practice they could be dissolved in a variety of ways. It could be claimed that the endowed property had not been the absolute private property of the *wāqif*, the donor, or someone could testify that a building was in danger of collapse, and, if that was not true, it could be made to be, or that the waqf was not productive of sufficient income for the stipulated purposes. By the accepted practice of the schools of law, primarily the Ḥanafī

and the Ḥanbalī, permission could be given for the 'exchange' (*istibdāl*) of the waqf property. This meant that the waqf was sold at an official valuation, and the proceeds were to be invested in another property to continue the purposes of the original endowment. The waqf of two parts of the village of Itab, given by a Qāḍī Fakhr al-Dīn to the poor (see above, p. 65) was soon undone, by *istibdāl* one assumes. The verso of the relevant Ḥaram document<sup>196</sup> bears a note, 'sold by one of the *wāqif*'s sons'. Whether the waqf continued in such circumstances must have been often open to doubt.

Land belonging to a waqf was also allowed to be developed. This was the procedure called *biker*. On this basis any property raised on waqf land remained private property, which could be bought and sold, but it was subject to an annual rent charge, itself called *biker*. In theory again this rent charge could rise to remain economic, but in practice it often remained static and of less and less value to the waqf, so that in the end the land and the property raised upon it could be thought of as private property.

That this had been the fate of some institutions in Jerusalem, not to speak of their supporting endowments, is suggested by some remarks of Mujīr al-Dīn. The Maymūniyya Madrasa had ceased to function regularly and had become abandoned. The Mihmāziyya Turba, he says, had become homes just like other dwelling houses.<sup>197</sup> Of course, he may mean that they no longer functioned as teaching or devotional institutions, but that the occupants at least paid rent. This is a situation he refers to in the case of the Hasaniyya Madrasa near the Gate of the Tribes, which, it is true, was never really completed, but became residential accommodation, the rents from which were incorporated into the income of the Ḥaram.<sup>198</sup>

Certainly by the eighteenth century – although exactly when it began we do not know – an arrangement very like *biker* for land came to apply to buildings in waqf status. A perpetual lease of space within a waqf building (called *kbulūw*, lit. vacancy) had the effect of converting waqf property into allodial property.

It was common practice in endowment deeds to try to prevent appropriation by laying down that no property was to be leased for more than a certain period of time. That was also intended to prevent loss to the waqf in times of inflation. For example, the *waqfiyya* of the Tankiziyya laid down that the village that belonged to its endowment should not be leased for more than two years at a time, and 'that no fresh contract should be entered upon until the preceding one had ended and the leased property returned to the hand of the inspector'. The summary of the waqf of the Muḥammadiyya Turba contains the condition that the property in Egypt should be let for one year, or if the best interests of the foundation demand it, up to a maximum of three years at a time. However, this sort of provision was negated by the legal fiction that one contract of lease, say, for forty years was made up of twenty separate ones of two years each. A specious form of words could also claim that the twenty contracts were not continuous.<sup>199</sup>

Another way to try to avoid loss to the waqf was to stipulate that no person of power and influence was to be allowed to rent any of its property. The intention here is quite obvious. One finds a clause to that effect in the Tankiziyya document and also in Qalāwūn's *waqfiyya* for his hospital in Cairo.<sup>200</sup> When Ibn Hajar was restored to the Qādīship and overall control of waqfs, he was urged by the then Sultan not to listen to the suggestions of influential persons nor to lease any waqf to powerful individuals. Maqrīzī comments, 'How excellent, had it worked and lasted!'<sup>201</sup>

Appropriations did take place, of course. When writing of the Mu'azzamiyya Madrasa, founded by the Ayyūbid al-Mu'azzam 'Isā, Mujīr al-Dīn commented: 'I have seen the waqf document, which contained many villages as endowments, but most of them have been seized and are held by people either as *iqṭā*'s or as private property.'<sup>202</sup>

## THE FOUNDERS

It is hardly surprising to find that the Bahrī period was the time when by far the largest number of the religious institutions was founded. Was this entirely a matter of economics and the greater prosperity and wealth of that period? Was there also a decline in Mamlūk commitment to Islam during the fifteenth century? Certainly the education and training of mamlūks became more perfunctory. There was altogether less chance of their imbibing Islamic norms. Nevertheless, as a factor in the decline in the number of foundations in the Circassian period, this was probably only marginal alongside the state of the economy and the political uncertainty.

Royal foundations were few in both periods. The amīrs provided most of the investment in the religious life and the stones and mortar to house it. They were by far the largest category for the Bahrī period – somewhat over a third. Most of them were amīrs who reached high rank at the capital and perhaps went to serve as governors in major cities, although, as we have said, they were not all in service at the time of their endowments. One does find amongst them lesser figures, minor governors, an amīr of 10 at Gaza and holders of Halqa amirates. For the Circassian period the amīrs provide a decreased proportion of the already much lower figure.

There was a not inconsiderable role played by the non-military. In the first half of the fourteenth century three great officials of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, all of them converted Copts, added buildings to the fringes of the Ḥaram in the days of their wealth and power. Their own positions were precarious and their foundations suffered as a result. While the ulema class, which had been well represented in the Bahrī period by five Jerusalem foundations, made no showing in the Circassian, two heads of government departments in the capital endowed madrasas at Jerusalem in the fifteenth century.

The buildings and their endowments were largely generated from within the Mamlūk state, as one would expect. However, since we have insisted on the importance of Jerusalem for Muslims in general, it is not surprising that some building there was done by people from outside the Mamlūk borders. Most of these persons are particularly difficult to identify. Apart from one member of the Turkoman dynasty of the Dhūlghādirids, there was an obscure prince from the Caspian area, for whom a tomb was built, and several ladies of rank from Asia Minor or the eastern Islamic world, of whom very little is known. It may be that future study of the quite considerable number of Ḥaram documents, written in both Persian and Arabic, which concern these parts and which for some reason found their way to Jerusalem and have been preserved there, may shed light on the identities and provenance of these 'foreign' founders, who make their appearance from the middle of the fourteenth century. The eastern Islamic world was then in chaos as the Mongol Ilkhānid state disintegrated. Political uncertainty lasted into the next century and probably underlay the move of these ladies to Palestine.<sup>203</sup>

The buildings that have left some substantial physical remains in Jerusalem will be studied individually in Part II. Naturally they do not exhaust the list of known foundations. The table that follows, which is in two parts, broadly representing the Bahrī and the Circassian periods, with the chronological break made about the year 1380, is intended to show first the various categories of all who erected institutions and made endowments, and second the type of institution. We have tried to give in each case the earliest designation we could find, but one should bear in mind that the terminology fluctuated and, in any case, did not always imply any clear-cut distinction in function. Several madrasas and *zāwiya*s also contained funerary chambers (*urbas*) but were not necessarily designated as such.

In the first table the two categories 'merchant' and 'woman' are made up of persons from outside the Mamlūk



state, except for the one woman in the 'zāwiya' column. The woman in the second table is also a 'foreigner'.

**Bahri Period**

| Category     | Madrassa | Khānqāh | Zāwiya | Turba | Ribāt | Others | Total |
|--------------|----------|---------|--------|-------|-------|--------|-------|
| Sultan       | –        | –       | 1      | –     | 1     | –      | 2     |
| Amīr         | 11       | 1       | 7      | 4     | 2     | 1      | 26    |
| Official     | 2        | 1       | –      | –     | 2     | –      | 5     |
| ʿĀlim        | 2        | –       | 5      | –     | –     | –      | 7     |
| Merchant     | 2        | –       | –      | –     | 1     | 1      | 4     |
| Woman        | 1        | –       | 1      | 2     | 2     | 1      | 7     |
| Foreigner    | –        | –       | –      | 2     | –     | –      | 2     |
| Unidentified | –        | –       | 13     | 2     | –     | –      | 2     |
| Subtotal     | 18       | 2       | 27     | 10    | 8     | 3      | 68    |

**Circassian Period**

| Category     | Madrassa | Khānqāh | Zāwiya | Turba | Ribāt | Others | Total |
|--------------|----------|---------|--------|-------|-------|--------|-------|
| Sultan       | 1        | –       | –      | –     | –     | –      | 1     |
| Amīr         | 4        | –       | –      | 1     | –     | –      | 5     |
| Official     | 2        | –       | –      | –     | –     | –      | 2     |
| ʿĀlim        | –        | –       | –      | –     | –     | –      | –     |
| Merchant     | 1        | –       | –      | –     | 1     | –      | 2     |
| Woman        | 1        | –       | –      | –     | –     | –      | 1     |
| Foreigner    | 2        | –       | –      | –     | –     | –      | 2     |
| Unidentified | 2        | –       | 3      | –     | –     | –      | 5     |
| Subtotal     | 13       | –       | 3      | 1     | 1     | –      | 18    |
| Total        | 31       | 2       | 30     | 11    | 9     | 3      | 86    |

There follow summary details on those founders and their institutions that are not dealt with in Part II. For several, just the bare fact of their one-time existence is known.

Sultan Baybars I built a zāwiya in Jerusalem for Shaykh Khiḍr, pre-671/1272 (Dawādārī, viii, 221) and the vizier Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Hinnā (b. 670/1271-72, d. 707/1307-8) built a ribāt there.<sup>204</sup> At the end of the fourteenth century two zāwiyas existed in the Damascus Gate area, a zāwiya of 'Abd al-'Azīz al-'Ajāmī (Ḥaram no. 224) and another of 'Abd al-Rahmān (Ḥaram no. 744). They are otherwise unknown. Similarly in the Sharaf Quarter there was a zāwiya of Faraj (Ḥaram nos. 90 and 500), in the Dawādāriyya Gate area a zāwiya of Ibn Nafīs (Ḥaram no. 146), and in the Marādiwa (?) Quarter one named after the Shaykh Ibrāhīm (no. 438). A so-called Madrasa of the Chief Shaykh (*Shaykh al-Shuyūkh*), which owned a waqf house in the Cotton Market, was probably the same as the 'zāwiya' of the same name (Ḥaram nos. 120 and 748).

Near the Gate of the Tribes in the Easterners' Quarter there was a zāwiya of the Shaykh Muḥammad al-Haththī (?) (Ḥaram no. 606). There was still a zāwiya near the same gate in the Ottoman period. If the Zāwiya of the Sharīf al-Fākhūrī (no. 131) was the same as the Zāwiya of the Sharīf (no. 679), then it was located in the Kurdish Quarter. It is possibly safe to assume that the Zāwiya of Timrāz (no. 430) was endowed by the governor of that name who held office in 777/1375-76.<sup>205</sup> The daughter of the Amīr Baktimur al-Sāqī (the Cup-Bearer)<sup>206</sup> was the founder of a ribāt in the Easterners' Quarter (Ḥaram no. 239).

1. For the Shaykh Haydar and the Haydariyya Ṣūfīs a zāwiya was built in the Sharaf Quarter c. 674/1275 (*CIA (Ville)* no. 69).
2. A mosque in the Christian Quarter is attributed to Qalāwūn, but was built anonymously in his reign in 686/1287-88 (*CIA (Ville)* no. 67 and p. 129 *infra*).
3. The Ribāt of Ibn al-Sal'ūs was built, we assume, by the vizier of Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl, who was killed in 693/1294. Situated adjoining the north Ḥaram wall, it had become known as the Ribāt of the Amīr Salār by 710/1310 (details from Ḥaram no. 371). It still existed in 796/1394 for the inventory of the effects of a woman was made 'in the Ribāt of Salār in the home (*dār*) of the Shaykh 'Alī al-Miṣrī, servant (*farrāsh*) in the Dome of the Rock' (Ḥaram no. 242).
4. Wajīhiyya Madrasa, built and endowed by a Ḥanbalī scholar, Wajīh al-Dīn Muḥammad b. As'ad (died 701/1302). Situated

near the Muḥaddathiyya north of the Ḥaram (Mujīr, ii, 42), it is called a ribāt by Ibn Hajar, who adds that the founder was very rich and charitable, inspector of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, where he also built a Koran College (*Durar*, iv, 157).

5. A zāwiya for the Moroccans built and endowed in the Moroccans' Quarter by Shaykh 'Umar b. 'Abdallāh al-Masmūdī (waqf dated 703/1303) (Mujīr, ii, 45-6 and 243).

6. and 7. Two zāwiyas outside Jerusalem to the south, attributed to two shaykhs, Aḥmad al-Balāsī<sup>207</sup> and Ibrāhīm al-Azraq. Mujīr al-Dīn has no date for either but calls them 'ancient' (Mujīr, ii, 46).

8. Zāwiya of Abū Madyan, founded in the Moroccans' Quarter by Shu'ayb b. Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb, the grandson of the mystic, Abū Madyan. The *waqfiyya*, dated 720/1320, assigned to the zāwiya lands at 'Ayn Karem west of Jerusalem.

9. The Mihmāziyya Zāwiya attributed to a Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn al-Mihmāzī and situated close to the Mu'azzamiyya according to Mujīr al-Dīn, who also claimed to have seen an order of the Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl b. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, dated 745/1345, assigning the village of Lifta<sup>208</sup> to the resident shaykhs. One of the founder's offspring (died 747/1346-47), is buried there (Mujīr, ii, 42). Was there any family connection with the Mihmāziyya Turba, endowed by the Amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Mihmāzī, for which no details are known to Mujīr al-Dīn (ii, 48)? Some sijill entries mention its location in the Bāb Ḥiṭṭa Quarter (e.g. 12, no. 2574 and 90, 90 (2)). Van Berchem published the surviving remnant of an inscription<sup>209</sup> found, not *in situ*, in the Bāb Ḥiṭṭa Quarter north of the Church of St. Anne. Its date, 1 Rajab 745/8 November 1344, and provenance, tempted him to attribute it to the Mihmāziyya. Note that the institution it graced was intended 'for the poor Persian pilgrims' (*li-fuqarā' al-'ajam al-wāridīn*). In 795/1393 the sale of the effects of a Shaykh Yaḥyā al-'Ajāmī, who died in the Mihmāziyya, took place (Ḥaram no. 531).

10. The Amīr Muḥammad Beg b. Zakariyā al-Nāṣirī al-Silāhdār (the Armour-bearer) endowed a zāwiya, to be identified with the 'Muḥammadiyya' which Mujīr al-Dīn placed to the west of the Bāwardiyya (see p. 70). He dated its waqf to 751/1350 (Mujīr, ii, 44). Ḥaram document no. 643 contains a summary of the *waqfiyya* which will be discussed later. Indeed, the Zāwiya of Muḥammad Beg features in several Ḥaram documents:

- a. no. 206. Acknowledgement of receipt of waqf income for 775/1373 (see p. 67).
- b. no. 210. Acknowledgement by the shaykh of the zāwiya, Yaḥyā b. Ḥusayn (called Bīrū (?)) b. Zakariyā al-Turkī, dated 791/1389, that he owes his wife (and cousin) Yālqutlū, 1,600 dirhams for her bride-price, and that all the furnishings and utensils in their apartment within the zāwiya belong to her, apart from his clothes and books.<sup>210</sup>
- c. no. 719. A petition for the recovery of property deposited with the deceased shaykh of the zāwiya, Yaḥyā b. Bīrū b. Zakariyā al-'Ajāmī (*sic*). Successive stages document its recovery from the Intendant of the Escheat Office (dated 793/1391).
- d. no. 768. Sale of effects of the Shaykh Yaḥyā dated 793/1391. Before his death, his property was in process of sequestration. Gold and silver were uncovered in his room, and among the expenses deducted was an amount 'for the repair of the rooms that were dug up and ruined in the zāwiya' in the process of the search.
- e. no. 100. Inventory of the goods of a man described as 'resident (*muqīm*) in the Zāwiya of Muḥammad Beg'. He possessed a shop in Tarīq Bāb al-Silsila (dated 794/1392).
- f. no. 429. Inventory of belongings of Shaykh Ya'qūb b. Ilyās b. Ghāzī al-Turkmānī, the cook, who died there in 795/1393.
- g. no. 540. Sale of effects of Urnubughā (known as al-Hājj Mūsā), freedman of Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣikī, who died in the zāwiya (dated 796/1394).
11. The Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jalāl al-Dīn 'Arab b. Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad, 'mujāwir in Jerusalem', otherwise unknown, endowed the Zāwiya of the *Tawāshbiyya* (of the Eunuchs) in 753/1352. It was situated in the Sharaf Quarter

(Mujir, ii, 45). This seems to be different from the following.

12. The Ribāt al-Ṭawāshī (Of the Eunuch), situated in the Bāb Ḥiṭṭa Quarter, where a lady from Salāmiyya was residing in 795/1393 (Ḥaram no. 527). This may be the same as the anonymous ribāt in Bāb Ḥiṭṭa mentioned in Ḥaram no. 731 (dated 794/1392).

13. An amīr in the Ḥalqa of Damascus, who came as a *mujāwir* to Jerusalem, founded a zāwiya (*waqfiyya* dated 761/1359) near the Salāhiyya Madrasa. He designated himself inspector, followed by his son, after whom the zāwiya became known as the Shaykhūniyya. The founder was Sayf al-Dīn Qutlīshā b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad (Mujir, ii, 41-2).<sup>211</sup> The name and position of this zāwiya is confirmed by the inventory of the possessions of a Fātima bint Qutlubeg al-Rūmiyya 'living in the zāwiya of the late Qutlīshā in the Easterners' Quarter' (Ḥaram no. 771b).

14. The Muḥaddathiyya Madrasa near the Wajīhiyya was endowed in 762/1360 by a scholar and *muḥaddith* (Tradition specialist), 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-'Ajāmī from Ardabīl. He died in 780/1378 (Mujir, ii, 43; *Durar*, ii, 482).

15. The wife of a merchant from Abivard, al-Khwāja 'Imād al-Dīn al-Bāwardī, built what Mujir al-Dīn described as the Bāwardiyya Madrasa 'at Bāb al-Nāzir near the Ṭashtamuriyya' (Mujir, ii, 43-4). The waqf was dated Sunday 5 Rajab 768/7 March 1367. Ḥaram document no. 76 contains a declaration dated 770/1369 made by the founder, 'the Lady . . . al-Ḥājja (the pilgrim) . . . Safarī Khātūn, daughter of . . . the late merchant (Khwāja) Najm al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. . . . Sharaf al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who is known as the wife of the late merchant 'Imād al-Dīn al-Bāwardī al-Sarā'i,' that she endowed 'the madrasa and the tomb which she had erected in Jerusalem near the gate of the Aqṣā Mosque [i.e. the Ḥaram]' with various carpets and utensils. Doubtless the tomb was built for her husband.

16. Opposite the Bāwardiyya was a zāwiya for the Yūnusiyya order, for which no information is available, except that it was south of the Jahārkaṣiyya on Ṭariq al-Wād, and with that institution represented redevelopment of an old church (Mujir, ii, 44).

17. The Ribāt of al-Ḥamawī, which is now totally unknown, was a long lived institution. It was founded by 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī – a merchant? – before 793/1391. Defter no. 602 placed it in the Quarter of the Cotton-Merchants' Gate. Its waqf property consisted of four storerooms below the ribāt and two shops near it, a house with shop below in the David Street Market, and two storerooms and two houses in the Jewish Quarter.<sup>212</sup> The ribāt catered for men and women. Two Ḥaram documents (nos. 418 and 567) contain inventories of female residents, one from Is'ard, who also left some of her belongings to the ribāt. Another document concerns a man from Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān (no. 408).

In 982/1574 a woman resident from Asia Minor complained to the Qādī about a man who was renting space in the ribāt to live in and to house a mill. The inspector claimed that this had been the case for the last thirty years – in rooms 'unoccupied by foreign women', which the man had rehabilitated.<sup>213</sup> Repairs were carried out in 1028/1619 to the ribāt and its endowment property, including a shop and a café below the ribāt itself. Mention was made then of 'the second ribāt designed for women's residence'.<sup>214</sup>

18. The Amīr Jahārkaṣ al-Khalīlī,<sup>215</sup> the Amīr *Ākbūr* of Sultan Barqūq (killed at Damascus 791/1389) endowed the Jahārkaṣiyya Madrasa, north of the Yūnusiyya (Mujir, ii, 44). He was the founder of the Khān al-Khalīlī in Cairo. Ḥaram document no. 690 (dated 795/1392) mentions a house 'in Ṭariq al-Wād opposite the Jarkas (*sic*) building (*'imāra*)'. A sijil entry<sup>216</sup> suggests that it was on the west side of Ṭariq al-Wād, just south of the entrance to the Zāhiriyya Hill. As late as 1092/1681 Ishāq Bey, former governor of Jerusalem, was appointed to the 'posts' of administrator and shaykh, and acquired the right to live in or let the madrasa. He paid 50 piastres to the person giving up the 'posts'.<sup>217</sup>

19. The Church of St. James the Less, a little east of the Citadel

was converted into a zāwiya at an unknown date and named after the Shaykh Ya'qūb al-'Ajāmī. It was certainly earlier than 796/1394, because it is mentioned in a Ḥaram document of that date (no. 521). According to Mujir al-Dīn, it became known as the Zāwiya of Ibn al-Shaykh 'Abdallāh, after a Sūfi (d. 885/1480) who lived there. It had since then fallen into ruin (Mujir, ii, 47 and 200).

20. The Kāmiliyya Madrasa was situated on the east side of the street leading up to the Bāb Ḥiṭṭa, opposite the Māridīnī Ribāt. The founder was a certain al-Ḥāj Kāmil from Tripoli, of whom nothing is known. The status of the waqf was established by a *mabḍar*, dated 816/1413-14 (Mujir, ii, 42), but the Kāmiliyya was in existence by the mid-fourteenth century. 'Umar b. Ruslān al-Bulqīnī resided there for a while within the dates 740-69/1339-67 (*Daw*, vi, 86).

A member of the Qalqashandī family, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, died in the Kāmiliyya in 897/1492 (Mujir, ii, 214). His grandfather, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Taqī al-Dīn, was resident in that same area in 795/1392 (Ḥaram no. 428). Was that also in the Kāmiliyya?

Asali mentions members of the Jārallāh family who held nominal appointments in the Kāmiliyya in the eighteenth century (*Ma'ābid*, 258).

21. The Ṭūlūniyya Madrasa, which was situated over the north portico of the Ḥaram was built before 800/1398 for Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Nāsir al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ṭūlūnī al-Zāhirī by his mamlūk, Aqbughā. No *waqfiyya* was written until 827/1424 (Mujir, ii, 40).<sup>218</sup> A shaykh of the Ṭūlūniyya was Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Ṭūlūnī al-Bistāmī (b. 748/1347, d. 843/1439). He came to Jerusalem in 814/1411-12 (Mujir, ii, 173).<sup>219</sup> Defter no. 522 lists four waqf properties in the Jerusalem district (İpsirli, 25).

22. East of the Ṭūlūniyya, and built by the same founder, was the Fanariyya Madrasa. Sultan Faraj assigned some villages for its upkeep, but after his reign no waqf document could be found. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Fanarī, Ottoman Shaykh al-Islam (751-834/1350-1431), bought the building from a son of al-Ṭūlūnī and made it a waqf. Hence the name by which it was known, Fanariyya.<sup>220</sup> A *waqfiyya* by Shams al-Dīn al-Fanarī in favour of the Tayluniyya (*sic*) and dated 833/1430, has been studied by M. Bilge.<sup>221</sup> Four villages near Kutahya in Asia Minor were set aside as sources of income for the madrasa.<sup>222</sup> In 983/1575 the Ḥanafī *mudarris* reported on the repairs recently effected, including work on the floor of 'the large assembly hall' and also the 'small' one, 'the place for classes (*maball al-durūs*)'. Twelve cells without doors and the rest with old doors were mentioned.<sup>223</sup>

23. The Amīr Qānṣūh al-Yaḥyāwī, sometime Governor of Damascus,<sup>224</sup> built a turba to the north of the cemetery outside the Golden Gate. He began it during a period out of favour when he was a *mujāwir* in Jerusalem. This was prior to Shawwāl 872/April 1468, when he was restored to the governorship of Damascus. The building was finished in 895/1489-90 (Mujir, ii, 63-4). In 898/1492-93 he visited Jerusalem and stayed for a few days in the turba complex (Mujir, ii, 366). An incomplete inscription, now in the Islamic Museum – since no trace of the building itself survives – gives the date Rajab 894/June 1489. Perhaps that was the date of the completion of the turba but not the whole complex.<sup>225</sup>

## EDUCATION AND THE FUNCTIONING OF THE INSTITUTIONS

The institutions we have been considering all aimed to provide an education at a further level. The initial level of teaching came for some through study with a private tutor at home or, for the more fortunate few, with a learned father or other relative. For the many it was provided in the fundamental institution of the Koran school (*maktab* or *kuttāb*). These schools were founded by private charity, so they offered a basic education for the children of the poor, most particularly for orphans. Not infrequently they operated as an attachment to one of the higher institutions, as with the Ṭāziyya or the Jawhariyya in

Jerusalem. The children were to attend daily to learn to read and write and to memorize the Koran. Ṭaḥa Husayn has left a lively, though no doubt heightened, description of such a school in Egypt at the turn of this century.<sup>226</sup> The accent was on rote learning. This is how Felix Faber described a school at the Mosque of 'Umar near the Holy Sepulchre in 1483: 'Beside the mosque at the foot of the tower [minaret] is a boys' school . . . They were sitting in rows upon the ground and all of them repeating the same words in a shrill voice, bowing down their heads and their backs, even as the Jews are wont to do when saying their prayers.'<sup>227</sup>

One such school in Jerusalem was established by an amīr called Fakhr al-Dīn Īyās al-Manṣūrī. An account for the expenditure for 780/1378-79<sup>228</sup> lists endowed income from shops in Jerusalem and agricultural revenues from the village of al-Ṣīr (district of Qāqān).<sup>229</sup> The teacher was also responsible for the administration of the shops.<sup>230</sup> Nineteen orphans were in receipt of money and a bread allowance, and the endowment provided pens, ink and paper.

Examples of precocious study are recorded with evident admiration. A Shāfi'ī scholar, Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bā'ūnī (d. 816/1413), having memorized the Koran by the age of ten, learnt the *Minbāj*, a law work, in a short period.<sup>231</sup> Another scholar is reported to have 'heard Tradition' at the age of two.<sup>232</sup> 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'il b. Jamā'a (d. 861/1457) knew the Koran by heart at the age of nine.<sup>233</sup>

What Mujīr al-Dīn tells us of his own career is instructive. His first teacher (shaykh) was Taqī al-Dīn 'Abdallāh al-Qalqashandī (d. 867/1463), to whom Mujīr al-Dīn presented himself for examination in a well-known work on syntax before his sixth birthday.<sup>234</sup> When he was about ten, he studied the Koran in the *maktab* at Bāb al-Nāzir,<sup>235</sup> and by the time he was twelve, he was studying legal works with various scholars.<sup>236</sup> His age at that time may well explain why this activity was mostly carried on in the private houses of the scholars concerned, for example, in the house of Taqī al-Dīn near the Ṣalāhiyya Madrasa.<sup>237</sup> It is nevertheless true that when a location for any teaching at the higher level is specified by Mujīr al-Dīn, more often than not it is the Aqṣā Mosque.<sup>238</sup> This serves to remind us that despite the specialised foundations of the Mamlūk period, the Ḥaram area generally remained an important centre for devotion and study.

At the higher levels of study teaching ability was valued and many is the time one reads in biographical notices that 'his students benefited from him' or that 'several prominent scholars studied with him and his students benefited from his uprightness and his good advice.' One lecturer at the Ṣalāhiyya Madrasa was Kurdish. 'His lectures in the Ṣalāhiyya were excellently researched but his accent was so thick, that his words were intelligible only to those who had had plenty of practice in listening to him.'<sup>239</sup> Yet another member of the Qalqashandī family, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ismā'il (d. 809/1406) taught and issued fatwas while still young, and 'many of the foremost scholars benefited from him because of his powerful ability to communicate with students.'<sup>240</sup> Note too that it was said of him that he was 'the authority for his school of law, who had read the texts and knew them inside out'. On the student side, it must be admitted that education was not entirely a matter of learning by heart. Mujīr al-Dīn is careful to say that, when he read a legal text with a certain Māliki Qāḍī, he read it 'so as to examine and understand it.'<sup>241</sup> An ability to grasp the concepts of a field of study and to apply one's knowledge was valued above mere memorization.<sup>242</sup>

A distinction has been made earlier between the activities of study and devotion. That of course, is a very imprecise distinction to make. The reading of the sacred text, a commentary or a Ṣūfi treatise can easily comprise both activities. Perhaps one should separate the fields of endeavour, and place the study and religious practices of the Ṣūfi on one side and the study and devotions of the canon-law specialist on the other. But then it is a manifest error to identify the khānqāh and the zāwiya exclusively with the first and the madrasa with

the second. The expressed purposes of any founder and the life of the functioning institution often overlapped both fields, whatever the term applied to the institution from time to time. Indeed, the fields overlapped in the lives of individuals. Many a Ṣūfi of the Ṣalāhiyya Khānqāh also had a position in the Ṣalāhiyya Madrasa, and the top posts of both were eventually merged.<sup>243</sup>

Nevertheless, the prime purpose of the madrasa was the study of Islamic law, and that of the zāwiya or khānqāh was to live a devotional community life, seeking the knowledge of God. Some zāwiyas identified their variety of Ṣūfism through the name they bore, but others practised the middle-of-the-road Ṣūfism, which antedated the formation of the orders. The Dawādāriyya Khānqāh was to have a resident body of Ṣūfis and novices, and we possess a summary of the *waqfiyya* for the Zāwiya of Muḥammad Bey, but in neither case is any specific Ṣūfi order named.

In the madrasa the fundamental Islamic sciences formed the curriculum. At the capital, in the great foundations, the study of law could comprise all four schools of Sunni Islam. Sultan Barqūq, for example, established in his madrasa seven lectures courses, that is to say, on the jurisprudence of each of the four schools, the study of the 'seven readings' of the Koran, the exegesis of the Koran and the study of Prophetic Tradition.<sup>244</sup> Exactly the same was true for the Cairo madrasa of Jamāl al-Dīn the Major-Domo, finished in 811/1408, except that he omitted the lecturer for Koran text study and made the Shāfi'ī lecturer also the head of the teaching of Ṣūfism<sup>245</sup> – which illustrates the point made above. The non-Islamic sciences, if they were studied, tended to be studied by private arrangement, but medicine was part of the curriculum of teaching which Sultan Lājīn set up for the restored Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn.<sup>246</sup> We know of no such broadening of the curriculum in Jerusalem, and all the foundations there appear to have been destined for the study of a single school of law.

An aim of both sorts of institution was to house the staff and the students or novices, and to provide limited accommodation for casual visitors, wandering scholars or mystics. Student residence is nicely illustrated by an anecdote told of a Shāfi'ī teacher, who as a young man came to Jerusalem to study at the Khanthaniyya (called here a madrasa), adjoining the Aqṣā. His shaykh once before dawn found some of his fellows reciting the Koran, others praying, others studying, but he was sleeping. The shaykh prodded him with his foot and said, 'My son, your family sent you here for religious study, not for sleep.'<sup>247</sup>

Since no full picture of life within the religious institutions is available from any source (we meet the names of heads of various establishments and very rarely a reference to some specific activity within them, most of which information will find a place in the individual catalogue entries), here we will concentrate on giving the gist of two documents. The first is a copy of the endowment deed of the Tankiziyya<sup>248</sup> and the second the summary of the *waqfiyya* of Amir Muḥammad Beg for his zāwiya.<sup>249</sup> From these, at least, one can confidently draw up a picture of how the two were planned to function. For how long and to what extent the stipulations of the founders in these, and in all the other foundations of Jerusalem, held good is a question more easily posed than answered.

It is immediately clear that the Tankiziyya, though called a madrasa, was intended for three distinct groups, students of Hanafī law, others specialising in Tradition (*muhadithibin*) and Ṣūfis. In fact, one could claim a fourth function, since the south *iwān* was dedicated as a mosque (*masjid*) for open use.

The endowment provided for 15 law students, of whom five were to be married. They were obliged to be zealous in their study. If they proved incompetent (and this is defined as failing to learn a Hanafī law text after four years), they were to be replaced. They were also obliged to sleep in the madrasa but since it was earlier stated that there was room for ten law students, we assume that that did not apply to the married men, unless of course, the bachelors in some cases shared a cell. As



for further general stipulations, 'foreign' students were to be preferred to locals from Jerusalem, and bachelors to married men.

As was the case in other institutions of the period, the law students were to be divided into three categories: advanced, intermediate and beginners.<sup>250</sup> There is no really full account of their daily routine. They were to gather with the *mudarris* and the assistant lecturer (*mu'īd*) for lectures in the south *iwān*, beginning with the reading by each one of a Koran 'part', then sūras 112, 113, 114, 1 and the beginning of 2,<sup>251</sup> and prayers for the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the founder, Tankiz, and his descendants. After this the *mudarris* delivered his lectures. One person was to be nominated to act as attendance clerk. If anyone absented himself with good reason, then his pay and allowances were not docked, but if there was no valid reason proportional deductions were made.

The section which laid down the requirements for the *mudarris* is unfortunately omitted in the copy. His assistant, who had to be a Ḥanafī, as was surely the case with the *mudarris*, was to act as imām for the mosque. Daily after the afternoon prayer he examined the two lower grades of students in the latest lecture and discussed it with them.

The Ḥadīth students were to be twenty in number, and apparently were not to be resident, as there is no mention of any accommodation for them. The staff consisted of the shaykh, who was to have a distinguished status in the on-going transmission of Ḥadīth, and his assistant, a 'reader', who in the study sessions (*mī'ād*) read from Bukhārī. When Bukhārī was completed, he commenced Muslim . . . and then back to Bukhārī again. Each student was to memorize one ḥadīth during the *mī'ād* and afterwards to be examined in it by the shaykh. All were to gather daily in the east *iwān* after the midday prayer. Each one read from the Koran, and then the further readings and the prayers were the same as for the law students. The 'reader' kept a tally of absentees in the same manner as before.

The Ṣūfī section functioned in the upper floor, built over the Haram portico. The complement was the shaykh and fifteen Ṣūfīs, of whom one was to be steward and another cook. However, only eleven cells are mentioned as being available for the Ṣūfīs, although all were meant to be resident. What is more, visiting Ṣūfīs were envisaged too, of whom there were to be no more than ten a month, staying each no more than ten days.

Daily before dawn they assembled in what is called the upper mosque to recite the Koran individually and then complete the readings and prayers as detailed above. They then 'remember God', in other words, they perform their devotions (*dbiker*). They finish with ten repetitions of a prayer for the Prophet (the wording is given). Each Ṣūfī then reads (studies) a section of the *Epistle* of al-Qushayrī.<sup>252</sup> This whole pattern is repeated upon the conclusion of the afternoon prayer. The form of the *dbiker* is not specified, but the stipulation of the study of al-Qushayrī's text suggests that only broadly acceptable practices were intended, avoiding all extremes and excesses.

The daily régime also included a lecture from a Koran specialist (*muqri'*), who sat in the east *iwān* at the window that gave on to the Haram and read a quarter of a thirtieth 'part' of the Koran after morning prayer, then followed that with some Koranic exegesis. This particular daily session also closed with prayers for the sultan and the founder. No special activity is located in the west *iwān*, it will be noticed.

The service personnel consisted of two caretakers (sing. *qayyim*), who were alternately on duty. They had the usual responsibility for cleaning, and lighting and extinguishing the lamps. In addition they performed the call to prayer at the door of the madrasa, and distributed the Koran 'parts' to the students from the chest where they were kept and collected them up again. This they also performed for the Ṣūfīs in the upper mosque. The *bawwāb* was responsible for security and the opening and closing of the madrasa 'at the normal times'. Then there is also mention of a person responsible for the fabric,

called a *mi'mār* (master-builder), a collector of the waqf income (*jābī*) and a clerk (*kātib*).

One should also mention the hospice, which was supported by the same endowment but was physically distinct from the madrasa on the other side of the square. It was for twelve pious and poor aged widows. One was to act as 'shaykha', and another as caretaker and doorkeeper (*bawwāba*). Apart from the performance of the five daily prayers along with visitors, they all had to assemble in 'one of the two *iwāns* of the hospice' after morning prayer for the mixture of readings and prayers as before. A note of any absentee was also taken.

After basic maintenance charges and complicated payments for candles or special rations on 'feast' days, all the categories mentioned received money, mostly on a monthly basis, and daily bread allowances. The Ṣūfīs were supplied with monthly rations of olive oil and soap. The details of these arrangements will be given in the separate entry for the Tankiziyya.

The other document to be given a detailed look is in fact a summary of three separate endowments made by the Amīr Muḥammad Beg b. Zakarīyā for a complex containing a zāwiya and his own funerary chamber (*turba*), which range in date from 748/1348 to 754/1353. In the zāwiya there were to be fifteen resident Ṣūfīs, which number included the shaykh, the steward (*kbādīm*), the *bawwāb*, the caretaker (to be responsible for the lighting, etc.), and the cook. There was also provision for a maximum of fifteen visitors, who were to stay each no more than three days.

The shaykh was expected to be 'learned in the path of Ṣūfism' and to instruct the others. The community was to assemble after morning and afternoon prayers to recite the Koran and to pray for the founder, and also every Friday after late evening prayer. That constituted their *dbiker*.

The eating of communal meals was important in Ṣūfī establishments.<sup>253</sup> It is not surprising to find detailed instructions laid down about the purchase by the inspector of set quantities of wheat, lamb, and vegetables. Every Friday eve or on certain special days, such as the feast at the end of Ramaḍān, more elaborate food was to be purchased and prepared. In all of this the visitors were treated almost exactly the same as the residents.

The post of inspector was held by the founder for his lifetime, who reserved the power to appoint a successor by testament. If that failed for any reason, there was to be joint control by the shaykh of the zāwiya, the steward and the chief shaykh of the khānqāh at Siryāqūš outside Cairo or, if not the latter, then the Shāfi'ī Qādī of Egypt.

The subsequent endowments, apart from providing for the founder's wife while she lived, increased the staff and raised salaries and increased the allowances in kind. In particular, two Koran readers were instituted to perform at the mausoleum, and the period of stay for Ṣūfī visitors was increased to five days, although it remained three for non-Ṣūfīs.

The sort of career that an individual could make for himself in the various religious institutions of Jerusalem may be illustrated from the series of documents in the Haram collection which concern Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Rizq Allāh al-Nāṣirī. In the earliest, dated 740/1340,<sup>254</sup> he is described as a 'reader of Tradition'. In another, dated 763/1362,<sup>255</sup> he claims that he had been reading [studying] Tradition for twenty years without a salary (*ma'lūm*) and that the inspectors (*muzzār*) had assigned him twenty dirhams a week for reading Tradition on three days between sunset and evening prayers. He requests confirmation, probably from the Superintendent of the Two Harams, according to the records held by the waqf (of the Haram). A few years later, he is appointed by the inspector of the Mausoleum of the Amīr Ṭāz to replace a deceased 'reader of a tenth [of the Koran]' with a salary of ten dirhams a month.<sup>256</sup>

In 773/1371 he was made the reader of a *mī'ād* 'opposite the Dome of the Rock', instituted by private funds.<sup>257</sup> In the following year, the Ḥājb of Gaza, Sulāmish b. Abū Bakr b.

Tūghān al-Fāriqānī, appointed him to a similar position in Jerusalem. The *mī'ād* appointment gets its name – it means 'appointed time' – from the fixed times and venues for the performance of devotional or instructional duties, which were, in this case, at the Dome of the Rock from sunset to evening prayer on Friday eve and also on Friday morning, in the Aqṣā after the morning prayer on Tuesdays, and on Fridays after the afternoon prayer in the portico at Bāb al-Silsila.<sup>258</sup>

A petition of his for a place in an unidentified qāḍī's madrasa as one of the lawyers on the foundation happens to survive.<sup>259</sup> He was appointed, as the note on the verso points out, because 'the complement of twenty lawyers in the ribāt (*sic*) . . . is not full.' In a further petition, Burhān al-Dīn requested an allowance, that is, one rotl of bread daily, from the Maṣṣūrī Ribāt. A minute from the bureau of the waqf confirmed a vacancy through the death of a certain Shaykh Yūsuf al-Kurdī, and then the order for a daily allowance of four loaves was made.<sup>260</sup>

In 777/1376 Burhān al-Dīn was confirmed in certain posts at the Ṭāz Mausoleum, including the *fiqāba*, which may mean here 'the post of schoolmaster'.<sup>261</sup> He certainly functioned as teacher of the orphans at the Koran school of the Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn Iyās.<sup>262</sup>

Another private appointment followed. A Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad from Ramla allowed Burhān al-Dīn ten dirhams monthly to read Tradition and Koranic exegesis three times weekly, on Monday and Tuesday mornings and after the Friday prayer – one presumes, in the Aqṣā or at the Dome of the Rock – on condition that 'afterwards he should pray for me and my parents'.<sup>263</sup>

At the same time we find Burhān al-Dīn referred to as 'one of the Sūfīs in the Ṣalāhiyya Khānqāh', a position that would have procured him a further salary and allowances.<sup>264</sup> Then, when someone was removed 'because of his unsuitability', Burhān al-Dīn gained a place in yet another institution, on his appointment to be lecturer on the Koran (*muqri*) at the Mausoleum of al-Awḥad.<sup>265</sup> In the following year, 781/1379, he was chosen for yet another *mī'ād* post in the Haram by the Amīr Shihāb al-Dīn Ḥaydar al-'Askarī al-Manṣūrī.<sup>266</sup> A further appointment by the inspector of the Ṭāz Mausoleum adds the interesting information that Burhān al-Dīn was 'to recite [the Koran] from memory during the day for two hours by the sand clock'.<sup>267</sup> In 788/1386 the former Hājib of Gaza, 'Alā' al-Dīn Aqbughā Yengi, established a *mī'ād* post at the Dome of the Rock, for lecturing and preaching three days a week, and appointed Burhān al-Dīn at a salary of 20 dirhams a month. His son was to succeed him after his death, if the son proved fit for the post.<sup>268</sup> Other surviving documents concern rent payments by Burhān al-Dīn, his divorce and then after his death the payment to his dependants from his estate. His present interest for us lies in the illustration his career affords of the sort of opportunities open to a person of no special celebrity – he makes no appearance in any biographical dictionary or chronicle – to assemble appointments in varying capacities and in different establishments.

Some effort must be made to answer the question raised a little earlier. We have seen the direct testimony of Mujīr al-Dīn that certain foundations had in his time become private dwelling-places and that the waqfs of some had likewise been turned into private property. New evidence from the Haram documents has revealed the existence of foundations in the Mamlūk period, the names of which, not to speak of their exact location, had been erased from the memory of all. When did these institutions fade away? The fact that they are not listed in the precious collection of Mujīr al-Dīn does not in itself signify, since he admits that exhaustive coverage was not his aim. It certainly cannot be a simple matter of the date of the foundation – as though the older would decline first. The pre-Mamlūk Ṣalāhiyyas (Madrasa and Khānqāh) and the Mu'azzamiyya continued to function, to all appearances at least, well into the Ottoman period. No-one can doubt, however, that it would be in the nature of things for some institutions to falter

and fade. The question is whether those institutions that retained their identity and their waqf status also continued to function as their founders had intended.

The nearest Mujīr al-Dīn comes to outright criticism is when he remarks that the holders of the many teaching posts associated with the scholarly life of the Haram no longer exercise their functions satisfactorily and conscientiously.<sup>269</sup> He alludes also to the commission given to his revered teacher, Kamāl al-Dīn b. Abī Sharīf, when he returned to Jerusalem, to reform the torpid Ṣalāhiyya Madrasa.<sup>270</sup> Personal interest and outright purchase had throughout the fifteenth century increasingly decided the holding of high office, religious as well as secular. Parallel with that was the tendency for certain establishments and their waqfs and offices to become the preserve of rich and influential families.

This is very well illustrated by the three successive professors of the Tankiziyya between c. 840-87/c. 1440-82, 'Abd al-Rahīm, his son, Muḥammad, and grandson, another 'Abd al-Rahīm (Ibn al-Naqīb al-Ḥanafī).<sup>271</sup> Such transference of position was effected by formal 'cession' (*nuzūl*). Such a practice had already bedevilled the efficiency of the *iqṭā'* system.<sup>272</sup> Ultimately the slackness and the venality of the officials was to blame for permitting such transfers. They should have controlled the practice. In 793/1391 a servant (*farrāsh*) in the Tankiziyya – for it happened at all levels – testified that he had ceded his office 'legally' to his son 'on condition that the inspector gives legal ratification',<sup>273</sup> and, perhaps at about the same time, an appointment document for the inspectorate and the headship (*mashyakba*) of the Amīniyya Zāwiya mentions the phrase 'by virtue of legal cession (*nuzūl*)'.<sup>274</sup> We hear of unsuccessful attempts, for example, to cede the professorship at the Ṣalāhiyya Madrasa to a son-in-law in 761/1359. The Sultan Barsbāy tried to stop the practice in 825/1422, and in 831/1427-28 an attempt to pass the same professorship to a member of the Banū Jamā'a family failed, even though the Qāḍī of the time authorised the operation 'on the back of the waqf document'.<sup>275</sup> The efforts to check the practice were short lived. Maqrīzī says that the various offices in madrasas and khānqāhs became like private property to be sold or inherited, even the major professorships and inspectorates.<sup>276</sup> In Ottoman times the practice, now called 'vacating' (*tafarrugh*), is met with on almost every page of the sijills. The charity of past generations can so easily become the milch-cow of its administrators and agents, who accept their entrenched privileges often unconsciously. Not all develop the tender conscience of Trollope's warden.

If certain posts are looked upon as family sinecures and charitable benefits are regarded as negotiable items, then merit is no longer the criterion for the former, nor need for the latter. Decline in the standard of scholarship and the frustration of the original charitable aims are the inevitable result. When faced with the material in the Jerusalem sijills, Asali appears to consider the outward form of appointments to madrasa posts and the distribution of allowances to be a guarantee of the continued validity of these operations. Yet one cannot overlook the evidence for the restricted transfer of these posts, and the inherent implausibility of their continuing to be active and responsible posts when they are sub-divided like family property. We have also gained the decided impression that a relatively limited range of names appears in the sixteenth-century sijills as beneficiaries of the waqfs of the religious institutions, and that they belong to a knot of families that had gained something approaching a monopoly. Admittedly this is merely an impression, but items in the entries for each building will, we hope, support it.

The position in subsequent centuries is clearer, when it is impossible to deny that buildings that housed madrasas and zāwiyas had been taken over by certain families, their waqf resources lost or diverted and their original purposes almost forgotten. The Shaykh Muḥammad al-Khalīlī (d. 1147/1734) admits the dissipation of past charity and has only the threat of non-prospering and the sanction of eventual divine

punishment, when he urges, 'Do not listen to the promptings of the Devil, that Jerusalem possessed many libraries endowed by sultans, notables and great men, which people seized and sold or gave away to important people, and earned thereby nothing but increased power and influence.'<sup>277</sup>

We are conscious that, despite all that we have written, we have only described something of the provision of opportunities for scholarship and devotion in Jerusalem in the Mamlūk period and that we have been unable to say anything about the quality of these two fields of activity. The motives of the men and women whose charity gave the opportunities may have been mixed but the results were none the less real. A

closer study of the ulema and Šūfīs who were associated with Jerusalem, the books they wrote and studied and the networks of teacher and pupil they established may answer the question about how well the opportunities were grasped, but this we have been unable to do. The remnants of the foundations of this period survive to lend a certain character to the streets of old Jerusalem and the fringes of the Ḥaram, and to add their contribution to the heritage of Islamic architecture, but the role that the institutions played in the lives and development of the individuals who passed through them in the days of their flourishing is an insubstantial thing which does not survive like stones and mortar.

## Notes

- 1 Cited as Mujir.
- 2 A continuation till 914/1508 exists in Bodleian Ms. Marsh 611, ff. 215b-224b.
- 3 Mujir, ii, 189.
- 4 Cited as *CIA (Ville)* or *CIA (Haram)*.
- 5 See L.S. Northrup and A.A. Abul-Hajj, 'A Collection of Medieval Arabic Documents in the Islamic Museum at the Haram al-Sharif', *Arabica*, xxv, 1978, 281, and Little, 'Significance'.
- 6 See E. Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade etc.*, Paris, 1968, and S.D. Goitein, 'The Sanctity of Jerusalem and Palestine in Early Islam', *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, Leiden, 1966, 135-148.
- 7 See E. Sivan, 'The Beginnings of the "Fada'il al-Quds" Literature', *Israel Oriental Studies*, i, 1971, 263, and for the earliest example, al-Wāsiṭī, *Fada'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, ed. Isaac Hasson, Jerusalem, 1979.
- 8 *Sulūk*, ii, 319.
- 9 *Zubda*, 23.
- 10 Abū Shāma, *Dbayl*, 204-5.
- 11 *Sulūk*, i, 896.
- 12 Mujir, ii, 173 and 215.
- 13 *Sulūk* iv, 1114.
- 14 Mujir, ii, 222.
- 15 See Haram nos. 768 and 719.
- 16 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, i, 565.
- 17 Two uncatalogued Haram fragments.
- 18 *Sulūk*, i, 491.
- 19 *Sulūk*, ii, 172.
- 20 *Sulūk*, iii, 825.
- 21 *Nuj.*, v, 214-5; *Sulūk*, iv, 108.
- 22 *Nuj.*, vi, 340; *Sulūk*, iv, 284.
- 23 *Nuj.*, vi, 375-6; *Sulūk*, iv, 421.
- 24 *Sulūk*, iv, 584. See *CIA (Haram)*, no. 183, a decree of Taṭār (when actually still regent) in 824/1421. It is odd that Khalīl al-Zāhirī claimed that, unlike other cities, in Jerusalem no *mukūs* (non-canonical taxes) were levied, see *Zubda*, 23.
- 25 *CIA (Haram)*, no. 186.
- 26 *Sulūk*, iii, 1153.
- 27 Mujir, ii, 356, 365-6, 373-4.
- 28 Quatr., *Histoire*, i (1), 186, note 65.
- 29 *Sulūk*, i, 689 and 699-701.
- 30 *Sulūk*, ii, 176.
- 31 *Sulūk*, ii, 798-9 and 804.
- 32 *Journal de Voyage*, 272.
- 33 Mujir, ii, 358.
- 34 Mujir, ii, 324.
- 35 Mujir, ii, 332.
- 36 Mujir, ii, 335, 342-3, 345.
- 37 In early 745/1344 the governor of Gaza 'subpoenaed' relatives of a woman killed in Jerusalem to attend an investigation at Gaza, see Haram nos. 28 and 29.
- 38 *Masālik*, fols. 213-5.
- 39 *Subb*, iv, 199; vii, 170; xii, 105.
- 40 In the late fifteenth century the governor of Jerusalem sold the office of muḥtasib in Hebron. Qāyṭbāy attempted to make this post a direct royal appointment, see Mujir, ii, 314-5.
- 41 Ṣuqā'ī, *Tālī*, no 27.
- 42 Mujir, ii, 270, and see p. 117.
- 43 Mujir, ii, 271, and see p. 167.
- 44 Mujir, *loc. cit.*; *Durar*, ii, 448.
- 45 Mujir, *loc. cit.*
- 46 *Subb*, vii, 170.
- 47 *Visit to the Holy Places*, 66.
- 48 Mujir, ii, 282.
- 49 Haram no. 23; Mujir, ii, 94-5.
- 50 *Nuj.*, vii, 146.
- 51 Mujir, ii, 358.
- 52 Mujir, ii, 373.
- 53 Mujir, *Dbayl*, fol. 22b.
- 54 Mujir, ii, 293.
- 55 Mujir, ii, 358 and 364.
- 56 One of the uncatalogued pieces.
- 57 Mujir, ii, 341.
- 58 Mujir, ii, 276-7.
- 59 *CIA (Haram)*, no. 184.
- 60 Mujir, ii, 274.
- 61 Mujir, ii, 281.
- 62 *Subb*, vii, 170.
- 63 Mujir, ii, 95. An incomplete inscribed tablet was tentatively identified as this decree by van Berchem, see *CIA (Haram)*, no. 182.
- 64 *Sulūk*, iii, 221, (for his *tarjama*, see *Sulūk*, iii, 754-5).
- 65 Mujir, ii, 271; *Durar*, ii, 448 (for the father, *Durar*, iii, 246-7).
- 66 Mujir, ii, 277.
- 67 Mujir, ii, 232, 296-7, 323, 331 and 340.
- 68 For a full discussion, see D. Ayalon, 'Discharge from Service, Banishments and Imprisonments in Mamluk Society', *Israel Oriental Society*, ii, 1972, 25-50.
- 69 *Sulūk*, iv, 533.
- 70 L. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 24-5, and *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, fol. 43a: the author's father, Khalīl al-Zāhirī, went up to the Citadel dressed in a *mallūta* of *tarḥ* (an Alexandrian fabric), 'as is the custom for *baṭṭāl* amirs'.
- 71 *Sulūk*, iii, 268; iv, 1184 (or for Kerak, *Sulūk*, iii, 935).
- 72 *Sulūk*, ii, 37.
- 73 *Sulūk*, iii, 338.
- 74 *Sulūk*, iii, 322 and 889.
- 75 *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim*, fol. 25a.
- 76 *Nuj.*, vi, 495.
- 77 Haram no. 96.
- 78 *Jewish Travellers*, 189.
- 79 *Pop. and Revenue*, 92-94.
- 80 Little, 'Significance', 203.
- 81 Haram no. 723.
- 82 We met them in a Haram document, but we cannot now trace the reference.
- 83 Haram no. 651. The two slaves are named as Muqbil al-Rūmī and Nasim al-Ḥabasha.
- 84 He died in Mecca in 835/1431, aged 70, see Mujir, ii, 170.
- 85 Only one (a woman) was from the Hijāz.
- 86 Haram nos. 84, 88, 107, 152, 248, 283, 445, 447, 510, 512, 533, 770, 777.
- 87 Haram no. 588.
- 88 Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton University Press, 1981.
- 89 E.g., Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, i, 585 and 649.
- 90 Haram no. 557.
- 91 *Daw*, iv, 123.
- 92 See K. Salibi, 'The Banu Jama'a: A Dynasty of Shafīite Jurists in the Mamlūk Period', *St. Isl.*, ix, 97-109.
- 93 Mujir, ii, 190.
- 94 Haram no. 620.
- 95 Mujir, ii, 127.
- 96 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, i, 565. Haram no. 498 contains an inventory of Sharaf al-Dīn 'Isā's property made after his death.
- 97 Haram no. 275.
- 98 E.g. Mujir, ii, 195 and 204.
- 99 Mujir, ii, 152.
- 100 Mujir, ii, 221-229.
- 101 A wife of his father, called Ā'isha, had a slave girl, Ghazal, who died in Jerusalem in 794/1392 (Haram no. 268b).
- 102 Mujir, ii, 225.
- 103 Mujir, ii, 242.
- 104 *Sulūk*, iii, 480; *Nuj.*, v, 369.
- 105 Mujir, ii, 122.
- 106 *Sulūk*, ii, 696.
- 107 Mujir, ii, 199.
- 108 According to Isaac ben Chelo, see *Jewish Travellers*, 133.
- 109 Mujir, ii, 304.
- 110 Mujir, ii, 301.
- 111 Mujir, ii, 111.
- 112 *Durar*, i, 480.
- 113 Mujir, ii, 180-1.
- 114 Sijill 40, 202 (1).



- 115 Mujīr, ii, 64.  
 116 *Journal de Voyage*, 271.  
 117 No. 740. See *Sufi Orders*, 83, note 3.  
 118 Mujīr, ii, 48; *Sulūk*, iv, 773.  
 119 Mujīr, ii, 361.  
 120 Mujīr, ii, 63.  
 121 Mujīr, ii, 146-149.  
 122 Mujīr, ii, 176, 185, 193, 204, 287.  
 123 Haram no. 540.  
 124 Haram nos. 445 and 533.  
 125 Haram nos. 19, 348 and 459.  
 126 Haram no. 489.  
 127 Haram no. 524.  
 128 Haram no. 606.  
 129 Haram no. 532.  
 130 For this interpretation see, J. Sadan, 'Nouveaux Documents sur Scribes et Copistes', *Etudes Islamiques*, xlv, 1977, 51 n. 58.  
 131 Haram no. 689.  
 132 L. Mayer, 'Le Blason de . . . Salar', *JPOS*, v, 1925, 58-60.  
 133 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 321; also *Nuj.*, v, 173; *Sulūk*, iii, 55; Mujīr, ii, 106-7.  
 134 Mujīr, ii, 159.  
 135 *Jewish Travellers*, 133.  
 136 *Op. cit.*, 153. In Haram no. 327 (dated 788/1386) a Karaite Jew purchases an orchard situated outside Jerusalem from a Muslim.  
 137 Haram no. 636.  
 138 Haram no. 335.  
 139 *Sulūk*, ii, 923. Whether this particular order was still in force forty years on is a moot point.  
 140 Mujīr, ii, 300-314. This incident produced a special tract by one of the participants, Ibn Ubayy (a Ms. in the National Library, Jerusalem, Ar. 8° 190), which has been studied by S.D. Goitein.  
 141 The conversion of a Jewish teenager in Jerusalem in the year 712/1312 is mentioned by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, i, 227-8.  
 142 See B. Abu Manneh, 'The Georgians in Jerusalem in the Mamlūk Period', *ZDMG*, Suppl. v, *Ausgewählte Vorträge*, ed. F. Steppat.  
 143 Mujīr, ii, 317.  
 144 Von Suchem, *Description*, 102.  
 145 *Op. cit.*, 98.  
 146 *Sulūk*, iii, 792.  
 147 Mujīr, ii, 317.  
 148 Haram no. 521.  
 149 Haram no. 550.  
 150 Haram no. 569.  
 151 Haram no. 846.  
 152 Koran, xxvi, verse 88.  
 153 See Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadbkira*, appendix, 290-300.  
 154 E.g. Muslim, *Kitāb al-Wasāyā*, 14.  
 155 Haram no. 508.  
 156 Haram no. 4.  
 157 See the following: no. 290 (797/1394) – a Ṣūfī from the Ṣalāhiyya Khānqāh to be the substitute for a woman; no. 430 (777/1376) – a woman left 500 dirhams to pay for a substitute; no. 496 (796/1375) – a woman left 400 dirhams to pay for a substitute and 100 to be distributed to the poor at her grave and 100 to pay for five readings of the Koran (*kharmāt*).  
 158 *CIA (Ville)*, 261 (sc. 'God' as subject at the beginning).  
 159 Koran, ii, verse 211.  
 160 Haram no. 333. The original *waqfiyya* date is given as 712/1312.  
 161 Cf. Haram no. 311. Also *Masālik*, fol. 225.  
 162 Mujīr, ii, 80.  
 163 Sijill, 58, 415 (2).  
 164 *Sulūk*, ii, 43.  
 165 Sijill, 92, 426 ff. (a copy of the *waqfiyya*).  
 166 M.H. Burgoyne, 'A Recently Discovered Marwānid Inscription in Jerusalem', *Levant*, xiv, 1982, 118-121.  
 167 Described as two *qabālas*.  
 168 Haram no. 204.  
 169 Haram no. 20.  
 170 Haram no. 716.  
 171 Haram no. 58.  
 172 A dying merchant from Konya left 4,000 dirhams to be distributed by his son to the Ṣūfīs and Koran-readers of Jerusalem. The supervisor was to be the Ḥanafī Imām of the Dome of the Rock (Haram no. 436, dated 795/1393).  
 173 Mujīr, ii, 260.  
 174 Mujīr, ii, 100.  
 175 Haram no. 34.  
 176 *Sulūk*, i, 491.  
 177 Haram no. 8.  
 178 Haram no. 643.  
 179 For a general survey of the law and the administration of waqfs, see G. Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, Edinburgh University Press, 1981, 35-74.  
 180 Haram no. 499.  
 181 Haram no. 97.  
 182 The central part of the Triple Bazaar, for the sale of vegetables, see Mujīr, ii, 50.  
 183 Haram no. 325.  
 184 Mujīr, ii, 127.  
 185 Haram no. 334.  
 186 Haram no. 46. An account for the repairs to the Bath in 761/1359-60 is contained in Haram no. 773.  
 187 Haram no. 774 a-c.  
 188 Sijill 10, no. 825, and 57, 348 (7), but see Sijill 1, no. 154.  
 189 Haram no. 573.  
 190 Haram no. 539.  
 191 Haram no. 98.  
 192 Respectively Haram nos. 703 and 712.  
 193 Haram no. 629. The Jarrāhiyya is an Ayyūbid period foundation to the north in the district which now bears its name. The founder was an amīr who died in 598/1201.  
 194 The waqf summary allocated 200 dirhams for the collecting of the income from Homs (Haram no. 643).  
 195 Haram no. 206. Note that the Shaykh is 'the Shaykh of the Zāwiya of the Khānqāh of the late Muḥammad Bey'.  
 196 Haram no. 333.  
 197 Mujīr, ii, 48.  
 198 Mujīr, ii, 40-1. In Hebron also many zāwiyas were neglected and had ceased to function, and Mujīr al-Dīn was unable to procure *waqfiyyas* to copy names and dates (Mujīr, ii, 79-80).  
 199 For the Tankiziyya, see Sijill, 92, 428; for the Muḥammadiyya, see Haram no. 643.  
 200 Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadbkira*, i, 361.  
 201 *Sulūk*, iv, 1096-7.  
 202 Mujīr, ii, 42.  
 203 For immigration from Iraq in 837/1433-34, see *Sulūk*, iv, 917-8.  
 204 Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadbkira*, i, 284.  
 205 A woman resident gave testimony before Muḥammad b. Timrāz. Does that suggest that the founder's son had succeeded him as inspector, or at least had some connection with the Zāwiya?  
 206 The will of an amīr, 'affiliated' to Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Baktimur al-Sāqī, is in Haram no. 331. The same Baktimur – the great amīr of the reign of Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn?  
 207 In 1018/1609 an inspector *cum* administrator was appointed for the waqf of the Tomb of the Shaykh Muḥammad al-Balāsī (Sijill 90, 38 (3)).  
 208 For Lifta, see *HGP*, 115. Van Berchem has Leqya – a village N.W. of Jerusalem, or Liqia, see *CIA (Ville)*, 271, but Lifta in *CIA (Haram)*, no. 293, 436-7.  
 209 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 83.  
 210 Haram no. 315 has the same date exactly, 2 Rabī' 791/31 March 1389, and contains a declaration by the wife that Shaykh Yahyā is her heir and that she has received all her due maintenance as his wife (see Huda Lutfi, 'A Study of Six Fourteenth Century Iqrārs from al-Quds relating to Muslim Women', *JESHO*, xxvi, 1983, 278-280).  
 211 Correct the name as given by the edition.  
 212 Defter no. 602, 429.  
 213 Sijill 54, 216 (5).  
 214 Sijill 101, 447 (1).  
 215 This man is different from the Jahārkas al-Nāsīrī who built a *mibrāb* for an oratory near the Bāb al-Nāzīr (see *CIA (Haram)*, no. 179).  
 216 Sijill 10, no. 1041.  
 217 Sijill 184, 237 (2).  
 218 Defter 605, 428, gives the date of the *murabba'* of the waqf as 881/1476. The endowment mentioned is five land holdings in the village of Ṣūr Bāhir.  
 219 Also *Daw*, xi, 80-81.  
 220 Mujīr, ii, 40.  
 221 M. Bilge, 'Awqaf of a Madrasa in Jerusalem', The Third International Conference on the History of the Bilad al-Sham, April 1980.  
 222 In 937/1530-1 the waqf income was distributed to officials and teachers (*mudarrisīn*) on the authority of the Qāḍī Asker of Istanbul (Sijill 1, nos. 990 and 1008). 'Students' are mentioned as being in receipt of payment in 938/1531-32 (Sijill 2, no. 623).  
 223 Sijill 56, 484 (5). What is the *qandalūn* which contained a cell?  
 224 *Daw*, vi, 199.  
 225 See M.H. Burgoyne and Amal Abul-Hajj, 'Twenty-four Mediaeval Arabic Inscriptions from Jerusalem', *Levant*, xi, 1979, 136-7.  
 226 In his *al-Ayyām*, translated into English by E.H. Paxton as *An Egyptian Childhood etc.*, London, 1932.  
 227 Fabri, *Wanderings*, 395.  
 228 Haram no. 49.  
 229 *HGP*, 138.  
 230 A re-appointment of the teacher ten days after the presentation of the account mentioned above is contained in Haram no. 3.  
 231 Mujīr, ii, 139. The work was probably the *Minbāj al-Ṭālibīn* by al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277).  
 232 Mujīr, ii, 178.  
 233 Mujīr, ii, 187.  
 234 Mujīr, ii, 188.  
 235 Mujīr, ii, 237.  
 236 Mujīr, ii, 117, 192, 195, 203, 206.  
 237 Mujīr, ii, 189.  
 238 Mujīr, ii, 117, 180-1, 201-2, 203, 260. In the mid-fifteenth century the Aqṣā had a librarian (*Daw*, vi, 301).  
 239 Mujīr, ii, 197.  
 240 *Daw*, vii, 137.  
 241 Mujīr, ii, 251.  
 242 See Makdisi, *Rise of Colleges*, 143-4.  
 243 In the year 900/1495, see Mujīr, ii, 381.  
 244 *Sulūk*, iii, 946.  
 245 *Kbitat*, ii, 401-2.  
 246 *Sulūk*, i, 827.  
 247 al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, i, 218-9.  
 248 Sijill 92, 426 ff.

- 249 Haram no. 643.
- 250 See Makdisi, *Rise of Colleges*, 171-2. In the *waqfiyya* for the madrasa of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Cairo, it was laid down that the inspector 'should not advance any student out of turn' (quoted from al-Nuwayrī in *Sulūk*, i, appendix 17, 1046).
- 251 Apart from the 'Opening' *sūra* of the Koran, this meant the three short *sūras* which close the Koran and verses 1-5 of the second *sūra*.
- 252 Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī (376/986-465/1074). His famous manual of mysticism was written in 438/1046.
- 253 Sijill 31, 164 (1) contains the account of a suggestive incident. In 963/1556 a Jerusalem resident met an accidental death on returning from the Khalwatiyya Zāwiya in the Banū Zayd Quarter (an endowment of an Amīr Ḥājji Bey), where he had gone to 'pray the evening prayer and to eat a meal with them'.
- 254 Haram no. 382, in which his wife purchases a West-African slave-girl for 480 dirhams.
- 255 Haram no. 9.
- 256 Haram no. 214, dated 766/1364. Re-appointments are to be found in Haram no. 310, dated 775/1374, and, for various positions at the mausoleum, in Haram nos. 5, dated 784/1382, and 303 (without date).
- 257 Haram no. 12: monthly salary 14 dirhams.
- 258 Haram no. 603: monthly salary 15 dirhams. The fullest details about the nature of a *mi'ād* appointment come from a Haram document without date (no. 26), which appears to be the establishment of a post by Burhān al-Dīn himself. There was to be a pattern of readings four times a week in the Haram. First came some Koranic exegesis, followed by some Traditions of the Prophet and then stories from the lives of the pious 'saints' (*ḥikāyat al-sāliḥīn*). The *mi'ād* closed with the recitation of the Koranic *sūras* nos. 113, 114, 1 and the beginning of 2. Makdisi (*Rise of the Colleges*, 212-3) looks upon the *mi'ād* as dealing with Hadīth, but we read of *mi'āds* for Koran exegesis' (Mujīr, ii, 221) and Haram no. 701 contains a fatwa and *responsum* concerning the changing of the time of a *mi'ād* 'in which Koran and Hadīth exegesis is taught'.
- 259 Haram no. 10, dated 775/1373.
- 260 Haram no. 13, dated 777/1375.
- 261 Haram no. 7: combine monthly salary 35 dirhams.
- 262 See Haram nos. 3 and 49.
- 263 Haram no. 508, dated 780/1378.
- 264 Haram no. 509, dated 780/1378.
- 265 Haram no. 203, dated 780/1378.
- 266 Haram no. 4: monthly salary 25 dirhams. This was perhaps the same post that was confirmed later in the year by order of the governor and inspector of the Two Sanctuaries, Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan al-'Askarī, but the salary is given as 20 dirhams monthly (Haram no. 305).
- 267 Haram no. 14, dated 785/1383.
- 268 Haram no. 2.
- 269 Mujīr, ii, 33.
- 270 Mujīr, ii, 381.
- 271 Mujīr, ii, 231-2.
- 272 There was an attempt by Ālmalik to stop the practice as regards *iqṭā's* in 746/1345-6 (*Sulūk*, ii, 687).
- 273 Haram no. 161.
- 274 *Ṣubḥ*, xii, 298.
- 275 Mujīr, ii, 107 and 112-3.
- 276 *Sulūk*, iv, 619.
- 277 Ishaq Husaini and Amin Abu Layl, eds., *A Jerusalem Historical Document*, Jerusalem, no date, 43. Al-Ghazzī (*Kawākib*, ii, 149) bemoans the new heights of corruption in waqf administration.

# MAMLŪK DEVELOPMENT

The Mamlūk development of Jerusalem, in so far as it is manifested by substantial architectural foundations rather than humble dwellings and shops,<sup>1</sup> is concentrated in three main areas: (1) within the Ḥaram, (2) at the north and west Ḥaram borders and (3) along Ṭariq Bāb al-Silsila. In the following assessment of that development, each area will be treated individually. Buildings outside these three areas will be discussed as a separate category entitled 'Other buildings'.

## WITHIN THE ḤARAM

The epigraphic and literary evidence shows that from the earliest days of Islam the maintenance and embellishment of the Ḥaram had been a royal preserve. Succeeding Muslim rulers continued to repair and embellish the Ḥaram and its two great monuments, the Dome of the Rock and Aqṣā Mosque. The manner in which the Mamlūk sultans discharged their duty to maintain these monuments and others within the Ḥaram has been carefully documented already, notably by van Berchem, and will be reviewed only briefly here.<sup>2</sup>

### AL-ZĀHIR BAYBARS (reigned 658-76/1260-77)

Baybars ordered the restoration of the mosaics on the Dome of the Rock,<sup>3</sup> which had suffered from the years of neglect under the later Ayyūbids. The mosaics on the Qubbat al-Silsila, of which traces have recently been revealed, were probably repaired at the same time; and the marble revetment of its *mibrāb* is also attributable to Baybars.<sup>4</sup> The terrace around the Dome of the Rock was repaved, the work being overseen as usual by the Nāzir al-Ḥaramayn, the Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams of Jerusalem and Hebron, who also restored the Bāb al-Maṭhara, the gate leading from the Ḥaram to the Ablutions Place.<sup>5</sup>

### AL-MANŞŪR QALĀWŪN (678-89/1280-90)

Qalāwūn, contrary to customary practice, did, as we shall see, build outside the Ḥaram. Within the Ḥaram he ordered the partial reconstruction of the roof of the Aqṣā Mosque.<sup>6</sup>

### AL-ĀDIL KITBUGHĀ (694-96/1294-97)

In 695/1295-96, under Kitbughā, the mosaics on the Dome of the Rock were restored and the east wall of the Ḥaram repaired.<sup>7</sup>

### AL-MANŞŪR LĀJĪN (696-98/1297-99)

The south-east Ḥaram wall including a *mibrāb* known as *Mihrāb Dā'ūd* was repaired under Lājīn.<sup>8</sup> The north-western Ḥaram minaret, the *Minaret al-Ghawānima* was built at about the time, perhaps ordered by Lājīn (who was responsible for the restoration of the minaret of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn in Cairo<sup>9</sup> and the construction of the minaret of the Great Mosque in Gaza<sup>10</sup>).

### AL-NĀŞIR MUḤAMMAD (three reigns: 693-94/1294-95; 698-708/1299-1309; 709-41/1309-40)

Al-Nāşir Muḥammad's contribution to the Ḥaram is greater than that of any other Mamlūk sultan. During his second reign the repairs to the eastern part of the south wall were completed.<sup>11</sup> During his third reign, when the Mongol threat diminished following their conversion to Islam, the Mamlūk empire was for the first time relatively free from external pressures. In this new climate of peace al-Nāşir Muḥammad was able to pursue his architectural ambitions. Much of the *West Portico* was built in three stages, the dome of the Dome of the Rock was restored and regilded (718-19/1318-19),<sup>12</sup> the *colonnades* at the north end of the Dome of the Rock terrace were erected and the paving of the terrace completed, the dome of the Aqṣā Mosque was restored (728/1327-28)<sup>13</sup> and marble wall panelling added (731/1330-31),<sup>14</sup> the *Bāb al-Silsila Minaret* was erected (730/1329-30), and the Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn and the *Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn* were built (737/1336-37).

### AL-KĀMIL SHA'BĀN (746-47/1345-46)

In 746/1345-46 al-Kāmil Sha'bān ordered the restoration of the doors of the Aqṣā Mosque.<sup>15</sup>

### AL-NĀŞIR ḤASAN (two reigns: 748-52/1347-51; 755-62/1354-61)

During his first reign, in 751/1350-51, Hasan continued the restoration of the Aqṣā Mosque, rebuilding the two outer bays at either end of the entrance porch.<sup>16</sup>

### AL-ŞĀLIḤ ŞĀLIḤ (752-55/1351-54).

Despite the ravages of the Black Death and political instability reflected by frequent changes of ruler, the restoration of the forepart of the Aqṣā Mosque continued under the persistent supervision of the Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams, Aybak al-Miṣrī. The work was finally completed in 753/1352-53.<sup>17</sup>

### AL-ASHRAF SHA'BĀN (754-78/1363-76)

In the reign of al-Ashraf Sha'bān the *Bāb al-Asbāt Minaret* at the north wall of the Ḥaram was erected in 769/1367-68 and the north-west colonnade restored in 778/1376.<sup>18</sup>

After Sha'bān until the rise of the first Circassian sultan, Barqūq, there is no report of work done in the Ḥaram. Once Barqūq was established in power the business of maintenance and embellishment continued, but on a reduced scale.

### AL-ZĀHIR BARQŪQ (two reigns: 784-91/1382-89; 792-801/1390-99)

Towards the end of Barqūq's first reign, in 789/1387,<sup>19</sup> a rostrum (no longer extant) in the Dome of the Rock was renewed.



**AL-NĀṢIR FARAJ (two reigns: 801-8/1399-1405; 808-15/1405-12)**

During Faraj's first reign a water trough, known only from an unpublished inscription (see below, p. 558), was renewed.

**AL-ASHRAF BARSĀY (825-41/1422-37)**

In 832/1429 the Sabīl Sha'lān (see above, p. 49) was restored along with an adjoining prayer platform and *mibrāb*.<sup>20</sup>

**AL-ZĀHIR JAQMAQ (842-57/1438-53)**

The western part of the roof of the Dome of the Rock was repaired following a fire in 851/1447 started by lightning or, according to another report, by a child chasing pigeons in the roof.<sup>21</sup> Also during Jaqmaq's reign, in 856/1452 a wooden balustrade that had been newly installed in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was pulled down and transferred to the Haram.<sup>22</sup>

**AL-ASHRAF ĪNĀL (857-65/1453-61)**

During Īnāl's reign the Aqṣā Mosque was repaired<sup>23</sup> and a public fountain erected in the western part of the Haram. This fountain was subsequently replaced by the Sabīl of Qāyṭbāy.

**AL-ZĀHIR KHUSHQADAM (865-72/1461-67)**

Construction of a madrasa at the west side of the Haram next to Bāb al-Silsila, the main entrance to the Haram, was begun in the name of Khushqadam (see below, p. 591), who was also responsible for the restoration of the main aqueduct to the Haram and for adding the eastern reservoir at 'Solomon's Pools'.<sup>24</sup>

**AL-ASHRAF QĀYTBĀY (872-901/1468-96)**

The madrasa begun for Khushqadam was completed and named *al-Asbrafiyya* in honour of Qāyṭbāy. A few years later it was demolished and rebuilt on a grander scale after Qāyṭbāy had visited Jerusalem and found the earlier madrasa not to his liking. The nearby fountain of Sultan Īnāl (see above) was also demolished and replaced by a more elegant construction, the *Sabīl of Qāyṭbāy*. During Qāyṭbāy's reign the crenellated parapet above the entrance porch of the Aqṣā Mosque was added in 879/1474<sup>25</sup> and the lead cladding on the roof of the mosque replaced in 884/1479-80.<sup>26</sup>

Qāyṭbāy's reign, though remarkable for the number of fine buildings erected by him and his amīrs, marked the beginning of the end of the Mamlūk empire. The Ottoman armies with their well-developed use of artillery and firearms threatened from the north, while Portuguese supremacy at sea and the discovery of the passage round the Cape to the Indian Ocean reduced Mamlūk trading revenues. Before the final collapse of the state and its absorption into the Ottoman empire in 923/1517, the last Mamlūk sultan of real significance undertook only essential repairs and maintenance of the chief monuments.

**AL-ASHRAF QĀNṢŪH AL-GHŪRĪ (906-22/ 1501-17)**

Lead cladding on the roof of the Aqṣā Mosque was renewed again 915/1509-10 along with lead cladding on the roof of the Dome of the Rock. At the same time walls in the Aqṣā were whitewashed and the doors painted with oil.<sup>27</sup>

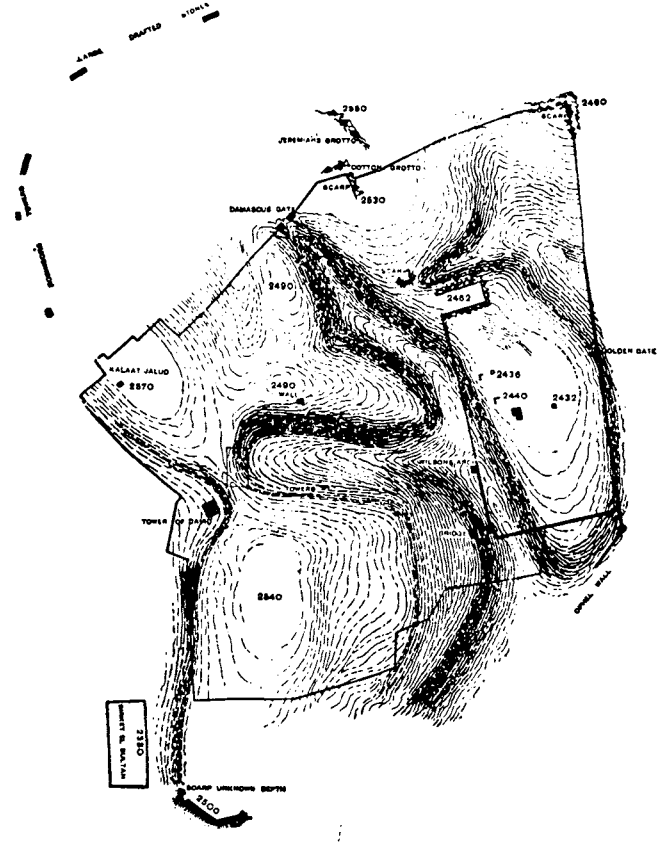
**THE NORTH AND WEST ḤARAM BORDERS**

The intensive Mamlūk development at the north and west, town-side borders of the Haram is primarily the result of individual patronage. The map of Mamlūk monuments (*fig. 2*) reveals how this remarkable development was concentrated on the Haram. Undoubtedly the fundamental inspiration was the

holiness of the place, as extolled in the contemporary Faḍā'il and Muthīr literature.

The *Catalogue of Buildings* (Part II) deals with the physical configuration and history of each building. The following account of the architectural development focuses on how the buildings conformed to the existing pattern of the city and how, as sites at the Haram border became increasingly scarce, they were fitted in wherever space was available, often in novel and imaginative ways.

In order to understand the evolutionary process of development we have to consider both topographical and societal factors: that is, the configuration of the site in Mamlūk times and the status and aspirations of the founders.



**Fig. 4 The rock contours beneath the Old City, as surveyed by Conder (after K.M. Kenyon, *Digging up Jerusalem*, Fig. 5)**

*Fig. 4* shows Jerusalem's natural rock formation; the substantial variations in level, specially around the Haram, are striking. The rock contours around the Haram are given in *fig. 5*. While the surface of the Haram was purposely levelled partly by quarrying away the rock, partly by constructing vaults and partly by filling (see above, p. 43), the area outside the Haram walls was mainly left to follow the natural slopes,<sup>28</sup> except for a small area in the north (see below, p. 79). Taking the map of the rock contours (*fig. 5*) together with our chronology of the buildings, we find that the areas initially built upon were those where either the surface of the rock is at the same level as the interior of the Haram or else where it had been adventitiously raised to that level.

The first Mamlūk pious foundation, the *Ribāt of 'Alā' al-Dīn* (666/1267-68), is situated on the north side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Nāzīr. The rock surface here nearly coincides with both that of the ancient street, Ṭarīq Bāb al-Nāzīr, and that of the Haram, and so would require very little levelling to prepare the site for construction. The *ribāt's* function as a hospice for pilgrims obviously meant that it had to be close to the object of the pilgrims' visit, the Haram. It is not contiguous with the Haram, however, for an earlier structure occupied the site at the border, next to the Bāb al-Nāzīr. It was at this gate, perhaps in

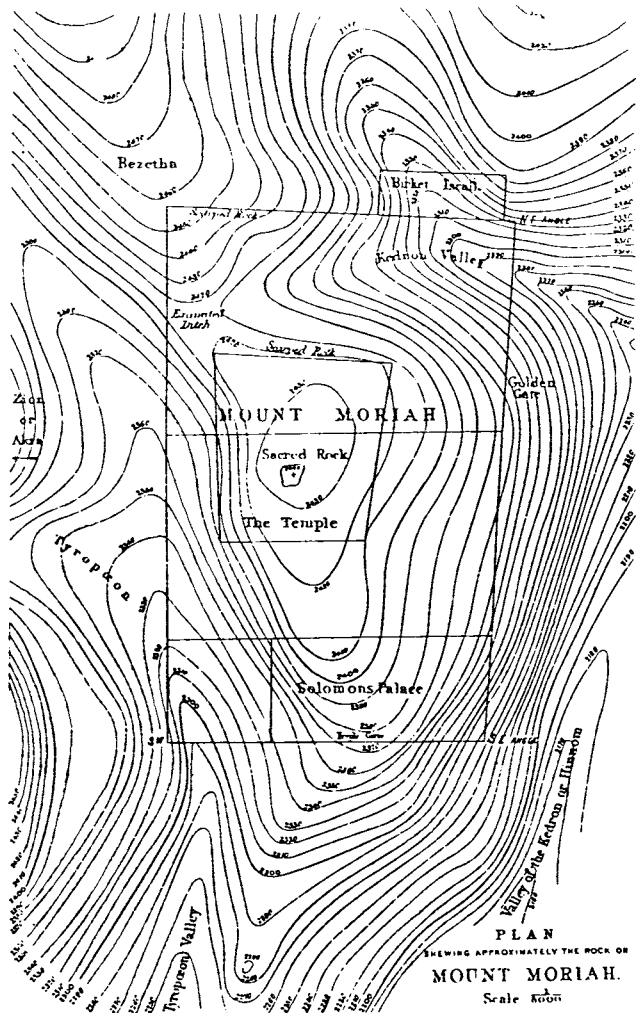


Fig. 5 (after C. Wilson and C. Warren, *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, fig. facing p. 298)

that earlier structure, that the Nāzīr al-Ḥaramayn and his functionaries, according to al-Umarī, used to sit to conduct their official business.<sup>29</sup> The founder, 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Baṣīr, held the office of Nāzīr al-Ḥaramayn and it is easy to understand that he would choose a site near this gate for his ribāt. Two earlier halls already occupying the street frontage of the site were simply incorporated into the new ribāt.

The next in chronological sequence, the *Ribāt al-Manṣūrī* (681/1282-83) built for Sultan Qalāwūn, is one of the few royal foundations outside the Haram in Jerusalem. It is situated on the south side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Nāzīr opposite the Ribāt of 'Alā' al-Dīn. As a rule the Nāzīr al-Ḥaramayn was responsible for supervising building works ordered by the sultan, usually in the Haram as outlined above. Since 'Alā' al-Dīn continued to serve as Nāzīr under Qalāwūn,<sup>30</sup> it follows that he would have been responsible for superintending the construction of the Ribāt al-Manṣūrī. It would be natural, then, for him to choose a site for the hospice of his sovereign close to his own, not only for practical reasons similar to those governing his own choice of site but also for the prestige an adjacent royal foundation would impart. The Ribāt al-Manṣūrī is, like the Ribāt of 'Alā' al-Dīn, situated about fifteen metres from the Haram wall, the intervening space being occupied by an earlier structure (see below, p. 456).

The first Mamlūk construction to be built against the Haram wall is the *Ribāt of Kurt al-Manṣūrī* (693/1293-94) at the Bāb al-Ḥadīd. Here the rock surface falls well below the level of the Haram and the reason for this choice of site is not immediately apparent. The narrowness of the building layout provides a clue, however. We know from the excavations outside the south-west corner of the Haram that when Titus

pulled down the walls of the Temple area in A.D. 70 the toppled masonry piled up at the base of what remained of the walls.<sup>31</sup> This process seems to have continued until the Umayyad rebuilding of the Haram walls. The accumulated debris at Bāb al-Ḥadīd appears to have risen almost to the level of the Haram esplanade, and it was on this strip of raised surface that the Ribāt of Kurt al-Manṣūrī was erected. The founder had been a mamlūk of Qalāwūn and was obviously anxious to build his hospice near that of his master which is only a short distance to the north.<sup>32</sup>

These first three Mamlūk foundations have in common, beside being ribāts, a somewhat inornate architectural style. The next monument, the *Dawādāriyya Khānqāh* (695/1295), differs in having a magnificently ornate entrance portal. The design of the portal was clearly inspired by a series of similar portals in Damascus and there can be little doubt that 'Alī b. Salāma, the master craftsman responsible for it, came to Jerusalem from Damascus.

The *Dawādāriyya*, situated on the east side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-'Atm, is the first Mamlūk monument at the north border of the Haram. At Bāb al-'Atm the rock surface coincides approximately with the level of the Haram esplanade, but from there it slopes steeply down to the east. However, the site was levelled by the construction of two long vaulted tunnels extending westward from the west end of the large water reservoir known as Birkat Banī Isrā'īl.<sup>33</sup> The exact date of construction of these ancient vaults is not known but, since the street leading to Bāb Ḥiṭṭa is supported by them, they must predate that gate which, as argued above (p. 45), is probably Umayyad. The fact that the floor level of the khānqāh is raised above the level of the roof of the ancient vaults (since the level of the adjacent Awḥadiyya is considerably lower) suggests that the remains of some earlier structure occupied the site. That structure many have been 'the places of prayer' of the Ṣūfīs which, as we know from Nāsir-i Khusraw, existed in Fātimid times on or near this spot. The founding of the *Dawādāriyya Khānqāh* for thirty Ṣūfīs and their followers maintained that traditional association of the site.

The *Awḥadiyya Turba* (endowed in 697/1298) stands immediately to the east of the *Dawādāriyya*, on the west side of Ṭarīq Bāb Ḥiṭṭa, over the ancient vaults mentioned above, but on a level with the Haram esplanade. With its construction a new element was introduced into the architectural development of the Haram for it is the first mausoleum at the Haram border. The tomb chamber with its ashlar dome is right beside the Haram gate, Bāb Ḥiṭṭa, with one window opening on the Haram and another opening on the street where passers-by entering and leaving the Haram might be expected to pray for the founder, al-Malik al-Awḥad, a grandson of al-Mu'azzam 'Isā (above, p. 49). He was Superintendent of the Two Harams when he built his tomb. The practice of ante-mortem construction of funerary complexes was introduced into Syria by Nūr al-Dīn – doubtless emulating his Saljūq overlords – and subsequently introduced into Egypt by the Ayyūbids.<sup>34</sup> Similarly in Jerusalem the tradition was introduced by an Ayyūbid, albeit thirty-odd years after the fall of the Ayyūbid dynasty in Syria.<sup>35</sup>

As in Cairo, the founding of funerary monuments in the form of a tomb chamber combined with a philanthropic institution, usually a madrasa, became a regular occurrence in Jerusalem. But in the case of the Awḥadiyya the tomb is combined with a small ribāt: evidence that the need to provide accommodation for pilgrims remained dominant.<sup>36</sup>

The first madrasas in Jerusalem were founded by the Ayyūbids,<sup>37</sup> but none was beside the Haram. More than a century was to elapse before the first madrasa was erected at the Haram border.

It is the *Karīmīyya Madrasa* (endowed in 718/1319) to the east of Bāb Ḥiṭṭa, perched on the west edge of the Birkat Banī Isrā'īl on top of the same vaulted tunnels that support the Awḥadiyya on the opposite side of the street. The narrowness of the site, bounded by the reservoir to the east and the street to

the west, led to an attenuated layout, which implies that by this time the more spacious sites at the Ḥaram borders had already been taken. The founder, Karīm al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Karīm, accompanied Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad when he visited Jerusalem in 717/1317<sup>38</sup> and he may have ordered the construction of his madrasa then, about eighteen months before its endowment. The rather stern architecture, with a simple pointed-arched recess for the plain entrance doorway, may indicate that the work was done by local craftsmen who did not have the same opportunity to develop their skills as did their colleagues in the wealthier cities of Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo.

At about this time the *Jāwiliyya Madrasa* (715-20/1315-20) was built at the north border, on the Antonia rock overlooking the Ḥaram. This choice of a site not level with the Ḥaram esplanade may be accounted for by the importance of the Antonia site dominating the Ḥaram. Sanjar al-Jāwili, the founder, was a prominent provincial governor, being Governor of the district of Gaza (which at that time included Jerusalem)<sup>39</sup> as well as Nāzir al-Ḥaramayn, and he would naturally choose a site in keeping with his status. However, substantial remains of the solid south wall of the Antonia blocked the view from the site to the Ḥaram and the massive wall had to be cut away in places and windows introduced. The ancient wall was also partly refaced with striped (*ablaq*) masonry to form a symmetrical façade on the Ḥaram.

If Sanjar al-Jāwili desired a prestigious location for his pious foundation in Jerusalem, the more so would Tankiz, who was viceroy of all Syria. For Tankiz only the best would do. Therefore the foundation bearing his name, the *Tankiziyya* (729/1328-29), had first of all to be beside the Ḥaram, and preferably at a focal point of urban life. Obviously meeting these requirements was not altogether straightforward or any such site would surely have been built upon already. Nevertheless, the site chosen beside the principal and most frequented Ḥaram gate, Bāb al-Silsila, could hardly be better. The reason why this ideal site was available at that time might be the collapse of earlier (possibly Crusader) buildings on it as a result of the 702/1303 earthquake. The commercial viability of the site, attested by the inclusion of shops in Tankiz’s foundation, makes it probable that market stalls next to the street at least would have been repaired and maintained after the earthquake. Thus Tankiz’s architect must have had the imagination to perceive the site’s possibilities despite its workaday aspect. Tankiz was, of course, rich and powerful enough to secure it.

Tankiz proposed a complex foundation, called simply *makān*, ‘place’, in the inscription, comprising a madrasa and a khānqāh, a Tradition school (*dār al-ḥadīth*) and a school for orphans (*maktab aytām*) as well as a hospice for women, the *Ribāt al-Nisā*, on the opposite side of the street. The site was too small to accommodate all this on one level. Consequently the only solution was to extend upwards – a new concept in the Mamlūk development. The madrasa, exquisitely decorated, occupies almost the whole of the ground floor and is the first in Jerusalem to adopt the cruciform four-*iwān* layout then fashionable in Cairo. In the middle of its vaulted courtyard is a fountain supplied by the main aqueduct to the Ḥaram, the restoration of which Tankiz had completed in 728/1328.<sup>40</sup> On the upper floors a small mezzanine in the north-east corner and a series of rooms over the entrance and northern part of the madrasa provided lodgings for the students of the madrasa and the Sūfis of the khānqāh. For the khānqāh itself Tankiz’s resourceful architect had an inspiration which was radically to transform the future development of the Ḥaram borders. The west portico of the Ḥaram beside the Tankiziyya had recently been completed (in 713/1314-15) and the architect erected on its roof the main khānqāh unit, which was restricted to the width of the portico, and furnished with a decorative façade overlooking the Ḥaram.

The skill and versatility with which Tankiz’s architect solved the multifarious problems his commission presented

mark him as a true master. The quality of the architectural decoration indicates that the building craftsmen were also of the highest calibre. The grand entrance portal, for example, is clearly the work of a master stonemason, who came from Damascus, like the mason responsible for that earlier masterpiece of Mamlūk architecture in Jerusalem, the entrance portal at the Dawādāriyya.

The immediate impact of the Tankiziyya with its extension on the roof the portico is apparent, though on a smaller scale, in the multi-storey layout of the *Amīniyya* (730/1329-30) at the north border of the Ḥaram, to the west of the Dawādāriyya. Here the exiguousness of the site – bounded by the eastern spur of the Antonia rock to the west and by the street, Ṭarīq Bāb al-‘Atm, barely nine metres to the east – might previously have deterred any would-be builder. But with the solution to such problem sites so brilliantly demonstrated by the architect of the Tankiziyya, the matter was relatively straightforward. Thus we find at the Amīniyya a narrow but more or less conventional madrasa on the ground floor with what may be a tomb chamber in the south-east corner, next to the Ḥaram gate. As at the Tankiziyya, there is a mezzanine floor above, and an upper floor over the Ḥaram portico. This upper floor has a beautifully decorated façade centred on the Ḥaram gate below, while the street frontage is absolutely plain.

This contrast between the decorative Ḥaram façade and the plain street frontage betokens a fundamental change of emphasis compared with, for example, the neighbouring Dawādāriyya built thirty-five years earlier, which has an ornate portal on the street and a plain Ḥaram frontage. The reason for this seems partly to be a practical one. To have a decorative façade on the Ḥaram it was necessary to build over the portico since at ground level the Ḥaram boundary is the massive Ḥaram wall which affords no real decorative possibilities. Even were it considered worthwhile to reface the wall, any hoped-for ornamental impact would be minimal since the wall is in permanent shadow, obscured by the portico in front of it.

The example set by the Amīniyya at the north wall of the Ḥaram was soon followed, but before going on to consider the continued development at the north wall our chronological sequence requires us to turn first to the *Fakhriyya Khānqāh* (before 732/1332). Although construction within the Ḥaram precinct was the preserve of royalty, as noted in the first section of this chapter, the Fakhriyya situated at the south-west corner is an exception. This anomaly can be explained by the fact that the Fakhriyya is tucked behind large Crusader and Ayyūbid halls which served in Mamlūk times as the Women’s Mosque and the Maghrabī Mosque. Owing to their large size and proximity to the Ḥaram wall proper, it may be that these converted halls were regarded as the Ḥaram border at this point. In that case the Fakhriyya would be beyond the ‘border’.

The Crusader buildings within the city tended to be oriented towards the main streets. Ṭarīq al-Wād was one such street, having followed its present course since ancient times. The Crusaders seem to have built a large market here, set at right-angles to the main thoroughfare, but evidently it was in ruins by the eighth/fourteenth century. On Tankiz’s ‘instruction’ Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ordered the construction of a vast new commercial centre now called the *Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn* (737/1336-37) at this choice location between the Ḥaram and the city. It includes a market-street, lodgings, two bath-houses, a small market and a caravanserai. The revenues were divided, part for the maintenance of the Ḥaram and part for the upkeep of the Tankiziyya.

The earlier (Crusader) market did not extend from Ṭarīq al-Wād as far as the Ḥaram border but stopped about forty metres short of it. The new Mamlūk market-street, incorporating the remains of this earlier market, extended eastwards to link with the Ḥaram where a monumental gate, the Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn, was erected. At this gate a total of twenty steps split into two flights lead up from the market-street to the Ḥaram esplanade. The substantial difference in level (more than 4m) between the market-street outside the Ḥaram and the



esplanade within shows why this area at the west border had not been developed before: to level a reasonably sized site (as distinct from the long, thin site of Kurt al-Manṣūrī's Ribāt) to match the level of the Ḥaram esplanade an immense amount of groundwork would be required. Nevertheless, as time passed the number of sites available elsewhere at the Ḥaram border diminished so that, if contact with the Ḥaram wall were to be achieved for any new foundation at the west border, this problem had to be faced.

However, it was not faced immediately, for the next four monuments in our chronological sequence are situated at the north border of the Ḥaram. The first of them is the *Sallāmiyya Madrasa* (c.738/1338) on the east side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-'Atm to the north of Dawādāriyya. It was founded by al-Majd al-Sallāmī, the most important merchant of his day, who must have been extremely wealthy. He already had a palace and a mausoleum in Cairo and the choice of Jerusalem for his madrasa is an indication of the spiritual eminence of the place at that time. But, somewhat surprisingly, in view of the increasingly manifest Mamlūk propensity for building in contact with the Ḥaram border, the Sallāmiyya is thirty metres away from it. The size of the building – only the two earliest ribāts, the Dawādāriyya, and the Tankiziyya are larger – must account for this choice of site. With no obvious location at the Ḥaram border capable of accommodating a structure on the grand scale appropriate to al-Majd al-Sallāmī's wealth and stature, he opted for a suitable alternative: a site on a street leading to the Ḥaram between two important earlier foundations, the Ayyūbid Mu'azzamiyya Madrasa to the north and the Dawādāriyya Khānqāh to the south. For the main façade on Ṭarīq Bāb al-'Atm, including a distinctive entrance portal, specialist craftsmen were dispatched from Cairo. This is a rare instance of Cairene craftsmen working in Bahri Mamlūk Jerusalem and their distinctive architectural style has enabled us, by comparison with directly dated analogues in Cairo, to determine the approximate date of construction.

The second monument is the *Āmalikiyya Madrasa* (741/1340), which is characteristically in contact with the Ḥaram border. The example set at the north border by the Amīniyya of building over the Ḥaram portico was bound to be followed, for by this time there was really no option if contact with the Ḥaram were to be achieved. To the east of the Karīmiyya the area beyond the Ḥaram wall was occupied by the Birkat Banī Isrā'īl and to the west of the Amīniyya stood the eastern spur of the Antonia rock. By building partly on top of this rock spur and partly on a new extension to the Ayyūbid portico, the builders of the Āmalikiyya were able to construct the main floor of the madrasa on a single level, albeit above that of the Ḥaram esplanade. Moreover, as at the Tankiziyya and at the Amīniyya, building above the portico provided the opportunity to have a decorative façade on the Ḥaram. The madrasa incorporates a tomb chamber housing the grave of the founder's wife.

The fact that the Āmalikiyya is not built alongside the Amīniyya, as one might expect, but is separated from it by the later Fārisiyya Madrasa (endowed in 755/1354), calls for an explanation. Possibly the builders of the Āmalikiyya chose the site where the surface of the Antonia rock most closely coincided with the roof of the portico in order to facilitate construction of the madrasa on one level. But another factor may have influenced the choice of site: the presence of a primitive structure above the level of the Ḥaram, set back slightly from the Ḥaram border and partially hewn into the rock between the Amīniyya and the Āmalikiyya. Access to it is by means of a passage cut through the Ḥaram wall reached from a staircase at the western end of the Ayyūbid portico. This plainly ancient structure appears to be the Zāwiya al-Lāwī mentioned by al-'Umārī.<sup>41</sup> Unfortunately, al-'Umārī gives no details other than its general location and so it is impossible to know exactly how it functioned at that time. Its location at the western end of the Ayyūbid portico meant, however, that the roof of the portico west of the Amīniyya could be reached only by the same unprepossessing staircase and ill-lit passage already serving the

zāwiya. This the builders of the Āmalikiyya must have been unwilling to accept. So they extended the portico over the entrance to the zāwiya and erected a new staircase leading up to a small forecourt. There they built a beautifully decorated entrance portal to the madrasa.

By extending the portico further to the west, the builders of the third of this group of monuments, the adjoining *Is'ardiyya* (before 745/1345), were able to erect an assembly hall above it and, by breaching the substantial remains of the south wall of the Antonia, to extend northward. The building had to be extended to the north for two reasons: first, to provide accommodation on two levels for residents of the institution (a madrasa or khānqāh); and second, to include a tomb chamber (presumably housing the grave of the founder). The tomb chamber had to be outside the Ḥaram wall because burial within the enclosure was forbidden, as the concentration of tombs at the borders and their absence within the Ḥaram indicates. The width of the Is'ardiyya beyond the Ḥaram wall was restricted, however. The Āmalikiyya formed the eastern boundary, of course, and to the west the building was confined by the height of the Antonia rock outcrop, just as at the level of the Ḥaram esplanade the width of the Amīniyya had been delimited by the lower part of that outcrop. Access was achieved by sharing the staircase built initially for the Āmalikiyya.

The founder of the Is'ardiyya was a merchant who was both ambitious and wealthy, as the high quality of the architecture and the choice of this important site shows. The design of the façade seems to have been inspired by the adjacent Āmalikiyya.

The completion of the Āmalikiyya meant that on the roof of the portico between it and the Amīniyya there was now an area bounded by walls on three sides: the Āmalikiyya to the west, the upper part of the pre-existing Ḥaram wall to the north, and the Amīniyya to the east. Access was provided by the entrance staircase of the Zāwiya al-Lāwī. Therefore all that was needed to create a new building on the site was a south wall (which, facing the Ḥaram, could be developed as an ornamental façade) and a roof.

A site like this proved to be particularly attractive to Fāris al-Dīn Yilbakī, Governor of the district of Gaza, who obviously had an eye for economy in building since he had already given his name, and little else, to the eastern annexes to the Aqṣā Mosque.<sup>42</sup> We know from Mujīr al-Dīn's enumeration of the buildings at the north border of the Ḥaram that he founded on this site a madrasa, the *Fārisiyya*, which he endowed in 755/1354. Almost nothing of it survives in its original form.

With the north border of the Ḥaram so intensively developed by the mid-eighth/fourteenth century, attention turned once more to the west border, which remained as yet comparatively undeveloped. The limitations imposed by the lie of the land at the west border were, in a sense, just the opposite of those at the north border. At the north border – after the construction of the Dawādāriyya and the Awhadiyya – the sites level with the Ḥaram esplanade (those occupied by the Karīmiyya and the Amīniyya) were relatively unrestricted in their depth but disproportionately restricted in width, whereas at the west border it was the depth which was restricted. The Ribāt of Kurt al-Manṣūrī had shown how the accumulated debris at the base of the Ḥaram wall could be exploited to support a narrow structure on a level with the Ḥaram esplanade. But beyond the pile of debris the ground fell away sharply to the west, as observed at the Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn.

The only way to accommodate these variations in level, without resorting to the impracticable or expensive alternative of filling in the lower level to match the higher, was to build on both levels. This is precisely what happened at the *Khātūniyya Madrasa* (endowed in 755/1354 and 782/1380) where the most important units of the complex – a tomb chamber, an assembly hall and two *iwāns* – are at the higher level next to the Ḥaram, while cells for habitation around the courtyard are at the lower level. At its southern boundary the Khātūniyya abuts on the

north wall of the Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn. In order to make use of the north wall of the Sūq the madrasa is set back from the street, Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd, which may have been scarcely more than a pathway at that time, anyway. The meandering route it still follows, quite at variance with the more or less regular pattern of other streets at the Ḥaram border, suggests that the manner in which it evolved was almost accidental, as if the western end merely coincided with some convenient gap in the street frontage at Ṭarīq al-Wād. From there a new path was beaten up to the Ribāt of Kurt al-Manṣūrī and the adjoining Ḥaram gate, Bāb al-Ḥadīd. However humble the street may have been at the time, the Khātūniyya appears none the less to have been entered from it. There was a door from the madrasa into the Ḥaram but, since the Ḥaram gates could be closed (perhaps each night), access to the building must have been necessary from outside the Ḥaram as well. That external entrance no longer survives, but it must have been reached from Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd.

Only a few years later the *Arghūniyya Madrasa* (759/1358) was built on the site between the Khātūniyya and Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd, presumably blocking the original entrance to the Khātūniyya. The founder, Arghūn al-Kāmīlī, had been governor of Damascus but was banished<sup>43</sup> to Jerusalem where he died. In the brief time he lived in Jerusalem he immediately started to build his funerary complex, comprising a tomb and a madrasa and, on an upper floor, living quarters probably intended for himself. He also reconstructed the Bāb al-Ḥadīd. Obviously he recognized this place between the Khātūniyya and the Ḥaram gate as an appropriate site for his tomb. But since building there meant blocking access to the Khātūniyya, some compromise had to be reached. The unusual but practical expedient was for Arghūn to incorporate a new entrance passage for the Khātūniyya within the eastern boundary of his madrasa, thereby enabling his tomb chamber to be sited next to the Ḥaram wall.

Three years later another exiled amīr chose for his pious foundation a site at the west Ḥaram border, also at a gate, this time at Bāb al-Nāzīr. The *Manjakiyya Madrasa* (c.762/1361) was, like the Arghūniyya, founded by a former governor of Damascus, Manjak al-Yūsufī. Unlike the Arghūniyya, the Manjakiyya does not include a tomb chamber; Manjak had already prepared his tomb attached to his mosque in Cairo (750/1349-50). Since earlier buildings occupied the site against the Ḥaram wall at Bāb al-Nāzīr, Manjak could not build at street level. Instead he erected his madrasa partly over the Ḥaram portico, following the example of the builders of the Tankiziyya, the Amīniyya, the Āmalikiyya, the Is'ardiyya and the Fārisiyya. Apart from these buildings the roof of the portico had remained undeveloped. Consequently it might appear that Manjak had a relatively free choice of site. But to accommodate a madrasa required more than an undeveloped section of the portico roof: the roof alone is not wide enough and there was the consideration, too, of access to the roof. As it happened, not only was the roof of the west portico available at Bāb al-Nāzīr, one of the most important Ḥaram gates in Mamlūk times, but there was also the possibility of extending westwards over pre-Mamlūk structures to accommodate a staircase and entrance portal. Thus the madrasa sits partly over the portico and partly over pre-existing buildings to the west. To the north, over the portico only, there is a group of rooms which forms an integral part of Manjak's original construction. Included in this group of rooms is a 'prospect-room', an elaborately decorated loggia designed to take advantage of the magnificent Ḥaram view. It is likely that these rooms were intended as private living quarters for Manjak, who spent several years living in exile in Jerusalem. If this interpretation of the architectural layout is correct, then he is the first to make use of the area over the portico – with its magnificent outlook – for private, non-religious purposes.

At about this time (c.762/1361) a structure called *al-Ḥasaniyya* was built above another gate, the Bāb al-Asbāt at the north-east corner of the Ḥaram. Since nothing remains of it we can only repeat what Mujīr al-Dīn has to say:<sup>44</sup> that it was the

easternmost of the madrasas at the north wall of the Ḥaram but it had not the status of a fully functioning madrasa. Mujīr al-Dīn explains that its founder, Shāhīn al-Ḥasanī, died before confirming its ordinance (*amr*), i.e. its intended purpose, and that by his time it had become a dwelling house from which revenue was paid into the Ḥaram waqf.

While the need for hospices for pilgrims appears to have been largely satisfied by the early ribāts, new ones were founded from time to time. The Ḥaram documents mention nine ribāts that are no longer identifiable and were not listed by Mujīr al-Dīn. One that is listed by him is the *Maridīnī Ribāt* (before 763/1361) situated about 15m north of the Awḥadiyya in Ṭarīq Bāb Ḥiṭṭa. It was founded by two freedwomen of the Artūqid ruler of Mardin in the Jezira region in the south of modern Turkey. They stipulated that it was to accommodate pilgrims from Mardin: a stipulation reminiscent of a much earlier foundation made in 445/1053-54 by an amīr from Diyārbakr in favour of pilgrims from there (see above, p. 47). The building is quite plain except for a simple pointed-arched portal, and incorporates remains of an earlier structure.

The pace of development at the Ḥaram borders slowed down at this time, about a hundred years after it had begun. During the following twenty years or so the one recorded construction is the Ḥaram minaret near Bāb al-Asbāt (see above, p. 77). Only at the end of the Bahrī Mamlūk period – or perhaps rather at the beginning of the Circassian period – was there a resurgence of building activity. Open sites at the Ḥaram border were by then hard to find.

The *Hanbaliyya Madrasa* (781/1380) lies some 50 m west of the Ḥaram gate, Bāb al-Ḥadīd. Two earlier buildings, the Ribāt of Kurt al-Manṣūrī and the Arghūniyya, already occupied the sites on either side of the gate, but between these two foundations and the Hanbaliyya are two later ones, the Jawhariyya (844/1440) and the Muzhiriyya (885/1480-81). It is not clear why the Hanbaliyya was sited so far from the Ḥaram when, presumably, the builders might have acquired one or other of the sites of the two later foundations. A possible explanation is that by siting the Hanbaliyya at the junction between Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd and the lane running south from it to Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn, the builders realized the opportunity of erecting a decorated entrance portal facing directly up the street to the Ḥaram gate. Although the portal is now encumbered by later structures, originally it must have presented an impressive aspect to those leaving the Ḥaram through Bāb al-Ḥadīd.

The last Bahrī Mamlūk building to be built beside the Ḥaram, the *Baladiyya Madrasa* (before 782/1380), is at the west border between the bridge leading over Wilson's Arch to Bāb al-Silsila and the Ablutions Place of the Ḥaram, al-Maṭhara. The Ablutions Place lies about 5m below the level of the Ḥaram and the surface level of the area to the south of it (on which the Baladiyya stands) must have been even lower. A massive cruciform substructure was required to support the madrasa at Ḥaram level; this would explain why the site was not occupied sooner. The four-*iwān* layout of the madrasa is conventional apart from having a central courtyard which is open to the sky. It is the only example of a four-*iwān* madrasa in Jerusalem with an open courtyard. This unique feature may be explained by the large size of the courtyard, which is approximately 13m square: too large an area for the builders to construct a vault over.

Sundry *zāwiya*s where members of particular Sūfī orders assembled (see above, p. 63) were founded in the abodes of holy men associated with each order. Often they contained the grave of their founder. These *zāwiya*s, most of which cannot be identified today, were scattered throughout the city. None appears to have been intentionally sited at the Ḥaram border though one, the *Wafā'iyya* (after 782/1380-81) happens to be beside Bāb al-Nāzīr. It occupied the ground floor of an earlier building, possibly Ayyūbīd, the upper floor of which was the residence of the Abū'l-Wafā' family which founded the *zāwiya*.

Following the intensive Bahrī Mamlūk building activity

which transformed the north and west borders of the Ḥaram, there were few sites left for succeeding generations. Nevertheless, the sacred and historical numen of the place remained a powerful attraction<sup>45</sup> and sites at the borders continued to be sought after by the Circassian Mamlūks.

The Amīr 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī, one-time governor of the fortress of Ṣubayba, founded a madrasa known as the *Ṣubaybiyya* (before 809/1406) on the Antonia rock at the north border between the Jāwiliyya to the west and the Is'ardiyya to the east. In order to gain access to the site 7m above the level of the Ḥaram esplanade, the north portico (which had already been extended to support the Is'ardiyya) was extended further west. The founder was buried initially in Damascus but his body was later disinterred and transferred for burial in his madrasa. The fact that his remains were transported all the way from Damascus to Jerusalem indicates the continuing spiritual importance accorded to Jerusalem.

Parts of the roof of the north portico still remained free of buildings, notably beside the Dawādāriyya (see above) and beside the Bāb al-Asbāt Minaret, but access to these roofs was not easy. For example, two madrasas erected around the end of the eighth/fourteenth century on the roof of the portico alongside the minaret, the Tūlūniyya and the Fanariyya (neither of which survives; see above, p. 70) were reached by way of the narrow entrance staircase of the minaret.

The nearby *Bāsitiyya* (endowed in 834/1431) was built partly on the roof of the portico beside the Dawādāriyya. It was accessible from the street only through the courtyard of the Dawādāriyya and, independently, from the Ḥaram by the unusual device of a staircase rising against the face of the portico. Construction of the building was begun by a prominent shaykh who was Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams, but he died in 829/1426 and the building was subsequently completed and endowed by the Qādī 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, who lived in it during a period of enforced retirement from public office.

One area at the north border, between the Karīmiyya to the west and part of the Ḥaram portico to the east, lay empty. Al-'Umarī (c.745/1345) remarked that it had been intended to build porticoes there but these had not been completed and water flowed through the site into the reservoir, Birkat Banī Isrā'īl. In 836/1432, about ninety years after al-'Umarī saw the site, a portico and an adjoining madrasa called the *Ghādīriyya* were built on it by the lady Miṣr Khātūn acting as agent of her husband, a prince of the Turcoman Dhulghādir dynasty. The madrasa was restricted to immigrant Turks from Anatolia and a condition of the endowment was that the prince's daughter should be given the post of overseer. The south façade aligns with the adjoining portico to the east, and the Ḥaram wall forms the north boundary. Consequently the building is very narrow, measuring no more than 6.9m from north to south, though upper floor rooms which no longer survive were cantilevered out over the reservoir to gain extra space. The limited size of the site, together with whatever problems the water flowing through it might have caused, could well have discouraged its earlier development.

The Ghādīriyya is the last Mamlūk building erected at the north border. Thereafter, attention was shifted to the west border.

The *Hasaniyya Madrasa* (837/1434) was built by a Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams on the roof of the ribāt of an early holder of that post, 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Baṣīr (see above, p. 78), on the north side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Nāzīr. To provide access to the madrasa, an entrance portal and staircase were built against the south wall of the ribāt, encroaching on the street. It is such encroachments that transformed the regular grid-iron street plan of antiquity into Jerusalem's present seemingly capricious pattern of streets, so typical of medieval Islamic cities.

Although the roof of the north portico was fully developed, much of the roof of the west portico – between the Tankiziyya to the south and the Manjakiyya to the north – remained empty. The problem of building on this roof was, as

it had been at the north border, one of access, for most of the land adjoining the Ḥaram wall was already built up. However, a site immediately to the south of Bāb al-Maṭhara was available, but it had two obvious disadvantages. First, it overlooked the men's latrines to the west, and second, it was more than two metres below the level of the Ḥaram esplanade and so required a substantial substructure to raise the level to match that of the Ḥaram. There may also have been two cells occupying part of the site (see above, p. 78). Notwithstanding these disadvantages, it was the best available site at the Ḥaram border. On it the *Uthmāniyya* was erected in 840/1437 for a lady from Anatolia, Iṣfahān Shāh al-'Uthmāniyya, to house her tomb next to the Ḥaram wall beside Bāb al-Maṭhara as well as an adjoining madrasa and a series of imposing rooms on the roof of the portico, overlooking the Ḥaram. Some of these rooms, including a fine loggia with a magnificent view of the Dome of the Rock, may have been intended as a residence for the founder but, as an inscription above the entrance records, she died before the construction was completed.

The builders of the *Jawhariyya* (844/1440) found a novel solution to the problem of gaining access to the roof of the portico. The main components of this foundation on the north side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd are on two floors separated from the Ḥaram wall by the Ribāt of Kurt al-Manṣūrī. By extending the upper floor over the roof of the ribāt it was possible for the builders to achieve contact with the Ḥaram wall, beyond which they added an assembly hall and loggia on the roof of the portico, overlooking the Ḥaram. The founder was an Abyssinian eunuch, who ordered the construction of the *Jawhariyya* 'in his desire for the gracious countenance of Allāh' according to an inscription (now defaced) above the entrance door. He died one month after completion of the building. In the terms of his endowment the founder reserved for himself the post of inspector during his lifetime, to be succeeded by his freedmen in order of maturity and competence.

Opposite the 'Uthmāniyya, north of Bāb al-Maṭhara, there was a tiny site measuring 7.3m from north to south, on which stood a hall that was a *waqf* of the Ḥaram. The site was acquired – by what means is not known – for the *Ribāt al-Zamanī* (881/1476-77), founded by a wealthy merchant, Ibn al-Zamin, who was the sultan's appointed overseer of building projects in Mecca. His ribāt occupies not only the site of the *waqf* hall but extends to include three rooms of the lodgings on the south side of Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn. The building is on two principal floors with a mezzanine between them. A stair leads from the upper floor to the roof of the Ḥaram portico where several structures – possibly part of the ribāt – stood until they were demolished in the 1920s.

The *Muzhiriyya Madrasa* (885/1480-81) is to the west of the Arghūniyya on the south side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd. The *Jawhariyya* on the opposite side of the street demonstrated how access to the roof of the Ḥaram portico could be gained over an intervening building. The building between the Muzhiriyya and the Ḥaram is the Arghūniyya, the roof of which is at nearly the same level as the roof of the portico. Thus, when the builders of the Muzhiriyya erected an assembly hall and anteroom on the portico roof, they ensured access to them – simply by providing a staircase up to the roof of the Arghūniyya. In this way those going between the main part of the madrasa to the west and the assembly hall to the east did so across the roof of the Arghūniyya.

The *Asbrafiyya Madrasa* (887/1482), situated north of the main Ḥaram gate, Bāb al-Silsila, stands partly on the roof of the Baladiyya (see above) and partly on an assembly hall incorporating three bays of the Ḥaram portico. The assembly hall, built to support the new madrasa on its roof, is unique in protruding into the Ḥaram beyond the line of the portico. To provide access to the madrasa several bays of the portico were demolished and a staircase built in their place. All this made building at the Ḥaram border a relatively easy process despite the lack of open sites next to the Ḥaram wall, and it would seem that it took the authority of the founder, Sultan Qāyṭbāy, to



achieve a break with customary practice as daring as building beyond the portico and demolishing part of it. The builders, sent by the sultan from Egypt to Jerusalem, were headed by a Coptic architect who designed the Ashrafiyya in typical Egyptian style, making use of expensive materials like timber for roofs and windows and marble paving and wall panelling. Though most of the building was destroyed by earthquake, it represents the climax of the Mamlūk development of the Ḥaram. It is the only one built at the border expressly for a sultan and it was the most ornate of them all: 'the third jewel' of the Ḥaram, as Mujīr al-Dīn described it.<sup>46</sup>

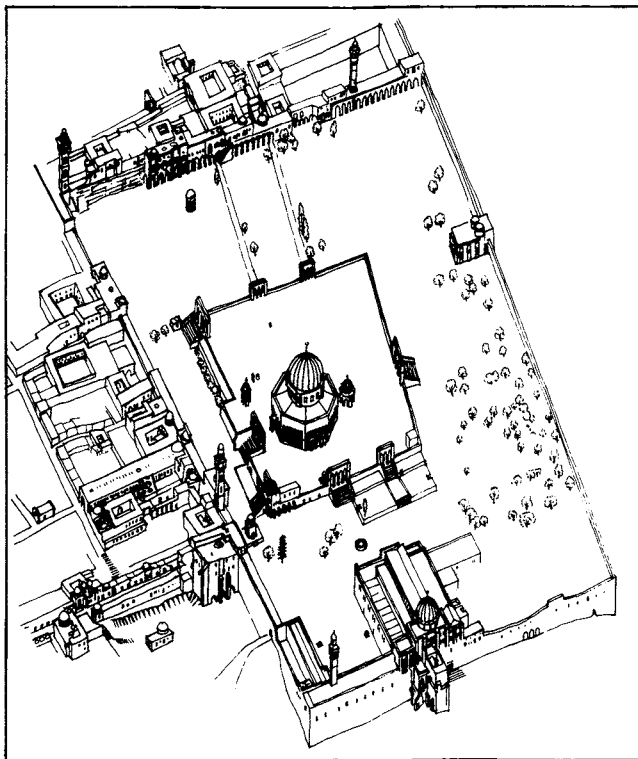


Fig. 6 Al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf at the end of the Mamlūk period, showing the principal monuments

## ṬARĪQ BĀB AL-SILSILA

In Mamlūk times as today the main street of Jerusalem was *Khutt Dā'ūd* (David Street). It runs from the west gate of the city, Bāb al-Khalīl (Jaffa Gate), beside the Citadel eastward past the central market area to the principal Ḥaram gate, Bāb al-Silsila. The eastern part of the street, between the market area and the Ḥaram gate, is named after that gate Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila, 'Street of the Chain Gate'.

This street crosses the central valley on a wide bridge which dates back to the days of Herod, though it appears to have been rebuilt in the early years of Islamic rule (see below, p. 184). Its easternmost span, known to westerners as 'Wilson's Arch', is 13.2m wide and the street it carried was presumably the same width. Buildings on either side of the street have narrowed it, however, and nowhere is it now more than about 6m wide. None of the present buildings can be dated earlier than the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, but some of them appear to have been built on the remains of earlier structures.

At the east end of the street, close to the Ḥaram gate, is concentrated a distinct group of seven Mamlūk monuments. Those beside the gate – the *Tankiziyya*, the associated *Ribāṭ al-Nisā'*, and the *Baladiyya* – fall into the preceding category of foundations at the north and west Ḥaram borders but the others constitute a separate category in our analysis. All seven of them contain tomb chambers with windows opening on the street. Exactly why this part of the street was popular with tomb builders is open to conjecture; yet it is perhaps no coincidence that in it converge the greatest densities of worshippers going

to and from the Aqṣā Mosque. Thus Koran readings in the tomb chambers, as provided for in many of the endowments, could be enjoyed by the maximum number of holy-minded Muslims who might be expected to offer a prayer for the founder. The inscription over the street window of the tomb of Barka Khān (see below) ends 'May God forgive him and his parents and whoever prays for His pardon, Amen . . .' Over the street window of another tomb, that of Baybars al-Jāliq, the inscription ends 'May God have mercy upon him and upon those who pray that he may be shown mercy'.

The earliest tomb is the *Turba of Barka Khān* on the south side of the street at the corner of a lane leading to the former Moroccans' Quarter. Little of the building but the street façade survives. No fewer than five different phases of construction are distinguishable in the façade. Inspection and interpretation of these phases of construction indicate that a domed tomb chamber was built here against the west end of an earlier row of shops. It appears that this tomb chamber was founded sometime between 663/1265 and 679/1280 by a son of the powerful Khwārizmian chief Barka Khān as a memorial to his father who had died in 644/1246 (see below, p. 110). Both the founder (who died in 678/1279) and his brother (who died in 661/1263) were first buried elsewhere but their remains were subsequently disinterred and transferred to Jerusalem for burial beside their father. More than a century later, in 792/1390, a descendant of the founder, who was overseer of the endowment, extended the building to incorporate adjoining structures to the east where he added a new entrance, water trough and memorial window.

On the other side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila, roughly 15m east of the *Turba of Barka Khān*, was a Tradition School, a *Dār al-Ḥadīth* (no longer identifiable) founded in 666/1268. According to a sixteenth-century document in the Ottoman court records, it was separated from the street by a row of dilapidated shops and was reached through one of them.<sup>47</sup>

Immediately to the east of the *Dār al-Ḥadīth*, the *Jāliqiyya Turba* was built for the Amīr Baybars al-Jāliq. When this amir died at Ramla in 707/1307, his body was carried to Jerusalem and buried in his turba in accordance with his last will and testament. The building appears to stand on the remains of some earlier structure. It consists of a vaulted antechamber leading to a domed tomb chamber at the corner of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila and Daraj al-'Ayn, the stepped street leading down to Ṭarīq al-Wād. The tomb chamber has windows opening on both streets.

The third tomb in Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila, the *Sa'diyya Turba*, also occupies a corner site – on the north side of the street where it enters the square in front of Bāb al-Silsila – and had windows opening on the street and on the square. (The windows on the square are now blocked by an Ottoman fountain.) The tomb chamber was originally domed but the dome was later replaced by a cross vault to support dwellings above. Attached to the tomb chamber is a vaulted hall, now modified, that was an endowment for the turba. The deed of endowment was drawn up in 711/1311.

Corner sites were apparently specially desirable, presumably because they let windows be opened in two sides of a tomb chamber so that Koran readings in the chamber could be better heard by passers-by. The three early tombs in Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila occupy corner sites. The next tomb, the *Turba of Turkān Khātūn*, was built more than forty years later on the remains of an earlier structure in a gap site about 20m west of the *Sa'diyya*. The tomb chamber is domed and has two windows opening on the street. It was built for a princess, probably from the lands of the Golden Horde. The façade and interior are decorated with shallow panels of carved ornament that look as if they had been chosen from a pattern book by the princess's executors when they commissioned the building.

The *Kilāniyya* is the tomb of Jamāl al-Dīn Pahlavān, a prince from the Caspian province of Gīlān. In his will dated 753/1352 he decreed that his son should realize 100,000 dirhams from the third of his property, and hand that sum to the

testator's nephew to buy a plot and build a tomb for him in Jerusalem. The plot acquired by the nephew is on the north side of Ṭariq Bāb al-Silsila, opposite the tomb of Barka Khān. The building comprises two tall domed chambers flanking a tall entrance portal surmounted by a small dome. Jamāl al-Dīn's body was transported to Jerusalem and buried in accordance with his will in the eastern domed chamber of the Kīlāniyya. The western chamber is empty. It has been suggested that Jamāl al-Dīn's nephew erected the western chamber for his own tomb,<sup>48</sup> but there is no evidence for this. Twin-domed tombs were popular in Damascus in the fourteenth century, apparently because a second dome matching the one over the tomb chamber lent a pleasing symmetry to the architecture. The street façade of the Kīlāniyya is almost perfectly symmetrical about the central portal.

In contrast to the formal architectural composition of the Kīlāniyya, the *Dār al-Qur'ān al-Sallāmiyya* (endowed in 761/1360) about 20m away on the south side of the street, opposite the Jāliqiyya, was established in an existing vaulted chamber. This simple structure contains a grave marked by a cenotaph which appears to be a later insertion.

Immediately to the east of the Kīlāniyya is the *Ṭāziyya* which, according to the inscription on the lintel of a memorial window in the street façade, is the *turba* of the important Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Ṭāz, who died in 763/1362. Since an eye-witness reported Ṭāz's burial in Damascus (see p. 399), it might be assumed that the building does not contain Ṭāz's grave, but the possibility that his remains were disinterred and transferred to Jerusalem cannot be discounted.<sup>49</sup> Mujīr al-Dīn called the building a *madrasa*. One Ottoman court record and one Ḥaram document refer to it as a *madrasa*, while six Ḥaram documents refer to it as a *turba*. The architectural layout is, however, rather that of a grand residence than of either a tomb or a madrasa. There is, for instance, no domed chamber, the usual architectural indication of a tomb. It is possible, therefore, that Ṭāz, who spent months in 762/1361 in retirement in Jerusalem, ordered the building for his residence. He was transferred to Damascus at the end of 762/1361 when, no longer needing a residence in Jerusalem, he may have endowed the building as a *turba* or madrasa or both. The inscription including the designation *turba* was added after Ṭāz's death.

Whatever doubt there may be surrounding the original purpose of the Ṭāziyya, there is little concerning that of the *Ṭashtamuriyya* (784/1382-83) situated 25m to the west, on the south side of the street. Though the foundation inscription on the street façade refers to the building simply as *makān*, 'place', the building included as many as seven different components: a tomb chamber next to the street, a *sabīl* (for the free distribution of water) with a *kuttāb* (school for orphans) above it next to the tomb, a four-*iwān* madrasa, a grand residence, three shops and various lodgings. It was common in the eighth/fourteenth century for amīrs to build along with their tombs some pious institution,<sup>50</sup> but such a range of functions as this within one funerary complex is exceptional. The founder, Ṭashtamur al-'Alā'i, like other amīrs before him, retired to Jerusalem and built a residence for himself together with his pious foundation. The main hall (*qā'a*) of the residence is on an upper floor, carried on a vault spanning the street, and has a fine view east to the Ḥaram. The three shops provided revenues to help maintain the charitable components of the foundation – the madrasa and the *sabīl-kuttāb*. The latter is a specially interesting innovation, for though such establishments became popular in Cairo towards the end of the Bahrī Mamlūk period,<sup>51</sup> this is the only one in Jerusalem. Its combined benefactions of free drinking water and children's Koran recitation could be expected to inspire passers-by to pray for its founder.

With the transition from Bahrī to Circassian Mamlūk rule, tomb building in Ṭariq Bāb al-Silsila ceased. Why this should have happened is not clear, although part of the explanation may be the exhaustion of desirable sites. The early tombs are all situated at street corners and at the east end of the street,

towards the Ḥaram. It is perhaps significant that the last of the tombs, the Ṭashtamuriyya, is the furthest from the Ḥaram, implying that closer sites were no longer available. In addition, far fewer monumental buildings of any kind were erected in the ninth/fifteenth century than in the preceding century; these include only two tombs – the Ṣubaybiyya and the 'Uthmāniyya – both at the Ḥaram border.

## OTHER BUILDINGS

Outside the three main areas described above are several other buildings of interest. Many of them, especially *zāwiyas* listed by Mujīr al-Dīn or referred to in the Ḥaram documents, are no longer identifiable. Some of these are discussed in pp. 57-76. Four *zāwiyas* – the *Bistāmiyya* (before 770/1369), the *Lu'lu'iyya* (endowed in 775/1373-74), the *Wafā'iyya* (after 782/1380-81) and the *Qiramiyya* (before 788/1386) – are described in Part II. They are scattered throughout the city and are architecturally unimpressive, though three of them (*Bistāmiyya*, *Lu'lu'iyya* and *Qiramiyya*) have stylish entrance portals that appear to have been added when the buildings were converted into *zāwiyas*. Each *zāwiya* contains a grave, presumably that of a leader of the Ṣūfī order which gathered there. Of the *zāwiya* of the Ḥaydarīs (674/1275-76?) in the former Ḥārat al-Ḥayādīra (in the present Jewish Quarter) only the grave of a shaykh of the order remains.<sup>52</sup>

Other *zāwiyas* were located in cemeteries outside the city walls. The Adhamiyya endowed by the Amīr Manjak (c.762/1361),<sup>53</sup> for instance, occupied a cave under the Sāhira Cemetery to the north of the city, and the Qalandariyya (which fell into ruins in 893/1487-88) was founded in an old Christian monastery in the Māmillā Cemetery to the west of the city and included a burial enclosure (*hawsh*) and a domed tomb built in 794/1391-92 by Sitt Ṭunshuq (see below) over her brother's grave.<sup>54</sup>

Funerary monuments in the cemeteries around the town included, in the Bāb al-Rahma (Golden Gate) Cemetery east of the city, the tomb of Shaykh 'Alī al-Ardabīlī (died 832/1429)<sup>55</sup> and an elaborate complex comprising an entrance portal, a burial enclosure, a tomb chamber, an ablution place and a water tank,<sup>56</sup> built by the Amīr Qānshūh al-Yaḥyāwī in 895/1489-90.<sup>57</sup> Neither of them survives. The only surviving Mamlūk monument in the cemeteries is the *Kubakiyya Turba*, the tomb of the Amīr 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Kubakī (died 688/1289), in the Māmillā Cemetery. It is a square chamber with a raised dome incorporating quantities of re-used Crusader masonry and sculpture, including an unusual stone cenotaph.

The re-use of Crusader material was common in the Mamlūk architecture of Jerusalem. Indeed, whole buildings were occasionally taken over, such as the Church of St. James the Less, which was converted into a *zāwiya* sometime before 796/1394 (see above, p. 70). Several of the main markets of the town appear to be mainly Crusader constructions (or reconstructions). The *Sūq al-Qattānīn* (see above, p. 80) was, it seems, built partly on the remains of a Crusader market, and the *Wakāla*, a bonded warehouse where state taxes were collected, which was founded by Sultan Barqūq in 788/1386-87, includes an earlier Crusader market on the north side of Ṭariq Bāb al-Silsila.

The *Citadel*<sup>58</sup> at the west gate of the city, the Bāb al-Khalīl (Jaffa Gate), was largely reconstructed by the Crusaders but subsequently partly dismantled by the Ayyūbids (see above, p. 49). In 710/1310-11, during the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, it was refortified and provided with a new mosque – the only Friday mosque (*jāmi'*) in the city apart from the Aqṣā – to enable the garrison to attend Friday prayers without leaving the Citadel unguarded. Curtain walls and towers were rebuilt and a new entrance with an unusual domed hexagonal vestibule was added. Later (from 877/1472-73 onwards, according to Mujīr al-Dīn<sup>59</sup>) the Citadel fell into neglect and was not rebuilt again until after the Ottoman conquest.

To the north-west of the Citadel, outside the city walls, a

caravanserai known as Khān al-Zāhir was founded by Sultan Baybars in 662/1264. For its entrance the Bāb al-ʿĪd of the palace of the Fātimid caliphs in Cairo was transported to Jerusalem.<sup>60</sup> Mujīr al-Dīn records that Baybars installed an imām for the mosque there and provided an oven and a mill for the caravanserai. The poor who came there could have their shoes repaired, and food was distributed to them at the entrance.<sup>61</sup> No trace of the caravanserai has been found except for an inscription, now in the Islamic Museum on the Ḥaram.<sup>62</sup>

Two large Mamlūk foundations within the city are of particular interest for they demonstrate how important it was for grand residences to be situated so as to provide a clear view of the Ḥaram. Buildings incorporating residential quarters at the Ḥaram border often included a loggia to take advantage of the view. In the eighth/fourteenth century, with the increasing scarcity of building sites at the border, builders resorted to ingenious devices to satisfy their patrons' desire for close contact with the Ḥaram, as described above. An alternative solution, adopted by the builders of the Lu'lu'yya (endowed in 775/1373-74) and the Palace of Sitt Ṭunshuq (c. 790/1388) was to site the building high on the western slope of the central valley, al-Wād, so that a distant view of the Ḥaram could be enjoyed.

On the west side of Ṭarīq al-Qiramī, a street that lies about 9m above the level of the Ḥaram esplanade, stands the Lu'lu'yya. It was founded by the Amīr Lu'lu' Ghāzī, about whom little is known except that he was a freedman of Sultan al-Ashraf Sha'bān. The foundation included a four-*iwān*

madrasa on the ground floor, where remains of an earlier building were incorporated (making the south *iwān* unusually short as a result). On the upper floor an eastern range of rooms, which might well have accommodated the founder, looks over the rooftops to the magnificent prospect of the Dome of the Rock.

The *Palace of Sitt Ṭunshuq* occupies a site associated in Christian tradition with the Hospital of Queen Helena, mother of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine, on the south side of 'Aqabat al-Takiyya where the street rises from the valley to a level about 10m above that of the Ḥaram esplanade. This is the only great Mamlūk palace in Jerusalem, rivalling in scale and opulence the palaces built for high-ranking amīrs around the foot of the citadel in Cairo.<sup>63</sup> It has three monumental portals, leading to an *istabl* on the ground floor where horses were stabled and groomed, and to the main rooms of the palace on an upper floor, including an impressive formal reception hall (*qā'a*) with a splendid view of the Ḥaram to the east. It was built – like so many other important buildings in Jerusalem – for a lady, Sitt Ṭunshuq al-Muzaffariyya, whose history is not known. On the opposite side of the street from the palace is her tomb, the *Turbat al-Sitt Ṭunshuq*, which was richly decorated and included an attached pious foundation, perhaps a small madrasa, to judge from its layout.

Sitt Ṭunshuq's palace and tomb are the last important Mamlūk buildings to have been founded away from the Ḥaram border.<sup>64</sup>

## Notes

1 Donald Little's published indexes of the Ḥaram documents (most of which were issued in the late fourteenth century) include references to no fewer than 188 houses (*dār*). Very few can now be located though many of them may still survive.

2 The correlation between politico-historical events and royal patronage of works in the Ḥaram deserves further study. Baybars's campaigns against the Crusaders, for instance, certainly influenced his building activities, while al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's peace with the Mongols was a factor in the building boom during his reign. It has been suggested that extra funds accruing to the State from death duties and confiscation of properties following the Black Death were instrumental in Sultan Ḥasan's large building programme (M. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East*, Princeton, 1977, 270). It would be interesting also to investigate the extent of the connection between royal visits to Jerusalem and subsequent construction and reconstruction in the Ḥaram, such as the restoration of the Dome of the Rock after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's visit to Jerusalem in 717/1317.

3 Mujīr, 433-34.

4 The fine marble revetment of the *mibrāb* is in 'North Syrian' style with interlacing semicircular lobes on the haunches of the arch interconnecting with rectilinear strapwork in the spandrels. The interior is lined with vertical panels of marble which stylistically antecede the similar panelling in the *mibrāb* of the Tankiziyya Madrasa (729/1328-29), which has an arcaded base (cf. MAE, ii, 202, for Egyptian examples, the earliest of which is in Qalāwūn's mausoleum, dated 683-84/1284-85). Van Berchem also considered the marble revetment to be the work of Baybars (*CIA (Haram)*, 182-83).

5 Mujīr, 606.

6 Mujīr, 435. Van Berchem (*CIA (Haram)*, 112 n.2) following a suggestion first made by Clermont-Ganneau (*Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874*, i, London, 1899, 176-77) concludes that Qalāwūn was responsible for the reconstruction not of the roof (*saqqf*) at the south-west corner of the Aqṣā Mosque but of the south-west corner of the Ḥaram wall (*sūr*). This conclusion must now be rejected. There is no evidence of any post-Crusader rebuilding at the south-west corner of the wall and, furthermore, during repairs made to the Aqṣā after the 1969 fire a timber roof-beam was discovered to bear a painted inscription (unpublished) in Qalāwūn's name. Van Berchem (*CIA (Haram)*, 112 n. 2, 426-27) observes that while Mujīr al-Dīn generally refers to the Ḥaram as 'al-Masjid al-Aqṣā' and to the Mosque as 'al-Jami' al-Aqṣā' he does occasionally refer to the latter as Masjid. This is such an occasion.

7 Mujīr, 436-37. For the restoration of the mosaics on the Dome of the Rock see Marguerite Gautier-van Berchem *apud* EMA, i<sup>2</sup>, 218, 238, 314.

8 Mujīr, 437.

9 EMA, ii, 337.

10 RCEA, xiii, no. 5047.

11 *CIA (Haram)*, 109-15. Van Berchem argues that this inscription is cut in a Herodian column base but it seems more likely to be Crusader.

12 *CIA (Haram)*, 289-98.

13 *CIA (Haram)*, 421-22.

14 *CIA (Haram)*, 422-25.

15 *CIA (Haram)*, 425-29.

16 *CIA (Haram)*, 429-31. See R.W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, London, 1949, 37-38, for the extent of the rebuilding.

17 *CIA (Haram)*, 431-32.

18 Mujīr, 439.

19 *CIA (Haram)*, 311-16; Mujīr, 372, 440, 608.

20 *CIA (Haram)*, 100-1.

21 Mujīr, 443.

22 Mujīr, 444.

23 Mujīr, 444-45.

24 *CIA (Ville)*, 243.

25 *CIA (Haram)*, 433-34.

26 Mujīr, 653.

27 *CIA (Haram)*, 434-35.

28 Hadrian's levelling of certain areas within the city (above, p. 00) seems nowhere to have been in the vicinity of the Ḥaram border.

29 Al-'Umari, *Masālik*, 161.

30 Mujīr, 606.

31 B. Mazar, *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem near the Temple Mount, Preliminary Report of the Second and Third Seasons 1969-1970*, Jerusalem, 1971, 2-4, fig. 5.

32 The fact that these first Mamlūk foundations by the Ḥaram were intended for pilgrims may reflect a revival of *ziyārāt*, 'pious visits', to shrines and other holy places. It remains to be investigated whether Baybars's restoration and construction of shrines in Palestine was designed to excite this revival. Certainly the containment of the Crusaders to the west and the Mongols to the east, and the improved road system introduced by Baybars would have made travel easier in the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century. Ibn Taymiyya's famous treatise condemning such 'visits', written in Damascus (C.D. Mathews, 'A Muslim Iconoclast (Ibn Taymiyyeh) on the 'Merits' of Jerusalem and Palestine', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, lvi, 1936, 1-21) shows that interest in *ziyārāt* had revived by the first quarter of the eighth/fourteenth century, at least. However, the holy city of Jerusalem had long been a place of pilgrimage, venerated especially as the scene of Muhammad's Night Journey.

33 J. Wilkinson, 'The Streets of Jerusalem', *Levant*, vii, 1975, 123 n.1, states that this reservoir must be contemporary with the original construction of the north wall of the Ḥaram, but his cited evidence is unclear. R.W. Hamilton, 'Street Levels in the Tyropoeon Valley-II', *QDAP*, ii, 1932, 34-40, suggests that the vaults extending west from the reservoir belong to the early Muslim period.

34 C. Kessler, 'Funerary Architecture within the City', *Colloque International sur l'histoire du Caire*, Cairo, 1974, 257-67.

35 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Baṣīr was buried in his ribāt four years earlier in 693/1294 but there is no indication that the hall housing his grave was originally intended for this purpose. In fact, that cross-vaulted hall on the street is an earlier structure incorporated into the ribāt.

36 The Marwānid foundation inscription recording the endowment in 445/1053-54 of two adjoining houses in favour of pilgrims from Diyārbakr (above, p. 47) was discovered in secondary use in the outer porch of Bāb Ḥiṭṭa. Although the location of these two houses is unknown, the fact that the inscription was re-used at Bāb Ḥiṭṭa may indicate that they were near that gate.

37 *CIA (Ville)*, 90-95, 125-29, 168-73.

38 Ibn Taghribirdī, *Al-nujūm al-zābira fī mulūk Miṣr wa'l-Qābira*, ix, Cairo, 1929, 55.



- 39 For the relative status of the provinces and their governors see *CIA (Egypte)*, 209-28, especially 219, 220 n. 1, 224 for Jerusalem.
- 40 Mujīr, 387.
- 41 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 151.
- 42 Mujīr, 390. Of course it would be wrong to suggest that the use of pre-existing structural elements necessarily implies parsimony; even the most lavish foundations in Jerusalem, such as the Tankiziyya, incorporate pre-existing structures.
- 43 D. Ayalon, 'Discharges from service, banishments and imprisonments in Mamluk society', *Israel Oriental Studies*, ii, 1972, 22-50, observes that Jerusalem was undoubtedly the most important place of banishment in the whole Mamlūk sultanate.
- 44 Mujīr, 392-93.
- 45 Discussed by H. Busse, 'The Sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam', *Judaism*, xvii, 1968, 441-468.
- 46 Mujīr, 383.
- 47 See p. 191.
- 48 A.G. Walls, 'The Mausoleum of the Amir Kīlānī', *Levant*, vii, 1975, 50-51.
- 49 For instance, one of Barka Khān's sons was buried in Cairo and another in Damascus but the remains of both were subsequently disinterred and transferred to Jerusalem for burial in the tomb built by one of them for their father (see p.110 below).
- 50 C. Kessler, *op. cit.*, 257-67.
- 51 S. Ebeid, *Early Sabils and Their Standardization*, unpublished MA thesis, American University in Cairo, 1976.
- 52 Mujīr, 402; *CIA (Ville)*, 210-12.
- 53 Mujīr, 412; see also *PEQS*, 1902, 38, for a good plan of the Adhamiyya.
- 54 Mujīr, 413-14; Hamdi Nubani, 'Mamilla Cemetery', *ADAJ*, iii, 1956, 8-9.
- 55 Mujīr, 510; *CIA (Ville)*, 451-53.
- 56 M.H. Burgoyne and Amal Abul-Hajj, 'Twenty-four Mediaeval Arabic Inscriptions from Jerusalem', *Levant*, xi, 1979, 136-37.
- 57 Mujīr, 413.
- 58 The Citadel has been excellently described and analysed in great detail by C.N. Johns, 'Excavations at the Citadel, Jerusalem', *QDAP*, v, 1936, 127-31, and 'The Citadel, Jerusalem', *QDAP*, xiv, 1950, 121-90. See also *CIA (Ville)*, 129-68.
- 59 Mujīr, 405.
- 60 Al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, i, 435.
- 61 Mujīr, 433-34.
- 62 M.H. Burgoyne and Amal Abul-Hajj, 'Twenty-four Mediaeval Arabic Inscriptions from Jerusalem', *Levant*, xi, 1979, 125-27.
- 63 J. Revault and B. Maury, *Palais et Maisons du Caire du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, i-iii, Cairo, 1975, 1977, 1979.
- 64 There is, however, in Ṭarīq al-Wād opposite the entrance to Ṭarīq Bāb al-

Hadīd, an anonymous building in typical fourteenth-century Mamlūk style (*plate 10*). Its purpose is not known and it has not been surveyed. Another much plainer building about 10m south of that one contains a cenotaph marking a grave. About 5m south of that, an inscription on the west side of Ṭarīq al-Wād, apparently not in its original place but possibly close to it, commemorates a tomb (*turba*) of one of Sultan Barqūq's mamlūks, the Amīr Altunbughā al-Mu'allim, who died in 798/1395-96 (*CIA (Ville)*, 304-6). This tomb is not listed by Mujīr al-Dīn, who at the end of his catalogue of buildings makes this laconic but still apt comment: the city includes a number of other buildings such as zāwiyas, ribāts and turbas, which there is no point in mentioning; I have cited only the most notable ones (Mujīr, 400).



Plate 10 Unidentified building in Ṭarīq al-Wād

# METHODS AND MATERIALS OF CONSTRUCTION AND DECORATION

## PLANS

The major pious foundations follow the customary 'centralized' plan of medieval times, with various chambers disposed around an inner courtyard. It is difficult to identify the original purpose of many of the buildings because the medieval names given to them seem to be quite haphazard. The Dawādāriyya, for instance, is called *khānqāh* in its foundation inscription (695/1295), *ribāt* by al-'Umarī (c.745/1345) and *madrasa* by Mujīr al-Dīn (901/1496). The inscription contains a long and detailed description of the building's endowment and purpose (see below, p. 155), leaving no doubt that it was indeed founded as a *khānqāh*. The purpose which a building served may have changed from time to time, of course. Architecture is not a reliable guide to the intended purpose, for little of the variation in layouts seems to have been related to function. For example, the Sallāmiyya, called a *madrasa* by Mujīr al-Dīn and referred to as *ribāt* in one Haram document and *zāwiya* in another (see below, p. 299), is remarkably similar in composition to the neighbouring Dawādāriyya *khānqāh*.

Most madrasas have one or more *iwāns*, vaulted halls walled on three sides and open on the fourth. Of the twenty-four surviving buildings that Mujīr al-Dīn calls madrasas, nine have no *iwān*, eight have one, one has two and six have four. A feature of the four-*iwān* madrasas is that, with the single exception of the Baladiyya, all the courtyards are roofed, doubtless to afford some protection from the rainy winter weather.

Two of the madrasas and all three *khānqāhs* have a triple-bayed *majma'* (assembly hall), which is not found in the *ribāts*. The four early (seventh/thirteenth-century) *ribāts* all have courtyards with cells around; the fifth (mid-eighth/fourteenth century) and sixth (late ninth/fifteenth century) do not.

Zāwiyas appear to have been founded in ordinary houses (see above, p. 82) and of those that are identifiable today there is little that is distinctive in their layouts.

Only two Mamlūk mosques are known. One, in the Citadel, is a *jāmi'* (above, p. 85) and the other a *maṣjid*, the Maṣjid al-Manṣūrī (above, p. 69). Both are simple vaulted halls with a *mibrāb* in the *qibla* wall.<sup>1</sup>

Many pious foundations incorporate a tomb chamber. There are no Muslim graves actually within the Ḥaram precinct but burial near the Ḥaram has been practised since early Islamic times. In the first/seventh century Shaddād b. Aws was buried in the Golden Gate cemetery,<sup>2</sup> the location still of the main Muslim cemetery in Jerusalem. Only for the period after the recapture by Saladin of Jerusalem is there definite evidence of Muslim burials within the city. As eschatological traditions linking Jerusalem and particularly the Ḥaram with the place of the Last Judgement grew in the seventh/thirteenth century, so special significance came to be attached to burial near the Ḥaram. Despite objections to erecting monumental tombs expressed by religious leaders like Ibn Taymiyya (who condemned tombs because they distracted men's thoughts

from God),<sup>3</sup> a considerable number of elaborate tombs were built in the Mamlūk period. The first of them, the Turba of Barka Khān in Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila, the main street leading to the Ḥaram, was built around the middle of the seventh/thirteenth century, and the first to be located purposely at the Haram border, that of al-Malik al-Awḥad, was built at the end of that century. Thereafter a further eight tombs were built at the north and west borders of the Ḥaram, and another six along Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila. The corpses of amīrs who died away from Jerusalem (such as the sons of Barka Khān and the founder of the Ṣubaybiyya) were exhumed from temporary graves and transported to Jerusalem for burial.

The tomb chambers were usually domed. In the Kilāniyya are two domed chambers flanking a central entrance portal, a grouping that was popular in Damascus but seems never to have been common elsewhere. As later building developments extended over the roofs of the tombs, several domes were dismantled to be replaced by cross vaults. Some tomb chambers such as those in the Ālmalikiyya and Is'ardiyya were never domed, apparently because of the conflicting desires of having the tomb chamber as close as possible to the Haram wall and of having an upper floor above the tomb.

The only characteristic piece of tomb furniture is the *tābūt* or cenotaph, a rectangular box-like structure of stone or marble raised on a low plinth indicating the presence of a grave under the floor of the chamber. The corners of cenotaphs are often decorated with bulbous marble knobs. One cenotaph, in the 'Uthmāniyya, is made of wood carved with decorative roundels and a funerary inscription dated 804/1402.

The plans of secular buildings conform to customary Syrian practice. The Khān of Tankiz appears to have followed the usual layout for caravanserais in having chambers on two levels round an open courtyard. A similar layout is used at the Wakāla, where a restored Crusader market street incorporated into the building leads to a central courtyard enclosed by two tiers of chambers. The impressive commercial centre known as Sūq al-Qattānīn also incorporates the remains of earlier structures. The main component is a *qaysariyya*, a long, vaulted market-street in which valuable stuffs, notably cotton, were stored and retailed in ranges of booths opening on either side of the street. Above each range of booths is a row of upper-storey rooms let as lodgings (*rubū'*), and reached independently of the market-street. On the south side of the street are two bath-houses, both arranged conventionally though one of them, Ḥammām al-Shifā', is oriented in an irregular way which suggests that it stands on the remains of a much older bath-house. In both, the progression from a changing room through a warm room to a hot room, reminiscent of Roman baths, is typical of Syrian bath-houses of the same period.

From the end of the seventh/thirteenth century, as the available building sites became smaller, two-storey constructions (often with a small mezzanine between the storeys) became increasingly common. The top storey was

usually arranged around the central well of the courtyard, with a gallery giving access to the rooms. At the Haram border important rooms were often built on the roof of the Haram portico, as described in pp. 77-87. In order to take advantage of the splendid views, domed loggias with double windows overlooking the Haram were popular. Some buildings have corbelled balconies which might have served as viewing platforms.

A few madrasas include grand living quarters, doubtless intended for the founder's own use. One, the Tashtamuriyya, has a typical feature of opulent residences, a *qā'a* or reception hall with two *iwāns* opening to east and west from a central court (*durqā'a*). The sole Mamlūk palace in Jerusalem, that of Sitt Tunshuq, also includes a *qā'a* in the residential unit on the first floor. This *qā'a* is above a stable (*iṣṭabl*) roofed by cross vaults carried on a central row of pillars. The pillars are placed so as to support the main load-bearing walls of the *qā'a*, indicating that an architectural plan of the building must have been prepared before construction work began.

## MIHRĀBS

*Mihrābs*, arched niches usually semicircular in plan but occasionally flat, serve to indicate the direction of Mecca towards which Muslims face in prayer (the *qibla*). In Jerusalem the direction is roughly to the south. The provision of *mihrābs* within pious foundations is irregular. Of the twelve surviving madrasas and khānqāhs at the north border of the Haram only one, the Is'ardiyya, has a *mihrāb* while all the madrasas and khānqāhs at the west border had *mihrābs*. Evidently the foundations at the north border, overlooking the Haram and the archetypal *qibla* of the Aqṣā Mosque, required no further indicator of orientation to Mecca, whereas at the west border the prospect of the Haram to the east was insufficient to allow the builders to assume that the *qibla* was adequately defined. The ribāts have no *mihrābs* nor, of course, do secular constructions like bath-houses.

In Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila, with no views of the Haram or of the Aqṣā Mosque, only two of the seven funerary foundations have *mihrābs*. On the north side of the street the Turba of Turkān Khātūn has a *mihrāb*, and the only major foundation on the south side of the street (the Tashtamuriyya) has one. The reason for the absence of *mihrābs* in most buildings on the north side of the street would appear to be that the tomb chambers are invariably placed beside the street with windows opening on it. Since Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila, like almost all the streets leading east to the Haram, runs at right-angles to the west wall of the enclosure and parallel to the south wall, the street itself defines the *qibla*. The windows of the tombs on the north side of the street open towards the *qibla* and for this reason a *mihrāb* would have been deemed unnecessary.

In the centre of the Old City, far from the Haram, one could expect *mihrābs* to be necessary to give *qibla* orientation. While the Turba of Sitt Tunshuq has one, the Lu'lu'iyya Madrasa does not. In the latter, however, remains of an earlier structure on the site seem to have obliged the builders to provide a door where a *mihrāb* would normally be found (see below, p. 427).

## MINARETS

Minarets, from which the muezzins sang the call to prayer five times a day, are the most distinctive features in the silhouette of an Islamic city. In Jerusalem the four minarets at the Haram border are independent foundations serving the Aqṣā Mosque. The minarets added in the ninth/fifteenth century to the Ayyūbid Ṣalāhiyya Khānqāh and the Mosque of al-Afdal 'Alī near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the heart of the Christian quarter, and another beside a synagogue in the Jewish Quarter appear to have been built mainly as symbolic gestures against the non-Muslim population. With one exception they are all square stone towers of Syrian type.<sup>4</sup> The exception is the minaret of Bāb al-Asbāt, at the north border of the Haram,

which is cylindrical. An inscription over the entrance states that this minaret was built in 769/1367-68, but the cylindrical stone shaft could be the result of a later Ottoman reconstruction, for all the Ottoman minarets in Jerusalem have cylindrical shafts. The square shaft of the south-western Haram minaret, considering the weakness of its decoration, may also be an Ottoman reconstruction (see below, p. 272). None of the Mamlūk madrasas has a minaret.<sup>5</sup>

## CONSTRUCTION AND DECORATION

The construction material is stone. The foundations of the buildings, at least in the few places where recent excavations for new sewers have exposed them, are cursorily built of compacted rubble bonded with mortar. Walls consist of a rubble core faced with dressed stone. On façades the stone facing is very finely dressed. Interior surfaces, which were usually plastered, are less carefully finished.

In the lower walls of the Ghawānima Minaret several columns are let into the wall as a bond between the rubble core and the outer face of dressed stone,<sup>6</sup> evidently to increase the resistance of the structure to earthquake damage.

Higher up the shaft of the same minaret is a series of putlog holes which would have held timber scaffolding in place during construction. There are similar holes for scaffolding in the North-west Qanātir. The absence of putlog holes in other buildings indicates that temporary holes were created by the neater method of leaving out a stone here and there until the scaffolding was struck.

The joints between stones are for the most part extremely accurate, leaving exposed only a very thin line of bedding mortar. No scientific examination of the mortars has been done, but our observations suggest that two types were used: (1) an ordinary lime mortar containing a proportion of sand and a certain amount of animal hair and charcoal or burnt straw and (2) white gypsum (plaster of Paris). At the entrance to the Ashrafiyya the stone courses are bedded on sheets of lead in place of mortar. This technique was used in entrance portals in Cairo from the first quarter of the ninth/fifteenth century onwards, evidently for the visual effect of even black lines between the courses (below, p. 595).

## LINTELS AND ARCHES

Openings in walls are spanned either by lintels or arches. Lintels are frequently surmounted by relieving arches or by a joggled keystone between two cantilever stones, undercut to form a thin rectangular groove to lessen (or to appear to lessen) the direct load on the lintel. When, as sometimes occurs, a lintel is composed of a series of interlocking stones it is called a flat arch. True arches are almost invariably pointed, occasionally slightly horseshoe in profile and, less commonly, stilted. Round arches and exotic forms like keel and ogee arches were hardly ever used, though trefoil arches were. One cinquefoil is found in the Palace of Sitt Tunshuq. At the entrance porch of the Ashrafiyya metal tie-bars connect the walls and piers at the arch springings to prevent any tendency of the arches to overturn their supports.

## ABLAQ

From the last quarter of the seventh/thirteenth century onwards the use of striped masonry (*ablaq*) became popular. In this technique, courses of the excellent cream-coloured local limestone alternate with courses of stone of a different colour, commonly red but also black and yellow (see above, p. 41). Stones of alternating colour were also used for decorative effect in the construction of arches and other features. Initially the arch-stones or voussoirs were wedge-shaped in the usual fashion, but increasingly the voussoirs of relieving arches and string courses were interlocked in a fanciful system of indented or fretworked joggles to produce a counterchange effect



(fig. 7). Often the joggling serves no structural purpose, alternate stones being mere inlays in the surface of the structural stonework (plate 11).



**Fig. 7** Detail of joggled string course above lintel of central entrance to Palace of Sitt ʿUnshuq



**Plate 11** East end of Arghūniyya façade: note missing joggled inlay above window lintel

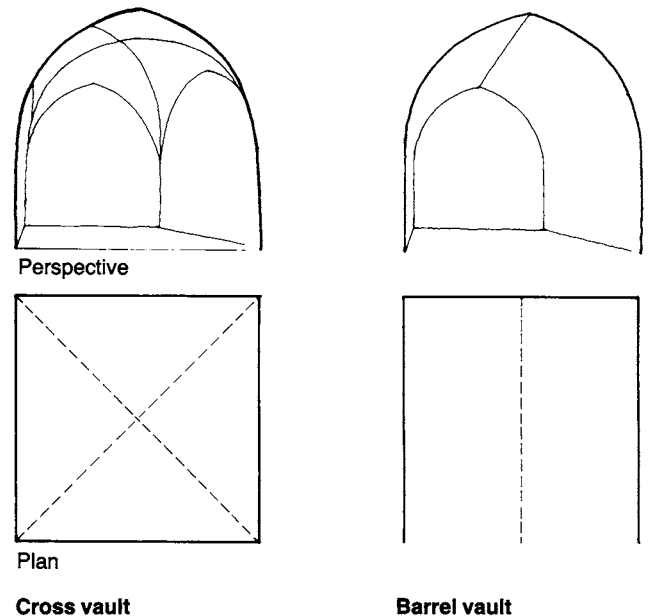
### PAVEMENTS

Floors were usually paved with flagstones, some of which survive in reasonably good condition (at the Dawādāriyya and the Awḥadiyya, for example). The Ḥammām al-ʿAyn had a splendid star-patterned pavement of polychrome marble, traces of which survive (plate 24.30), and the present marble pavement in the Fakhriyya (fig. 22.11) appears to have been assembled from pieces of a Mamlūk pavement. The pavement of the Ashrafiyya (now destroyed) is described in the endowment deed as being of polychrome marble. Other marble floors may once have existed.

### VAULTS

The use of vaulting, the great Syrian art, prevailed in Jerusalem. Stone vaults support upper floors and, except where domes were used, roofs. The only exception was the timber roof of the Ashrafiyya, the last major Mamlūk building in the city, which was built in the Egyptian style by craftsmen from Cairo (see below).

A variety of vaults were used, including barrel (tunnel) vaults and cross (groined) vaults (fig. 8), pointed in section. Barrel vaults usually cover rectangular spaces and cross vaults square ones, though variations occur. For instance, elongated springers at either end of the long walls of a rectangular room reduce the effective length, allowing the central area to be spanned by a cross vault nearly square in plan. Excisions in the haunches of barrel vaults, made in order to prevent the vault from blocking door or window openings in the side walls, were often so deep that, where such excisions were placed opposite each other, the vault appears almost to be a cross vault: the vaulting system of the Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn is a good example (fig. 24.2). The substantial supporting walls were easily capable of countering any lateral thrust that might have been transmitted by the vaults; buttresses were very rare.



Perspective

Plan

Cross vault

Barrel vault

**Fig. 8**

Stairs roofed by a series of horizontal barrel vaults, as are found in the Kilāniyya, ʿAṣṭamuriyya, Jawhariyya and Muzhiriyya, are an indication of the builders' reluctance to construct rising vaults. Yet some stairs, such as those in the Is'ardiyya, are very skilfully roofed with rising ashlar vaults.

A special type of vaulting was also used. This has been called in German *Faltgewölbe* ('folded vault' or more specifically 'folded cross vault').<sup>7</sup> It resembles a conventional cross vault in which the diagonal groins have been excised, producing three arrises or groins that rise from each of the four springings to meet the points of an octagonal opening at the crown of the vault (see, for example, plate 32.6, fig. 9). The octagon at the crown is in places filled with decoration – plasterwork fluting, *muqarnas* corbelling, etc. – or covered by a lantern dome or simply left open as a *compluvium* through which rain passed to a pool in the middle of the floor below. The earliest known example of this type of vault spans the central courtyard of the Tankiziyya Madrasa (729/1328-29). It was immediately copied and can be found in nearly all important Mamlūk buildings in Jerusalem erected after the Tankiziyya. In the ninth/fifteenth century more elaborate forms with multiple facets rising to blind lozenges and crosses as well as octagons were developed, notably in Cairo, and used in the construction of later buildings in Jerusalem such as the Muzhiriyya and the Ashrafiyya.

The origins of the folded cross vault are unclear. Published plans of the Mengujukid Mosque and Hospital at Divriği (626/1228-29 onwards)<sup>8</sup> show that analogous vaults may have been built earlier in Anatolia, but the closest parallels lie in Syrian military architecture of the Ayyūbid period. Early seventh/thirteenth-century fortifications at Baalbek,<sup>9</sup> Damascus,<sup>10</sup> and Jerusalem<sup>11</sup> contain cross vaults in which the upper portions of the groins are excised, apparently to accommodate an octagonal or circular opening at the crown. In this way the lighting and ventilation provided by arrow-slits in the walls of upper rooms in fortified towers were augmented without compromising the defences of the towers. It seems likely that these early vaults in military installations inspired the builders of the more fully developed forms found in Mamlūk religious architecture.

The method of constructing vaults is not recorded. Some system of demountable timber centring, however, must have been employed in most cases. For smaller units the centring might be rudimentary. In 1910 William Harvey noted the construction of a simple stone vault in a village house near Hebron in a manner that probably had not changed for centuries:

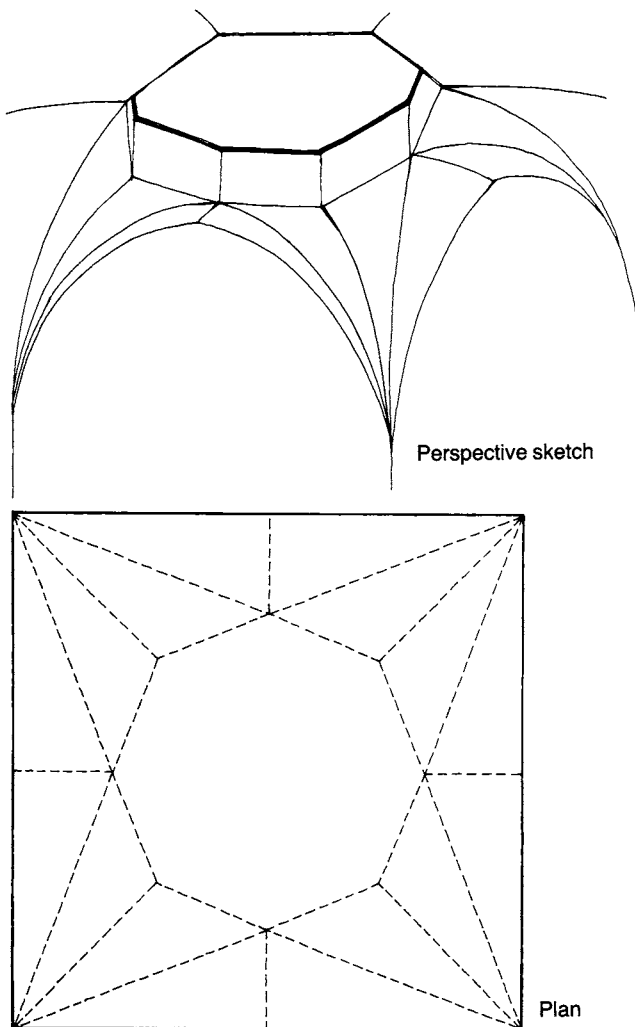


Fig. 9 Folded cross vault

... No contours of arches are drawn, no timber centring is set out, no voussoirs are cut. A mould for the vault is modelled in earth upon a heap of brushwood piled upon rough props from the floor, the modelling being regular enough to satisfy the eye, but without pretence to geometrical accuracy. Upon this simply-made centre rough stones and mortar are placed to the thickness of about 1 ft. the stones being well hammered in by the workmen, who clamber about on the roof itself, without any scaffolding except perhaps a short and crudely constructed ladder, stones easily weighing 2 cwt. being carried by a single labourer. The scene of a house in construction is most interesting, men and boys walking in procession along the wall with baskets of mortar on their heads or heaps of stone piled upon a pad slung over their backs.<sup>12</sup>

## DOMES

Mamlūk domes tend to be plastered on the inside and rendered with more or less waterproof plaster on the outside, making it difficult to determine the material used in their construction. It would appear to be a sort of lime concrete composed of a rubble aggregate in a lime mortar matrix. The domes usually have a slightly pointed horseshoe profile and are carried on eight-sided, twelve-sided, and occasionally circular drums. None of the drums are two-tiered like those in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Damascus,<sup>13</sup> and only one, at the Sabīl of Qāyṭbāy, has an externally stepped transition zone of the characteristic Cairene type.<sup>14</sup> The transition from a square base to an octagonal or dodecagonal drum is usually effected by

pendentives between shallow wall arches, the drums being pierced by pointed-arched windows. Some small domes such as that of the Well of Ibrāhīm al-Rūmī have no zones of transition, being carried on stone beams across the corners of the supporting structures.

Three Mamlūk domes, including the two earliest surviving ones, are built of ashlar masonry. The first, at the Kubakiyya (c.688/1289) maintains Crusader-Ayyūbid traditions with a smooth, slightly bulbous ashlar dome and circular drum set internally on corner-arch squinches. The junction between the drum and the dome is defined externally by a cavetto moulding on a series of corbels, a Crusader practice<sup>15</sup> also found in the Ayyūbid Qubbat al-Naḥwiyya (604/1207-8) at the south-west corner of the Dome of the Rock platform. The Naḥwiyya<sup>16</sup> and the Kubakiyya both incorporate large quantities of Crusader *spolia*, including in all probability these corbelled mouldings.

The next Mamlūk dome, that of the Awḥadiyya (endowed in 697/1298), is also of smooth ashlars. It too rests on a circular drum with a cavetto moulding but without corbels. The interior zone of transition (described below, p. 174) follows Crusader practice and is unique in Islamic architecture.

The last Mamlūk monument, the Sabīl of Qāyṭbāy (887/1482), has the only significant arabesque sculpted ashlar dome outside Cairo.<sup>17</sup> The zone of transition is expressed externally and internally in contemporary Cairene style: externally by two tiers of pyramidal buttresses and internally by pendentives covered with low-relief carving.

The domed caps on minarets are also built of ashlars, though they were mostly rebuilt during the 1920s. The Ghawānima Minaret (c.697/1298) retains its original dome, however. Unusually, the internal transition from octagonal base to circular drum and dome is achieved by means of eight intersecting arches (*plate* 10.5). Intersecting arches reinforcing domes are a feature of Islamic architecture in Spain and North Africa from the fourth/tenth century onwards and of Christian architecture in Armenia. The only other example in Jerusalem, however, is the lantern dome of the Armenian cathedral of St. James, evidently built in the twelfth century.<sup>18</sup> Possibly, an Armenian specialist was responsible for the dome of the Ghawānima Minaret but it is perhaps more likely that the builder was from Spain or North Africa. Refugee craftsmen from these areas came to Egypt<sup>19</sup> and Syria<sup>20</sup> in the seventh/thirteenth century and one or more is believed to have rebuilt the minaret of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn in Cairo in 696/1296-97.<sup>21</sup>

The first two eighth/fourteenth-century domes in Jerusalem are at the Jāliqiyya (707/1307) and at the inner porch of the Ḥaram gate, Bāb al-Nāzir (707/1307-8). Their zones of transition are made up of tiers of corbelled niches – a technique used exclusively in Islamic architecture – known in Arabic as *muqarnas* and referred to in English somewhat imprecisely as ‘stalactites’. These early eighth/fourteenth-century *muqarnas* zones of transition carrying domes are the only ones surviving in Jerusalem except for the late ninth/fifteenth-century Sabīl of Qāyṭbāy. However, in a latrine in the Awḥadiyya there remains the first course of stone *muqarnas* springing for a small dome (below, p. 174) and a dome over the porch inside the Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn (737/1336-37), now replaced with a cross vault, appears once to have been carried on a *muqarnas* zone of transition (below, p. 278). These *muqarnas*-supported domes are shallow, without drums, and were intended to be viewed from below. The ones at Bāb al-Nāzir and Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn would have been seen by those entering and leaving the Ḥaram, and the one at the Jāliqiyya, with high-level windows illuminating the *muqarnas* transition zone, would have been clearly visible through the street windows of the tomb chamber.

It is particularly difficult to trace the origins of *muqarnas*-supported domes owing to the paucity of published photographs. Certainly the method for building stone *muqarnas* did not come to Jerusalem from Egypt where the earliest examples of this technique are dated about forty years

later.<sup>22</sup> The closest parallel to the Jāliqiyya *muqarnas* is the dome in front of the *mībrāb* of the Kāmiliyya Madrasa (627-34/1229-37) at Aleppo.

The domes in the two surviving Mamlūk bath-houses, Hammām al-'Ayn and Hammām al-Shifā', are typical drumless *ḥammām* domes meant to be viewed from inside. As usual in bath-houses, the domes are perforated with terracotta pipes sealed with glass disks to focus the sunlight into narrow shafts piercing the steamy atmosphere. The zones of transition of the domes of the two ḥammāms differ. The Hammām al-Shifā' has smooth plastered pendentives, while the Hammām al-'Ayn has an assortment of squinches more typical of Ayyūbid and Mamlūk bath-houses.<sup>23</sup> The material used for the domes in the Hammām al-Shifā' cannot be determined without removing the surface plaster. Recent repairs have revealed that all the domes of the Hammām al-'Ayn are of brick.<sup>24</sup> The use of brick for the bath-house domes remains to be explained: it could have been for better insulation but, perhaps more likely, it was to facilitate construction around the terracotta pipes.

Apart from bath-houses and gateways most domes mark tombs. There is another category, however, in which the dome enhances a loggia overlooking the Ḥaram (see above, p. 82).

Several tombs, including those in the Sa'diyya, the Arghūniyya and the Baladiyya, now have cross-vaulted ceilings but the square plans of the tomb chambers suggest that they were originally domed.

With two exceptions (discussed below) the remaining domes are supported on 'folded' pendentives of a special North Syrian type. Creswell calls them 'double-glacis pendentives',<sup>25</sup> Herzfeld, 'fan-shaped trihedral consoles' and 'pendentives . . . shaped from two sides of a dodecagonal pyramid',<sup>26</sup> Lauffray, 'glacis d'angle triangulaires et brisés suivant les diagonales du carré à couvrir',<sup>27</sup> and Sauvaget, 'glacis brisés suivant la diagonale du quadrilatère à couvrir'.<sup>28</sup> These pendentives rise to produce either an eight-sided or a twelve-sided base for the drum, the earlier ones (Turba of Turkān Khātūn, Kilāniyya and Khātūniyya) being octagonal, the later ones (Manjakiyya, Tashtamuriyya, Turba of Sitt Ṭunshuq and Bāsitiyya) dodecagonal. All are double-faceted and plastered, apart from those supporting a twelve-sided cornice directly under a saucer dome at the west entrance vestibule of the Palace of Sitt Ṭunshuq, which are triple-faceted and built in ashlar masonry. Those in the Kilāniyya are not faceted at all.

Two domes, one eighth/fourteenth century and the other ninth/fifteenth, are carried on squinches with no intervening drums. The first, the western dome of the Is'ardiyya (see *plate* 33.14) has a composite zone of transition consisting of *muqarnas* pendentives supporting stepped squinches with corresponding flat niches between them and eight small folded pendentives in the spandrels to complete the transition to the circular base of the dome: an unusual combination of uncertain provenance. A comparable squinch-pendentive exists in Tripoli at the Saqraqiyya Turba (760/1359)<sup>29</sup> and a recent study of domes in Cairo concludes that this type is a Syrian form.<sup>30</sup> The second, the dome over the tomb chamber attached to the 'Uthmāniyya (840/1437) rests on four squinches, semicircular in plan, with corresponding shallow niches on the normal axes, of which the north and south ones opened as windows. The octagon thus formed is adjusted to the circular base of the dome by means of eight folded-pendentive elements occupying the spandrels between the squinches and the arched niches in a fashion reminiscent of the *mībrāb* dome of the Mashhād al-Ḥusayn (579/1183 or 599/1203) at Aleppo.<sup>31</sup> The style of these two domes is Syrian. Though squinches were the usual form for dome transitions in Damascus, there they were surmounted by a sixteen-sided drum and a brick dome.<sup>32</sup> The small folded-pendentive elements in the Is'ardiyya and 'Uthmāniyya domes point rather to a North Syrian influence.

## PORTALS

The tall entrance portals of the Mamlūk buildings are a striking and most impressive sight in the narrow streets of the Old City.

The entrance doorways are set in an arched or vaulted recess, usually with stone benches on either side. These portals might exceed the height of the adjoining walls, in which case they were crowned with a rectangular pediment known as a *pīsh-tāq*, the Persian word for this feature. Generally the entrance door opened into a vestibule from which another door opened on the central courtyard in such a way as to prevent a clear view of the courtyard from the street even when the doors were open. Only at the Dawādāriyya does the main entrance door open directly on the courtyard.

Seventeen of the portals have pointed arches, some virtually undecorated (Ribāt of Kurt al-Manṣūrī), others quite elaborately decorated (Palace and Turba of Sitt Ṭunshuq). Four are roofed by a cloister vault – a distinctive type of vaulting, similar in elevation to a pointed arch, in which the back wall of the recess curves out to meet the keystone (see *plate* 9.3). Two of these vaults (at the Awḥadiyya and the Arghūniyya) are well built in dressed stone; the other two (at the Amīniyya and the Fārisiyya) are roughly cut into the outer (north) face of the north wall of the Ḥaram.

Twenty-one foundations have specially impressive entrance portals. The general rule is that the more modest the foundation, the plainer the doorway, though some large foundations like the Ṭāziyya have very plain doorways while some relatively unpretentious ones like the Bistāmiyya, Lu'lu'iyya and Qiramiyya zāwiyas have surprisingly elaborate portals (see above, p. 85). In the earliest ones Crusader-Ayyūbid custom prevailed. The entrance to the Turba of Barka Khān (between 663/1265 and 679/1280) is in typical Crusader Romanesque style, and that of the Kubakiyya (c.688/1289) has a distinctly Crusader appearance (see *plates* 2.1 and 6.4). Both incorporate quantities of Crusader *spolia*. The outer arch of the Barka Khān doorway is decorated in a style known as gadrooning, in which the face of the voussoirs is carved with a series of rolls like book-spines, while the inner arch is composed of voussoirs carved with a zig-zag or chevron pattern (*plate* 2.1). Both these techniques of arch decoration remained in occasional use well into the Ottoman period (for gadrooning, see below p. 112; for chevron arches at the Is'ardiyya and the Jawhariyya, see below, pp. 378 and 562).

The Ribāt of 'Alā' al-Dīn (666/1267-68) and the Ribāt al-Manṣūrī (681/1282-83) have cross-vaulted porches of a type introduced in Jerusalem by the Ayyūbids (see below, p. 133). A further feature introduced by the Ayyūbids is the trefoil arch, examples of which are found at the Kubakiyya, the Ribāt al-Nisā' (endowed in 730/1330) and the Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn (737/1336-37). The central doorway of the Palace of Sitt Ṭunshuq (c.790/1388) has a cinquefoil arch with five lobes instead of three (*plate* 48.3).

Undoubtedly the most accomplished doorways are those with *muqarnas* vaulting over the recess. The earliest and one of the most remarkable is at the Dawādāriyya (695/1295) which is of a particular type developed earlier in Damascus (see below, p. 157 and *fig.* 8.10). In a series of fine eighth/fourteenth-century portals (at the Sa'diyya, Tankiziyya, Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn, Kilāniyya, Manjakiyya, Tashtamuriyya and Palace of Sitt Ṭunshuq) the recesses are covered by semidomes carried on three, four or five tiers of *muqarnas* corbelling. The semidomes of the Sa'diyya, Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn and Manjakiyya are of smooth ashlar masonry. At the Tankiziyya, the semidome is decorated with chevron fluting (see *plate* 18.7), and at the Kilāniyya (*plate* 29.8) and the Tashtamuriyya (*plate* 45.4), with fluting radiating down from the apex. At the Palace of Sitt Ṭunshuq the semidome is inlaid with four drop-shaped panels of black stone (*plate* 48.1). All these doorways appear to follow the architectural tradition of Damascus, as does that of the Ālmalikiyya, which has an extremely shallow recess spanned by three tiers of *muqarnas* (*plate* 26.5).

The *muqarnas* portal of the Sallāmiyya (*plate* 25) is of a type unique in Jerusalem but found in four buildings erected between 730/1330 and 738/1338 in Cairo. The architect responsible may have come from Damascus but apparently he worked mainly in Cairo; some implications of the similarity



between the Sallāmiyya portal and the ones in Cairo are discussed below (p. 99).

In the ninth/fifteenth century the majority of entrance doorways were set in pointed-arched recesses. Towards the end of the century, however, the contemporary style of Cairo prevailed, and the last three monumental portals – at the Ribāt al-Zamanī, the Muzhiriyya and the Ashrafiyya – have trefoil-headed recesses enclosing a shallow semidome on *muqarnas* corbelling. Those of the Ribāt al-Zamanī and the Muzhiriyya (plates 61.2 and 62.1) are exceptionally tall. The surface of the semidome and *muqarnas* corbelling is covered with leafy arabesque scrolls carved in low relief. The portal of the Ashrafiyya, which is sheltered by an elaborately vaulted porch, is similar in style though not as tall as the other two (plate 63.5).

## DOORS

The original doors of only five buildings survive. They are all double-leaved, each door leaf turning on short metal-faced spindles which are located in cylindrical sockets lined with iron or bronze behind the threshold and the lintel (plate 12).



Plate 12 Hinge pivot in socket in lintel of entrance to Tashtamuriyya

The doors are of wood<sup>33</sup> bound with metal in one of two ways: in the first, represented by the doors of the Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn and the Ashrafiyya (now in the Islamic Museum), the exposed face of the door is bound by brass bands held in place by large brass nails and beautifully engraved with inscriptions (plate 13). In the second, represented by the doors of the Sallāmiyya (plate 25.4) and the Kilāniyya (plate 29.9), the outer face of the door is plated with horizontal strips of iron fixed to the woodwork by iron nails arranged in a geometrical pattern. The inner face of the doors was not normally visible because the door leaves, when open, fit neatly into recesses in the stonework inside the doorway, leaving only the outer faces exposed. Thus the irregular ends of the metal strips, which were simply bent round onto the inner face and roughly nailed in place, would not be seen. At the Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn and the Sallāmiyya (plate 25.5) these faces of the doors are decorated with a geometrical revetment of timber panels.

Several metal knockers or door-pulls remain in place. Those at the Sallāmiyya (plate 25.4) are iron. The handsome knockers of the Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn (plate 13), though now much disfigured by paint, appear to be of engraved bronze.

Hinge sockets for many internal doors survive but most of the doors are lost. The only original ones that have been recorded are those leading to the tomb chambers in the Kilāniyya, the Arghūniyya and the Tashtamuriyya, which are double-leaved and bound by three or four metal bands. The one in the Tashtamuriyya has a fine metal knocker (plate 45.10). Other doors leading to less important rooms were presumably single leaves of undecorated wood.

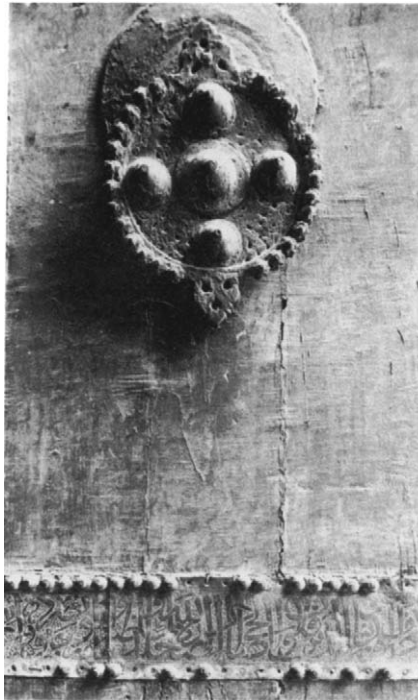


Plate 13 Door knocker and inscription, Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn

## WINDOWS

In pious foundations, as in domestic architecture, privacy and security were valued, and since most rooms could be lit adequately by windows opening on an internal courtyard, windows on the street at ground floor level were required only rarely to provide light and ventilation. Windows for these purposes were usually small and placed high to prevent people from seeing in. However, ground floor windows in street frontages were also used for other purposes. Tomb chambers, for example, had windows through which passers-by could look in and, perhaps, listen to Koran recitations. Other examples include windows overlooking the Ḥaram, windows of assembly halls (through which prayers could also have been heard in the street) and windows which match tomb windows in order to maintain the symmetry of a façade (as at the Arghūniyya).

These windows are rectangular, filled with iron grilles with bronze trims to cover the junctions where the ends of the iron bars meet the surrounding stonework (plate 14). The

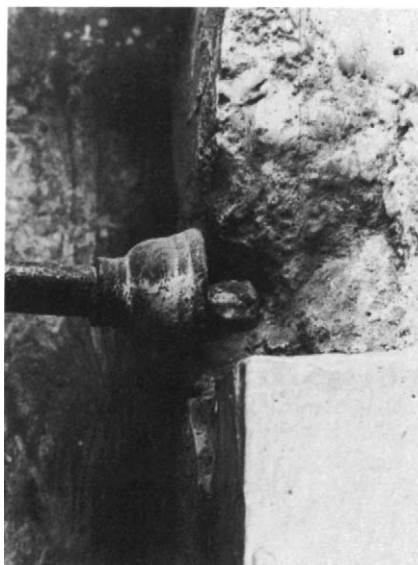


Plate 14 Detail of bronze trim covering the end of an iron window-bar where it meets the stonework

horizontal bars have a series of bulbous sockets through which the vertical bars pass, the grilles being fitted in place as construction proceeded. The horizontal bars were inserted into holes in the jambs of the opening, which were made deep enough to allow the alignment of the bars to be adjusted as necessary to enable the vertical bars to be slid down from the top into holes in the sill before the lintel was laid, thus locking the grille in place. Such windows were usually fitted with a pair of wooden shutters bound by metal bands. Original shutters of this type survive at the Kilāniyya and the Ṭashtamuriyya (*plate 15*). At the Ashrafiyya some grilles are of turned wood held in a wooden frame which was inserted directly into the window opening. Only very small or high windows were not grilled.

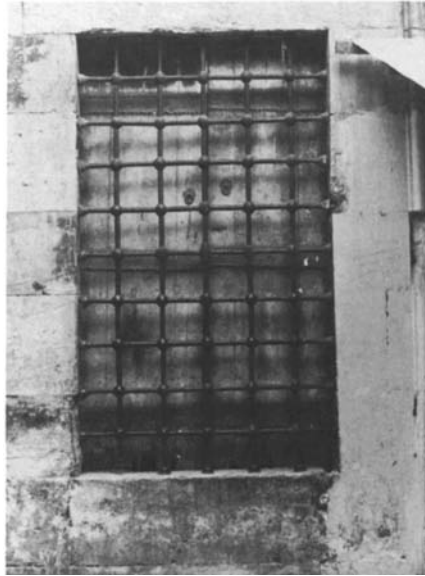


Plate 15 Tomb chamber window in Ṭashtamuriyya, showing window shutters behind the grille



Plate 16 Windows (probably Mamlūk) above a shop in Ḥārat al-Yahūd

Windows were often arranged in groups. A common group consists of a large central opening flanked by smaller ones (see *plate 16*). A group comprising small, paired round-headed windows surmounted by a circular opening was adopted briefly in the fourth decade of the ninth/fifteenth century (Sallāmiyya, Bāsiyya, Ḥasaniyya). Circular windows with chamfers round the openings were popular in the second

half of the eighth/fourteenth century (Kilāniyya, Lu'lu'iyya, Palace of Sitt Ṭunshuq, Ṭashtamuriyya, Turba of Barka Khān).

High-level windows were occasionally fitted with screens of gypsum pierced with a number of decoratively-shaped openings containing pieces of coloured glass. This type of window, called a *qamariyya*, is still being made with considerable skill and artistry in Jerusalem to replace damaged ones in the Aqṣā Mosque and the Dome of the Rock (*plates 17-19*). The openings are bevelled so that they are wider inside



Plate 17 *Qamariyya* mould prepared to receive plaster



Plate 18 Pouring the plaster



Plate 19 Some finished windows in the workshop, around the *qamariyya* mould, left to set on the floor

than outside and angled downwards so that the intricate decorative pattern appears symmetrical from inside the building. Examples in Mamlūk buildings include two in the Khātūniyya and one in the Arghūniyya (below, pp. 348|361) but they may not belong to the original construction. There were

several *qamariyyas* in the Ashrafiyya and though none survives we know from the endowment deed that they contained

'Frankish' glass,<sup>34</sup> including circular shields in green glass bearing religious invocations.<sup>35</sup>

**MOULDINGS** (fig. 10)

In the strong sunlight of the Eastern Mediterranean the effect produced by the architecture of the Mamlūks depends to some extent on the use of mouldings. The earlier buildings maintain the Crusader-Ayyūbid practice of using mouldings to define cornices and to accentuate structural conjunctions, notably imposts at the springing of arches. From about the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century, mouldings are used to frame and emphasize main features of the façade. The documentation of mouldings is too limited as yet to allow full comparisons to be made or even to establish a standard typology.

**IMPOSTS**

The Mamlūks had no primary source of marble and so had to re-use older, worked material. No systematic analysis of Crusader mouldings has been made and it is therefore difficult to identify Crusader profiles, but it seems unlikely that the Mamlūk builders would waste time and effort in re-cutting salvaged marble mouldings to new profiles. This would explain the variation in impost moulding profiles at, for instance, the otherwise matching windows in the façades of the Ribāt al-Manṣūrī and of the Awhadiyya and at the entrance portal of the Lu'lu'iyya Madrasa. Marble abaci over re-used Crusader capitals are also in secondary use, not necessarily matched to the capitals. Limestone (as distinct from marble) impost mouldings appear also in secondary use, at the entrance to the Kubakiyya, for example. Unless the context provides a clue, however, it is difficult to distinguish between re-used Crusader mouldings and 'archaizing' Mamlūk mouldings.

**CORNICES**

Most cornice mouldings on façades appear to be in original use, not to have been re-used; several rise to form a *pīsh-tāq* over entrance portals (Dawādāriyya, Awhadiyya, Kilāniyya, Arghūniyya, 'Uthmāniyya, Ribāt al-Zamanī, Muzhiriyya).

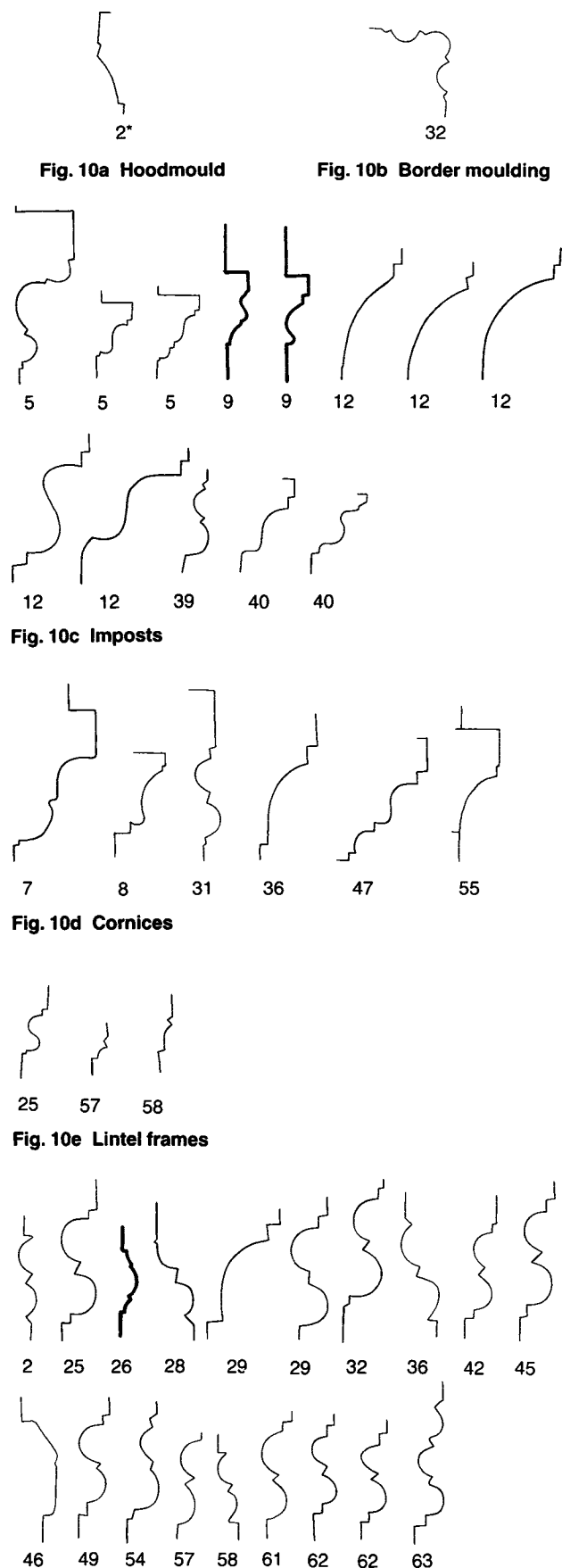
There is a general tendency for profiles to become simpler: they vary from composite cymas in the early buildings to pendulous cymas and cavettos and finally to simple splay-faced mouldings in later buildings. Other cornice mouldings include one composed of square billets which became popular in the second quarter of the ninth/fifteenth century (Bāsiyya (endowed in 834/1431), Well of Ibrāhīm al-Rūmī (839/1435-36), 'Uthmāniyya (840/1437), Jawhariyya (844/1440)). Another is a diaperwork moulding, which was used for a short period in the ninth/fifteenth century and appears as a cornice over the eastern part of the façade of the Ghādiriyya (836/1432) and later as a frame moulding for the arches and roundels of a loggia window in the 'Uthmāniyya and for an upper window in the street façade of the Jawhariyya.

Friezes decorated with repeating shallow *muqarnas* elements (see fig. 32.11) used as cornices or as decorative borders are relatively common from the end of the seventh/thirteenth century onwards. Pendent *muqarnas* or 'stalactite' friezes adorn the cornices on the north face of the North-east Qanātir (726/1326) and on the Haram façade of the Ālmalikiyya (741/1340); and at the inner porch of Bāb al-Nāzir (707/1307-8) two stalactites at either end of a cavetto cornice articulate its conjunction with the flanking piers.

**HOODMOULDS**

Doorways and windows decorated with Crusaderesque gadroon or chevron arches often have hoodmoulds in the Crusader manner (Turba of Barka Khān, North-east Qanātir, Jawhariyya and South-west Qanātir). This suggests that the masons responsible for the work were copying Crusader models. The only portal with a hoodmould but without decorated voussoirs is that of the Lu'lu'iyya Madrasa, whose façade has other Crusader features. There are portals with gadrooned arches and no hoodmoulds (Ghawānima Minaret,

**Fig. 10 Mouldings**



**Fig. 10f Frames**

\* Numbers refer to catalogue number of buildings in Part II.



domelet windows of Tankiziyya and 'Uthmāniyya, Lu'lu'iyya Zāwiya, *kuttāb* of Tashtamuriyya, assembly hall of Ḥasaniyya and well-head of Muzhiriyya), and the entrance to the Bāsiṭiyya has a hoodmould though here the portal arch is composed of voussoirs carved with *muqarnas*. In four buildings – over the well-heads in the Sallāmiyya and the Is'ardiyya, at the entrance to the Bāb al-Asbāt Minaret and at the entrance porch and several doorways in the Ashrafiyya – the voussoirs are set back from the surrounding masonry and separated from that masonry by a sort of recessed hoodmould: an aesthetic rather than practical device since these mouldings do nothing to discharge rainwater.

#### FRAME MOULDINGS

The use of mouldings to frame architectural features can be traced back to the Byzantine period in Syria.<sup>36</sup> One of the most distinctive forms terminates in large volutes at the bottom (see *plate* 45.9). Originally a feature of sixth-century churches in the mountains of North Syria, this type of frame moulding continued in use during the Umayyad,<sup>37</sup> Crusader,<sup>38</sup> Ayyūbid,<sup>39</sup> Mamlūk and Ottoman periods. In the Mamlūk architecture of Jerusalem it is found at the entrances to the tomb chambers in the Khātūniyya and the Tashtamuriyya, at several doorways in the Ashrafiyya, and in a debased form at the entrance portals of the Qiramiyya and the Bāsiṭiyya.<sup>40</sup> Another moulding that derives from Byzantine Syria is the bold projecting frame around the two surviving windows at the southern end of the Ḥaram façade of the Tankiziyya.

The quirked ogee moulding that was to become a regular feature of Mamlūk architecture first appears in Jerusalem as a frame around the *ablaq* masonry of the entrance portal of the Sallāmiyya (*fig.* 11). Quirked ogee frame mouldings were used



Fig. 11 Quirked ogee moulding

in Cairo as early as 709/1309-10 at the entrance of the Khānqāh of Baybars al-Jashankīr and continued thereafter in more or less continuous use. From the second half of the eighth/ fourteenth century, frame mouldings of this type are used in the grander Mamlūk foundations in Jerusalem around portals, windows, portals and windows together, and complete façades. In most cases they serve to separate *ablaq* masonry from plain limestone construction. However, the façade of the Kilāniyya is built entirely of plain limestone ashlar and has quirked ogee mouldings framing the double windows of its domed chambers, while the central part of the *qibla* wall of the Arghūniyya is built of *ablaq* and, most unusually, has a quirked ogee carved directly across the *ablaq* masonry to frame the *mibrāb*.

Another type of moulding, designated here 'double quirked ogee', is similar to the quirked ogee but symmetrically composed of three parts instead of two: a central quirked torus

flanked by two shallow scotias. Double quirked ogee makes its first appearance in Jerusalem above the entrance door to the assembly hall of the Dawādāriyya (695/1295). It is repeated on the Ḥaram façade of the Ālmalikiyya (741/1340) where it surrounds the relieving arches of the lateral windows and the lintel of the central window above which it turns in a tight loop before encircling the *ablaq* radial voussoirs of the oculus. The same sort of moulding frames the oculus in the entrance portal of the earlier Ālmalikiyya Madrasa (719/1319) in Cairo.<sup>41</sup> It was later used to frame the arches and roundels of the loggia windows at the Is'ardiyya and the Manjakiyya and the arch of the west portal and the oculus in the façade of the Palace of Sitt Ṭunshuq, after which it does not appear.

#### CRESTING

Only two buildings have ornamentally crenellated parapets or cresting. The Kilāniyya (c.753/1352) has remains of stepped undercut crenellations around the central courtyard, and at the Turba of Sitt Ṭunshuq (before 800/1398) a foliated cresting of the type first used at the funerary complex of Salār and Sanjar al-Jāwīlī (703/1303-4)<sup>42</sup> in Cairo decorates the south and east façades of the tomb. Similar forms of cresting were customary in Mamlūk Cairo. In Damascus, where crenellations were rarely used after the Ayyūbid period, only two Mamlūk buildings, the Jaqmaqiyya (824/1421) and the Dār al-Qur'ān al-Sabūniyya (868/1463-64), have cresting, in these cases trefoil.<sup>43</sup> In Aleppo and elsewhere in Syria cresting seems not to have been employed.

#### STONE CARVING

Islam does not encourage pictorial representations. The only instance of figural sculpture in Mamlūk architecture in Jerusalem is on three re-used Crusader capitals in the muezzin's gallery of the Ghawānima Minaret (where they would have been seen only by the muezzin). Apart from curious stylized bird motifs at the Awḥadiyya and the Palace of Sitt Ṭunshuq (see below, pp. 172 and 487) decorative carving is limited to arabesque scrolls and geometric strapwork in low relief, and inscriptions.

#### INSCRIPTIONS AND BLAZONS

Many façades are enlivened by inscriptions which often include a Koranic passage as well as details of the nature of the foundation, the name of its founder and the date. They were generally carved on recessed panels above door or window lintels. Occasionally inscriptions are punctuated by, or flanked by, heraldic blazons<sup>44</sup> that were the personal badge or emblem of the founding amīr (Jāliqiyya, Jāwiliyya, Tankiziyya, Khān of Tankiz, Ālmalikiyya, Arghūniyya, Ṣubaybiyya, Ashrafiyya). Two early buildings, the Turba of Barka Khān and the Awḥadiyya, bear extraordinary devices which may have had some heraldic significance (see below, pp. 113, 170).

#### PLASTER AND STUCCO

Internal walls and vaults, if not built of ashlar masonry or panelled with marble, were rendered with gypsum plaster. Where traces of original plaster survive, they suggest that interlacing mouldings were used to outline the main surfaces (Kilāniyya, Is'ardiyya, Tashtamuriyya). Pre-restoration photographs show that the plaster on the upper walls of the Khātūniyya tomb chamber was covered with moulded or carved decoration (see *plate* 31.8). Specialist plasterers were obviously employed. In addition to the Khātūniyya, elaborate plasterwork is found in several arched recesses in the Tashtamuriyya (*plates* 45.11 and 45.14) and in the conch of the *mibrāb* in the Turba of Sitt Ṭunshuq (see below, p. 507). At the Ālmalikiyya the soffits of two windows are fitted with an interesting *muqarnas* lining of moulded plaster (*plate* 26.6) curiously reminiscent of *muqarnas* plasterwork in the Great Mosque at Tinmal (548/1153-54) in Morocco.<sup>45</sup> The origins of Mamlūk plasterwork decoration seem to be particularly varied.

For instance, the stucco in the Takrītiyya Turba (c.698/1299) in Damascus appears to have been done by a craftsman from Spain,<sup>46</sup> and that in the Khānqāh of Qawṣūn (736/1335) in Cairo may have been done by a craftsman from Yazd in Īl-Khānid Iran.<sup>47</sup>

### MARBLE

No marble was quarried by the Mamlūks. Instead they appropriated marble from Crusader and Byzantine buildings. There was never a plentiful supply and marble remained a prized building material. Complete columns were especially in demand. At the end of the seventh/thirteenth century no fewer than thirty-one were re-used in the Ghawānima Minaret, and the builders of the Awhādiyya were able to make use of six matching columns. Such quantities were exceptional, however. Few other buildings have more than two or three, usually placed on either side of a *mīhrāb* or to support an arch.

Columns were also sliced up to provide slabs for *opus sectile* paving or wall panelling; the *mīhrāb* in the Ashrafiyya was, according to the *waqfiyya*, lined with black and white marble, porphyry and mottled granite. The marble panelling in the Turba of Sitt Tunshuq was bedded on plaster and retained to the wall by copper ties located by marble plugs in the masonry. Even chips and off-cuts of marble were collected and used to make tessellated inlays in window sills (Tankiziyya, Ālmalikiyya, Taṣhtamuriyya) or mosaic revetments.

### MOSAIC

Mosaics of coloured and gilded glass, coloured paste, turquoise faïence, mother-of-pearl, coloured stone and marble decorate important features in several buildings. The conch of the *mīhrāb* in the Tankiziyya (plate 20) is lined with glass mosaics



Plate 20 Conch of *mīhrāb* in the Tankiziyya

done by specialists from Damascus (see below, p. 236). Carved stone panels above two entrances to the Palace of Sitt Tunshuq are inlaid with turquoise faïence, glass and coloured paste as well as coloured stone. The volute finials to the moulding around the entrance to the tomb chamber in the Taṣhtamuriyya are inlaid with chips of coloured stone and turquoise faïence, and the conch of the *mīhrāb* in the Ḥasaniyya (plate 21) is lined with tesserae of turquoise faïence, mother-of-pearl and red and black stone. Faïence is relatively rare in Mamlūk architecture: Creswell lists ten examples in Cairo,<sup>48</sup> dating from 709/1309-10 to 910/1504, and there are at least five in Damascus<sup>49</sup> dating from 717/1317-18 to 785/1383-84. Mother-of-pearl is also rare. It may have been worked in Bethlehem where mother-of-pearl



Plate 21 Conch of *mīhrāb* in the Ḥasaniyya

had been used in twelfth-century mosaics in the Church of the Nativity and where since at least the tenth/sixteenth century the manufacture and sale of carved mother-of-pearl souvenirs had become the means of livelihood of a substantial section of the population.<sup>50</sup>

### ARCHITECTS, OVERSEERS AND CRAFTSMEN

A wide range of Arabic terms was used to designate those responsible for supervising and executing building works, but none seems to correspond to the role of architect as it is understood today.<sup>51</sup> Some, like *bannā'* (builder), *mu'allim* (master) and *muhandīs* (engineer), indicate an active, practical involvement in the design and construction of buildings. More general references to supervision may indicate anything from financial support to administrative oversight. A certain Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Sayfī, for example, was charged with the 'supervision and completion' (*tawallī sbaddabā wa takmilabā*) of the Arghūniyya, and the 'Uthmāniyya was completed 'through the efforts of' (*bi-bimma*) a merchant from Anatolia (see below, pp. 356 and 544). The Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams is frequently introduced in inscriptions commemorating royal or state building works by the formula *bi-naẓar*, 'under the superintendence of . . .'. The post of Superintendent changed hands frequently among amīrs who often were also governors of Jerusalem and so it is reasonable to assume that their supervisory duties were largely ministerial. It appears that on occasion, however, the Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams did play a more active role. 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Baṣīr who, though blind, occupied the post for many years during the reigns of Baybars and Qalāwūn (see below, p. 117) is reputed to have set out the lines of the foundations of a bath-house at Hebron by marking them with lime for the builders to follow.

An insight into contemporary architectural practice is provided by Mujīr al-Dīn's description of the rebuilding of the Ashrafiyya Madrasa. The original Ashrafiyya, built initially for Sultan Khushqadam, was inherited by Qāyṭbāy when he succeeded to the sultanate. When Qāyṭbāy visited Jerusalem in 880/1474, he found that the madrasa fell short of his expectations: 'when he saw it he did not like it' for, as Mujīr al-Dīn relates, 'it was built after the fashion of Jerusalem madrasas, which are not up to much'. Qāyṭbāy resolved to have the madrasa demolished and rebuilt on a grander scale, but years passed before work began. In 884/1479-80, he despatched an officer (*kbaṣṣakī*) from his court to see to the demolition and rebuilding. The digging of the new foundations began on 14 Sha'bān 885/19 October 1480. After this the work seems to have progressed slowly and the *qāḍī* of the madrasa went to Cairo to spur the sultan's interest in the building and in expediting its completion. In 886/March 1481-February 1482, the sultan sent

from Cairo a team of stone-cutters (*ḥajjārīn*) and builders (the terms *mi'mariyya* and *mubandisīn* are used but the distinction is unclear – perhaps some were surveyors and the others builders). This team was led by a Christian 'from among the builders (*mubandisīn*) of Cairo, who was equipped with special skill in building construction (*bandasa*)'. He condemned what had already been done (presumably by local builders), and had part demolished and replaced by his own design. The new building was completed in Rajab I 887/August-September 1482.<sup>52</sup>

This description shows that a large building like the Ashrafiyya could be completed in an impressively short time, for although in this case years elapsed before the old building was demolished and the new one begun, once the skilled builders from Cairo arrived the work was completed in not more than eighteen months. Such speed was not unusual: the Tankiziyya, which Mujīr al-Dīn describes as the best built madrasa in Jerusalem, was begun in 728/1327-28 and completed in the following year.<sup>53</sup>

The description of the original Ashrafiyya as having been built after the fashion of Jerusalem madrasas, and the despatch of a building team from Cairo to take over the rebuilding work, suggest that local building teams were employed both on the construction and initial reconstruction of this building. Local builders were probably responsible for several Mamlūk buildings in Jerusalem but evidence in corroboration of Mujīr al-Dīn's text is circumstantial. The preponderance of the pointed-arched entrance portals in the first half of the ninth/fifteenth century, for example, may be the work of local builders; and, more particularly, the production of diaperwork and billet mouldings during the eight-year period from 836/1432 to 844/1440 (see above) suggests that these mouldings were a speciality of a local workshop which flourished briefly at that time.

Travelling workshops certainly existed, as Mujīr al-Dīn's description of the arrival of a team from Cairo confirms. Additional evidence of travelling workshops is to be found in several buildings described in Part II. The *muqarnaṣ* portals built between 695/1295 and c. 790/1388, for instance, required specialist skills that were not normally available in Jerusalem. The portals of the Dawādāriyya and the Tankiziyya and at the east entrance to the Palace of Sitt Ṭunshuq, with the curvilinear *muqarnaṣ* (fig. 12) customary in Syria, each follow the design of earlier portals in Damascus, from where the masons responsible may have come. The late ninth/fifteenth-century portals of the Muzhiriyya and the Ribāṭ al-Zamanī, on the other hand, exhibit the distinctive angular *muqarnaṣ* (fig. 13) of

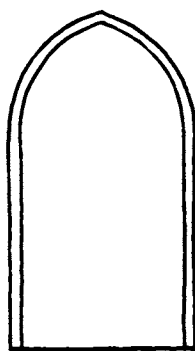


Fig. 12 Curvilinear 'Syrian' *muqarnaṣ*

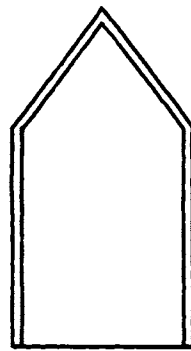


Fig. 13 Angular 'Egyptian' *muqarnaṣ*

Cairene practice and may, like that of the Ashrafiyya, be the work of craftsmen from Egypt. Some decorative finishes, such as the marble panelling and the glass mosaics in the Tankiziyya Madrasa (see below, p. 235) and the carved stucco conch in the Turba of Sitt Ṭunshuq (below, p. 508) are the work of outside specialists.

Architects and craftsmen are not as a rule named in the historical literature. However, 'signatures' of artisans are

sometimes found inscribed on their work, usually in an inconspicuous place. A very fine iron grille in the tomb chamber in the Is'ardiyya is signed by the craftsman Muḥammad b. al-Zayn. There are two further signatures on buildings in Jerusalem.<sup>54</sup> Both begin with the word *'amal*, 'work of', before the name of the craftsman. The first, on the portal of the Dawādāriyya, is of the master (*al-mu'allim*) 'Alī b. Salāma *al-mubandis*, who was presumably responsible for the design and construction of the portal, if not of the whole building. The second, on a *muqarnaṣ* cupola in the Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn, is of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ghulaysh (or a similar name – only the consonants Gh-L-Y-Sh are given). The same signature, with the additional *nisba* 'al-Shāmi' (signifying that he came from Syria or, more specifically, Damascus) is inscribed on the entrance portal of the Palace of Qawṣūn/Yushbak (plate 22) in Cairo, built c. 738/1337. This portal was

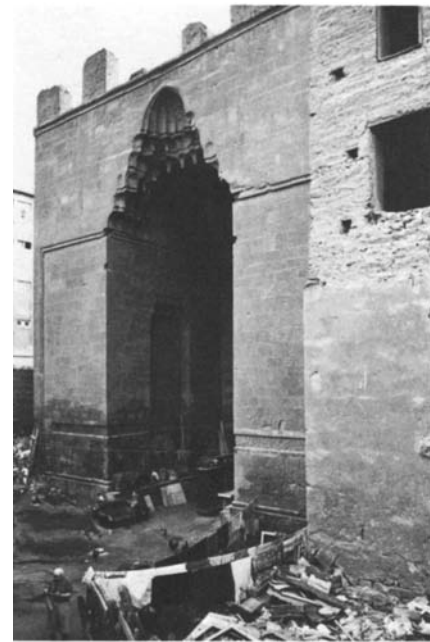


Plate 22 Palace of Qawṣūn, Cairo

described by M.S. Briggs as 'one of the finest . . . in all Cairo, comparable with the Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn in Jerusalem'.<sup>55</sup> The inscriptions confirm Briggs's eye, for both these great portals must be the work of the same Syrian architect, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ghulaysh.<sup>56</sup>

The portal of the Palace of Qawṣūn belongs to a group of four built in the fourth decade of the eighth/fourteenth century in Cairo, mentioned below (p. 307), which bear a striking resemblance to each other. Of these, the vaulting (plate 23) of the portal of the Mosque of Bashtāk (736/1336) in particular

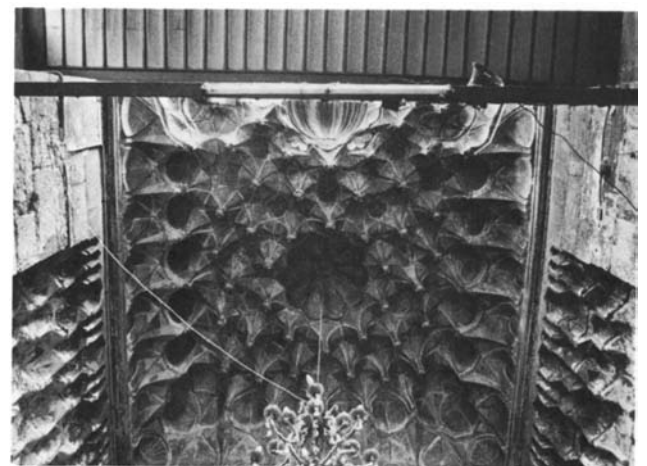


Plate 23 Mosque of Bashtāk, Cairo: vault of portal



resembles that of the Palace of Qawṣūn (*plate 24*). Equally striking is the similarity between the portals of the Mosque of Bashtāk and the Sallāmiyya Madrasa in Jerusalem (see *plate 25*). All were built for prominent figures in the Mamlūk administration during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who is known to have made contributions to the building activities of his senior amirs.<sup>57</sup> These contributions ranged from supplying

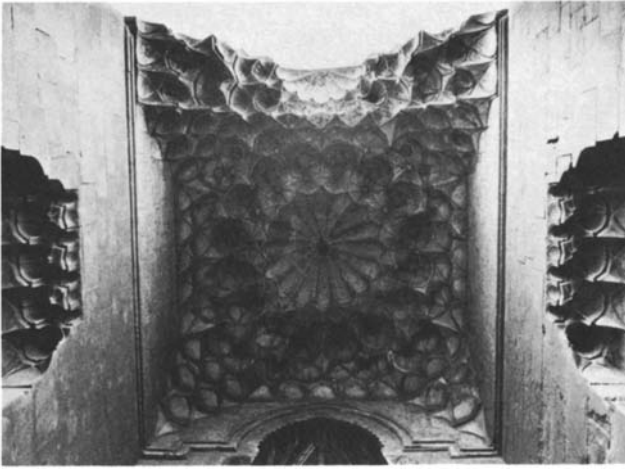


Plate 24 Palace of Qawṣūn, Cairo:  
vault of portal

building materials to providing workmen. As a mark of special favour, the sultan might authorize master-craftsmen attached to the court to work for his amirs.<sup>58</sup> In the case of the Sallāmiyya, the sultan may have provided the architect and, though it is no more than a guess, possibly that architect was Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ghulaysh al-Shāmī, who was in 737/1336-37 working in Jerusalem on the Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn.

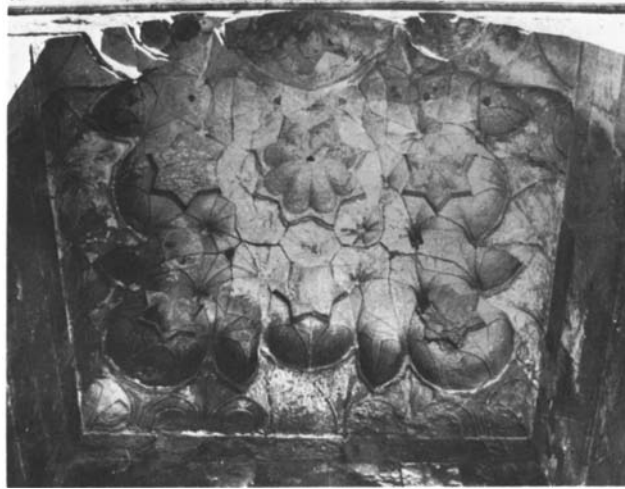


Plate 25 Sallāmiyya Madrasa: vault of portal

## Notes

- 1 See *CIA (Ville)*, 159-160, for a plan and interior view of the Citadel Mosque.
- 2 Mujīr, 233.
- 3 D. Little, 'Religion under the Mamluks', *The Muslim World*, lxxiii, 1983, 165-81; J.M. Rogers, *The Spread of Islam*, Oxford, 1976, 128.
- 4 K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Evolution of the Minaret, with special reference to Egypt', *The Burlington Magazine*, xlviii, 1926, 134-40, 252-58, 290-98.
- 5 Madrasas in Egypt, in contrast, commonly had minarets: *MAE*, ii, 127.
- 6 The oldest recorded instance of this technique occurs in al-Muqaddasī who says that his grandfather, Abū Bakr the builder (see above, p. 51 n. 69), used it when building the mole at 'Akkā in 264-5/878-9 or 269-70/882-3. For further details of the history of this technique see *MAE*, i, 210.
- 7 M. Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)*, p. 86 of unpublished typescript. I am grateful to Dr Meinecke for sending me a copy of relevant sections of his text.
- 8 D. Kuban, 'The Mosque and Hospital at Divriği and the Origin of Anatolian Turkish Architecture', *Anatolica*, ii, 1968, 122-30; O. Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*, London, 1971, 105-7.
- 9 H. Kohl, D. Krencker, O. Reuther, F. Sarre and M. Sobernheim, *Baalbek, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1995* (sic), iii, ed. T. Wiegand, Berlin and Leipzig, 1925, 76.
- 10 J. Sauvaget, 'La citadelle de Damas', *Syria*, xi, 1930, 77; D.J. Cathcart King, 'The Defences of the Citadel at Damascus; a Great Mohammedan Fortress of the Time of the Crusades', *Archaeologia*, xciv, 1951, 85.
- 11 C.N. Johns, 'The Citadel, Jerusalem', *QDAP*, xiv, 1950, 175.
- 12 W. Harvey, 'A Native House, Jerusalem', *The Builder*, 16 July 1910, 74-76.
- 13 See J. Sauvaget, 'Deux sanctuaires chiites d'Alep', *Syria*, ix, 1928, 224-37, specially p. 230 for differences between North Syrian and Damascus domes; and E. Herzfeld, 'Damascus: Studies in Architecture - III', *Ars Islamica*, xi-xii, 1946, 66.
- 14 *MAE*, i, pls. 109-14, 115-22, 126; L. Hautecoeur and G. Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, Paris, 1932, 243-46, 271-75, 321, 326-27 and *Planches, passim*; Layla 'Alī Ibrāhīm, 'The Transitional Zones of Domes in Cairene Architecture', *K des O*, x, 1975, 5-23.
- 15 This construction may be seen, for example, at the twelfth-century dome over the crossing in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, illustrated in C. Coüason, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, London, 1974, pls. i, xxvii
- 16 H. Buschhausen, *Die süditalienische Bauplastik im Königreich Jerusalem*, Vienna, 1978, 198-200.
- 17 C. Kessler, *The Carved Masonry Domes of Medieval Cairo*, London, 1976, 4. There is a small arabesque carved dome on the marble *minbar* of the Jāmi' Ibn 'Uthmān (probably 834/1431) in Gaza (L.A. Mayer, 'Arabic Inscriptions of Gaza', *JPOS*, x, 1930, 59-62).
- 18 I should like to thank Professor Charles Dowsett of Oxford University for very kindly searching Armenian histories of the Cathedral of St. James in Jerusalem for information on the date of construction of the lantern dome. Mkrtich Alavnumi, *Haykakan bin vank'er ew ekelec'iner Surb Erkrin mēj* ('Ancient Armenian monasteries and churches in the Holy Land'), Jerusalem, 1931, 261-62, gives an account of the destruction of the crown of the dome in 1187 when Saladin entered the city. *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, 555, claims that the dome was rebuilt by a builder specialized in the traditions and methods of Armenian architecture in the

- thirteenth century, while T.S.R. Boase, *A History of the Crusades*, iv, Wisconsin and London, 1977, 94-95, describes it as being 'built in the Arab manner on six ribs'.
- 19 *MAE*, ii, 228-29; L. Hautecoeur and G. Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, Paris, 1932, 305.
- 20 *MAE*, ii, 147 n. 3, 229; K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, *Damaskus: die islamische Stadt*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1924, 120-23; J. Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques de Damas*, Beirut, 1932, no. 105; *idem*, 'Notes sur quelques monuments musulmans de Syrie', *Syria*, xxv, 1946-48, 226; E. Herzfeld, 'Damascus: Studies in Architecture - III', *Ars Islamica*, xi-xii, 1946, 58-61. The Maghrabīs had since the sixth/twelfth century a quarter in Jerusalem, the Ḥarāt al-Maghārība, with a Mālikī mosque founded by al-'Adīl, one of Saladin's sons, and a zāwiya founded in 703/1303 (Mujīr, 397).
- 21 *MAE*, ii, 228.
- 22 Layla 'Alī Ibrāhīm, 'The Transitional Zones of Domes in Cairene Architecture', *K des O*, x, 1975, 12.
- 23 See J. Sauvaget, 'Un bain damasquin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Syria*, xi, 1930, 370-80; E. Pauty, *Les Hammams du Caire*, Cairo, 1933; M. Ecohard and C. Le Coeur, *Les Bains de Damas*, Beirut, 1942, 1943.
- 24 There is another brick dome in Jerusalem, over the Chapel of Melchizedek in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which probably belongs to restorations made by Modestus from A.D. 614: C. Coüason, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem*, London, 1974, 50, 57; *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, 147, 187.
- 25 *MAE*, i, 253: the earliest 'double-glacis' pendentives are in the Maqām Ibrāhīm (563/1167-68) and the Madrasa of Shadhbakht (589/1193), both in Aleppo.
- 26 E. Herzfeld, 'Damascus: Studies in Architecture - III', *Ars Islamica*, xi-xii, 1946, 9.
- 27 J. Lauffray, 'Une madrasa ayyoubide de la Syrie du Nord', *Les Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*, iii, 1953, 53.
- 28 J. Sauvaget, 'La citadelle de Damas', *Syria*, xi, 1930, 88.
- 29 H. Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture of the Mamluk City of Tripoli*, Cambridge, Mass., 1983, fig. 125.
- 30 Layla 'Alī Ibrāhīm, 'The Transitional Zones of Domes in Cairene Architecture', *K des O*, x, 1975, 11-12, fig. 7. See also L. Hautecoeur and G. Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, Paris, 1932, 273, and E. Herzfeld, 'Damascus: Studies in Architecture - III', *Ars Islamica*, xi-xii, 1946, 3-4, fig. 3.
- 31 J. Sauvaget, 'Deux sanctuaires chiites d'Alep', *Syria*, ix, 1928, 233-34, pl. LXXV<sub>2</sub>.
- 32 J. Sauvaget, 'L'architecture musulmane en Syrie', *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, 1934, 19-51, at p. 40.
- 33 The doors of the Ashrafiyya were of walnut inlaid with pinewood, according to the *waqfiyya*.
- 34 *CIA (Ville)*, 369 n. 5.
- 35 A screen of pierced lead sheeting that filled the tympanum of an arched window in the Ayyūbid Qubbat al-Mi'rāj (597/1200-1) was removed during recent repairs. It is not known when this window was made but it could belong to the original construction and this raises the possibility that similar window screens might have been used in Mamlūk times.
- 36 See, for example, H. C. Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts: Part II of the Publication of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900*, New York, 1903, *passim*; G. Tchalenko *Villages Antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, ii, Paris, 1953, *passim*; E. Baccache, *Eglises de Village de la Syrie du Nord*, Paris, 1980, *passim*.

- 37 O. Grabar et al., *City in the Desert: Qasr al-Hayr East*, Cambridge, Mass., 1978, 99.
- 38 Crusader examples exist at the portal of the twelfth-century church at Qaryat al-'Inab/Abu Ghosh (C. Enlart, *Les monuments des Croisés*, Paris, 1925-27, 105-6, fig. 438, pl. 138) and at the twelfth-century Chapel of the Repose (J. Folda, 'Three Crusader Capitals in Jerusalem', *Levant*, x, 1978, 139-55, pl. XVb).
- 39 Ayyūbid examples exist at the East Gate of the Damascus citadel (J. Sauvaget, 'La citadelle de Damas', *Syria*, xi, 1930, 83-84, fig. 17a; D.J. Cathcart King, 'The Defences of the Citadel of Damascus', *Archaeologia*, xciv, 1951, pl. XVIIIa).
- 40 Ottoman examples exist on several sixteenth century *sabils* built during the reign of Sulaymān the Magnificent in Jerusalem (*CIA (Planches)*, pls. xcii, xcvi, xcvi).
- 41 *MAE*, ii, pl. 103a.
- 42 *MAE*, ii, 243.
- 43 E. Herzfeld, 'Damascus: Studies in Architecture – III', *Ars Islamica*, xi-xii, 1946, 48-49.
- 44 L.A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford, 1933; M. Meinecke, 'Zur mamlukischen Heraldik', *MDIK*, xxxviii, 1973, 213-87.
- 45 D. Hill and L. Golvin, *Islamic Architecture in North Africa*, London, 1976, pl. 481.
- 46 K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, *Damaskus : die islamische Stadt*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1924, 120-23, pls. 12-13; J. Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques de Damas*, Beirut, 1932, 104; E. Herzfeld, 'Damascus : Studies in Architecture – III', *Ars Islamica*, xi-xii, 1946, 61, figs. 136-38; *MAE*, ii, 229.
- 47 J.M. Rogers, 'The origins of the stucco decoration', *apud* Layla 'Alī Ibrāhīm, 'The great Ḥānqāh of the Emir Qawṣūn in Cairo', *MDIK*, xxx, 1974, 60-64.
- 48 *MAE*, ii, 72-73.
- 49 Minaret of the Jāmi' Tankiz (717/1317-18), Turba of 'Arāq al-Silāhdār (750/1349), Turba of Yushbak al-Husaynī (probably 779/1377), Khānqāh of Yūnus al-Dawādār (785/1383-84) and Rashīdiyya Madrasa (c. 787/1385).
- 50 R.W. Hamilton, *A Guide to Beblebem*, Jerusalem, 1939, 20, 30.
- 51 The standard handbook on the subject of Muslim architectural practice is : L.A. Mayer, *Islamic Architects and their Works*, Geneva, 1956. Foremost among more recent studies on the subject are : J.M. Rogers, 'Waqf and Patronage in Seljuk Anatolia. The Epigraphic Evidence', *Anatolian Studies*, xxvi, 1976, 69-103; and M. Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)*, forthcoming.
- 52 A fuller account of Mujir al-Dīn's description of the construction of the Ashrafiyya is given in: C. Kessler and M. Burgoyne, 'The Fountain of Sultan Qāyrbāy in the Sacred Precinct of Jerusalem', *Archaeology in the Levant: Essays for Kathleen Kenyon*, ed. R. Moorey and P. Parr, Warminster, 1978, 250-69.
- 53 *CIA (Ville)*, 257 n. 5, quoting Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba.
- 54 A curious epigraphic panel in the Turba of Sitt Tunshuq might also be read as a craftsman's signature – see below, p. 507.
- 55 M.S. Briggs, *Muhammadan Architecture in Syria and Palestine*, Oxford, 1924, 155.
- 56 These inscriptions were previously incorrectly deciphered. The Cairo inscription is published in: L. Hautecoeur and G. Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, Paris, 1932, 123, where the name is given as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Zighlīsh al-Shāmī. The Jerusalem inscription is published in: M. Burgoyne and A. Abul-Hajj, 'Twenty-four Mediaeval Arabic Inscriptions from Jerusalem', *Levant*, xi, 1979, 128-29, where 'Ghulaysh' was read erroneously as 'Alaysh'.
- 57 *Khitat*, ii, 307-8.
- 58 Layla 'Alī Ibrāhīm, 'The great Ḥānqāh of the Emir Qawṣūn in Cairo', *MDIK*, xxx, 1974, 52-57.

# SUGGESTIONS FOR THE CARE AND CONSERVATION OF THE BUILDINGS

The proper care and conservation of the Mamlūk buildings in Jerusalem needs serious consideration. Maintenance of Islamic monuments in and around the Ḥaram is rightly the privilege of the Muslim authorities, and in recent years some important work has been done. The Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn, for example, was reinstated over a period of years and reopened in 1974 by the Supreme Muslim Council. More recently, the façades of many of the buildings overlooking the Ḥaram were refurbished, though this project was limited mainly to the repointing of stonework. The results are sometimes unfortunate; the exceptionally fine quality of the masonry has in places been sadly damaged by careless removal of the often sound original mortar, which has been replaced with an ugly smear of cement.

Well intentioned as these efforts are, greater care is needed if irreparable damage is to be avoided. Before further work is done, an analysis of appropriate minimal maintenance techniques should be made with professional guidance. The buildings we have, after all, have survived for centuries with very little maintenance, and with reasonable care should continue to do so for many more. There has been some destruction and neglect, but more than three-quarters of the major Mamlūk foundations known from historical sources stand remarkably intact. Generally, they need little more than the occasional replacement of badly eroded or cracked stones, careful repointing, the removal of plants which have taken root in the stonework (and will damage the structural fabric if left to grow to maturity), and other minor and relatively inexpensive work such as the repair or renewal of door leaves and of window grilles and shutters.

The problem of conservation is more complex, and most difficult and controversial of all is restoration. Over the years the buildings have been adapted to accommodate changing human requirements. By the eighteenth century virtually all the Mamlūk institutions had ceased to fulfil their original purpose and most of them were transformed into dwellings (see above, p. 73). Since the nineteenth century the population of Jerusalem has grown dramatically. New suburbs began to spring up around the city to accommodate the burgeoning population. These new suburbs were the domain of the wealthy, and the Old City came to be inhabited by less affluent residents. In consequence, little money was available to make elaborate changes; what changes were made were for the most part restricted to simple adaptations and repairs. It is to this straightforward and utilitarian maintenance – what Roland Silva has termed 'barefoot conservation' – rather than to major restorations that the bulk of the monuments of Mamlūk architecture owe their remarkable degree of preservation. Use, not nostalgia, has saved them.

It is true that in many cases internal courtyards have become cluttered with shanties providing extra living space (*plate 26*), while the skyline of the city is disfigured by solar heating installations and a veritable forest of television aerials (*plate 27*). Yet these and other accretions present no immediate cause for concern. The solar heaters and television



Plate 26 Courtyard of the Ribāṭ of 'Alā' al-Dīn

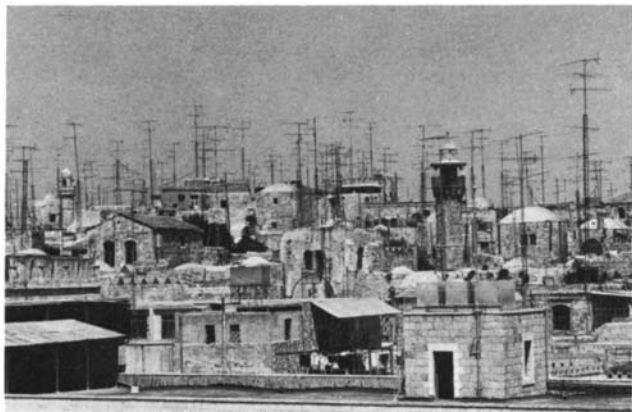


Plate 27 Jerusalem skyline from the Jāwiliyya compound

aerials can easily be replaced by less obtrusive alternatives, and the shanties – almost always constructed of lightweight materials (*plate 28*) – could simply be removed if they cease to serve a useful purpose. The urgent removal of all accretions is not a prerequisite of the proper conservation of buildings. Indeed, the overzealous restoration of groups of historic buildings and their conversion into sterile 'artists colonies', which has happened elsewhere in Jerusalem for instance, is convincing proof of this. Unnecessary renewal of the architectural fabric might produce a brilliant spectacle for a time, but it will have stripped away the buildings' intrinsic historical value – the very thing that makes them worth preserving.<sup>2</sup>

In giving consideration to the future survival of Jerusalem's unique architectural heritage the need for careful preparation is vital. It seems clear that it is largely because the buildings have remained in more or less continuous use that



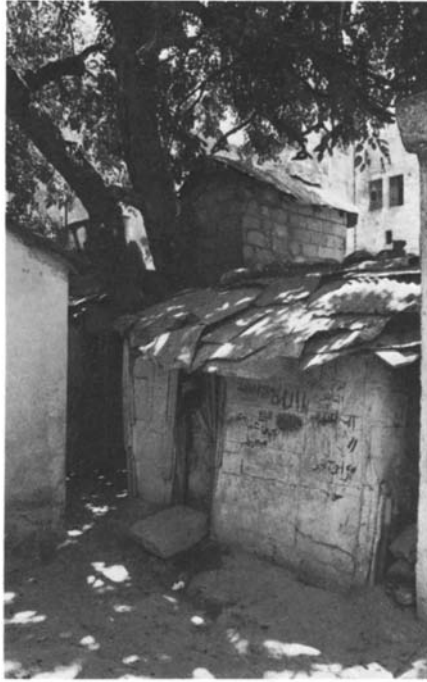


Plate 28 Shanties in courtyard of the Manşūrī Ribāṭ

they have survived. The city is not a museum – it is a living organism and any change in the natural patterns of use should be contemplated only as a last resort. Official intervention to restore the buildings to a former use (or to some inappropriate use) is likely to fail and reduce the buildings to mere exhibits. Far better would be to organize a sympathetic programme of skilful repair and maintenance.

This is not to say that the beauty and antiquity of the buildings should be played down; quite the reverse. If the buildings are properly to be appreciated and respected, greater public awareness is essential. Two obvious steps to promote greater awareness would be, first, to attach beside the entrance to each building an unobtrusive plaque giving salient details of its history, and second, to publish and distribute inexpensive but reliable guidebooks in appropriate languages to residents and tourists. The list of Islamic monuments in Jerusalem prepared by the Department of Islamic Archaeology of the Department of Awqaf is a suitable basis for such enterprises.

#### Notes

1 R. Silva, 'The Significance of the Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, with Special Reference to Eastern Countries', *Proceedings of the First International Congress on Architectural Conservation, University of Basle, Switzerland, March 1983*, Geneva, 1984, 10-13. (We are indebted to Mr Ian Begg for this reference.)

2 Some aspects of the problems of conservation of buildings in Jerusalem have been addressed by Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan, 'Dangers to the Islamic Heritage in Jerusalem', *Places of Public Gathering in Islam: Proceedings of Seminar Five in the series Architectural Transformations in the Islamic World*, The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, Philadelphia, 1980, 117, 118-19.

# PART II

## CATALOGUE OF BUILDINGS

The catalogue includes descriptions of standing Mamlūk buildings in and around Jerusalem. It does not include monuments that are known from historical sources but which no longer survive. Nor does it include buildings which may be Mamlūk but which have not been identified as such. Each building is numbered and listed in chronological order.

### NAMES

Whenever possible, the names of the buildings are those attested by contemporary inscriptions or literary texts. The names are usually eponymous, the buildings bearing either the founder's name (e.g. Ribāṭ of Kurt al-Manṣūrī, 'Hospice of Kurt al-Manṣūrī') or an adjectival form of that name (e.g. Jawhariyya Madrasa, '[the Amīr] Jawhar's College'). In some instances, however, buildings are named according to their function (e.g. Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn, 'Market of the Cotton Merchants'). These names are rarely used today, most buildings being named after the families who now inhabit them. Thus the Arghūniyya Madrasa, the college founded by the Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Arghūn, has the modern name 'the 'Afifi house' (Dār al-'Afifi) since it is the home of the 'Afifi family.

### DATE

The date given for each building is usually that of its completion or endowment (*waqf*) as attested by historical texts. Occasionally, where no exact date is known from the sources, we have given the date of construction as determined by historical or stylistic analysis.

The remainder of each Catalogue entry is divided into four sections.

### LOCATION

The location of each building is described briefly and marked on a small-scale plan of the city.

### SITE AND BUILDING

In this section an attempt is made to define the limits of the site and the extent of Mamlūk building upon it. Where remains of some earlier structure or structures survive on the site, these are identified and described. Accompanying plans at the scale of 1:500 show the interrelationship between the building under discussion and its neighbours.

### HISTORY

The relevant historical texts – inscriptions, legal documents, and literary texts – are discussed giving details of the founder, the original and subsequent uses of the building, its endowment and staff.

### ARCHITECTURE

Illustrated by 1:200 scale plans, sections and elevations as well as by photographs, this section includes descriptions of salient architectural features. Many buildings have been altered quite substantially over the years and we have tried to identify later alterations in order to isolate the original construction. Where parts of that original construction appear to have been demolished or replaced, an indication is given of what those missing parts might have been.

# 1 NORTH PORTICO

## الرواق الشمالي

Various stages from 610/1213-14 to 836/1432

### I LOCATION (fig. 1.1)

Along the north border of the Ḥaram.

### II SITE AND BUILDING

Herod's temple enclosure (the lines of which are followed by the present walls of the Ḥaram, see above, p. 44) included porticoes on all four sides. Nothing of these porticoes survives except for a regular series of beam sockets cut at a height of 8.9m above the level of the Ḥaram esplanade into the rock scarp at the west end of the northern boundary. The Herodian porticoes were destroyed by Titus in A.D. 70 (see above, p. 44).

By the fourth/tenth century new vaulted porticoes had been erected along the west and north borders of the Ḥaram (see above, p. 46); of these nothing now survives apart from a regular series of a dozen sockets for vaulting springers about 5.9m below the Herodian beam sockets in the rock scarp. The average span between the centres of the sockets is 3.89m. These sockets certainly antecede the Mamlūk portico which sustains the Is'ardiyya (see below) for they continue empty and redundant in the rock face under that building.

Shortly after the Muslim reconquest of Jerusalem from the Crusaders in 583/1187 there began a process of restoring the Ḥaram (see above, p. 48), which included the construction in 610/1213-14 of the middle part of the north portico. This portico was subsequently completed by the Mamlūks. The various steps in that complex process are analysed below.

### III HISTORY

Al-'Umarī (c.745/1345) described the north wall of the Ḥaram and its gates thus:

The first of [the gates] is on the eastern side, a gate called Bāb al-Asbāt. Adjoining it is the above-mentioned portico which forms the end of the eastern wall . . .<sup>1</sup>

On the west side adjacent to this gate is a vaulted portico having ten piers . . . Its [north] façade has four windows overlooking the Birkat Banī Isrā'īl, an ancient and deep pool.

Adjacent to this portico is an open space through part of which flows water to the Birkat Banī Isrā'īl. Part of it is an open space upon which it was intended to build porticoes, but up till now they have not been completed . . .

Adjacent to this land is the Karīmiyya Madrasa (no. 15). It has enclosed the portico in front of it with two walls, one to the west and another to the east, and two 'summer chambers' have been made before it . . .

Adjacent to the madrasa is a gate called Bāb Ḥiṭṭa . . . In front of it is a walkway paved with flagstones . . . On either side of the gate are two little benches, each 2 *dhirā'* (1.4m) wide, the eastern one abutting on the above-mentioned Karīmiyya Madrasa and the western one adjacent to a

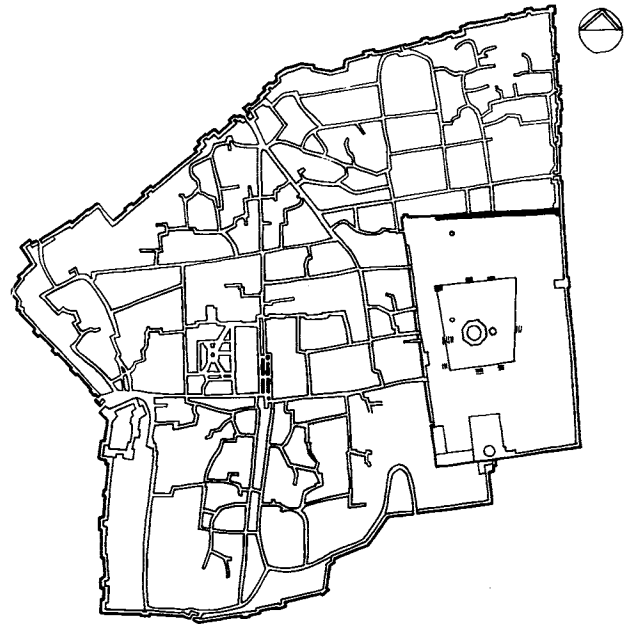


Fig. 1.1 Location plan

portico . . . in its wall there are three windows of the Ribāt of 'Alam al-Dīn al-Dawādār (no. 8). Commencing from the east there is a window opening on the Turba of al-Awḥad al-Ayyūbī (no. 9).

Abutting on this portico is a gate known as Bāb Sharaf al-Anbiyā' . . . In front of the latter is a walkway similar to the one mentioned above . . .

Abutting on this gate is a vaulted portico . . . having eight piers. At the beginning of it are two windows, one of them open [that is, ungrilled] through which is reached the Zāwiya of the Vizier Amīn al-Dīn, known as Amīn al-Mulk (no. 21). Adjacent to both of them is a door through which the Zāwiyat al-Lāwī is entered. Beside the gate is a platform with a cistern.

This portico is adjoined on the west by another having two vaults resting on three piers . . . a few women here say the five prayers behind the *imām*. Above this portico is the Madrasa of the Amīr Sayf al-Dīn al-Ḥājj Ālmalik al-Jūkāndār (no. 26) and the Khānqāh of Majd al-Dīn al-Is'ardī (no. 33) the merchant. At the beginning of it near the cistern which I have mentioned are the steps which lead up to the madrasa and the khānqāh.

Adjacent to this portico is an open space on which there are no porticoes. It is in the shape of a high platform through the middle of which one goes down by six steps to the Ḥaram. At the highest point of this wall five windows of the Madrasa of the Amīr 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Jāwīlī (no. 14) . . . There is no way to it from the Ḥaram. At the end of this open space towards the west are two cells, each having a door opening to the south on the Ḥaram. The interior of both is entirely inside the north wall, and they are [cut in] the solid rock like caves. It is said that they were known of old as the Cave of Abraham. In the eastern one is a small window. At the side of these two cells is the cell of the Shaykh of the Ḥaram with two windows facing the Ḥaram. Above this cell is another cell, to which one ascends by a flight of seven steps to the edge of the door opening east.

Adjacent is a portico with two arches . . . Next to it is a very long stairway from the top of which a minaret is ascended as well as a house belonging to the Banū Jamā'a family. This minaret (no. 10) is at the farthest point of the west wall of the Ḥaram.<sup>2</sup>

While al-'Umarī's description is primarily concerned with the



topography of the Ḥaram borders, Mujīr al-Dīn is more interested in chronicling the history of their construction:

As for the northern porticoes (*arwiqa*), they extend from east to west from Bāb al-Asbāt to the Jāwiliyya Madrasa, which is known nowadays as Dār al-Niyāba (see below, p. 205). Concerning the portico which occupies all the space between Bāb al-Asbāt and the Ghādiriyya Madrasa (no. 54), I have not been able to discover the period of its construction, but circumstances indicate that it was built at the same time as the minaret there (no. 38), built during the reign of the al-Ashraf Sha'bān b. Ḥusayn in 769/1367-68 [but see below]. The portico below the Ghādiriyya was built at the same time as this madrasa, and similarly the assembly hall of the Karīmiyya.

As for the portico extending from Bāb Ḥiṭṭa to Bāb al-Duwaydariyya [Bāb al-'Atm], it appears that it was built by al-Malik al-Awḥad with his Turba, which is at Bāb Ḥiṭṭa, for certain clauses in its endowment necessitate that [interpretation].

The portico extending from Bāb al-Duwaydariyya to the west end supports five madrasas. Part of it – that is under the Amīniyya Madrasa and Fārisiyya Madrasa (no. 30) – was ancient. It was later reconstructed in the reign of al-Mu'azzam 'Isā in the year 610/1213-14. The remainder, which is under three madrasas – the Ālmalikiyya, the Is'ardiyya and the Ṣubaybiyya (no. 51) – is of the same period of construction as them, each of them having been built with the corresponding portico below. Inspection shows that that is so and that the construction of each madrasa corresponds with that of the portico under it . . . and since the date of all the madrasas is given below, so the date of construction of each of these sections of porticoes under them is known.

As for the two porticoes that are under the Dār al-Niyāba, they were built at the same time as the Ghawānima Minaret (no. 10); inscribed on them is the date of their construction and that of the minaret, but the inscription has become eroded over a long time. In addition, these two porticoes are surmounted by two others, a century more recent. We will mention the time when the minaret was constructed, which will allow an approximate idea of the date of their construction. God knows best!<sup>5</sup>

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

The north portico is best described not according to the chronological sequence of its construction but in topographical order, starting from the east end, following al-'Umarī and Mujīr al-Dīn. In *fig. 1.2* the piers supporting the arches of the portico are numbered from 1 (east end) to 42 (west end); the bays will be numbered in this analysis in the same order so that pier 1 is the pier immediately to the left (west) of bay 1.

##### BAYS 1-11

The first eleven bays of the portico – along with the single bay extending southwards from bay 1 against the east wall – appear to be structurally and architecturally homogeneous, suggesting that they belong to one period of construction. The exact date of that construction is unknown. They are not later than c. 745/1345 when al-'Umarī described them. Evidently they do not belong to the same series as the springers in the rock scarp at the west end of the north wall since the 'pitch' (i.e. the distance from one pier centre to the next) averages about 3.89m at the rock scarp as opposed to a mean of 5.28m here at the east end of the portico. In appearance they seem to be pre-Crusader, however. They contain no stones with Crusader tooling or masons' marks as one would expect in Crusader construction or in re-use in Ayyūbid and early Mamlūk construction (as in bays 21 – 23 and 31 – 35, for example; see below), and they bear no resemblance to the west portico of the Ḥaram, which is

wholly Mamlūk. Rather they may be associated with the Ikshīdīd rebuilding of part of the east wall of the Ḥaram beside Bāb al-Asbāt in 350/961-62,<sup>4</sup> or with the Fātimid restorations in the Ḥaram during the fifth/eleventh century.<sup>5</sup>

##### MINARET BĀB AL-ASBĀT (no. 38)

The minaret was built in 769/1367-68 partly on top of pier 11, which forms the right-hand jamb of the minaret's portal (see below, p. 415).

##### BAYS 12-14

These bays are structurally and architecturally homogeneous. Their date of construction is unknown. Bay 12 is built against the base of the minaret in a manner clearly indicating the priority of the minaret. To their west stands the Ghādiriyya Madrasa, obviously built later than pier 14 against which it abuts. These three bays must therefore be dated after 769/1367-68, when the minaret was erected, and before 836/1432, when the Ghādiriyya was built. An even closer *terminus ante quem* for its construction is 800/1397 since that is the date before which the Ṭūlūniyya Madrasa was built. According to Mujīr al-Dīn, one ascended from the stairway giving access to the minaret to two Mamlūk madrasas, the Ṭūlūniyya and the Fanāriyya, both built before 800/1397-98, but neither of which survives.<sup>6</sup> In his list of buildings given in topographical order from west to east, Mujīr al-Dīn places the Ṭūlūniyya between the Ghādiriyya and the Fanāriyya – presumably directly over bays 12–14 of the portico.<sup>7</sup>

##### BAYS 16-19

These are structurally and architecturally homogeneous. They are said by Mujīr al-Dīn to have been built at the same time as the Ghādiriyya in 836/1432.

##### THE KARĪMIYYA (no. 15)

The Karīmiyya, occupying the space between piers 19 and 20, appears originally to have had its own portico of three bays (below, p. 217). At some later time (perhaps at the same time as the construction of the Ghādiriyya – see below, p. 217) the portico was converted into the Karīmiyya's assembly hall, which now stands here.

##### BAYS 21-23

These are structurally and architecturally homogeneous. Bay 21 in front of Bāb Ḥiṭṭa has a fine corbel-table cornice made mostly from re-used Crusader material (*plate 1.1*). The



Plate 1.1 Bāb Ḥiṭṭa: view from the Ḥaram

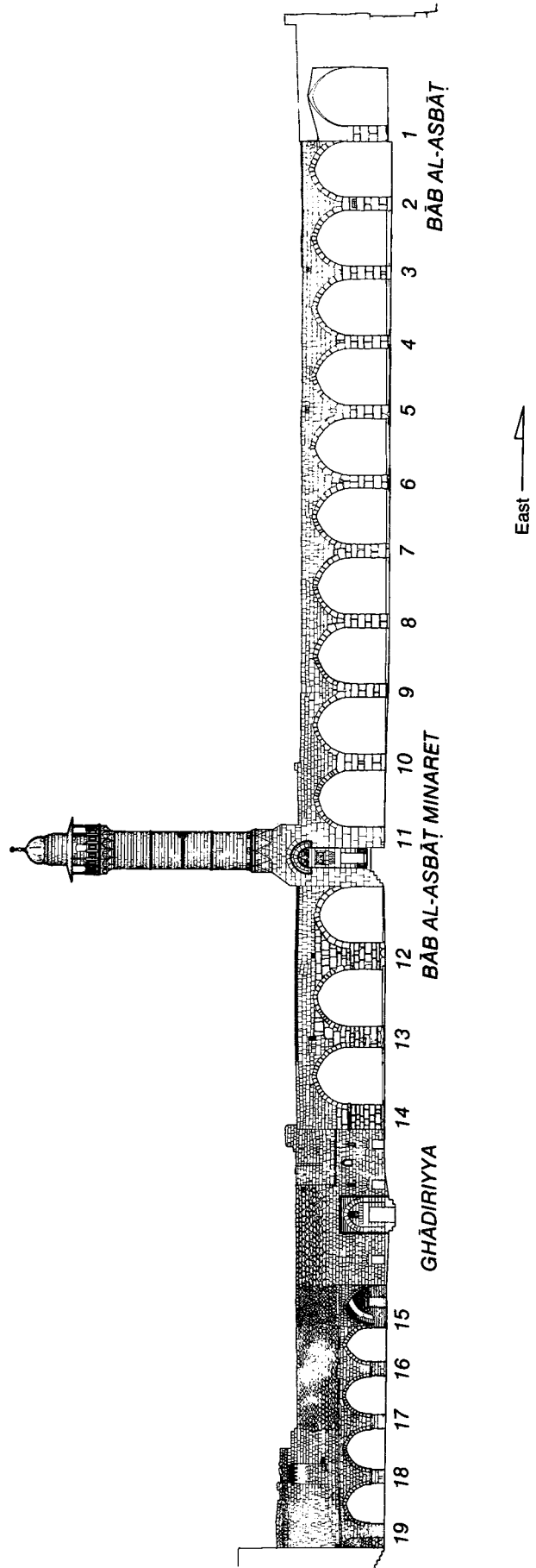
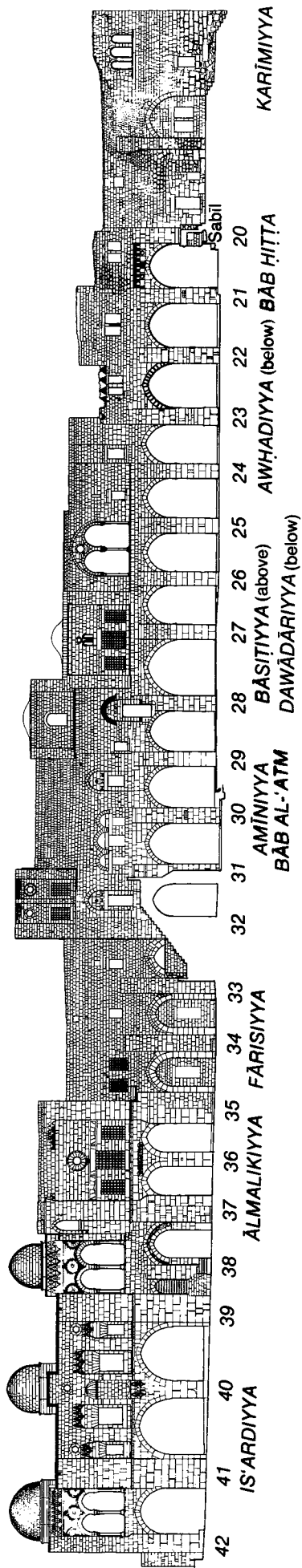


Fig. 1.2 Ḥaram north border: elevation

masonry of all three bays contains a large number of re-used Crusader stones, many of them bearing masons' marks. The exact date of construction is not known. Mujir al-Din states that the portico from Bāb Ḥiṭṭa to Bāb al-'Atm appears to have been built by al-Malik al-Awḥad when he built his tomb, but structural discontinuity in the portico between bays 23 and 24 and between bays 27 and 28 (see below) seem to indicate three separate phases of construction between the two gates. Of these, bays 21–23, in front of al-Awḥad's tomb, were most probably built by him after he took office as Superintendent of the Two Harams (694/1295) and before his endowment deed was drawn up in 697/1298.

#### BAYS 24-28

The exact date of construction of these is unknown. Bay 24 abuts on pier 23 to the east and so they should be dated after it, that is after 694/1295 (see above), and bay 27 abuts on pier 28 to the west, which is dated 610/1213-14 (see below). The mean pitch of these bays 24–27 is about 4.37m whereas that of the Ayyūbid portico is about 4.65m. The extra width of the bay 28 is explained by the presence of an earlier window in the north wall of the Haram at this point, which necessitated the displacement of the northern vaulting springer of the portico to clear it (see plan, *fig. 8.3*). Thus we may conclude that bays 24–28 were built some time after 694/1295 and they must have existed before 745/1345 when al-'Umarī described them.

It is possible that they were built along with the Dawādāriyya, which is situated immediately beyond the Haram wall at this point. The Dawādāriyya was completed on the first day of 695/10 November 1295, approximately five months after al-Awḥad took up his post as Superintendent of the Two Harams in Rajab 694/May-June 1295<sup>8</sup> and, therefore, conceivably after he had built bays 21–23. It seems more likely, however, that they belong to a second stage of al-Awḥad's construction of the Haram portico since he would have had a natural desire to fill the gap between bay 23 and bay 29 (which is dated 610/1213-14; see below). If so, Mujir al-Din's interpretation of al-Awḥad's endowment deed becomes more understandable. A shift in alignment between bays 23 and 24 (see plan, *fig. 9.3*) may be explained by the need to make this portico connect with the Ayyūbid portico (bays 29–38) to the west, something that appears not to have influenced the builders of bays 21–23. All these bays (21–28) have vertical extensions to the piers, which continue upwards between the arches to form buttresses with sloping tops, evidently in emulation of the Ayyūbid portico to the west.

#### BAYS 29-38

These appear to have belonged initially to one phase of construction though they have subsequently undergone various alterations. An inscription on pier 31 gives the date of their construction: 610/1213-14.<sup>9</sup> The inscription uses the word *juddida*, signifying that the portico was a 'renewal', presumably of the portico mentioned by fourth/tenth-century geographers, of which only the sockets in the rock scarp to the west survive. Since these bays 29–38 have a mean pitch of 4.65m there is little doubt that nothing of the earlier portico remained to be incorporated into this Ayyūbid one. The 'renewal' was in fact a replacement of the earlier portico. Mujir al-Din, following the text of the inscription, states that the portico from the Bāb al-'Atm under the Fārisiyya, i.e. bays 31–35, is ancient and was reconstructed under the rule of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā. He goes on to state that the remaining bays of the portico to the west were built at the same time as the madrasas they support, the Ālmalikiyya, the Is'ardiyya and the Ṣubaybiyya. This is largely true but there is good reason to believe that the portico under the Ālmalikiyya (bays 36–38) incorporates part of the portico of al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā (see below).

Bays 29 and 30 are structurally homogeneous with bay 31, which is dated by the inscription of 610/1213-14 on its left-hand pier. The left-hand pier of bay 29 has another inscription, also from the time of al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā, giving the dimensions of the

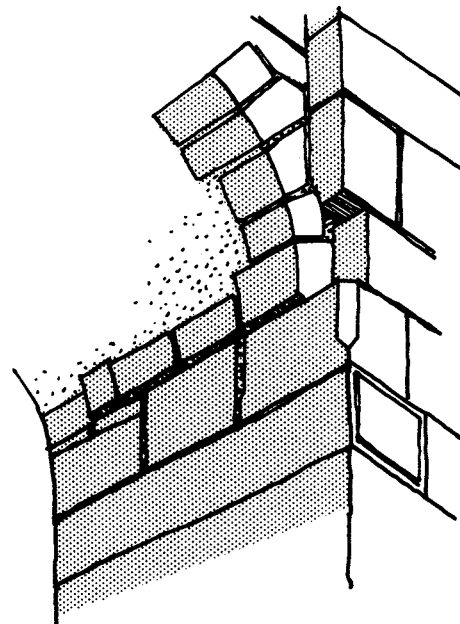
Haram.<sup>10</sup> We can be sure, therefore, that bays 29-31 belong to the same Ayyūbid construction. The vertical extension of the piers to form buttresses with sloping tops to shed rainwater is a Crusader technique here used for the first time in Islamic construction.

Bays 32–38 may also belong to this construction. Part of pier 31 and all of pier 32 are concealed by a later staircase built when the Amīniyya above them was converted to domestic use some time in the Ottoman period. The position of pier 32 may be deduced from the line of the vaulting groins of bay 32 (see plan, *fig. 21.3*). Bays 33–35 under the Fārisiyya have been rebuilt, with only the spacing between the piers to show that they may originally have belonged to the Ayyūbid portico. The piers project into the Haram about 0.70m more than piers 28–31 of the Ayyūbid portico. Bays 36 and 37 under the Ālmalikiyya retain the spacing of the Ayyūbid portico but also project about 0.70m to the south. It is impossible now to confirm that these bays 33–37 were originally part of the Ayyūbid portico. Yet pier 38 follows the alignment of the Ayyūbid portico and is exactly 4.65m from the earlier part of pier 37, a dimension that corresponds to the mean pitch of the Ayyūbid portico, and so it is likely that it does indeed belong to that earlier portico. Consequently the piers between numbers 32 and 38 probably also formed part of the Ayyūbid portico but were rebuilt at some later date. Piers 35 and 37 were enlarged at the time of the construction of the Ālmalikiyya in 741/1340 to form the bases of buttresses that extend upwards to flank its façade. At the same time pier 36 was completely rebuilt.

The little arched opening between piers 38 and 39 shelters a staircase built to give access to the Ālmalikiyya.

#### BAYS 40-42

These bays support the Is'ardiyya. Bays 40 and 41 are structurally and architecturally homogeneous. They belong to the same period of construction as the building they support, the Is'ardiyya. The manner in which bay 42 abuts on pier 41 (*fig. 1.3*) shows that it belongs to a later phase of construction.



**Fig. 1.3 Conjunction between bay 42 and pier 41 of North Portico under the Is'ardiyya (after a sketch by R. Brotherton)**

Al-'Umarī's enumeration of the bays of the north portico ends with bay 40, implying that while bays 39 and 40 existed in his day, bay 41 had not yet been built (see below, p. 370).

#### WESTWARD CONTINUATION

Beyond the Is'ardiyya there once stood a westward continuation of the portico, evidently built at the same time as



*Mamlūk Jerusalem*

the Şubaybiyya and giving access to it (see above, p. 515). Now only traces of springings for its vaulting survive beside bay 42; the portico itself has disappeared.

*BAYS NO LONGER EXTANT*

Towards the west end of the north wall there were two bays of portico described by al-'Umarī and said by Mujīr al-Dīn to have

been built at the same time as the Minaret al-Ghawānima at the end of the seventh/thirteenth century. They bore an inscription giving the date of construction, but this was too badly worn to be deciphered by Mujīr al-Dīn. On top of that portico stood two upper bays, built a century later. Nothing at all survives of these porticoes.

**Notes**

- 1 Al-'Umarī gives the principal dimensions of porticoes and gates, which are omitted here for the sake of brevity.
- 2 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 157-59.
- 3 Mujīr, 375-76.
- 4 See above, p. 46.
- 5 See above, p. 46.

- 6 Mujīr, 391-92.
- 7 Mujīr, 392-95.
- 8 See below, p. 167.
- 9 *CIA (Haram)*, 82-84.
- 10 *CIA (Haram)*, 84-97.

## 2 TURBA OF BARKA KHĀN

### تربة بركة خان

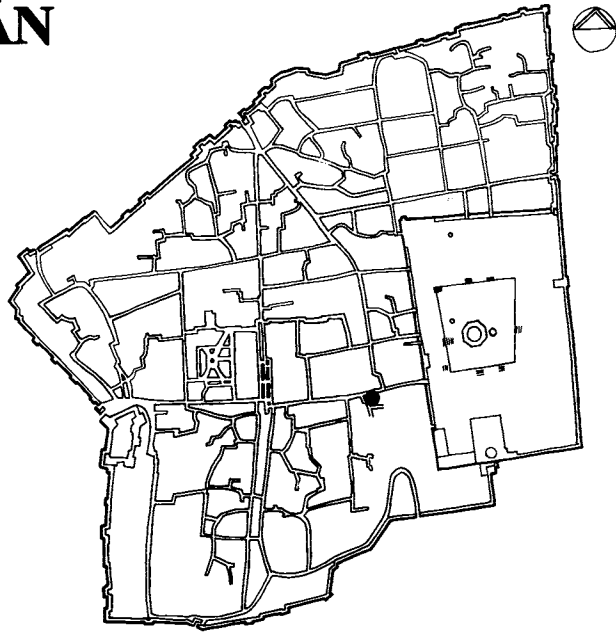


Fig. 2.1 Location plan

Between 663/1265 and 679/1280; extended 792/1390  
Tomb of Barka Khān and his sons  
*Modern name:* al-Maktabat al-Khālidiyya (Khālidi Library)

#### I LOCATION (fig. 2.1)

At the south-east corner of the junction between Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila and 'Aqabat Abū Madyan, opposite the Kilāniyya (no. 29) and the Ṭāziyya (no. 36).

#### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 2.2)

The site is bounded by the street, Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila to the north, by the lane 'Aqabat Abū Madyan to the west and south-west, by shops entered from Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila to the east, and by various unrecorded structures to the south-east.

No less than five different phases of construction are discernible in the present building. Of these, two are pre-Mamlūk and one is Ottoman. There are two Mamlūk phases: one is datable between 663/1265 and 679/1280, and the other is dated by inscription 792/1390. The full extent of these constructions is not known for only the façade on Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila survives. The interior has been substantially remodelled, evidently in the nineteenth century.

In 1900 the building was converted into a library comprising three distinct components: a small vaulted chamber (chamber 'A') in the south-east corner of the complex; a reading room at the west end of the complex; and, between these two, a courtyard. This is the terminology we shall use in the following analysis.

The reading room has a remarkable 'Romanesque' doorway (now a window) in its north façade belonging to the earlier Mamlūk period. To the east of that, the later Mamlūk work includes a large grilled window, a water trough and an entrance portal that are built into two bays of a pre-Mamlūk arcade.

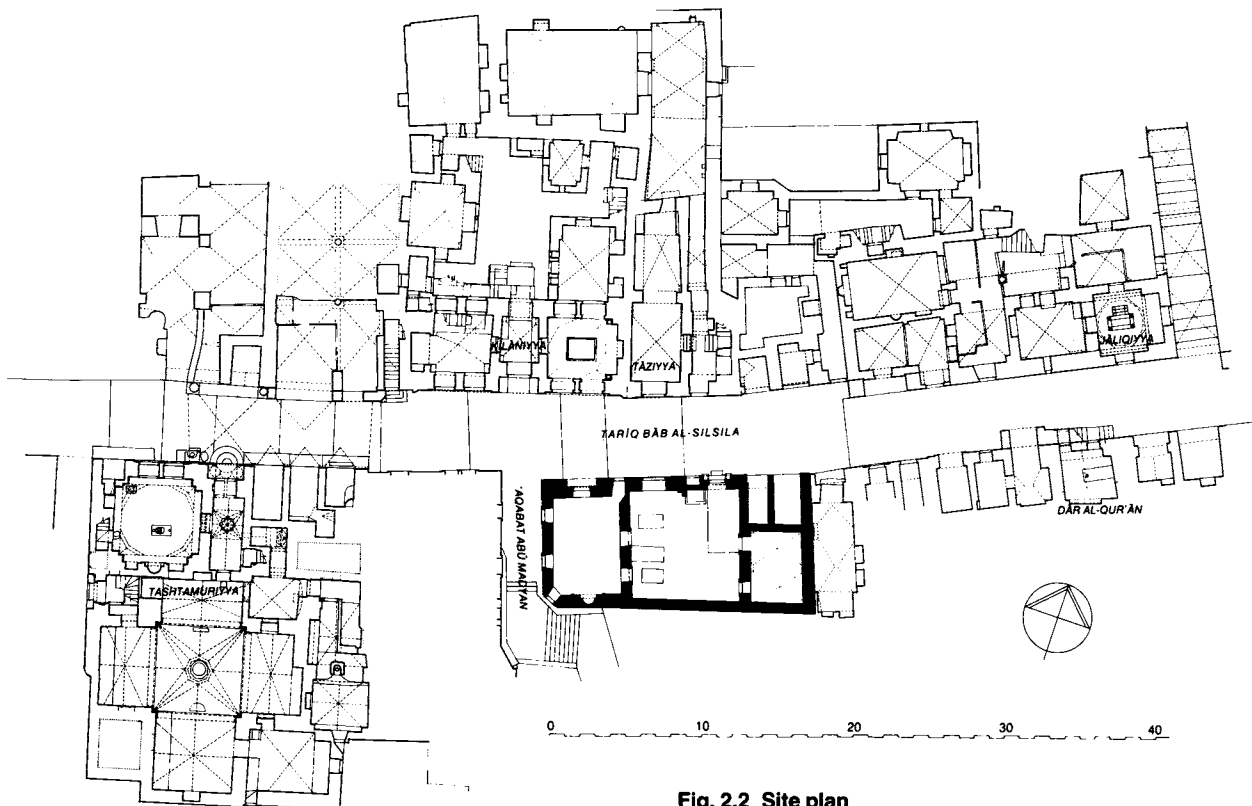


Fig. 2.2 Site plan

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

The Tomb of Barka Khān was situated 'opposite the Tāziyya Madrasa', in the words of Mujīr al-Dīn.<sup>1</sup> The various inscriptions commemorating Barka Khān and his two sons are within the open courtyard, although not necessarily in their original positions. Those of Barka Khān read as follows in the significant passages:

... This is the tomb of the servant needful of God's mercy and forgiveness, Barkatkhān [*sic*] (may God illumine his resting-place). He died on Friday, the first day of Muḥarram in the year 644 [18 May 1246]...<sup>2</sup>

... This is the tomb of the one needful of God Almighty's mercy, Ḥusām al-Dīn, prince of amīrs, Barka Khān, who died in the year 644 [1246]...<sup>3</sup>

An inscription recording restoration work on 'the tomb of the late martyr, the prince Ḥusām al-Dīn Barka Khān'<sup>4</sup> is found on a marble lintel above a grille window in the façade.

#### FOUNDER

The Amīr Ḥusām al-Dīn Barka Khān b. Dawlat Khān,<sup>5</sup> after whom the turba is named, was one of the four chiefs, and the most important one, of the Khwārizmian bands who operated in Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine in the 1230s and 1240s. They were the remnants, no doubt of mixed ethnic origin, of the army of the Khwārizm Shāh, whose empire had been shattered by the Mongols. After the death of Jalāl al-Dīn, the son of the last Khwārizm Shāh, this soldiery became ever more a threat to the economy and security of the area.<sup>6</sup> The Ayyūbid Sultan al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb had attempted to use them as an instrument of his policy. He married a half-sister of his to Barka Khān.<sup>7</sup> In the end the power of the Khwārizmiyya was broken in a battle south of Homs, which took place in Muḥarram 644/May 1246. Barka Khān was killed by a mamlūk of an Aleppan amīr – some say that he was decapitated and his head sent to Aleppo, where it was displayed on the citadel gate.<sup>8</sup>

It is far from clear who actually built the tomb. Mujīr al-Dīn held that it was built *after* the death of Barka Khān, although his opinion is weakened by the fact that he gives the date of construction as 792/1390,<sup>9</sup> which as we shall see derives from the inscription which records some restoration and new work and was presumably Mujīr al-Dīn's source. The Ottoman Defter 602 lists a 'waqf of Barka Khātūn (*sic*) in Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila in the David Quarter.'<sup>10</sup> There is no date given, and, even apart from the mistake in the title (if it is indeed a mistake), it is very easy to imagine that the waqf for the support of the tomb would later acquire that name. The entry in the defter provides scant evidence that Barka Khān had built, or begun, an endowed tomb before his death.

The Sultan Baybars married a daughter of the dead Khwārizmian leader, who became the mother of Barka Khān Muḥammad (b. 658/1260), the future Sultan al-Sa'īd.<sup>11</sup> Van Berchem speculated that this daughter was the pious builder of the tomb to honour her father. Such evidence as there is, however, points towards her brother, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bey, as being the founder.

Through the connection by marriage with Baybars, the two sons of the Khwārizmian leader, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bey and Ḥusām al-Dīn Kārā Bey, prospered. In 663/1264-5 Muḥammad Bey received as his own property the village of Dayr al-Ghuṣūn, which was one part of recent coastal gains from the Crusaders, distributed to his amīrs by Baybars.<sup>12</sup> This is significant, because the Ḥaram document no. 36 is concerned with 'the waqf of ... the late Badr al-Dīn b. Barka Khān in Jerusalem, namely a mosque (*masjid*), tomb (*turba*), and the village of Dayr al-Ghuṣūn, and [provision for] the cure of the sick and the preparing of the dead for burial in Jerusalem'.<sup>13</sup> In the absence of other evidence to the contrary, this is a strong indication that Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bey was the founder, if we may legitimately understand the '*turba*' to be the building

that is our present concern. If, moreover, the 'mosque' formed part of the same complex, that too is a valuable item of information. Badr al-Dīn died in Damascus, aged about 50, in Rabī' I 678/October 1279. He was first of all buried at the foot of Mount Qāsyūn, but in the following year his corpse was transferred to Jerusalem, where it was buried near his father's grave.<sup>14</sup>

#### DATE

There is little firm evidence to follow. If we accept Mujīr al-Dīn's statement that the turba was built after the death of Barka Khān, then we have as the earliest possible date the year 644/1246. The latest possible date is 679/1280, since Muḥammad Bey was then moved to Jerusalem to lie 'near his father's grave'. However, the memorial stone of the other son, Ḥusām al-Dīn Kārā Bey, survives, giving the date of his death as 3 Dhū'l-Hijja 661/8 October 1263.<sup>15</sup> At what date *his* remains may have been transferred to the turba in Jerusalem we cannot tell. He died and was first buried, it seems, in Cairo.<sup>16</sup> His death preceded by a few years the date of the acquisition of the village that eventually became part of Badr al-Dīn's waqf (see above). If one grants that the waqf of the village of Dayr al-Ghuṣūn was associated with the erection of the turba, then that could not have been possible before the village became Badr al-Dīn's property. This would tentatively narrow the range of dates for the building of the Barka Khān Turba to the years 663-679/1264-1280.

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

It is clear that substantial restoration or alterations, and also work on associated waqf properties, were carried out at the end of the fourteenth century. They are recorded in an extant inscription<sup>17</sup> (see below, p. 113).

It so happens that Ḥaram document no. 36 has direct relevance to the works here referred to. It was issued on the 7 Muḥarram 797/12 November 1394, and contains an instruction from the Chief Qādī of Egypt, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Baqā', to the Qādī of Jerusalem, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Isā b. Ghānim, that he officially record the repairs, and their cost, carried out by the *nāzir* of the waqf of Badr al-Dīn b. Barka Khān, and afford him, as he requested, all support and consideration. The *nāzir* is named as 'the senior amīr, Nāsir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Timūr al-'Alā'ī', surely the person who appears in the inscription. Indeed, the document tells us that 'he had repaired the waqf and thereby rent was forthcoming, which could be used for the charitable purposes of the waqf.' Badr al-Dīn b. Barka Khān is described as 'the ancestor on his mother's side' of the Amīr Nāsir al-Dīn Muḥammad, who exercised the office of administrator (*nāzir*) 'according to the stipulations of the founder (*wāqif*)'.

In 1865 Sandreczki visited the site. There he found 'a school, and entering the courtyard in front of it, two tombs, the inscriptions of which I copied ... the one on the S[outh] side is



arch of conduit (?) ▲

Plate 2.1 General view from west



the tomb of Husām ad dīn [Barka Khān], who died in the year of the Hijrē 644; the other on the N. side is that of Badr ad dīn al Barke Khān, who died in the y. of the H. 678. – From it the place is called Al Barke Khān. – Next to this school (W) lies a ruined mosque [on the site of the present reading room], which is called Jāmi' al Magharibé al Qadīm.<sup>18</sup>

The tomb became at a date unknown incorporated into the residence of the Khālidi family in Jerusalem. In 1900 a library of some 12,000 books and manuscripts was created by the Shaykh Rāghib al-Khālidi in what had been used as the family mosque.<sup>19</sup>

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### *STREET FAÇADE (fig. 2.4, plate 2.1)*

Since the street façade is virtually all that survives of the pre-Ottoman constructions on the site, our attention will focus on it. In order to clarify the sequence of construction of the five principal components that make up the present façade we shall discuss each phase of construction individually.

##### *(i) First phase*

This comprises the lowest courses of stones varying in height from three courses at the east end of the façade to one course under the east jamb of the reading room doorway. The stones forming these courses are roughly squared and project about 0.08m further into the street than those of the rest of the façade. These stones must be the remains of an earlier building on the site. Some of them have been cut back in places, possibly at a later date, to form shallow ledges whose purpose is not known.

Towards the middle of the façade the upper voussoirs and keystone of a slightly pointed arch can be seen in Creswell's 1920 photograph (*plate 2.1*). Part of the pavement beside this arch was dug up to install a new sewer in 1982, allowing more of the arch to be inspected. It appeared then that the stones filling the arch are later insertions intended to block it; it is impossible to say when this was done without archaeological excavation. The arch itself may once have served to roof the main aqueduct carrying water from 'Solomon's Pools' to the Haram, which turns east down Ṭariq Bāb al-Silsila at about this point.

##### *(ii) Second phase*

This is a series of archways that extend eastward from the reading room. Piers supporting pointed arches rest on the rough masonry foundation of the first phase. Three archways survive although there may once have been one or two more to the east. Originally open, they are now largely filled with later work, the two western ones having been incorporated into the turba complex (see below) and the eastern one divided into two shops. Traces of partition walls on the inner (southern) faces of the piers (*plate 2.2*) indicate that each of the archways opened into a separate chamber, probably intended as a shop such as similar ones still in active use about 250m further west



Plate 2.2 North side of courtyard

up the street, which are almost certainly Crusader.<sup>20</sup> To judge from the stone dressing, the three belonging to phase (ii) are also Crusader. Further indication of their Crusader origin may be found in six curious circular shields, discussed below, which are carved about shoulder height in the masonry of the piers (shown in *fig. 2.4*).

The springers of the arches are set back about 0.10–0.15m from the jambs of the piers below, thereby forming a ledge that might have supported a beam spanning the archway. Attrition of the blocking masonry in the tympanum of the western archway has exposed a 0.01m square groove in the intrados of the arch, 0.08m from the face, connecting sockets 0.07m square and 0.03m deep at about 0.35m intervals. The groove and sockets could have held a frame supporting timber boarding (or something of that sort) in the tympanum. Such an arrangement would allow the shops to be securely closed by simple rectangular doors.

One course above the keystones of the archways a cavetto cornice with a square downturn at its west end (see *plate 2.1*) extends across the façade as far as the right-hand haunch of the third (eastern) arch. Originally it would have continued further east to include at least the third arch, but that section is now missing as is a section above the middle arch where four sculpted corbels have been inserted (see below).

The west pier of the arcade is wider than the others, indicating that here was the west end of the arcade where any residual lateral thrust from the vaults had to be accommodated. It is pierced by a rectangular window which appears to be an integral part of the original structure; the third course of masonry above its lintel has been cambered as if to spread the load onto the window jambs rather than the lintel. The height of the sill, originally 0.89m above present street level, has been raised 0.50m or so at some later date (see *fig. 2.4*). Quite what the purpose of this window was is hard to say. The east side of its interior embrasure is straight but the west side skewed so as to admit light to the reading room (see plan, *fig. 2.3*), and the present east wall of the reading room is chamfered at its north end to avoid blocking the window. If the west pier containing the window originally extended back southwards to form the west wall of the arcade, as traces of Crusader masonry in the east wall of the reading room (*plate 2.3*) would appear to



Plate 2.3 West side of courtyard

suggest, then we must assume that the window was then either simply a recess cut into the pier or that it opened into a space entered either from the archway to the east or from the lane to the west. The purpose of such a recess or space can only be guessed at, but it should be noted in this context that four of the six circular shields on the façade are to be found on the jambs of this window.

##### *(iii) Third phase*

This is the façade of the reading room, the main feature of which is the Romanesque doorway (now a window) (*figs. 2.7, 2.8*). This façade abuts directly on the last pier of the arcade. A straight vertical joint with only minor irregularities near the top

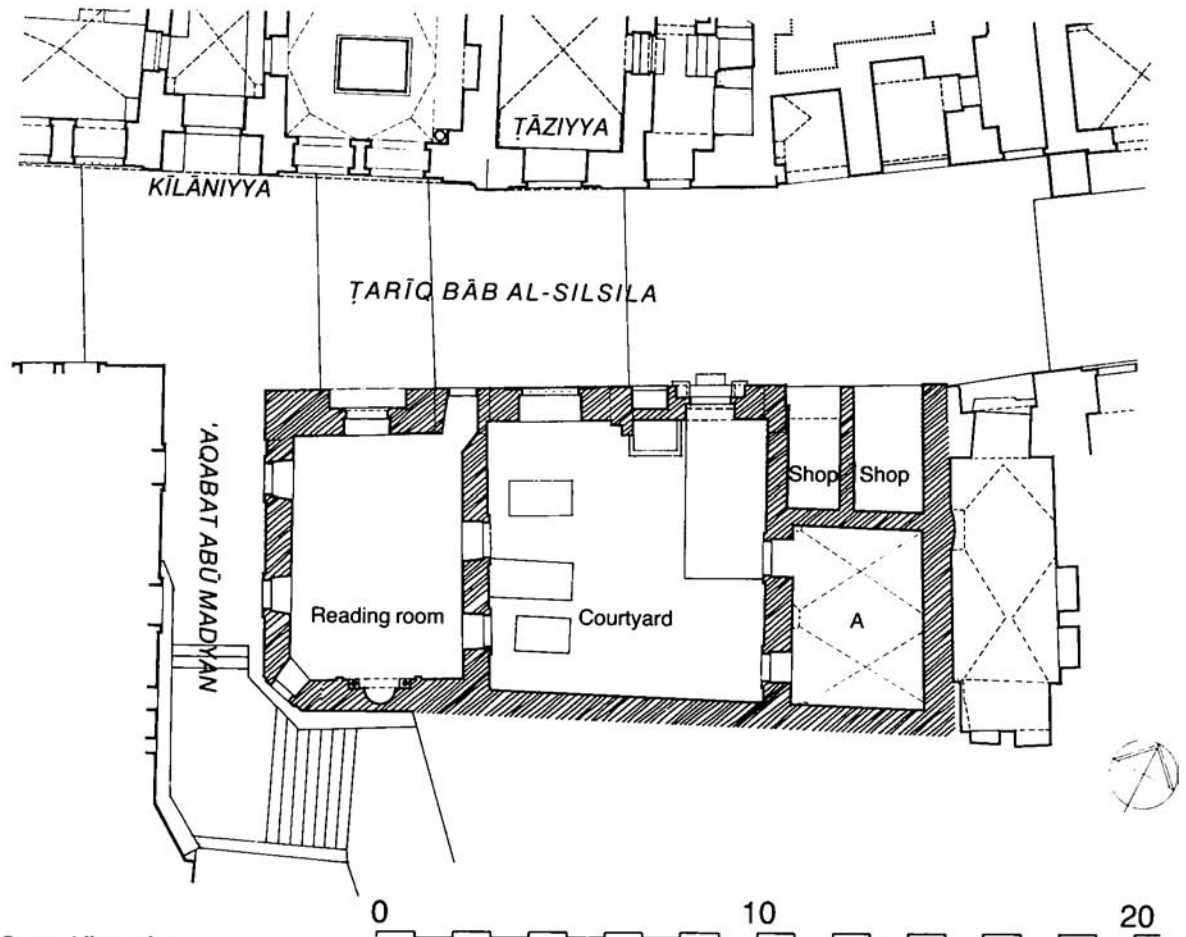


Fig. 2.3 Ground floor plan

defines the conjunction. Above the level of the doorway the stonework of the façade is stepped in about 0.05m on either side, one course higher at the west side than at the east side. These steps in the masonry may indicate that the upper part of the façade was rebuilt at some time. At a level one course above the higher of the two steps a cavetto cornice, very similar in profile to the one over the arcade, runs across the façade and terminates in curved downturns at each end. The masonry above this cornice belongs to the fifth, late Ottoman, phase and supports the north end of a tiled monopitch roof over the reading room.

The Romanesque doorway is placed off centre in this façade in a manner which suggests that the door was positioned to be on the central axis of the chamber it gave access to. In other words, the pre-existing end wall of the arcade to the east formed the east wall of the chamber and so its thickness is not expressed on the façade, while the west wall was newly built and its thickness accounts for the eccentricity of the façade.

The doorway is unusual but not unique in the architecture of Jerusalem. A very similar (but undated) doorway that existed – and may still exist – in the Old City in the vicinity of Bāb al-Sāhira (Herod's Gate) is recorded in a photograph preserved in the archives of the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum (see *plate 2.4*). Both doorways have hoodmoulds around an outer arch of gadrooned voussoirs enclosing an inner chevron arch resting on elbow consoles (*fig. 2.7*). The entrance to the Kubakiyya (no. 6), dated c.688/1289, shares some of these features. All three doorways represent a continuation of Crusader-Ayyūbid architectural traditions as exemplified by the gadroon-arched entrances to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Siqāya of al-'Ādil and the Afḍaliyya Madrasa (*plates 2.5, 2.6 and 9*). The Ayyūbid and Mamlūk examples may incorporate re-used Crusader elements, but no reliable criterion has yet been recognized for differentiating between Crusader sculpture and later copies of it. At least the



Plate 2.4 'Dar al-Hajj Yasīn al-Lebban in Haret es Sa'diyya: interior entrance, medieval arch'. Photo dated 29.9.1933

capitals of the elbow consoles at the Turba of Barka Khān, shown in a drawing by Pierotti of 1864 (*plate 2.7*) but no longer *in situ*, must be Crusader *spolia*.<sup>21</sup> A.G. Walls, who recorded the building 1968-71, observed what he considered to be one of the original capitals among a miscellaneous collection of worked stones in a corner of the courtyard.<sup>22</sup> The arrangement of the various components, such as the hoodmould that turns outwards above the springing level of the arches, appears, however, to be Mamlūk.

This entrance to the reading room was still open in 1900<sup>23</sup> but had been partly blocked up and converted into a window by 1920 (see *plate 2.1*) and we may surmise that this and other changes took place shortly after the library was opened in 1900.

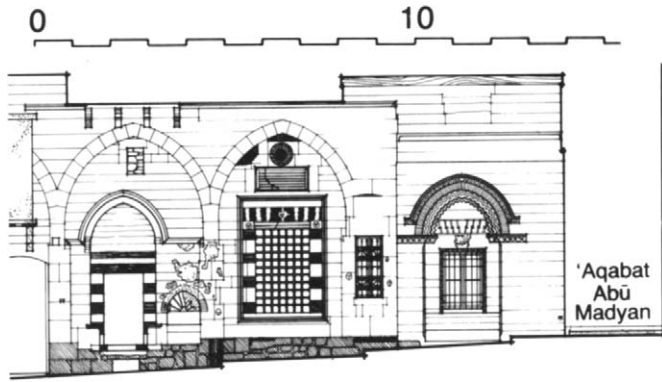


Fig. 2.4 Street façade

West →

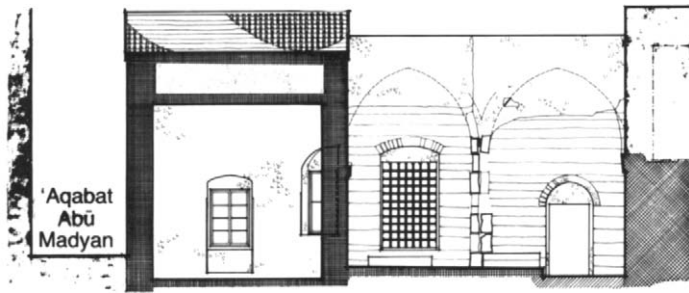


Fig. 2.5 West-east section looking north

East →

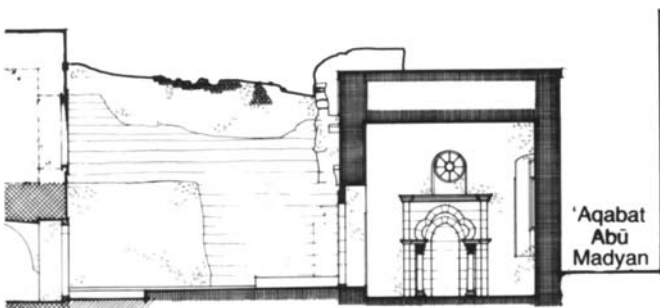


Fig. 2.6 East-west section looking south

West →

(iv) Fourth phase

This involved the partial filling of the two archways immediately to the east of the reading room to form a window in the western one and a portal and small water trough in the eastern one. A two-line inscription above the window records the event:

This window and the dome over the tomb (*turba*) of the deceased prince Ḥusām al-Dīn Barka Khān and the vault (*qanṭara*) and its upper floor (*'alwabā'*/*ulwabā*) and the blessed portal (*bawwāba*) and the drinking trough (*masqāa*) and the shops (*hawānīt*) and their upper floor and the five apartments (*buyūt*) in the waqf house (*bi-dār al-waqf*) were constructed (*ansba'a*) by . . . Muhammad b. Aḥmad b. Timur (?) al-'Alā'ī . . . at the beginning of Dhū' l-Qa'da 792 (11 October 1390).

The windows, portal and drinking trough are all that is positively recognizable of the things itemized in the inscription. Of the (rebuilt) dome over the *turba* nothing survives, and of the vault and its upper floor nothing is identifiable except possibly four corbels above the portal. The shops and the five apartments are no longer identifiable.

The grilled window<sup>24</sup> bearing the inscription on its lintel is built of red and cream-coloured *ablaq* masonry framed by a quirked ogee moulding (fig. 2.4). On either side of the inscription two marble plaques are carved with unusual blazon-like devices which, according to M. Meinecke,<sup>25</sup> are probably to be construed as the tribal badge or *renk* of Barka Khān. Above the lintel is a polychrome marble veneer



Plate 2.5 Entrance to Church of the Holy Sepulchre



Plate 2.6 Detail of entrance to the Siqāya of al-'Adil (589/1193)

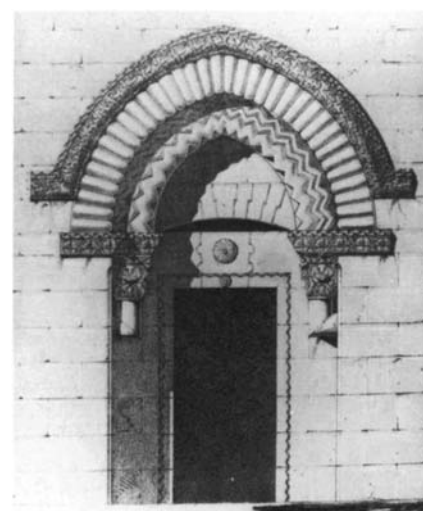


Plate 2.7 Entrance door after Pierotti



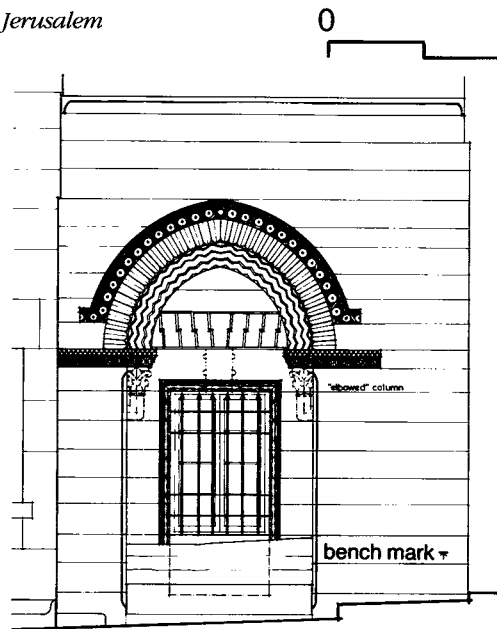


Fig. 2.7 Elevation of doorway

representing a string course of joggled voussoirs, the central one of which is more elaborately modelled than the others and is inscribed with the word 'Allāh'. Above the frame moulding, in the tympanum of the earlier arch, there is a seven-line inscription, the historical part of which reads:

... This is the tomb (*turba*) of ... Barkat Khān, may God illuminate his grave (*darīh*). He died on Friday 1 Muharram 644 (18 May 1246) ...

This inscription must belong to the original monument, having been removed to its present position presumably during the work done in 792/1390. It is recessed 0.04m into the surrounding masonry, which has been given a bevelled edge to frame the panel. The bevelling at the base of the panel, cut in the top of the same stones as the quirked ogee moulding framing the grilled window, continues a little way on either side of the panel, as if the frame was intended for a wider inscription. In fact this bevelling is exactly the same width as the inscribed window lintel (1.25m), which suggests some sort of relationship between the two, though what that relationship might have been or been intended to be is not clear. Above the seven-line inscription is a circular oculus (now blocked) with a bevelled rim surrounded by an elegant border of finely carved olive or palm leaves.

The portal built into the earlier archway to the east of the grilled window consists of a shallow recess, 0.35m deep, spanned by a pointed horseshoe arch. A cavetto hoodmould around the extrados of the arch extends laterally on both sides at the springing as far as the jambs of the earlier, enclosing archway. Little carved leaves similar to those in the border round the oculus decorate the corners of the hoodmould at the springing and at downturns at either extremity (see *fig. 2.4*). The voussoirs of the arch have been replaced at some time with crudely worked stones now smeared with cement. The two springers survive, however, to show that originally the arch was composed of gadroon voussoirs evidently in imitation of those of the Romanesque doorway. The door at the back of the recess has jambs of red and cream-coloured *ablaq* and is flanked by the customary stone benches. Above the portal a rectangular window (now blocked) opened under the keystones of the enclosing archway.

The portal is placed left of centre in that archway to allow space for a niche alongside, which houses the drinking trough mentioned in the inscription of 792/1390. Though badly damaged, the pointed arch over the niche can be seen originally to have been gadrooned like that of the portal (see *fig. 2.4*). The stone trough in the lower part of the niche appears to have been filled by pouring water directly into it from the street; it

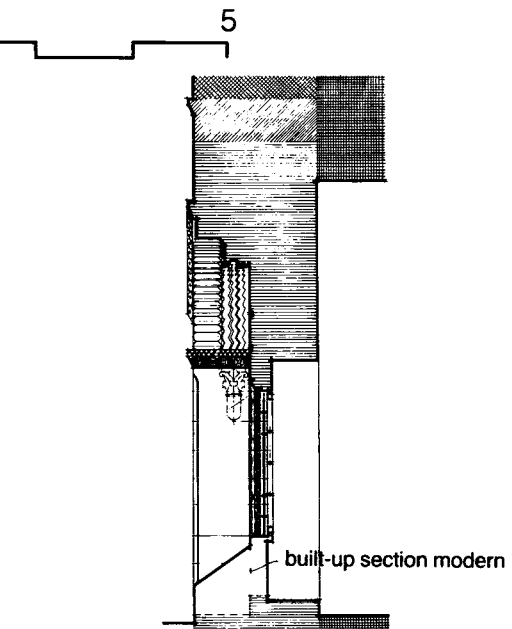


Fig. 2.8 Section of doorway

has only a small drain hole (diameter 0.04m) at the bottom. There is no trace of any water supply within the building complex.

The four roll corbels, whose introduction entailed removal of a section of the cornice, are centred on the archway enclosing the portal and drinking trough. They were evidently intended to support a balcony or an oriel window like the one immediately to the east of the portal, shown in *plate 2.1*, which was demolished as recently as 1984. A nearly contemporaneous oriel window survives at the Ṭashtamuriyya (no. 45) built in 784/1382-83. These corbels are all that remain of what may have been the upper floor mentioned in the inscription of 792/1390. No trace of a staircase exists.

#### INTERIOR (plan, *fig. 2.3*)

The entrance portal described above is now the entrance to the library. It leads into an open courtyard on two levels, one 0.23m higher than the other. This courtyard occupies the space formerly occupied by two of the three shops behind the earlier archways. It is enclosed by relatively modern walls on three sides and by the street wall on the fourth, north side.

The east wall contains traces of a partition wall of the earlier shops at its north end; the remainder of the wall is later. About the centre is a door leading into the cross-vaulted room

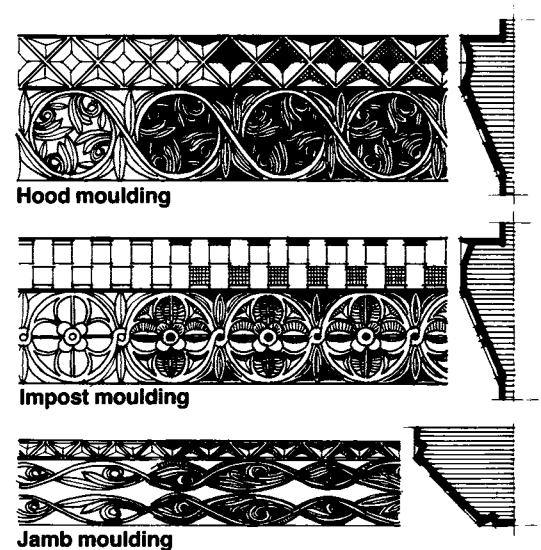


Fig. 2.9 Mouldings



Plate 2.8 East side of courtyard

'A', with a window on the right. Both door and window have distinctive projecting surrounds (see *plate 2.8*), typically nineteenth-century Ottoman in style, which appear to have been added to earlier openings. The upper part of this east wall is of more regular masonry in which four identical windows open, each with a projecting surround similar to those of the door and window below (*plate 2.8*) and all obviously late Ottoman.

The south wall is quite plain apart from remains of medieval masonry at the west end (*plate 2.9*), which must belong to the earlier shops on the site.

The west wall contains a door and a window opening into the reading room. Both openings have projecting frames like those in the east wall but here with flat instead of segmental arches (*plate 2.3*).

The present owners reported that the east and west walls of the reading room were rebuilt about 1876 for a family mosque.<sup>26</sup> The exterior masonry of the west wall (which forms the frontage on 'Aqabat Abū Madyan) is similar to that of the east wall. That part of the south wall of the reading room that confronts 'Aqabat Abū Madyan belongs to the same period of construction as the west wall (*plate 2.1*). Inside the reading room a trefoil-arched *mibrāb* in the middle of the south wall (see *fig. 2.6*) is a relic of this room's adaptation as a mosque.

Built into the outer face of the east wall of the reading room are three inscriptions, epitaphs of Barka Khān and his sons.<sup>27</sup> These inscriptions must have been built into the wall at the time of its construction, about 1876, or later. Two of them were seen by Sandreczki in 1865 on the south and north sides, respectively, of the courtyard (above, p. 110). Under each inscription there is a low stone platform (0.30m high) revetted with plain nineteenth-century ceramic tiles. The middle platform (2.30m long x 1.00m wide) abuts on the reading room wall. The other two are freestanding. The southern is 1.50m x 0.90m and the northern 1.70m x 0.90m. They appear to be cenotaphs, each related to an epitaph in the wall. Presumably they were built at the same time as the epitaphs were built into the wall. An outline of vaults in the upper part of the wall seems to indicate that the courtyard was vaulted – or re-vaulted – when the wall was rebuilt around 1876. The vaulting did not last long, however, for a photograph of about 1920 in the collection of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem shows the courtyard open to the sky.

#### INTERPRETATION

Of the phases of construction described above, it is the third and fourth – belonging to the Mamlūk period – that concern us here. The first of these, phase (iii), was built probably some time after 663/1265 when a village that was endowed upon the turba was granted to the founder,<sup>28</sup> Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bey, son of Barka Khān, and before Badr al-Dīn's burial in 679/1280. By analogy with the nearly contemporary Kubakiyya



Plate 2.9 South side of courtyard

Turba we may reasonably assume that the Romanesque doorway was the entrance to the original Turba, square in plan, covered by a dome.

All three epitaphs state bluntly that 'this is the grave (*qabr*) of . . .' and it may be presumed that each originally marked a cenotaph of some kind in the tomb chamber, subsequently removed from there before 1865 when Sandreczki saw two of them in the courtyard. The inscription in the street façade above the grilled window of the fourth phase, which includes the words 'this is the tomb (*turba*) of . . . Barkat Khān', was, together with the two plaques bearing his *renk*, doubtless set in a prominent position; a possible place would have been over a window in the west façade which no longer survives.

The eastward extension, phase (iv), was made in 792/1390 to create a new street façade roughly symmetrical about the central grilled window. Nothing is known about the amīr responsible for this work apart from his name: Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Timur (?) al-'Alā'ī. What his intention might have been in restoring the dome of the turba and adding a new façade is obscure; the area behind that new façade, the present courtyard, may on the basis of Ḥaram document no. 36 (cited above) have been intended as a mosque, though in that case we should have expected some mention of it in the inscriptions.

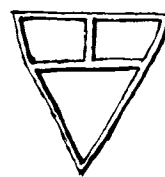


Fig. 2.10 Lapidary shield at entrance to Ribāṭ of 'Alā' al-Dīn

#### LAPIDARY SHIELDS

Of the six shields carved on two piers of the early archways incorporated into the complex in 792/1390, four have been partly defaced and none is cut with any great precision. But the design is clear: a T within a circle. Several analogous shields in the form of an upside-down T enclosed by an isosceles triangle resting on its point (*fig. 2.10*) are to be found elsewhere in Jerusalem: five, all much the same size and at roughly shoulder height in the outer porch of Bāb al-Silsila/Bāb al-Sakīna; two others similar in size and height above ground at the entrance to the Ribāṭ of 'Alā' al-Dīn (below, p. 126); another similar in size and also at shoulder height on the street frontage of the Dār al-Qur'ān al-Sallāmiyya (below, p. 382); and one similar in shape but very much larger on the southern abutment of an arch spanning the street immediately to the west of the Sūq al-Laḥḥāmīn,<sup>29</sup> one of the three parallel markets in the centre of



Fig. 2.11 Jeton from 'Atlit (after C.N. Johns)

the town. The date of none of the structures on which these shields are carved is known with precision. The tomb chamber of the Ribāt is probably Ayyūbid (below, p. 121), as is the porch at Bāb al-Silsila, which is datable between 583/1187 and 595/1199-1200.<sup>30</sup> The structure of the nearby Dār al-Qur'ān and the arch by the Sūq al-Laḥḥāmīn may be Crusader and the arcade of the Turba of Barka Khān is probably so (above, p. 111). All appear to have been built before the Mamlūk period at least.

The shields are clearly not masons' marks: they are too big and are found at shoulder height where they look as if they have

been chiselled like graffiti on existing buildings. A similar motif is found on a *jeton* excavated with associated Crusader and Ayyūbid coins by C. N. Johns in a thirteenth century destruction layer at 'Atlit (Pilgrims' Castle)<sup>31</sup> (fig. 2.11).

If all these examples are nearly contemporaneous they could only have been made after the recovery of Jerusalem by Saladin in 583/1187 and before 658/1260 when Jerusalem was definitely incorporated into the Mamlūk empire. Given that 'Atlit was in Templar hands for much of that time and that all the shields bear some form of the letter 'T' it is tempting to speculate that the shields similar to the 'Atlit *jeton* identified buildings that were Templar possessions during the period 626-642/1229-1244 when Jerusalem was ceded to the Franks by al-Malik al-Kāmil. Future research in the Crusader cartularies might shed more light on the subject.

## Notes

- 1 Mujīr, ii, 45.
- 2 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 59.
- 3 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 60.
- 4 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 63.
- 5 His father's name is given in the biographical notice on his son, see Šafadī, *Wāfi*, ii, 248.
- 6 Ibn Wāsil, *Mufarrīj*, Cairo, 1972, iv, 325.
- 7 *Sulūk*, i, 280.
- 8 Ibn Wāsil, *Mufarrīj*, Paris Ms. 1703, s.a. 644; Šibt b. al-Jawzī, *Mir'at al-Zamān*, Hyderabad, 1952, viii, pt. ii, 760 and 764-5; Abū Shāma, *Dhayl*, Cairo, 1947, 178; Šafadī, *Wāfi*, x, 121.
- 9 Mujīr, ii, 45.
- 10 Defter 602, 459. The property mentioned was 'Two apartments (*tabaqas*) above the turba (annually 72 aspers); a storeroom (*makhzan*) near the above (annually 24 aspers); a shop (*dukkān*) near the above, in front of it [?] (annually 3 aspers); a house (*bayt*) in the Moroccans' Quarter (annually 72 aspers).'
- 11 Ibn al-Dawādārī, viii, 219.
- 12 *Sulūk*, i, 533; Ibn al-Dawādārī, viii, 113 reads Dayr al-Qušūr and calls Muḥammad Bey 'Nāsir al-Dīn'.
- 13 A pauper from West Africa (*Takrūrī*), found dead in the Haram at Bāb al-Nāzir, qualified for burial at the expense of 'the waqf of al-Sayfī Barka Khān [sic] in Jerusalem', see Haram no. 840, dated 796/1394.
- 14 Šafadī, *Wāfi*, ii, 248-9 (gives the year only); *Sulūk*, i, 674: 9 Rabi' 1/20 July, but the extant funerary inscription gives 1 Rabi' 1/12 July, see *CIA (Ville)*, no. 62.
- 15 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 61.
- 16 *Sulūk*, i, 500. This source gives the date of his death as the eve of Wednesday, 5 Dhū'l-Hijja 661/10 October 1263.
- 17 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 63.
- 18 C. Sandreczki, 'Account of a survey of the City of Jerusalem made in order to ascertain the names of streets etc.' *apud* C. Wilson, *The Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, 1865, IXth day.

- 19 See A.G. Walls, 'The Turbat Barakat Khan or Khalidi Library', *Levant*, vi, 1974, 25.
- 20 Illustrated in M. Benevenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, 1970, 67.
- 21 Enlart considered the impost blocks above the capitals to be in secondary use: C. Enlart, *Les monuments des Croisés*, Paris, 1925-1927, i, 27; *Atlas*, ii, fig. 373.
- 22 A.G. Walls, *art. cit.*, 30 and pl. xivb, where a detailed description of the doorway is given.
- 23 As is shown in a photograph dated 1900 in *Ewiges Jerusalem 1850-1910*, with introduction and legends to the plates by T.N. Gidal, Lucerne and Frankfurt, 1980, 5th plate.
- 24 This window was repaired in 1942 when no significant alterations were made to the original design. A description of the repairs, based on a report in the archives of the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum, is included in an appendix to the article by A.G. Walls cited in n.19 above.
- 25 M. Meinecke, 'Zur mamlukische Heraldik', *MDIK*, xxviii, 1973.
- 26 Report cited by A.G. Walls, *art. cit.* (n. 19 above).
- 27 *CIA (Ville)*, 185-196.
- 28 F.-M. Abel, 'La liste des donations de Baibars en Palestine d'après la charte de 663H. (1265)', *JPOS*, xix, 1939-40, 38-44.
- 29 C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874*, i, London, 1899, 14, pl. 1, mentions other similar shields 'in the blind alley on the left hand side of the street Khān ez Zeit, before one comes to the bazaar', which he says are not regular masons' marks, but probably marks of ownership of the buildings'.
- 30 Discussed in M. Burgoyne and J. Folda's review of H. Buschhausen, *Die süditalienische Bauplastik im Königreich Jerusalem*, Vienna, 1978, in *The Art Bulletin*, lxiii, 1981, 321-24.
- 31 C.N. Johns, 'Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlit (1932-3)', *QDAP*, v, 1935-36, fig. 20.



### 3 RIBĀṬ OF 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN

#### رباط علاء الدين

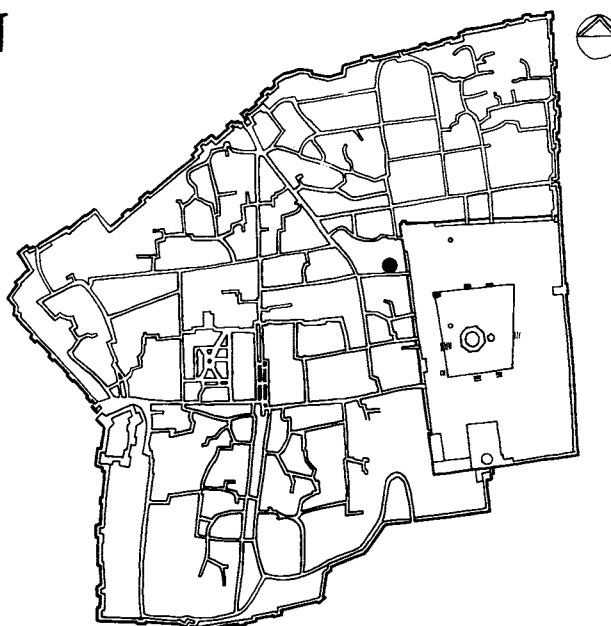


Fig. 3.1 Location plan

666/1267-68

Pilgrim Hospice of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ayduḡhdī al-Baṣīr

Modern name: Ḥabs al-Dam ('Prison of Blood')

#### I LOCATION (fig. 3.1)

On the north side of Ṭariq Bāb al-Nāzir about 25m west of the Ḥaram Gate, Bāb al-Nāzir.

#### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (plan, figs. 3.2 and 3.3)

The building comprises four main components clearly marked on the plan: (1) an entrance portal, which gives access to (2) a number of cells ranged in a single storey around the west, north and east sides of a large open courtyard, (3) a high vaulted chamber in the south-east corner, entered from the street, housing the tomb of the founder; we shall call this the 'tomb chamber', and (4) two vaulted halls in the south-west corner entered from the main courtyard; we shall call these the 'vaulted halls'. The Ḥasaniyya Madrasa (no. 55) was built in 837/1434 partly over the vaulted halls and entrance portal.

#### III HISTORY

##### IDENTIFICATION

In the street running up to the Gate of the Inspector (Bāb al-Nāzir) stands the Hospice (*ribāṭ*) of 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Baṣīr 'opposite the Hospice of al-Manṣūr'.<sup>1</sup> A marble tablet within the porch contains the following inscription:<sup>2</sup>

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is the waqf of the Amīr 'Alā' al-Dīn Ayduḡhdī al-Ruknī. He has made a perpetual waqf of all that is within this door, the vaulted rooms and the courtyard, in favour of the poor who come on pilgrimage to Jerusalem the Noble, in the year six hundred and sixty-six.

##### DATE

The date, 666/1267-8, is confirmed by Mujīr al-Dīn, but presumably on the strength of the inscription since he says: '... No waqf document of his survived, so his charitable donation was authenticated before the Qāḏī and the document (*maḥḍar*) confirming its legal status was drawn up and dated Thursday, 18 Rabī' II, 742 [Thursday, 4 October 1341].'<sup>3</sup>

##### FOUNDER

'Alā' al-Dīn Ayduḡhdī was a mamlūk of the Ayyūbid sultan, al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb.<sup>4</sup> He moved to the service of Baybars – hence in all probability the appellation al-Ruknī – and in late 660/1262 was sent on a secret mission to arrest Taybars al-Wazīrī, the governor of Damascus. He became blind and went to reside in Jerusalem, where he served as Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams (Jerusalem and Hebron) both for Baybars and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn. He had a reputation for good government – 'in his days the waqfs flourished and their yield multiplied'<sup>5</sup> –

and for piety and sagacity. His own foundations were numerous. In addition to the hospice, he built an ablutions place (*maṭbara*) for the mosque at Medina, paved the platform (*ṣabn*) around the Dome of the Rock, and erected a building near the mosque at Hebron, which included ovens and mills with storerooms for wheat and barley above. He also increased the daily charitable distribution in Hebron.<sup>6</sup> In addition Mujīr al-Dīn appears to say that 'Alā' al-Dīn repaired both the ablutions area of the Ḥaram in Jerusalem and the gate leading to it.<sup>7</sup> In 665/1266-7 he carried out works on the water supply to the Ḥaram and its immediate western surroundings.<sup>8</sup>

He overcame his loss of sight and was a respected and active administrator. It is said that he was able to trace the foundations for a bath-house at Hebron and mark them with lime for the builders, although only Ibn Taghribirdī, the fifteenth-century historian, spells out that he was blind at the time. He took great delight too in the breeding of blood-stock and always recognised his own horses.<sup>9</sup> The happy epithet *al-Baṣīr* (insightful) was applied to him. In time, by a not uncommon process, his tomb – he died in Shawwāl 693/August-September 1294 and was buried within his hospice – was converted into a holy place.<sup>10</sup> By 994/1537,<sup>11</sup> and regularly thereafter, he is referred to in the Jerusalem Sijills as *walī Allāb* (saint) and as shaykh.

##### ENDOWMENT

The Ottoman land register, Defter no. 522, contains a relatively long summary of the waqf of 'Alā' al-Dīn. The date of the *waqfiyya* is there said to be 741/1340-1, which is one year earlier than the date of the *maḥḍar* mentioned by Mujīr al-Dīn (see above). A translation of the sijill entry follows:<sup>12</sup>

The waqf of 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Baṣīr. After the upkeep of the hospice, the two cisterns in it and its special ablutions place (*maṭbara*), and of the rest of the property of the waqf, the administrator should pay to the caretaker<sup>13</sup> of the hospice aforementioned eight dirhams monthly. His duty is to sweep, lock up and open, and clean the hospice, to ...<sup>14</sup> the ablutions place, to light the lamps, that is two lamps every night until morning, one in the assembly hall (*majma*) of the hospice and the other in the ablutions place. [He should issue him] a half rotl of bread according to the Jerusalem measure each day. The administrator should pay what he thinks fit to purchase rope, buckets, lamps (*qanādīl*), ewers and mats to furnish<sup>15</sup> the assembly hall which is in the aforementioned hospice. What

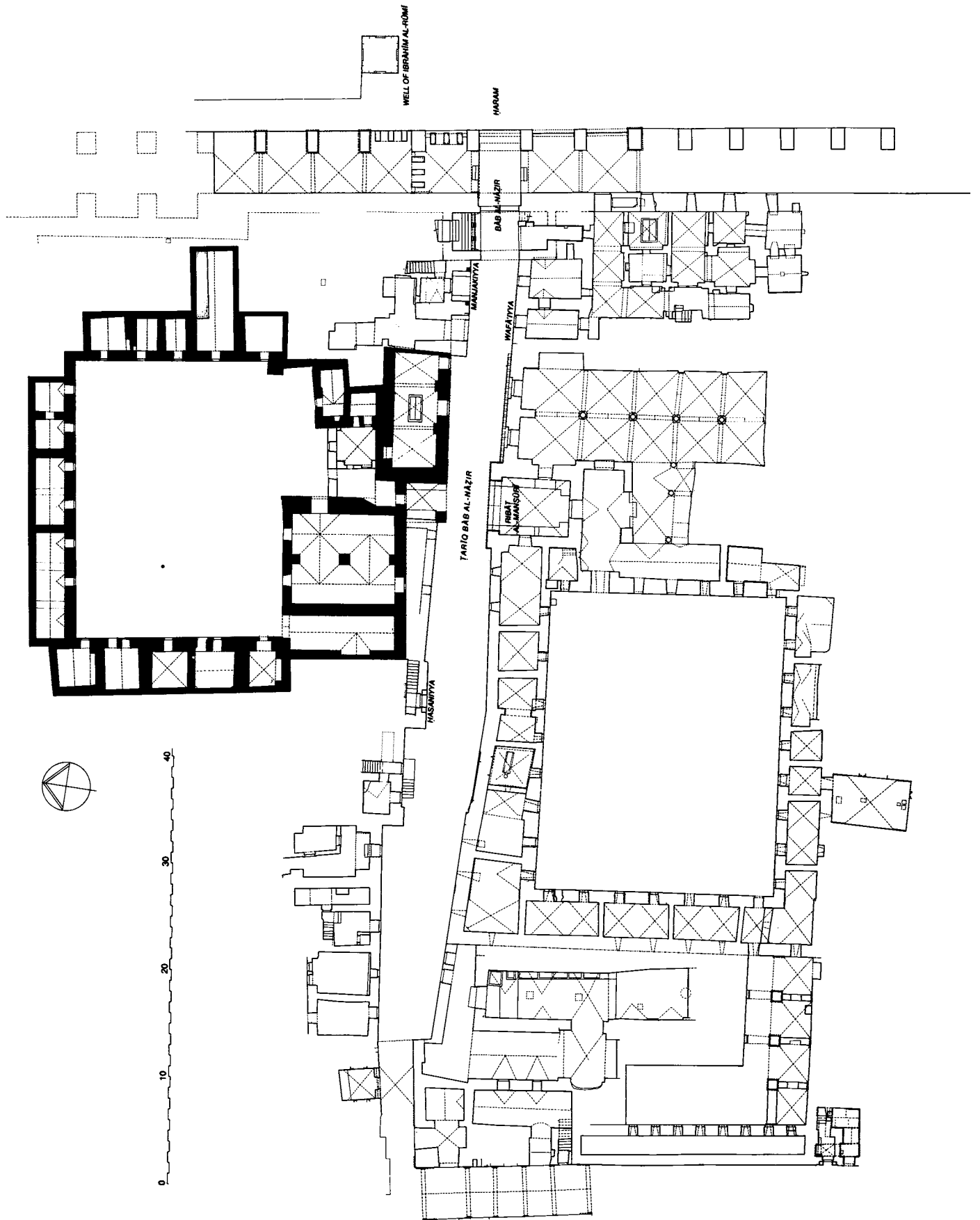


Fig. 3.2 Site plan

remains after that he should expend to buy medium-quality bread and distribute it to the poor and indigent who come to this hospice, to each one daily two rotls of the aforementioned bread according to the Egyptian measure – for five days, beyond which period the distribution [to an individual] should not continue. If it proves difficult to distribute to each person for five days, then let it be done for three days. If the visitors are numerous and the waqf cannot manage to satisfy all, the firstcomers shall be given precedence over those poor who come after them. The administration of the hospice and its endowments shall be in the hands of the Imām for the time being at the Dome of the Rock. The date of the *waqfiyya* is the year 741 [1340-1].

[List of Endowments]<sup>16</sup>

- [i] The house next to the corner<sup>17</sup> of the aforementioned hospice in Jerusalem
- [ii] The enclosure (*ḥawsh*) adjoining the said house in Jerusalem
- [iii] the house in Jerusalem next to the tomb chamber of the donor, to the east
- [iv] A mill and oven in Jerusalem.
- [v] A vault (*qabw*) in the district of the Valley of the Mills (Wādī al-Ṭawāḥīn) in Jerusalem
- [vi] Another vault in the Wādī al-Ṭawāḥīn near the recent bazaar (*qayṣariyya*)<sup>18</sup> in Jerusalem
- [vii] The two houses adjacent and attached to the vault, waqf of [the] hospice in Jerusalem<sup>19</sup>
- [viii] The cistern which is in the Old Market<sup>20</sup> in Jerusalem
- [ix] The cistern (complete) which is in the Armoury (*al-Zardkibāna*) in Jerusalem
- [x] The bath-house in Jerusalem known by the name of the donor: a  $\frac{20}{24}$  share
- [xi] The vault of the bath-house with its fittings and the water pipes from the land of al-Zāhir [Baybars'] khān and from the lands of al-'Umariyya (?) in Jerusalem

It is interesting to note that a sijill entry, dated 1008/1599, makes it clear that the Amīr 'Alā' al-Dīn had stipulated in his *waqfiyya* that the land should remain undeveloped (*kashf*), to act as a run-off area for water which would be collected and conveyed by a conduit (*qanāt*) to the cistern (*birka*) alongside the bath. By the late sixteenth century the cistern was ruined, the conduit choked and the bath unused 'for a long time'. The qāḍī allowed the *mutawallī* of the waqf to effect a six-year lease of the land (to be ploughed and planted with various fruit trees and vines) for 420 paras.<sup>21</sup>

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

The waqf properties of 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Baṣīr appear five times to our knowledge in the Ḥaram documents. The hospice itself is alluded to only once, in connection with the death of a resident, the Shaykh 'Umar al-Sharāfi, in 796/1394.<sup>22</sup> Otherwise the waqf properties of the hospice are three times mentioned as the residence or lodging of persons.<sup>23</sup> In another case the west boundary of a house near the Patriarch's Pool is given as the square (*al-rahba*), the waqf of 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Baṣīr.<sup>24</sup> Finally – and it is the earliest mention – in 747/1346 three contiguous shops 'built by the father of the vendor' were sold for 780 dirhams. They are described as 'standing on land given as endowment to the hospice of the Amīr 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Ruknī . . . These shops are . . . near the covered market (*qayṣariyya*) of the late Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz . . .'<sup>25</sup> Perhaps these shops were developments of the items (vi) and (vii) in the list above. Since there are no plots of land in the list of endowments, on which the vendor's father could have built his shops, it does appear that the earliest buildings, perhaps already ruinous, had been sold by the waqf, which retained only an interest in the land, to the extent of one silver dirham as a monthly ground-rent.

The Defter no. 522 records a later waqf in favour of the hospice as follows:<sup>26</sup>

The waqf of Maḥmūd Sūghānī (?) for the hospice of the above-mentioned ['Alā' al-Dīn] and with the same conditions. The date of the *waqfiyya* is the year 941 [1534-5].

[List of endowments]

- [a] A *kbān* in the district of the Wādī al-Ṭawāḥīn
- [b] the four shops and the . . . [text obscure]<sup>27</sup> . . . and the new (?)<sup>28</sup> dye-works including its contents of copper [-ware] and its wells.

Neither this entry nor the previous main one explains why twelve 'Ottoman dirhams' from the annual rent of 240 from a shop in the David Street area, which belonged to the Manjakiyya Madrasa, were to go to the hospice of 'Alā' al-Dīn.<sup>29</sup> The khān (or *funduq*) outside the Bāb al-Futūḥ in Cairo, recorded as an endowment of the hospice in 944/1537, must have been an additional donation at some time.<sup>30</sup> And which were the two shops and a pottery in the Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn district, let for three years in 939/1532?<sup>31</sup> The two houses 'near Bāb al-Nāzir' rented for three years in 1021/1612 for 288 'Egyptian piastres' can be identified with items (i) and (iii) in the list above.<sup>32</sup>

An account for the month of Rajab 945/November-December 1538 reveals that there were 17 residents (not including the *bawwāb*). They are called 'the gentlemen (*al-sāda*) poor in retreat (*al-mujāwirin*) in the cells of the hospice of Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn. They received six paras each and the *bawwāb* eight. There was another group of eleven persons, called 'the poor in the assembly hall', who received only one para each. If we add these sums to the 20 for the administrator, the same for the clerk, 150 for repairs to the bath of 'Alā' al-Dīn and other waqf property, 12 for oil for lighting (for Rajab and Sha'bān) and 10 for court expenses, etc., the grand total is 330 paras.<sup>33</sup> In just the next month 502½ Aleppo silver had to be found for repairs to the bath-house because of an accident with the boiler.<sup>34</sup>

As a result of earthquake damage, the collapse of the vault over the tomb of the founder (and with it a small room which belonged to the Manjakiyya), in 952/1546 it was decided that there was no use in restoring what had fallen and the qāḍī allowed the administrator of the Manjakiyya to auction the rubble and sell it for 500 aspers.<sup>35</sup> Earlier in the same year, the register records that a session of the qāḍī's court was held in 'the mosque (*jāmi'*) of the hospice', but without specifying why.<sup>36</sup>

During the early seventeenth century the right to live in the hospice was granted by the qāḍī, in rooms in either the western or northern rank (*ṣaff*), according to the few examples I have seen. In one case a man who had been awarded the privilege in 1047/1637 resigned it to another in 1066/1656.<sup>37</sup> The new man was specifically free to reside there himself or to let the room! We have come a long way from the terms of the original endowment with its restriction to five, or even three, days' supply of bread. May one infer that the length of residence was also similarly limited in the early years? Who later were the 'poor' residents who qualified to be addressed as 'gentlemen'?

#### LATER HISTORY

'Arif al-'Arif outlines the later history of the building:

At the beginning of the Turkish [Ottoman] period this ribāṭ and the Maṣūri Ribāṭ were taken as dwellings for the Tukārīna. They are of African origin, coming from Darfur [western Sudan] and its environs. The Turkish Government employed them in police matters and by agreement gave them the guardianship of the madrasas which were situated in the dwellings (*dūr*), residences (*manāzil*) and porticoes (*arwiqa*) around the west and north sides of the Ḥaram. The performance of these duties gave them the right to live there. They were always loyal to the State. They are black, tall, strongly built. They were

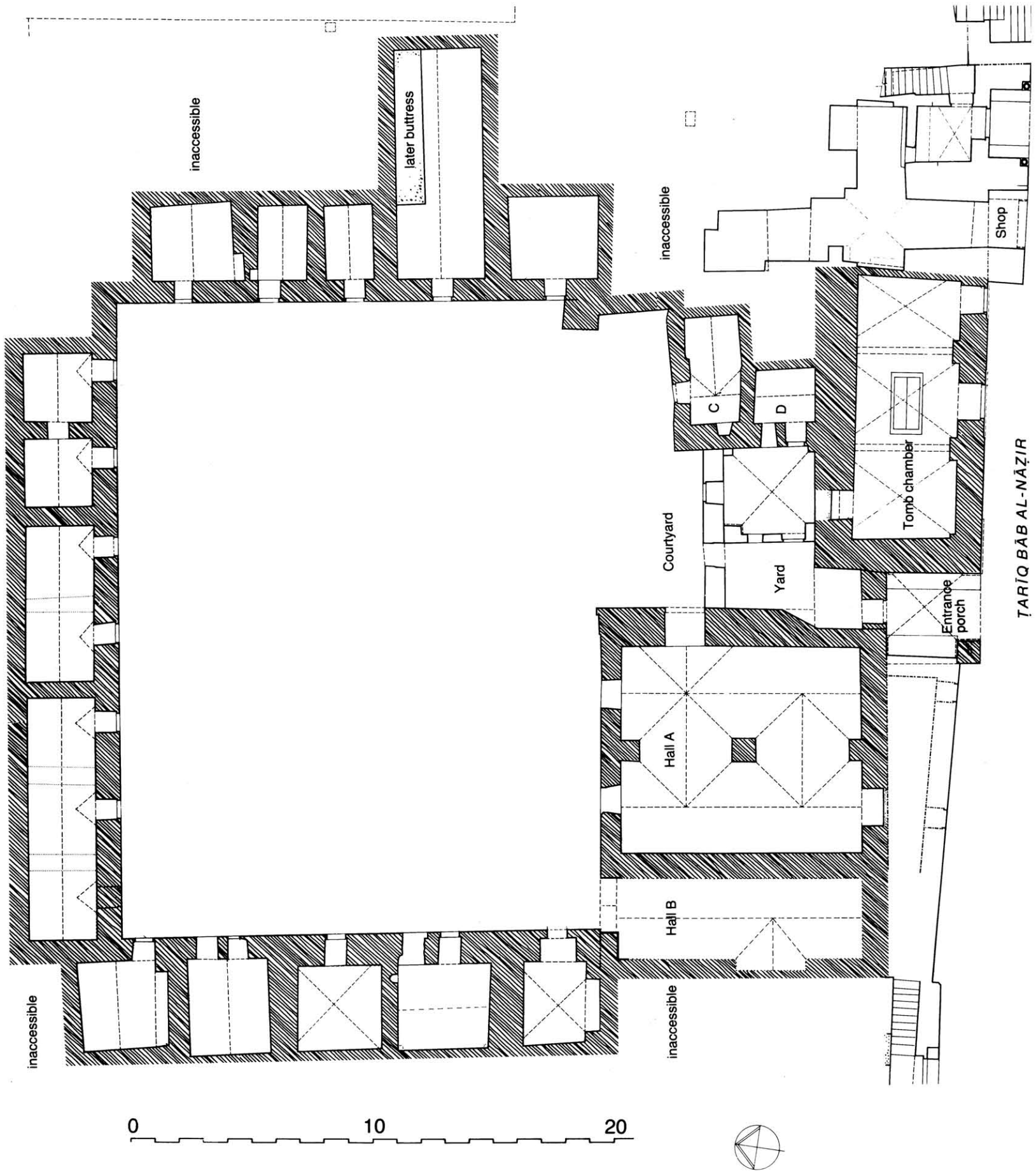


Fig. 3.3 Ground floor plan



given, by agreement, the guardianship of the gates of the Haram, for it was forbidden for Christians and foreigners to enter the Haram, and there was trouble for anyone who tried to go against this order and to approach any one of the gates, even princes and kings of foreign nations: entrance to the Haram was forbidden to them except by permission of the Tukārīna, and they were unlikely to allow this to any non-Muslim. We see this rule most vividly in the middle of the nineteenth century [1855] when the Mutaṣarrif of Jerusalem was obliged to imprison the Tukārīna so as to enable a king to visit the Haram.<sup>38</sup> These two ribāts were made into a prison at the end of the Turkish period. In one of them, the southern one [i.e. the Maṣṣūrī Ribāt], were kept those in custody awaiting judgment, and in the other those who had been sentenced. This was called the 'Prison of Blood' (*sijn al-dam*). And so things remained until the British occupation when the English moved the prison to the place now known as al-Muskawbiyya.<sup>39</sup> Nowadays they are inhabited only by the poor Tukārīna who live by begging.<sup>40</sup>

When van Berchem last visited Jerusalem, in 1914, these two ribāts were still in use as prisons. Now their courtyards are full of modern huts providing accommodation for the bulk of Jerusalem's African community; delightful people characterized by a disarming blend of African *joie de vivre* and Arab hospitality.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### STREET FRONTAGE (fig. 3.4)

The Ribāt of 'Alā' al-Dīn would have needed little alteration to adapt it for use as a prison. There are few openings in the external (south) wall and the other boundaries are entirely enclosed by adjoining buildings. The only entrance to the courtyard is placed more or less centrally in the street frontage.

That frontage shows four different styles of masonry. On the right (east), the high wall of the tomb chamber is particularly distinctive: it is built of roughly coursed stones, most of which have a smooth margin drafted round an irregular boss (*plate 3.1*, in which the patches of whitish stone around the door and lower window belong to repairs made in 1971). The masonry of the entrance portal is dressed smooth except for a recurrence of the bossed masonry of the tomb chamber in places immediately above the arched opening (*plate 3.2*). West of the entrance portal the wall is set back 0.82m. In this western section of the frontage two types of masonry have been used:



Plate 3.2 Entrance porch



Plate 3.3 Exterior of window in north wall of tomb chamber

large, coursed ashlar in the lower part of the wall contrasting with the smaller finely dressed coursed ashlar of the upper part, which extends over the ribāt's entrance to abut against the tomb chamber (*fig. 3.4*). These various masonry types indicate several stages in a complex sequence of construction.

The first clue to the interpretation of that sequence occurs in Muḥīr al-Dīn's description of a later building, the Ḥasaniyya Madrasa, which he says is 'at Bāb al-Nāzīr, over the Ribāt of 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Baṣīr . . . It was built in 837 (1434).'<sup>41</sup> Clearly the Ḥasaniyya Madrasa is the building at first floor level extending westwards from above the entrance of the ribāt, as its symmetrical fenestration and cavetto cornice indicate (*fig. 3.4*). The entrance to this madrasa is situated beyond the western limits of the ribāt (below, p. 536).

In the lower part of the tomb chamber there is one large window through which the cenotaph over the tomb of the founder may be seen, and, at the eastern extremity, a door leading into the tomb chamber. In addition to the window at street level three smaller clerestory lights, with narrow slit windows over the eastern and central ones (*fig. 3.4*), light the interior. The distinctive bossed masonry extends to the full height of the wall. Similar masonry occurs elsewhere in and around Jerusalem. It is common enough in the Crusader and Ayyūbid periods, particularly in fortifications, but is unrecorded in original Mamlūk construction. This suggests that the structure of the tomb chamber predates the construction of the ribāt. It is probably Ayyūbid, for an arched window in its north wall (*plate 3.3*) is built from stones of different shapes and sizes bearing distinctive traces of Crusader workmanship (diagonal tooling and masons' marks), which are obviously in



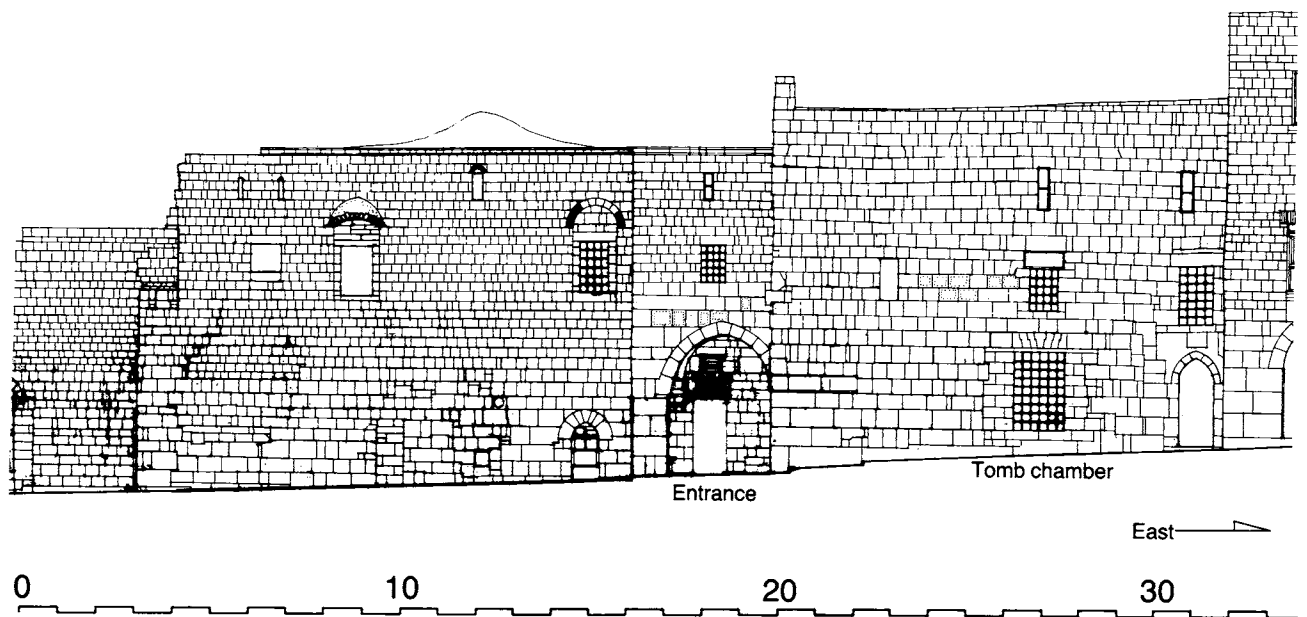


Fig. 3.4 Street frontage

re-use. The disposition of the smooth and bossed masonry shows what had happened. The tomb chamber predates the portal. In 666/1267-68 the portal was built against the tomb chamber (which did not house 'Alā' al-Dīn's tomb until 693/1294, of course) by first dismantling part of the corner wall in order to key in the impost of the arch. The stones thus removed were set aside, the portal constructed to the height of the keystone of the arch, and then the removed stones were re-used to complete the construction of the upper part of the portal.

The entrance portal consists of a deep, vaulted porch flanked by stone benches (*maṣtabas*) before a small door (1.76m high by 0.91m wide) (plate 3.2). Above the door the lintel is decorated with a curious arrangement of bevelled chevron motifs framed by a raised band carved with a regular pattern of continuous triangles. The fact that this raised band does not continue along the upper rim of the panel shows that the stone has been re-used as a lintel. The style of its decoration is Ottoman and it appears to be a later insertion replacing the original lintel. A relieving lintel composed of two stones of equal sizes is carved with counterfeit voussoirs to suggest a flat arch. Immediately above is the foundation inscription (above, p. 117) set back about 3cm from the face of the wall in a chamfer frame (plate 3.4, fig. 3.4).

Details of the construction of the vault of the porch show that its original form has been altered. From the plan (the plan of the vault is shown as a broken line in fig. 3.3) it will be observed that there are springers not only for the arch of the present entrance but for another arch at right angles to it on the west side of the porch. The original porch appears therefore to have been open on two sides. Thus the *maṣtaba* on the west side of the porch is a later insertion and the pier at the south-west corner, barely engaged into the adjoining masonry now, must have been freestanding then. The chamfering (to reduce abrasion) of the three visible corners of the pier suggests as much – otherwise there could be no reason for chamfering the north-east corner. Were it possible to remove a small piece of the masonry engaging the north-west corner of the pier we should surely find that that corner is also chamfered.

Thus the lower part of the western wall of the street frontage was constructed after the entrance to the ribāt but some time before the construction of the Ḥasaniyya Madrasa which it supports. Unfortunately, a small doorway in this wall is blocked (fig. 3.4) and so it is not possible now to view the

western aspect of the unusually arranged entrance to the ribāt.

#### INTERIOR (plan, fig. 3.3)

On passing through the entrance door one enters a small intervenient yard which is open to the sky. The cross-vaulted chamber on the east side of this yard is of manifestly recent construction, as is the high wall on its north side, which may reasonably be ascribed to adaptations made for the nineteenth-century prison. On the other hand the wall on the west side, which skews north-east away from the entrance before continuing northwards, is not. The upper part of the wall, supported by a half-arch (fig. 3.6), continues over the skew, which is simply cut out of the lower part of the wall. In other words, part of the thick east wall of the vaulted halls was cut away to allow the entrance of the ribāt to be placed as far as possible towards the centre of the north wall of the entrance porch. For this to have been necessary the halls must have been standing before the porch was built (see below).

A small door in the modern north wall of the intervenient yard opens north into the main courtyard. A wide, well-made pointed-arched doorway immediately on the left leads into the first of the two vaulted halls, marked 'A' on the plan. The vaulting consists of two parallel north-south tunnel vaults interconnected by two transverse vaults forming groins at the intersections and resting on a central pier (plate 3.5) and salient responds in the north and south walls. A recess in the south wall may have originally contained a window that was blocked up when the later wall supporting the Ḥasaniyya Madrasa was added (above, p. 536). Apart from that there were no other windows; the present two high-level windows in the north wall are modern. This hall must be the 'assembly hall' mentioned in the endowment deed recorded in the Tahrir register no. 522 (see above, p. 117). In 1971 the hall was consecrated as a mosque for the African community.<sup>42</sup> The event is commemorated by an inscription in the entrance porch alongside the foundation inscription (plate 3.4). The *mihrab* of the mosque, a queer skeletal frame of stone (plate 3.5), dates from this time; there is no evidence of any earlier *mihrab* within the confines of the ribāt.

In the south-west corner of the courtyard a pointed-arched doorway similar to that of the first vaulted hall opens into another hall, marked 'B', which is roofed with a barrel vault and now filled almost to the crown of the vault with debris. This second hall is structurally homogeneous with the first and must



Plate 3.4 Entrance door

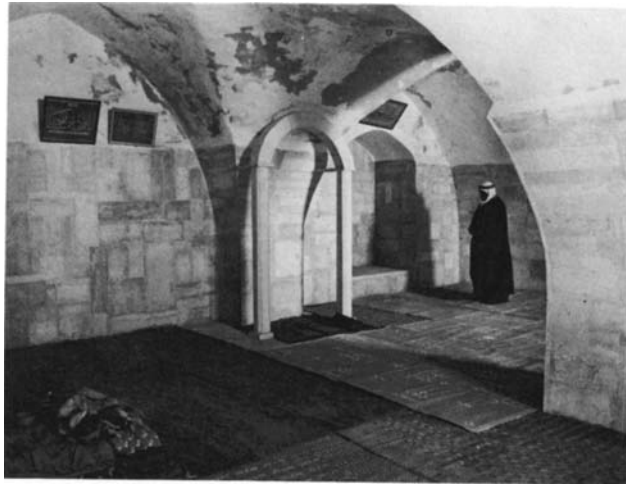


Plate 3.5 Vaulted hall 'A', south wall



Plate 3.6 South-east corner of courtyard

be contemporaneous with it. The masonry of their continuous north wall is very rough with no special features (*plate 3.13*). It has been shown above to be pre-Mamlūk, and to judge by its poor quality (apart from the door arches) it is probably Ayyūbid rather than earlier. An excision in the western half of the vault



Plate 3.7 Entrance to a cell

(see plan, *fig. 3.3*) suggests that there may once have been an opening under it in the west wall but this is entirely concealed by debris. This hall must have been the ablutions place mentioned in the Tahrir register no. 522 (see above, p. 117).

No cisterns are now visible within the confines of the ribāt, though two are mentioned in the Tahrir register no. 522. One of them is indicated in the 1865 Ordnance Survey plan as being in the vicinity of the south-west corner of the courtyard.

In the south-east corner of the courtyard two small rooms, marked 'C' and 'D' on the plan, occupy a salient filling the corner. This salient is part of the same Ayyūbid structure as the tomb chamber; it rises to the same height and shares the same bossed masonry (*plate 3.6*). Above rooms 'C' and 'D' there is a larger room marked 'E' on the upper floor plan, *fig. 35.4*, which is reached by way of a staircase incorporated into the Manjakiyya Madrasa (see below, no. 35).

The courtyard itself is crowded with such a jumble of modern shanties that little can be seen of the lower west, north and east walls. The layout of the cells round the courtyard is shown on the ground floor plan. Each cell had a pointed-

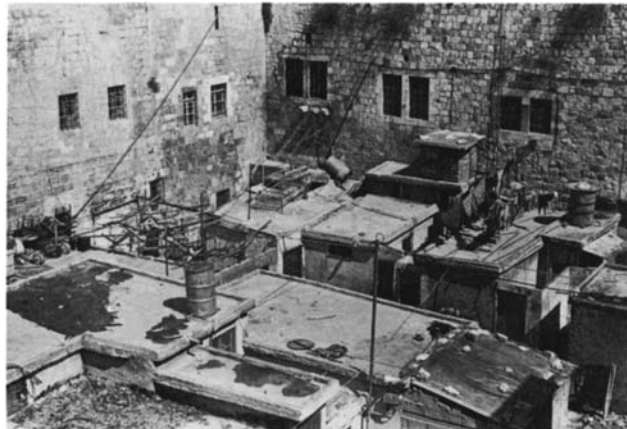


Plate 3.8 General view of north-east corner of courtyard

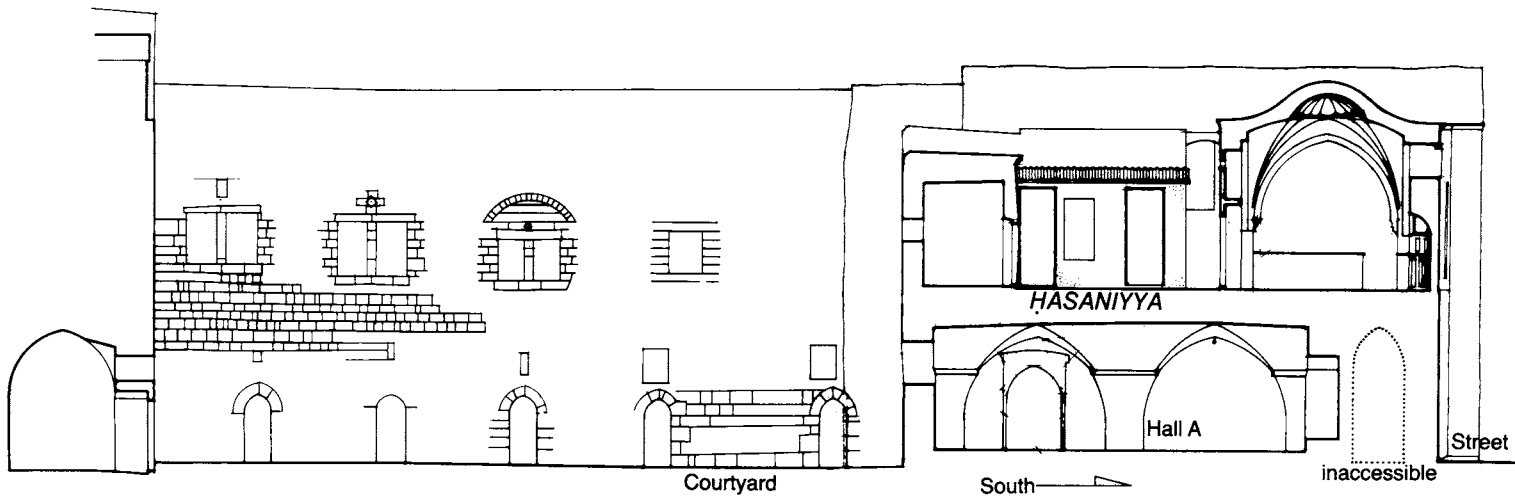


Fig. 3.5 North-south section through courtyard and hall 'A' looking east

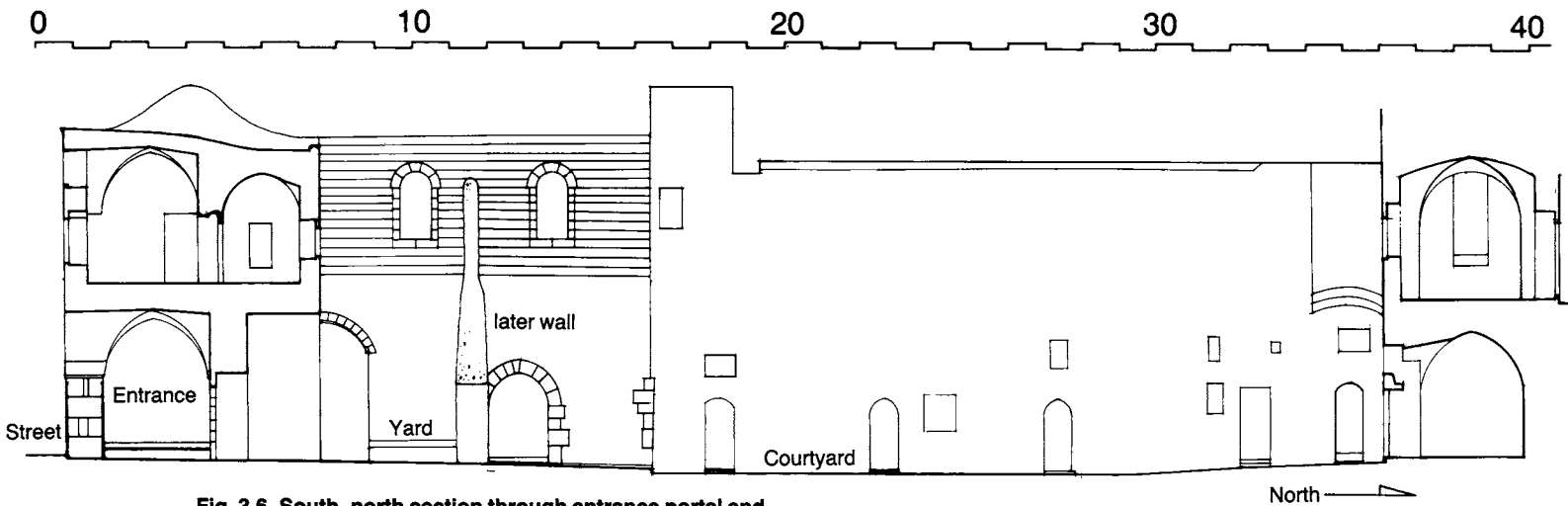


Fig. 3.6 South-north section through entrance portal and courtyard looking west

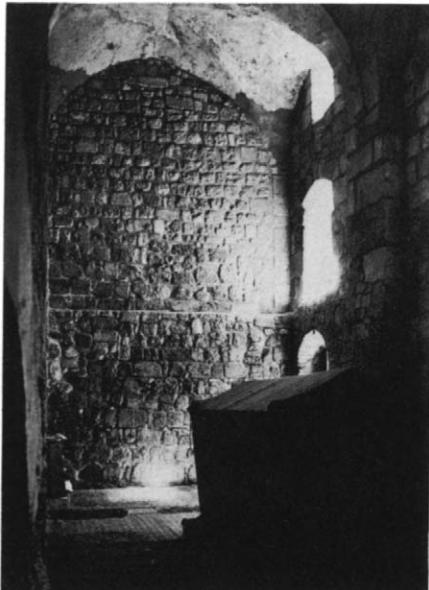


Plate 3.9 East wall of tomb chamber



Plate 3.10 West wall of tomb chamber

arched doorway (*plate 3.7*) and it is clear that they all form part of 'Alā' al-Dīn's construction. The arrangement of the cells at the north wall is very regular; each has a barrel vault spanning from east to west. (Many of the partition walls between these cells have been removed to create larger rooms more convenient for domestic use.) In the east and west ranges of cells variations occur in the vaulting (see plan, *fig. 3.3*). On the west side two cells have cross-vaults, two have barrel vaults

spanning north - south, and one has a barrel vault spanning east - west. On the east side the barrel vaults span east - west and one cell has a curious extension that apparently goes beyond the eastern limits of the site. These variations are difficult to explain unless they were suggested to or imposed upon the builders of the ribāṭ by the existence of some unidentified earlier structures around the site.

The buildings on the upper storeys at the north and east



walls, and the heightening of the west wall (which has no buildings at first floor level) are Ottoman. The east wall (*plate 3.8*) in particular displays characteristic features of Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem: round relieving arches in the masonry above openings, paired windows and small star-shaped oculi over the mullions.

**TOMB CHAMBER**

The street door is now the only entrance to the tomb chamber. It is likely that there was originally an entrance from the courtyard: the recess in the north wall of the chamber appears to be a door which was blocked, possibly at the time of 'Alā' al-Dīn's burial in 693/1294, in order to isolate the tomb chamber from the ribāṭ.

Inside, the tomb chamber appears disproportionately high since an intermediate floor that once divided it no longer survives. Vestiges of that former floor remain in the extra thickness of the lower north, east and west walls (*plates 3.9* and *3.10*) and in the outline of a vault at the west end of the chamber (*plate 3.10*). The floor collapsed in the earthquake of Dhū'l-Qa'da 952/January 1546, according to a docket in the Shari'a Court archives (see above, p. 119), and was not rebuilt. A blocked doorway in the upper part of the north wall (marked 'd' on the upper floor plan, *fig. 35.4*) originally gave access to that floor from the adjoining room 'E' (see above). At the same level there are several other openings: two windows west of the blocked door on the north side, of which one is blocked and the other set in a curious arched recess like a doorway (*plate 3.3*) with a projecting sill decorated with re-used Crusader mouldings; three windows in the south side of the tomb chamber overlooking the street, two of which are surmounted by slits (see above, p. 121); a high level slit window (now blocked) in the east wall; and an opening to the west (*plate*



Plate 3.11 Shield carved on outer face of west wall of tomb chamber



Plate 3.12 Entrance door from the interior, looking south

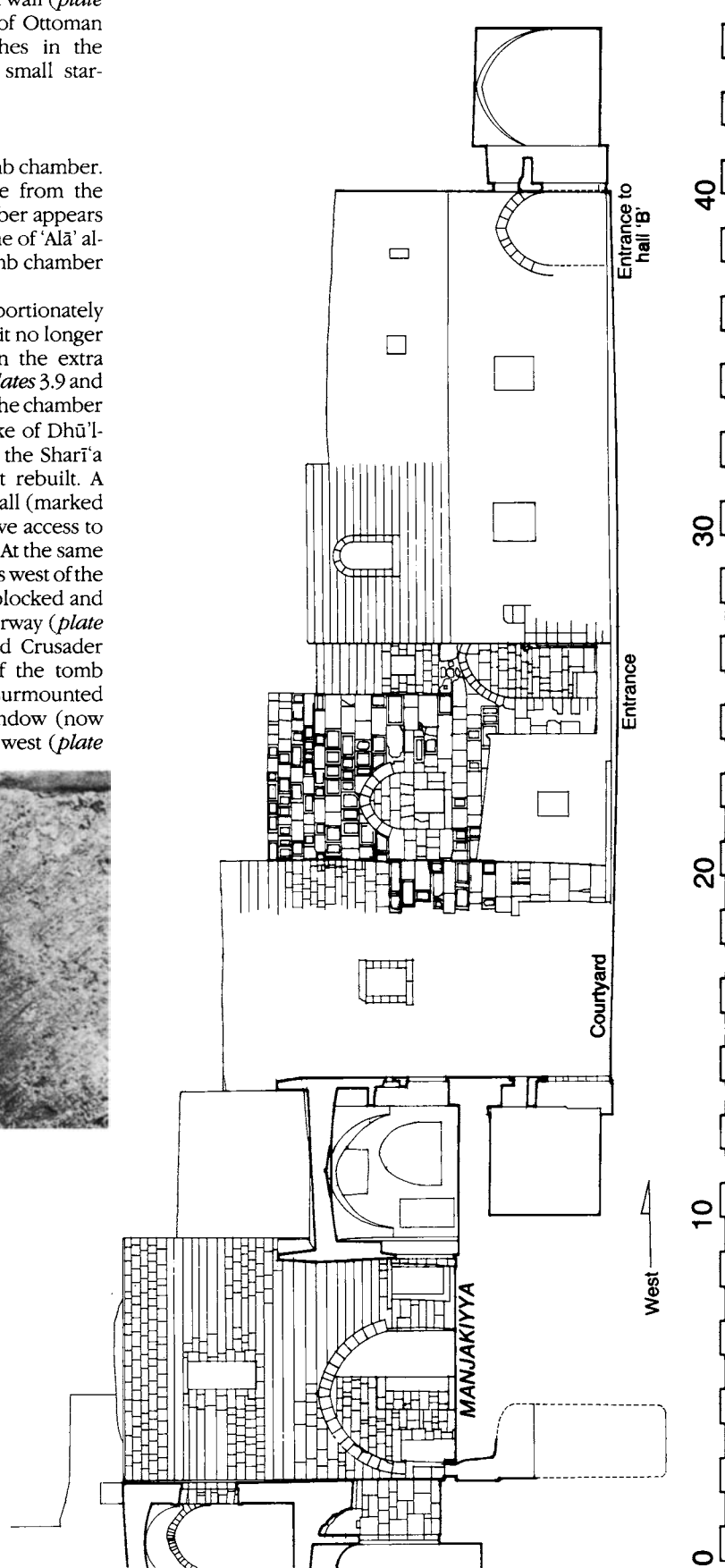


Fig. 3.7 East-west section through courtyard looking south



Plate 3.13 North wall of vaulted halls, with Ḥasaniyya above

3.10) over the entrance portal, blocked by the Ḥasaniyya Madrasa which abuts against it.

The vaulting of the chamber is unusual. Three cross vaults separated by transverse arches spring from tall abutments against the north and south walls. Those against the north wall bear on a ledge formed by the broadening of the lower wall originally intended to help support the intermediate floor. The abutments against the south wall extend to floor level. Though the masonry of these abutments is not continuous with that of the walls, the manner in which they are engaged by the lower

walls shows that they belong to the original construction.

A large stone cenotaph over the grave in the centre of the chamber is covered with a green pall draped over a gabled timber frame (plate 3.9). The pall was renewed after 1977. Before then an earlier one bore an embroidered panel, visible from the street, inscribed in Arabic:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. O Judge of the Protectors (*qādī al-ḥamīyāt*), this is the grave of the saint (*walī Allāh*), the Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Baṣīrī.

The grave had acquired an odour of sanctity by the end of the ninth/fifteenth century when Mujīr al-Dīn remarked that 'prayers near his grave are answered'. By 944/1537 'Alā' al-Dīn had become referred to as 'walī Allāh' or 'al-shaykh' (see above, p. 119). Van Berchem observed tersely that 'if this Turkish amīr was transformed into a saint . . . it is perhaps less because of his merits than the fact that his tomb is situated at an entrance to the Ḥaram, that is to say on holy ground.'<sup>43</sup>

#### LAPIDARY SHIELDS

Two shields in the form of an inverted 'T' within a triangle resting on its point are roughly chiselled at shoulder height in the exterior masonry of the west wall of the tomb chamber. One (plate 3.11) is in the ribāt's entrance portal about 0.30m from the south-west corner of the tomb chamber, and the other is inside the entrance to the ribāt (plate 3.12) about 0.30m from the north-west corner of the tomb chamber. These shields fit into a series described above, p. 115.

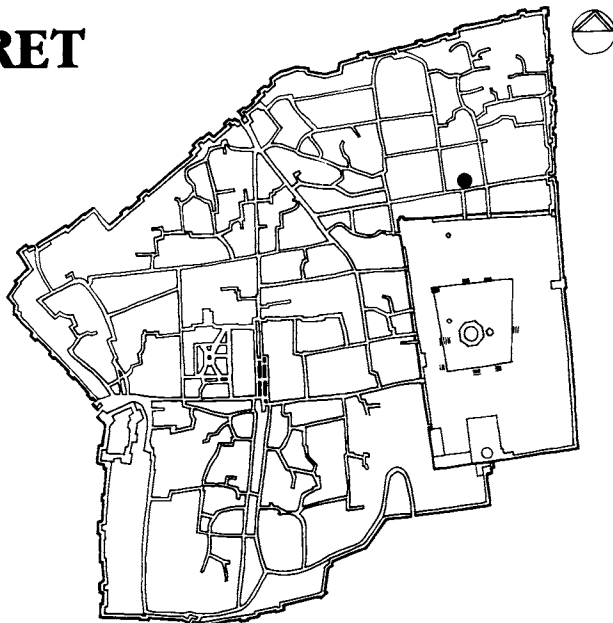
#### Notes

- 1 Mujīr, ii, 43.
- 2 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 64.
- 3 Mujīr, ii, 43.
- 4 For his biography, see *Wāfi*, ix, 485, on which is based *Manbal*, Cairo Ms. *Ta'rikh* 1113, i, fols. 285b-286a (see Wiet, *Manbal*, no. 589); al-Suqāṭī, *Tāfi*, 15, no. 22.
- 5 *Wāfi*, loc. cit.
- 6 Mujīr, ii, 270-1.
- 7 Mujīr ii, 31.
- 8 *Sulūk*, i, 560.
- 9 *Wāfi*, loc. cit.
- 10 Mujīr, ii, 271.
- 11 Sijill 6, no. 1931.
- 12 Ipsirli, 21 & 165, and see also Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 316-7. Judging by the facsimile neither edition is accurate. Supplementing one with the other will give a better text. Other suggestions are given below.
- 13 The reading *li-qayyim* is clear. There is no need for Ipsirli initially to write *li-'mr*.
- 14 *Tarsīf* (?) but 'paving' does not fit the context.
- 15 Read here: *buṣur bi-rasm farsb* . . .
- 16 Asali has mistakenly made the item we have numbered (xi) part of the later endowment, dated 941/1534 (see below).
- 17 Read: *li-rukn*. This may be a doubtful reading, but *li-dār* is unlikely.
- 18 Correct the reading in Ipsirli, 21, i.e. *al-'Isāwīyya*. The reference is to the 'covered market' of the Amīr Tankiz. Cf. the text from Ḥaram no. 42 on p. 000.
- 19 Ipsirli leaves out the difficult words without comment. We read tentatively: *li'l-qabw waqf ribāt (sic) bi'l-Quds*. We assume that the *qabw* intended is the one previously mentioned. *Ribāt* without the definite article is also found in the first sentence of the Defter entry.
- 20 The reading of Defter 522 is obscure, but according to Ipsirli (*loc. cit.*) Defter 342 reads *al-Sūq*.
- 21 Sijill 80, 261 (1).
- 22 Ḥaram no. 448.
- 23 Ḥaram no. 663, dated 776/1375; Ḥaram no. 82, dated 792/1390: a waqf house,

- the residence of a woman called al-Ṭūr (?) al-Rūmiyya and described as 'the water-carrier in the Aqsā (= the Ḥaram)'; Ḥaram no. 156, dated 795/1393: a waqf house in the Wādī al-Ṭawāḥīn 'in the Cotton Market'.
- 24 Ḥaram no. 285, dated 797/1394.
- 25 Ḥaram no. 42, dated 747/1346. One shop was 'for weaving' and the other two 'shops' were 'homes for soldiers (!)', (*sakn li'l-'asākīr*). They were bounded to the south and east by other waqf properties of 'Alā' al-Dīn, to the north by an 'oven' and to the west by 'the street', presumably the Wād St.
- 26 Ipsirli, 22.
- 27 Ipsirli, loc. cit., reads here *wa'l-sittīn*, but sixty four shops seem excessive.
- 28 Reading, with hesitation, *mustajidd* (or *mustajīath*).
- 29 Sijill 2, no. 959, dated 939/1532. Perhaps to pay for the 'small room' over the turba, if the Manjakiyya was in fact leasing that from the Ribāt waqf, or as a *hīkr* payment.
- 30 Sijill 6, no. 1931.
- 31 Sijill 2, no. 1127.
- 32 Sijill 92, 260 (4).
- 33 Sijill 10, no. 910.
- 34 Sijill 10, no. 1149.
- 35 Sijill 17, no. 1901.
- 36 Sijill 17, 312 (1).
- 37 Sijill 151, 439 (3). See also Sijill 90, 9 (2), dated Rabī' II 1018/July 1609, and 320 (1), dated Dhū'l-Hijja 1018/March 1610.
- 38 An allusion to the visit to the Ḥaram in March of 1855 of the Duke and Duchess of Brabant (later King and Queen of Belgium). The visit is described by James Finn, *Stirring Times, or Records from Jerusalem Consular Chronicles of 1853 to 1856*, 2 vols., London, 1878, ii, 235-56.
- 39 Al-Muskawbiyya, known in English as the 'Russian Compound', is still used as a prison. Built as a hospice for Russian Pilgrims, it was completed in 1884.
- 40 'Arif al-'Arif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 241-42.
- 41 Mujīr, 394-95.
- 42 Al-Ḥājī Muḥammad Jiddah, *Masjid al-Amīr 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Baṣīrī*, Jerusalem, 1971.
- 43 *CIA (Ville)*, 199.

# 4 MU'AZZAMIYYA MINARET

## مأذنة المعظمية



**Fig. 4.1** Location plan

Mu'azzam Sharaf al-Dīn 'Īsā . . . In the months of the year 673 (1274-75).<sup>3</sup>

673/1274-75

Minaret of the Mu'azzamiyya Madrasa

Modern name: Minaret of 'Masjid al-Mujāhidīn'

### I LOCATION (fig. 4.1)

Attached to the Mu'azzamiyya Madrasa, on the south side of Ṭarīq al-Mujāhidīn.

### II SITE AND BUILDING (plate 4.1)

The Mu'azzamiyya, a madrasa for the Ḥanafī rite, was endowed in 606/1209 and completed in 614/1217-18.<sup>1</sup> In its construction considerable quantities of ancient masonry was re-used, including a famous inscription from the precinct of Herod's Temple.<sup>2</sup> Much of the lower part of the street frontage on the north side of Ṭarīq al-Mujāhidīn is built of large rusticated stones that appear to be ancient and may be in secondary use. Above this rusticated masonry, at a point where the street frontage returns about 1.15m to the north, stands the squat stone tower of the minaret.

The meaning of the word *'imāra* is ambiguous: it can mean either 'construction' or 'restoration.' However, the structural conjunction between the minaret and the wall of the madrasa (see below) seems to indicate that the present minaret does not replace an earlier one.

Al-Malik al-Qāhir, the builder of the minaret, was a son of the founder of the madrasa, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Īsā, Ayyūbid governor of the province of Damascus. Doubtless a condition of the madrasa's endowment was that for the post of administrator the founder's descendants should have priority.

### IV ARCHITECTURE

A simple stone tower, square in plan, the minaret is of the traditional Syrian type, said to be derived from early church towers.<sup>4</sup> Its interior is no longer accessible but a slit window in the south face of the shaft must have lit an internal staircase. That staircase will presumably have been covered by some superstructure or lantern which would shelter it from the rain and snow; no trace of such survives and none is visible in an early photograph of the minaret taken in 1865. That photograph (plate 4.2) shows that the upper part of the shaft



**Plate 4.1** General view from the east

### III HISTORY

A marble plaque on the south face of the minaret records that:

The construction (*'imāra*) of this blessed minaret was ordered by al-Malik al-Qāhir, administrator of this [Mu'azzamiyya] madrasa, may God pardon him and cover with His grace his father, the founder, Sultan al-Malik al-



**Plate 4.2** General view from east in 1865  
After Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem  
(London 1865), plate 29a

was decorated with a corbelled cornice. Some stones in the single course of stones above the cornice had intriguing, apparently sculptured, projections. None of this upper part of the minaret survives, however, and an earlier wall that abutted on the east side of the shaft has been replaced by modern shops. Early photographs such as *plate 4.2* reveal that that earlier wall was crowned by a cyma cornice and that the shaft of the minaret was built around it, suggesting that if that earlier wall belonged to the madrasa (as van Berchem's sketch plan, *fig. 4.2*, shows to be likely) then the minaret is a later addition.

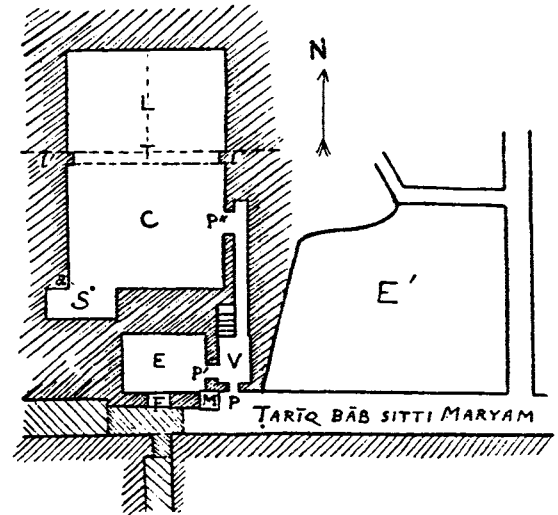


Fig. 4.2 Sketch plan of the Mu'azzamiyya Madrasa (after van Berchem)

#### Notes

- 1 *CIA (Ville)*, 168-73.
- 2 C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874*, London, 1899, 173-74.
- 3 *CIA (Ville)*, 173-76; Mujir, 400.
- 4 K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Evolution of the Minaret, with special reference to Egypt', *The Burlington Magazine*, xlviii, 1926, 134-40, 252-59, 290-98.



# 5 RIBĀṬ AL-MANŞŪRĪ

## رباط المنصوري

681/1282-83

Pilgrim Hospice of Sultan Qalāwūn

Modern name: Habs al-Ribāt ('Hospice Prison')

### I LOCATION (fig. 5.1)

On the south side of Tariq Bāb al-Nāzir, opposite the Ribāt of 'Alā' al-Dīn, close to but not contiguous with the west border of the Haram.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 5.2)

The ribāt comprises three main units: (1) a salient cross-vaulted entrance porch giving access to (2) a large hall to the east which we shall call the 'main hall', and (3) a vast open courtyard to the west surrounded by cells. The main hall has a small extension on its west side, alongside the vestibule, forming a T-shape in plan. The vaulting of the hall is unusual in that it is supported on a central row of four pillars; the vaulting of its western extension is supported on three smaller pillars. One of the cells on the north side of the courtyard contains a grave; we shall call this the 'turba'.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

The building is fully identified by an excellently preserved foundation inscription which is situated to the rear of the large porch above the lintel of the door. Mujīr al-Dīn places the hospice, which he describes as 'extremely beautiful and soundly built',<sup>1</sup> in the street of the Bāb al-Nāzir, a gate which the earlier source, al-'Umarī, called the Gate of the Hospice of al-Manşūr (*Bāb al-Ribāt al-Manşūrī*),<sup>2</sup> no doubt, because of its proximity to that important institution on the south side of the street leading to the gate into the Haram. A house built by al-Shujā'ī Shāhīn on the south side of the Bāb al-Nāzir street had the hospice as its eastern boundary and filled the space up to 'the street leading to the Cotton-Merchants' Gate [i.e. the Wād St.?] and the house of Muqbil al-Ṭawāshī over the street'. The southern boundary of the house was a separate Old Ladies' Hospice (perhaps the one referred to on p. 145).<sup>3</sup>

#### DATE

According to the inscription, the order for construction and the endowment of the institution are linked and dated to the year 681/1282-3; doubtless, in the conventional way, the year given is the year of completion. The text of the inscription is as follows:<sup>4</sup>

In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise be to God whose bounty has encompassed everything, and God bless our Lord, Muḥammad, and his family. There ordered the construction of this blessed hospice and gave it in trust to benefit the poor and pilgrims to Jerusalem our Lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Manşūr Abū'l-Ma'ālī Sayf al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Qalāwūn al-

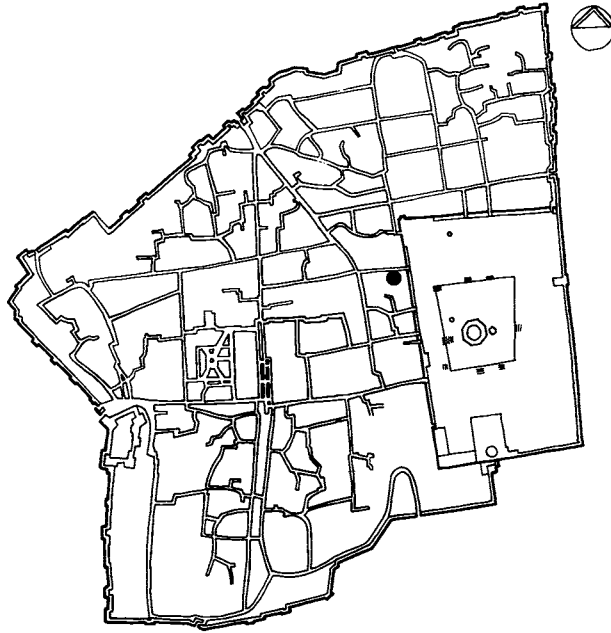


Fig. 5.1 Location plan

Şālihī (may God perpetuate his reign and accept [this work] from him) in the year 681.

The Defters, nos. 522 and 602, also note that the date of the *waqfiyya* was 681/1282-3.<sup>5</sup>

#### FOUNDER

This is not the place to give a long detailed account of the life of Sultan Qalāwūn. An imported mamlūk of Qipjaq Turkish origin, he was a colleague of Baybars in the Bahriyya regiment and his eventual successor in the sultanate. His full independent rule began in Rajab 678/November 1279 and lasted till his death on Saturday 6 Dhū'l-Qa'da 689/Saturday 11 November 1290, aged about seventy years.<sup>6</sup>

His grandest and most famous buildings are in Cairo, the complex of madrasa, mausoleum and hospital on the main north-south thoroughfare of the old city. In Hebron, in the year 679/1280-1, he erected a hospice (no longer extant) 'for Şūfis (*fuqarā*), pilgrims to [the tomb of] Abraham',<sup>7</sup> and also built a hospital there, besides other unspecified works.<sup>8</sup>

In the Christian Quarter of Jerusalem, an inscription on the south side of the street, east of the entrance to St. Saviours, records the repair of a mosque (*masjid*) and its endowment with neighbouring properties by an unnamed benefactor in 686/1287 during the reign of Qalāwūn.<sup>9</sup> This inscription may or may not be *in situ* but doubtless belonged to the mosque attributed to Qalāwūn, the existence of which in the Christian Quarter is confirmed by a reference, dated 1071/1661, in the Court register.<sup>10</sup>

#### ENDOWMENT

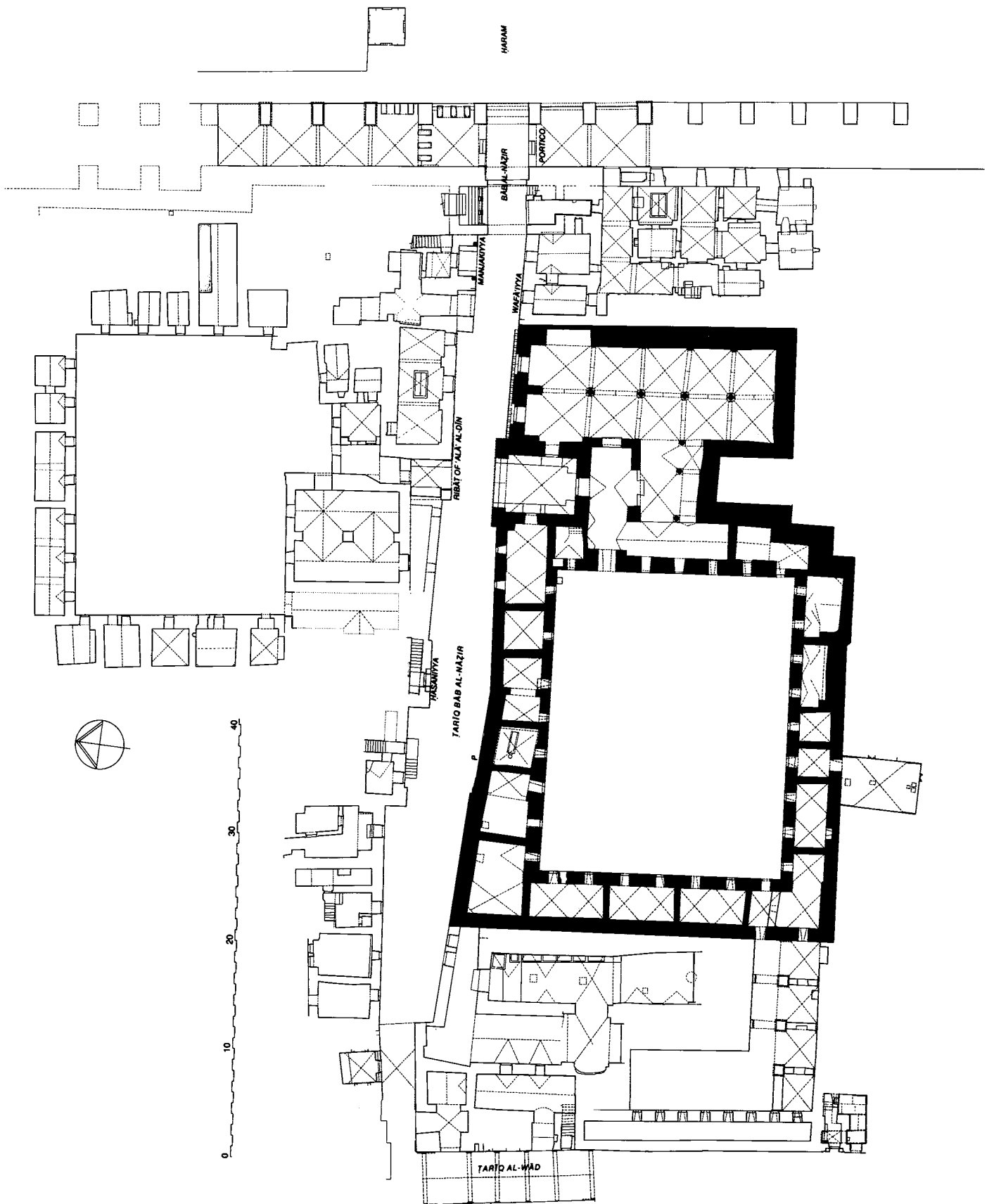
No details connected with the charitable purposes or the proposed administration of the hospice, as set out in the endowment instrument, have been preserved for us. All we have is the wording in the inscription (see translation above) which refers to 'the poor [Şūfis] and pilgrims to Jerusalem'. However, in two of the Defters and in an entry in a Jerusalem sijill, the latter dated 941/1535, lists of the properties that formed the endowment are given.<sup>11</sup> The lists are not precisely uniform but, in sum, the income of the hospice derived from the following:

1. an olive plantation at Gaza
2. one third of the village of Tayyibat al-Ism
3. about one eighth of Jalama
4. one third of Dayr 'Işfir
5. one third of Maghāra

*Mamlūk Jerusalem*

- 6. one third of Ra's
- 7. one half of Acre
- 8. Muḥarraqa (Gaza district)

- 9. a fraction over half of the Abū Mughīr(a) *mazra'a* (Jerusalem district)
- 10-19. various properties in Jerusalem – the house of Muḥibb



**Fig. 5.2** Site plan

al-Dīn b. Duwayk 'near the Ḥaram Gate', rents (*ḥikrs*) of three apartments (*tibāq*), two houses in the Cotton-Merchants' Gate district, of which one is owned completely by the waqf and is placed 'in the alley of Ibn Nusayba', and the other is only an eighth share and is situated near the Zāwiya of al-Qarafī(?), a plot of land near 'the big plantation', a house and oven (*furn*) in the Zāhiriyya Hill district, a mill next to these, and a share in the rents of a house, the details of which are not clear.

The Jerusalem sijill alone adds:

20. an unspecified share in the village of Kafar Sūr (Nablus district), and

21. a third of certain taxes on cattle, on water buffalo (*'adād*), and the tax called *al-ḥimāya*.

It is of course impossible to say that all these properties formed part of the original endowment made by Sultan Qalāwūn. Some could well be later in date. One should note that the Shaykh Majd al-Dīn 'Abd al-Malik b. Abi Bakr al-Mawṣilī made a waqf in 831/1427-28 in favour of the Sallāmiyya Madrasa (see p. 299). Two-thirds of the income was enjoyed by his descendants, yet should those beneficiaries die out, then a quarter of that amount was to go to 'the cost of purchasing bread to be distributed in the Mansūrī Hospice to the poor and the indigent in Jerusalem', while the remainder would benefit other institutions.<sup>12</sup> That income seems not to have come to the Hospice, but it is a proof that subsequent generations could think of the Hospice as a suitable recipient of their charity.

#### MAMLŪK PERIOD

The inventories of two female residents are preserved amongst the Ḥaram documents, both from the year 795/1393. One *mujāwira* was from the Maghrib, but the other, from the Hijāz, may in fact have died in another institution, because what the document actually says is 'in the Hospice of the Sultan in the Bāb al-Ḥadīd (district?)'<sup>13</sup> (see pp. 129, 145 and 557).

In an earlier document (Ḥaram no. 13) Ibrāhīm al-Nāṣirī (see p. 73) petitioned for an allowance from the Hospice of one rotl of bread daily, which was the equivalent of four loaves. He was granted this in the place of the previous recipient now deceased, a Shaykh Yūsuf al-Kurdī. The document contains both the report of the waqf office (*diwān al-waqf*) on availability, and the order for the transfer of the allowance, emanating – from whom? There is no clear indication but perhaps the author of the *marsūm 'ālī* (exalted order) was the Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams.

#### OTTOMAN PERIOD

The inspector of the waqfs of the hospice in the earliest surviving sijill is the Shaykh Badr al-Dīn b. Muḥyī al-Dīn b. Jamā'a, mentioned in an acknowledgement of a debt to the waqf of 200 Aleppo silver pieces by an inhabitant of Tayyibat al-Isḥm, which is dated 937/1530.<sup>14</sup>

As in the Ḥaram documents, there are references to the death of inmates. For instance, a resident Ṣūfī (*faqīr mujāwir*) died in 938/1532. His cell had been sealed and remained so until an official from the court came to make an inventory of his possessions. Iskandar al-Rūmī, for that was his name, left a considerable sum of money in various currencies. The total is given in Aleppo silver, that is 10,835, the equivalent of 4,334 aspers. Another resident, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Jabartī, who died in 952/1545, left property valued at 57 paras.<sup>15</sup>

The mechanism whereby the farm of waqf resources was offered in a form of auction is clear from two sets of documents in the Court registers. On 9 Ramaḍān 941/14 March 1535 two men in partnership, the Qādī 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Nusayba al-Khazrajī and the Qādī Abū'l-Ma'ālī al-Dayrī al-Ḥanafī, guaranteed 17,000 aspers to the administrator of the waqf for the current year.<sup>16</sup> There was express provision that the two should be paid 500 aspers if anyone else should offer a larger guaranteed sum to the waqf. This happened the next day, when the Bolukbashi Sinān b. 'Abdallāh (the company commander of the Citadel in Jerusalem) proposed 18,000 aspers.<sup>17</sup> Then on 12 Ramaḍān/17 March the Shaykh Abū'l-

Ḥaram b. al-Qalqashandī stated the rent he was prepared to pay, 19,000 aspers.<sup>18</sup> Similarly in 935/1546 the then lessor, a member of the al-Dayrī family, accepted a rent of 2,100 aspers for a five year lease of a house and stable in the Bāb al-Nāzir district from Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm. Three days later he accepted the sum of 13 Cypriot gold coins and 30 paras from a Sinān Khalifa b. Ismā'il for the same property and the same period.<sup>19</sup> This same Sinān was allowed to become deputy for the administrator Sharaf al-Dīn 'Isā b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Miṣrī in Rajab 964/May 1557.<sup>20</sup>

Three other lease contracts were noted. In Ramaḍān 952/November 1545 the plantation outside Gaza was leased by a local man for three years at 1,000 aspers annually.<sup>21</sup> In one, Muṣṭafā Ḥalebī, described as Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams, leased from the inspector of this waqf some unproductive and unbuilt-on land in Bāb al-Nāzir district for thirty years at a pepper-corn rent of 60 paras for the whole period, and with express permission to build on the site.<sup>22</sup> Another Ḥaram official and perhaps a relative of the above, Ḥamza Ḥalebī b. Maḥmūd Ḥalebī, clerk to the waqfs of the Two Ḥarams, rented practically all the agricultural properties of the hospice waqf for three years beginning 1 Dhū'l-Qa'da 962/17 September 1555 for an annual rent of 325 gold pieces. An interesting addition in the contract stipulates that the waqf is also to receive a thousandth part of each year's produce. The remainder is to go to the contractor (*musāqī*).<sup>23</sup>

For a series of accounts which show the application of the waqf income, see the table on p. 132.

Allowances and the use of one of the hospice's cells, together with the daily allowance which went with that right, were inherited or surrendered for a consideration to others. The assignment through the court had no doubt become a formality. In Dhū'l-Hijja 984/February 1577 a man succeeded his deceased brother in the enjoyment of a daily third of a rotl of bread (a third of a full allowance, *murattab*).<sup>24</sup> An individual surrendered to another 'his room (*ḥujra*), his residence in the Mansūrī Hospice, along with the allowance, which is worth one asper daily', in Sha'bān 986/October 1578.<sup>25</sup> The right to reside in a room 'in the south range (*al-ṣaff al-qiblī*)', and the daily asper were granted to a Nasīm b. Ḥasan al-'Ajāmī, to replace Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Bāwardī, by his *nisba*, another 'easterner'. This was in Rajab 1018/October 1609.<sup>26</sup> Another fifty years later similar rights were still being recorded. Shaykh Zayn al-'Arab b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Abī al-Luṭf, on the death of another, took up residence in his cell (*khalwa*) 'at the east end of the south range' in Shawwāl 1071/June 1661.<sup>27</sup>

From a report made in Shawwāl 1071/June 1661 it may be inferred that the governor of Nablus collected as tax some proportion of the waqf income, which was stored in the hospice for him. Faraj Bey sent his man, Jamshīd Agha, to Jerusalem concerning the loss of wheat, barley and lentils of his, stored in a room to the left of the hospice entrance. The lock was found to be defective and the store clerk (*kātib al-ghilāl*), a Christian, suggested that many people knew how to gain access, but Jamshīd was told 'no suspicion could be attached to the inhabitants of the hospice because some were men of religious learning (*abl al-'ilm*) and others men of piety, religion and felicity'.<sup>28</sup>

#### LATER HISTORY

In Ottoman times this ribāṭ, like 'Alā' al-Dīn's opposite (no. 3), housed the Sudanese African Ḥaram guards and, later on, a prison. In 1914 it was still in use as a prison. Today the courtyard is full of shanties, the homes of members of Jerusalem's African community (*plate 5.15*).

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### STREET FRONTAGE (fig. 5.4)

The street frontage has four component parts: (1) an eastern façade with two finely decorated windows belonging to the

## Accounts for the Maṣūri Hospice

| Source                                      | Sijill 4, no. 3994                     | Sijill 57, 271 (1)   | Sijill 58, 594 (1)                                    | Sijill 58, 352 (1)                    | Sijill 59, 120-1 | Sijill 80, 472-3                               |
|---|--|--|---|---------------------------------------|------------------|--|
| Tax Year                                    | Hijja 940 - Jum II 941 (7 mths)        | 982/1574-75  | 983/1575-76   | 984/1576-77                           | 985/1577-78      | 1005/1596-97                                   |
| Currency                                    | <i>fiḍḍa balabiyya</i> / Aleppo silver | <i>qīṭa</i> '/paras  | paras   | paras                                 | paras            | <i>qīṭa</i> ' <i>sbāmiyya</i> / 'Syrian paras' |
| Income                                      |  | [20052]  | [22092]   | [17942]                               | [23722]          | 20082  |
| Brought Forward                             |  |  |   | 2600 ( <i>sic</i> )                   |                  |  |
| Excess of Expenditure (Loan from Mutawallī) |  | 2348   | 2403  | 3481                                  | 2459             | 4704   |
| <b>Total</b>                                |  | <b>22400</b>   | <b>24495</b>  | <b>24023</b>                          | <b>26181</b>     | <b>24786</b>                                   |
| Official Salaries                           | <i>Nāzir</i>                           |  |   |                                       | (deputy) 1080    |  |
|   | <i>Mutawallī</i>                       | 2340   | 2340  | 2340                                  | 2340             | 3600   |
|   | <i>Kātib</i> (Clerk)                   | 720  | 640   | [720]                                 | 720              | 900  |
|   | <i>Bawwāb</i>                          | 370  | 360   | [360]                                 | 360              | 360  |
|   | <i>Jābī</i> (Rent Collector)           | 1350   |   | [ ]                                   |                  | 1440   |
|   | <i>Mushārif</i> (Intendant)            | 720  | 640   | [720]                                 | [720]            | 720  |
| <b>Total</b>                                |  | <b>4140</b>  | <b>3980</b>   | <b>4140</b>                           | <b>4140</b>      | <b>8100</b>                                    |
| <i>Fuqarā'</i> (Šūfi) Allowances            | 8280                                   | 4140 for   | 4140 for  | 4140 [for                             | 4140 [for        | 4140 [for                                      |
| Shaykh of <i>Fuqarā'</i>                    |  | 720 984  | 720 985   | 720 986]                              | 720 987]         | 720 1007]                                      |
| Beneficiaries                               |  | 10620  | 9440  | 10620                                 | 10620            | 8820   |
| <b>Total</b>                                |  | <b>15480</b>   | <b>14300</b>  | <b>15480</b>                          | <b>15480</b>     | <b>13680</b>                                   |
| Expenses                                    | Transport of Produce                   | from Tayyiba to Jerusalem 1140<br>from Muḥarraqa to Gaza 150 |   | from Muḥarraqa to Gaza 600            |                  |  |
|   | Storage of produce                     |  |   | 60                                    |                  |  |
|   | Tax                                    |  | <i>kharāj</i> at Gaza 80                              | <i>ḥīkr</i> in Gaza 80                | Details          |  |
|   | Administration                         | 150  | 370   | 600                                   | not              | 3880   |
|   | Gifts to village headmen               | in Muḥarraqa 500   | in Acre 410   | in Muḥarraqa 240<br>in Acre 400       | noted            | 166  |
|   | Repairs                                | 235  | bath in Acre 1320<br>house 410<br>well in hospice 190 | to bath in Acre 680<br>to hospice 207 |                  | in hospice 600                                 |
|   | Earmarked                              |  |   | for hospice repairs 1000              |                  |  |
|   | Repayment of debt to <i>Mutawallī</i>  | 7500   |   | 2348                                  |                  | 2240   |
| <b>Total</b>                                |  | <b>2780</b>  | <b>6215</b>   | <b>4403</b>                           | <b>6561</b>      | <b>3006</b>                                    |
| <b>Grand Total of Expenditure</b>           |  | <b>22400</b>   | <b>24495</b>  | <b>24023</b>                          | <b>26181</b>     | <b>24786</b>                                   |

main hall, crowned by a curious corbel table cornice (*fig. 5.4*), (2) the monumental entrance bay spanned by a broad pointed arch (*fig. 5.4*), (3) a plain wall to the west of the entrance bay pierced by five small undecorated windows, and (4) an upper façade belonging to some later construction built over the north-east corner of the ribāt. These components of the ribāt frontage are not on the same alignment, with the entrance bay projecting 0.45m from the wall to the west and 1.11m from the wall to the east.

The manner in which the masonry of the eastern façade is keyed into the adjoining masonry to the east of it (visible in *plate 5.1*) shows that the latter precedes the former. That earlier structure, which continues eastwards as far as the outer porch at the Bāb al-Nāzir, is probably Ayyūbid: incorporated into its

street wall are several Crusader stones along with four fragments of two Arabic inscriptions dated by van Berchem to the fourth/tenth or fifth/eleventh century,<sup>29</sup> all obviously in re-use.<sup>30</sup>

At a bend in the street alignment towards the middle of the wall to the west of the entrance bay, traces of a vertical cyma moulding (*plate 5.2*) may indicate that there once existed a portal at this point (marked 'p' on the plan, *fig. 5.3*). The profile of the moulding appears to be Crusader and this, together with the change of alignment and increased thickness (see *fig. 5.3*), suggest that the wall to the west of the vertical moulding is of Crusader construction. Indeed, according to Mujir al-Dīn, two later foundations, the Yūnusiyya (date unknown) and the Jahārkaṣiyya Madrasa (before 791/1389), apparently just to the





Plate 5.1 Eastern end of street façade

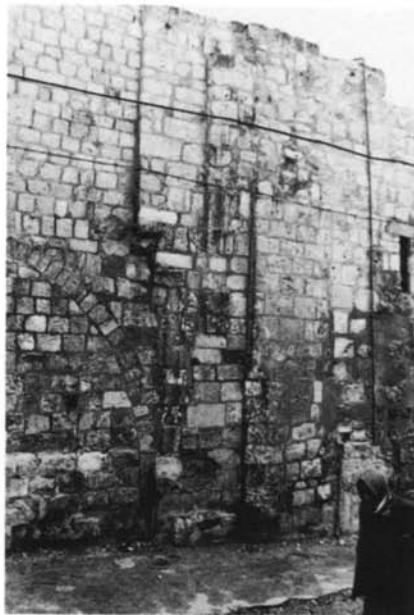


Plate 5.2 Traces of moulding in street frontage



Plate 5.3 Entrance portal from the north-west

west of the Manṣūrī Ribāt on the south side of Tariq Bāb al-Nāzir, occupied a church of which this wall may be a vestige.<sup>31</sup> Therefore it would appear that the street frontage of the Manṣūrī Ribāt was erected between the remains of earlier structures, one Ayyūbid and one presumably Crusader, the former to the east and the latter to the west.

The decoration of the façade to the east of the entrance bay (plate 5.1) incorporates certain elements that may originally have belonged to a Crusader church. The marble impost mouldings of the two pointed-arched window recesses are typically Crusader, though the red and cream-coloured *ablaq* masonry of the recesses is obviously Mamlūk. The corbel table must have formed a cornice over the eastern part of the street façade before the later addition of an upper storey. It is curiously composed of a series of twenty consoles with little fluted and scalloped conchs spanning between them. This is the only instance in Jerusalem of a corbel table composed of these two features. There are, however, several Crusader examples<sup>32</sup> of analogous corbel tables resting on elaborately profiled consoles but without the conchs, and this may indicate that the consoles are here in secondary use. Fluted and scalloped conchs are relatively common in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk architecture and here they appear to be the work of the Mamlūk builders of the ribāt.

The entrance<sup>33</sup> (plate 5.3) is distinctive: the *ablaq* frontal arch, composed of red and cream-coloured voussoirs resting on deeply moulded marble imposts (possibly Crusader spoils), opens into a very large (5.23m wide and 7.66m deep) cross-vaulted porch. This type of monumental porch was common in Jerusalem from the Ayyūbid period until the arrival of the 'stalactite portal' in 695/1295 (see below, p. 157). The Ṣalāhiyya Khānqāh (waqf 585/1189), the Siqāya of al-'Ādil (589/1193), and the Ribāt of 'Alā' al-Dīn (666/1267-68) each have comparable cross-vaulted entrance bays; the Ayyūbid porch at the Bāb Ḥiṭṭa (see above, p. 49) is likewise cross-vaulted.

#### UPPER FAÇADE

The upper façade belongs to a later building. The original chevron-arched entrance doorway (plate 5.4) to that later building is at first floor level and was reached by a double staircase with flights leading from east and west against the street frontage of the ribāt, shown on the 1865 Ordnance Survey plan of the Ḥaram and its environs.<sup>34</sup> That staircase has disappeared, rendering the doorway inaccessible; it has been made into a window. Since Mujīr al-Dīn lists no Mamlūk



Plate 5.4 Upper doorway in street façade

foundation over the Manṣūrī Ribāt, we may assume that this building was erected after the time of his writing, 901/1496. Although the exact date of construction is unknown, it is tempting to ascribe this building to the middle of the tenth/sixteenth century on the analogy of the chevron arches on three of Sultan Sulayman's sabils built in the fashion of portals and dated 943/1536-37,<sup>35</sup> along with that of the entrance to the Maktab of Bayrām Jāwīsh (947/1540-41).<sup>36</sup>

#### INTERIOR (plan, fig. 5.3)

The street now runs at a level higher than that of the pavement of the entrance porch but this is likely to be the result of resurfacing; the original street level was surely somewhat lower. The stone pavement of the porch is mostly original, incorporating several re-used flagstones with characteristic striations similar to those at the so-called Lithostron in the Convent of the Sisters of Zion, which are said to be Hadrianic.<sup>37</sup> There are plain stone benches on either side of the porch, which return for a short distance on each side of the main entrance doorway in the rear (south) wall. Two other doorways open off the porch, one in the east wall opening into the main

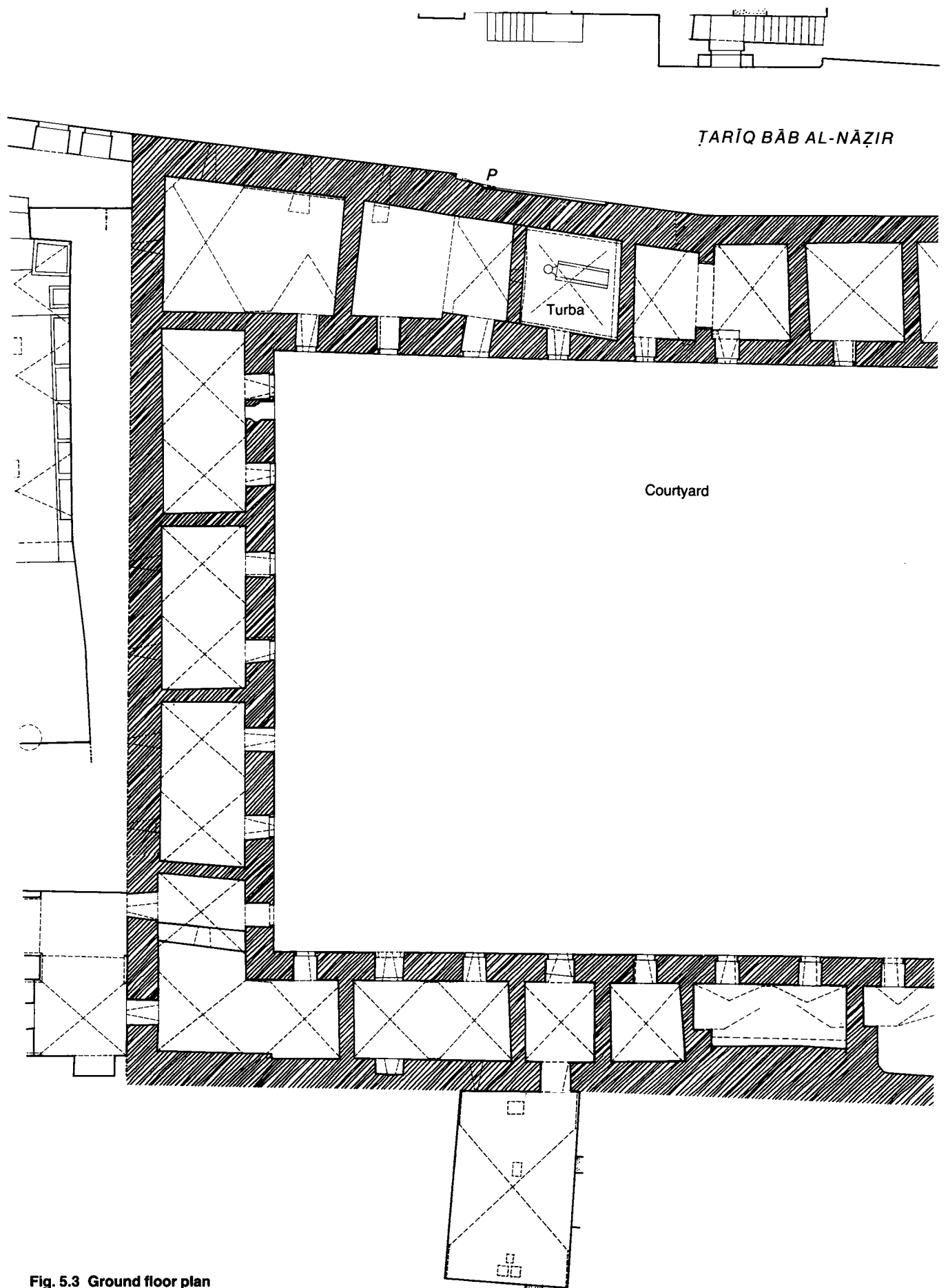
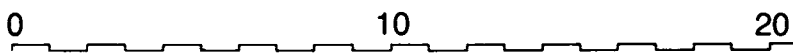
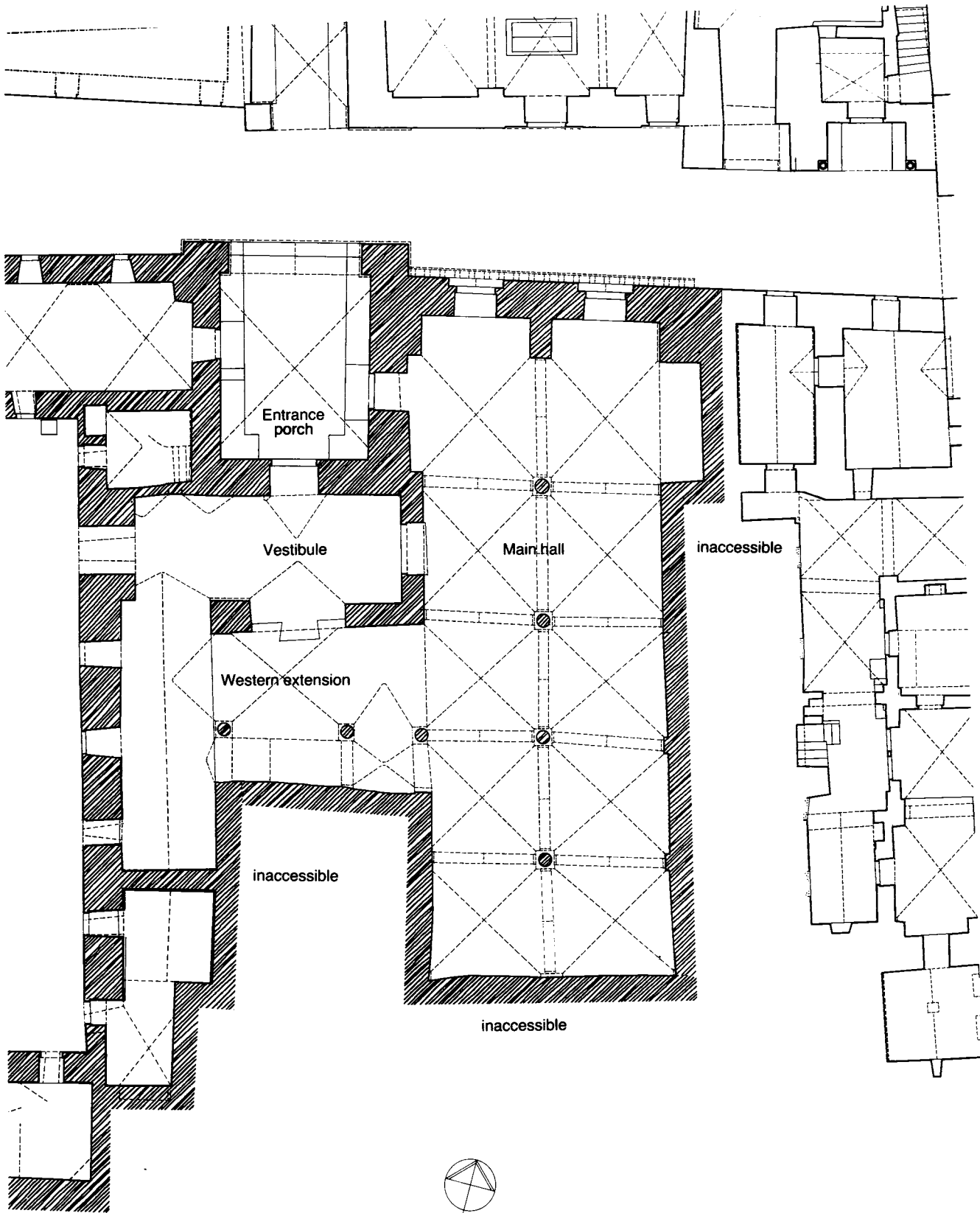


Fig. 5.3 Ground floor plan



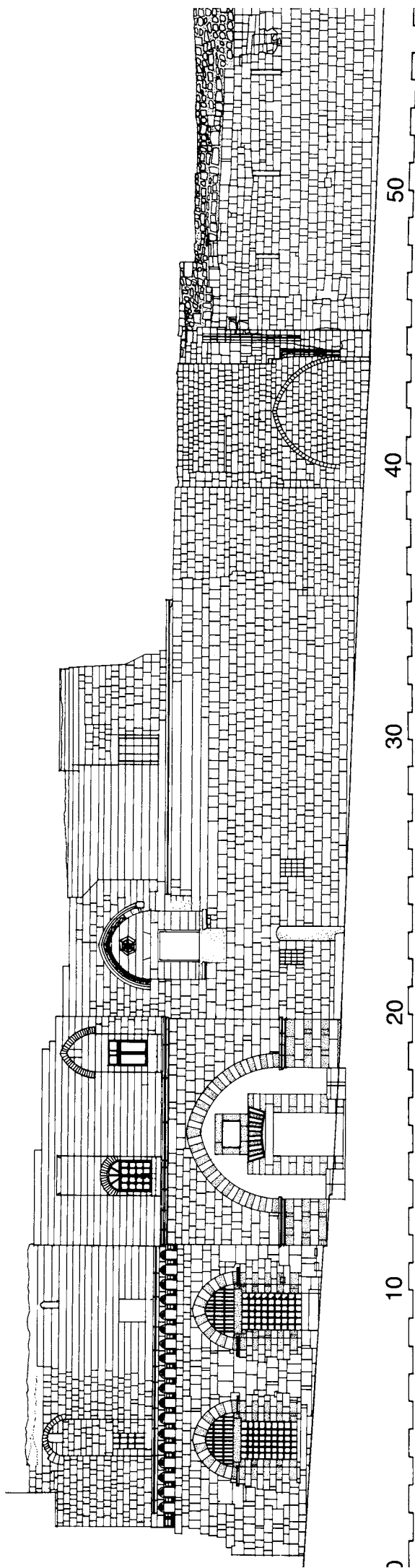


Fig. 5.4 Street frontage

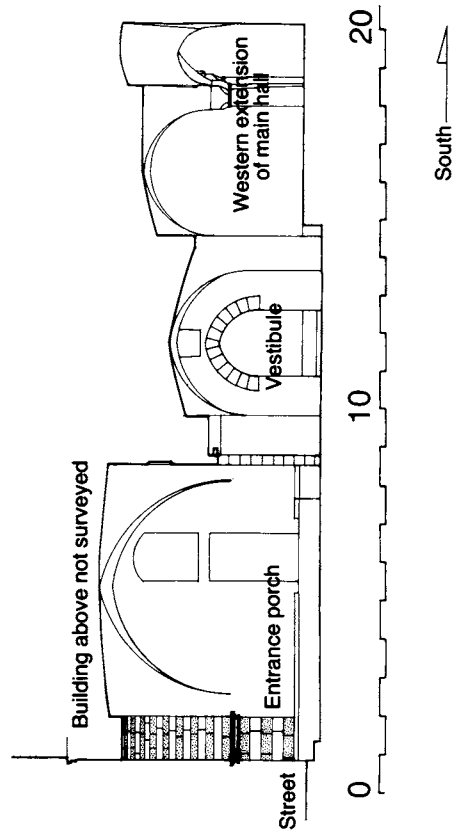


Fig. 5.5 North-south section through entrance looking east



Plate 5.5 Entrance porch



Plate 5.6 Main hall, looking south



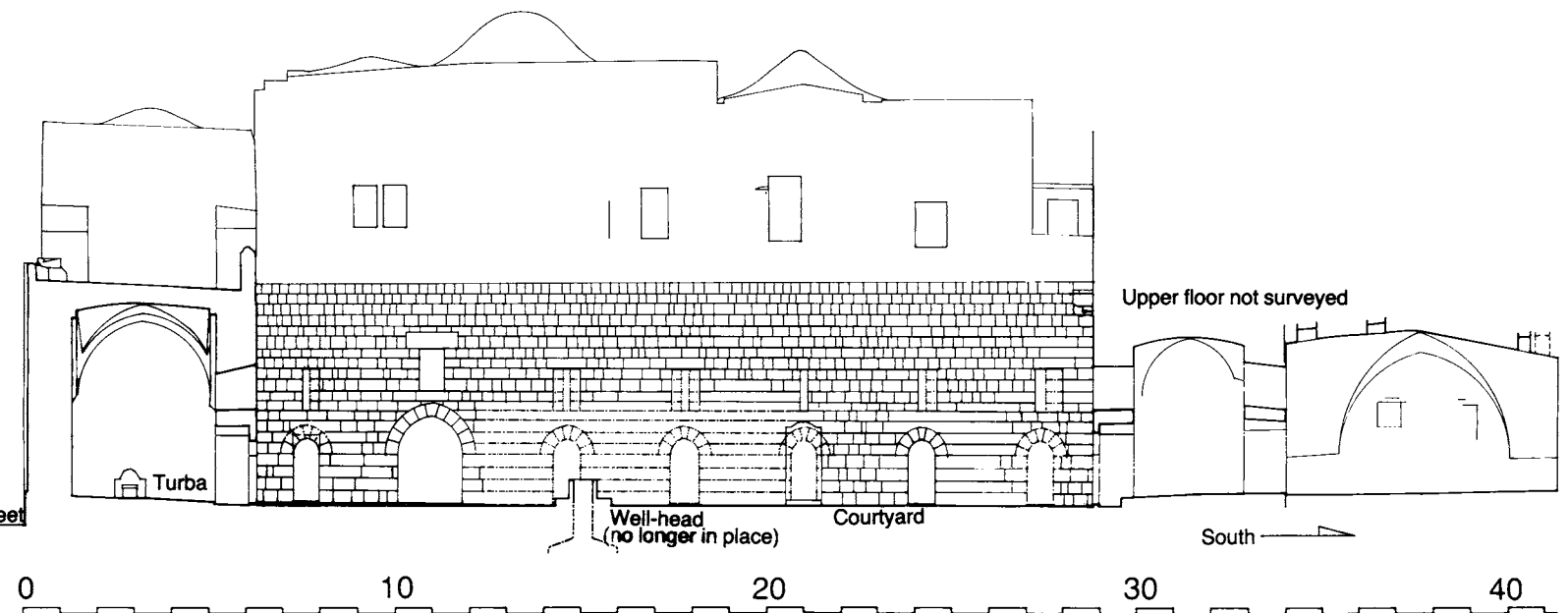


Fig. 5.6 North-south section through turba and courtyard looking east

hall and one in the west wall opening into a cell at the north-east corner of the courtyard (plate 5.5). The benches have been lowered to form a step up to each of the doorways, which suggests that the doorways are not original. Segmental arches – a typically Ottoman feature – over the western doorway and over the window above the eastern doorway (see fig. 5.5) further suggest that the two doorways are later insertions.

The main entrance doorway has a monolithic lintel surmounted by an *ablaq* relieving arch and the foundation inscription (see fig. 5.4). The doorway leads into the entrance vestibule; to the left (east) is the main hall and to the right (west) the courtyard. In front (south) two archways open on the western extension of the main hall. The floor of the main hall and its extension is almost 0.50m higher than that of the vestibule.

The vaulting of the main hall is divided into eight cross-vaulted bays separated by transverse arches resting on a central row of four pillars (plate 5.6). The use of pillars in the primary structural fabric – as distinct from decorative embellishments – is extremely rare in the Mamlūk architecture of Jerusalem. Their presence here led Clermont-Ganneau<sup>38</sup> to suggest that this hall was originally part of the Church of St. Michael, on the assumption that, since the gate Bāb al-Nāzīr is said by Mujīr al-Dīn<sup>39</sup> to have been known formerly as the Bāb Mikā'īl, the Gate of Michael, its name was derived from a church which Mujīr al-Dīn locates in this area (above, p. 133). The façade of the main hall, though it incorporates Crusader elements, is obviously Mamlūk. As for the internal structure of the hall, this too seems to be an original Mamlūk construction. In the opinion of the late Père Charles Couasnon OP and of Professor Jaroslav Folda, two noted experts in the field of Crusader architecture who kindly examined this hall with me, the curious capitals on the pillars are not Crusader and may well be Mamlūk.<sup>40</sup> The capitals are very plain. The northern one differs in detail from the other three, but all are essentially of the same type. The capitals of the three pillars of the western extension of the main hall (plate 5.7) are similar to those shown in fig. 5.8, albeit somewhat smaller.

If the decorative features of the main hall indicate that it is an original Mamlūk construction, the variations in level and the awkward plan suggest that not only was the street frontage restricted by pre-existing structures to the east and west but that the complex was bounded in part at least by other structures on the south side.



Plate 5.7 Main hall, looking north-east towards the western extension



Plate 5.8 East side of courtyard

The courtyard is extremely large (approx. 28m x 23m). The pointed-arched doors to the cells around the courtyard are arranged more or less regularly, each surmounted by a tall narrow opening for light and ventilation (see plates 5.8 and 5.9). The interior layout of the cells is far from regular, however, doubtless as a result of the irregular boundary of the pre-existing structures bordering the site. In one of the cells on the south side of the courtyard the rear wall has been breached

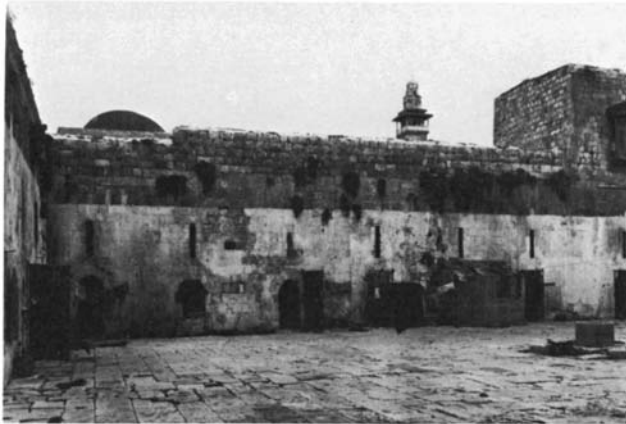


Plate 5.9 North side of courtyard



Plate 5.10 West face of doorway from vestibule to courtyard



Plate 5.11 Cenotaph in turba

to link that cell with a large cross-vaulted room built against it. The rear wall of the cells at the west side of the courtyard is, unlike the other boundaries, quite straight and was pierced at intervals by high-level windows (now blocked). This seems to indicate that the wall was built anew as the western boundary of the ribāt. In a cell at the south-west corner, this wall has been breached to link the ribāt with the area to the west where, if our interpretation of Mujīr al-Dīn's text is correct, are to be found the Yūnusiyya and Jahārkaṣiyya Madrasa.

Two cisterns in the courtyard, marked 22 feet deep and 10½ feet deep on the 1865 Ordnance Survey plan, are now hidden under the modern shanties. The cistern head shown in section on *fig. 5.6* is a reconstruction based on Creswell's photographs (*plates 5.8 and 5.9*) together with fragments of it found on the roof of the *turba* in 1979.

The fine pavement of the courtyard, still largely intact in 1920 (see *plates 5.8 and 5.9*), was finally destroyed when new drains were laid in 1980 (see *plate 5.10*).

#### TURBA

In one of the cells on the north side of the courtyard there is an anepigraphic cenotaph (*plate 5.11*). This must be the *turba* which Mujīr al-Dīn describes as being opposite the Ḥasaniyya Madrasa (no. 55); he adds that 'it is said that it is the grave of Sayyida Fāṭima bint Mu'āwiya'<sup>41</sup> without giving further details of this female's identity.

The cell containing this cenotaph lies just to the west of the moulding in the street wall, which appears to be Crusader as mentioned above. It is certainly pre-Mamlūk. The alignment of the turba and of the adjoining cell to the east and the two cells to the west is quite different from that of the other cells around the courtyard (see plan, *fig. 5.3*). This different alignment shows that all four cells at the west end of the north side of the courtyard belong to an earlier construction.

The vaulting pattern of the two cells flanking the turba reveals that originally there were no partition walls such as now separate them from the turba, while the unusual vaulting of the turba (see section, *fig. 5.6*) shows that it was originally covered by a dome, replaced at some later date by the present cross vault. The four wall arches of the turba are shaped to form the extremities of corner pendentives (*plate 5.12*) in a very distinctive manner which is encountered only in Crusader architecture, except for one occurrence in an Islamic building, at the Awḥadiyya (no. 9), the dome of which is discussed below, p. 174. The walls and ceiling of the turba are entirely covered with plaster and so it is not possible to check whether the stonework of the wall arches bears masons' marks or other signs of Crusader workmanship. Several stones in the north, west and south walls of the courtyard do, however, bear masons' marks and therefore it seems likely that they were taken from some Crusader structure of which the present turba once formed a part. The grave of Fāṭima bint Mu'āwiya was presumably installed under this domed structure just as the grave of the Ayyūbid 'Shaykh Darbās' was placed under the dome of a Crusader chapel in the Jāwiliyya complex (see below, p. 205).

When the turba and its associated structures were incorporated into the ribāt, their south walls were refaced to adjust their alignment to match that of the other, newly built cells on the north side of the courtyard.

#### BUILDING TEAM

At Hebron there was a corbel table composed of fluted conchs on consoles – the only example known to us that is similar to the corbel table over the eastern façade of the Maṣṣūrī Ribāt. The example in Hebron was situated above the (anepigraphic) entrance to the stairs leading to the Siqāya of Qalāwūn, dated 679/1280-81 (*plate 5.13*).<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, that entrance was demolished in the 1960s but to judge from the published photographs<sup>43</sup> it was similar in style to the entrance to the Maṣṣūrī Ribāt and probably dates from the period of Qalāwūn's restoration of the Ḥaram in Hebron in 679/1280-81. Qalāwūn's ribāt in Hebron was built in the same year, but it too has disappeared. Creswell records that its cross-vaulted entrance bay (*plate 5.14*) bore a striking resemblance to that of the Maṣṣūrī Ribāt in Jerusalem.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, the Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams, 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Baṣīr, who almost certainly superintended the construction of the Maṣṣūrī Ribāt in Jerusalem (above, p. 79), was probably also responsible for superintending the building works of Qalāwūn in Hebron.<sup>45</sup>

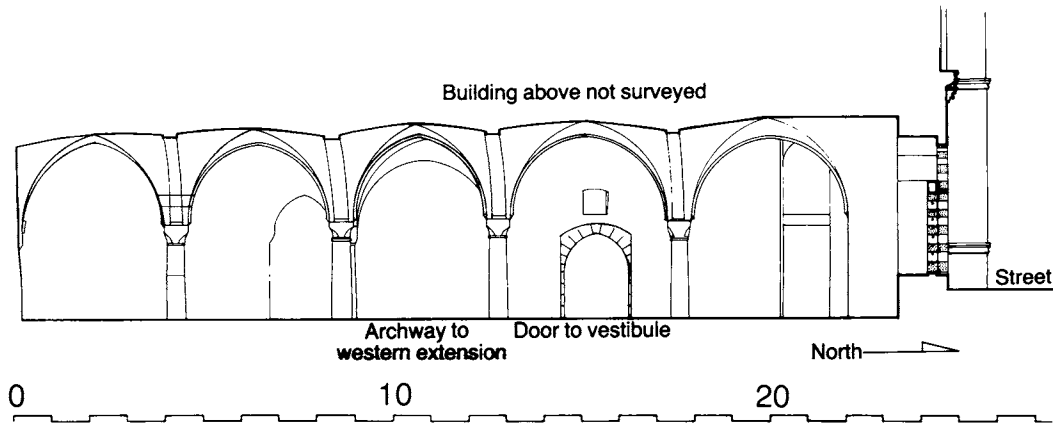


Fig. 5.7 South-north section through main hall looking west



Plate 5.12 Corner of turba



Plate 5.14 Entrance to Ribāt of Qalāwūn in Hebron/Khalīl



Plate 5.13 Entrance to Haram in Hebron/Khalīl



Plate 5.15 General view of courtyard, looking south-west

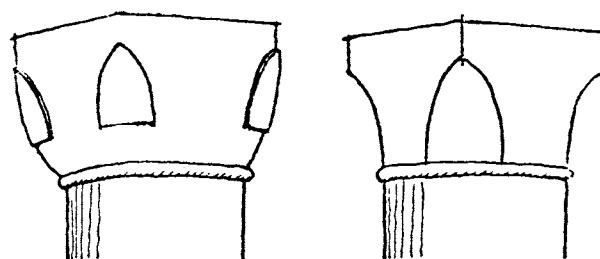


Fig. 5.8 Capitals similar to those in the western extension of the main hall

These connections strongly suggest that the builders of Qalāwūn's ribāt and siqāya in Hebron were also responsible, under the superintendence of 'Alā' al-Dīn, for Qalāwūn's ribāt

in Jerusalem. The fact that the texts of the foundation inscriptions of the two ribāts are almost identical in content and epigraphic style supports this hypothesis.<sup>46</sup>

## Notes

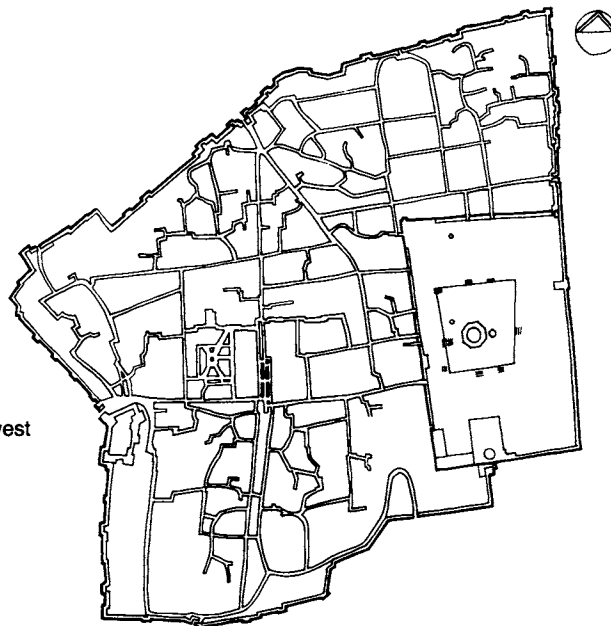
- 1 Mujīr, ii, 43 and 89.
- 2 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 160.
- 3 Sijill 2, no. 977, dated 939/1532.
- 4 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 65.
- 5 Ipşirli, 44; no. 602, 451.
- 6 See *EP*, s.v. Kalāwūn; Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Tasbrif*, 178; *Sulūk*, i, 663 and 754-5; Ibn al-Furāt, vii, 150.
- 7 For the foundation inscription, see *RCEA*, xii, no. 4787.
- 8 Mujīr, ii, 89.
- 9 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 67.
- 10 Sijill 160, 221 (2), calling it *Jāmi' Qalāwūn*.
- 11 Sijill 4, no. 4319.
- 12 Ipşirli, 30.
- 13 Haram nos. 247 and 466.
- 14 Sijill 1, no. 554.
- 15 Sijill 17, no. 1860.
- 16 Sijill 4, no. 4297.
- 17 Sijill 4, no. 4301.
- 18 Sijill 4, no. 4319.
- 19 Sijill 17, nos. 2257 and 2276.
- 20 Sijill 33, 408 (1).
- 21 Sijill 17, no. 1304.
- 22 Sijill 33, 28 (4), dated 964/1556.
- 23 Sijill 33, 224 (1).
- 24 Sijill 57, 220 (3).
- 25 Sijill 58, 181 (6).
- 26 Sijill 90, 102 (2).
- 27 Sijill 160, 136 (1).
- 28 Sijill 90, 236 (2).
- 29 *CIA (Ville)*, 67-70.
- 30 According to al-'Umarī (wrote c.745/1345) there was a window opening on to the Haram about seven metres to the south of Bāb al-Nāzir, which belonged to a hall that served as lodgings for the inspector of the Haram *awqāf* (*Masālik*, 161). That hall may be part of this Ayyūbid structure to the east of the Maṣūri Ribāt.
- 31 Mujīr, 395; Mujīr al-Dīn describes the church as being built by *al-Rūm*, generally taken to signify the Byzantines but which is more likely in this context to mean the Crusaders. Other buildings described by Mujīr al-Dīn as being built by *al-Rūm* – the Khanthaniyya, the Ṣalāhiyya Madrasa and the Maymūniyya Madrasa – all occupy buildings of the Crusader period.
- 32 There are Crusader corbel tables at, for example, the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Khān al-Sultān (no. 47) and the Haram in Hebron.

- 33 Many French early Romanesque prototypes exist, at Poitou for example (see, e.g., A. Borg, *Architectural Sculpture in Romanesque Provence*, Oxford, 1972, *passim*).
- 34 C. Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, London, 1865, 1:500 Plan of Haram.
- 35 *CIA (Ville)*, 412-17; *CIA (Planches)*, xcii, xciii, xciv; on the chevron arch see *CIA (Ville)*, 425 n. 2.
- 36 *CIA (Ville)*, 430-31; M.H. Burgoyne, 'Some Mameluke Doorways in the Old City of Jerusalem', *Levant*, iii, 1971, 23-26.
- 37 P. Benoit, 'L'Antonia d'Hérode le Grand et le forum oriental d'Aelia Capitolina', *Harvard Theological Review*, lxiv, 1971, 135-67.
- 38 C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874*, i, London, 1899, 127 ff.
- 39 Mujīr, 383; in al-'Umarī's time this gate was called Bāb al-Ribāt al-Manşūri (*Masālik*, 160).
- 40 Analogous capitals in a Muslim context are to be found at the Rukniyya Madrasa (621/1224) at Damascus (K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, *Damaskus: die islamische Stadt*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1924, 136-37, figs. 42, 44). Somewhat similar are the capitals in the Jāmi' Muẓaffarī (*ibid.*, 129, fig. 40) which Sauvaget (*Les monuments historiques de Damas*, Beirut, 1932, 95) considers to be antique, but some of which may be Islamic. The scutiform motif present in various forms in all these examples seems to be a rudimentary *muqarnas* element.
- 41 Mujīr, 395.
- 42 *RCEA*, xii, no. 4788.
- 43 L. Vincent, E. Mackay and F.M. Abel, *Hébron. le Haram el-Khalil*, Paris, 1923, pls. vii, xx.
- 44 *MAE*, ii, 162 n. 1.
- 45 Mujīr al-Dīn (Mujīr, 606) states that, "Alā' al-Dīn built the *maṭhara* [Ablutions Place] near the Masjid al-Sharīf al-Nabawī [the Mosque of Medina] but this is doubtless a solecism: the Mosque at Hebron is surely what was intended, as Sauvage has observed (H. Sauvage, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron*, Paris, 1876, 263 n. 2). The *maṭhara* must be the *siqāya* of Qalāwūn, just as the *maṭhara* in Jerusalem is (a development of) the *siqāya* of al-'Adil which was restored by 'Alā' al-Dīn in 665/1267 (*CIA (Ville)*, 104-5) for Qalāwūn and which, in a receipt dated 707/1308, is referred to as the *siqāya* al-Manşūriyya (Linda S. Northrup and Amal Abul-Hajj, 'A Collection of Medieval Arabic Documents in the Islamic Museum at the Haram al-Šarīf', *Arabica*, xxv, 1978, 288).
- 46 The text of the foundation inscription of the ribāt and a *masqāya* in Hebron is given by J.-A. Jaussen, 'Inscriptions arabes de la ville d'Hébron', *BIFAO*, xxv, 1925, 25-26. According to Jaussen the ribāt in Hebron continued to furnish pilgrims with food and lodging in his day (1925). It was demolished in the 1960s.



# 6 AL-KUBAKIYYA

## الكبكية



c.688/1289

Tomb of 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydughdī al-Kubakī

Modern Name: not known<sup>1</sup>

### I LOCATION (fig. 6.1)

West of the Old City in the Māmillā Cemetery, about 100m east of Birkat Māmillā.

### II SITE AND BUILDING (colour plate 27)

In a picturesque grove towards the east end of the Māmillā Cemetery, this charming monument stands as the sole surviving Mamlūk tomb outside the Old City. It has the traditional form of a freestanding *turba*: a cubic base supporting a drum surmounted by a dome. The *qibla* wall faces approximately south-east,<sup>2</sup> and is pierced by two grilled windows; there are single windows in the middle of the north-east (now blocked) and south-west walls, and an interesting portal on the north-west side. Inside, an unusual stone cenotaph sits in the middle of the floor, directly under the dome. There is a plain *mibrāb* in the *qibla* wall. Considerable quantities of Crusader sculpture have been re-used in the construction, probably retrieved from a ruined Crusader mortuary chapel that once stood in the vicinity.<sup>3</sup>

### III HISTORY

A dedicatory inscription above the entrance records that:

... This is the tomb (*turba*) of ... the Amīr 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydughdī b. 'Abdallāh, known as al-Kubakī. He died on Friday, 5 Ramaḍān 688 (22 September 1289)<sup>4</sup>

This information is repeated by Mujīr al-Dīn, who calls the building 'the Kubakiyya *zāwiya*' and adds that it is 'a well-built *qubba*' (that is, a domed structure).<sup>5</sup>

'Alā' al-Dīn Aydughdī al-Kubakī, formerly in the service of an Ayyūbid functionary in Syria, went to Cairo and under Baybars subsequently became governor of Safad and then Aleppo (in 677/1278-79). He was later imprisoned, released, and sent in retirement (*baḥḥāl*) to Jerusalem where he died aged about sixty.<sup>6</sup>

### IV ARCHITECTURE

#### EXTERIOR (figs. 6.3–6.6)

The lowest visible course of masonry projects outwards about 0.05m to form a plinth on which the walls were erected. Seven courses above that plinth the walls step back a further 0.03m before rising four more courses to complete the cubic case (*plate* 6.1). Much of this masonry is re-used: many of the stones, especially in the south-east side, bear the marks of Crusader tooling and several have masons' marks. The west corner of the building (*plate* 6.2) was quite dilapidated before 1874 when Clermont-Ganneau made a drawing of it.<sup>7</sup> It was subsequently repaired, as noticed by Schick in 1894.<sup>8</sup>

Fig. 6.1 Location plan



Plate 6.1 General view from the west



Plate 6.2 Dilapidated state of building in 1877 (After a photograph by Felix Bonfils)



Plate 6.3 Corbelling round drum



Plate 6.6 Cenotaph



Plate 6.4 Entrance portal



Plate 6.5 Interior from window in south-east wall

The cylindrical drum is built of four courses of ashlar. The upper course contains a series of brackets that support a projecting cavetto cornice at the base of the dome. These brackets are of the two main types (though there are variations) arranged more or less alternately around the drum (*plate 6.3*).<sup>9</sup> Similar bracketed cornices are a fairly common feature in Crusader architecture,<sup>10</sup> and continued to be used in the Ayyūbid period.<sup>11</sup> This is the only known Mamlūk instance, apparently composed of re-used Crusader elements.

The ashlar dome is raised on a base course with a bevelled top edge that forms an angled step about 0.03m wide (see *plate 6.1*). The apex of the dome is fitted with a stone finial.

The windows in the north-east, south-east and south-west walls are all identical, each having a monolithic lintel (which does not course through with the mural masonry) surmounted by an arcuated relieving lintel carved to simulate an arch of simply joggled voussoirs, a relatively common device in the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

The entrance in the centre of the north-west side is set in a recess spanned by a pointed and horseshoed trefoil arch (*plate 6.4*).<sup>13</sup> On either side of the recess re-used Crusader elbow consoles of different sizes support a deeply modelled archivolt, probably composed of re-used voussoirs from a Crusader building. A hoodmould with short lateral extensions runs around the extrados of the arch; it is carved with a nail-head pattern on the outer register and intricate diaperwork of intersecting circles and semicircles on the inner register.

Plain stone benches flank the entrance door. The door jambs are lightly carved with a delicate roll moulding. Above the monolithic door lintel an arcuated relieving lintel has counterfeit voussoirs similar to those over the window lintels. The dedicatory inscription is placed one course above the relieving lintel.

#### INTERIOR (plan, *fig. 6.2*; sections, *figs. 6.7–6.9*)

The entrance door, open until 1975, has been crudely blocked up and cemented over. It led directly into the tomb, which is lit by the windows in the other three walls. Two recesses on either side of the door echo the two window embrasures in the opposite wall. The walls are plastered up to the level of the zone of transition except for a panel of exposed ashlar between the two windows in the south-east wall. This panel contains the plain pointed-arched *mibrāb*, which is semicircular in plan (see *fig. 6.2*).

The transition from square base to circular drum is effected in two stages not expressed on the exterior other than by the stepping back of the walls at a level which coincides with the base of the zone of transition. The first stage of transition is from square to octagon by means of duplex corner arches, one arch inside the other, with *muqarnas* niches cut into the springers and little fluted conchs set into the corners (see *figs. 6.7–6.9*; *plate 6.5*). This stage culminates in a cavetto cornice. The transition from the octagonal cornice to the circular drum is made simply by eight fluted conchs acting like miniature

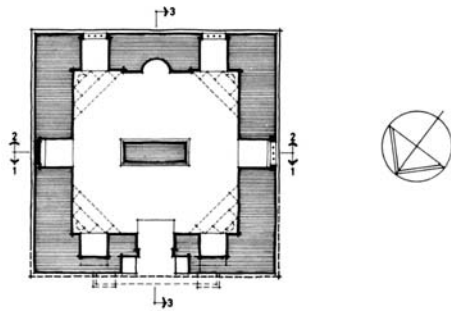


Fig. 6.2 Plan (with section lines)

squinces above the corners of the octagon. Another cavetto cornice defines the conjunction between drum and dome.

In the middle of the paved stone floor the stone cenotaph is oriented in the usual Muslim manner with its long axis parallel to the *qibla* wall. It is a curious object, unparalleled in Islamic architecture, and said to be Crusader work of the eleventh or twelfth century.<sup>14</sup> It has a curved gable-ended lid with a ridge running along the full length and a deep bevelled flange over the base, which has five blind arches in each side and two in each end, and sits on a bevelled plinth (*plate 6.6*). The blind arches at each end of the sides are decorated with diaperwork similar to that on the hoodmould of the archivolt, which may indicate a common source.

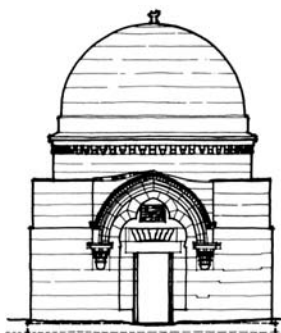


Fig. 6.3 North elevation

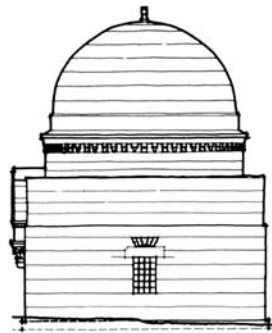


Fig. 6.4 West elevation

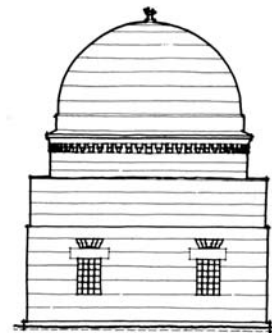


Fig. 6.5 South elevation

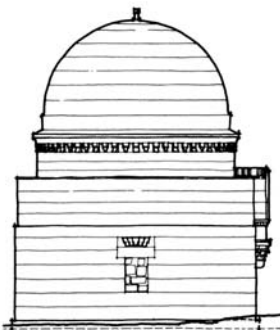


Fig. 6.6 East elevation

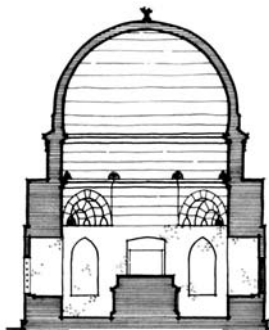


Fig. 6.7 Section 1

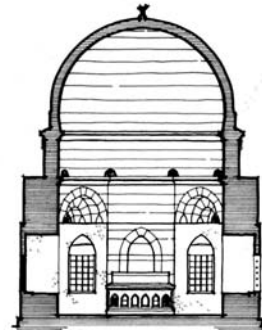


Fig. 6.8 Section 2

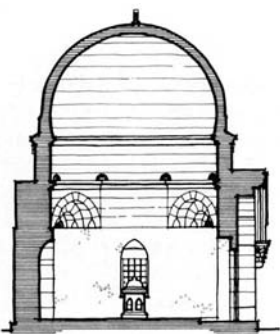


Fig. 6.9 Section 3

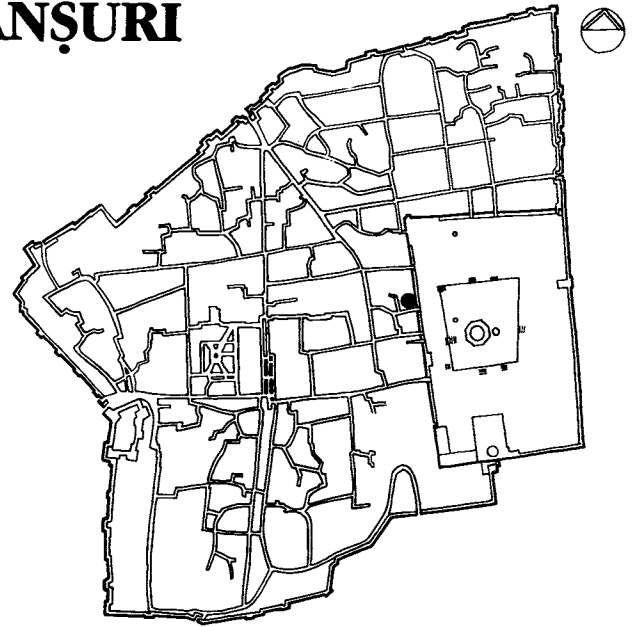


Notes

- 1 At the time of van Berchem's visit (1914) the building was known locally as 'Qubbat al-'Abed' (*CIA (Ville)*, 203 n. 3).
- 2 The exact orientation has unfortunately not been checked. The orientations shown on modern maps are not consistent. Van Berchem remembered the *qibla* wall as facing south-south-east (*CIA (Ville)*, 203 n. 4), while Walls's drawings show the *qibla* wall facing almost directly south-east.
- 3 Discussed by Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874*, i, London, 1899, 279-90.
- 4 *CIA (Ville)*, 203-10.
- 5 Mujir, 414.
- 6 Al-Nuwayri, Mufaḍḍal, Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Taghrībirdī, all cited in *CIA (Ville)*, 210 n. 1.
- 7 C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches...*, drawing reproduced on page 286.
- 8 C. Schick, 'Die Baugeschichte der Stadt Jerusalem in kurzen Umrissen von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart dargestellt', *ZDPV*, xvii, 1894, 266.
- 9 Parts of the drum and bracketed cornice appear to be missing in Clermont-Ganneau's drawing. They must have been replaced in the repairs mentioned by Schick, and these repairs may have disturbed the original sequence of the brackets.
- 10 Van Berchem (*CIA (Ville)*, 208 n. 1) gives a list of Crusader examples.
- 11 At the Qubbat al-Nahwiyya, for example, constructed in 604/1207-8.
- 12 This device is found over the entrance door lintels of the Turba of Barka Khān (no. 2), the Ribāṭ of 'Alā' al-Dīn (no. 3) and the Manṣūrī Ribāṭ (no. 5).
- 13 On the evolution of the trefoil arch see: M. Burgoyne, 'The Development of the Trefoil Arch', *Proceedings of the Symposium on the Art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia* (in press).
- 14 Clermont-Ganneau, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3), 287-90.

## 7 RIBĀṬ OF KURT AL-MANŞŪRĪ

### رباط كرت المنصوري



693/1293-94  
Pilgrim Hospice of Sayf al-Dīn Kurt<sup>1</sup>  
Modern name: Dār al-Shihābī

#### I LOCATION (fig. 7.1)

At the west border of the Ḥaram, abutting the Ḥaram wall on the north side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd.

#### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 7.2)

The siting of the Ribāt of Kurt immediately outside Bāb al-Ḥadīd in the Ḥaram wall raises a question about the date of that gate and its relation to the ribāt. Al-'Umarī, writing about fifty years after the ribāt was built, is the first to mention Bāb al-Ḥadīd, and it cannot be identified with any of the gates listed by Nāṣir-i Khusraw (438/1047) or earlier writers. Yet it must have existed in 693/1293-94, since the ribāt could hardly otherwise have been sited where it is. It is not known exactly when the gate was first opened, but the fact that the ribāt is the earliest building in Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd, and that the meandering route of that street from Ṭarīq al-Wād can have belonged to no ancient street grid, suggest that the gate was opened precisely to give access to the ribāt. That would have caused a path to be beaten up to it from Ṭarīq al-Wād. At some later date the street was resurfaced and its level raised, perhaps when the Bāb al-Ḥadīd was rebuilt (c.759/1358) by Arghūn al-Kāmilī and the Arghūniyya Madrasa (no. 32) built opposite the ribāt. The level was raised again by another resurfacing after 1920<sup>2</sup> so that one now descends by two steps to the original threshold.

The present buildings<sup>3</sup> on the site consist essentially of two structurally discontinuous parts, south and north, separated by a long open courtyard. The full extent of the original ribāt is difficult to determine owing to many later additions and alterations.

#### III HISTORY

##### IDENTIFICATION

Although the building is anepigraphic, identification is quite easy as Mujīr al-Dīn described it as being 'at the Iron Gate, contiguous with the wall [of the Ḥaram and] opposite the Arghūniyya Madrasa'.<sup>4</sup> As there was no direct access from the hospice into the Ḥaram enclosure, al-'Umarī made no mention of the Ribāt Kurt in his descriptive work.

##### FOUNDER

If we continue with Mujīr al-Dīn's text<sup>5</sup>, we read: 'It was endowed by his honour (*al-maqarr*)<sup>6</sup> Sayf al-Dīn Kurt, *ṣāhib* (*sic*) of Egypt, in the year 693 [1294]. The founder is given more flesh and blood by a younger contemporary, al-Dhahabī (673-748/1274-1348): 'Kurt, also called Kurd, the Amīr Sayf al-Dīn al-Manṣūrī, governor of Tripoli – an heroic and brave amīr, one of the noted champions. He was a religious and good man, who was charitable and gave alms. He took an interest in the

Fig. 7.1 Location plan

inhabitants of the Two Sanctuaries and has to his credit a hospice (ribāt) in Jerusalem and (other) fine works (*mahāsīn*). He was a mamlūk of the Amīr Diyā' al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīr.<sup>7</sup> The Sultan Husām al-Dīn [Lājīn] appointed him *hājib* (chamberlain). He fought very valiantly at the battle [of Wādī al-Khāzindār]<sup>8</sup> and killed several Mongols, then charged and waded deep into them and met a martyr's death (may God have mercy upon him).<sup>9</sup>

From the information in other chronicles – if we take due note of the permitted fluctuation between the spellings of Kurd and Kurt – we may add further details to this outline career. In 687/1288 he was sent as military commissioner (*mushidd*) along with a qādī to Ṣafad to carry out an inspection but was recalled within the month.<sup>10</sup> A Kurd al-Sāqī (Cup-bearer) was among those arrested by 'Alam al-Dīn al-Shujā'ī in 693/1294.<sup>11</sup> Is this man to be identified with our founder? Probably not, as that same year a Sayf al-Dīn Kurt is mentioned as one of the chamberlains (*hujjāb*).<sup>12</sup> The Sultan Lājīn made him *hājib*, perhaps to be understood as 'Chief Chamberlain'. Ibn Taghrībirdī added to the text of al-Dhahabī the phrase 'after he had become sultan',<sup>13</sup> which is strictly unnecessary but suggests that the appointment was made not too long after Lājīn's accession in 696/1296-97. It was perhaps a reward for Kurt's role in bringing Lājīn to the throne.<sup>14</sup> The evidence for his having held the post of Marshall (*Amīr Ākbūr*) is weak. Maqrīzī writes under the year 697/1297-98 that Sayf al-Dīn Kurt Amīr Ākhūr was made governor of Tripoli after the death of his predecessor 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Mawṣilī.<sup>15</sup> Firstly, Aybak is commonly reported to have died early in Ṣafar of 698/November 1298 (although Maqrīzī puts his death under both 697 and 698),<sup>16</sup> and secondly Kurt's promotion to Tripoli is placed after the return to power of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Jumādā I 698/February 1299. Indeed one source specifies the month of Rajab 698/April 1299,<sup>17</sup> which would leave room for a short occupancy of the Tripoli post by Sayf al-Dīn Asandamur, who is said to have followed 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak and to have been in the post at the time of al-Nāṣir's restoration.<sup>18</sup> Whether a Sayf al-Dīn Kurt, the Marshall, was Aybak's successor in 697/1297-98 is therefore open to doubt, but it hardly seems possible to identify him with our Kurt, especially as Maqrīzī also reports the activity of a 'Kurt the Hājib' in Cairo in the same year; and as it was the chamberlain's post which he vacated when he became governor of Tripoli in 698/1299.<sup>19</sup>



After the murder of Sultan Lājīn, Kurt had been one of the eight or nine members of the oligarchy of amīrs, who jointly signed all state papers, until al-Nāṣir was recalled.<sup>20</sup>

We last hear of him at the major battle against the Mongols fought in Rabīʿ I 699/December 1299. He was stationed on the victorious left wing of the Mamlūk army and, as we have seen, met his death in action.<sup>21</sup>

It remains to comment on the strange text of Mujīr al-Dīn in which he describes Kurt as the *ṣāhib*, that is, the Lord of Egypt. It is probably not worth trying to explain the word itself and one may simply put it down as an error for *ḥājib* (chamberlain),<sup>22</sup> an office by which he was generally known. We have seen that Kurt may well have been a chamberlain, if not *the* chamberlain, as early as 693/1294.

**DATE**

The only evidence is the statement by Mujīr al-Dīn that the endowment of the hospice was made in 693/1294.<sup>23</sup>

**SUBSEQUENT HISTORY**

Next to nothing is known about this hospice. The Haram documents are, as far as can be seen, quite silent concerning it. A Ḥanafī qāḍī, Muḥammad b. ʿImrān, in an endowment deed dated to the year 916/1511, made a list of the beneficiaries from the property he instituted as waqf.<sup>24</sup> In this list, after his son and his mother, we find the *baḥwāb* of Kurt's hospice, the Shaykh, the hospice residents (*mujāwirs*), and then the Muslim poor generally, all these in descending priority. This suggests that the hospice was still functioning in some fashion right at the end of the Mamlūk period.

Asali quotes from a later sijill, dated 1055-56/1645-46,<sup>25</sup> to list repairs at an estimated cost of sixty piastres carried out on 'part of the vault of the lower *iwān* . . . its eastern wall . . . the dividing wall between the hospice and the Jawhariyya Madrasa, and the roof of the hospice and the two kitchens, etc.' He also remarks on the 'partial collapse' of the building as a result of Israeli excavations in 1971. The building is at present occupied by members of the al-Shihābī family.<sup>26</sup>

In 962/1555 an inventory was made of the belongings of a woman who died 'while a resident (*mujāwira*) in the Women's Hospice in the Bāb al-Ḥadīd'.<sup>27</sup> It is not clear exactly which institution is intended. There is no reason at all to believe that Kurt's Hospice was reserved for women. Other texts refer to a 'Hospice of the Sultan' in the quarter of Bāb al-Ḥadīd (see pp. 131, 343 n. 6, and 557).

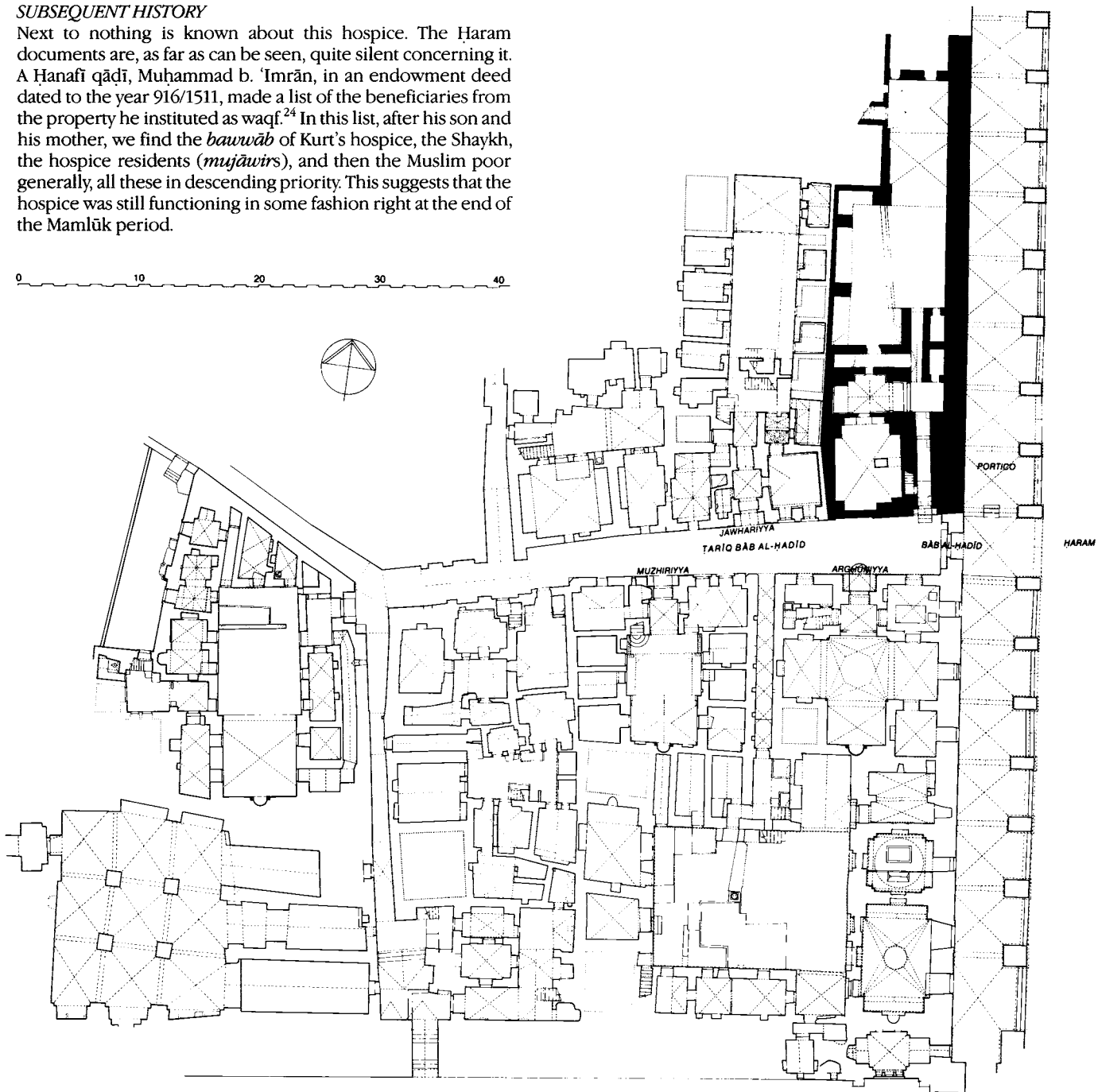


Fig. 7.2 Site plan

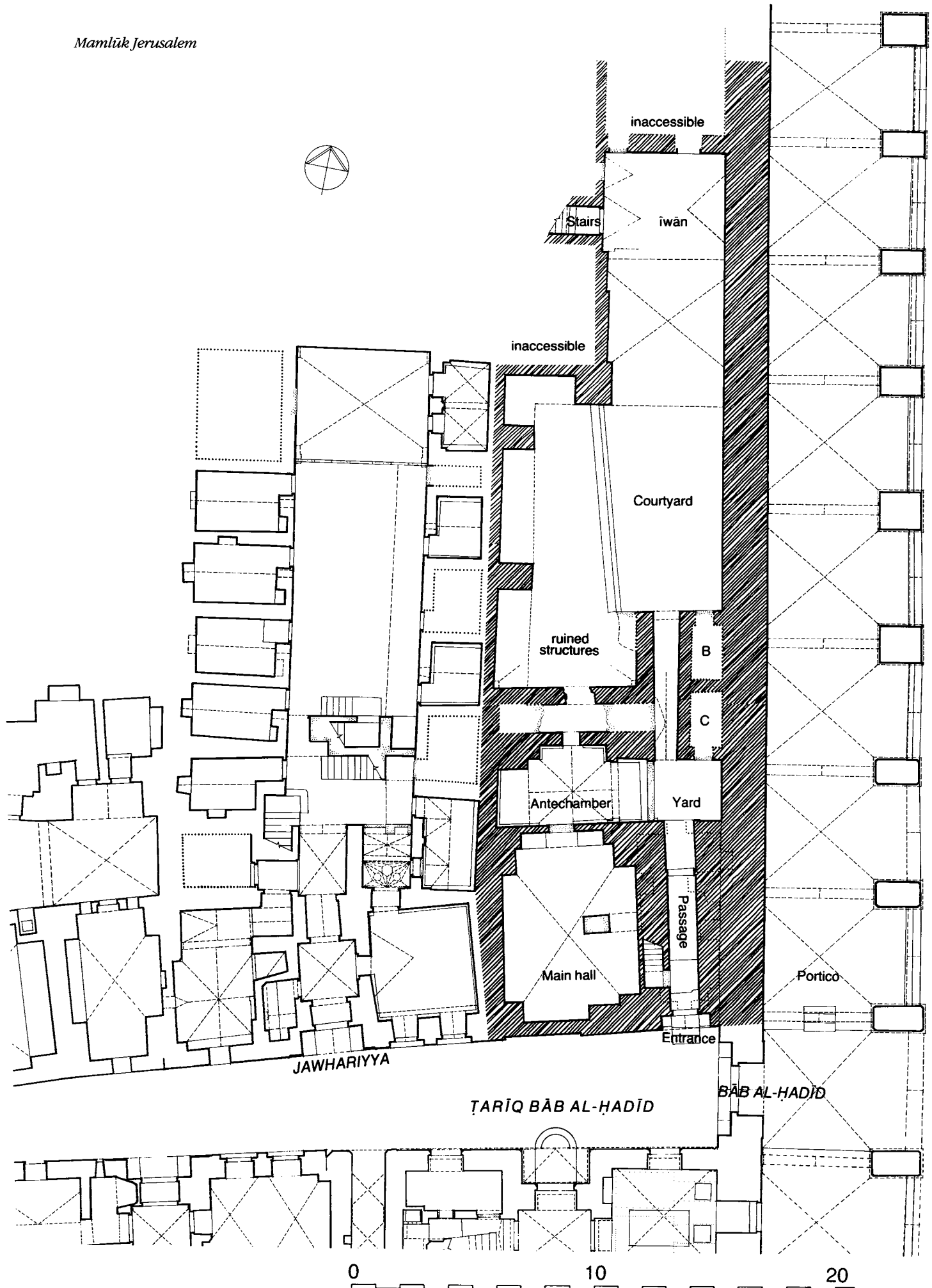


Fig. 7.3 Ground floor plan

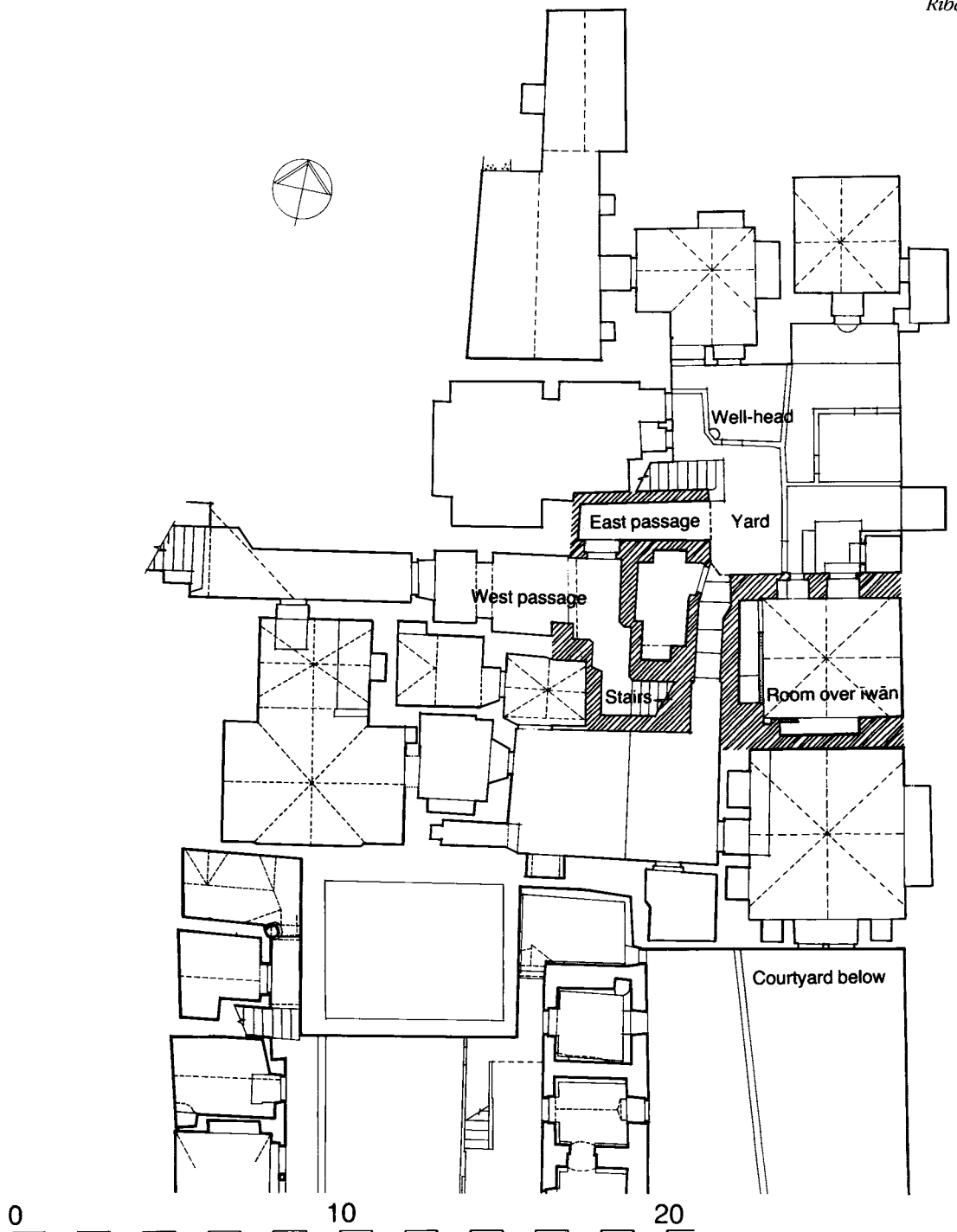


Fig. 7.4 Upper floor plan

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### STREET FRONTAGE (fig. 7.5)

The present street frontage is three storeys high, but only the lowest storey belongs to the Ribāt of Kurt al-Manṣūrī. The middle storey was added in 844/1440 with the adjoining construction of the Jawhariyya Madrasa (no. 58) as shown by the continuity of the masonry. There is a slight bend in the street alignment corresponding to the junction between the ribāt and the later madrasa (fig. 7.3). The lateral extent and the height of the ribāt may also be seen in a horizontal quirked ogee moulding, which must originally have formed a cornice as the water spout near the middle of the moulding, implying a roof behind, shows (plate 7.1).

The diminutive entrance doorway (plate 7.2) is set in a shallow recess with a slightly stilted pointed arch at the eastern end of the frontage, next to Bāb al-Ḥadīd. The usual stone benches flanking the doorway have been built up at some time

after 1920 when Creswell's photograph (plate 7.2) was taken. A relieving arch over the lintel is composed of three voussoirs with rebated joints, and above, in the tympanum of the arched recess, a small window (now blocked) is discernible.

In the western part of the frontage an irregular half-arch, around which the stonework is recessed two or three centimetres, is obviously a later repair (plate 7.1). The apex of this half-arch coincides with the abutment of a relatively modern strainer arch spanning the street at this point to buttress the frontage against the Arghūniyya Madrasa opposite. From the presence of a lintel stone and the disposition of the masonry below it (fig. 7.5), it appears that there was once a window in the western half of the frontage intended to light the main hall of the ribāt (see plan, fig. 7.3).



Plate 7.1 Street frontage

*INTERIOR (fig. 7.3)*

*(i) The southern structures*

The entrance doorway opens into a long passage (plate 7.3) which runs north into a small yard open to the sky, from which an archway on the west (now partly blocked) leads into a cross-vaulted antechamber to the main hall of the ribāt lying to the west of the passage. The doorway to the main hall is placed eccentrically in the south wall of the antechamber; it is unremarkable apart from the unusual feature of flanking stone benches on the inside.<sup>28</sup> The corners of the hall are extruded in order to reduce the span of the cross vault. In the middle of the hall there is a buttress (see fig. 7.3) which was added later; its function, to support the floor above, is further confirmation that the first floor is a later addition, as indicated by the masonry of the frontage.

Above the entrance passage there is a low narrow room (dotted lines on plan, fig. 7.3) originally reached by a staircase in the thickness of the wall separating the passage from the main hall. This is now blocked and the room is accessible only by climbing through a window in its north wall. There was a second small window at the south end of the room, looking out above the entrance portal. The ceiling of the room is at the same level as that of the main hall.

Its different alignment and lack of structural integration show that the antechamber is a later addition to the main hall.

*(ii) Courtyard*

From the small yard beside the antechamber a passageway

leads northward to the courtyard of the ribāt. On either side of the passageway are groups of structures of a later date than the main hall. Those on the west side, reached by a door in the north wall of the antechamber, are too dilapidated and overlaid with debris for their period to be established. From the quality of the stone dressing, both they and the antechamber appear to be pre-Ottoman and could well form part of the Jawhariyya additions made in 844/1440 (p. 562). To the east of the passageway and against the Haram wall are two cells (marked 'B' and 'C' on the plan) with doors (both blocked) in the north and south walls respectively. Six out of nine pointed arches in these later additions have the unusual feature of a median joint (plate 7.4). Several arches in the Jawhariyya share this feature.

The courtyard is dominated by the high wall of the Haram (see below) which forms its east boundary. The original west boundary is indeterminate: the lower part of the present wall is buried under a heap of rubble (plate 7.5). It seems very likely that the original west boundary was in line with the west wall of the main hall.

*(iii) Northern structures*

At the north end of the courtyard the buildings have no direct structural connection with those parts of the ribāt that confront the street. This lack of connection and the absence of distinctive architectural features make it very difficult to determine which parts may belong to the original ribāt. To make matters worse, many of the structures at ground level are now sealed off and inaccessible. Nevertheless, certain elements are manifestly Ottoman and by eliminating these we can reduce the number of possible components of the ribāt.

At the north end of the courtyard is an *iwān* composed of two vaults, of which the outer one facing the courtyard (plate 7.6) is higher and, like the structure it supports, is obviously Ottoman. The priority of the inner vault upon which the outer vault abuts is indisputable. The stonework of the inner vault is dressed in a manner similar to that of the street frontage and we believe that this *iwān* forms part of the original construction. There were two blocked openings in the rear (north) wall; both are blocked now. During repairs made in 1971-72 these openings were unblocked briefly (see plate 7.7), but the heavily plastered walls and vaults of the chamber thus revealed betrayed no distinctive characteristics. However, the vaulted ceiling is somewhat lower than that of the *iwān* (see fig. 7.6) and this leads us tentatively to suggest that this northern chamber is earlier, possibly connected with the Ayyūbid



Plate 7.2 Entrance doorway



Plate 7.3 Entrance passage, looking south

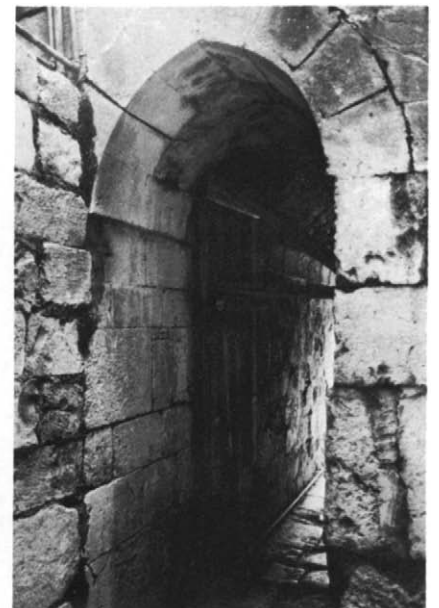


Plate 7.4 Passageway leading from yard to courtyard, showing median joint at crown of arch



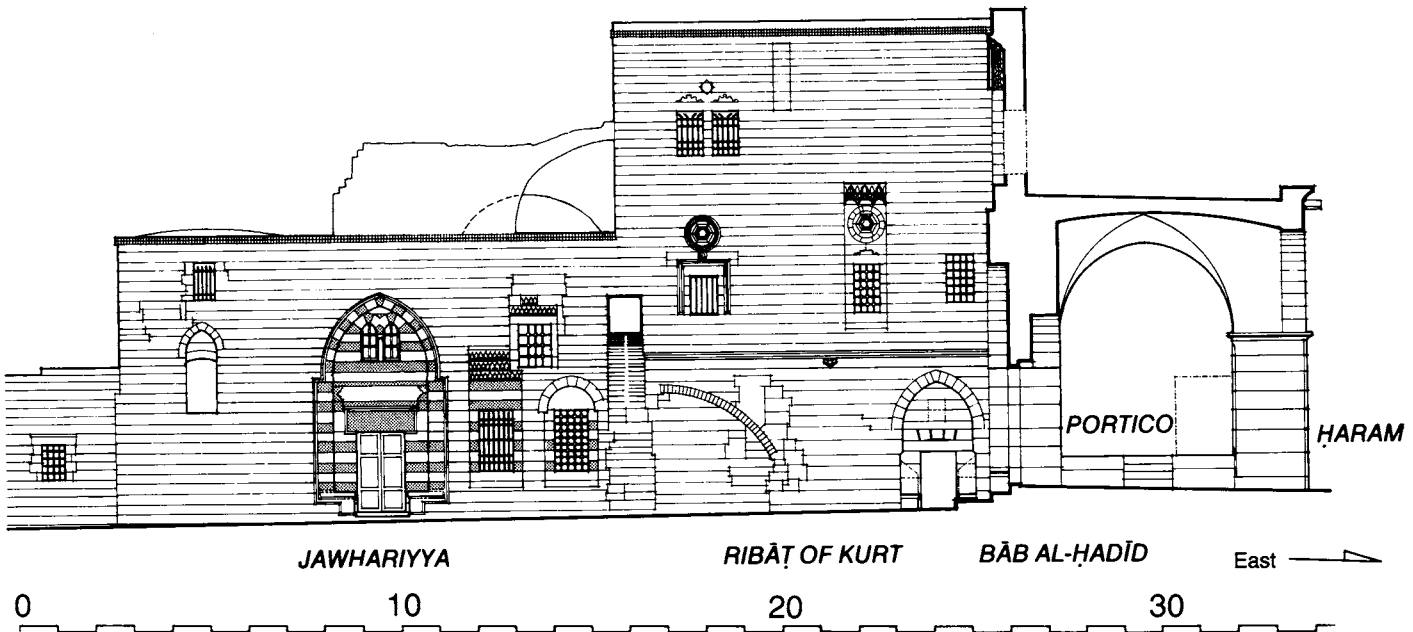


Fig. 7.5 Elevation of north side of Bāb al-Ḥadīd



Plate 7.5 South end of courtyard



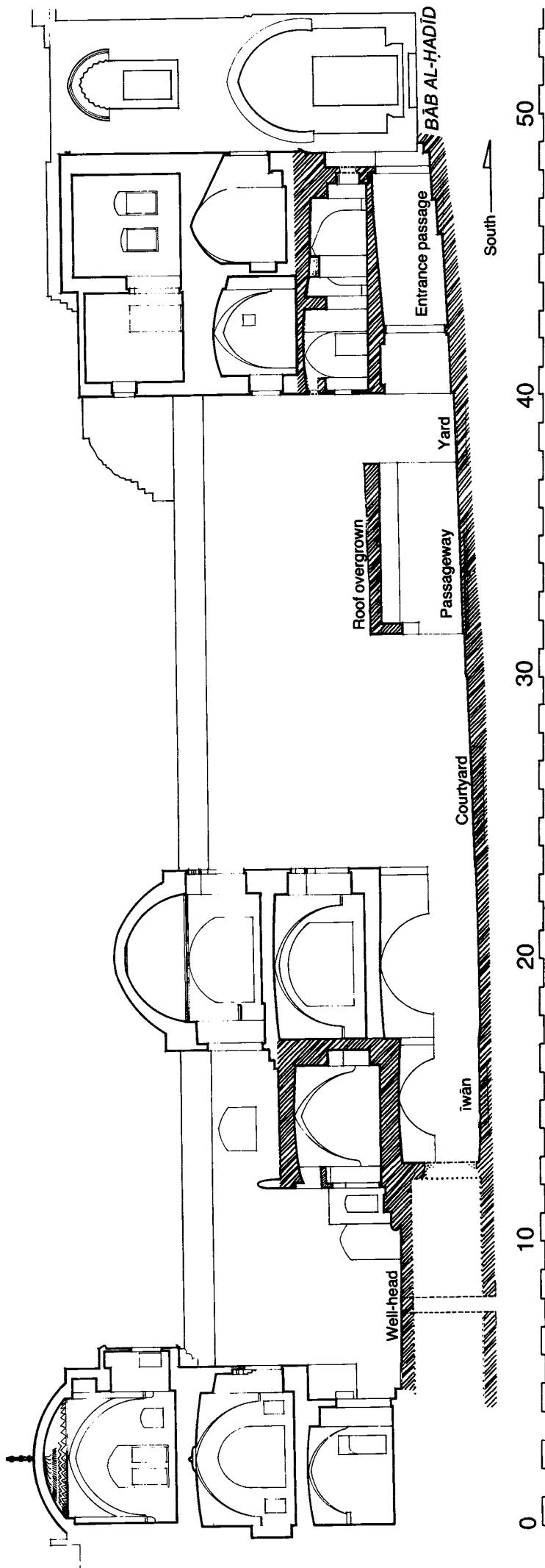
Plate 7.7 Rear wall of iwān



Plate 7.6 Modern structures at north end of courtyard



Plate 7.8 Archway at top of staircase



structures to the north which come between the Maṣṣūrī Ribāt and the Ḥaram wall (above, p. 132).

There are two openings in the west wall of the inner vault of the *iwān*. The northern one is blocked and remained so during the aforementioned repairs; nothing is known of the area beyond. The one to the south houses a staircase leading to the upper floor.

At the head of the staircase (plate 7.8) there are two passages which lead (a) west to connect ultimately with the roof of the Ribāt al-Maṣṣūrī and (b) east (plate 7.9) into a much-partitioned yard overshadowed by the Ḥaram wall to the east and a three-storey Ottoman addition to the north (see fig. 7.6). From their architectural relationship, the *iwān*, the staircase and the small room immediately to the north of it at first floor level as well as the cross-vaulted room directly over the inner vault of the *iwān* may be contemporaneous, i.e. be part of the original ribāt. Other rooms at first floor level may also belong to the ribāt but the anonymity of the architecture precludes positive identification. At second and third floor levels the architecture is easily identified as Ottoman in its entirety (plate 7.10).

#### HARAM WALL

The outer face of the Ḥaram wall,<sup>29</sup> which forms the eastern boundary of the ribāt, is exposed along the length of the courtyard (plate 7.11). This affords us a rare opportunity to examine a continuous stretch of the wall in relation to the adjoining Mamlūk structures. The two lowest courses, each approximately 0.90m high, seem to belong to the Umayyad rebuilding of the wall since the stone dressing and the height of the courses correspond closely to that of the masonry at those Ḥaram gates which we have ascribed (above, p. 45) to the Umayyad period (cf. below, pp. 156 and 174). Above these two courses the smaller masonry of the wall appears to be homogeneous (apart from isolated repairs) to the very top, a height corresponding to the roof of the Mamlūk portico (no. 12). A systematic survey of the masonry types in Jerusalem is needed to determine whether the upper part of the wall belongs to a phase of Umayyad construction or, as seems more likely, to a later reconstruction. All that can be safely inferred at present is that this part of the wall was built before the ribāt which abuts it.

Fig. 7.6 North-south section looking east



Plate 7.9 Doorway to east upper floor passage



Plate 7.10 Three-storey Ottoman building to north



Plate 7.11 Haram wall on east side of courtyard

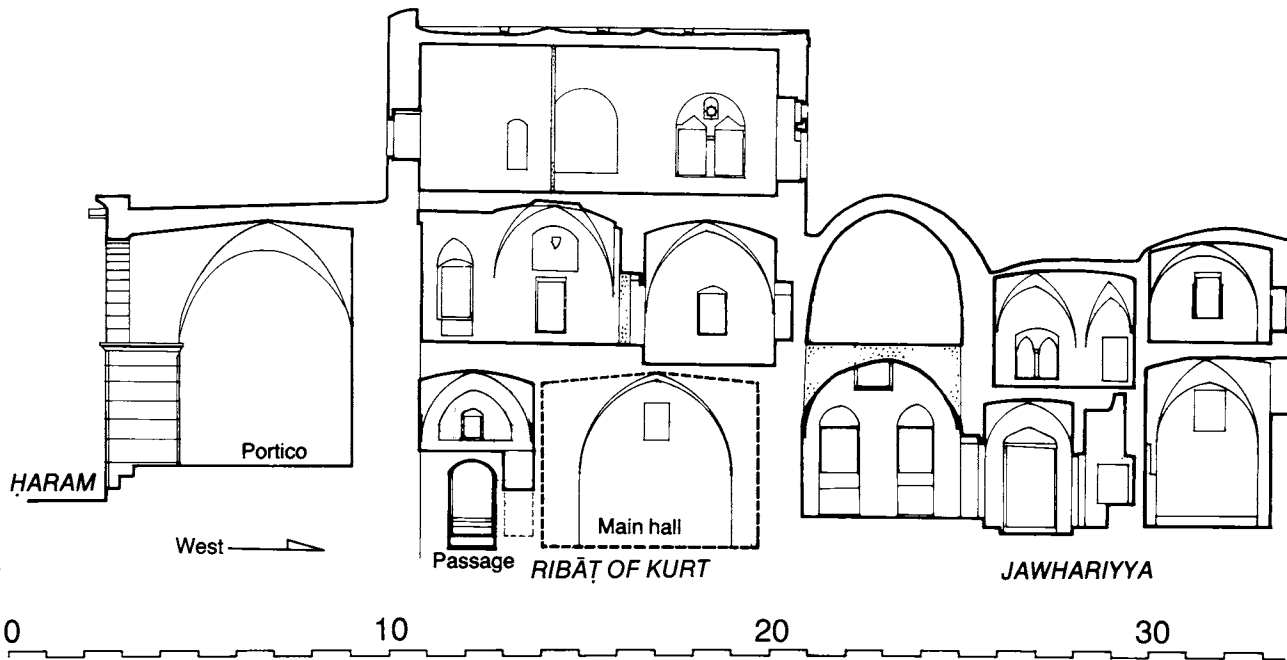
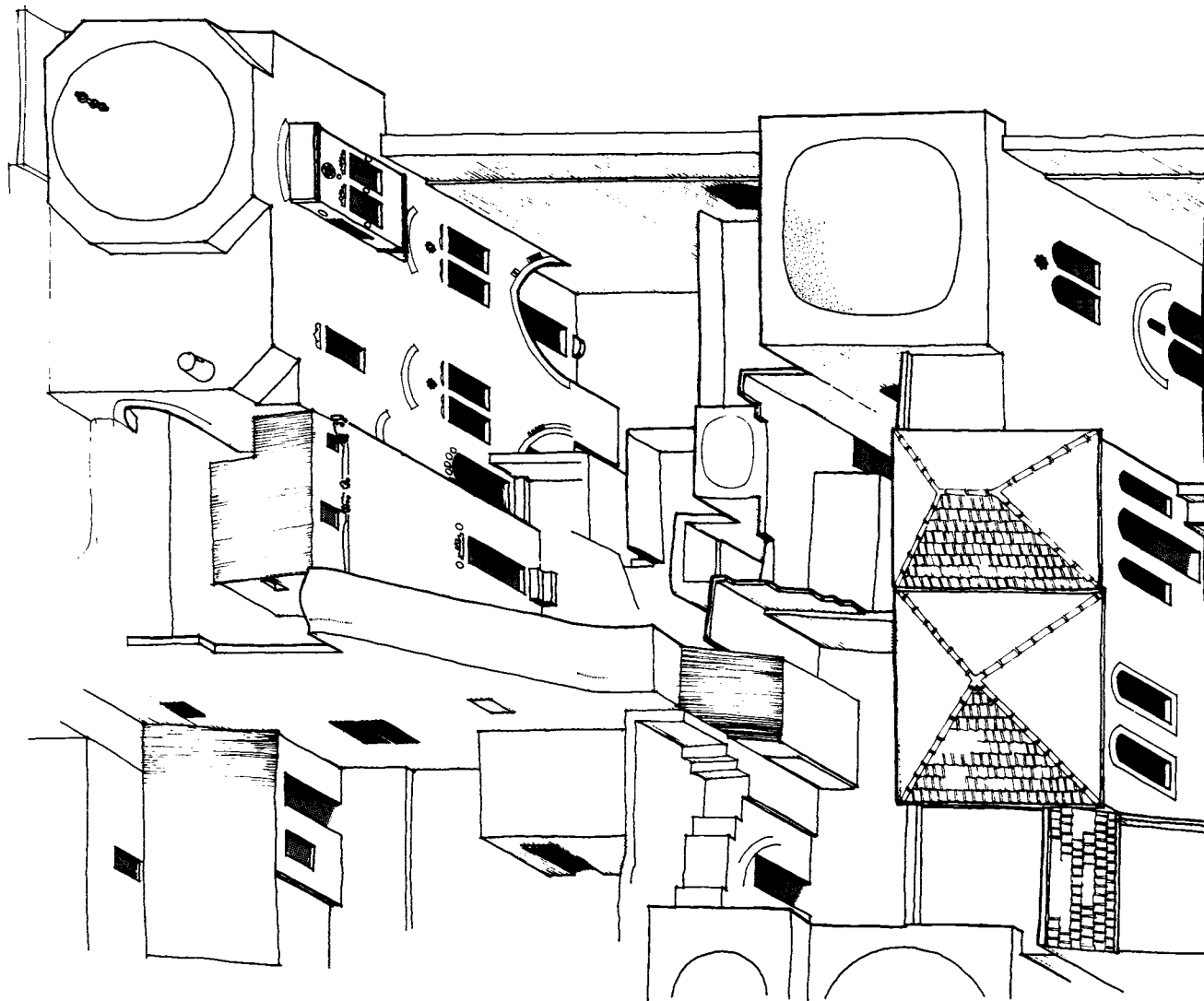


Fig. 7.7 East-west section through main hall looking south



## Notes

1 The name of the founder is spelt variously Kurd and Kurt in Mamlūk sources: of seven historians who mention Kurt/Kurd al-Manšūrī, three use 'Kurt', two use 'Kurd' and two, Muḥaḍḍal and al-Maqrīzī, use both indiscriminately. In Turkish dialects there is a tendency not to distinguish between voiced and un-voiced final consonants; thus *kurt/kurd/kurt*, 'wolf' (Sir Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*, Oxford, 1972, 648). The spelling Kurt has been adopted, which, though not the spelling used by Mujīr al-Dīn, is nonetheless the commonest in the sources. This spelling also avoids confusion possible with Kurd, which might be taken erroneously to imply a Kurdish origin.

2 Two steps leading up to the Arghūniyya are visible in Creswell's photograph (plate 32.2) taken in 1920, whereas nowadays only one and a half steps are visible.

3 A brief description of the building is given in: M. Burgoyne, 'Ṭariq Bāb al-Ḥadīd – A Mamlūk Street in the Old City of Jerusalem', *Levant*, v, 1973, 12-35, and in 'The Continued Survey of the Ribāt Kurd/Madrasa Jawhariyya Complex in Ṭariq Bāb al-Ḥadīd, Jerusalem', *Levant*, vi, 1974, 51-64.

4 Mujīr, ii, 37.

5 *loc. cit.*

6 A title for great amirs and senior officials, see *Ṣubb*, v, 494-5. Ibn Faḍl Allāh (*Muṣṭalab*, 71-2) uses *al-janāb* for the governor of Tripoli.

7 Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Maḥmūd was an amir from Saljūq Asia Minor who joined the service of Baybars I in 675/1277. His brother, Sharaf al-Dīn, was in the same year killed for his part in a premature rising against the Mongols (Ibn al-Dawādārī, viii, 192-6). It is likely that Kurt came with Ḍiyā' al-Dīn from Asia Minor. Some sons of Ḍiyā' al-Dīn were taken prisoner at the battle of Elbistan by Baybars (Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *Rawd*, 462).

8 *Nujūm*, viii, 190, calls it 'the battle of Homs.'

9 al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, Bodleian Ms. Laud Or. 279, fol. 215b, s.a. 699.

10 Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 67-8.

11 *Idem*, viii, 180.

12 *Beiträge*, 24. But note that Baktimur *al-Silābdār* and Kurt *Amīr Ābhūr* are referred to as chamberlains (*buḡjāb sic!*) s.a. 695, see *Beiträge*, 37.

13 *Marḡal*, Paris Ms. arabe 752, pt.5, fol. 42a.

14 *Sulūk*, i, 821.

15 *Op. cit.*, i, 846.

16 al-Dhahabī, *op. cit.*, fol. 236a; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkira*, i, 215; *Beiträge*, 57. Cf. *Sulūk*, i, 850 and 879.

17 *Sulūk*, i, 873-4; Jazarī, para 516.

18 Ibn al-Dawādārī, ix, 7 and 13.

19 *Sulūk*, i, 848 and 873.

20 *Sulūk*, i, 865 and 869; Ibn al-Dawādārī, viii, 381, *Beiträge*, 52.

21 S.a. 699 an Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Kurt is still listed as one of two *ḡajibs* in *Beiträge*, 57, which continues so to describe him in 700! (*idem*, 81). For the year 699 Shihāb al-Dīn Qarātāy is named as governor of Tripoli.

22 Both Bodleian Mss. Pococke 362, fol. 132a, and Marsh 677, fol. 125b, read *ṣāḡib!*

23 Mujīr, *loc. cit.*

24 Sijill 12, no. 2069.

25 Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 320-321 (Sijill 138, 56).

26 *Op. cit.*, 321-2.

27 Sijill 30, no. 1302.

28 This entrance is now blocked. It was possible to enter in 1971 to take measurements.

29 The refacing of the inner face of this stretch of the Ḥaram wall is recorded in an unpublished inscription dated 1037/1628.



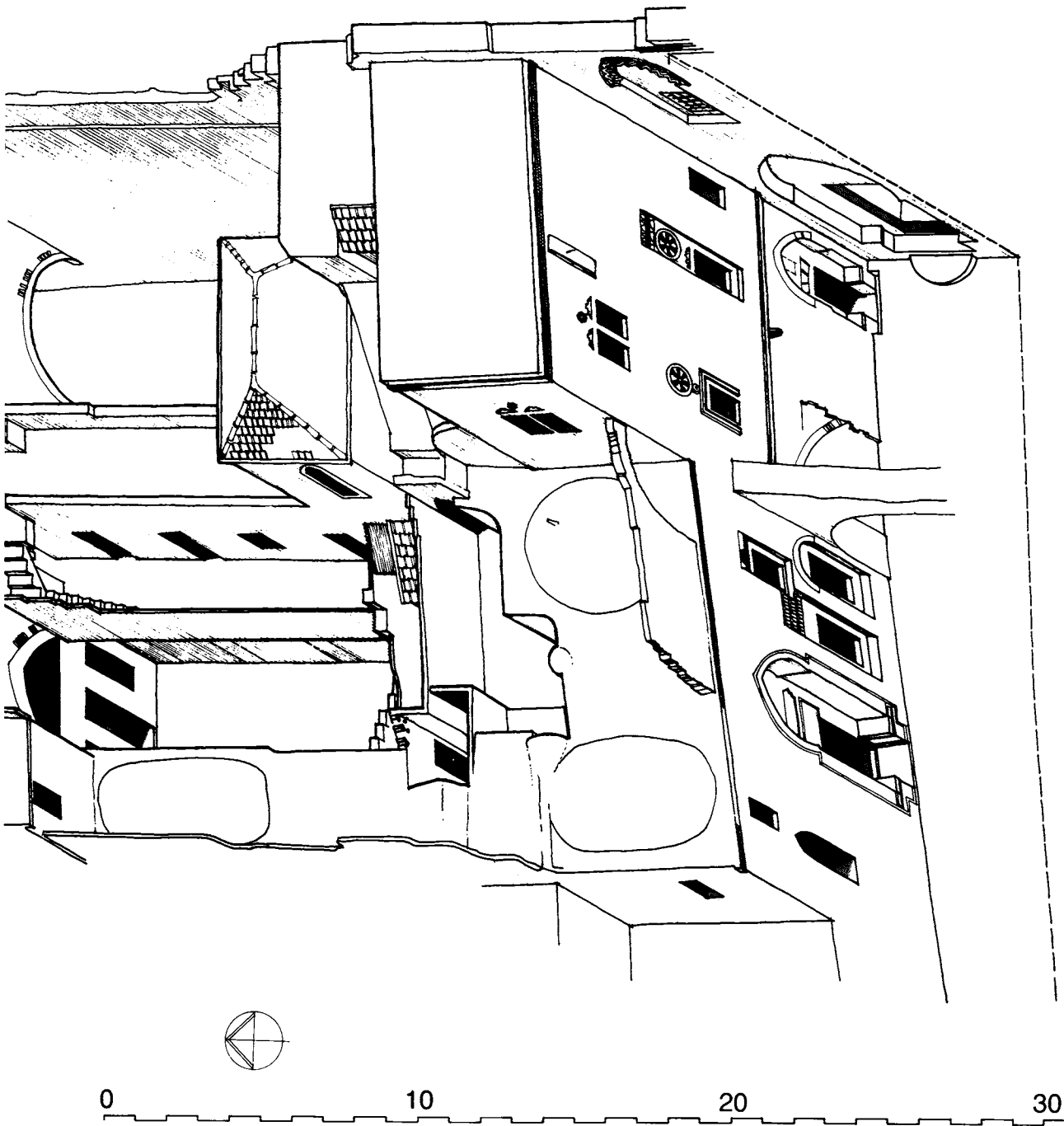


Fig. 7.8 Axonometric view of Jawhariyya/Ribāt Kurt complex

# 8 AL-DAWĀDĀRIYYA

## الدوادرية

695/1295

Khānqāh of the Amīr 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Dawādārī.

Modern name: Madrasa al-Bakriyya

### I LOCATION (fig. 8.1)

On the east side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-'Atm<sup>1</sup> contiguous with the north wall of the Ḥaram.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 8.2)

The only entrance, from Ṭarīq Bāb al-'Atm, opens directly into the courtyard of the khānqāh. Vaulted cells flank the west, north and east sides of the courtyard. On the south side three cells, larger than the others, occupy the south-east corner, and are adjoined to the west by a vaulted hall, which we shall call the 'assembly hall'. A smaller vaulted chamber in the south-west corner opens off the assembly hall. There is no *mīhrāb*.

At the north-east corner of the courtyard a doorway in the east wall leads to a lobby which houses the entrance to a staircase leading to the roof. A door under the staircase gives access to a large, irregularly-shaped room, while a door in the north wall leads under a cross vault to a small yard, open to the sky. A long tunnel vault extends northwards from the yard. We shall refer to this group consisting of the irregularly-shaped room, the cross vault, open yard and tunnel vault as the 'northern annexes'.

Part of the north portico of the Ḥaram extends along the southern boundary wall of the khānqāh. A ninth/fifteenth century madrasa has been built over this part of the Ḥaram portico. The numerous other constructions at first and second floor level, built on the roof of the khānqāh, belong to a later development of the site (see below, p. 519).

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

Above the door, yet often unnoticed because of the gloom of the vaulted street, the foundation inscription may still be found. Mujīr al-Dīn places what he calls the Duwaydāriyya Madrasa at the Gate of the Glory of the Prophets, and notes that part of the Bāsiṭiyya is built over it.<sup>2</sup> Al-'Umarī had merely mentioned the 'three grilles belonging to the ribāt (*sic*) of al-'Alamī al-Dawādārī'<sup>3</sup> in the north portico of the Ḥaram, west of the Awḥadiyya grille (see p. 167).

#### DATE

The inscription is dated 'the commencement of the year 695 [late 1295]'.<sup>4</sup> Mujīr al-Dīn repeats the same date, but it is more than likely that he merely echoes the inscription. However, he also tells us that he saw a copy of 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar's *waqfiyya*, the date of which was 7 Rabi' I 696/3 January 1297.

The discrepancy of a little over a year between the date of the inscription and the reported date of the waqf document does not admit of a single confident explanation. One could

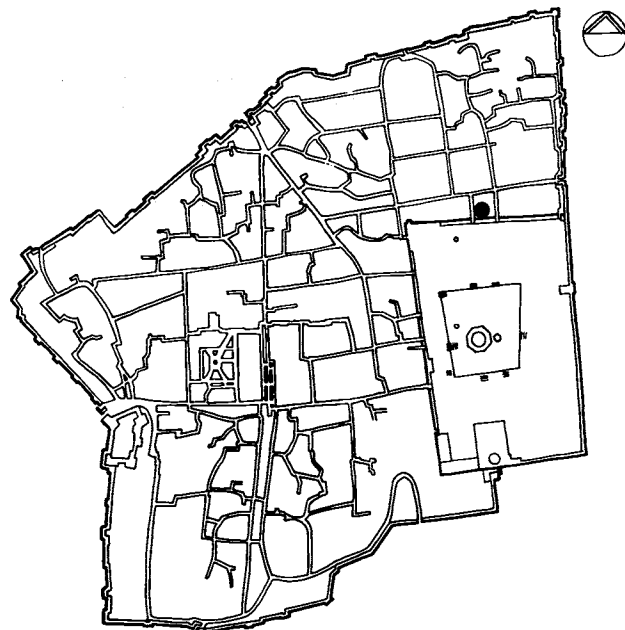


Fig. 8.1 Location plan

claim that the inscription, which refers to what is manifestly a summary of the endowment deed, must have been executed after the date of that deed (696/1297). Why then was the inscription dated 695/1295? Is that the date of the commencement, rather than the more usual completion date? Was the inscription added a while after the completion of the building? Or was there more than one act of endowment?

#### FOUNDER

The founder may be styled in full the Amīr 'Alam al-Dīn Abū Mūsā Sanjar b. 'Abdallāh al-Burunlī al-Turkī al-Šāliḥī al-Najmī al-Dawādārī. He was born in the 620s, or if we follow al-Birzālī, in 628/1230-31, and 'arrived', that is, was imported into the Mamlūk state, in the 640s/1242-1252.<sup>5</sup> Described as 'one of the last Šāliḥiyya' (the mamlūks of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Šāliḥ), he began his career under Baybars as amir and *mushidd* (intendant) in Aleppo.<sup>6</sup> Having been transferred to Damascus, he was, on the death of Baybars, left in charge of the citadel there.<sup>7</sup> He supported the bid for power made by Sunqur al-Ashqar but without permanent damage to his own career. By 680/1281 Qalāwūn had given him wide administrative powers throughout the Syrian territories.<sup>8</sup> Three years later he was dismissed from the post of Intendant of the Bureaux (*sbādd al-dawāwīn*) at Damascus<sup>9</sup> and in late 687/early 1289 we find him serving as district governor (*wālī*) in Behesna in Egypt.<sup>10</sup>

Subsequently, under Sultan Khalīl, Sanjar was responsible for organising the siege artillery for the assault on Acre in 690/1291,<sup>11</sup> and, after its fall, for dismantling the fortifications of the last Frankish possessions, including the transfer to Cairo of the Gothic doorway that later formed part of al-Nāṣir's madrasa there.<sup>12</sup> He spent a year imprisoned in the citadel of Cairo but was released in late 691/1292 and given an amirate in Egypt.<sup>13</sup>

By Sultan Kitbughā he was commissioned to receive the Oirat Mongol refugees and settle them on the Syrian coast near 'Atlīt.<sup>14</sup> Lājīn, in his sultanate, despatched him as commander of a campaign against Sis in Lesser Armenia, where he was wounded.<sup>15</sup> Finally, under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, he was present at the battle against the Mongols led by Ghāzān Khān, which was fought near Homs on Wednesday, 28 Rabi' I 699/23 December 1299. After the battle he took refuge in Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Krak des Chevaliers) where he died on the eve of Friday 3 Rajab 699/25 March 1300,<sup>16</sup> and 'was buried in the cemetery there, called the "Martyrs"'.<sup>17</sup>

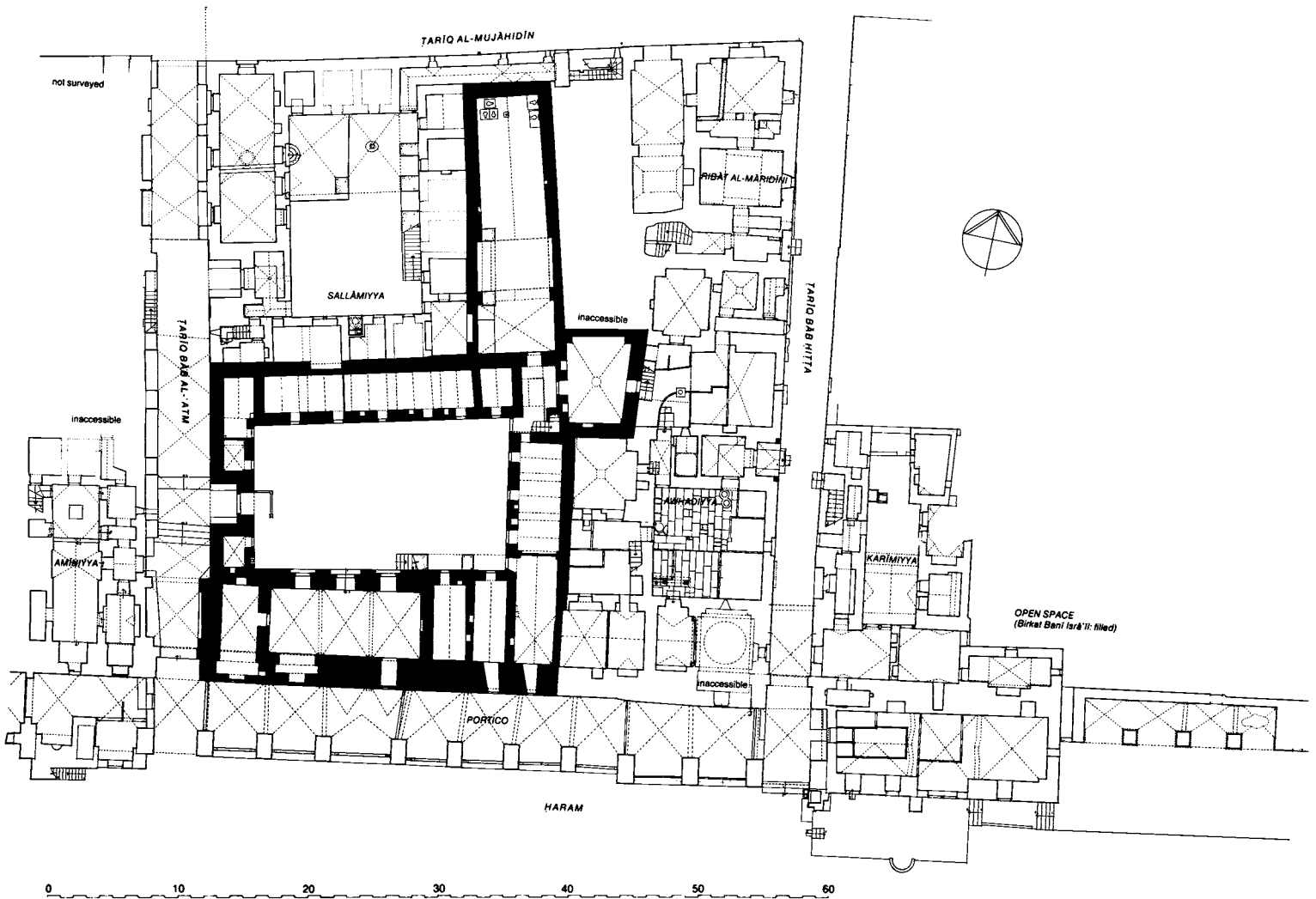


Fig. 8.2 Site plan

His good administration, his personal piety and scholarship and his association with, and patronage of, the religious classes, are lauded. 'His house was more like a mosque', says one enthusiastic admirer.<sup>18</sup> He established waqfs in Jerusalem and Damascus and was made responsible by Lājīn for the restoration of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn in Cairo and of its financial resources.<sup>19</sup>

#### ENDOWMENT

The foundation inscription,<sup>20</sup> despite its length, must be given in full, because it supplies details of the no longer extant *waqfiyya*, and the purposes of the foundation and the financial resources provided:

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. The construction of this blessed khānqāh, called the House of the Pious,<sup>21</sup> was ordered by the servant needful of God Almighty, the servant of God, son of the servant of the Lord, son of the servant of the Creator,<sup>22</sup> Sanjar al-Dawādārī al-Šāliḥī. He made it a waqf, in his desire for the countenance of God Almighty, in favour of thirty persons from the community of Šūfis and novices, Arab and non-Arab, twenty of whom shall be unmarried and ten married, to dwell there without leaving, not in summer, winter, spring nor autumn, except on specific business; and to give hospitality to those Šūfis and novices who visit, for a period of ten days. It was endowed with the village of Bīr Nabala<sup>23</sup> in the district of Jerusalem, and the village of Ḥajla<sup>24</sup> in the district of Jericho, and an oven and mill, and the apartment above them, in Jerusalem, and a house, a

soap factory, six shops and a paper mill in Nablus, and three orchards, three shops and four mills in Beisan. This endowment is for the khānqāh, and for the teaching of the school of law of al-Šāfi'ī, and for a shaykh to give instruction in Prophetic Tradition and a Koran reader with whom the Koran will be studied,<sup>25</sup> and for ten persons to study Tradition and for ten persons to recite the Book of God in full each day, and a panegyrist to chant the praise of the Prophet, all this in the Aqṣā Mosque. This was done at the commencement of the year six hundred and ninety-five [1295] under the supervision of the needful of God, Sanjar al-Qaymarī, may God forgive him.

The endowment for this blessed khānqāh and the aforementioned offices also includes the village of Ṭubrus<sup>26</sup> in the district of Qāqūn and the Queen's Bath at Nablus the Protected.

The work of the Master 'Alī b. Salāma, the architect.

This foundation of his in Jerusalem clearly reflects his own interests. He himself was attracted to the Šūfi life. He dressed as a *faqīr*, adopted an ascetic way of life and observed a period of retreat at Mecca. Hence, as we have seen, the basic provision in his khānqāh for thirty resident Šūfis and for the reception of visiting Šūfis. His deep interest in traditional religious learning is represented by the arrangements for a teacher and ten students in both Koran and Tradition. One should note that these were not directly associated with the khānqāh but were to form part of the general educational activities of the Aqṣā Mosque. It is not clear to us whether the teaching of Šāfi'ī law was also external to the khānqāh. We tend to believe that it was.

There was a close tie between Sanjar and a Shāfi'ī lawyer named Sharaf al-Dīn Qāsim. Sanjar specified in his *waqfiyya* that Qāsim was to be overseer (*mushārif*) of his madrasa,<sup>27</sup> as our source here calls it, alongside Sanjar's son, Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn Mūsā, who was to be inspector (*nāzir*). Mūsā in the event died before his father.<sup>28</sup>

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

The name of the Ḥaram Gate, the Dawādāriyya Gate, was a constant reminder of the khānqāh, but no mention of its waqf could be found in any of the Ottoman land registers available for consultation. Equally, searching through the Jerusalem sijills has – perhaps merely by chance – produced not a single reference to this institution. Only in the Ḥaram documents have we met with indirect mention of it. In one, no. 684, dated Rabī' I 790/March 1388, the then Shaykh of the Khānqāh is named, Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Sa'd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Mughānī.<sup>29</sup> A waqf house belonging to it was situated in the Wād Street according to no. 504, dated to the end of 793/November 1391. There is an inventory of books<sup>30</sup> which were found in 'the house of the Dawādāriyya' – another waqf property? – and also a list of the belongings of a mamlūk, Yalbughā b. 'Abdallāh, including a Koran, a part of a Koran, and another volume,<sup>31</sup> which were held in the khānqāh, here referred to, with an echo of the inscription over its portal, as 'the Hospice (ribāt) of the Pious'.

Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Jamā'a (805-72/1402-67) taught in the Dawādāriyya.<sup>32</sup> Much later on, in 1010/1601-2, two members of the Muhandis family shared half the *bawwāb* and Shaykh positions.<sup>33</sup>

## IV ARCHITECTURE

### ḤARAM FRONTAGE (fig. 8.5)

Two water spouts, implying a roof behind, give the original height of the Ḥaram portico (no. 12). The façade above the portico is remarkable for the variety of its architectural features, notably a fine double-arched window flanked by columns, a group of three rectangular windows with a small blind triple window above all set in a shallow recess, and a blocked doorway half-way up the wall with no obvious means of approach.<sup>34</sup> Under the central part of the façade runs a billet moulding which recurs in the western part of the façade at a higher level above the doorway.

The upper floor over the portico was taken by van Berchem<sup>35</sup> to be part of the khānqāh. But we have the literary evidence of Mujīr al-Dīn<sup>36</sup> that there is a certain Bāsiṭiyya Madrasa (no. 53) built in the ninth/fifteenth century 'partly over' (*ba'dubā' alā*) the Dawādāriyya. Certain features of the façade confirm Mujīr al-Dīn's statement. Three in particular, the *muqarnas* decoration of the vousoirs of the doorway arch,<sup>37</sup> the small twin window with a circular window above<sup>38</sup> and the billet moulding,<sup>39</sup> were not introduced to Jerusalem until the ninth/fifteenth century. Consequently the upper floor, over the portico, should be considered as belonging not to the khānqāh but to the Bāsiṭiyya Madrasa (see below, pp. 519-525).

The frontage of the khānqāh itself is obscured by the Ḥaram portico<sup>40</sup> and is devoid of pretension, being punctuated only by five rectangular windows.<sup>41</sup> The two westernmost windows open in infill walls blocking two round-headed archways (*plate 8.1*) identical in form to the archway of the present Bāb al-'Atm. All three archways were originally open, forming a triple gateway into the Ḥaram, built probably in Umayyad times (see above, p. 45). The jambs of both windows are built partly of *ablaq* masonry and the flat relieving arches above the monolithic lintels are decorated with red *ablaq* vousoirs identical to those of the relieving arches over the windows in the north wall of the assembly hall (see below, p. 162). Therefore we may assume that these two eastern bays of the triple gateway were blocked up at the time of construction of the khānqāh. The central window must be contemporaneous

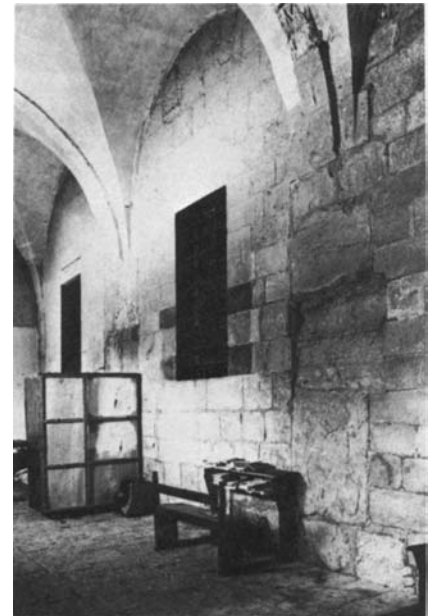


Plate 8.1 Windows in blocked doorways in Ḥaram wall, looking north-west

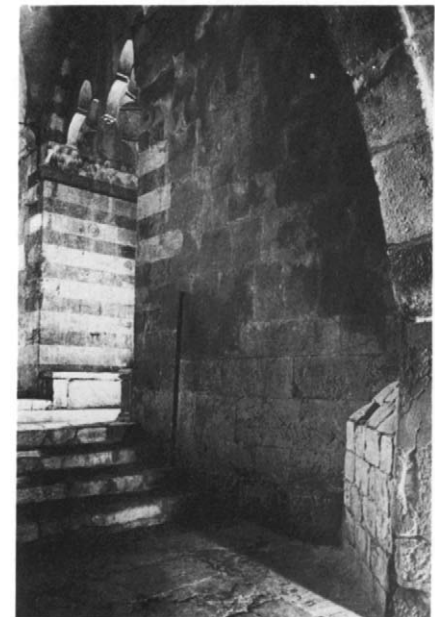


Plate 8.2 Entrance portal from south-west

with the western ones. It is the same size as the western windows and has similar *ablaq* jambs but lacks their decorated relieving arches. It may well take the place of an earlier opening made in the Ḥaram wall before the construction of the portico, for the vaulting of the adjacent bay of the portico is awkwardly arranged in order to avoid blocking the window (*fig. 8.3*). The two eastern windows are quite plain. Their splayed embrasures in the Ḥaram wall are skewed in order (a) to place the western window under the centre of a portico vault (*see fig. 8.3*) and (b) to allow the eastern window to clear the springing of the adjacent portico vault. These adjustments suggest that these windows were cut in the Ḥaram wall after the portico had been built (*see above, p. 107*).

### ENTRANCE (*plate 8.2, fig. 8.4*)

The magnificent entrance portal is set towards the centre of the otherwise plain street façade (*fig. 8.4*). The portal recess is constructed of red and cream-coloured *ablaq* up to the level of the springing of the vault. The masonry of the recess extends irregularly onto the façade (*fig. 8.4, plate 8.2*), the plain limestone courses of which are generally deeper than the





Plate 8.3 South side of portal recess

*ablaq* courses of the portal. This shows that the portal has been built into the adjoining masonry and may have been the last part of the façade to have been built, as was apparently customary Mamlūk procedure.<sup>42</sup>

The entrance bay is 3.10m wide and 2.03m deep, with stone benches on either side, each framed by a quirked ogee moulding (fig. 8.3). At the back is the entrance proper 1.55m wide and 2.45m high with a monolithic lintel and *ablaq* joggled relieving arch, the alternate voussoirs being of red stone.

The foundation inscription, above the relieving arch, runs across the three sides of the bay and is continued at the right-hand side onto a lower course (plate 8.3). A circular medallion<sup>43</sup> lightly carved with vegetal motifs is incorporated within the main band of inscription, over the door, and at the left-hand end a semicircular escutcheon (plate 8.4) bears the *mu'allim's* 'signature'.<sup>44</sup> On the street façade two ornamental carved stone roundels, each evidently intended to take a central boss, distinguish the extremities of the main inscription. There are somewhat similar unfinished-looking roundels in the side walls at the level of the lower band of inscription (plate 8.3).

The vaulting of the portal recess (plate 8.5, fig. 8.4) is a veritable *tour de force* of the *mu'allim*, 'Alī b. Salāma. Three tiers of *muqarnas* corbels, the lower two functioning as pendentives, culminate in two monolithic fluted cupolas with metal rings hanging from the apexes. Similar three-tiered *muqarnas* impostes support the base of the vault on three sides while on the outer (street) side (fig. 8.4) the thrust of the vault is discharged through two pointed trefoil arches to the impostes, of which the central one, seemingly defying structural logic, is suspended. From this suspended impost the thrust is first transferred to the upper structure whence it is discharged down through the lateral impostes (see fig. 8.8). In this system there is a structural necessity to support the upper units marked 'a' on the sketch (fig. 8.8) of the trefoil arches. This is achieved by the upward tapering of the suspended impost in a series of inward overlaps up to the point where a small and almost imperceptible outward joggle keys the impost into the large stone cantilevers ('b') which discharge the load. The tip of the suspended impost is drilled, no doubt to permit a hanging lamp to heighten the dramatic effect of instability. The *mu'allim* continues to perplex the observer by joggling the *ablaq* voussoirs of the enclosing pointed arch not in one plane but two (plate 8.6). How this was done is unknown but since the voussoirs are relatively simply joggled, with no re-entrant angles, it would have been possible to build up the arch from each side before sliding in a keystone whose joggling was cut at an acute angle to match the two adjoining voussoirs (fig. 8.9).

The system of vaulting adopted for the portal of the khānqāh was not original, however. In Damascus an evolutionary series of similar vaults survives. The prototype is the Nūriyya Madrasa (567/1172),<sup>45</sup> followed by the 'Ādiliyya

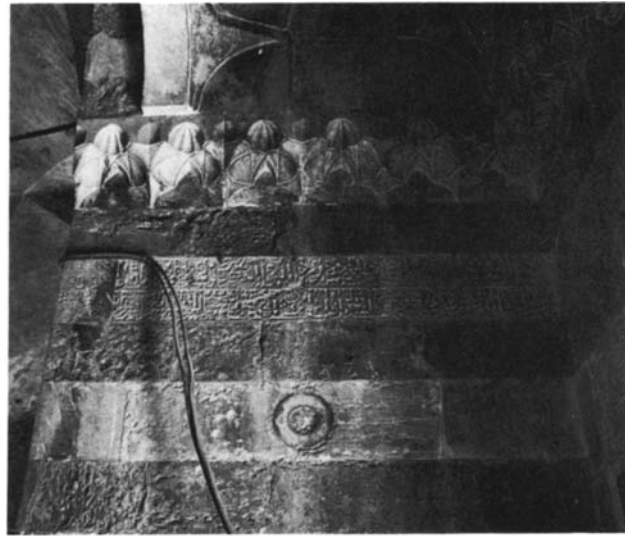


Plate 8.4 North side of portal recess

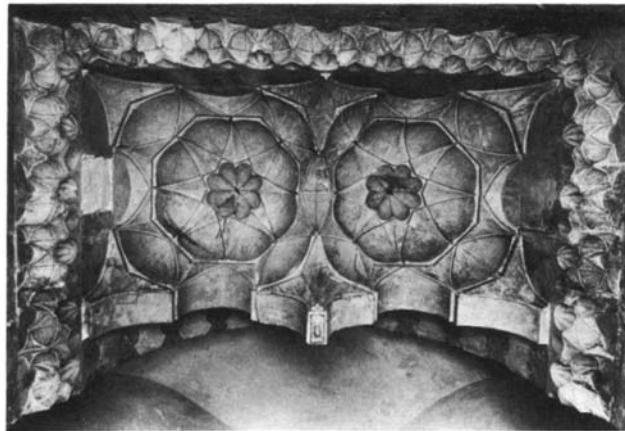


Plate 8.5 Vault of portal



Plate 8.6 Vault of entrance portal

Madrasa (619/1222-23),<sup>46</sup> and the Qīljiyya Madrasa (651/1253-54)<sup>47</sup> which had four bays rather than two. The vaulting of the khānqāh portal bears a striking resemblance to that of the 'Ādiliyya in Damascus (fig. 8.10) and was certainly inspired by it.<sup>48</sup>

In all the Damascene examples a cornice moulding crowns the façade, rising over the door to form a sort of rectangular pediment of a type that originated in the East and which is called *pīsh-tāq* in Persian. The upper part of the façade of the Jerusalem khānqāh is hidden behind a range of later vaults spanning the street, but there can be little doubt that a similar moulded cornice and *pīsh-tāq* were used here also. The moulded impostes for these later vaults are seventh/thirteenth century in scale and profile and are almost certainly re-used sections of the original cornice moulding of the khānqāh. A

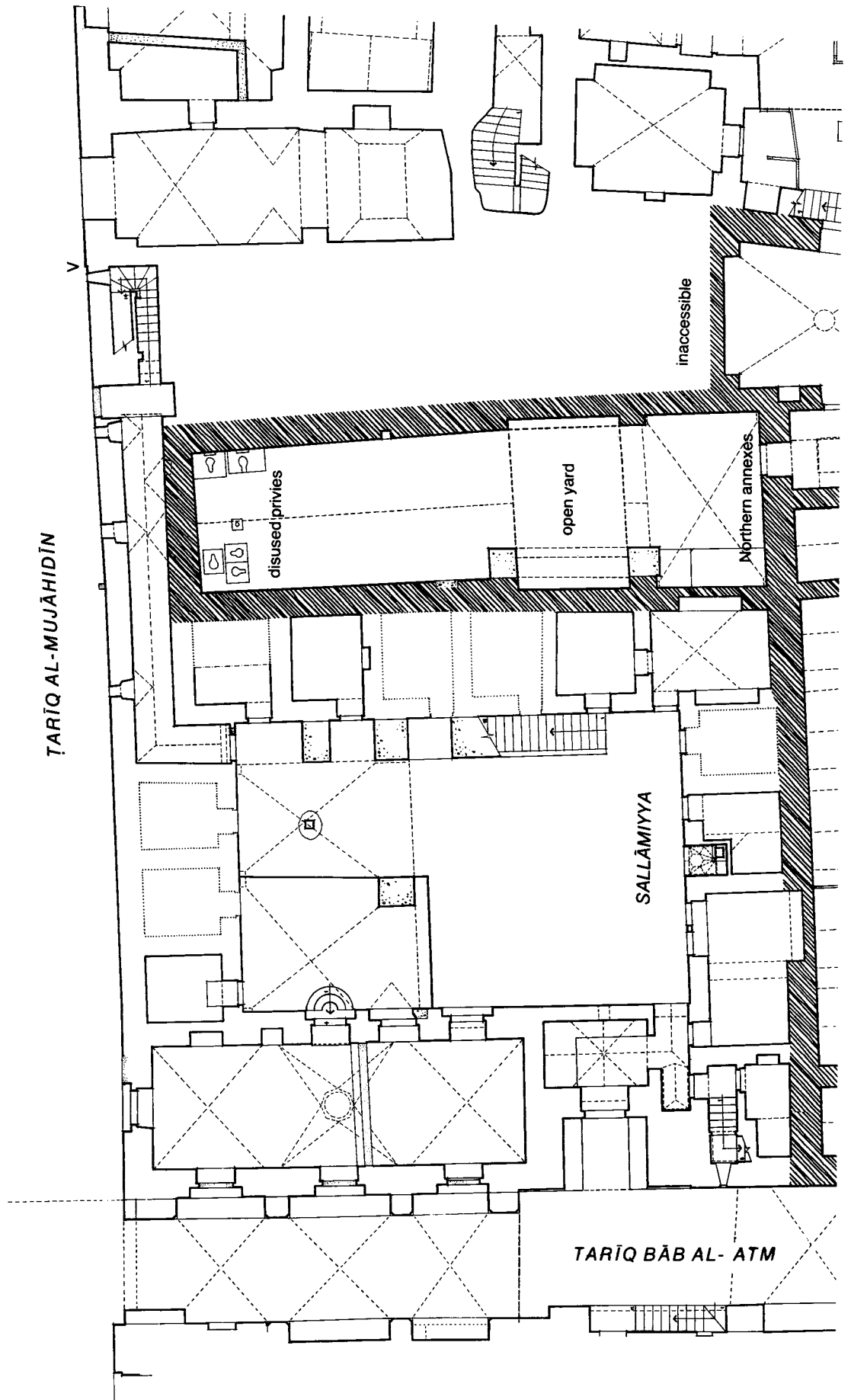
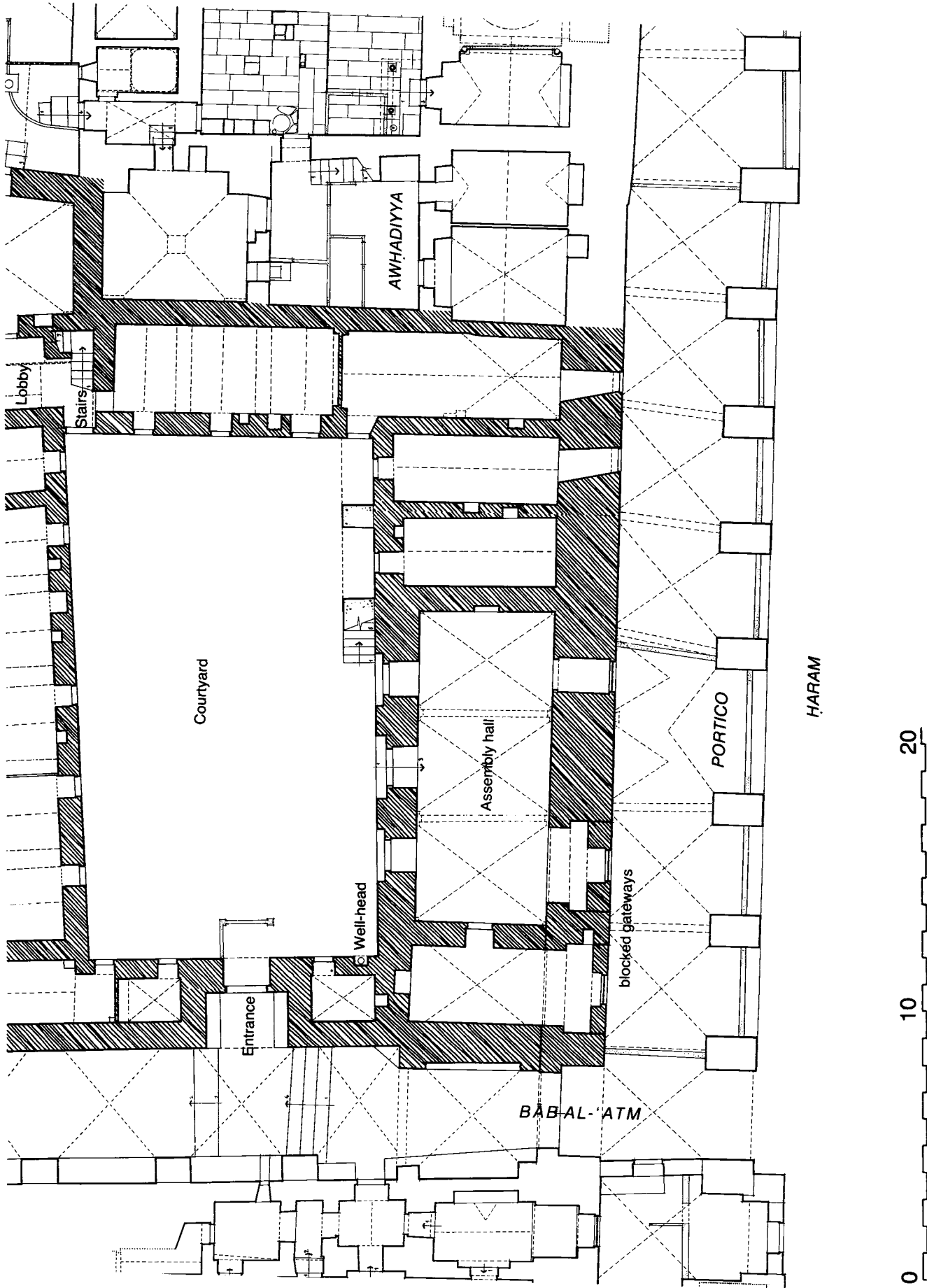


Fig. 8.3 Ground floor plan



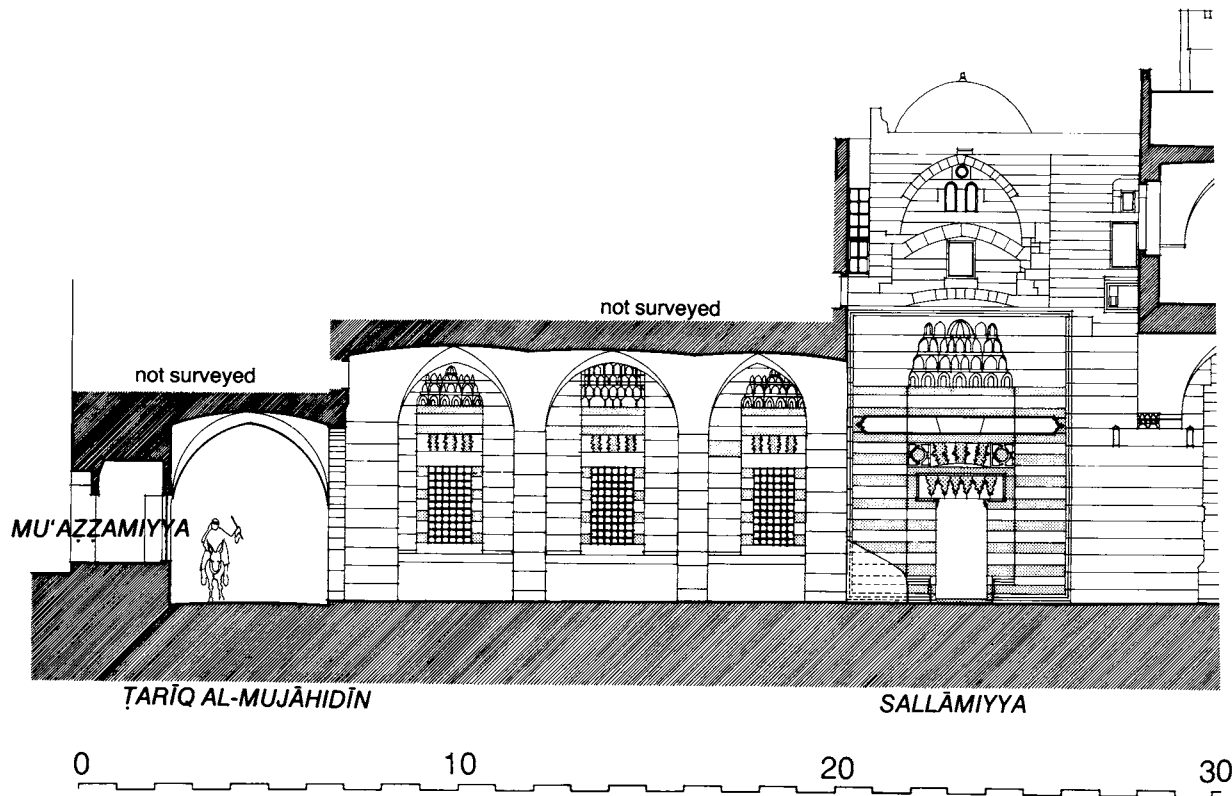


Fig. 8.4 Ṭarīq Bāb al-'Atm: elevation of east side

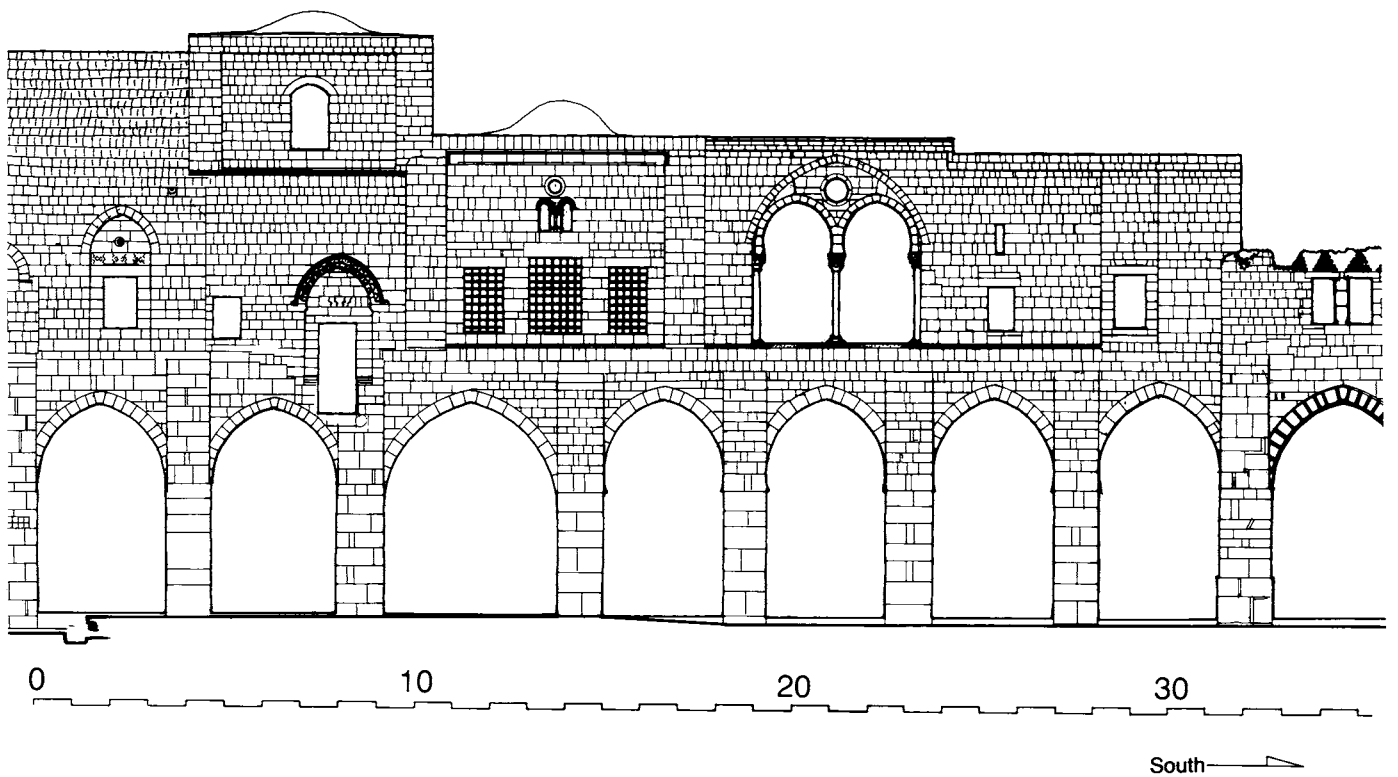


Fig. 8.5 Ḥaram frontage



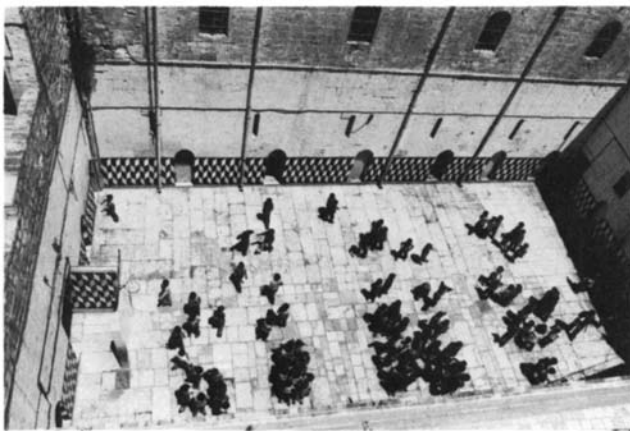
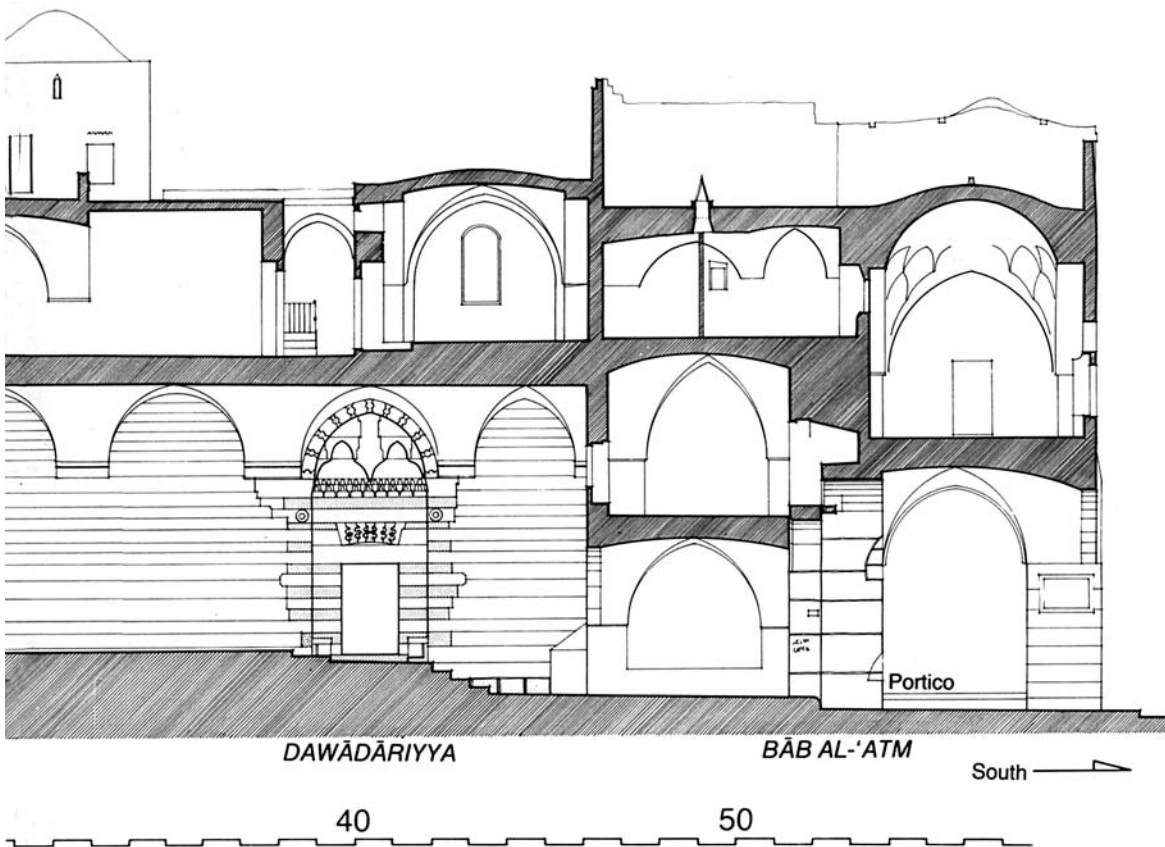


Plate 8.7 Courtyard from above



Plate 8.8 West end of courtyard

5.75m length of the same cyma moulding has been re-employed over the recessed unit of three windows of the Bāsiyya Madrasa (plate 53.1), possibly as part of the later repairs to that building (see above, p. 156). There the moulding terminates at either end in a discontinuous down-turn: these must be the very stones which formed the top corners of the original *pīsh-tāq* of the khānqāh.<sup>49</sup>

#### INTERIOR (plan, fig. 8.3)

The entrance door leads directly into the courtyard where a modern concrete wall has been erected to screen the interior from the view of passers-by.<sup>50</sup> More modern is the jazzy dado around the walls of the courtyard, visible in plate 8.7; it was painted in the late 1970s. The same plate shows the fine original pavement composed of big limestone slabs that remains largely intact.

At the south-west corner of the courtyard a niche (plate 8.8) in the west wall houses a well-head where water could be drawn from a cistern below. The sculptural detail of the *muqarnas* corbelling and relief-carved semidome covering the niche (plate 8.9) is encrusted with paint and virtually indecipherable.

The layout of cells round the courtyard is shown on the plan (fig. 8.3). Each cell has a typical Mamlūk pointed-arched doorway and is lit and ventilated by a high-level slit window placed either directly over the door or to one side of it but always immediately under the crown of the vault. In the east wall several of these windows and two doors have been subsequently enlarged. Each of the two cells occupying the south-eastern corner of the khānqāh has in addition a window penetrating the southern wall to overlook the Ḥaram.

Many of the partition walls between the cells in the north and east walls have been demolished to form larger rooms, possibly when the building was converted for use as a school some time before 1914. A modern flight of steps in the south-east corner of the courtyard (plate 8.14) blocks the windows of the adjacent cells and is probably part of the same conversion.



Plate 8.9 Head of well-recess



Plate 8.10 Façade of assembly hall to courtyard

A cornice moulding, similar in profile but smaller than the cornice moulding from the street façade, running round three sides of the courtyard defines the original height of the walls (it has been replaced on the east side by a plain string course of a type common in architecture of the nineteenth century in Jerusalem).

**ASSEMBLY HALL**

In the western part of the southern wall of the courtyard, the important position of the assembly hall is expressed in a symmetrical arrangement of three shallow recesses (plate 8.10). The central recess, which contains the entrance door, has a pointed horseshoe arch; the lateral recesses, containing rectangular windows, have pointed arches. The decoration of the recess is obscured by several coats of paint but the main features may still be observed. The jambs of the door and both windows are constructed in *ablaq*, with alternate courses of red stone. The flat relieving arches over the windows are composed of distinctively joggled *ablaq* voussoirs, and incised six-lobed rosettes decorate the tympanums. Over the door the *ablaq* voussoirs of the relieving arch are joggled with a profile different from those over the windows. The oculus in the tympanum (now blocked) is surrounded by a circular composition of *ablaq* voussoirs within a moulded frame.

Three steps lead up into the assembly hall, which is vaulted in three bays. Transverse arches divide the vaulting bays. The large south-facing window under the eastern bay opens under the Haram portico (above, p. 156). Under the

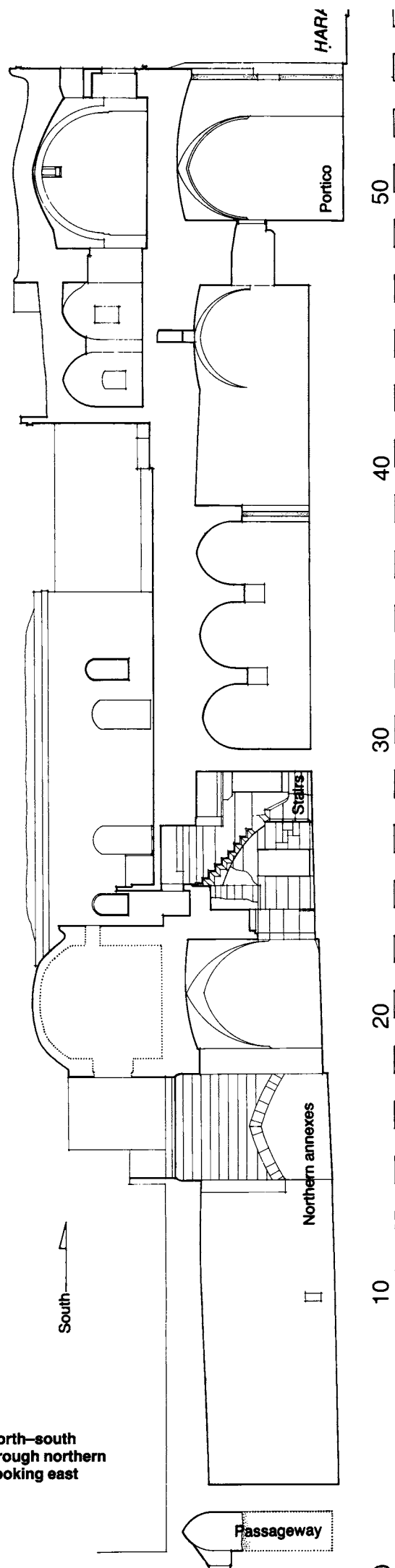
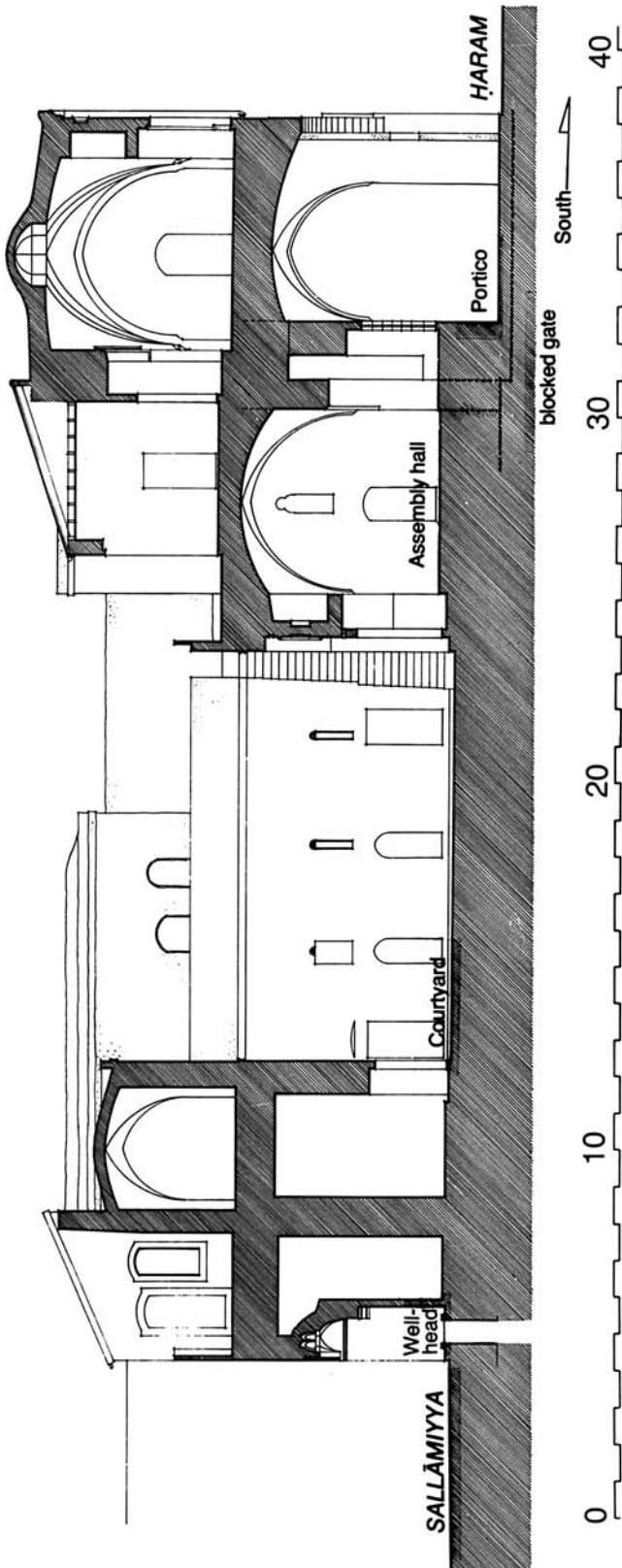


Fig. 8.6 North-south section through northern annexes looking east

western vaulting bay by the semicircular arch of the easternmost bay of the Umayyad triple gate may be seen (*plate 8.11*). A door in the west wall of the assembly hall leads to a cross-vaulted chamber, the south wall of which is formed by the central bay of the triple gate. Both these bays of the triple gate are built up, save for one window in each looking out on the Haram from under the portico (above, p. 156). The sills of these windows are only 0.10m above the internal floor level but an average of 1.74m above the floor level of the Haram portico (*fig. 8.7*)

**STAIRCASE**

At the north-east corner of the courtyard the door leading to the lobby and staircase is differentiated from the doors of the cells by its greater height and width and by its flat lintel surmounted by a relieving arch. The design of the staircase is illustrated in *fig. 8.11*. *Plate 8.12* shows the system of half-arches supporting the staircase, together with a high-level window which lights the lobby, and the doors leading to the northern annexes. Since all the buildings at first floor level are of later construction, this staircase, which was undoubtedly built as an integral part of the khānqāh, originally led to the flat roofs of the khānqāh and the adjoining Haram portico.



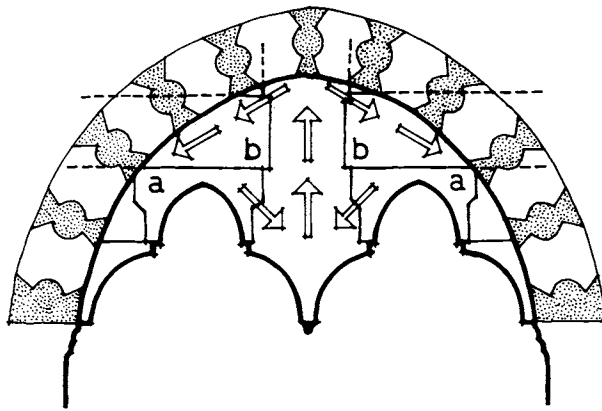
**Fig. 8.7** North-south section through courtyard looking east



**Plate 8.11** Interior of assembly hall, with arch of old doorway in south-west corner



**Plate 8.12** Lobby at north-east corner of courtyard: north-east corner



**Fig. 8.8 Sketch of Dawādāriyya portal showing manner in which load is transmitted by suspended impost**

**NORTHERN ANNEXES**

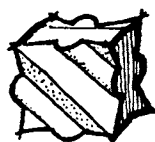
The large, irregularly shaped room entered through a door in the east wall of the lobby in the north-east corner of the courtyard is now so full of rubbish that a detailed examination has not been possible. The plan shows that the north wall is considerably longer than the south wall and that, in order to facilitate vaulting over this irregular space, corner abutments have been introduced to reduce the span of the northern end of the cross vault. The upper part of a blocked doorway in the south wall is visible above the rubbish. The sill of the window in the east wall is barely one metre above floor level but almost three metres above the level of the courtyard it overlooks.

The curious way in which the northern annexes project from an otherwise more or less regular quadrilateral layout on plan instantly suggests that here we have some part of a pre-Mamlūk construction which was taken over by the builders of the khānqāh. Furthermore, the fine ashlar masonry of much of the structure, the pointed arches of the east and west side recesses (a later, Ottoman fireplace has been built in front of the west recess), and the deep cavetto moulding running round the upper walls of the yard to form a cornice (visible in *plate* 8.13), are of pre-Mamlūk – Crusader or Ayyūbid – type.

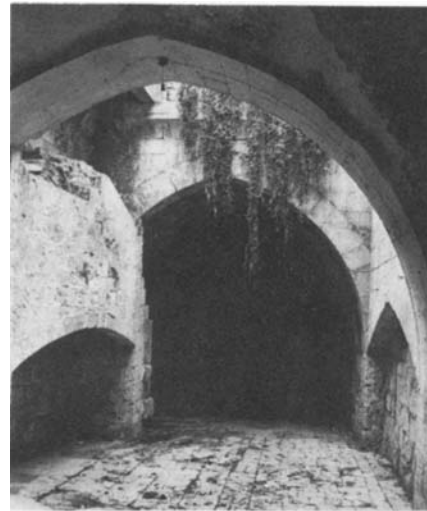
The plan (*fig.* 8.3) shows that the north – south axis of the northern annexes lies at right angles both to the northern boundary wall of the khānqāh and to the south side of the street called Ṭarīq al-Mujāhidīn. In other words, the north wall of the khānqāh runs parallel to the south side of the street, not parallel to the north wall of the Ḥaram.

The surface dressing of the coursed ashlar masonry of the south side of Ṭarīq al-Mujāhidīn is at this point typically Crusader; the series of masons' marks to be seen on several stones that appear to be in their original setting is good evidence of Crusader construction. The eastern extent of the Crusader wall is given by the vertical joint marked 'V' on the plan and visible in *plate* 37.3. The high vaulted passageway (shown in cross-section on *fig.* 8.6) which isolates the tunnel-vaulted gallery of the northern annexes from the street is contemporaneous with the Crusader street wall (below, p. 301).

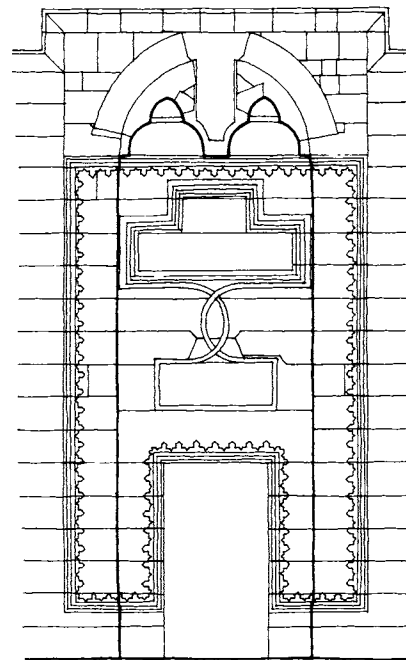
Thus we have the north and south sides of a rectangular structure, and the position of the east side. One side is of Crusader construction, the other two almost certainly so. The fact that the fourth side belongs to the Mamlūk Sallāmiyya Madrasa (no. 25, built c. 738/1338) which now occupies most of the area between the khānqāh and the street need not concern us here, for the unavoidable inference is that, in 695/1295 at least, the north and south walls and the eastern vaults of some



**Fig. 8.9 Keystone with acute-angle joggling**



**Plate 8.13 Yard in northern annexes, looking north**



**Fig. 8.10 Entrance to the 'Ādiliyya in Damascus (after Herzfeld)**



**Plate 8.14 East end of courtyard**



unidentified Crusader building occupied the site immediately to the north of the khānqāh, thereby determining the northern boundary of the khānqāh. The southern boundary was determined by the north wall of the Ḥaram, and the western boundary by the need to leave space for the street leading to the western bay of the Umayyad triple gate into the Ḥaram.

So the irregular plan of the Dawādāriyya Khānqāh is no accident but the direct result of building within the confines of a gap site. Indeed, the increasing thickness from west to east of the north wall of the assembly hall is a conscious attempt on the part of the builders to disguise the irregularity by allowing the southern face of the wall to follow the alignment of the Ḥaram wall and by adjusting the northern face of the wall to suit the alignment of the northern boundary.<sup>51</sup> The appropriation of the northern annexes was inevitable once the only means of access to them was through the khānqāh.

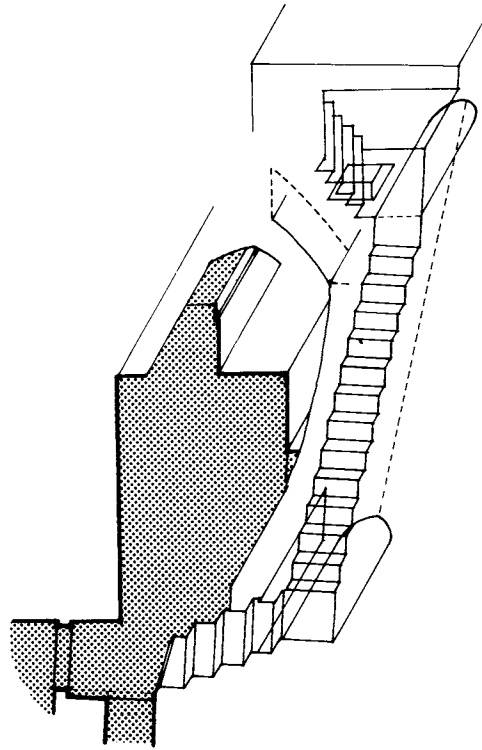


Fig. 8.11 Cut-away axonometric of staircase

## Notes

- 1 Bāb al-'Atm was in Mamlūk times referred to first as Bāb Sharaf al-Anbiyā' and later, after the construction of the Dawādāriyya, as Bāb Duwaydāriyya (cf. *CIA (Ville)*, 216 n. 2). The name changed to Bāb al-'Atm, 'the Gate of Darkness', presumably after the street was covered with vaults, obscuring the light, in the Ottoman period. Today it is referred to also as Bāb al-Malik Fayṣal since it was through this gate that King Fayṣal of Iraq entered the Ḥaram during his visit in 1930, as an inscription on the eastern pier commemorates.
- 2 Mujīr, ii, 39 & 112.
- 3 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 158.
- 4 *CIA (Ville)*, 213-5, no. 70.
- 5 For biography, see *Wāfi*, xv, 479-482; *Manbal*, Cairo Ms. *Ta'rikh* 1113, ii, fols. 128a - 129a (Cf. Wiet, *Manbal*, no. 1095). Birzālī is quoted by Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya, ii, fol. 76a.
- 6 al-Suqā'i, *Tāli*, 87, no. 128.
- 7 *Sulūk*, i, 657.
- 8 *Sulūk*, i, 699.
- 9 *Sulūk*, i, 723.
- 10 *Sulūk*, i, 745.
- 11 *Sulūk*, i, 763; Ibn al-Dawādārī, viii, 307.
- 12 *Sulūk*, i, 765 and 951.
- 13 *Sulūk*, i, 779.
- 14 *Sulūk*, i, 821-3; Ibn al-Dawādārī, viii, 362.
- 15 *Sulūk*, i, 838 and 840.
- 16 al-Suqā'i, *Tāli*, *loc. cit.*; *Sulūk*, i, 905; Ibn al-Dawādārī, ix, 40.
- 17 Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya, ii, fol. 76b.
- 18 al-Zamaklānī, quoted in *Manbal*, *loc. cit.*, fol. 168b.
- 19 *Wāfi*, xv, 480-1; *Sulūk*, i, 827.
- 20 See note 4 above.
- 21 *Dār al-Ṣāliḥīn*.
- 22 This extended pious genealogy (without the conventional 'son of 'Abdallāh' was recorded by the biographer al-Birzālī, quoted by Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya, ii, fol. 75b.
- 23 *HGP*, 118.
- 24 Identified with ruins of Qaṣr Hajla, south-east of Jericho, see *CIA (Ville)*, 215, n. 5 and references there cited.

- 25 Rather than 'et un lecteur qui lira [le texte du ḥadīth] devant lui', i.e. the Shaykh, we prefer to take *qārī* as a Koran lecturer, and the following verb as an impersonal passive. The preposition 'alā is better understood as 'under the instruction of . . .', cf. *CIA (Ville)*, 215 and note 7.
- 26 *HGP*, 125.
- 27 Mujīr, ii, 152. Sharaf al-Dīn Qāsim b. Sulaymān b. Qāsim al-Ḥawrānī, b. 678/1279-80, d. 755/1354 (*Durar*, iii, 320).
- 28 Mūsā, b. after 660/1261, d. 698/1299 (Jazarī, para 535). Defter 602, 438 (no. 82), records a waqf, dated 812/1409-10, made by al-Nāṣirī Muhammad b. al-Shihābī Aḥmad, known as al-Sutūrī. Could that be a descendant of Sanjar, who was known, although 'to the Meccans', as al-Sutūrī, because he first brought the covering for the Ka'ba from Egypt after the Mongol conquest had put a stop to its supply from Baghdad (*Wāfi*, xv, 479; *Manbal*, *loc. cit.*, fol. 128a, quoting al-Dhahabī)?
- 29 He was at the same time Imām in the Ḥaram. In Ḥaram no. 209 his wife, Fātima, the daughter of a prominent merchant, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥamawī, is mentioned.
- 30 Ḥaram no. 652, dated 793/1391.
- 31 Ḥaram no. 284, dated 796/1394.
- 32 Mujīr, ii, 133-4: correct date of birth there given, cf. *Daw*, i, 72.
- 33 *Sijill* 83, 326, quoted from Asali, *Ma'abid*, 241.
- 34 The 1:500 Ordnance Survey plan of the Ḥaram, prepared in 1865, shows a staircase rising across the face of the portico east from Bāb al-'Atm. The distance from Bāb al-'Atm to the door is sufficient to allow steps to be built at a climbable pitch.
- 35 *CIA (Ville)*, 213, 318.
- 36 Mujīr, 391.
- 37 The *muqarnas* decoration of the arch is unusual. In Jerusalem one other example of such a technique is known to us: over the well-niche in the 'Uthmāniyya Madrasa (840/1437), see *plate* 57.10. A somewhat similar form of decoration on the portal of the Jāmi' al-Uṭrush (811/1409) at Aleppo (*CIA (Alepp)*, pl. clvii) appears to derive from the analogous decoration on the seventh/thirteenth-century Saljūq Hāns in Anatolia (see, e.g., D. Hill and O. Grabar, *Islamic Architecture and its Decoration*, London 1967, pls. 349, 429, 469, 489, 490).
- 38 Groups of windows arranged thus were very common in Mamlūk Egypt and Creswell has proposed a Sicilian origin for them (*MAE*, ii, 201). There are, besides

this example, only two others in Jerusalem: in the courtyard of the Ḥasaniyya Madrasa (837/1434) and above the entrance to the Sallāmiyya Madrasa (see p. 303). The Bāsiṭiyya example is the earliest (c. 834/1431) in Jerusalem.

39 The first directly dated examples of this moulding in Jerusalem are at: Well of Ibrāhīm al-Rūmī (839/1435-36): the 'Uthmāniyya Madrasa (840/1437) and the Jawhariyya Madrasa (844/1440). Given this close sequence of occurrences we should be justified in considering the example at the Bāsiṭiyya Madrasa (waqf 834/1431) as the earliest.

40 The portico is now blocked up with concrete partition walls. *Plate* 53.1 shows the portico as it was in 1920.

41 Al-'Umari (*Masālik*, 158) only counted the three largest (westernmost) windows of 'the Ribāt of al-'Alamī al-Dawādārī' when enumerating the features of the north wall of the Haram.

42 Baybars al-Jāshankīr, for instance, began construction of his khānqāh/mausoleum in Cairo in 706/1306. First he built the mausoleum, then the khānqāh unit in 707/1307, and the façade was added when he became sultan in 708/1308-9 and completed in 709/1310, see: al-Maqrizi, *Kh̄ṭat*, ii, 416-17; Creswell, *Brief Chronology*, 86; *CIA (Egypt)*, i, 164-65.

43 *CIA (Planches)*, liii B.

44 *Ibid.*, liii E.

45 K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1924, 3, 41, 70; E. Herzfeld, 'Damascus: Studies in Architecture – I-IV', *AI*, ix, 1942, 1-53; x, 1943, 13-70; xi-xii, 1946, 1-71; xiii-xiv, 1948, 118-38. Herzfeld mistakenly asserts that the pointed arch supporting the suspended impost is part of the original construction; it is a later addition (with *ablaq* voussoirs) erected to sustain the suspended impost, perhaps unnecessarily! (*ibid.* pt III, 1); this

assertion is contradicted by J. Sauvaget, 'Notes sur quelques monuments musulmans de Syrie', *Syria*, xxvi, 1944-45, 218-19.

46 K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, *op.cit.*, 41 and 61, pl.iiia; J. Sauvaget, 'La Madrasa 'Adiliyya' in *Les Monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, ii, Paris 1940, 77-91; E. Herzfeld, *art.cit.*, pt. I, 46-49, pt. III, 1-4.

47 *Ibid.*, pt. III, 1-4. Herzfeld remarks that 'Bourgoin [*Précis de l'Art Arabe* . . . i, Paris 1892, pl.20] gives another example [of a suspended impost] from a Jerusalem madrasa, which seems no longer to exist, since van Berchem in his *Jerusalem* ignores it'. In fact van Berchem explains that he was unable to photograph the doorway because of the poor light but he does devote ten pages to the building and its inscription.

48 Van Berchem (*CIA (Ville)*, 220 n.3) remarks that the khānqāh in Jerusalem was (in 1914) known locally as the 'Adiliyya although no-one was able to explain the reason for this appellation. Van Berchem speculates that it may have been due to the founder's post as Intendant of the Palace of Justice (Dār al-'Adl).

49 Altogether 15.5 metres of the moulding are still identifiable, including the imposts on both sides of the street and the section over the Bāsiṭiyya. The length of the street façade of the khānqāh, from Bāb al-'Atm at the south to the Sallāmiyya Madrasa at the north, is 21.75m.

50 This is one of the few examples in Jerusalem of the Syrian (i.e. Damascene and Aleppan) penchant for direct entrances into religious buildings. The usual Jerusalem practice was to have a bent entrance, presumably for privacy.

51 The same technique was carried to extremes by the Cairene builders of urban tombs. There the problem was one of adjusting the interior alignment towards Mecca when a variant exterior alignment was indicated by the street layout: C. Kessler, 'Funerary Architecture within the City', *Colloque International sur l'Histoire du Caire*, Cairo, no date [1972], 257-67.

# 9 AL-AWHADIYYA

## الأوحادية

Endowed in 697/1298  
Tomb of al-Malik al-Awḥad  
Modern name: Dār Jārallāh

### I LOCATION (fig. 9.1)

On the west side of Ṭarīq Bāb Ḥiṭṭa next to the Ḥaram gate and contiguous with the north wall of the Ḥaram.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 9.2)

The site comprises two main groups of rooms, which lie respectively on the east and west sides of a common north – south dividing wall.

The eastern half, within the outer wall confronting Ṭarīq Bāb Ḥiṭṭa, consists of an entrance portal toward the north, which opens off that street and gives access through a vestibule to a square courtyard, on the south side of which stands the tomb chamber of the founder and its antechamber.

The western half contains rooms grouped on the north and south sides of a second, smaller courtyard. From this a staircase gives access to other rooms at mezzanine and upper floor levels and to the roof of the Ḥaram portico.

The two courtyards are connected by a door at the centre of the common wall.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

Al-'Umarī describes the portico that continues westwards immediately after the Bāb Ḥiṭṭa in the north range of the Ḥaram: 'In the wall there are three grilles belonging to the Ribāt of 'Alam al-Dīn al-Dawādārī, but at the beginning of it to the east nearby (?) is a grille window of the Awḥadiyya Mausoleum. . . .<sup>1</sup> The portico from the Bāb Ḥiṭṭa westwards to the next gate, the Dawādāriyya Gate, had probably been built by al-Awḥad.<sup>2</sup>

#### FOUNDER AND DATE

Mujīr al-Dīn's text is succinct and useful:

The Awḥadiyya Mausoleum at Bāb Ḥiṭṭa was founded by al-Malik al-Awḥad Najm al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Dā'ūd b. al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isā. The date of the endowment was 20 Rabi' II in the year 697 [4 February 1298].<sup>3</sup>

The founder was an Ayyūbid prince, a great-great-nephew of Saladin, in the direct line descended from Saladin's brother, al-'Adil Sayf al-Dīn. He was born in about 628/1230-31 and is known to have exercised under the Mamlūk régime the office of Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams, that is, of Jerusalem and Hebron (al-Khalīl). He was appointed in Rajab 694/May-June 1295. Other brief fragments of information suggest that he was a scholar of Prophetic Tradition (Ḥadīth).<sup>4</sup>

There is general agreement that he died in Jerusalem in the month of Dhū'l-Ḥijja 698. We can ignore the year 678 given

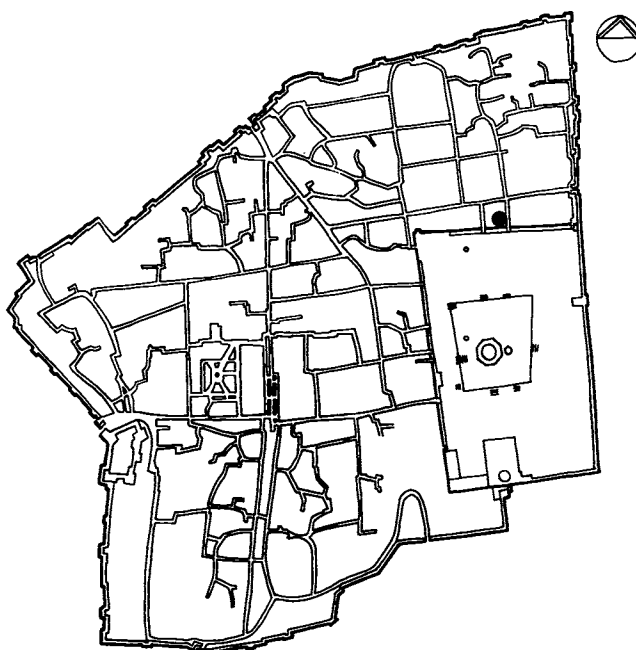


Fig. 9.1 Location plan

by one source<sup>5</sup> (which would give the date April 1280), as this would be before the date of the endowment for his foundation. The precise date is either the eve of Tuesday the 4th of the month/1 September 1299 or of Tuesday 24/22 September.<sup>6</sup> Attended by a large crowd out of respect for his position and his religious worthiness he was buried in what Mujīr al-Dīn calls, with typical vagueness of terminology, 'his ribāt, known as the Awḥadiyya Madrasa', having previously referred to it as a *turba* (see above).

#### ENDOWMENT

The only information is in an entry in an Ottoman land register,<sup>7</sup> which reads as follows:

*Waqfiyya* of al-Malik al-Awḥad b. Ayyūb for his Mausoleum in Bāb Ḥiṭṭa. The copy of the instrument of endowment is dated 697.

[i] The house, in which the mausoleum is located, for the residence of the caretaker (*al-qayyim*) and lodging for his sons (?) and his freedmen who visit the mausoleum: yearly . . . [blank].

[ii] Storerooms (?) in the Monastery Gate (?) Hill in the Bāb Ḥiṭṭa district: yearly 100 [aspers]

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

That the building was to serve as the burial place for the founder is beyond doubt. In 780/1379 the Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Nāṣirī was established as one of the Koran readers in the Awḥadiyya Mausoleum with a stipend fixed by the terms of the endowment, to replace someone deemed unsuitable.<sup>8</sup> The figure 5 [dirhams ?] is written on the appointment – the monthly stipend, presumably.

One of the Ḥaram documents takes note of a man, bearing the *nisba* al-Miṣrī (the Egyptian), mortally ill 'in his residence in the *ṭabaqa* of the Awḥadiyya waqf in the Bāb Ḥiṭṭa quarter.'<sup>9</sup> Can this be an indication of the ribāt role suggested by the Defter entry given above? A summary description of the Awḥadiyya in an eighteenth-century sijill mentions two floors, the upper containing two *ṭabaqas* (apartments?). The lower floor has the larger rooms, including 'a large chamber containing a *mibrāb*, in which is the tomb of al-Malik al-Awḥad'. This same sijill records the permission granted to the combined mutawallī-nāzir-shaykh of the 'madrasa' to carry out repairs to the building which was in a ruinous state.<sup>10</sup> Whether it actually ever

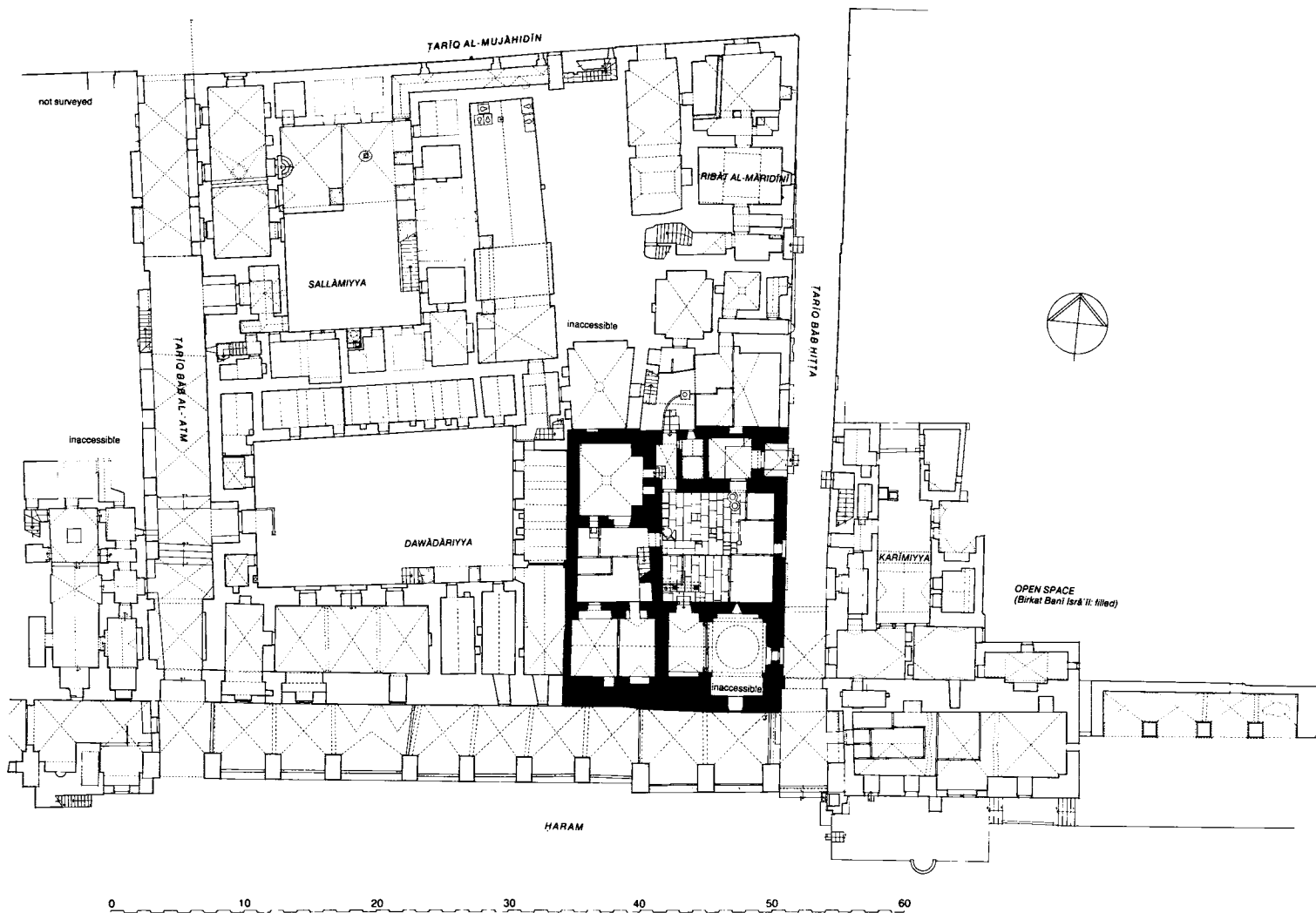


Fig. 9.2 Site plan

functioned as a fully-fledged madrasa is open to question. Asali give the names of three persons who held the *maskyabba* (post of shaykh) in the eighteenth century.<sup>11</sup> At the present time the building is given over to private dwellings.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### HARAM FRONTAGE (see fig. 1.1)

The Haram frontage, under the portico and now hidden behind the blocked-up arcade of the north portico, is quite plain. A solitary grilled window in the Haram wall, which, as al-'Umarī observed, once opened to the tomb chamber, is now blocked. The dome over the tomb chamber rises above the roof of the portico but is set so far back as to have been visible only from afar. Later Ottoman apartments ranged in front of the dome now obscure it from view.

##### STREET FAÇADE (fig. 9.6)

This façade, extending from the tomb chamber across the width of the eastern courtyard to the entrance portal, was clearly intended as the principal façade. It contains two handsome windows both of which are now blocked. The façade is crowned by a cornice moulding which rises above the entrance portal in the beginnings of a *pīsh-tāq*. The upper part of the *pīsh-tāq* has been dismantled and an Ottoman construction now sits over the doorway. The northern extent of the façade can be determined from the definite termination of the cornice. To the north the disposition of the masonry (see fig. 9.6) shows that the adjoining wall stood to a height of 4.30m before the Awḥadiyya was built. There are several stones

bearing Crusader masons' marks in that adjoining wall but since they are obviously in secondary use the wall must be later, probably Ayyūbid.

An even earlier building seems once to have occupied part of the site, for remains of a single course of stones project into the street following a different alignment from the present buildings. The southernmost vestige of this course of stones was until 1981 used as a step at the main entrance to the Awḥadiyya.<sup>12</sup>

At the southern end of the street the window of the tomb chamber is in an infill wall built into the western arch of the earlier northern porch of Bāb Hittā where passers-by entering and leaving the Haram could look in at the grave of the founder. The window in the middle of the façade opens, most unusually, to the eastern courtyard. It is hard to imagine what purpose this window might have served. Since the courtyard is open to the sky, it was not needed for lighting. It cannot have been introduced simply to enliven an otherwise blank stretch of masonry because Mamlūk masons were not afraid to leave large expanses of wall undecorated. The most likely purpose of the window, which is almost identical in form with that of the tomb chamber, was to be a visual reminder to passers-by of the association of the main complex with the tomb of the founder, of which the window, beneath the earlier gate porch, might otherwise have appeared separated from the rest of the façade including the entrance portal.

Both windows are similarly set in shallow recesses with pointed arches resting on re-used marble imposts of Crusader workmanship (see fig. 10c). The jambs, lintels and sills are solid blocks of veined white marble. (A row of stone corbels



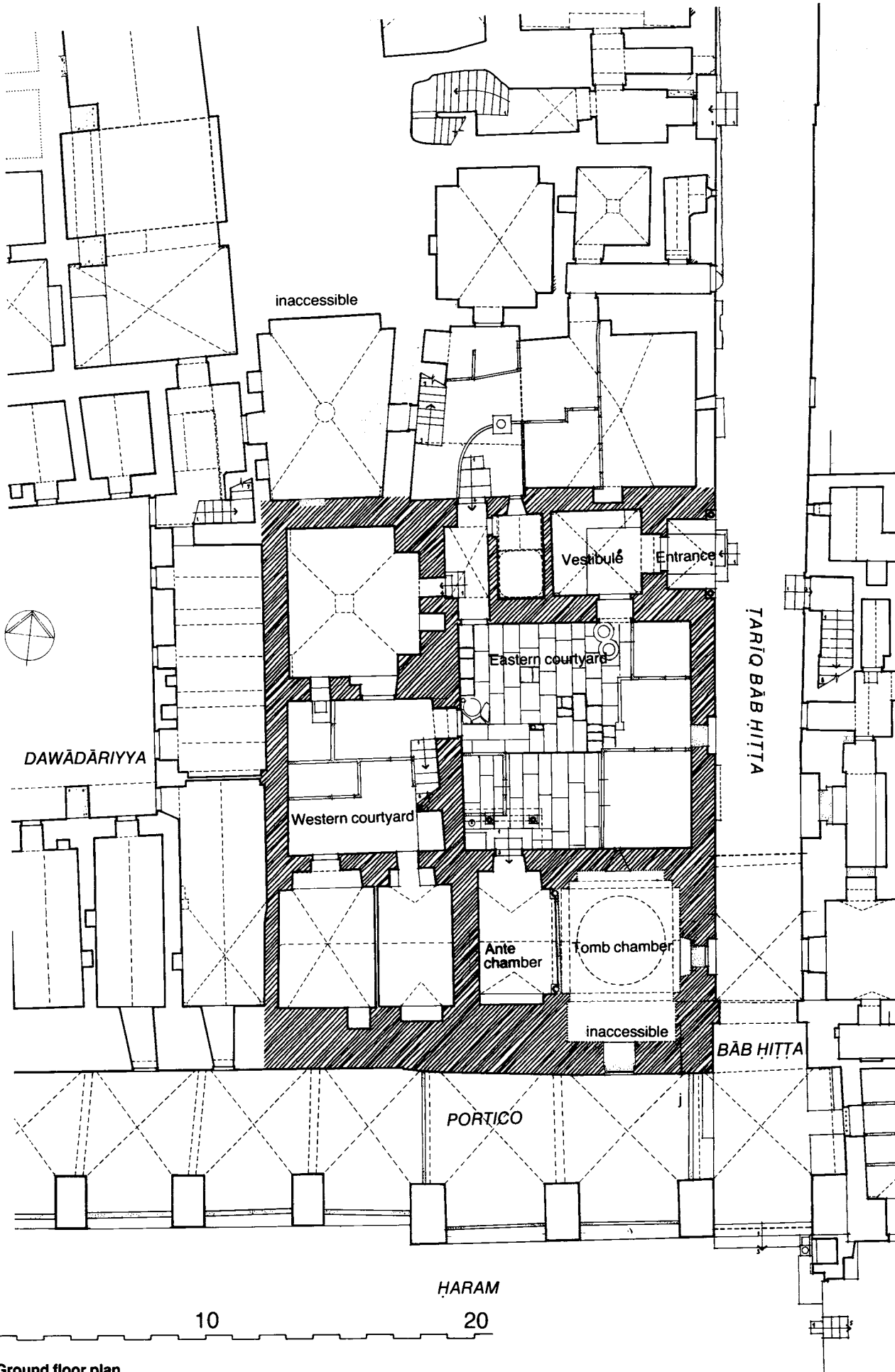


Fig. 9.3 Ground floor plan

beside the left-hand impost of the courtyard window (see *fig. 9.6*) is a later insertion.)

Above the lintel of the courtyard window there is a rectangular stone panel carved in light relief. The main features of the carved design (*plate 9.1*) are two decorative medallions interconnected by a circular link. The scheme of the right-hand medallion consists of a ten-pointed star interwoven with a curvilinear ten-pointed blunt star round a central rosette composed of four heart-shaped leaves. The scheme of the left-hand medallion consists of two overlapping and interlocking rectilinear nine-pointed stars round a curious 'flying bird' motif (see below). The background of the panel is filled with an intricate arabesque of foliate scrolls and palmettes.



Plate 9.1 Carved panel above window



Plate 9.2 Entrance portal

**ENTRANCE** (*plate 9.2*)

The entrance doorway is set at the back of a deep recess flanked by the customary stone benches. Crusader marble columns are re-used for nook-shafts to articulate the outer corners of the entrance bay. The bay is roofed by a cloister vault (*plate 9.3*). The peripheral stones of the vault form in the vertical plane the alternately split voussoirs of the frontal arch. The voussoirs are bisected in such a way that each stone weighs about as much as its neighbour, i.e. the split voussoirs, half as thick as the whole ones, penetrate twice as far back into the vault (*plate 9.3*). The vault springs from a re-used marble impost with the same profile as the impost of the courtyard window (*fig. 10c*), and the stonework radiates from a central hub; the radial joints are chamfered for emphasis. That central hub (*plate 9.4*) is inlaid with black bituminous limestone to form an unusual blazon-like device (see below). Larger versions of the same design are inlaid in the side walls of the recess alongside the capitals of the corner columns where they would be easily seen from the street.

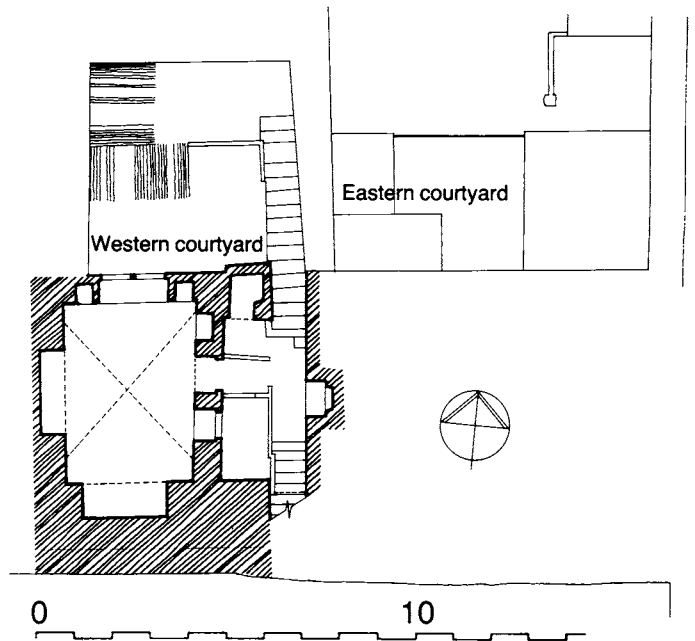


Fig. 9.4 Mezzanine plan

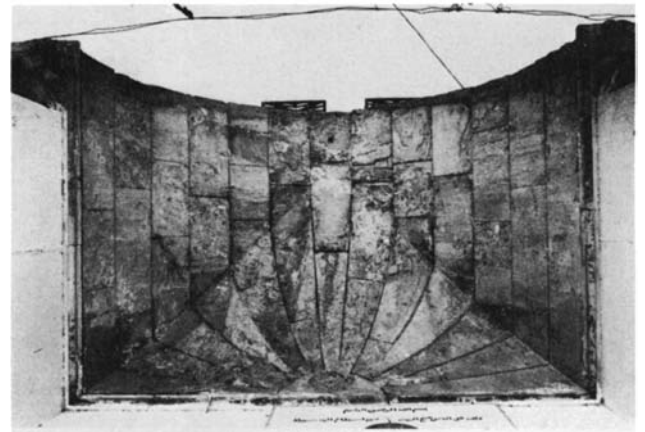


Plate 9.3 Vault of entrance portal



Plate 9.4 Hub of portal vault, with 'blazon'

**THE 'BLAZONS'** (*fig. 9.8*)

Each of these devices consists of an ornamental circular shield. The sides of the shield develop inwards to form demipalmettes while a central stem rises behind a crescent and then swells into a curious bulbous element, the upper tip of which

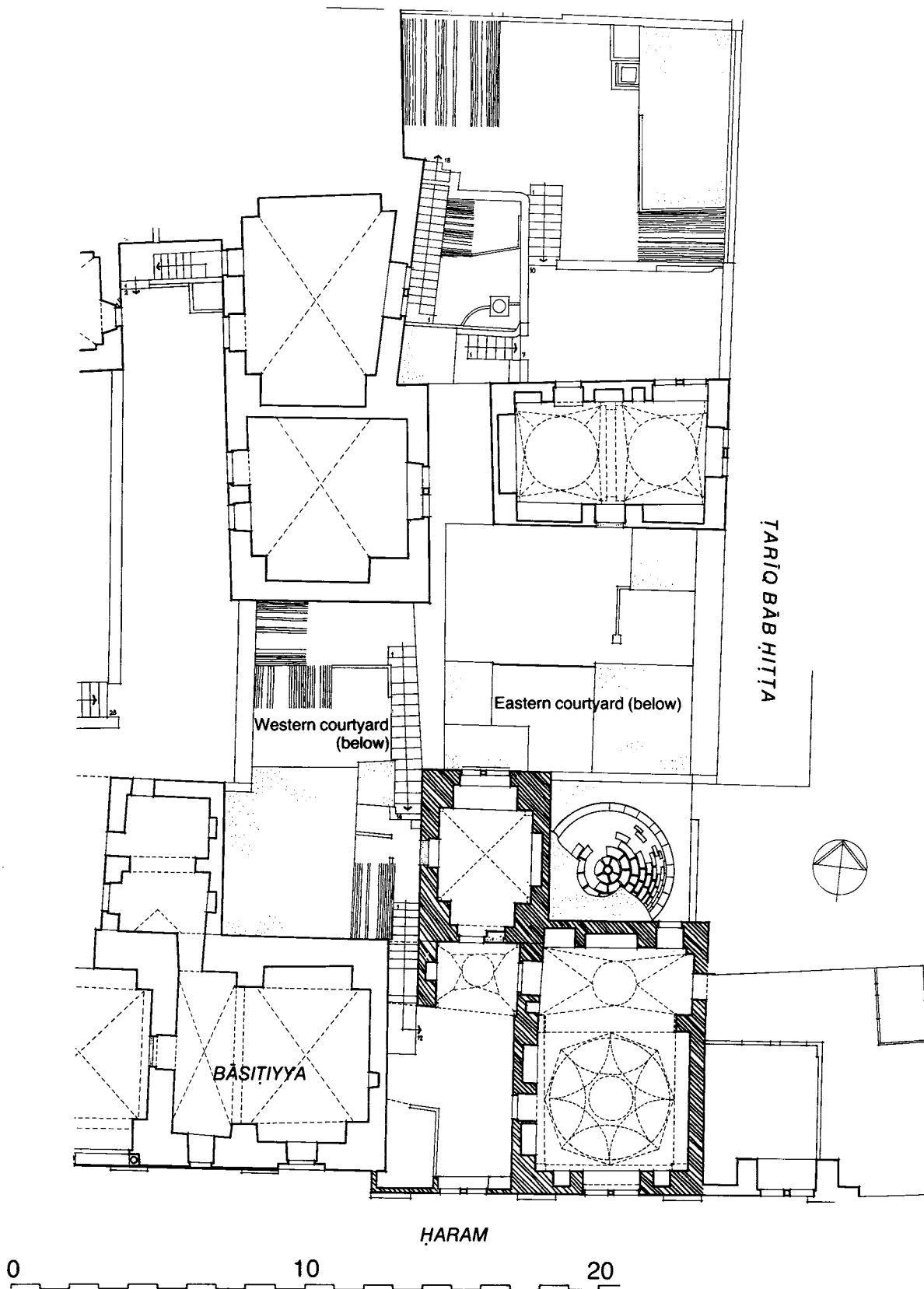
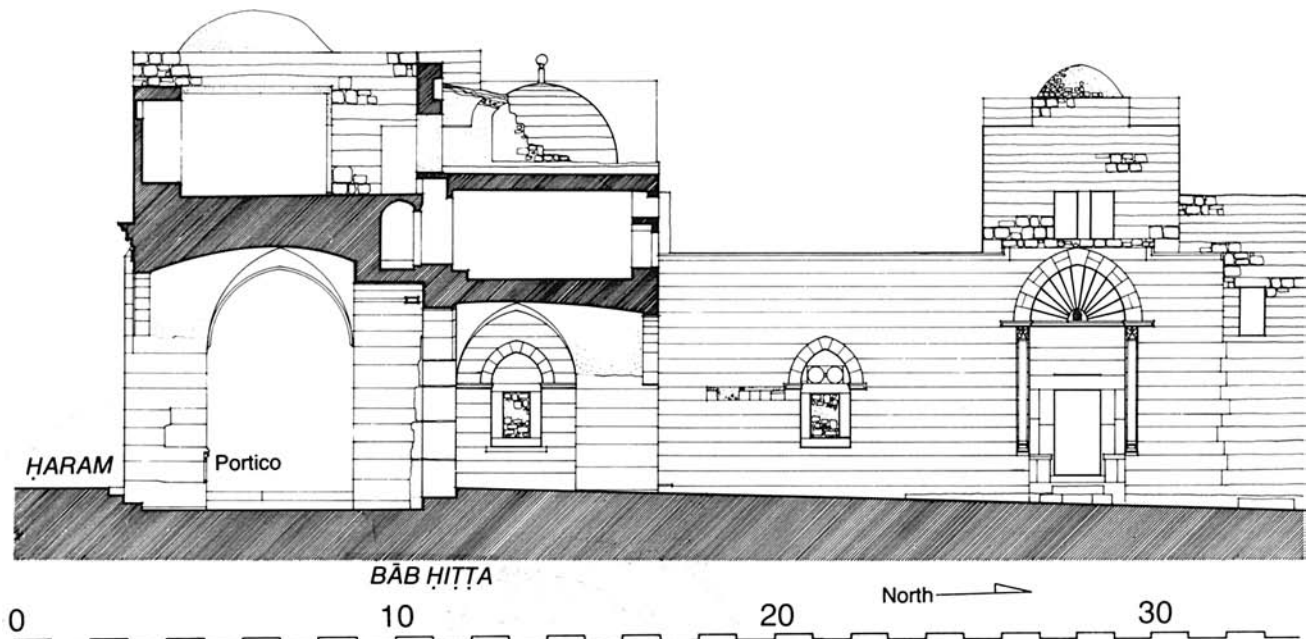


Fig. 9.5 Upper floor plan

breaks through the shield. At the base the stem breaks through the shield to form a swag.

This device represents an interesting development in the use of heraldic motifs. It appears to belong to a series of insecurely dated devices based on the heraldic fleur-de-lis. The first of these (fig. 9.9) consists of fleurs-de-lis alternating with eight-petalled rosettes on *muqarnas* capitals re-used as column bases in the *minbar* (rebuilt in 1375/1955-56) of the

Great Mosque of Homs built by Nūr al-Dīn Zangī (reigned 541/1146–569/1174). L.A. Mayer in his great corpus of Saracenic heraldry<sup>13</sup> ascribes this capital to Nūr al-Dīn but M. Meinecke has recently suggested<sup>14</sup> that it ought to be dated later, probably after 671/1272-73. Meinecke's dating seems more likely but since the fleur-de-lis, occasionally in conjunction with other royal, heraldic or pseudo-heraldic emblems, remained in use well into the eight/fourteenth century<sup>15</sup> it is impossible to date



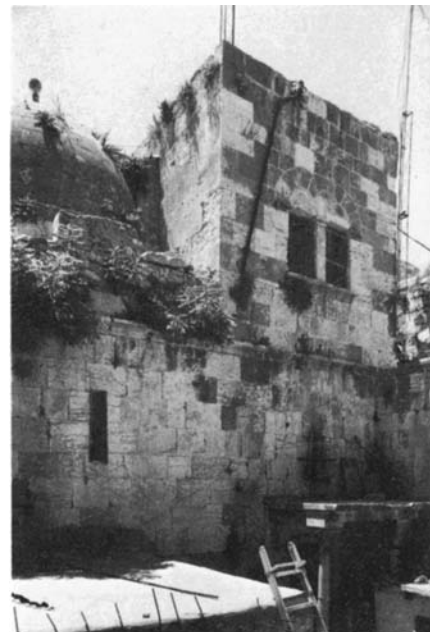
**Fig. 9.6** South-north section through Bāb Ḥiṭṭa showing street façade of Awḥadiyya

this example with any precision. The second is a fleur-de-lis in a circular shield carved in stucco (*fig. 9.10*) in the Mārīstān of Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus (built 549/1154). It was also dated by Mayer to the time of Nūr al-Dīn but is now more securely dated by Meinecke<sup>16</sup> to Sultan Qalāwūn's restorations there in 682/1283. This fleur-de-lis has a swag base similar to that of the Awḥadiyya 'blazons' but is contained within the circular shield. The third is a fleur-de-lis in a circular shield flanked by two affronted feline animals in circular shields (*fig. 9.11*) on an unidentified building at al-Ṣalāḥiyya near Damascus.<sup>17</sup> Here the fleur-de-lis has a cup-like base and there are demi-palmettes sprouting from the circumference of the encircling shield in a manner analogous to the Awḥadiyya 'blazons'. The Awḥadiyya blazons seem to display a development of this form whereby the two outer leaves of the emblem are adjoined as demi-palmettes to the circumference of the shield leaving only an elaborated central leaf with a swag base and a crescent around the stem. The crescent is not an uncommon element in Mamlūk art<sup>18</sup> and is often used in conjunction with other devices.<sup>19</sup> It appears here to be an adaptation of the more usual cross-bar found in fleurs-de-lis, designed to fill the space in the lower part of the shield. A later stage in this evolution is to be found also in Jerusalem at the Jāliqiyya Turba (no. 11) where the 'fleur-de-lis' in a foundation inscription dated 707/1307 still has the swag base but has developed no less than eleven leaves (*fig. 9.12*).

Thus it would appear that these 'blazons' at the Awḥadiyya were most likely inspired by heraldic emblems but that the designer was perhaps making use of the technical heraldic vocabulary of his day for symbolic or ornamental, not heraldic purposes.<sup>20</sup>

#### THE 'FLYING BIRD' (*fig. 9.13*)

This may be a similar sort of hybrid. It is the only known example of representational carving from the Mamlūk period in Jerusalem.<sup>21</sup> The body of the bird follows a formalized type commonly given to standing eagles in Mamlūk heraldry and decoration. The eight-petalled rosette in the middle of the composition may have some heraldic association though this is not certain.<sup>22</sup> Eagles with one or two heads in combination with another heraldic emblem are found in Mamlūk heraldry from the end of the seven/thirteenth century,<sup>23</sup> but never is one emblem charged with the other. Even more unusual is the horizontal posture of the bird – as if it were in flight – and its curiously naturalistic head surrounded by a halo.<sup>24</sup> The small



**Plate 9.5** South side of eastern courtyard

size of this motif (0.12m diameter) and its sketchy carving make it scarcely noticeable in a large panel of elaborately carved decoration. This seems to indicate that it was not intended to be read as a blazon; if it were, the presence of the blazon-like shields at the entrance portal would be utterly confusing.

#### INTERIOR

##### (i) Ground floor (plan, *fig. 9.3*; axonometric, *fig. 9.7*)

The entrance doorway leads into a cross-vaulted vestibule, almost square in plan. A wide stone bench against the back (west) wall narrows in returning along the north wall. The entrance into the courtyard is in the south wall of the vestibule, so that there is no clear view of the interior here from the street.

The four walls of the eastern courtyard (*plate 9.14*) are crowned at a uniform height by a continuous cornice moulding. Only along the south side, the north wall of the tomb chamber and of an upper room adjoining it are built above the moulding (*plate 9.5, fig. 9.7*).

Underneath a remarkable porch incorporating two re-



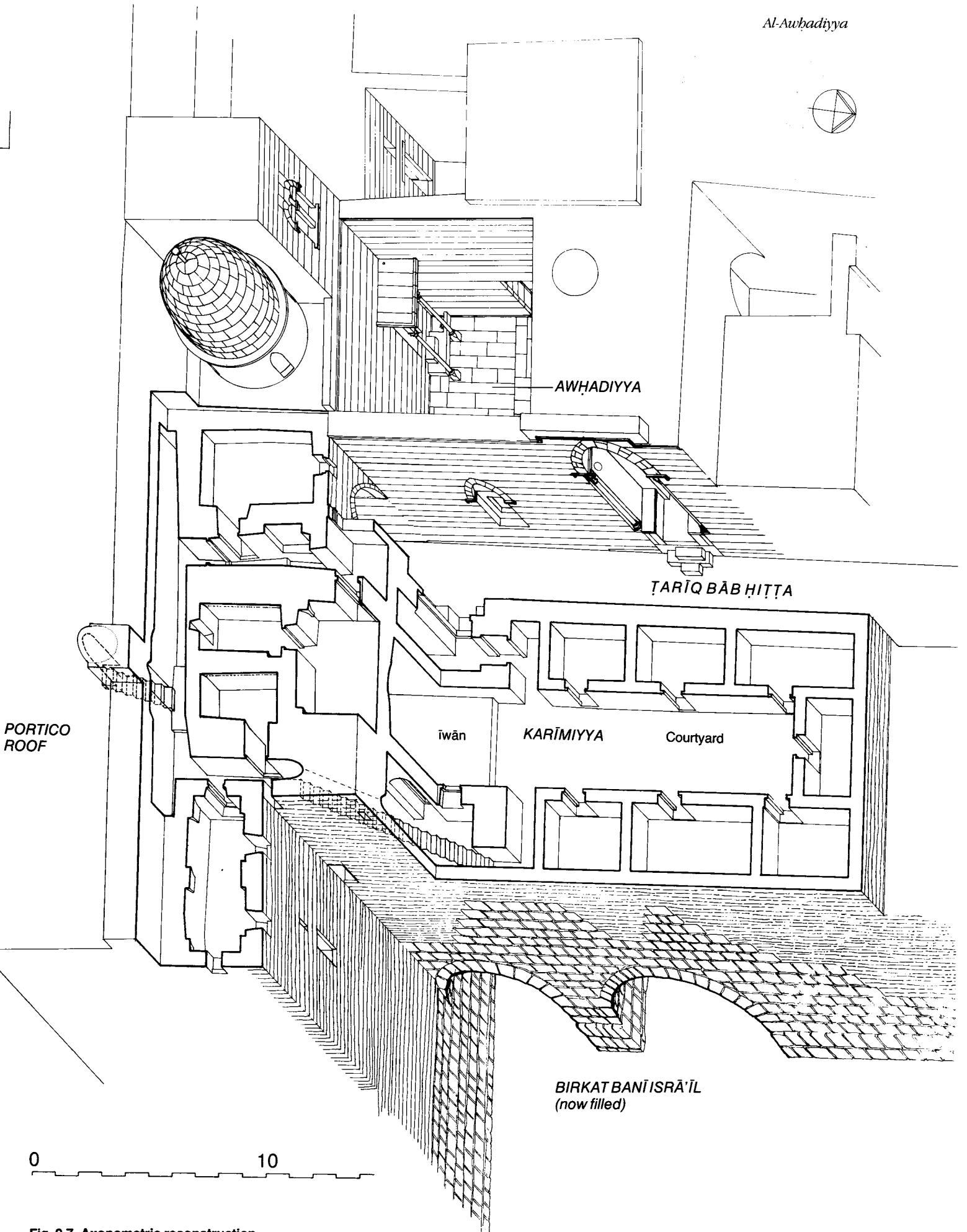


Fig. 9.7 Axonometric reconstruction

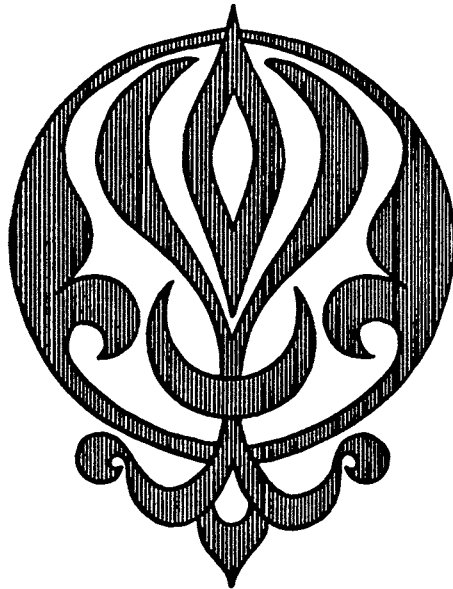


Fig. 9.8 Sketch of blazon

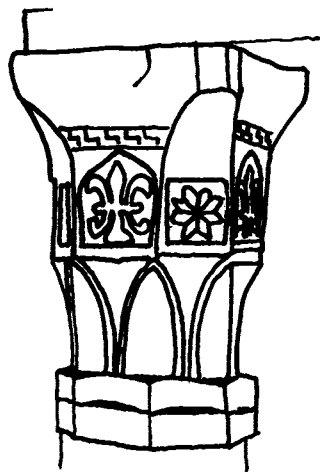


Fig. 9.9 Re-used capital in the *minbar* of the Great Mosque of Homs. Undated (after 671/1272-73?).

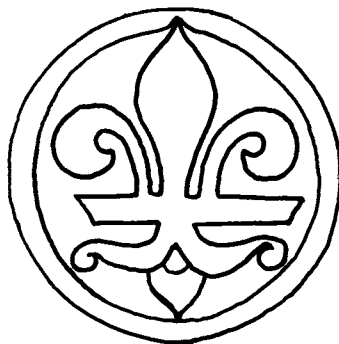


Fig. 9.10 Shield in Märīstān of Nūr al-Dīn, Damascus. Undated (682/1283?).

used Crusader columns (*plate 9.6*) in the south-west corner of the courtyard three steps lead up to the doorway of the antechamber to the tomb chamber. The tomb chamber was originally entered by passing under a transverse arch spanning between two more re-used Crusader columns (*plate 9.7*). A modern partition wall has been erected to seal off the tomb chamber which is now quite inaccessible. Only by peering in through a narrow, splayed window high in its north wall

(visible in *plate 9.5*) can a view of the darkened chamber be obtained. Through the same window a camera and flashlight can be introduced and photographs give a reasonably clear impression of the interior (*plates 9.8 and 9.9*).

The lower walls of the tomb chamber are plastered. Pointed wall arches and ashlar pendentives support a smooth ashlar drum and dome. The curve of the pendentives begins in the voussoirs of the four supporting arches, giving each voussoir a compound curve on its face. No two voussoirs of any one arch are the same. This distinctive form of pendentive construction, otherwise unknown in the Islamic architecture of Jerusalem, is usual in Crusader domes in Jerusalem, from which the builders seem most likely to have drawn their inspiration. Here, however, the pendentives, rather than terminating at the level of the apexes of the keystones of the supporting arches as is usual in Crusader domes, terminate at the level of the base of the keystones. From this level upwards the cylindrical shape of the lower part of the drum, or 'sub-drum', is already defined (*plate 9.9*). Besides cutting across the keystones, this sub-drum also cuts across the uppermost voussoirs of the arches, which are accordingly cut into extraordinary shapes, the faces of each voussoir defining two different intersecting curved planes. The whole zone of transition gives an impression, false of course, of having been somehow hewn from a solid mass of masonry. As in Crusader domes, a cavetto moulding above the sub-drum marks the base of the drum proper. The drum is decorated with twelve slightly pointed arches; the four over the pendentives are windows (now blocked) and the others are shallow, concave, blind niches. Another cavetto moulding separates the drum from the ashlar dome.

A deep recess in the south (Ḥaram) wall of the tomb chamber opens under a semicircular arch with distinctive 45° chamfering of the lower edge of the voussoirs similar to that found on several Ḥaram gates, including the adjoining Bāb Ḥiṭṭa which we consider to be Umayyad. This raises the possibility that the present Bāb Ḥiṭṭa is but one bay of a double gateway of which this recess was the western bay. A vertical joint in the masonry of the Ḥaram wall (marked 'j' on the plan, *fig. 9.3*) about 1.20m west of the opening of the Bāb Ḥiṭṭa strengthens this possibility (although there is no joint visible at the point corresponding to the west jamb of this possible gateway).

A wooden screen with remains of a quirked ogee cresting (*plate 9.8*), perhaps original, closes most of the lower part of the recess. Of the *mībrāb* mentioned in the eighteenth-century docket referred to above (p. 167) the only possible trace is a crack in the plaster on the south wall of the recess beside the window (now blocked) that once opened under the Ḥaram portico.

At the north-west corner of the eastern courtyard a corridor connects with the courtyard of an earlier adjoining house to the north (*plate 9.10*). Two doors, one on either side, open into rooms off the corridor. The small room on the east side occupies the space between the corridor and the entrance vestibule. One tier of *muqarnas* corbelling (*plate 9.11*) remains of a transition zone that must originally have supported a dome over the southern part of this room, which now houses a latrine. Pieces of similar *muqarnas*, apparently from an upper tier of that corbelling, are to be found in the adjoining building to the north where they have been crudely incorporated into a later wall (*plate 9.12*).

On the west side of the corridor four steps rise to the door of a large cross-vaulted room which forms the north boundary of the western courtyard. The conjunction between the south-east corner of this room and the wall separating the courtyards shows that the room existed before the Awḥadiyya was built. A thick coat of plaster conceals the masonry walls of the interior and so there is no sign here of the blocked doorway previously observed in the adjoining room to the north (part of the northern annexes of the Dawādāriyya, see above, p. 164). In the south wall of the room there are two windows (the eastern one

recently enlarged) with a narrow slit window between them. Under the western window a door and five roughly made steps lead down to the western courtyard.



Plate 9.6 Porch at entrance to tomb antechamber

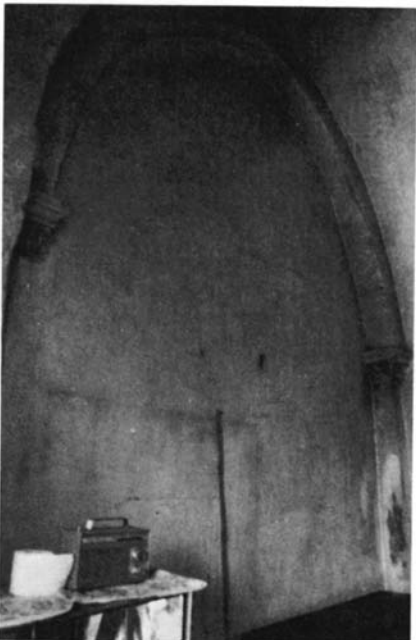


Plate 9.7 Blocked archway to tomb chamber



Fig. 9.11 Lintel in al-Ṣalāhiyya, Damascus. Undated.

The original beautifully laid paving, which survives almost intact in the eastern courtyard, extends into the western courtyard where it is less well preserved. Enough of it remains to confirm that both courtyards retain their original form. The western courtyard has no cornice moulding around its walls. Its east boundary is the wall separating it from the eastern courtyard. Its west boundary is formed by the east wall of the earlier Dawādāriyya (no. 8) and its north boundary is formed by the pre-existing room described above. On the south side of the courtyard a large vaulted chamber, part of the original construction, is now divided by a thin partition wall (see plan, fig. 9.3). This chamber was entered by a door in the south-west corner of the courtyard; a second door to the east of it is a later insertion. Originally the chamber was lit and ventilated by a small window above the former door; there were no openings in the south (Ḥaram) wall.

Mujīr al-Dīn calls the building a *ribāṭ*, known as a *madrasa*, yet listed in his catalogue of monuments as a *turba* (above, p. 167). So it would appear that the tomb (*turba*) was combined with either a *ribāṭ* or a *madrasa*, both of which need to provide accommodation: the *ribāṭ* for pilgrims, the *madrasa* for students. This would explain the purpose of the second courtyard. The main funerary complex occupies the eastern courtyard, while the western courtyard with its adjoining rooms must have lodged pilgrims or students.

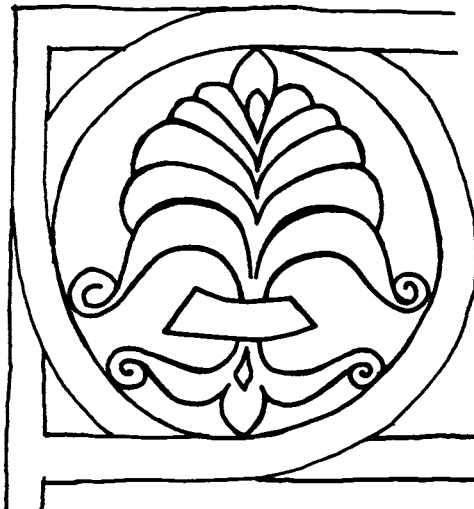


Fig. 9.12 Blazon in the Jālīqiyya Turba

A rectangular sump in the bottom step at the entrance to the tomb antechamber has a shallow basin decorated with an eight-petalled rosette around a central sink hole that presumably fed water to a cistern below. Various shallow runnels cut in the paving of the eastern courtyard appear to have been intended to direct rainwater towards this or another sink (which no longer survives). A recess under the stairway in the western courtyard houses a well-head where water could be drawn from the cistern.

(ii) *Upper levels* (figs. 9.4 and 9.5)

The stairway against the east wall of the western courtyard rises to a landing that originally gave access to the roof of the room on the south side of the western courtyard. The present cross-vaulted room built on that roof (see mezzanine plan, fig. 9.4) is not original; its north-facing double window surmounted by an ogee-headed slit (plate 9.13) is typically Ottoman. On the east side of the landing there is a deep recess, possibly originally a window lighting the tomb antechamber to the east. The masonry around the recess contains several re-used stones with distinctive Crusader diagonal tooling and masons' marks.

The stairs continue upwards from the landing to the roof of the Ḥaram portico, where a shallow *iwān*, facing south, leads into an upper room built beside the dome of the tomb chamber. At first glance this room, which encroaches upon the



Plate 9.8 Tomb chamber from north showing semicircular-arched recess



Plate 9.11 Remains of *muqarnas* corbelling *in situ* in room to east of corridor



Plate 9.9 Tomb chamber: zone of transition

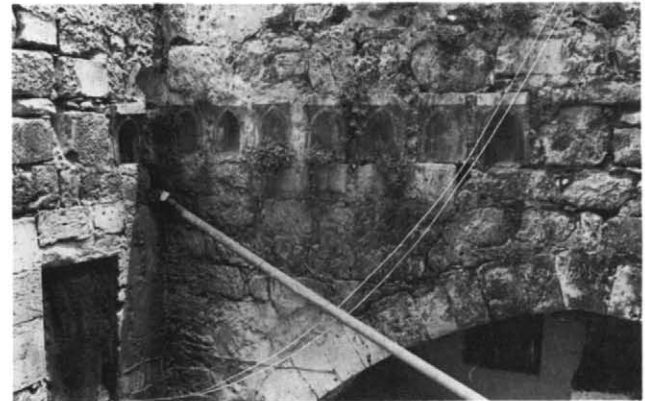


Plate 9.12 *Muqarnas* fragments re-used in building to north



Plate 9.10 Courtyard of building to north, showing door of corridor to north-west corner of eastern courtyard



Fig. 9.13 Sketch of bird motif

masonry of the drum and conceals the dome from the west, seems unlikely to belong to the same construction. Yet the colour and texture of the stonework of the two are identical (*plate 9.5*), the double window overlooking the courtyard is decorated with moulded marble impostos similar to those of the window on the street façade, and its moulded sill has the same profile as the cornice around the eastern courtyard. Why then was this room built to interfere with the dome marking the founder's tomb? The reason is to be found in the supporting structure. The room is carefully sited in order to overlook both

courtyards (but not the Şūfīs in the courtyard of the adjoining Dawādāriyya Khānqāh) and also to take advantage of the impressive view over the Ḥaram to the south. That being so, the builders were faced with the problem of how to support its east wall. Either they could build it on top of the structurally weak clear span of the tomb antechamber's vault or, as they did, place it as far as possible to the east where it sits securely over the more robust structure of the arch between the antechamber and the tomb, even though this entailed removing part of the drum's cornice. Thus the room must have been built after the





Plate 9.13 Upper part of south side of western courtyard

dome had been completed. But it was not an afterthought, for the four windows (now blocked) in the drum supporting the dome are placed on the diagonal axes, not on the cardinal axes as one would expect, so as to allow for the adjoining construction of the upper floor room.



Plate 9.14 General view from the east

The structures to the south-east of that room have distinctive vaults (plan, *fig. 9.5*) which appear to be Ottoman.<sup>25</sup> The structures to the south-west belong to the Bāsiṭiyya (no. 53) and its later appurtenances.

## Notes

- 1 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 158.
- 2 Mujīr, ii, 22.
- 3 Mujīr, ii, 39. Date is confirmed by Defter 602. It is the year before he died.
- 4 Mujīr, ii, 125 and 271.
- 5 Suqā'i, *Tāli*, 174.
- 6 Mujīr, ii, 271; *Sulūk*, i, 881.
- 7 Defter no. 602, 450.
- 8 Haram no. 203.
- 9 Haram no. 557, dated 796/1394.
- 10 Sijill 207, 273 (quoted by Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 252).
- 11 Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 253.
- 12 In this context it is worth noting that the Marwānid inscription commemorating the endowment in 445/1053-54 of 'two adjoining houses' in favour of pilgrims from Diyārbakr (above, p. 47) was discovered nearby, rebuilt into the Ayyūbid northern porch of Bāb Ḥiṭṭa.
- 13 L.A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford, 1933 [= *SH*].
- 14 M. Meinecke, 'Zur mamlukischen Heraldik', *MDIK*, xxviii, 1972, 215.
- 15 *SH*, *passim*.
- 16 M. Meinecke, *art. cit.*, 215.
- 17 *SH*, pl. v2; *MAE*, ii, 152-53; M. Meinecke, *art. cit.*, 219.
- 18 R. Ettinghausen, 'Hilāl', *ET*<sup>2</sup>; Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks*, Washington, 1981, 129.
- 19 *SH*, 25.

20 For an analogous use of heraldic emblems on coins see: J. Allan, 'Mamlūk sultanīc heraldry and the numismatic evidence: A reinterpretation', *JRAS*, 1970, 99-112.

21 There are ambiguous bird-like corner terminals in the panel of revetment over the south-eastern entrance to the Palace of Sitt Tunshuq al-Muzaffariyya (c.790/1388) (see below, p. 487). The Crusader capital on the right-hand side of the present entrance to the Qubbat al-Naḥwiyya (604/1207-8, entrance rebuilt in the thirteen/nineteenth century) has two naturalistic birds with similarly drilled and filled eyes which have unaccountably escaped mutilation.

22 The rosette may well have been a heraldic device in Mamlūk times as L.A. Mayer, *SH*, 24-25, and M. Meinecke, *art. cit.*, 222, 226 suggest. But the fact that a rosette could be a heraldic device does not show that every occurrence is heraldic. J.W. Allan, *art. cit.*, 99-112, points out the inconclusive nature of the numismatic evidence.

23 L.A. Mayer, *SH*, 9-10, pls. ii, iii, xiv-xvii. M. Meinecke, *art. cit.*, 219-21, 225, pl. liii d-g, draws attention to the early double-headed eagles on the city wall of Diyārbakr (605/1208-9) and Konya (618/1221).

24 Birds with haloes in a Pseudo-Galen manuscript of the first half of the seven/thirteenth century are illustrated in A. Grohmann and T. Arnold, *Denkmäler islamischer Buchkunst*, Munich and Florence, 1929, pls. 14, 33, 24, and R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, Geneva, 1962, 91. The use of haloes to emphasize heads has no religious significance in Islamic art.

25 Similar vaults, dated towards the end of the eighteenth century, are illustrated by H. Waddington, 'A note on Four Turkish Renaissance Buildings in Ramleh', *JPOS*, xv, 1935.

# 10 GHAWĀNIMA MINARET

## مأذنة الغوانمة

c.697/1298

North-western minaret of Ḥaram

Modern name: Minaret al-Ghawānima

### I LOCATION (fig. 10.1)

At the north-west corner of the Ḥaram.

### II SITE AND BUILDING (fig. 10.2; plate 10.1)

The base of the minaret is built into the north-west corner of the Ḥaram, its lower north and west sides abutting against the natural rock where it has been quarried away to form the corner (see below). Mujir al-Dīn remarks that this minaret, like others around the Ḥaram, appears to have been built on the foundations of an earlier minaret that existed at the time of 'Abd al-Malik (65-86/685-705).<sup>1</sup> There is now no visible trace of an earlier minaret.

The present minaret, built entirely of stone except for a timber canopy over the muezzin's gallery, is of the traditional Syrian tower type, square in plan.<sup>2</sup> Externally it is divided by mouldings into several 'storeys'. The two lowest storeys form a base on which the upper storeys are set back to leave a corbelled gallery above the base. At the sixth storey a bigger set-back gives a muezzin's gallery, which is partly supported on *muqarnas* corbelling. This gallery has a modern balustrade and canopy. Above that is a lantern, octagonal in plan, surmounted by a circular drum and bulbous dome.

An external staircase rises to a door in the east face of the second storey. This door leads to a passage along the north side of the minaret, from where another door opens to an internal spiral staircase up to the muezzin's gallery.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

Al-'Umarī, writing c.745/1345, describes at the end of the north wall of the Ḥaram:

... a very long staircase, which is new and from the top of which a minaret is reached as well as a house there belonging to the Banī Jamā'a. This minaret is at the farthest point of the west wall of the Ḥaram. It is 53 *dhirā'* (approximately 37.1m) high. At its top are carved wooden railings. It is decorated with thirty-one fine marble columns.<sup>3</sup>

By Mujir al-Dīn's time it had become known as the Ghawānima Minaret 'because it is next to Bāb al-Ghawānima.'<sup>4</sup> That gate was so called after the Ghānim family, descendants of Shaykh Ghānim b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn, who was appointed shaykh of the Ṣalāhiyya Madrasa by Saladin.<sup>5</sup>

#### DATE

Mujir al-Dīn relates that two porticoes (no longer extant) below the Governor's House (the former Jāwiliyya, no. 14)

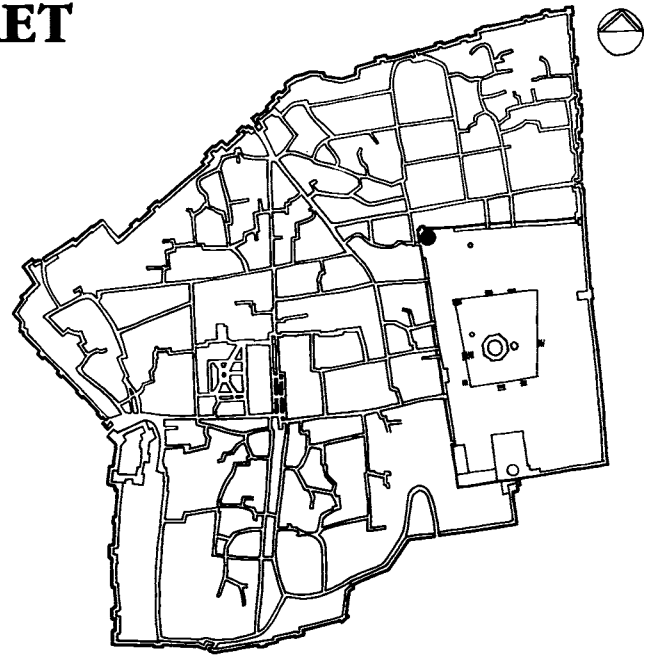


Fig. 10.1 Location plan

were constructed at the same time as the Ghawānima Minaret. These porticoes bore an inscription giving the date of their construction and that of the minaret, but over the years it had become badly eroded (making it illegible).<sup>6</sup> He goes on to observe that this minaret, the largest and most solid one, was built by Qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥman, superintendent of pious endowments in the Harams of Mecca and Medina and also the Harams of Jerusalem and Hebron. Mujir al-Dīn saw a document confirming this qāḍī's reappointment to these posts by Sultan Lājīn. This document was dated 23 Jumādā II 697/8 April 1298 and, he continues, the construction of the minaret may be attributed to that time.<sup>7</sup> He adds that he had been told that the minaret was built in the reign of the descendants of Qalāwūn and that that too is possible. In any case, a date of construction around 697/1298 accords well enough with the architecture.

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

An inscription over the entrance door records that the minaret was repaired by the Supreme Muslim Council in 1341/1922-23. These repairs appear to have been of a minor nature, involving mainly the replacement of the balustrade and canopy of the muezzin's gallery.

### IV ARCHITECTURE

#### EXTERIOR (fig. 10.5; plate 10.1)

This minaret is one of the most virile pieces of architecture in Jerusalem. The manifest sturdiness of its construction has withstood several earthquakes with little trace of damage. Yet the variety and design of its decoration – notably the *muqarnas* corbelling supporting the galleries and the marble nook-shafts in the outer corners of the fourth and fifth storeys – lend it a certain elegance that belies its enormous solidity.

Of the two base storeys, only the east and south faces are visible; the north and west faces abut directly against the scarped rock in the corner of the Ḥaram. All four sides of the upper storeys are exposed. Each storey is distinguished from the others by its architectural details, which are repeated on all four sides. Sockets about 0.20m square at various levels in the sides of the minaret appear to be putlog holes that would have held scaffolding in place during construction.

The two base storeys are reinforced by corner buttresses (plate 10.2). In the lowest storey, recesses in the exposed south

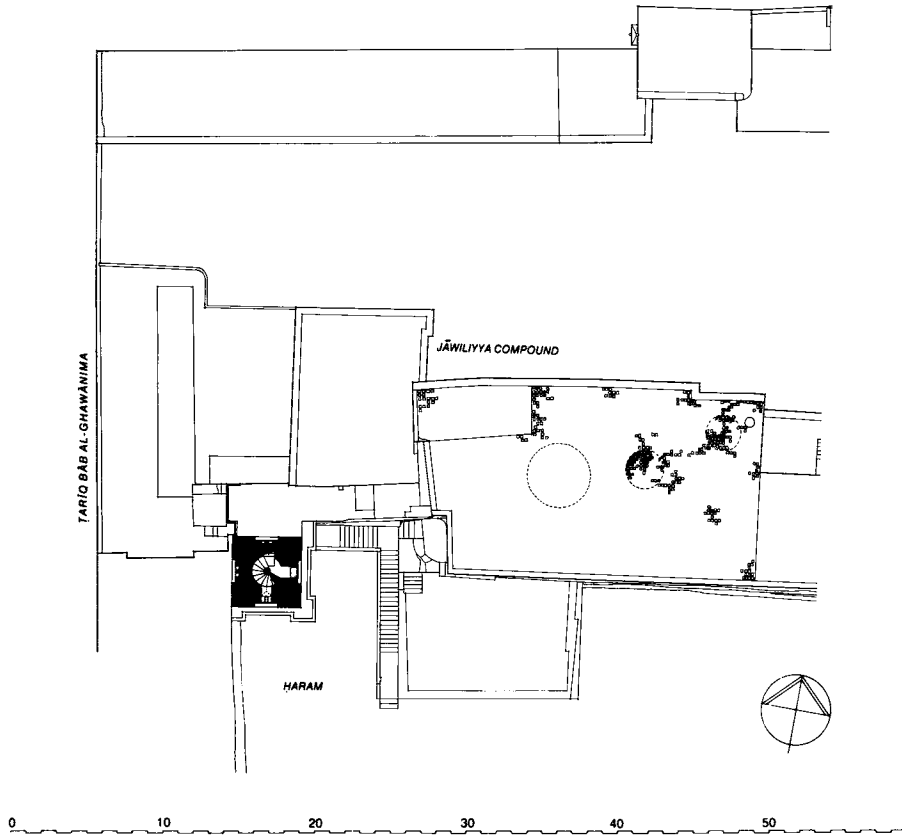


Fig. 10.2 Site plan

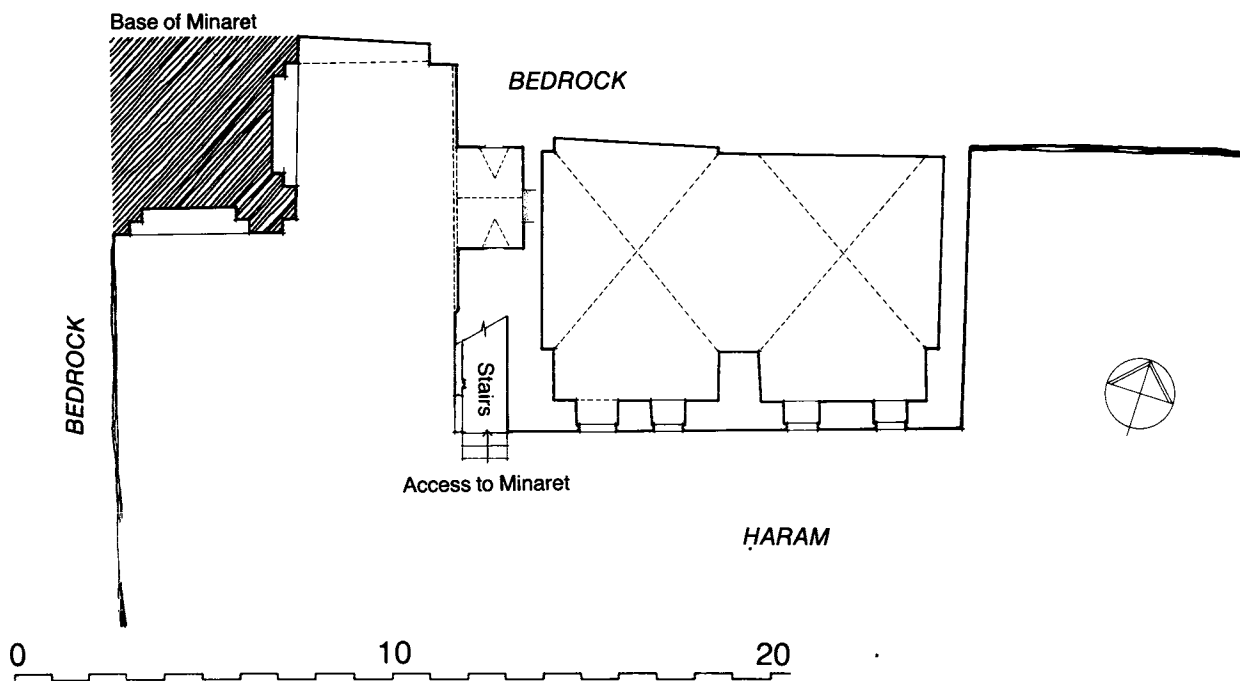


Fig. 10.3 Plan of north-west corner of HARAM



Plate 10.1 General view from the south-east



Plate 10.2 Base

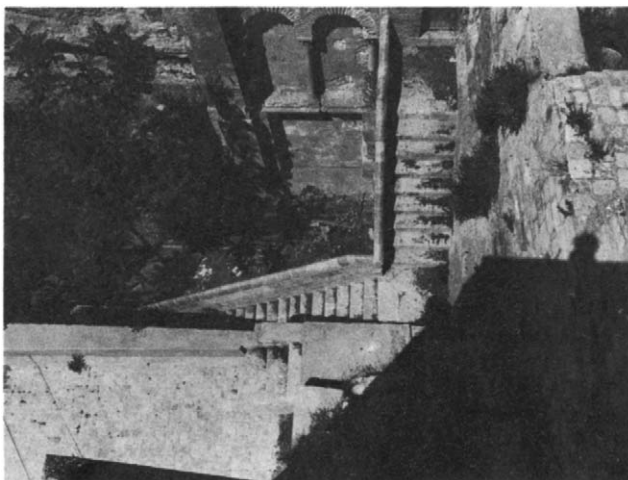


Plate 10.3 Staircase, from the east



Plate 10.4 Capital at top of newel

and east sides between these buttresses have sloping sills and cavetto heads decorated with a repeated *muqarnas* motif. The second storey, which steps back slightly, has in each exposed side a blind double arch composed of gadrooned voussoirs supported by three re-used Crusader columns complete with capitals and bases. The round horseshoe profile of the arches is noteworthy, suggestive perhaps of Andalusian influence (see above, p. 91). Above the keystones of each arch and in the common spandrel between these three columns, column drums have been set into the masonry in order to strengthen the masonry bond. A further column drum is set at the same level into the two south-facing corner buttresses. One course higher, a slightly recessed panel, framed by bands of red stone above and below, seems to have been intended for an inscription which was never carved. Above that, three tiers of bold *muqarnas* corbelling support a parapet wall around the lower gallery.

The third storey, set back from the base to allow for the gallery, has a shallow cavetto-headed recess in each side. Little paired round-headed windows with bevelled jambs open in these recesses. Those in the north and east sides are blind. Dividing the third storey from the fourth is a projecting string course with a sloping top surface. This string course is decorated in an unusual manner with a regular series of small, arched niches.

The fourth storey has re-used Crusader columns with capitals and bases set in nooks in all four corners. In the middle of each side is a shallow recess spanned by two pointed arches supported by a central corbel. The recesses in the east, north and west sides each enclose a smaller, bevel-edged square recess containing an octagonal window, blind in the east and north sides. The south recess contains a square window. A recessed rectangular panel enclosing the paired arches of each recess is pierced by a small diamond-shaped window. Dividing this storey from the fifth is a projecting string course decorated with a cavetto moulding with repeated *muqarnas* elements carved into it and pendent *muqarnas* 'stalactites' at the corners.

The fifth storey also has re-used Crusader columns for nook-shafts in the corners. In the middle of each side a recess containing a rectangular window is spanned by paired pointed-arches supported by a central column, also of Crusader manufacture and complete with capitals and bases. Above this storey two tiers of vigorous *muqarnas* corbelling support the muezzin's gallery around the sixth storey.

In each side of the sixth storey are further double-arched recesses, all containing two rectangular windows except for the one in the south side which contains a door to the staircase. The arches are supported by further re-used Crusader columns, three of which carry remarkable historiated capitals, also Crusader.<sup>8</sup> The balustrade and canopy of the gallery were replaced during the 1341/1922-23 repairs.

The octagonal lantern has pointed-arched recesses in each side, all containing slit windows save the east one which has a door evidently intended to allow access to the roof of the



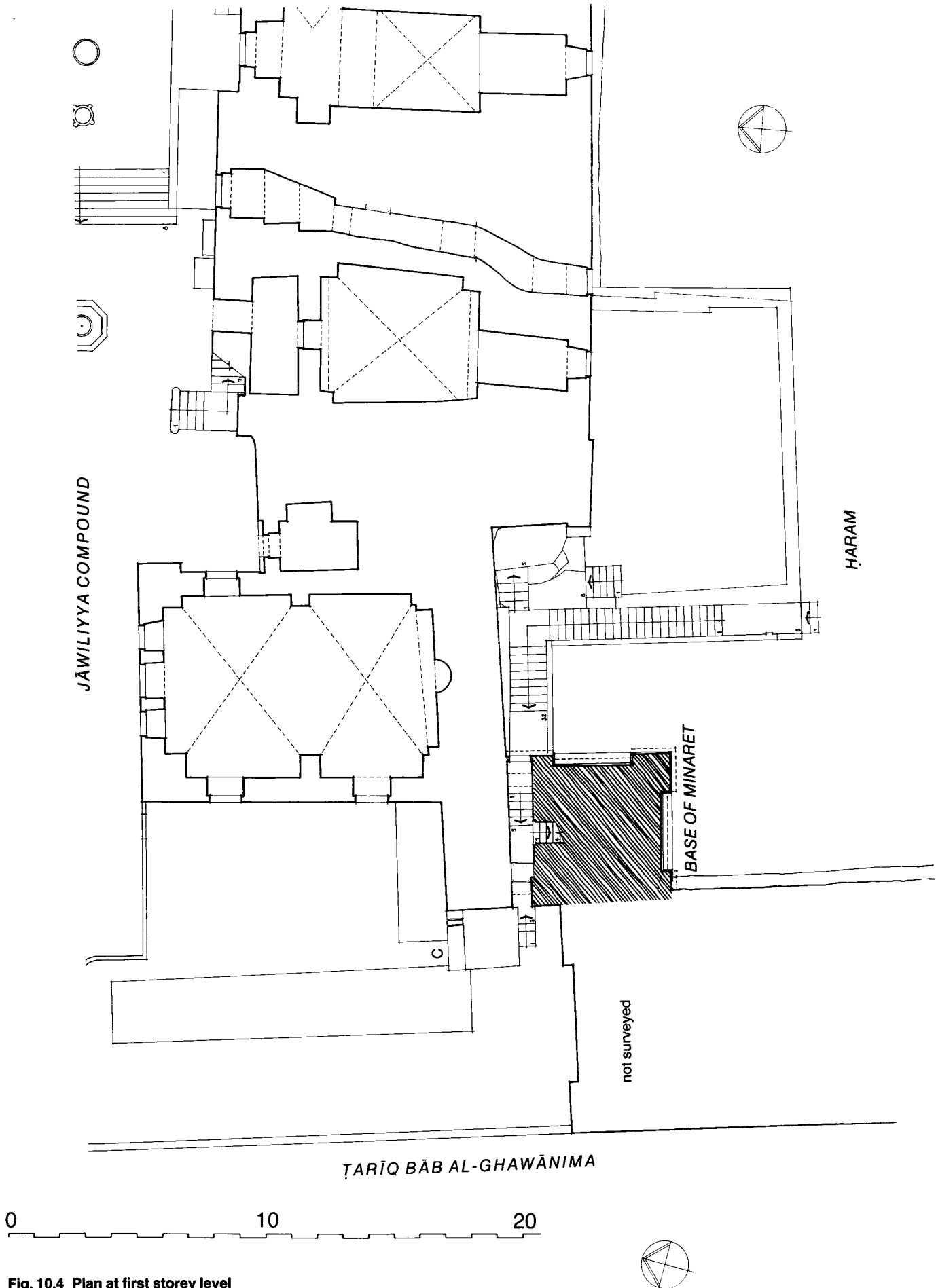


Fig. 10.4 Plan at first storey level

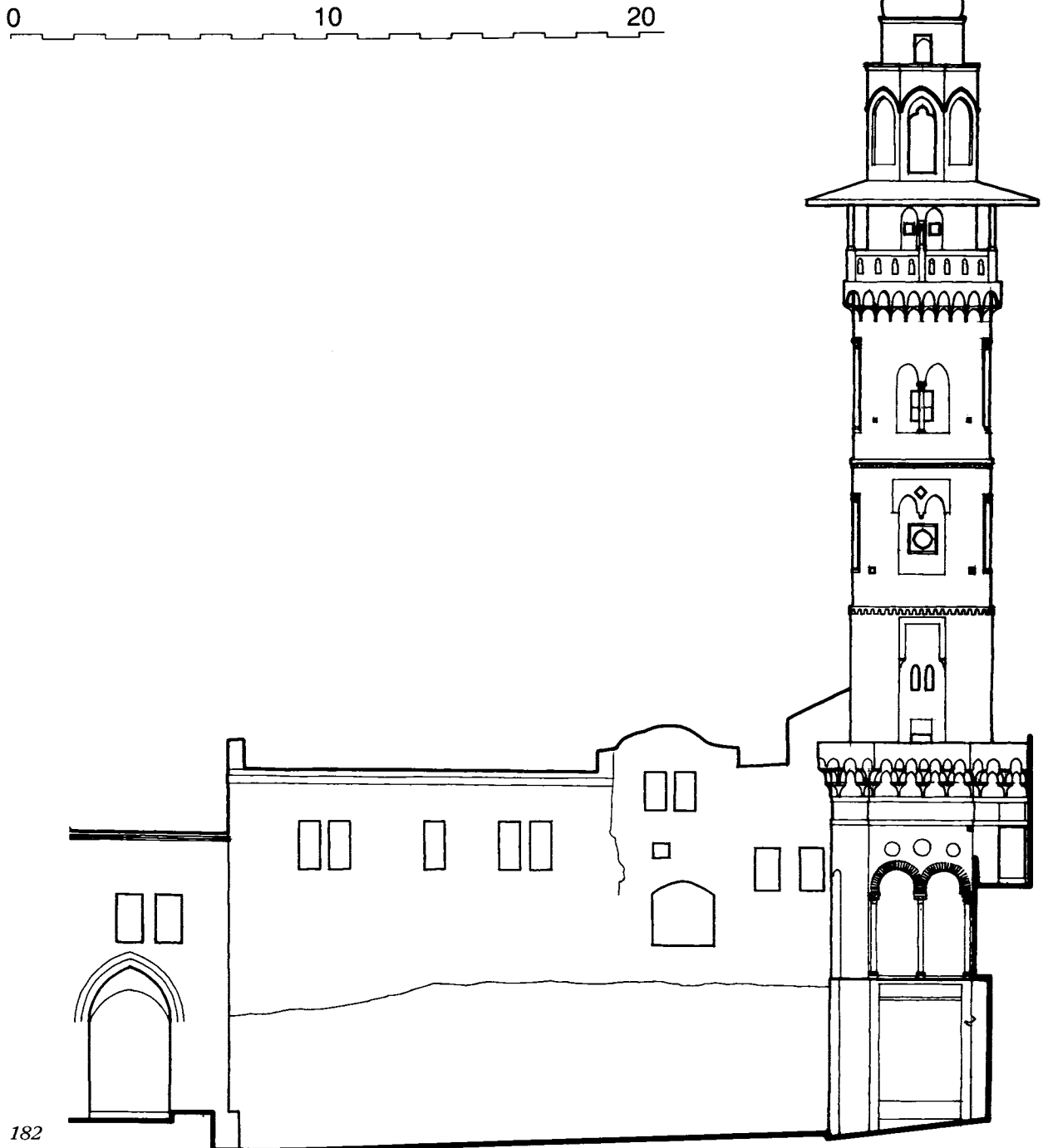
canopy. A continuous hoodmould frames the extrados of the arches. This storey is crowned by a simple splayface moulding, above which is the drum, pierced by windows on the cardinal axes. Each of these windows is square on the exterior but pointed inside. The bulbous dome, separated from the drum by a splayface moulding, was refurbished during the 1922-23 repairs. It is surmounted by a bronze crescent finial.

*INTERIOR*

The entrance to the minaret is reached by a long open stair that rises northwards against a plain building that projects into the Haram from the north rock scarp (*fig. 10.3*). The scarp at this point is cut back to form a re-entrant angle. The staircase (*plate 10.3*) follows the line of the scarp, turning westwards along it to rise to a rectangular door in the east face of the second storey of the minaret.<sup>9</sup> Above this door is the inscription recording the 1922-23 repairs. The door leads to a vaulted passage along the north side of the minaret. At its west end it opens on the roofs of adjoining buildings to the west. In its south side a door leads

into the spiral staircase to the muezzin's gallery. This staircase is roofed by a continuous rising barrel vault and is lit by the various windows described above. It gives access first of all to the lower gallery by a door opening east. The lower gallery extends only along the east and south sides. It could well have been used by muezzins as an alternative to the higher gallery. At the level of the higher gallery the staircase stops at a door opening south to the gallery.<sup>10</sup> Here the newel is carried up above the last step in the form of a re-used column, and is crowned by an interesting capital decorated with *muqarnas* niches (*plate 10.4*). A hole in the ceiling of this area will have allowed access to the interior of the lantern. Through this hole the unusual construction of the transition zone under the circular drum and dome may be observed (*plate 10.5*). It consists of intersecting arches of a type more commonly associated with the architecture of Andalusia or Armenia, and it is conceivable that the craftsmen responsible for it came from one of these regions (see above, p. 91).

**Fig. 10.5 East face**



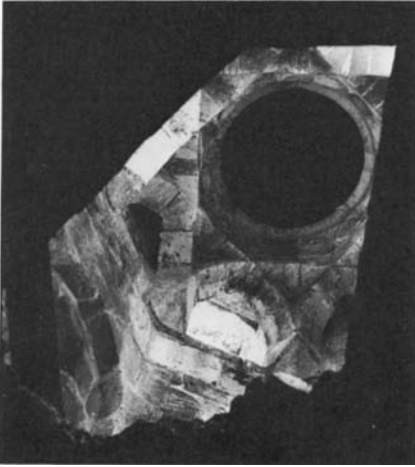


Plate 10.5 Interior of the lantern



Plate 10.6 Arch supporting entrance stairs, under which an opening gives access to an old cistern

## Notes

1 Mujīr, 379. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (wrote c.300/913) enumerated four minarets in the Haram (G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890, 163) which may have existed still in the Crusader period, for William of Tyre saw tall towers (*turres sublimes*) from which muezzins formerly made the call to prayer (*RHCOC*, i, chap. iii). Clermont-Ganneau (*Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874*, London, 1899, 145) has suggested that these early minarets correspond to 'certain strategic fortified points in the ancient enclosing wall of the Temple'.

To the east of the present Ghawānima Minaret an opening in the north rock scarp about 3.5m above the ground (see *plate 10.6*) leads into a small cave, which has a square hole in its floor to give access to a cylindrical cistern that probably belongs to some earlier development of the site.

2 K.A.C. Creswell, 'The Evolution of the Minaret, with special reference to Egypt', *The Burlington Magazine*, xlviii, 1926, 134-40, 252-59, 290-98.

3 Al-'Umari, *Masālik*, 159. Al-'Umari's total of thirty-one columns would seem to be four too many unless the original canopy over the muezzin's gallery was supported by eight columns instead of the four supporting the present one.

4 Mujīr, 379.

5 Mujīr, 489.

6 Mujīr, 376.

7 Mujīr, 379-80. The printed texts have the date 677 but this is impossible since Lājīn reigned only from 696/1297 to 698/1299.

8 J. Folda, 'Three Crusader Capitals in Jerusalem', *Levant*, x, 1978, 139-55.

9 The stone banister-wall of this staircase (see *plate 10.3*) must form part of the 1922-23 repairs, for it is missing in van Berchem's 1914 photograph, *CIA (Planches)*, lxii.

10 The doors to the muezzin's galleries of all Mamlūk minarets in Jerusalem open south.

# 11 AL-JĀLIQIYYA

## الجالقية

707/1307

Tomb of Baybars al-Jāliq

Modern name: Dār al-Khālidi

### I LOCATION (fig. 11.1)

On the north side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila immediately west of its junction with the stepped street (Daraj al-'Ayn) leading up from Ṭarīq al-Wād.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 11.2)

The Jāliqiyya comprises two units: a domed chamber at the street corner and an antechamber to the north, along Daraj al-'Ayn. The original entrance (now blocked) was through the antechamber by a door opening from Daraj al-'Ayn. To the west of the antechamber is a small courtyard enclosed by later buildings, all apparently dating from the Ottoman period.

The Jāliqiyya can be seen to rest on earlier foundations of a type visible on both sides of Daraj al-'Ayn, which themselves overlie one of the vaulted bays of a more ancient bridge carrying Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila from west to east across the town's central (Tyropoeon) valley to the Ḥaram Gate of the Chain. The vaults under the Jāliqiyya were cleared of debris in 1977 to form a passage from Ṭarīq al-Wād to the new Wailing Wall plāza (plate 11.12). The only archaeological inspection of the area was made in 1931 when evidence for an early Islamic (Umayyad) date of construction was associated with the main vault and its abutments.<sup>1</sup> Various later extensions have been added to the north and south ends of the main vault, primarily during the Crusader period as the frequent occurrence of masons' marks in the structure demonstrates, though some parts may be later. A full survey of these vaults, which would surely help to clarify the pre-Mamlūk development of the city, remains to be made.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

The following funerary inscription survives on the south wall of the building (fig. 11.5):

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is the mausoleum of the most noble, grand amīr, the warrior, the fighter for the faith, the soldier on the path of God Almighty, Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Jāliq al-Šāliḥī. He died [and passed] to the mercy of God Almighty on the tenth of Jumādā I in the year 707 [4 November 1307]. May God have mercy upon him and upon those who pray that he may be shown mercy.<sup>2</sup>

Mujīr al-Dīn sites the Jāliqiyya Mausoleum 'at the top of the Aqueduct Steps (Daraj al-'Ayn) on [the street of] the Chain Gate (Bāb al-Silsila).<sup>3</sup> The steps are those that connect with the Valley Street (Ṭarīq al-Wād) at the lower level.

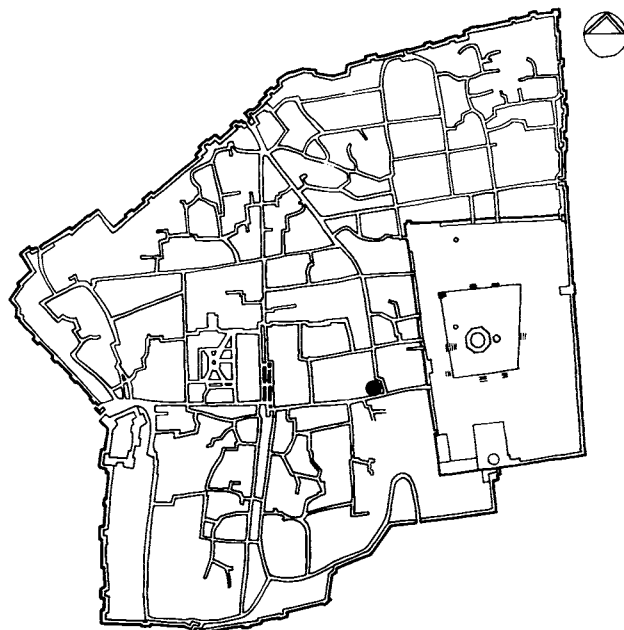


Fig. 11.1 Location plan

#### DATE

No date for the construction of the mausoleum is given in any source, nor is the date of the endowment anywhere alluded to. Since the founder's body was carried to Jerusalem and buried in the *turba* he had raised for himself, it must have been completed before Jumādā I 707/November 1307.

#### FOUNDER

Baybars al-Jāliq<sup>4</sup> was one of the mamluks of the Ayyūbid Sultan, al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, belonging to the corps of the *jamdāriyya* (the men of the Wardrobe). He thus belonged to the celebrated group known as the Šāliḥiyya (hence the *nisba* in the inscription given above). It was the Sultan Baybars who raised him to the rank of amīr,<sup>5</sup> the last member of the Šāliḥiyya, it is said, to gain that promotion. After a steady rise to high rank, Baybars sent him to Damascus with a magnificent *iqṭā'*. In 678/1279 he was commander of a force stationed at Aleppo and returned to Damascus to help arrest Azdamur al-Zāhiri when the latter had abandoned al-Sa'īd, son of Baybars.<sup>6</sup> Later, along with Lājīn, the future Sultan, he travelled by the post horses to Damascus in two days and seven hours to administer the oath to the troops there upon the succession of Qalāwūn.<sup>7</sup> When the governor, Sunqur al-Ashqar, took steps to declare himself sultan with the title al-Kāmil, both Baybars al-Jāliq and Lājīn refused to swear allegiance and were imprisoned in the citadel at Damascus (23 Dhū'l-Hijja 678/25 April 1280). Within a few months, after Sunqur had been defeated, they were released.<sup>8</sup>

Baybars al-Jāliq fought at the battle of Homs against the Mongols (Thursday, 14 Rajab 680/30 October 1281)<sup>9</sup> and was one of the defeated right wing of the Mamlūk army.<sup>10</sup> When Lājīn made his own bid for the sultanate in 696/1297, Baybars al-Jāliq did not support Kitbughā, although his name is not mentioned among those who gave positive aid to Lājīn.<sup>11</sup> In the following year he took part in a major raid on the territory of Lesser Armenia (697/1298).<sup>12</sup>

According to the funerary inscription he died on 10th Jumādā I 707/4 November 1307. All sources agree on the month and the year, but the 15th and the 19th<sup>13</sup> are also put forward for the day. The inscription obviously carries greater weight. As for the place where he died, 'He died . . . outside Ramla and was carried to Jerusalem, where he was buried in accordance with





Plate 11.1 South façade

his last will and testament.' Thus Ibn al-Dawādārī,<sup>14</sup> and in the words of Ibn Kathīr, 'He was the last of the Baḥriyya to die. He went from Damascus to Ramla on business connected with his *iqṭā'*, and there died in the year 707, having lived a long life. His corpse was taken to Jerusalem.'<sup>15</sup> Ibn Hajar says that he died 'outside Jerusalem'.<sup>16</sup> All the sources stress his many acts of charity and Maqrīzī adds that he used to lend money to soldiers who were preparing for campaigns on the understanding that they would repay him when their circumstances were easier, and that he lost much money in that way. Nevertheless, he left great wealth to his heirs.<sup>17</sup>

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

There is remarkably little reference to this building. It is always referred to as a *turba*. This may mean that there was no other teaching or wider devotional activity, other than the endowed prayers and readings one may assume to have existed, although there is no mention of them either.

There is, we believe, no reference to the Jāliqiyya in the Haram documents and we were only able to find one document in the Jerusalem Sijills we examined. That is a lease agreement for a shop,<sup>18</sup> part of the waqf of the Jāliqiyya (and the word *turba* is left out in the sijill), situated in David Street. The lease was for one year at a rent of 72 paras.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### SOUTH FAÇADE (fig. 11.4)

Facing Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila, this, the main façade, is decorated sparsely: an iron-grilled window opening into the tomb chamber is surmounted by a funerary inscription (above, p. 184) over its monolithic lintel and, above that, a small high-level window lighting the tomb chamber and a cavetto moulding running across the façade (plate 11.1). The adjoining structures to east and west appear to be later (see below); the buildings on the upper floor are obviously Ottoman.

The eastern limit of the façade is quite clear since it forms the corner where the two streets meet. Here a later arch, opening into the street leading down to Ṭarīq al-Wād, has been keyed into the original masonry of the façade. In the left-hand spandrel of the arch, under a cyma moulding that runs eastwards away from the Jāliqiyya (fig. 11.4), an inscription has been inserted into the masonry of the Jāliqiyya façade. It commemorates the completion, in 874/1469 during the reign of Sultan Qāytbāy, of the restoration of the aqueducts supplying water to the Haram,<sup>19</sup> which meet under the street near this point.



Fig. 11.2 Site plan



Plate 11.2 Dome surrounded by later structures



Plate 11.3 East frontage

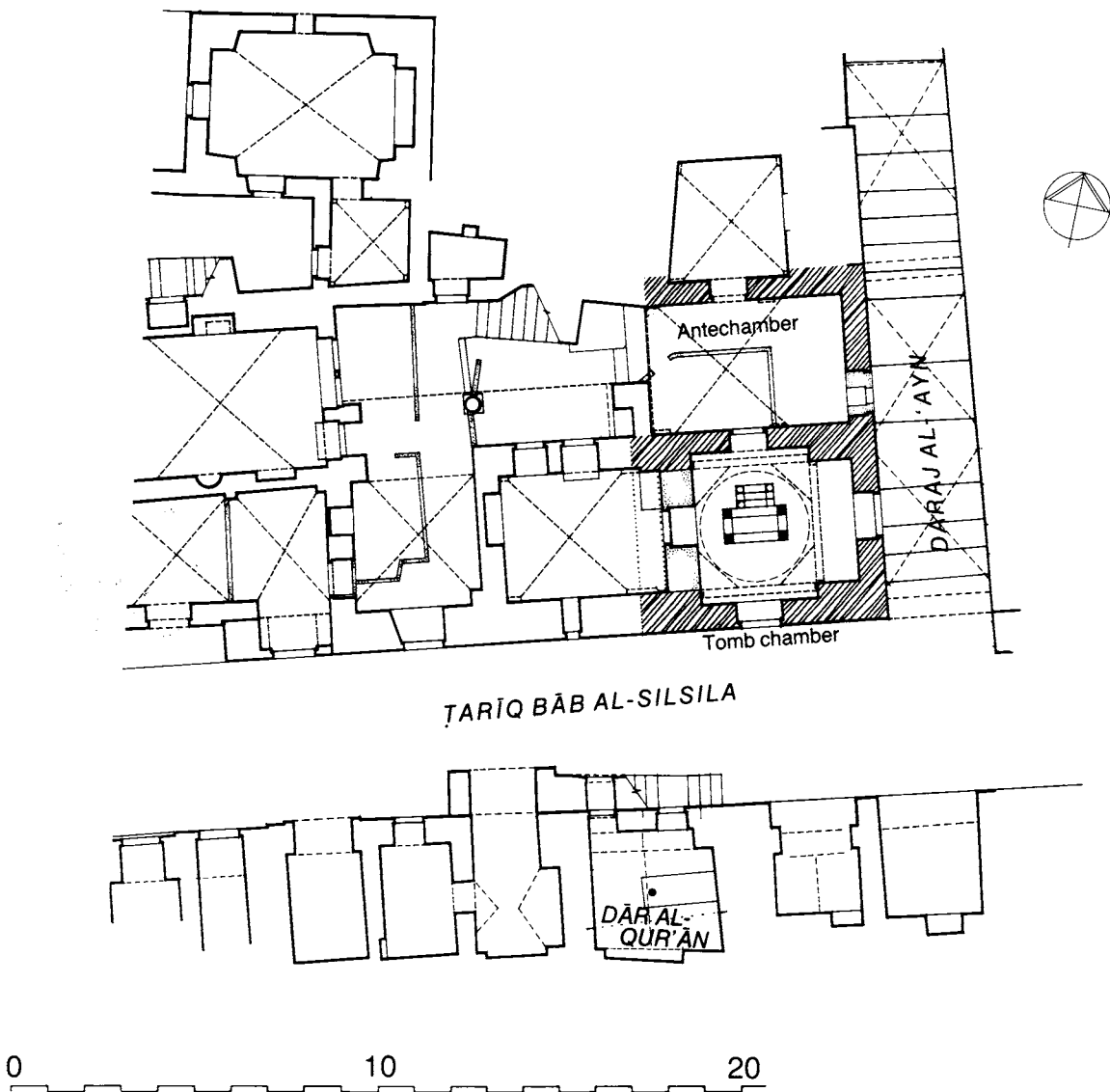


Fig. 11.3 Ground floor plan



Plate 11.4 Doorway in north wall of antechamber



Plate 11.5 Buildings to west of antechamber, looking west



Plate 11.6 Blocked recess in west wall of tomb chamber



Plate 11.7 Corner posts of cenotaphs

The western limit of the façade is not readily identifiable because the later stonework of the adjoining building has been dovetailed into the stonework of the tomb to form a ragged junction (see *fig.* 11.4). The only continuous vertical joint, which probably marks the western limit of the original structure, is in the two lowest courses 3.22m to the left of the centre-line of the gridded window. The eastern corner of the façade is 3.48m to the right of that centre-line, making the original façade not quite symmetrical about the window but nearly so. Of course, some earlier structure now replaced by the present building to the west of the Jāliqiyya may once have occupied that adjoining site, and any near symmetry detectable in plan need not have been evident on the façade.

Above a level coinciding with the top of the inscription, all the masonry appears to belong to some later rebuilding of the upper façade, presumably done when the adjoining upper storeys were added. The cavetto moulding, four courses above the inscription, belongs to that later rebuilding; it may, however, be in re-use in its present position and we cannot rule out the possibility that this moulding once formed a cornice on the south and east façades.

The dome rises above the façade but is now concealed by a later parapet wall (*plate* 11.2). It seems, however, never to have been as prominent a feature as the domes of other tombs, for it has no drum.

#### *EAST FRONTAGE (fig. 11.6)*

The street corner forms the southern limit of the east frontage. The northern limit coincides with a distinct break in the masonry about 9.40m from the corner. The lowest masonry courses (owing to the slope of the street, that is the first course above street level at the south end up to the third above street level at the north end) are built of large stones, many of which are very roughly dressed (*plate* 11.3). These stones may belong to the earlier structure, mentioned above, that once occupied the site. Three courses of smaller masonry have been laid on top of the roughly dressed lowest courses to form a level surface on which the east wall of the tomb was constructed in masonry similar to that of the south façade. The uppermost courses are concealed by a later vault spanning the street; this vault is obviously contemporaneous with the arch at its south end, described above.

An iron-grilled window, similar in size to the one in the south façade, opens into the tomb chamber. North of that window is the original entrance, now blocked save for a small gridded window. At some time, perhaps during an earthquake, this corner of the building was damaged: the door lintel is cracked and is now supported by the blocking masonry, and the stonework of the upper north end of the wall has been crudely rebuilt in uncoursed rubble. The adjoining structure to the north appears to be later.

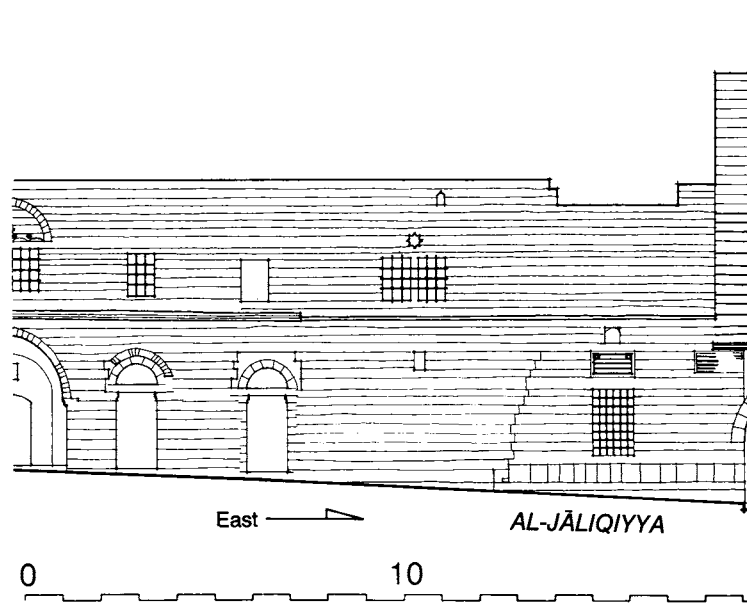


Fig. 11.4 Street frontage



Plate 11.8 Cenotaphs



Plate 11.10 Muqarnaş transition zone

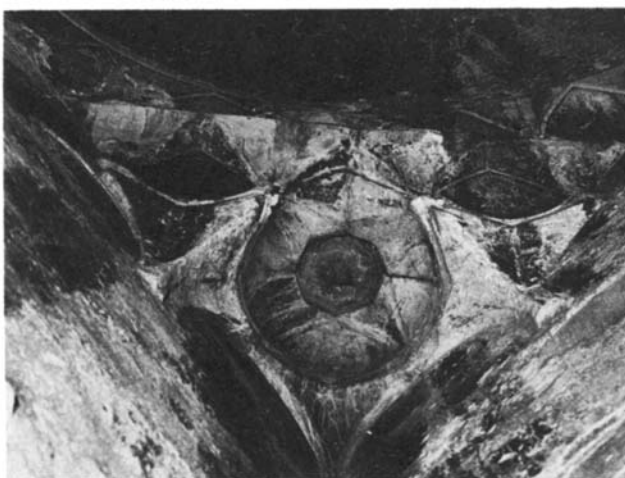


Plate 11.9 Muqarnaş squinch from below

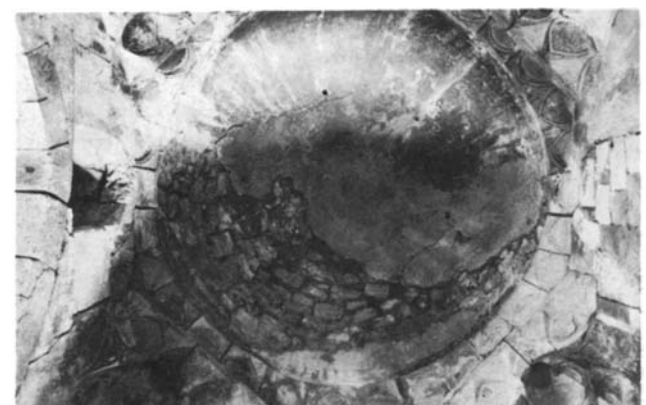


Plate 11.11 Dome

*INTERIOR* (plan, fig. 11.3; sections, figs. 11.7 and 11.8)

(i) *Antechamber*

The entrance door in the east wall opened into the antechamber with a door in its south wall into the tomb chamber. The antechamber has undergone various alterations.

The present cross vault is not original, and a modern concrete-block partition encloses an area in front of the door into the tomb chamber. Two bare springers, one in the north wall and one opposite it at the same level in the south wall, are shaped in a way that indicates that originally a transverse arch divided a barrel vault roofing the eastern part of the chamber from a cross vault over the western part. A similar springer in the south-west corner of the chamber suggests that it was open to the west, like an *iwān*.





Fig. 11.5 Inscription

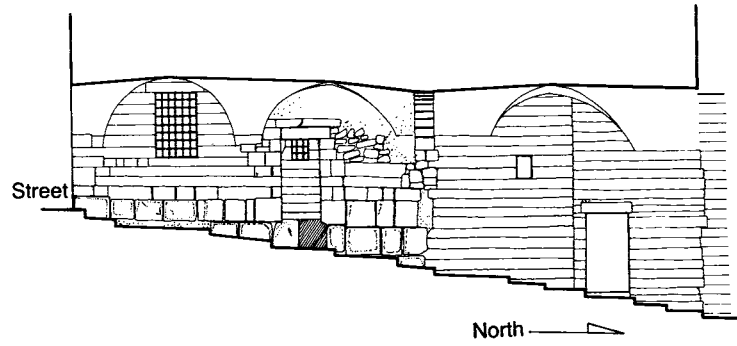


Fig. 11.6 East frontage on Daraj al-'Ayn

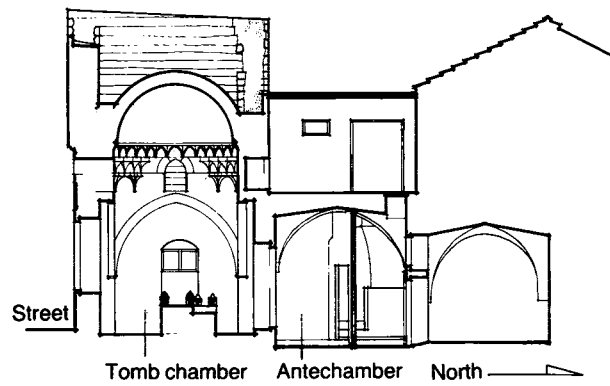


Fig. 11.7 South-north section through tomb chamber looking west



Fig. 11.8 East-west section through tomb chamber looking south



Plate 11.12 Vaulted bays of bridge across Tyropoeon Valley

A pointed-arched doorway (plate 11.4), typically Mamlūk in form, in the north wall of the antechamber leads into a cross-vaulted room with a blocked opening in its east wall. This room, to judge from the definite break in the masonry of the east frontage (above), must belong to a later addition.

The buildings to the west of the antechamber and tomb chamber are quite plain (apart from a re-used column with a base for a capital) and appear mostly to be Ottoman (plate 11.5). It was in this area that a Dār al-Ḥadīth was founded in 666/1268<sup>20</sup> by Amīr Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Isā but if it survives there is nothing remarkable in the present constructions on the site to allow its identification.

#### (ii) Tomb chamber

The floor of the tomb chamber is raised 0.50m above that of the antechamber. A stone cenotaph, 1.70m long and 0.89m wide, occupies the centre of the floor (plate 11.8). Presumably, it marks the grave of the founder. A smaller cenotaph, 1.03m long and 0.61m wide, rests against its north side, marking the grave of some unknown person. The larger cenotaph has four unusually well-preserved corner posts (plate 11.7) of reddish limestone, all decorated in the same way with pointed-arched niches cut in each of the shaft's eight sides, on top of which sits a bulbous knob lightly carved in the customary manner with eight drooping petals.<sup>21</sup> The smaller cenotaph has simpler

posts, two with niches in the sides and plain pointed knobs, a third similar one which has fallen to the floor and lost its knob, and a fourth decorated differently from the others with inverted *muqarnas* (plate 11.8), which is apparently not in its proper place.

Wall arches support the dome. These arches open into shallow recesses on the north and south sides (0.42m and 0.38m respectively) and a deeper (1.12m) recess on the east side. On the west side (plate 11.6) there is no recess, but it appears that the present west wall, built flush with the arch surmounting it, is secondary and has been constructed about 0.90m nearer to the centre of the room than the original wall. This can be inferred from details observed in the masonry of the south façade and from some curious irregularities in the springings of vaulting in the adjoining room to the west. If we assume that the vertical straight joint near the western end of the two lowest courses in the façade represents the outer face of the original west wall of the tomb chamber, and if we assume that the wall had the same thickness (0.70 – 0.72m) as the other walls of the chamber, then the interior plan would have been approximately symmetrical (as shown dotted fig. 11.3) with a recess in the west wall corresponding to that in the east.

The fact that the tomb chamber is rectangular, requiring adjustments to be made in order to provide a square base for the dome, suggests that its plan was perhaps dictated by the dimensions of a pre-existing building.

There are openings in the middle of all four walls: gridded windows in the east and south walls opening on the streets, the entrance door in the north wall, and a door (now blocked) in the later west infill wall. Several stones with diagonal tooling characteristic of Crusader workmanship have been re-used in the jambs of the east window.

The finest feature of the tomb chamber is the internal decoration of the zone of transition between the base and the dome (figs. 11.7 and 11.8). This zone consists of three tiers of *muqarnas* which effect the transition by way of coffered squinches in the corners (plate 11.9). Small pointed-arched windows in the middle of each side at the same height as the squinches (plate 11.10) illuminated the *muqarnas* decoration, making it readily visible from the street through the lower windows; only the southern one now remains open. The dome itself, roughly hemispherical, is built of rubble coated with plaster (plate 11.11).

## Notes

- 1 R.W. Hamilton, 'Street Levels in the Tyropoeon Valley. II', *QDAP*, ii, 1933, 34-40.
- 2 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 72.
- 3 Mujīr, ii, 44. *Daraj al-'Ayn* may mean 'Fountain Steps' if the reference is to the basin to the north-east of the street intersection, see *CIA (Ville)*, 117 n. 3.
- 4 The name in Turkish (*çalık*) means 'mettlesome' of a horse.
- 5 Sultan Baybars 'made him one of the amīrs of the Bahriyya' (*Manbal*, Cairo Ms. *Ta'rikh* 1113, i, fol. 370a. I assume an error when Maqrīzī describes him as 'one of the Burjiyya and the Šālihiyya' (*Sulūk*, ii, 40). According to Ibn Ḥajar he was an amīr already in the reign of al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb, which is unlikely, even though he was born in about 627/1229-30 (*Durar*, ii, 41).
- 6 Ibn al-Dawādārī, viii, 229-30.
- 7 *Sulūk*, i, 664.
- 8 *Sulūk*, i, 671 and 677; Ibn al-Dawādārī, viii, 234.
- 9 Ibn al-Dawādārī, viii, 245.
- 10 Perhaps this accounts for the comment by Ibn Ḥajar: 'He was brave and valiant,

yet, if he was in a battle, he would fight well, but invariably fled.' (*Durar*, ii, 41). Dhahabī says that al-Jāliq was not blamed by the Sultan 'because he had seen more than he could stand' (Bodleian Ms. Laud or. 279, fol. 66a).

- 11 Ibn al-Dawādārī, viii, 367.
- 12 *Sulūk*, i, 838.
- 13 *Sulūk*, ii, 41; Ibn Kathīr, xiv, 47 (15th). Ibn al-Dawādārī, ix, 151 (19th).
- 14 Ibn al-Dawādārī, *loc. cit.*
- 15 Ibn Kathīr, xiv, 47 (followed by *Manbal*, *loc. cit.*).
- 16 *Durar*, ii, 41.
- 17 *Sulūk*, ii, 40-41.
- 18 *Sijill*, 80, 442 (7), dated 1008/1600.
- 19 *CIA (Ville)*, 339-43.
- 20 Mujīr al-Dīn (Mujīr, 396) records that an early Dār al-Ḥadīth, founded by the Amīr Sharaf al-Dīn 'Isā al-Hakkārī (see below, p. 335) in 666/1268, was to the west of the Jāliqiyya but it is no longer identifiable.
- 21 Cf. plates 13.7, 57.9 and fig. 34.4.

## 12 WEST PORTICO

### الرواق الغربي

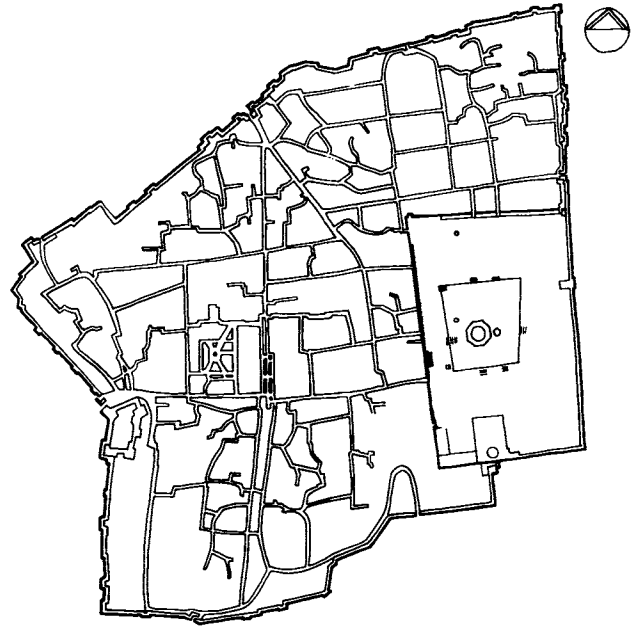


Fig. 12.1 Location plan

Various stages from 707/1307-8 to before 887/1483

#### I LOCATION (fig. 12.1)

Along the west border of the Haram.

#### II SITE AND BUILDING (fig. 12.2, fold-out at back)

The west portico is composed of a series of vaults, one bay deep and open to the Haram, built in several stages against the western enclosing wall of the Haram.\*

#### III HISTORY

Al-'Umarī (c. 745/1345) described the west wall of the Haram and its gates thus:

... From the end of the garden [in the Haram below where the Manjakiyya (no. 35) was later built] to the farthest point of the wall – which is the Ghawānima Minaret – is an open space without porticoes. Abutting on this garden, to the south is a large gate called Bāb al-Ribāṭ al-Manṣūrī [= Bāb al-Nāzīr] ...<sup>1</sup> In front of it is a walkway by which is reached the flight of steps leading to the Dome of the Rock terrace opposite Bāb al-Ḥadīd (to be mentioned presently). At the side of the aforementioned gate, in a northerly direction, is an arch [resting] on two piers ... This arch is the first of the arches at the west wall ... Next to the aforementioned gate [is a portico]. It spans sixteen piers ... A gate called Bāb al-Ḥadīd comes next. In front of it is a paved walkway by which a flight of steps leading to the Dome of the Rock terrace is reached ... Next to this gate is a portico with eight piers. Next to this portico is a big gate, recently built and newly opened, to which ten steps lead down, and on either side of which are benches ... It is well built ... and has arches ornamented on both sides with coloured stone and a band of inscription in gold engraved on the stone. Its doors are covered with filigree bronze and are well made and decorated. From it the new market street [Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn, no. 24] is reached ... To the [south] side of this gate is a portico resting on two large piers ... and at the side of this portico is Bāb al-Mutawaḍḍa' [= Bāb al-Mathara] ... Four steps lead from the ground level of the Haram to Bāb al-Mutawaḍḍa' ... Adjacent to the Bāb al-Mutawaḍḍa' is a portico ... spanning nine piers ... at the end of which, on the southern side is a *mikrāb* abutting on the minaret [of Bāb al-Silsila, no. 20]. One prayer is said there by a single imām. Next to it is the minaret belonging to the Haram ... Adjacent to the minaret are two doors; the northern one is closed and nailed up; the minaret adjoins it. The open door is called Bāb al-Silsila. It was known of old as Bāb al-Sahara ... In front of this gate is a walkway by which a flight of steps to the Dome of the Rock terrace ... is reached ... Next to the gate is a portico spanning ten

piers ... This portico has two windows to the Tankiziyya Madrasa (no. 18), the shutters of both are of ebony and ivory; inside is the madrasa. Above [the portico] is the Tankiziyya Khānqāh. At the end is a small door which gives access to the roof of the madrasa and the lodgings of the Ṣūfis. At the end of the piers are six large granite columns. Next to this portico, on the south, is a platform one *dbirā'* (approx. 0.7m) high and thirty-eight less an eighth (26.5m) in length from south to north ... On measuring thirty-three *dbirā'* from this platform you will find Bāb Ḥārat al-Maghāriba ... At a distance of three *dbirā'* (2.1m) from the above-mentioned gate is a platform. It forms the end of the west wall and the beginning of the south one. This platform is adjacent to the Fakhriyya Zāwiya (no. 22), which is at the beginning of the south wall from the west.<sup>2</sup>

To al-'Umarī's topographical description may be added Mujīr al-Dīn's historical account:

On the west side of the Haram are porticoes, very solidly built, extending from south to north. The first of them is near the Haram gate known as Bāb al-Maghāriba, and the last is near the gate known as Bāb al-Nāzīr and beyond it towards Bāb al-Ghawānima. These porticoes were all built during the reign of the al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn [but see below]. The portico extending from Bāb al-Maghāriba to Bāb al-Silsila was built in the year 713/1313-14 [see below]. The portico that comes after the Bāb al-Silsila Minaret, extending to near Bāb al-Nāzīr, was built in the year 737/1336-37. The portico extending from Bāb al-Nāzīr to the vicinity of Bāb al-Ghawānima was built in the year 707/1307-8.<sup>3</sup>

Mujīr al-Dīn's chronology is based on three inscriptions associated with these sections of portico. The first is on the pier immediately south of Bāb al-Nāzīr:

... This blessed portico was built in the reign of ... al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn ... during the superintendency of ... Bulghāq b. Jaghān al-Khwārizmī ... and that [was completed] in the year 707/1307-8.<sup>4</sup>

\*See also no. 1, p. 104.



The second inscription is built into the west wall of the Ḥaram about 5m south of Bāb al-Silsila:

. . . This portico was built in the reign of . . . al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn . . . during the superintendency of the Amīr Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā b. Ḥasan al-Ḥadbānī in the year 713/1313-14.<sup>5</sup>

The third inscription is on the lintel of Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn, dated 737/1336-37 (see below, p. 277). This gate forms part of the portico adjoining it.

While Mujīr al-Dīn's chronology holds for the middle section of the west portico, there are grounds for believing that the constructional history of the portico is more complex, and that the northern and southern extremities of the portico are later additions. Each section of portico is discussed below.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

The individual sections of the west portico will be described like the north portico, not in chronological order but in topographical order, starting at the north end. In *fig. 12.2* (see fold-out at back of book) the piers supporting the arches of the portico are numbered from 1 (north end) to 69 (south end); the bays will be numbered in the same order so that pier 1 is the pier immediately to the right (north) of bay 1.

##### BAYS 1-6

The first six bays of the portico appear to be structurally homogeneous, notwithstanding certain variations in their architectural treatment (see below, p. 384). These bays did not exist when al-Umarī described this part of the west wall and so they must be dated after 745/1345; they must have been built before c.762/1361 when the Manjakiyya (no. 35) was constructed above them.

##### BAYS 7-10

The inscription dated 707/1307-8 is carved on pier 9. The two bays to the north of that pier and the two to the south of it are structurally and architecturally homogeneous and so can safely be dated 707/1307-8.

##### BAYS 11-16

These appear to belong to the same phase of construction as bays 7-10, for the impost moulding on pier 11 (which is the southern pier of bay 10) is repeated on the other piers (12-17) in this section. The cornice moulding above bays 11-16 extends also over bay 10; over bays 7-9 it was removed when the Manjakiyya was built. This moulding continues half-way over bay 17, implying that originally this section of portico continued for at least one more bay to the south, as is suggested also by the fact that the last pier in this section (pier 17) is actually narrower than the others and so was not designed to counteract any residual lateral thrust from the arches. Presumably one or more bays of this portico were dismantled when the adjoining section to the south was added.

##### BAYS 17-44

A continuous cornice extends over this section of portico from the middle of bay 17 as far as bay 38, with upstands above piers 31 and 34 on either side of Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn and a break above piers 32 and 33, which form the lateral abutments of that gate. The architectural integration of the portico with the gate shows that they are contemporaneous. Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn was completed in 737/1336-37. Bays 23-29 around Bāb al-Ḥadīd (bay 24) were demolished and rebuilt in 1928.<sup>6</sup> Bays 39-41 have been incorporated into the assembly hall of the Ashrafiyya (no. 63) while bays 42-44 were demolished at the time of construction of the Ashrafiyya in 887/1482 (see below, p. 593). A vaulting springer survives in the vestibule of the Ashrafiyya as evidence of the former presence there of bays 42 and 43, but of bay 44 nothing whatsoever remains. This section of portico will have abutted on the base of the Bāb al-Silsila Minaret (no. 20) to the south.

##### BAYS 45-55

These bays, including the inner porches of Bāb al-Sakīna (bay 45) and Bāb al-Silsila (bay 46), show little sign of structural or architectural uniformity; they appear to have been rebuilt, perhaps more than once. Consequently it is impossible to say exactly what part of this section of portico is referred to in the inscription dated 713/1313-14, which is built into the Ḥaram wall at bay 49. The Tankiziyya (no. 18) was constructed partly over this section of portico in 729/1328-29 and at that time some reinforcing of the structure may well have been undertaken. Buttressing of piers 47-52 in an effort to counteract any tendency of the structure to fall over is plainly a later modification made some time after the construction of the Tankiziyya (see below, p. 229). Pier 54 incorporates what seems to be an earlier pier (*plate 12.1*) which, to judge from the



Plate 12.1 Pier 54: south-east corner

tooling of the stone, is Crusader. What the purpose of that earlier pier might have been is a mystery. Of the six granite columns mentioned by al-'Umarī nothing remains.

*BAYS 56-67*

Apart from a change at bay 63 in the design of the water spouts draining rainwater from the roof, this section of the portico is structurally and architecturally homogeneous and appears to belong to a single phase of construction. It must have been built after 745/1345 for al-'Umarī makes no mention of it. It existed in Mujīr al-Dīn's day (901/1496) and is shown in a panorama of the Ḥaram drawn in 1483 by Erhard Reuwich.

*BAYS 68-69*

These two bays, completing the west portico, form a kind of inner porch at Bāb al-Maghāribā. They are not mentioned by al-'Umarī. The last pier (69) partly blocks the entrance to the Fakhriyya (no. 22), which was founded before 732/1332. The conjunction between bay 68 and the portico to the north seems to indicate that the two bays are contemporaneous, and so bays 68 and 69 will also have been built before 1483. Early photographs (see *plate* 22.4) show that a porch of four bays extended eastward from bay 69 in front of the north façade of the Fakhriyya (see below, p. 262). This porch no longer survives.

**Notes**

1 Al-'Umarī gives the principal dimensions of porticoes and gates and details of various cells, no longer extant, beyond the Ḥaram wall. These details have been omitted here for the sake of brevity.

2 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 160-64.

3 Mujīr, 375.

4 *CIA (Ḥaram)*, 115-17.

5 *CIA (Ḥaram)*, 117-18.

6 *Bayān al-majlis al-sharī al-islāmī al-a'lā bi-Filasṭīn*, Jerusalem, 1928, 6 and first plate.

# 13 AL-SA'DIYYA

## السعدية

Endowed in 711/1311  
Tomb of Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd  
Modern name: Dār al-Khālīdī

### I LOCATION (fig. 13.1)

On the north side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila where that street enters the square in front of the Ḥaram gate.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 13.2)

The site is bounded to the south by the street, Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila, to the east by the square at Bāb al-Silsila, to the north by the Ribāt al-Nisā' (no. 19), and to the west by dwellings that appear to be of Ottoman construction.

The building comprises a tomb chamber to the east and a vaulted hall (which we shall call 'the western hall') to the west and, between these, a corridor giving access to them from a *muqarnas* entrance portal on the street. A small chamber over the corridor is now reached by way of what seems to be a later vault built into the south end of the western hall; the original means of access is not known.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

There is no inscription to give certain identification. When van Berchem briefly discussed this building, he wrote that his assumption that it was the Sa'diyya Mausoleum was based 'only on vague pointers drawn from topography and chronology.'<sup>1</sup> What Mujir al-Dīn tells us is that the Sa'diyya is 'in the Chain Gate [Street] opposite the Tankiziyya Madrasa and the Ḥaram gate.'<sup>2</sup> Two entries in the Jerusalem sijills add further confirmation,<sup>3</sup> in that they deal with property to the west of the Sa'diyya Mausoleum. This property fronted south on to the Chain Gate Street and its northern boundary, which was clearly the northern boundary of the mausoleum as well, is given as the ribāt of the Tankiziyya. The ribāt of the Tankiziyya was in the north-west corner of the little square before the Chain Gate. This would confirm that the Sa'diyya may be identified with the surviving portal and grille-windowed tomb at the north corner of the thoroughfare as it enters the square.

#### DATE

No date is recorded anywhere for the erection of this building but according to Mujir al-Dīn the deed of endowment was dated 27 Rabī' II 711/12 September 1311.<sup>4</sup>

#### FOUNDER

We read in Mujir al-Dīn that the endowment was made by an amīr called Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd, son of the Amīr Isfahsālār<sup>5</sup> Badr al-Dīn Sunqur b. 'Abdallāh, the Taster from Asia Minor (al-Rūmī). Mas'ūd himself is described as 'the chamberlain in Damascus in the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn'.

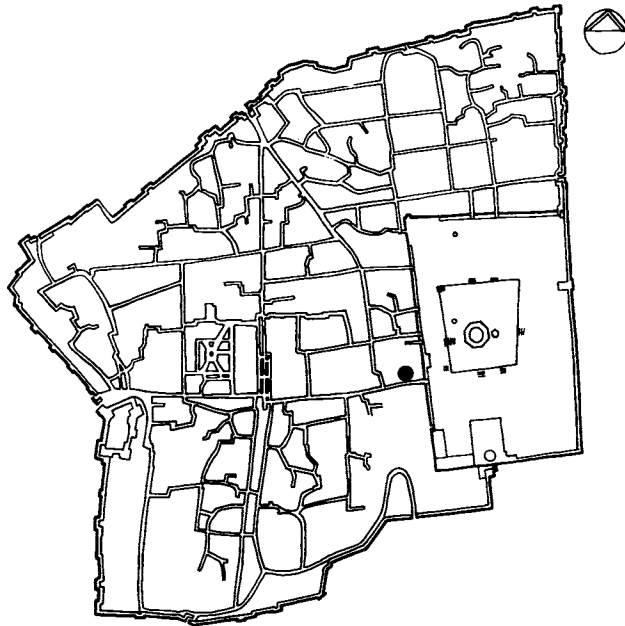


Fig. 13.1 Location plan

It is highly unlikely that one can make any sure identification on such a basis. A search of the main sources yields little. One may hazard that the father was one of the amīrs from the milieu of the Saljūqs of Rum who sought refuge in the Mamlūk state. There is a passing reference to the arrest of a Sunqur al-Rūmī by Baybars I,<sup>6</sup> but there are really no grounds for making any connection.

As for the son, an Amīr Mas'ūd, who was chamberlain, makes brief appearances in the reign of al-Nāṣir between the years 732-38/1332-38,<sup>7</sup> but there are no better grounds than those above for any positive identification.

The question is in any case complicated by one of the sijills referred to above.<sup>8</sup> The property to the west of the Mausoleum is said to be the endowment of an Amīr Sa'd al-Dīn b. Amīr Mas'ūd b. Badr al-Dīn b. 'Abdallāh 'for his turba within the domed chamber (*qubba*)'. This variation in the name may simply be an error in the record. It goes on to quote as a condition of the waqf, however, that the amīr should be the inspector for his lifetime, followed by his son, then his descendants. The date of the waqf is given as 13 Rabī' I 789/2 April 1387. But this may well be the date of a later copy, rather than the date of the original.

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

As far as we can tell, there is very little indeed to record of the history of this building. As it appears, Koranic readings were still taking place there daily in 984/1576. In that year Khudāwardī b. Ḥusayn al-Khalwatī made a waqf of 400 gold pieces to support four Koran readers at the turba. At the same time he converted the property to the west, now described as *bis* house, into a waqf for himself and his male descendants.<sup>9</sup> This means that since 936/1555, the date of the other sijill in which the house is described as a waqf for the turba, the property had lost its status as a waqf for the mausoleum.

### IV ARCHITECTURE

#### SOUTH FAÇADE (fig. 13.4)

The main, south façade is partly obscured by a later vault spanning the street but the principal features are clear: an entrance portal and two grilled windows set in a shallow recess to the right of it (*plate* 13.1). To the left of the portal the remains of an arched opening in the masonry of the façade are

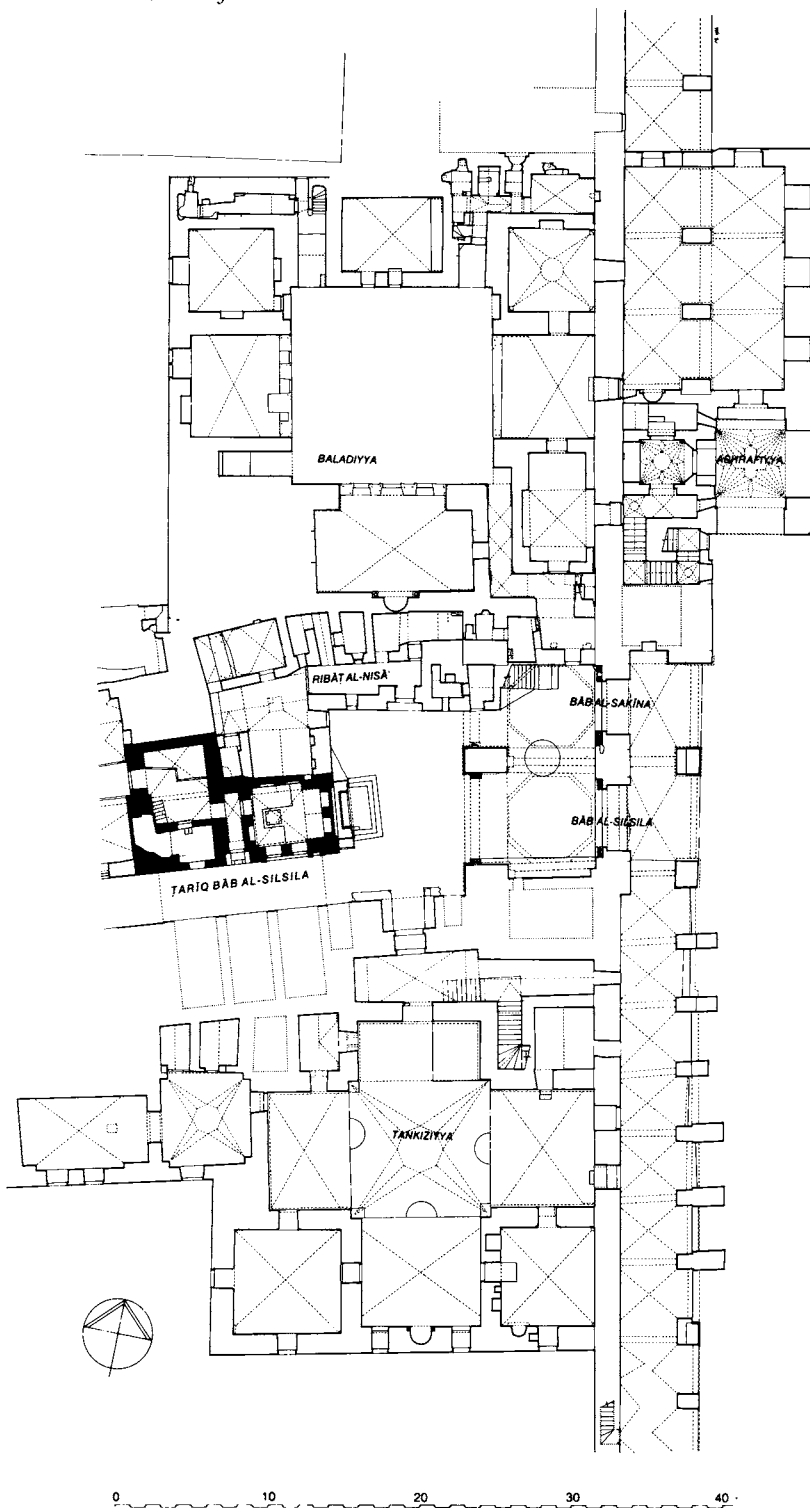


Fig. 13.2 Site plan

discernible. Only the right-hand springer of the arch survives. The opening is now blocked by a later wall that extends westward for some distance up the street. The height and curvature of the springer indicate that the opening was approximately 2.5m wide.

The entrance door is set in a portal recess 1.58m wide and 0.79m deep, spanned by three tiers of *muqarnas* corbelling supporting a slightly pointed ashlar semidome (plate 13.2). This is the second *muqarnas* portal built in Jerusalem, the first being that of the Dawādāriyya (no. 8). The *muqarnas* corbelling is not quite symmetrical for an extra half-niche has been carved on the façade to the left of the second tier (see plate 13.3). The blocks of stone in which the *muqarnas*



Plate 13.1 Street façade from south-east



Plate 13.2 Vault of entrance portal from below

corbelling is carved protrude unevenly on the façade, suggesting that the carving was done in a workshop and then found not to fit together perfectly when raised into place. The extra half-niche may represent an attempt to disguise the discrepancy. A little arched window opens in the centre of the two lower tiers.

Under the corbelling, the recess is built of red and brownish *ablaq* masonry. The upper courses of red masonry extend unevenly onto the façade (see fig. 13.4). Stone benches on either side of the recess have curious rounded bases perhaps intended as foot-rests.

Two courses above the door lintel a very unusual frieze of inlaid strapwork runs around the recess (plate 13.3). The grooves to take the inlay are chased in two courses of ashlar to create a pattern of strapwork enclosing two rows of plain limestone octagons, altogether four in each side and eight in the back of the recess. The original inlay has disappeared to be replaced by a nasty smear of cement, except on the east side (plate 13.4) where the lower part of the frieze is inlaid with pieces of cut stone of various colours, and the upper part is filled with red and black coloured mortar. The cut stone inlay must be a later insertion for it is crudely done with no attempt to follow the cardinal rule of strapwork: that individual strands must cross alternately over and under each other. In the upper part, however, the red and black strands do cross in the prescribed manner and it is quite possible that this coloured mortar is a remnant of the original inlay. The red colour is given by large quantities of crushed pottery, and the black by large quantities of charcoal<sup>10</sup> in the mix.

On either side of the portal the later street vault springs from pieces of a cyma recta moulding built into the façade, which, by analogy with the Dawādāriyya (above, p. 157), may



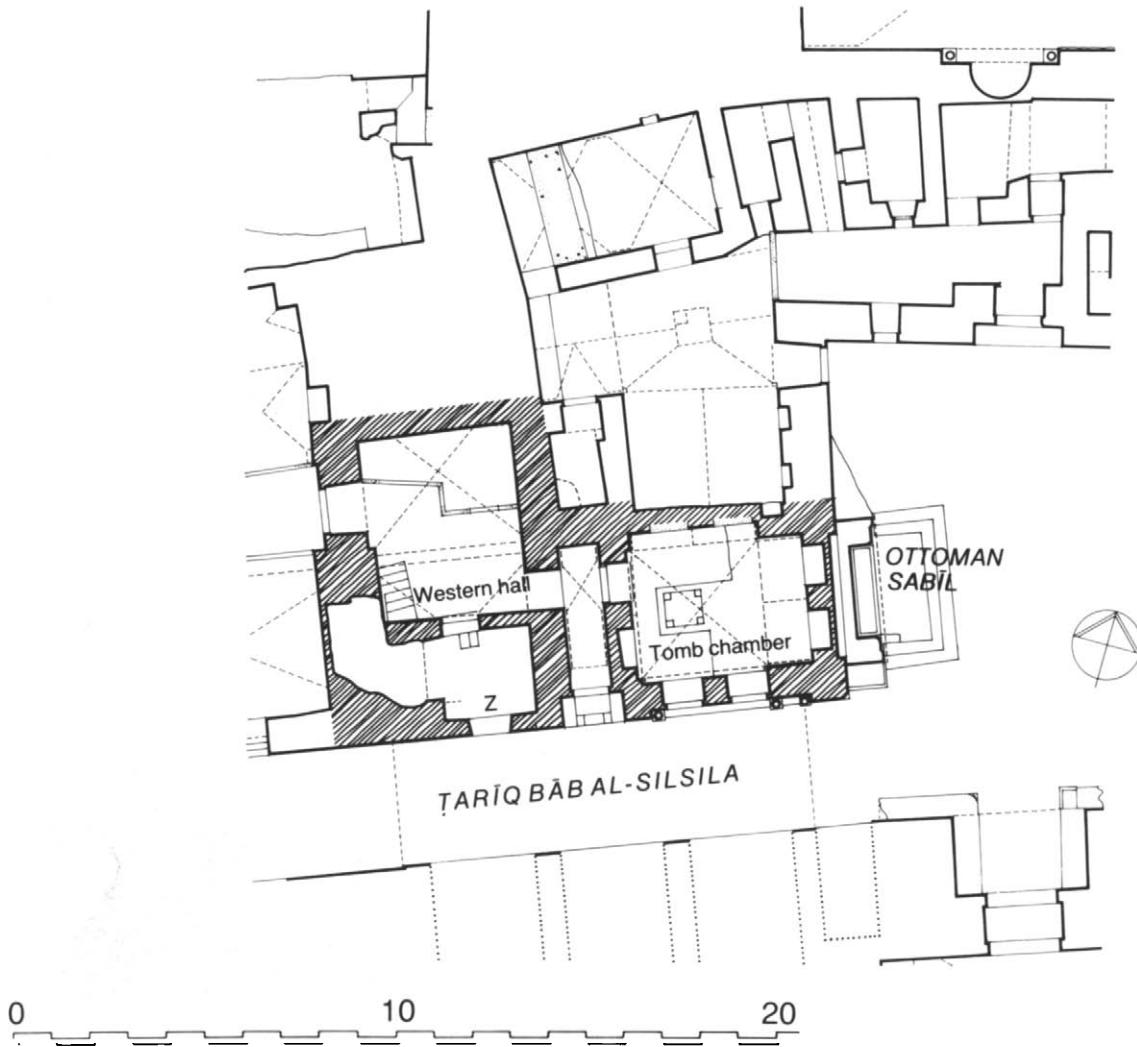


Fig. 13.3 Ground floor plan



Plate 13.3 Head of entrance portal

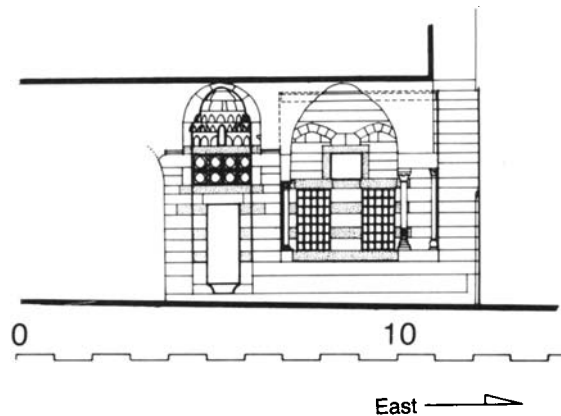


Fig. 13.4 Street façade

once have formed a cornice around the building. No other pieces of this moulding are known to survive.

To the right of the portal two windows of the tomb chamber are placed off centre in a shallow recess, 0.21m deep (plate 13.1). Though much of the upper part of the recess is hidden by the later street vaulting, enough is visible to show that a cavetto moulding runs across the top. Three intrusive reused columns, one on the left and two on the right side of the recess, support that street vaulting. The grilled windows are built in red and brownish *ablaq* which, at the right-hand side,

does not extend for the full width of the recess. A panel of marble, evidently intended for an inscription that was never carved, is sunk in a frame of red stone above the masonry pier between the two windows. At a higher level in the recess are two relieving arches built into the masonry above the windows.

The south-east corner of the building is chamfered up to a height of 2.98m above the present pavement, presumably in order to reduce abrasion of the corner. The top of the chamfer is adjusted to the square corner above by means of two tiers of delicate *muqarnas* corbelling.

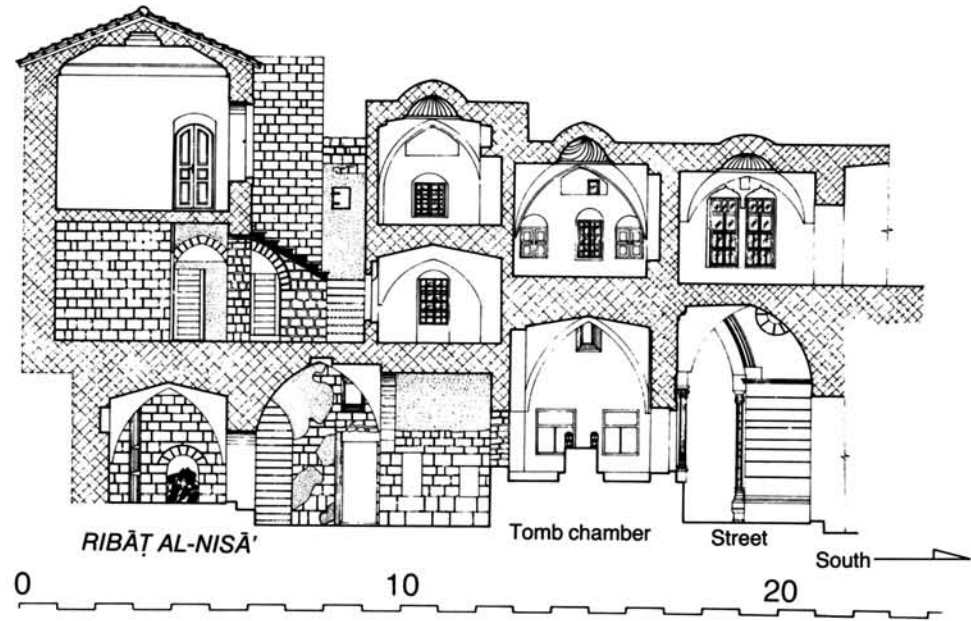


Fig. 13.5 North-south section through tomb chamber looking east  
(Courtesy of Department of Islamic Archaeology,  
General Waqf Administration)



Plate 13.4 Inlay in east side of portal recess



Plate 13.6 Interior of tomb chamber, north side



Plate 13.5 East frontage, obscured by  
Ottoman fountain



Plate 13.7 Cenotaph

**EAST FAÇADE**

As *plate 13.5* shows, the east façade is almost wholly hidden behind an ornate fountain erected by order of the Ottoman Sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent in 943/1537. The upper part of a recess, like the one in the street façade, is, however, visible above the fountain. A small, high-level window opens in the middle of that part of the recess.

The north-east corner of the building, to the right of the fountain, is recognizable in a vertical joint in the masonry where the wall of the Ribāt al-Nisā' abuts against it (see below, p. 240). This corner is not chamfered.

**INTERIOR (plan, fig. 13.3)**

The entrance portal opens into a narrow corridor leading to a door into the tomb chamber on the right and, opposite that, a door into the western hall on the left.

**(i) Tomb chamber**

The tomb chamber has pointed-arched recesses of different depths in all four sides, which reduce the central area to a perfect square in plan. This central area, now roofed by a cross vault, was originally covered by a dome as the document cited above (p. 195) confirms. The recess to the east is much deeper than the other three, perhaps to provide a place for Koran readings. It is the extra depth of this recess that accounts for the asymmetry of the tomb chamber's street façade.

There are twin openings in the rear wall of each recess. Those in the north wall (*plate 13.6*) are now blocked though they may originally have contained windows. The far (north) face of this wall, which is the rear wall of an *iwān* in the Ribāt al-Nisā', reveals no trace of such windows but that face is very rough and appears to have undergone some rebuilding. Three courses of modern concrete blocks at the top of the south face of the wall (see *plate 13.6*) are further evidence of some rebuilding. The recesses in the east wall are used as cupboards; and while careful scrutiny failed to produce evidence that they ever contained windows, the possibility cannot be ruled out. The Ottoman fountain precludes examination of the exterior.

The floor of the chamber is raised about 1.20m above street level. The eastern part of the floor is 0.23m higher than the western. A step between the two levels has a westward salient that forms a base for an unusually small (0.98 x 0.98m) stone cenotaph. Four octagonal posts with domical caps stand at the corners of the cenotaph (*plate 13.7*). These posts are decorated with two pointed-arched niches in each side, arranged one above the other. The south-east post has lost its top; the caps on the other three are carved with eight drooping petals. The carving of the north-west post is cruder than that of the others, as if it were a copy of them.

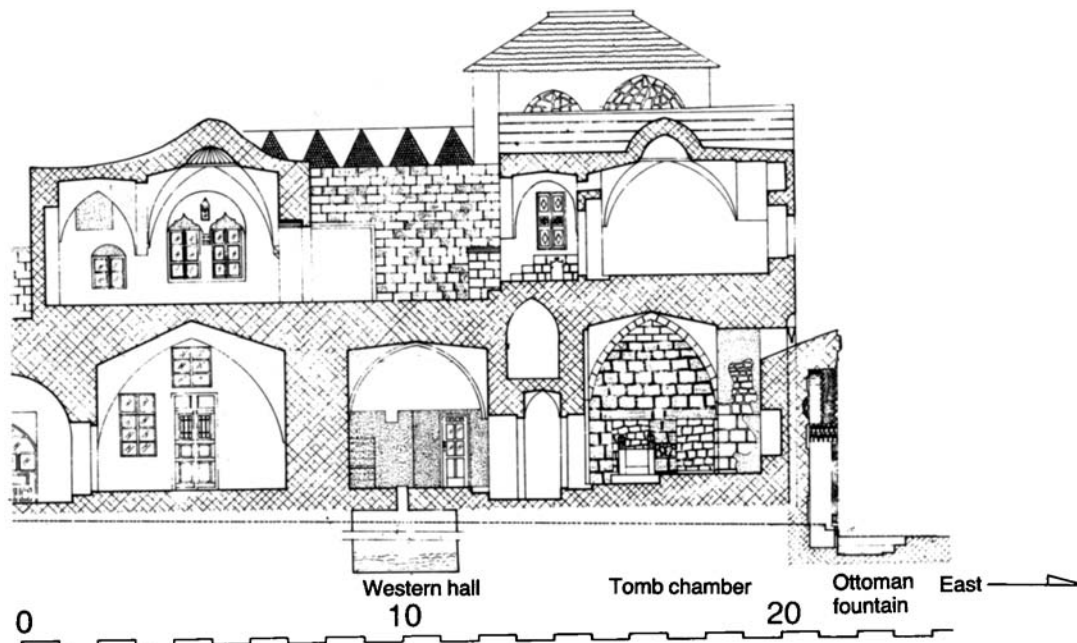
**(ii) Western hall**

The western hall is roofed by two cross vaults separated by a transverse arch. It has undergone several changes. The northern part is blocked off by a later wall, and the southern is partitioned off and divided into two levels by the insertion of a low barrel vault.

A room in the lower level (marked 'Z' on the plan, *fig. 13.3*), the floor of which is a little below present street level, is reached by descending five steps through a door in the partition wall. This room is lit by a semicircular window on the street in the masonry that replaces the earlier arch in the street façade (see above). The west wall of the room has at some time been carelessly hollowed out to provide extra space.

A short flight of steps against the west wall of the hall leads up to a door into a room on the upper level, above 'Z'. This room is roofed by the continuation of the cross vault of the hall. It has a window in its north wall opening north on the hall. A wide, ill-made opening in its east wall gives access to the narrow, barrel-vaulted chamber, only 2.12m high, that sits above the entrance corridor. This chamber is lit by the small slit window opening in the *muqarnas* corbelling of the entrance portal.

How much of all this is original is hard to tell. From the traces of an arch in the façade it would appear that the western hall must have opened directly on the street. It may have been a shop of some sort, belonging to the original construction and



**Fig. 13.6** West-east section through tomb chamber looking north (Courtesy of Department of Islamic Archaeology, General Waqf Administration)

intended to produce an income for the upkeep of the tomb, as suggested by the document cited on p. 195 above. The doorway into it from the entrance corridor could be a later insertion for, unlike the one into the tomb chamber, this one has no reveals. If the rooms at the south end of the hall are later insertions, there must have been some earlier means of access to the

chamber above the entrance corridor. No trace of any earlier stairway to it survives, however.

A door in the west wall of the western hall opens into a small yard now enclosed by what appear to be Ottoman buildings. What stood there in Mamlūk times is not known.

## Notes

- 1 *CIA (Ville)*, 276.
- 2 Mujīr, ii, 44.
- 3 Sijill 57, 95 (1), and Sijill 31, 244.
- 4 Mujīr, *loc. cit.*
- 5 lit. 'army commander'. In the Mamlūk period it was a title for higher amīrs, see *Et*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ispahsālār.
- 6 Ibn al-Dawādārī, ix, 243. If this is the Sunqur al-Rūmī arrested in 663/1265 (for

there is no date in the source just cited), then there certainly cannot be an identification, because his *laqab* was Shams al-Dīn (*Sulūk*, i, 540).

7 *Sulūk*, ii, 352, 447, 455.

8 Sijill 31, 244, dated 963, 1555.

9 Sijill 57, 95 (1).

10 Were it possible to remove some of the black mortar, carbon 14 analysis might confirm its age.

# 14 AL-JĀWILIYYA

## الجاولية

715-20/1315-20

Madrasa of Sanjar al-Jāwili

Modern name: Madrasa al-'Umariyya

### I LOCATION (fig. 14.1)

At the north border of the Ḥaram above the rock scarp about 40m from the north-west corner.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 14.2)

At the highest point on the Ḥaram border, this important site has been developed since pre-Islamic times. The Herodian Tower Antonia stood here (above, p. 43). The present open compound on the rock outcrop is surrounded on all sides by various buildings dating from many different periods.

In the middle of the southern part of the compound stood the Jāwiliyya Madrasa. The original form of the madrasa is known from literary sources. It comprised a large *qibla iwān* with two rooms flanking it at the south end of a rectangular courtyard that was entered from the north and enclosed by cells on its east, west and north sides. There is no *mibrāb*. Now only the *iwān* and its two flanking rooms survive overlooking the Ḥaram through five windows in an *ablaq* façade. To the east of these three rooms are new buildings belonging to a primary school opened in 1923-24. To the west a range of pre-Mamlūk chambers extends along the southern boundary of the site. One of these chambers, next to the western room flanking the *iwān*, was in the sixth/twelfth century made into a chapel by the Knights Templar, who also added a domed porch in front of it. Early in the seventh/thirteenth century the domed porch was used for the tomb of an Ayyūbid amir. This domed porch/tomb was largely destroyed in the 1920s and only traces of it remain, though its original appearance is known from early photographs (see below). All other buildings around the site appear to be Ottoman or later, some associated with a barracks built in the nineteenth century and others with the modern primary school.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

No precise topographical information is to be found in Mujīr al-Dīn. He writes that 'the north portico [of the Ḥaram] stretches east to west from the Gate of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāt*) to the Jāwiliyya Madrasa'.<sup>1</sup> All the institutions along the north wall of the Ḥaram are treated by him in a methodical manner. The argument that can be made to identify the Jāwiliyya with the first foundation met with as one moves eastwards from the Ghawānima Minaret has been fully elaborated by van Berchem.<sup>2</sup> There is also the argument from the fact that the Jāwiliyya was converted, as we shall see, into the seat of the local governor. While functioning as such, the building was visited, and its position made relatively clear, by a series of travellers down to modern times. Al-'Umari is our earliest source: 'At the

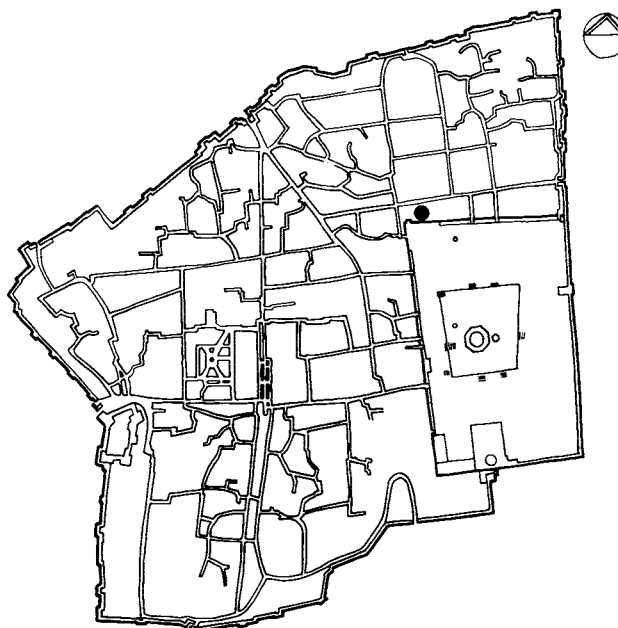


Fig. 14.1 Location plan

highest point of the wall [the Antonia escarpment] there are five windows of the madrasa of the Amīr Sanjar al-Jāwili (may God have mercy on him). The madrasa has no direct access to the Ḥaram.<sup>3</sup> He also describes the long stairs to the minaret [the Ghawānima Minaret] which gave access to a house belonging to a member of the Banū Jamā'a family. That house was sold in 952/1545 by a widow of a late member of the same family to Sinan Bey, the governor of the Sanjak of Jerusalem, for 150 Cypriot gold coins.<sup>4</sup> The house stretched from the Ḥaram frontage to the street leading east to the Gate of the Tribes or St. Stephen's Gate, but its east boundary was the tomb chamber of Ibn Darbās, a Hakkārī Kurdish shaykh who died perhaps in the early thirteenth century, and the lane leading to it. For our purposes we note that the tomb of Darbās was described as adjacent to the Jāwiliyya Madrasa.<sup>5</sup>

#### DATE

As to the date of the construction or of the endowment, Mujīr al-Dīn's text is again silent. We know of only one text other than those of al-'Umari and Mujīr al-Dīn, which mentions Sanjar al-Jāwili as the founder of an institution in Jerusalem. That is the chronicle of Ibn al-Dawādārī, which mentions 'a mosque (*jāmi'*) built by the Amīr 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Jāwili, when he was governor of Gaza'.<sup>6</sup> His building elsewhere is well recorded, not least by inscriptions in Hebron and Gaza. They date from his period as governor of Gaza, when he also had responsibility for Jerusalem and Hebron and held the post of Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams<sup>7</sup> (compare the case of Fāris al-Dīn Ilbakī, p. 337). Sanjar's building in Jerusalem dates from the same period, that is to say, 711-20/1311-20. For the following eight years or so he was imprisoned in Alexandria or in the citadel in Cairo. Ibn al-Dawādārī cannot have intended the other short period of three months in 743/late 1342 during which Sanjar was governor of Gaza for the second time, since his record of events finishes early in 735/autumn 1334 with just a slight extension into the following year.<sup>8</sup>

#### FOUNDER

He was born in 653/1255-56 at Āmid (Diyārbakr).<sup>9</sup> Acceptance of this date attributes to him impressive longevity, but Ibn Hajar confirms that he was nearly a hundred when he died. His full name was 'Alam al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Sanjar b. 'Abdallāh. Whether 'Abdallāh was the real name of his father or the conventional attribution for a mamlūk is not clear. It is recorded that his



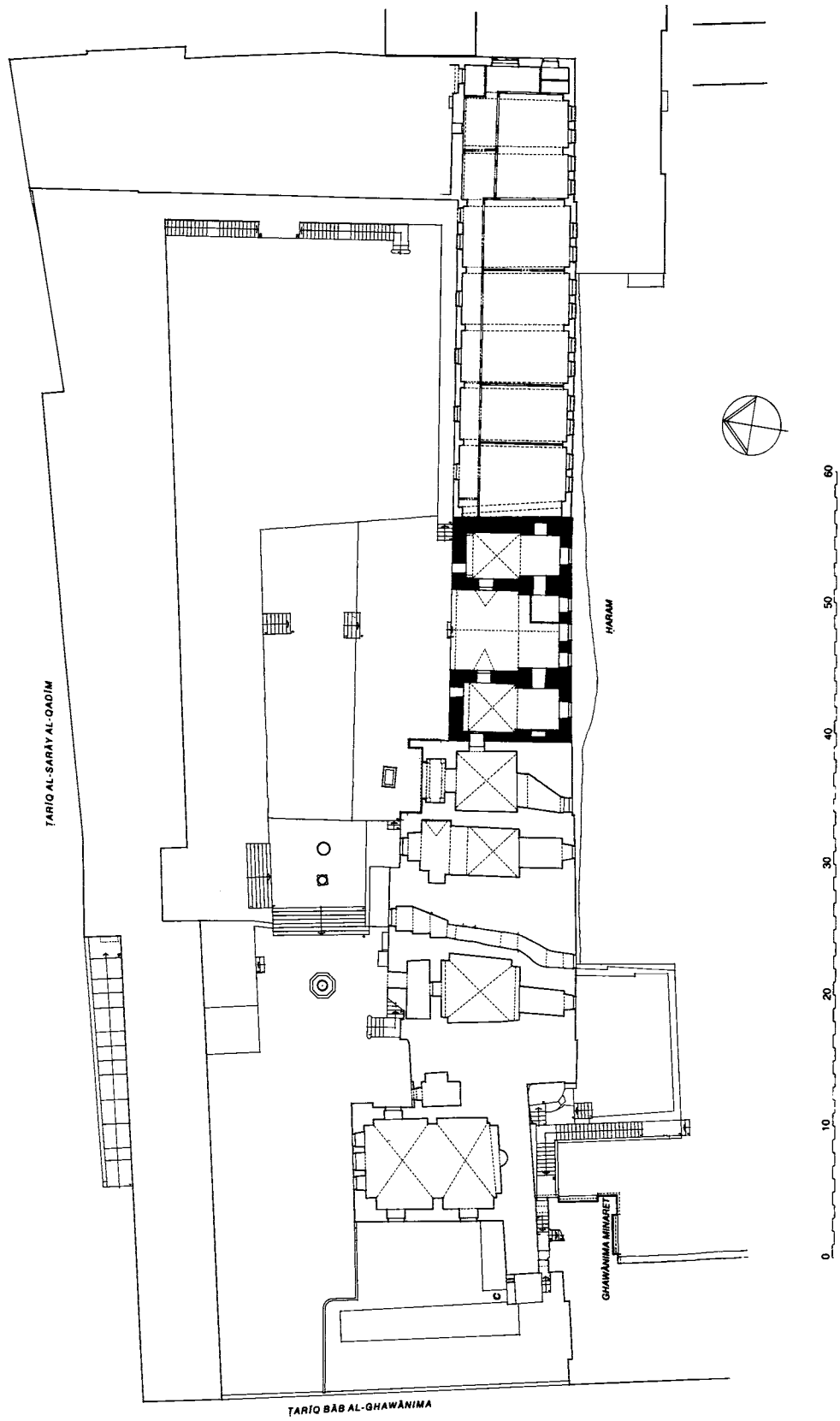


Fig. 14.2 Site plan

father was known as 'the commissioner' (*al-mushidd*), which may indicate a career under an Islamic régime. Ibn Taghrībirdī<sup>10</sup> guesses that Sanjar may have been a Kurd on the basis of his Shāfi'ī affiliation. His birth-place may also support that opinion.

An amīr called Jāwil (Chavli), one of Baybars I's mamlūks, was Sanjar's first master and the person from whom he derived his *nisba*. After Jāwil's death Sanjar was transferred to Qalāwūn, was sent in the reign of al-Ashraf Khalīl to Kerak, and then served Sultan Kitbughā. His first office, which he exercised without an amīrate, was the governorship of Shawbak. At the end of the thirteenth century he was acting as deputy Major-Domo for Baybars the Taster (later to be Baybars II), while the latter and the Amīr Sālār were together running the state. Sanjar was made an amīr in early 698/late 1298, and became close to the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad through personal service.<sup>11</sup> As the rivalry of the two great amīrs increased, Sanjar and his alleged peculations became an issue between them. Sālār's friendship and support could not prevent Sanjar's being sent away in 706/1307 as *baṭṭāl* to Damascus, where he was given a *tablkhānah* amīrate.

When al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was preparing his second restoration to power and came to Damascus from Kerak in Sha'bān 709/January 1310, Sanjar was among the amīrs who pledged their allegiance. Al-Nāṣir used Sanjar to persuade Sālār to submit, a move which led to the latter's imprisonment and death in the citadel in 710/1311. Sanjar and Sālār had each appointed the other as executor and guardian of the other's children. They had built a joint madrasa near the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn with adjacent tomb chambers. Now Sanjar laid his friend to rest in one of them. A year later al-Nāṣir sent Sanjar to be governor of Gaza<sup>12</sup> where he remained until late 720/1320. A dispute with Tankiz which had its beginnings in 713/1314, when Sanjar had been commissioned to survey and distribute *iqṭā'*s at Damascus,<sup>13</sup> now led to his arrest. Released in 728/1328<sup>14</sup> and restored to an amīrate in Cairo, Sanjar for a number of years acted as Inspector of the Hospital and Madrasa of Qalāwūn.

In the confused years after the death of al-Nāṣir, Sanjar was sent to Ḥama for a while as governor in 743/1342, and then to Gaza again,<sup>15</sup> returning to Cairo in Sha'bān 743/January 1343. Despite his advanced years he commanded troops besieging the deposed Aḥmad, son of al-Nāṣir, in Kerak during 744/1343-44. He died either on Thursday, 8 or Friday, 9 Ramaḍān 745<sup>16</sup>/13 or 14 January 1345 in his house at Manāẓir al-Kabsh near his Madrasa-Mausoleum, where he was then buried in the chamber next to Sālār.

Sanjar was a man of considerable learning in the law of the Shāfi'ī school. While in Kerak he compiled a commentary on the *Musnad* of al-Shāfi'ī and towards the end of his life he issued fatwās. He was of sufficient standing to be included in Subki's biographical encyclopaedia of Shāfi'ī scholars.<sup>17</sup>

His earliest known building is the madrasa-mausoleum he cooperated to build in Cairo in 703/1303-4.<sup>18</sup> An inscription records the construction of porticoes in his mosque at Gaza in 718/1318-19.<sup>19</sup> Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited it in 1326 and commented on its 'solid construction and the minbar made of white marble.'<sup>20</sup> Sanjar is said to have bestowed on Gaza the character of a true city through his building a public square, official residence, bath, caravanserai and hospital.<sup>21</sup> This latter was probably built and endowed on behalf of Sultan al-Nāṣir.<sup>22</sup> He also erected a caravanserai at Qaqun, a mosque at Lydda, and an aqueduct at Arsuf.<sup>23</sup> Lastly, his mosque at Hebron was begun in 718/1318 and completed in 720/1320, as a surviving inscription witnesses.<sup>24</sup>

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

A Ḥaram document of 795/1393 mentions 'the waqf of al-Jāwili' as a boundary for a *qā'a* (hall) in Jerusalem, whose position is not specified.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, we have no information on the land or other resources which were provided as the endowment of the

madrasa. Another document dating from two years later concerns a woman 'resident in the ribāt (*sic*) of al-Jāwili'.<sup>26</sup>

By the lifetime of Mujīr al-Dīn, however, the madrasa had been converted into the seat of the governor (the *dār al-niyāba*), as he records three times in his work.<sup>27</sup> On Monday, 9 Sha'bān 879/18 December 1474 the governor of Gaza, who had come to Jerusalem on official business, bearing a decree from the Sultan, 'held session in the upper portico at the *dār al-niyāba*, near the Ghawānima Minaret.'<sup>28</sup> Although the name of the Jāwiliyya itself is not used, its change of function by that date is clear. About four years before that, Suyūṭī had placed the *dār al-niyāba* in its new site near the Bāb al-Ghawānima.<sup>29</sup>

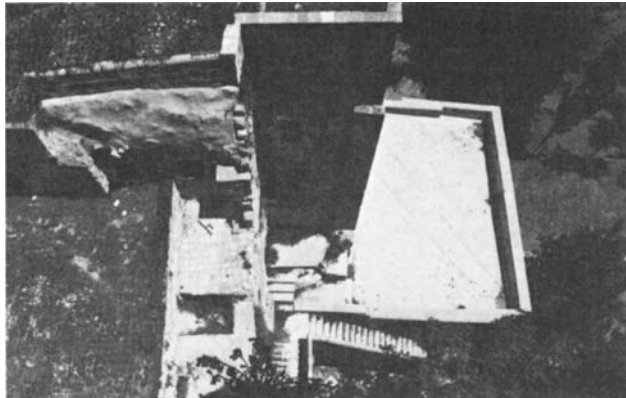


Plate 14.1 Re-entrant angle, from gallery of Ghawānima Minaret (Ḥaram on right)



Plate 14.2 View of Haram from north-west taken c.1920 showing Herodian masonry (in front of base of minaret)

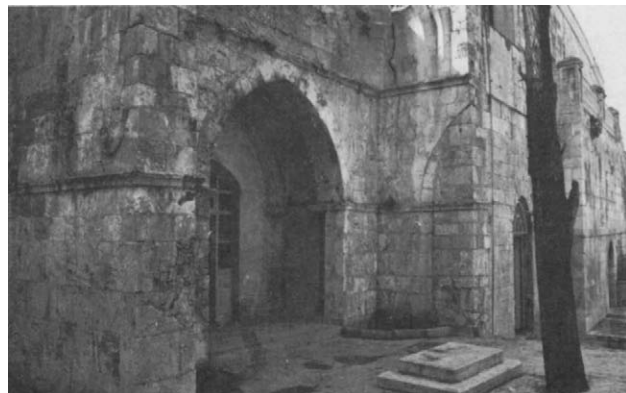


Plate 14.3 Remains of domed porch

The madrasa may have been originally transformed into the seat of government in Jerusalem at the beginning of the fifteenth century, perhaps in association with the repair works recorded in a brief inscription found within the existing buildings, 'His excellency al-Shujā'ī Shāhīn ordered its restoration'.<sup>30</sup> Van Berchem tentatively identified this person with the governor of Jerusalem, Shāhīn al-Dhabbāh (the Slaughterer), who was in office in 830/1427.<sup>31</sup>

A further change took place in 892/1487, (see p. 205 below). The construction date, inscribed 'high up in the tribunal' was Muḥarram 891/January-February 1486, but Mujīr al-Dīn claims, without explanation, that this was an error and that the addition to the building was made in Muḥarram 892/January 1487.<sup>32</sup>

The area in the north-west corner of the Ḥaram, including the site of the Jāwiliyya, continued as the seat of government in Ottoman times until 1870, when the Pasha moved to the new serai in the 'Aqabat al-Sitt. Military barracks remained, until the foundation of the present school, which now occupies the Jāwiliyya compound.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### EARLIER REMAINS

###### (i) Herodian Tower Antonia

The early history of the site is controversial. Essentially the controversy centres on the problem of the extent of the Antonia and its relationship with the Temple enclosure.<sup>33</sup> While it would be inappropriate here to become involved in this controversy, we should, however, draw attention to two discoveries made during our survey of the area which cast new light on the problem.

The first is the existence of a massive wall more than four metres thick which, where not interrupted by secondary apertures, forms the southern wall of a row of chambers along the southern boundary of the site. The three extant rooms of the madrasa are actually excavated in the thickness of this wall. Because of its size and location, the wall is doubtless a vestige of the Antonia. Its eastern extension is broken by modern school rooms to the east of the Jāwiliyya, but further traces have been identified in the Is'ardiyya (no. 33).

The second tends to confirm that the north-west corner of the Herodian Temple enclosure coincided with the present north-west corner of the Ḥaram where the Ghawānima Minaret (no. 10) now stands. Towards that corner the natural rock has been quarried away leaving a scarp of varying height to define the Ḥaram boundary. On the west side the scarp rises northward from about the present Bāb al-Ghawānima, and on the north side it rises westward from about the present Bāb al-'Atm. The line of the north scarp, if projected, would make an angle of 86½° with that of the west scarp, but at the west end of



Plate 14.4 General view of compound from the north-east before demolition of domed porch

the north scarp a 9m length of the rockface has been cut back a further 2.5m or so to form a re-entrant angle at the north-west corner (plate 14.1). Above that corner a stone (marked 'C' on the plan, fig. 14.2) is, as the distinctive marginal drafting on both its north and west faces indicates, almost certainly a Herodian corner stone *in situ* (plate 14.2).

###### (ii) Crusader Chapel

The Antonia was largely destroyed in A.D. 70 (above, p. 44). Thereafter virtually nothing is known of the history of the site – it may well have lain in ruins – until the second half of the sixth/twelfth century when, apparently with the encouragement of the Templars, the association of the site with the *Praetorium* or *Domus Pilati* of Christian tradition was revived. Connected with the *Praetorium* in that tradition was the idea of a 'Chapel of Repose' in which Christ is reputed to have rested after his capture in Gethsemane. This association was commemorated by the dedication, evidently in about A.D. 1160,<sup>34</sup> of a small chapel with a domed porch, some parts of which survive (plate 14.3) immediately to the west of the



Plate 14.5 Domed porch from the north-east



Plate 14.6 Ḥaram frontage

Two photographs (plates 14.4 and 14.5) from the Matson Photo Service Collection show the domed porch still standing after the demolition of much of the madrasa. The porch was attached to one of the chambers ranged along the south wall of the compound in such a way as to imply that these chambers were built before the middle of the sixth/twelfth century; the precise date of their construction is not known. After Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem (above, p. 48), access to Christians must

have been difficult if not impossible, though the association of the site with the Praetorium of Pilate endured.<sup>35</sup>

### (iii) Ayyūbiid grave

The history of the site during the seventh/thirteenth century remains unknown but for one detail given by Mujīr al-Dīn:

... in it [i.e. the compound containing the Jāwiliyya Madrasa] is the burial place (*madfan*) of Shaykh Darbās al-Kurdī al-Hakkārī ...<sup>36</sup>

Today a burial place is marked by a low stone cenotaph – the only visible indication of a grave within the compound – under the remains of the domed Crusader porch.<sup>37</sup> While the unweathered condition and fresh pick-dressing of the stone cenotaph suggest that it is of relatively recent manufacture, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it replaces an older cenotaph marking the grave of ‘Shaykh Darbās’ whose *nisbas*, al-Kurdī al-Hakkārī, show that he belonged to the notable Kurdish tribe of Hakkārī.<sup>38</sup> Many of the Hakkārī tribe fought alongside Saladin, some ultimately settling in Jerusalem, and several are known to have been buried there between 587/1191 and 614/1217-18.<sup>39</sup> Thus, although the date of Shaykh Darbās’s death is not specified, we may be justified in assuming that he, like those fellow tribesmen, died some time around the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth century.

### JĀWILIYYA MADRASA

The subsequent history of the site is unusually well documented partly because, from the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century<sup>40</sup> until the beginning of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, it was the administrative headquarters, the Government House of the successive Mamlūk and Ottoman governors of Jerusalem, and partly as a result of the continuing Christian tradition linking it with the Praetorium.

### LATER RENOVATIONS AND ALTERATIONS

Renovations were decreed (*rusima bi-tajdīd*), completed by the Amīr Shujā’ al-Dīn Shāhīn probably about 832/1429, and were commemorated in a short inscription (see p. 204).<sup>41</sup> These may have been necessitated by the conversion of the Jāwiliyya compound to the Government House (*dār al-niyāba*).

Further changes made at the end of the ninth/fifteenth century are recorded by Mujīr al-Dīn:

In 892 (1486-87) the Amīr Khiḍrbak, governor of Jerusalem, built at the Government House the loggia (*maq’ad*) next to the north side of the *iwān* of justice (*hukm*). He had it made according to the manner of Chambers of Justice (*majālis al-hukkām*) in Egypt with a ceiling of painted wood. Formerly the Governor sat in the foremost part (*bi-ṣadr*: i.e. in the southern part next to the windows)<sup>42</sup> of the *iwān* but afterwards he sat in the loggia and this is more appropriate than the previous arrangement ...<sup>43</sup>

As we shall see (below, p. 207) no vestige of these particular extensions and alterations described by Mujīr al-Dīn appear to have survived. After the Ottoman conquest of Jerusalem in 922/1517 the Jāwiliyya compound continued to serve as the Government House. By the end of the sixteenth century restricted Christian access to the place was possible.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, Bernardino Amico included a sketch of the interior in his *Tratto delle Piante et Imagini de i Sacri Edificii di Terra Santa*<sup>45</sup> but the rendering is too stylized to convey an accurate impression of the buildings. However, his accompanying commentary includes the observation that the *iwān* was then still in use for the administration of justice:

... here one enters a big salon of thirty steps in length and fifteen in width, the windows of which salon open on the south and look out on the piazza of the Temple. They say that in this salon was the praetorium, where Christ was sentenced to death and today also justice is administered here.<sup>46</sup>

About thirty years later another Christian observer, Père Eugène Roger (A.D. 1632), was gratified by the lack of success of some building operations on the site:

When this Moustafa Bay [Governor of Jerusalem] made this place a Stable, he built above a chamber where his wives could come from their lodging; but as soon as it was finished it fell, and was demolished; and having been re-erected, and almost completed, it fell for the second time, so that this sacred site remains entirely as it was before ...<sup>47</sup>

Elzear Horn’s description of the Praetorium, written in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, is notable for its uncommonly precise description, which gives a clear impression of the layout. It shows that by then parts of the Jāwiliyya Madrasa were already neglected:

... and one comes to the centre of thirteen steps, by which one ascends to the gate, within which, advancing to the south for a distance of eleven feet and having ascended three other steps, one enters into the little atrium [i.e. the courtyard of the Jāwiliyya Madrasa] of the Praetorium, which is twenty-six feet wide and fifty feet long ... the place is open to the sky and paved with hewn square stones; on either side it has five small rooms; on the east side only one is inhabited, on the west side one serves for delinquents to be imprisoned with chains to be fastened around the neck; on either side of the aforesaid entrance there are a further two; of all the rest of them some are empty and others are blocked up with stones ... From this little atrium, or more justly I should say little cloister, one ascends by two steps through the gate to the Praetorium, which is twenty-six feet long and nineteen and a quarter wide ... There are two doors, one to the right and the other to the left; both give access to a small cubicle; that to the west, standing against the west wall, does not give access elsewhere, although formerly, by thirteen steps, there was a way to the upper part of the house ...<sup>48</sup>

In 1835 when Jerusalem was under the rule of Ibrāhīm Pasha, the Jāwiliyya was rebuilt as barracks:

During this month, August 1835, the Praetorium of Pilate was finished. It was formerly a *serai*, or palace for the Pashas and governors of Jerusalem but it is now the *qisblaq* or barracks of the regular soldiers of Ibrāhīm Pāshā. It had, in virtue of its age, to be almost entirely rebuilt from the foundation. Dressed stones were taken from many ruins throughout the city for its rebuilding ...<sup>49</sup>

And so it remained until the Turkish surrender of Jerusalem to the advancing British forces in 1917. Van Berchem, who visited the site in 1914, states that at that time it was an infantry barracks, adding that in one of the upper rooms he was received by the military governor of Jerusalem.<sup>50</sup> Van Berchem’s description, written almost two centuries after that



Plate 14.7 Haram façade

ṬARĪQ AL-SARĀY AL-QADĪM

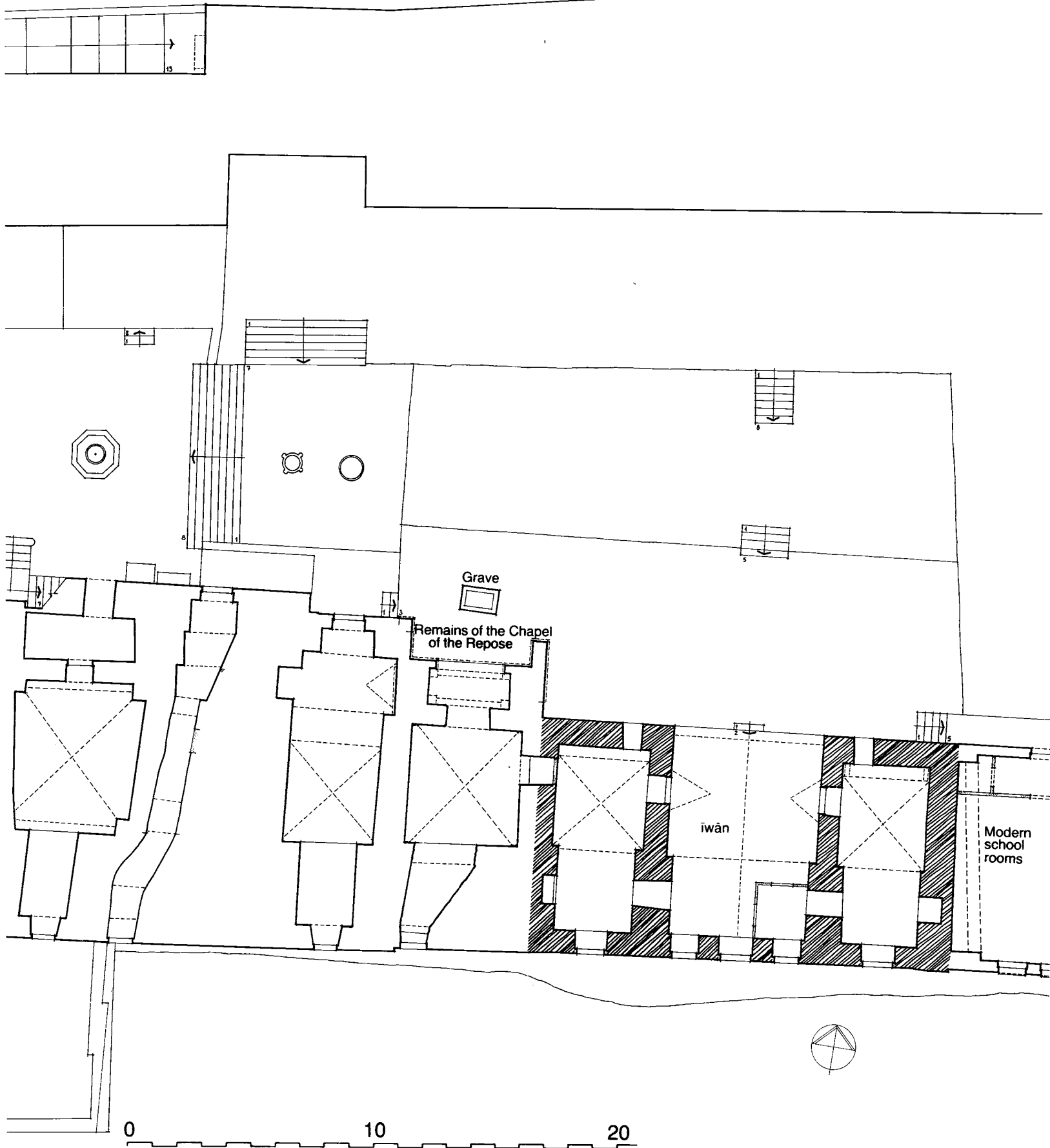


Fig. 14.3 Ground floor plan



of Elzear Horn (above) and accompanied by a sketch plan (fig. 14.4) but no photograph of the interior, suggests, however, that during the period the Jāwiliyya Madrasa underwent no major structural changes, only a steady deterioration:

... a wretched staircase E... by which one ascends to an old doorway P, to come out by way of a vestibule V into a rectangular courtyard C with its main axis aligned north-south enclosed by walls of dressed stone. Its three sides, north, east and west are pierced by doors opening into vaulted cells; the walls of the cells are still standing but in an advanced state of ruin. The south side is entirely occupied by a large pointed arch A, which formerly opened into the *qibla iwān* LS... Today this arch is blocked by a wall in which a low door p has been made... The door gives access to the *iwān* LS, which consists of a large barrel-vaulted hall, flanked by two smaller cross-vaulted rooms. These three chambers, extending to the south beyond some unsightly modern partitions open on the Ḥaram through five grilled windows.<sup>51</sup>

The latest phase in the architectural evolution of the site occurred in 1923-24 during the British Mandate when the compound was taken over for a new school, which involved many structural changes including the destruction of some buildings and the construction of new ones.<sup>52</sup> A summary Arabic inscription over the street entrance records the event:

The structure (*imāra*) of this madrasa was renewed (*juddida*) by the Supreme Islamic Shari'a Council; the year 1342 (1923-24)

Though much of the Jāwiliyya Madrasa no longer survives, its initial layout can be determined from the accounts outlined above and its position in the central part of the surrounding compound is defined by the *qibla iwān* and its flanking rooms. The brief description which follows is restricted to the Jāwiliyya Madrasa alone and reference to adjoining buildings is made only where they have some bearing on the analysis of the Jāwiliyya. It will suffice here to note that, apart from the massive southern wall – a vestige of the Tower Antonia on which about the more or less intact walls of some pre-Mamlūk structures including the Crusader 'Chapel of the Repose' – all other construction around the compound appears to be either Ottoman or modern.

#### HARAM FAÇADE

The northern boundary of the Haram at its west end consists, up to a varying height, of scarped rock. At higher levels the rock is revetted with masonry, which displays variations suggesting several phases of work (plate 14.6). Only at the very base of the revetment are there marginally drafted ashlar in the Herodian style (visible in plate 14.7); the heterogeneous facing of the upper wall is doubtless the result of later, post-Herodian repairs which have masked the full extent and height to which the ancient wall survives. However, the continuing line of the inner face of the wall is indicated by the precise alignment of the southern ends of the series of rooms shown in fig. 14.2 along the southern boundary of the site. In the three rooms of the madrasa the line is represented by a slight restriction in the width of each room. All this shows that the wall still stood at this level when the madrasa and other structures to the west were built.

Thus the *ablaq* façade of alternate courses of red and cream-coloured limestone was built as a decorative facing against the ancient wall, incorporating five windows arranged symmetrically about the central axis (plate 14.7). The *ablaq* facing extends laterally only a short distance beyond the two outermost windows and the upper limit is defined by a simple moulded string course (damaged at the left-hand, western end). Slight but consistent variations in the degree of projection, size and texture of the masonry<sup>53</sup> to the west and east of the *ablaq* façade suggest that at the time of the construction of the Jāwiliyya the string course over the

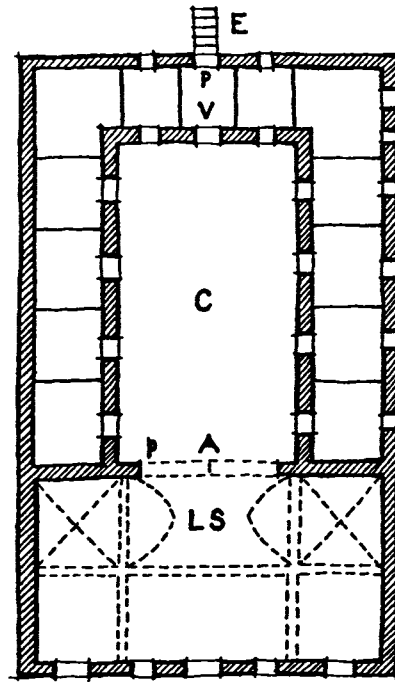


Fig. 14.4 Sketch plan of the Jāwiliyya (after van Berchem)

windows nearly coincided with the top of the ancient wall. The vaults of the *qibla iwān* and its flanking rooms must originally have protruded above the skyline.<sup>54</sup> The two rectangular windows and central oculus now concealed behind a caper bush in the façade above the string course (plate 14.7) may belong to later repairs or rebuilding (see below): al-'Umarī mentions only 'five windows of the Madrasa of the Amīr 'Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Jāwili'.<sup>55</sup>

The rooms above the *iwān*'s vault, indeed all the rooms at the uppermost floor level, appear to be Ottoman.<sup>56</sup> The two-storey range of schoolrooms to the east was built in 1923-24.

#### ENTRANCE

The position of the steps leading up to the present entrance to the Jāwiliyya compound from the street, Ṭariq al-Sarāy al-Qadīm, which forms the northern boundary of the compound, has not changed since at least the sixteenth century.<sup>57</sup> The means of access to the compound from the street in the fourteenth century is not recorded, though such access certainly existed since al-'Umarī states specifically that there was no direct access from the Ḥaram.

Nothing more is known of the entrance to the Jāwiliyya Madrasa itself (van Berchem's 'old doorway P' leading into a small vestibule to the inner courtyard) than we can read in Horn or van Berchem.

#### INTERIOR

Within the present compound a rectangular podium (plate 14.8) projects northwards in front of the *qibla iwān* of the madrasa. The podium is now split in two levels, the lower one being reached by a narrow flight of eight steps and the upper one by five steps more, thirteen in all, from the adjoining schoolyard. The mural masonry of the podium is a heterogeneous assemblage incorporating several re-used stones bearing Crusader masons' marks which affirm its post-Crusader date of construction. On the evidence of Elzear Horn, corroborated by van Berchem's description and plan, it is clear that the east boundary of the madrasa approximately coincided with that of the podium. The western and northern limits of the madrasa are not so clearly defined.

Following Horn's description, which is substantiated by van Berchem's plan, we find no direct connection between the madrasa and the earlier domed chapel over the grave of Shaykh

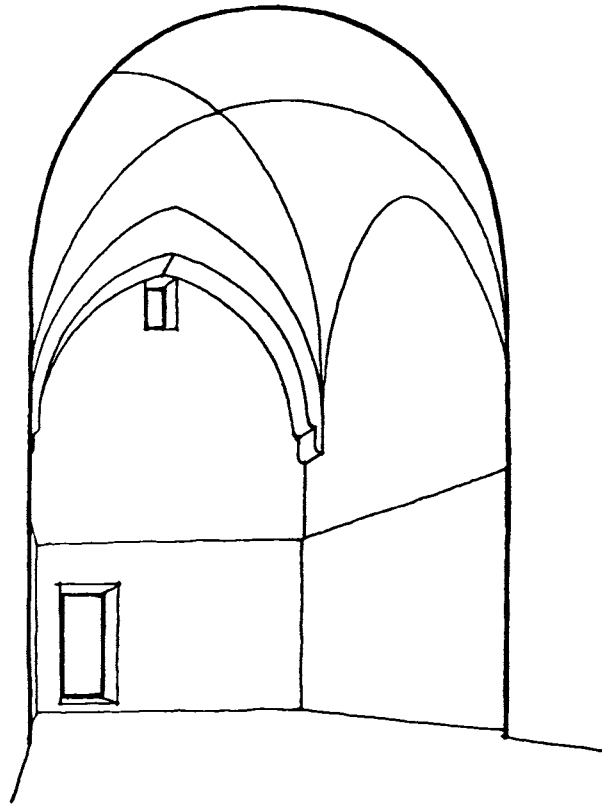


Fig. 14.5 Eastern flanking room, looking north from window recess



Plate 14.8 General view from the north-east of compound

Darbās against which the missing western wall of the madrasa must have abutted. According to Horn's measurements (width of *iwān* = 19½ feet [actually 20 feet/6.11m], depth of *iwān* 26 feet [actually 27 feet 10 inches/8.48m], length of courtyard = 50 feet/say, 16m, length of vestibule 11 feet/say, 2.5m) the northern boundary of the madrasa was about 3.7m beyond the present northern limit of the podium.<sup>58</sup>

The tunnel-vaulted *qibla iwān* is two steps above the upper level of the podium and was, according to Horn, three steps above the courtyard of the madrasa.<sup>59</sup> With a span of 6.11m and a maximum height of 7.18m the *iwān* would have dominated the courtyard. Indeed, the reason for raising the courtyard and its surrounding cells on a podium must have been simply in order practically to match the level of the courtyard with that of the *iwān*. Plainly the higher ground level

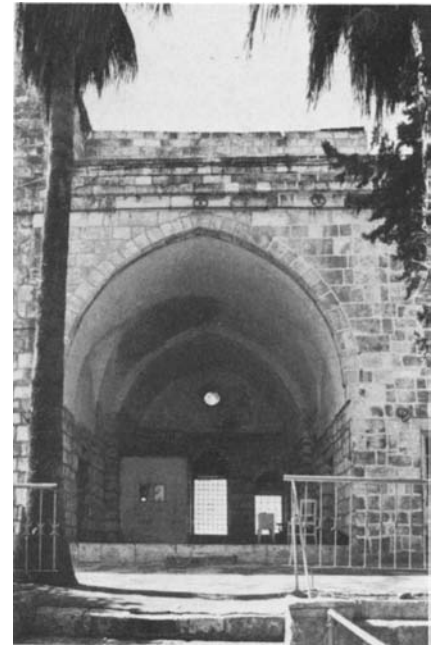


Plate 14.9 *Iwān*



Plate 14.10 Blazons above *iwān*

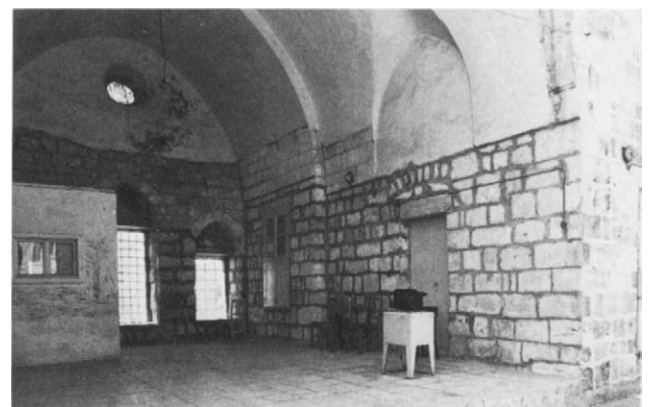


Plate 14.11 Interior of *iwān*

at the south side of the compound, the site of the *iwān*, determined the floor level of the *iwān*, which in turn governed the level of the adjoining courtyard.

The *iwān* appears to survive in its original form, though certain variations in the stonework at the springing of the bipartite tunnel vault (plate 14.9) together with the abominable repointing of the exterior (plate 14.10) denote the later repairs. As we have seen (above, p. 204), the southern section of the *iwān* is, at least for the lower part, hewn out of the ancient

Antonia wall. The line of the ancient wall is indicated by a slight reduction in the width of the *iwān* (plate 14.11). The back wall of the *iwān* is pierced by three grilled windows overlooking the Ḥaram, the central one being much taller and wider than the side ones.

Each of the rooms flanking the *iwān* was originally entered through a side door in the fore part of the *iwān*; the doors in the rear part of the *iwān* and in the north walls of the rooms themselves (against which the cells of the madrasa abutted) are later insertions.<sup>60</sup> Both rooms are similar in construction, spanned by a lofty cross vault springing from corbelled impostes (fig. 14.3), with a deep barrel-vaulted recess hewn into the ancient Antonia wall to admit light from a rectangular grilled window in the middle of the south wall. There is a small window high in the south wall (opening on the Ḥaram façade) and in the north wall. A doorway, now blocked, in the west wall of the western flanking room led to the Crusader chapel, the 'Chapel of Repose' (above, p. 204), from where the later staircase to an upper floor (as described by Horn) was reached.

#### HERALDIC BLAZONS (fig. 14.6)

Two identical blazons, probably those of the founder, are placed in the wall above the great pointed arch of the *iwān*, one

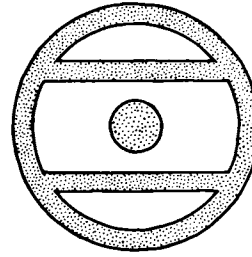


Fig. 14.6 Blazon

above the split keystone<sup>61</sup> and the other about 2.5m to its right (plate 14.10). Each blazon is squarely incised in a slab of marble evidently to receive a filling of paste or bitumen, but only a blackish stain remains in the now empty grooves. As van Berchem observed,<sup>62</sup> there must originally have been three blazons set symmetrically, of which the left one is now missing. Whether the masonry course in which they are set is in its original position is impossible to say. A graffito on the right-hand slab, reading 'Maḥmūd Yūsuf', looks like the name of a workman perhaps engaged in some restoration of the façade.

#### Notes

- 1 Mujir, ii, 22.
- 2 *CIA (Ville)*, 228.
- 3 Al-'Umari, *Masālik*, 159. Unless the formula 'May God have mercy, etc.' has been added later in the manuscript tradition, its use would suggest that al-'Umari wrote between the death of Sanjar in 745/1345 and his own in 749/1349 (M.H. Burgoyne, Unpublished thesis, Oxford, 1979, i, 206).
- 4 *Sijill* 17, no. 680.
- 5 In Mujir, ii, 38, the tomb is described as being in the madrasa.
- 6 Ibn al-Dawādārī, ix, 390.
- 7 See the titulature of Sanjar in *RCEA*, xiv, no. 5429 (and also no. 5428). For his role in repair work to the Dome of the Rock, see *CIA (Ḥaram)*, 289-298, and Le Strange, *Palestine*, 139.
- 8 Ibn al-Dawādārī, ix, 382 and 392 ff.
- 9 For his biography in general, see *Wāfi*, xv, 482-5 (no. 645); *Durar*, ii, 266-8. The printed editions of Mujir al-Dīn (Mujir, ii, 39 and Bulaq ed., 390) have for his birth the year 683/1284-85, but 653 is the date of the two Bodleian Mss., Pococke 362, fol. 132a and Marsh 677, fol. 125b, and in another context, the *tarjama* of Sanjar, the printed texts have 653 (Mujir, ii, 271, and Bulaq ed., 607).
- 10 *Manbal*, Cairo Ms. 1113, fol. 129b.
- 11 Ibn Taghribirdī misrepresented his source (*Wāfi*, xv, 482) to suggest that Sanjar acted as *ustādār* (major-domo) for al-Nāṣir during his exile at Kerak.
- 12 *Beiträge*, 155: he was appointed Monday, 6 Jumādā I 711/20 September 1311. Part of his *taqlīd* (appointment document) written by Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Ḥalabī (d. 725/1325) is in *Subh*, xii, 212-6. This office meant control of Jerusalem, Hebron, Nablus, Qaqun, Lydd and Ramla as well as Gaza (see *Wāfi*, xv, 482).
- 13 Ṣafādī also mentions a difference over the purchase of a house to the north of Tankiz's mosque in Damascus (*Wāfi*, xv, 484; cf. *Khiṭat*, ii, 398).
- 14 *Beiträge*, 180: released Friday, 9 Dhū'l-Hijja 728/14 October 1328.
- 15 About three months in each place (*Wāfi*, xv, 483). According to Ibn Taghribirdī (*Manbal*, Cairo Ms. 1113, fols. 129b-130a), Sanjar was made governor of Gaza for the second time, after his release 'and remained there for several years', in which time he carried out his building programme, and was then transferred to Hama before being recalled to Cairo.
- 16 *Khiṭat*, ii, 398 has 'Thursday 9 Ramaḍān!'
- 17 *Tabaqāt*, vi, 106.
- 18 *MAE*, ii, 242-5.
- 19 *RCEA*, xiv, no. 5400. In 753/1352 the governor of Gaza was obliged to reside in the mosque of al-Jāwili, because heavy rains caused damage to his official residence (*Sulūk*, ii, 884); cf. the eventual fate of his madrasa in Jerusalem. Fifteen waqf properties for his mosque in the Turcomans' Quarter of Gaza are listed in *Defter* 602, 447.
- 20 Gibb, *Travels*, i, 73.
- 21 *Durar*, ii, 266.
- 22 See for example, al-'Umari, *Masālik*, Paris Ms. 2325, fol. 227: 'There [in Gaza] is a hospital built by this Sultan', i.e. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad; *Wāfi*, xv, 483: 'He built the hospital there and provided it with magnificent endowments on behalf of (an) al-Malik al-Nāṣir.'
23. In addition, he endowed a water-wheel at Ramla (*Defter* 602, 427).
- 24 *RCEA*, xiv, no. 5429.
- 25 Ḥaram no. 112.
- 26 Ḥaram no. 761. The ribāt, 'the poor woman's residence' inherits from her.
- 27 Mujir, ii, 22, 38, and 272.
- 28 Mujir, ii, 308.

- 29 Le Strange, 'Description of the noble sanctuary at Jerusalem in 1470 A.D. etc.', *JRAS*, 1887, xix, 267.
- 30 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 74. Does the pronoun (-hā) refer to *madrasa* or *dār*, or perhaps to neither, but rather neutrally to 'the building' (*imāra*)?
- 31 For his arguments, see *CIA (Ville)*, 230-3.
- 32 Mujir, ii, 337.
- 33 According to the formerly accepted view, parts of Antonia survive to the north of the Jāwiliyya compound under the Convent of the Sisters of Zion and the Franciscan Convent (L.H. Vincent and M.A. Stève, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament* . . ., Paris, 1954-56, 193-221; Marie-Aline de Sion, *La Fortresse Antonia à Jérusalem et la Question du Prêtoire*, Jerusalem, 1956). Père Benoit has argued most convincingly that Antonia did not extend nearly so far north (P. Benoit, 'L'Antonia d'Hérode le Grand et le forum oriental d'Aelia Capitolina', *Harvard Theological Review*, lxiv, 1971, 135-67), and though the archaeological evidence is scanty, this is now the generally accepted view. Two differing views of the relationship between Antonia and the Temple enclosure are presented by, for example, J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament*, Leiden, 1952, 413-20, and J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem as Jesus knew it*, London, 1978, 59-61, but both these views should be revised in the light of our recent discoveries.
- 34 For a discussion and dating of the figural capitals which once decorated the chapel, see J. Folda, 'Three Crusader Capitals in Jerusalem', *Levant*, x, 1978, 139-55.
- 35 Leonardo Frescobaldi, who made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1384, remarks that '... then you find the house of Pilate, where Christ was sentenced to death, and Christians may not enter', (*Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria in 1384 by Frescobaldi, Gucci & Sigoli*, tr. T. Bellorini and E. Hoade: Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum No. 6, Jerusalem, 1948, 71).
- 36 Mujir, 390.
- 37 Some indication of the grave certainly existed in the eighteenth century for Elzear Horn remarked that 'near the chapel in which there was formerly a Turkish tomb (*sepulchrum Turcicum*), and still is, one enters a room which is rather dark . . .' (Elzear Horn, *Icynographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae (1724-1744)*, ed. and tr. E. Hoade: Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum No. 15, Jerusalem, 1962, 148). The Ayyūbid preference for domed tombs combines with the unusual character of the decoration to confuse the problem of the architectural origins of this little dome (M. de Vogüé, *Églises de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1860, 300, pl. xxii; H. Vincent and F-M Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, ii, Paris, 1922, 587-95, fig. 238; C. Enlart, *Les Monuments des Croisés dans le royaume de Jerusalem: Architecture religieuse et civile*, ii, Paris, 1928, 201-04; T.S.R. Boase, 'Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria', *AHOTC*, iv, 91-92). The evidence of the sculpture (above, p. 48 n. 105) shows it to be Crusader.
- 38 V. Minorsky, 'Kurds. B. The Islamic period up to 1920' and 'Hakkāri', *Et.*
- 39 *CIA (Ville)*, 128 and no. 142; *CIA (Ḥaram)*, 299-301, M.H. Burgoyne and Amal Abul-Hajj, 'Twenty-four Mediaeval Arabic Inscriptions from Jerusalem', *Levant*, xi, 1979, 119.
- 40 *CIA (Ville)*, 232-33.
- 41 Discussed by van Berchem, *CIA (Ville)*, 226-40. This inscription is no longer to be found within the Jāwiliyya compound; Mrs Amal Abul-Hajj-Hull, former curator of the Islamic Museum on the Ḥaram, informs us that it is now stored in the museum.
- 42 For the meaning of *bi-ṣadr* see: *CIA (Ville)*, 367 n. 4, 368 n. 1; *EMA*, ii, 34; and *MAE*, i, 245 n. 5.
- 43 Mujir, 668.

- 44 Bernardino Amico, (*Plans of the Sacred Edifices of the Holy Land*, tr. T. Bellorini and E. Hoade : Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum No. 10, Jerusalem, 1953, 78) states that he 'was in the place three or four times, during the tenure of three Governors' on business of Francesco Salandra, Custos Terrae Sanctae from 1594 to 1597.
- 45 *Ibid.*, pl. 18.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 78.
- 47 Cited in *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, 582-83.
- 48 Elzear Horn, *op. cit.*, 144-45.
- 49 S.N. Spyridon, 'Annals of Palestine, 1821-1841', *JPOS*, xviii, 1938, 125-26. N. Van der Vliet, *Sainte Marie ou elle est née et la Piscine Probatoire*, Paris, 1938, 59-60, says that after the earthquake of 1834 the monastery and bell tower of the Church of St Anne [the Ṣalāhiyya Madrasa] were demolished for the stone to be re-used in the construction of barracks. Cf. *CIA (Ville)*, 226 n. 3. In the first half of the nineteenth century the roof of the 'Governors palace' had become the usual vantage-point for foreigners wishing to view the Ḥaram (see, e.g., the letter from Frederick Catherwood recounting his experiences in 1883, reproduced in W.H. Bartlett, *Walks about the City and Environs of Jerusalem*, London, 1844, 148-65). By the 1860s the view was regularly photographed (Anon. (photographs by John Anthony), *The City of our Lord. Twelve Photographs of Jerusalem*, London, 1861, plates facing pages 8 and 10; Francis Bedford, *Holy Land and Syria*, London 1865, pl.6B). The absence of photographs of the interior from this period (see below, n. 58) may be explained rather by lack of interest on the part of photographers – understandable when one considers the much greater attraction of the alternative view to the south over the Ḥaram – than security precautions such as those which nowadays prohibit the photographing of military installations throughout the Middle East.
- 50 *CIA (Ville)*, 227 n.4.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 226-27, fig. 35. The broken lines representing vaults but not walls in van Berchem's sketch plan do not accord with his description which intimates that the arrangement then was, apart from sundry modern partitions, the same as it is now.
- 52 This work appears to have formed part of an overall restoration programme for the Ḥaram commemorated in an incomplete series of currently unpublished inscriptions (above, p. 178) and recorded in three *Reports* printed in Jerusalem for the Supreme Muslim Council between 1342/1924 and 1347/1928 under the general title, *Bayān al-majlis al-sbar'ī al-islāmī al-a'lā*. Photographs of a few of the architect's scale drawings for the new buildings are housed in the archives of the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum.
- 53 The repointing of this masonry was done some time after 1914; its condition prior to that is illustrated in *CIA (Planches)*, lxii and lxiii; and C.W. Wilson (Photographs by Sergt. J. McDonald), *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, London 1865, pl.9.
- 54 The span of the *iwān*, 6.12m, is too great to have been covered by a vault much lower than the present one.
- 55 Cited above, p. 201.
- 56 No trace survives of the *maq'ad* of Khidrībak (above, p. 205). The two windows set in shallow rectangular recesses crowned with *muqarnas* corbelling, which van Berchem (*CIA (Ville)*, 238) associates with the *maq'ad*, are Ottoman, judging by the shallow and indecisive cutting of the *muqarnasāt*, the related star-shaped window, and their situation at the upper floor level. These windows were erroneously associated with the Muḥaddathiyya Madrasa (waqf dated 762/1360) in M. Burgoyne, 'Chronological Index to the Muslim Monuments of Jerusalem', *Architecture of Islamic Jerusalem: an exhibition prepared on the occasion of the World of Islam Festival, London 1976*, Jerusalem, 1976, No. 77. The windows should be dated rather to the tenth/sixteenth century or eleventh/seventeenth century (cf. the remarks by Père Roger cited above, p. 205).
- 57 Steps leading up to the tenth/sixteenth-century entrance are shown in drawings of Zullardo (1586) and Amico (1596) reproduced in *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, Paris, 1922, figs. 257 and 236 respectively.
- 58 The north-east corner is shown in a photograph dated 1905 reproduced in *The First Photographs of Jerusalem: the Old City*, ed. E. Schiller, Jerusalem, 1978, 108b; cf. our *plate* 14.8.
- 59 The tread of a third step is discernible in the modern cement surface of the podium, suggesting that the present podium level is actually about 25 cms higher than the original level of the courtyard.
- 60 The absence of reveals seems generally to be a characteristic of new openings slapped in existing walls, as opposed to openings initially incorporated into the original design, which usually have reveals. Of course in this instance the lateral openings in the rear part of the *iwān* are cut through the core of the ancient Antonia wall, but the excessively high (60 cm) sills suggest that these openings were never intended to be doors.
- 61 The notion that the split keystone (i.e. a median joint at the crown of an arch) was an exclusive feature of Crusader architecture was refuted long ago: see e.g., C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874*, i, London, 1899, 2-3.
- 62 *CIA (Ville)* 227.

# 15 AL-KARĪMIYYA

## الكرمية

Endowed in 718/1319  
Madrasa of Karīm al-Dīn 'Abd al-Karīm  
Modern name: Dār Jārallāh

### I LOCATION (fig. 15.1)

Opposite the Awḥadiyya (no. 9), on the east side of Ṭarīq Bāb Ḥiṭṭa and bounded by Birkat Banī Isrā'īl to the east and the Ḥaram to the south.

### II SITE AND BUILDING (fig. 15.2)

The building has no inscription but its identification is certain from texts of al-'Umarī and Mujīr al-Dīn. Only part of the madrasa now survives, but its site has always been bounded on the east by Birkat Banī Isrā'īl and by Ṭarīq Bāb Ḥiṭṭa and that gate itself on the west. Its east – west development has thus been strictly confined. It is bounded on the south by the Ḥaram into which it protrudes a little further than the south porch of Bāb Ḥiṭṭa. That southern extension has today no direct link at ground floor level with the main building, but that it was part of the Karīmīyya is indicated by topographical notes of al-'Umarī and Mujīr al-Dīn (p. 212 below).

At the north end of the site all the present buildings appear to be of Ottoman or more recent date. The original boundary there cannot be determined with precision. The property ends in a modern stone wall.

An original upper floor in the central part of the complex comprises five rooms. The rooms over these rooms and over the southern extension into the Ḥaram are Ottoman and later.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

In al-'Umarī's description of the north wall of the Ḥaram, which he wrote about 745/1345, he mentions<sup>1</sup> a length of portico, reaching to where the minaret of the Gate of the Tribes (*Bāb al-Asbāt*) is now, and then immediately to the west an area of open ground, where 'the intention has been to build a portico, but it has not so far been completed. . . . Next to this ground comes the Karīmīyya Madrasa. It has enclosed<sup>2</sup> the portico in front of it with two walls, one to the west and another to the east, and two 'summer chambers' (*masīfayn*) have been made before it<sup>3</sup> . . . This madrasa was built by Karīm al-Dīn 'Abd al-Karīm, the Inspector of the Sultan al-Nāṣir's Privy Purse (*nāzir al-khawāṣṣ al-sbarīfa al-sultāniyya al-Nāṣiriyya*). Immediately after the madrasa comes a gate, called the Bāb Ḥiṭṭa . . .

Behind the Ḥaram wall the eastward extension of the Karīmīyya was limited by Birkat Banī Isrā'īl. The madrasa is given in a sijill entry of 937/1531 as the west boundary of a plantation which by then occupied part of the Pool.<sup>4</sup>

#### DATE

Mujīr al-Dīn has recorded for us the date of the endowment document, the eve of 8 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 718/31 January 1319.<sup>5</sup> Karīm

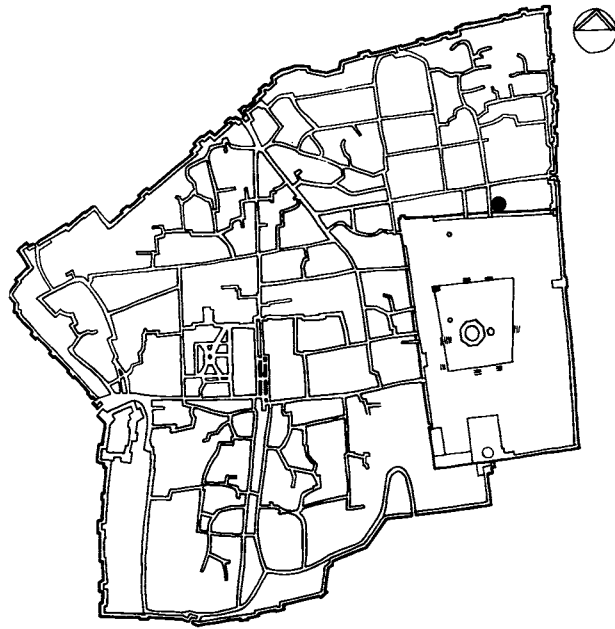


Fig. 15.1 Location plan

al-Dīn visited Jerusalem with Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 717/1317-18,<sup>6</sup> and it has been assumed that his madrasa was started then. However, he also visited Damascus early 718/spring 1318, ordered the construction of a mosque at al-Qubaybāt, and then paid a visit to Jerusalem<sup>7</sup> – perhaps with the scheme for this madrasa in mind.

#### FOUNDER

Karīm al-Dīn was one of the great state officials of the early fourteenth century.<sup>8</sup> He was a Copt by origin, born about 654/1256. While still a Christian he was known as Akram Abū'l-Faḍā'il. He was a nephew of the high official, Tāj al-Dīn b. Sa'īd al-Dawla (died 709/1309). We first hear of Karīm al-Dīn in 695/1295-96 as an accountant in the bureau of the Royal Household in the reign of Kitbughā.<sup>9</sup> No doubt with the support of his uncle, who was an important figure behind Baybars the Taster (Sultan 708-9/1308-9), Karīm al-Dīn rose into prominence, and eventually succeeded to his offices when he died.<sup>10</sup> Earlier, in 702/1302-3, he had been compelled to convert to Islam by Baybars before he could enter his service, and in due course he changed his name to Karīm al-Dīn 'Abd al-Karīm.<sup>11</sup>

The return of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to power (709/1309) and the deposition of Baybars II put Karīm al-Dīn's career in danger, but he won new favour by his eagerness to secure half of Baybars's large estate for al-Nāṣir and by judicious bribes to amīrs.<sup>12</sup> He concentrated all the offices of state in his own hands or those of his followers, ousting rivals such as Amīn al-Dīn 'Abdallāh (see p. 249) in 713/1313-14. The power and influence he wielded were very great, yet his recent convert status made him vulnerable in the sometimes bitter religious atmosphere of the period. He was involved in the scandal of the use of mosque lamps in a church (in 714/1314-15), and was accused of protecting Christians during the terrible fires of 721/1321, when rumours of arson were rife and Christian fanatics admitted their part in spreading the blaze in revenge for recent popular excesses against churches. Such events helped to range important amīrs against Karīm al-Dīn. Already his position and his lordly generosity roused much envy. In the end denigration worked on the Sultan, who was himself feeling out-shone by his minister.<sup>13</sup>

On Thursday, 14 Rabī' II 723/21 April 1323 Karīm al-Dīn was arrested and all his property sequestered. Expelled first to Shawbak, then to Jerusalem and briefly recalled to Cairo, he



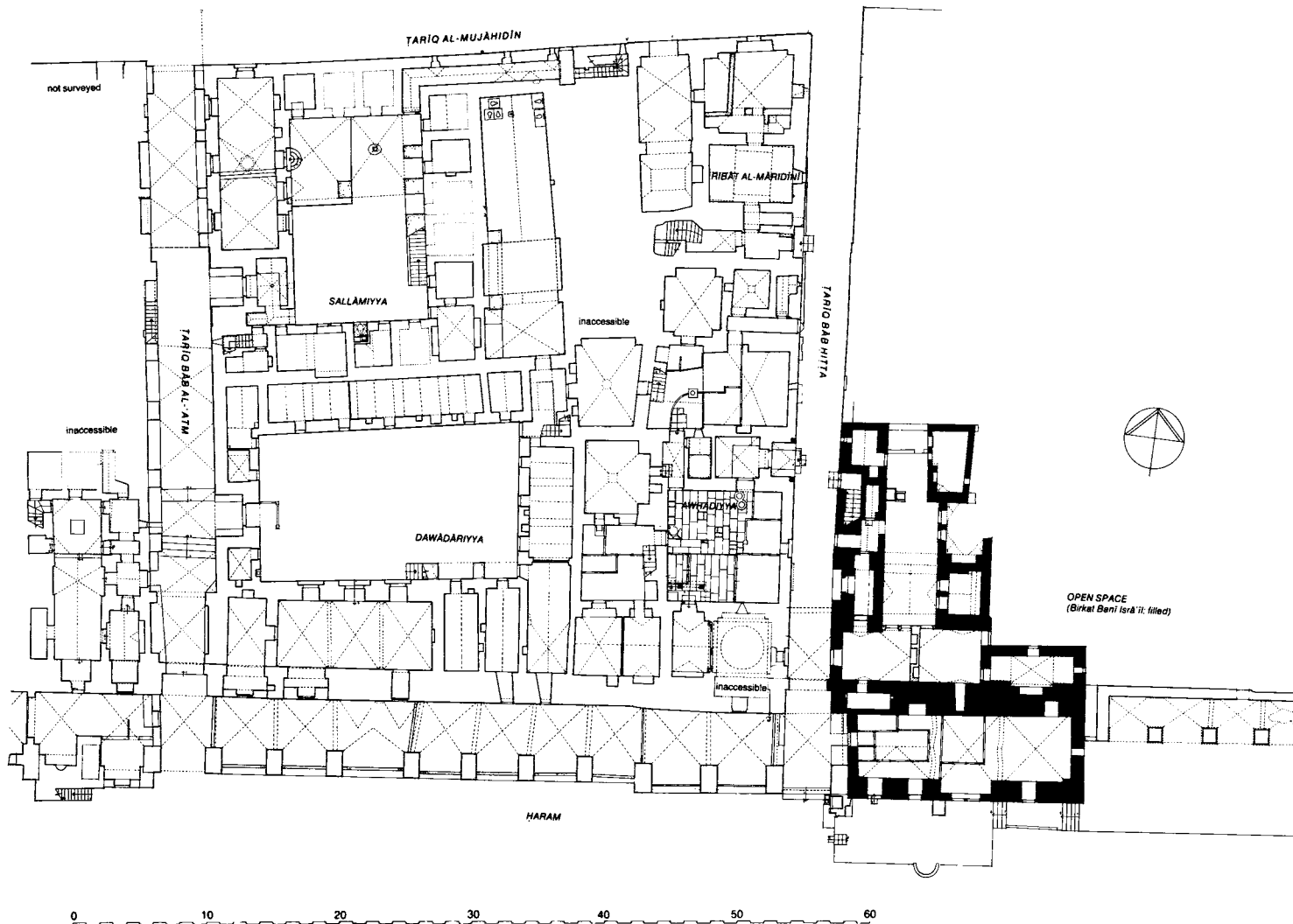


Fig. 15.2 Site plan

was finally sent to Upper Egypt, where he died at Aswan in Shawwāl 724/October 1324, possibly by hanging himself.<sup>14</sup>

Apart from many pensions and allowances provided for scholars and men of religion, Karīm al-Dīn built various religious foundations, including a congregational mosque (*jāmi'*) in Cairo, a Sūfī establishment (*khānqāh*) in the suburb of Qarafa,<sup>15</sup> and also a tomb chamber there, where he was obliged to reside for a while after his arrest.<sup>16</sup> Two mosques in Damascus are attributed to him. One was in al-Qubaybāt, which was inaugurated in Sha'bān 718/October 1318, and the other was at Qābūn.<sup>17</sup>

Before Karīm al-Dīn was sent into exile at Shawbak he was made to testify that all his waqfs had been made from property purchased not from his own, but from the Sultan's funds. This would have rendered them illegal, but the Sultan confirmed their status and dubbed them collectively 'the Nāṣirī waqf'.<sup>18</sup>

#### ENDOWMENT

There is no entry in the Ottoman defters nos. 522 and 602. Two waqf properties in Jerusalem, mentioned as boundaries for other properties, are all that have been met with in the sijills. They are a vaulted chamber (*qabw*) in the al-Tabbāba (?) district and a blacksmith's shop in David's Quarter.<sup>19</sup>

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

There is some doubt, purely on the basis of the literary evidence involved, whether it has been correct to hold that an assembly hall (*majma'*) of the Karīmiyya was built at the same time as the Ghādiriyya Madrasa, a little to the east, in 836/1432-33.<sup>20</sup> The assumption has been that the *majma'* replaced the

parts of the Karīmiyya described by al-'Umārī<sup>21</sup> at ground-floor level under the portico. This has all been based on a passage in Mujīr al-Dīn<sup>22</sup> in which he dealt with the history of the north portico of the Haram. He had no firm evidence for the section from the Gate of the Tribes to the Ghādiriyya but held that 'circumstances indicated' that it was built at the same time as the minaret, that is, in 769/1367-68. He then continued, 'The portico below the Ghādiriyya was built with it [i.e. at the same time as the Ghādiriyya], and similarly the *majma'* of the Karīmiyya.' It seems out of context for the author here to be giving the date of the *majma'* relative to the Ghādiriyya. The passage concerns the dating of the various sections of the portico, each of which Mujīr al-Dīn believed, as it seems, to correspond in date to the building above it. It is possible that Mujīr al-Dīn meant '... and similarly the *majma'* of the Karīmiyya, [the portico below it was also built at the same time as it was].' It must be said that this is not an argument for the truth of Mujīr al-Dīn's statement, but only for what he may reasonably be understood to have intended. Whatever the truth of the chronology – and, in fact, we may see from al-'Umārī that it is probably incorrect, because the latter's text assumes the existence of the portico before the madrasa's construction – Mujīr al-Dīn could be pointing to an original *majma'* above the portico, quite independent of the arrangement in the portico itself. Much, if not most, of the original structure has been lost. The concern here is merely to point out the ambiguity of the wording in Mujīr al-Dīn's text.

Later references to the Karīmiyya are not very numerous. There is none in the Haram documents, and those in the Jerusalem sijills already alluded to are negligible.

It has been claimed<sup>23</sup> that Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Gharnāṭī, whom Ibn Baṭṭūta met in Jerusalem in 726/1326, was 'shaykh of the Karīmiyya Khānqāh', and the use of that term has caused some discussion. What the text says, however, is 'shaykh of the noble khānqāh (*shaykh al-khānqāh al-karīma*)'.<sup>24</sup> The reference is not clear, but it would make sense if it were to a Mālikī institution, and it is known that a zāwiya did exist in the Moroccans' Quarter along with the Afḍaliyya Madrasa, where al-Gharnāṭī was teaching.<sup>25</sup>

The scholarly personnel known to have held positions in the Karīmiyya in the Mamlūk period were members of the Qalqashandī family and hence of Shāfi'ite allegiance.<sup>26</sup> In the Ottoman period the sijills indicate that the officials of the Karīmiyya were provided by the Jārallāh family, who were Ḥanafīs. The mere naming of those who held the posts of shaykh or *mudarris*, or some fraction thereof, does not really justify the claim that the Karīmiyya functioned actively for five centuries. The Jārallāh family is resident in the building down to the present day.<sup>27</sup>

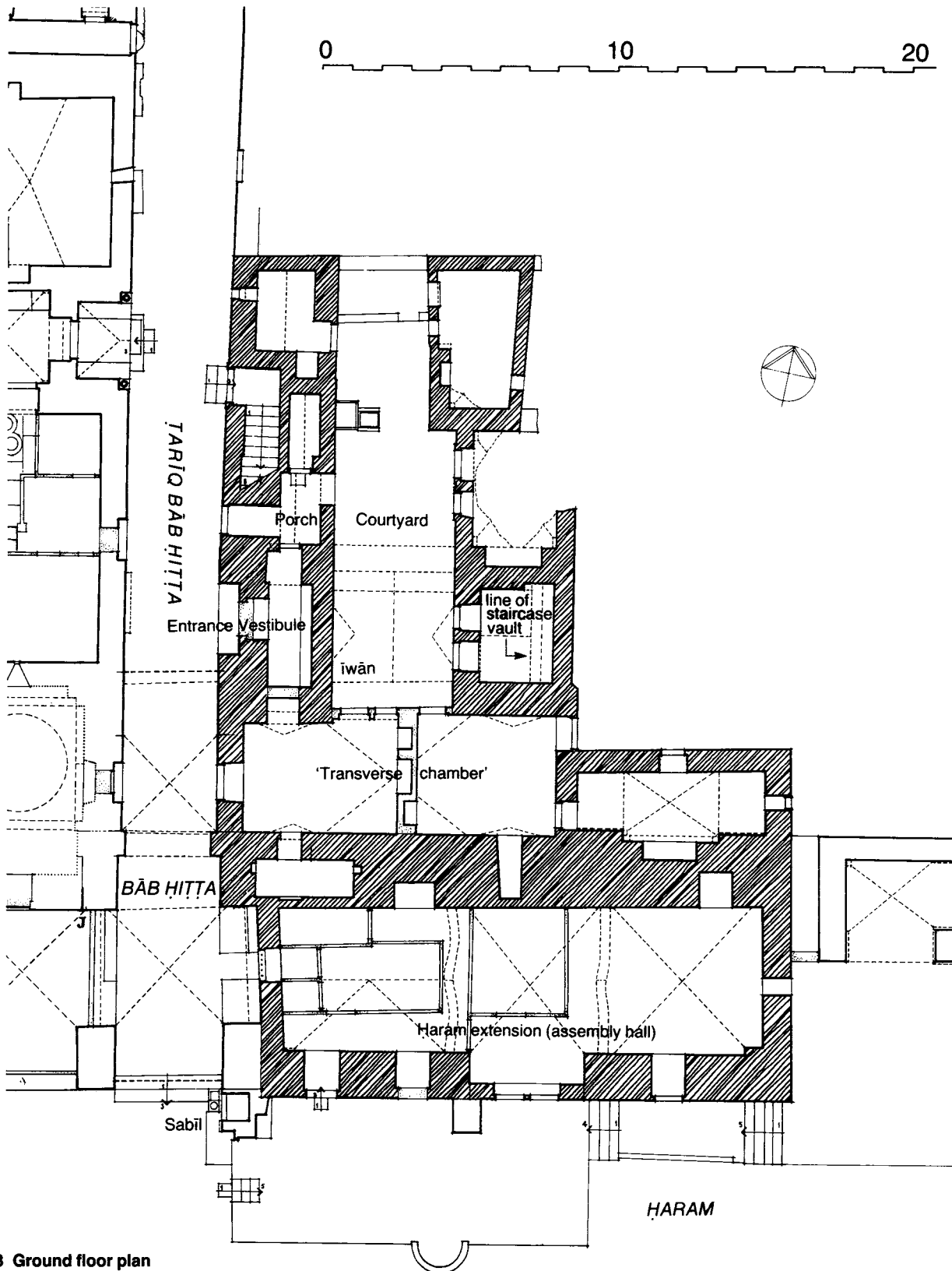


Fig. 15.3 Ground floor plan



Plate 15.1 Entrance portal



Plate 15.2 The *iwān* from the north



Plate 15.3 Rising vault over former staircase

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### ENTRANCE

The entrance portal (*plate 15.1*) is on the east side of *Ṭarīq Bāb Ḥiṭṭa* immediately to the north of the Ayyūbid north porch of the gate. It is remarkable for its simplicity: a shallow pointed-arched recess flanked by stone benches and enclosing a plain rectangular doorway (now blocked) surmounted by a large monolithic lintel. Above the lintel a recessed panel, presumably intended for an inscription, is like most of the rear wall of the recess now covered with plaster bearing traces of a painted geometric decoration (*plate 15.1*). To the north of the entrance the large ashlar of the portal peter out into a later wall of small, quarry-finished, coursed masonry containing a plain door which serves as the present entrance. Beyond the present entrance there is another door opening to a relatively modern stairway, which is now the only means of access to the upper floor.

##### INTERIOR

###### (i) Ground floor (*fig. 15.3*)

The vestibule inside the original entrance is a narrow passage running north and south, reflecting the overall narrowness of the site. A narrow stone bench is squeezed against the east wall. In spite of subsequent alterations it can be inferred that from the beginning the vestibule opened in two directions: northward into a secondary porch and thence into a central courtyard; southward directly into the principal chamber of the madrasa (see below).

The central feature on the ground plan (*fig. 15.3*) is an open courtyard extending from north to south into a tunnel-vaulted *iwān*, which led into a cross-vaulted 'transverse chamber', the principal ground floor room. A later arch has been added to the front of the original *iwān* opening (*plate 15.2*). It has a double row of voussoirs, which in Jerusalem is typical of Ottoman arch construction. Other Ottoman changes affecting these central rooms are a partition inserted to divide the *iwān* from the transverse chamber and another partition wall which divides that chamber itself into two parts. Thinking away those intrusive structures leaves us with a T-shaped unit as the original Mamlūk form for these rooms, and that an unusual one.

In the east wall of the transverse chamber are a window overlooking the *Birkat Banī Isrā'īl* and a door surmounted by a window into a small vaulted room with two windows, one above the other, facing north and a third facing east on to the same pool (see *plate 15.9*). The chamber is additionally lit by a



Plate 15.4 Re-used mouldings at south-west corner of landing

semicircular-arched window in the west wall; the building of this wall blocked up the east-facing arch of the north porch of *Bāb Ḥiṭṭa*.

There are two alcoves in the south wall, being in fact the north wall of the *Ḥaram*. For the purpose of these see p. 217 below.

###### (ii) Staircase

A small barrel-vaulted room to the east of the *iwān* gives evidence of the original staircase giving access to the upper floor. The far side of this room is spanned by a transverse tunnel vault rising steeply from north to south and revealing the existence of a staircase. The steps have been removed and the end of the stairway, where it passed through the north wall of the room, has been blocked, so that it is impossible to say exactly how the stairs were entered at ground level. But the stair shaft (*plate 15.3*), lit by a small window in the east wall, penetrates the south wall of the room 2.65m above the floor; the pitch of the rising vault makes it possible to calculate the position of the top step, emerging in the upper floor.

###### (iii) Upper floor (*fig. 15.4*)

From the top of the stairs a narrow vaulted passage or corridor follows an angular U-shaped course to give access to all the upper floor rooms. It is poorly lit by only one small window just above floor level at the head of the stairs and by borrowed light from a central stairway from the east – west run of the corridor up to the roof of the *Ḥaram* portico (see below). From the stair-head the corridor continues south to a point above the middle of the *Ḥaram* wall, where it turns west along the top of the wall

(here 2.40m thick) and reaches the shoulder of Bāb Hiṭṭa, where it turns northward and leads to an open landing directly above the entrance portal and vestibule and at the head of the modern staircase.

It was this landing, at the far end of the corridor, which gave access to the principal upper floor room, located directly above the ground floor *iwān*. The room is cross-vaulted and has two windows overlooking the courtyard. Openings in the south wall give access to two smaller rooms, both barrel-vaulted. The eastern of these was originally entered by a door (now blocked) close to the head of the stairs; its present door from the principal room is shown by the absence of reveals to be secondary; the room has another door, also secondary, opening from the east – west run of the corridor. The walls of these rooms are of unusual thickness, not matched by those at ground level; we have no explanation of this anomaly.

The landing, which serves as a porch for these rooms, is now open but was formerly roofed, as is shown by the traces of the springing of a vault at its north-east corner. At the south-west corner there are re-used pieces of moulding, apparently of Crusader origin,<sup>28</sup> arranged in such a manner as to suggest

that there was originally an arched opening to the west overlooking the street (*plate 15.4*).

It emerges, thus, that the main upper floor room was reached from the street by a tortuous route across the courtyard of the madrasa, up the stairs and along the U-shaped corridor to arrive at the porch directly over the entrance portal. The layout is logical, however. It lends privacy to the principal rooms while affording views of the street and the courtyard of the madrasa. On the way, the passage served other rooms: first, from the stairhead, after the small room (described above) adjacent to the principal room, it passed a double-cross-vaulted rectangular room overlooking Birkat Banī Isrā'īl by windows in its north and east walls. In its east – west run the passage is about 1.10m wide and seems to have been cut through the rubble core of the upper part of the Ḥaram wall. At its east end there is a latrine recess 1.45m deep; and at the west a continuation (now partly blocked) which extends over Bāb Hiṭṭa itself as far as the western limit of that gate, adjoining the Awhādiyya (no. 9). In the north wall of this continuation an irregular opening has been made, apparently at some later date, to connect the passage with a room over the northern

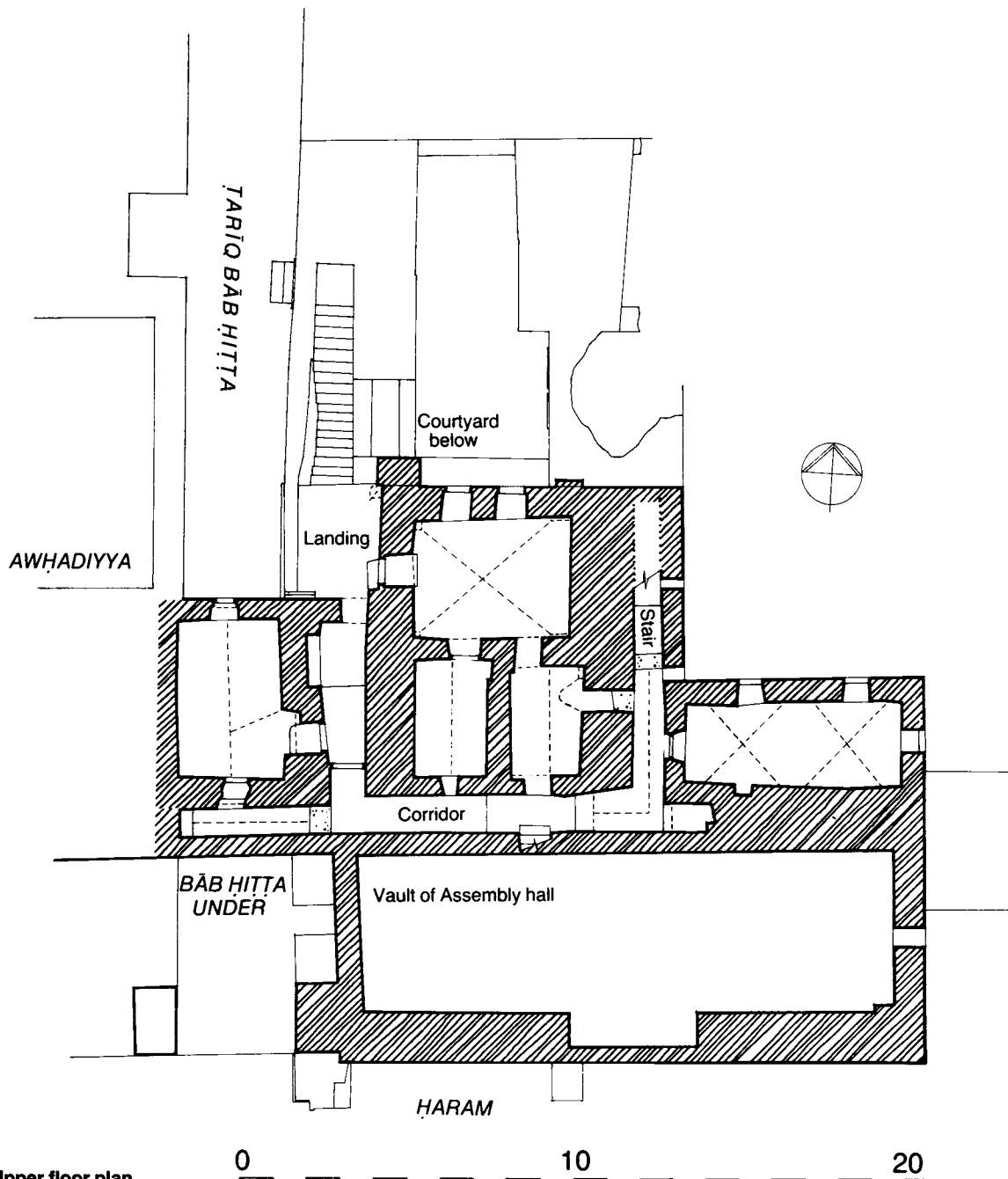


Fig. 15.4 Upper floor plan

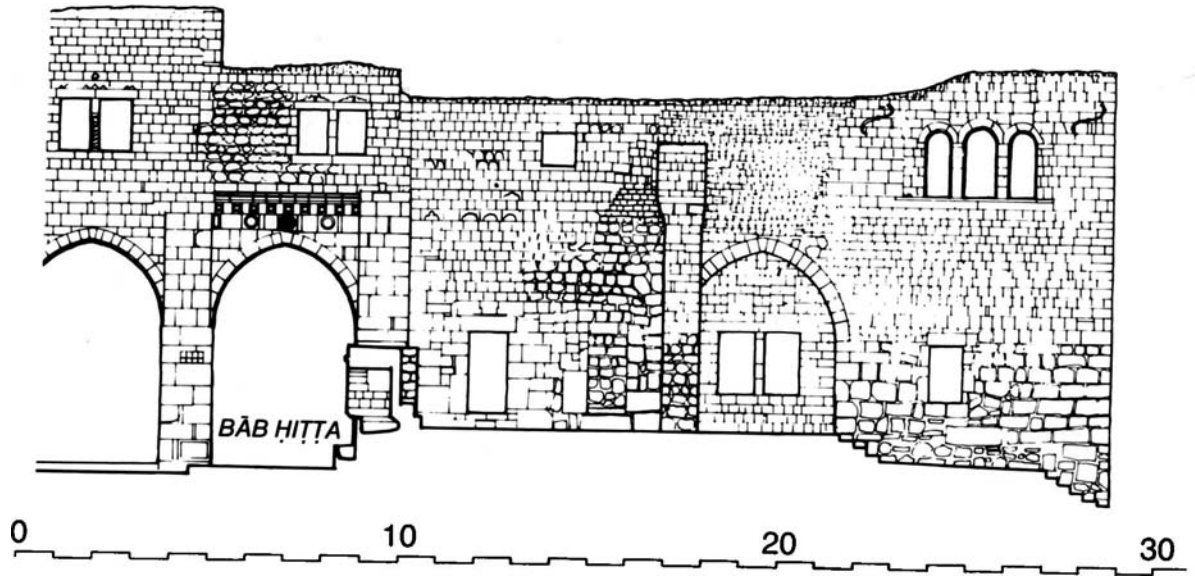


Fig. 15.5 Ḥaram frontage



Plate 15.5 Tariq Bāb Ḥiṭṭa, looking south towards gate



Plate 15.6 West wall of Ḥaram extension (on east side of southern porch at Bāb Ḥiṭṭa)



Plate 15.7 Ḥaram frontage



Plate 15.8 Bāb Ḥiṭṭa



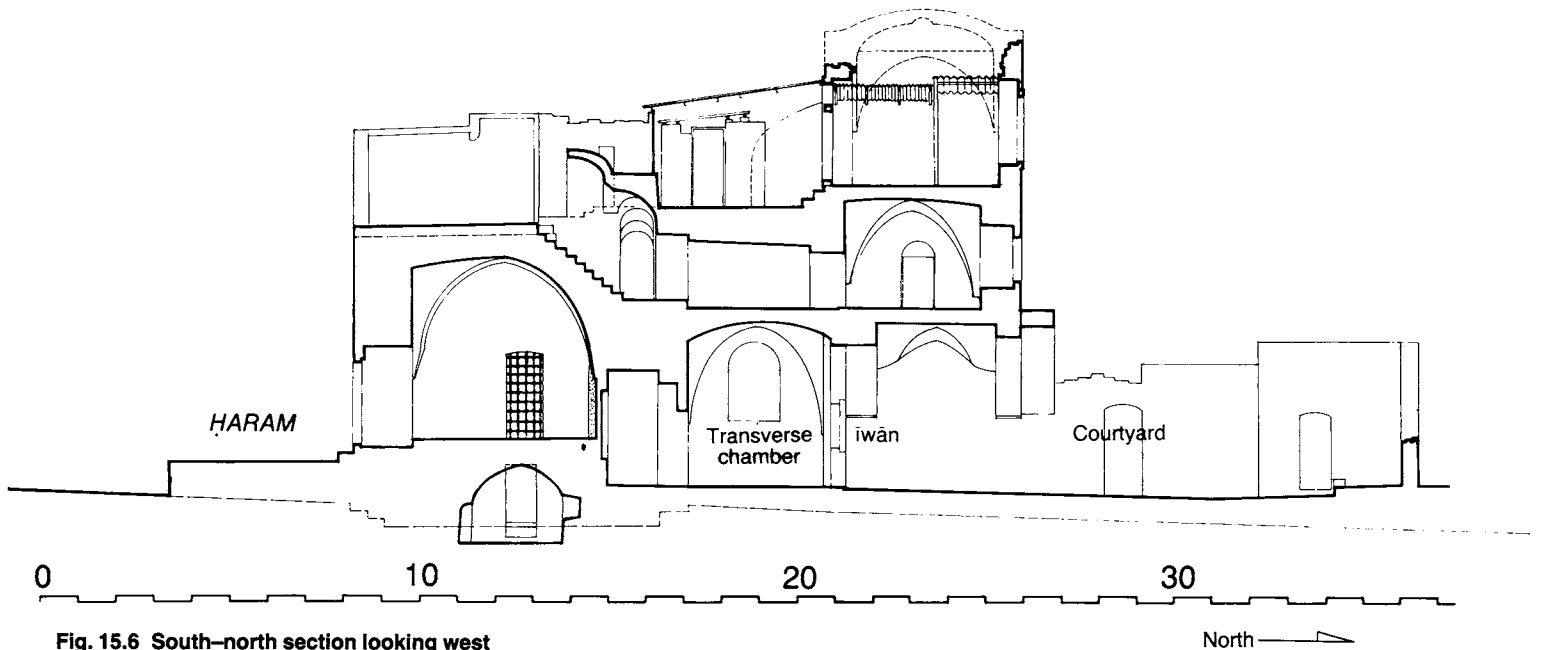


Fig. 15.6 South-north section looking west

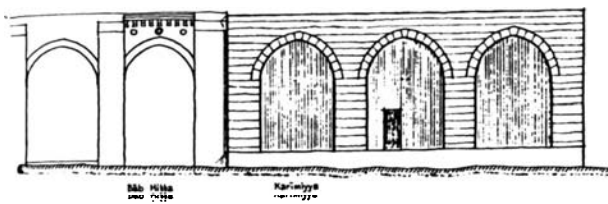


Fig. 15.7 Sketch of portico



Plate 15.9 General view from north-east across the former Birkat Bani Isrā'īl

porch of Bāb Ḥiṭṭa. This room seems to be an integral part of the Karīmiyya and not an earlier structure incorporated into it; a small change in the style of the exterior masonry of its north wall (plate 15.5) indicates that it was a later addition built over the roof of the porch. The principal entrance to the room is from the west side of the northward return of the corridor.

A short flight of nine steps sheltered by a stone canopy leads up from the middle of the east-west run of the corridor to the originally open roof of the Ḥaram extension – with a fine view of the Ḥaram – and from there to the roofs of the upper floor rooms described above.

A variety of rooms, Ottoman or later, have been built on the roofs of the upper floor rooms of the madrasa and its Ḥaram extension.

#### HARAM EXTENSION (plan, fig. 15.3)

One, if not both, of the two alcoves seen in the south wall of the transverse chamber (p. 214 above) must formerly have penetrated the wall, for Mujīr al-Dīn lists the Karīmiyya as one of those madrasas that had direct access to the Ḥaram as well as a door opening outside it. The distinctive configuration of the western alcove suggests that it was hewn out of the core of the Ḥaram wall. The eastern alcove appears better suited to accommodate the four or five steps that would have been necessary to reach the floor of the Ḥaram extension which is 1.20m above that of the transverse chamber (see fig. 15.6). The drawing of fig. 15.7 shows an opening linked with the eastern alcove.

That the structures south of the Ḥaram wall were regarded as part of the Karīmiyya is proved by al-'Umarī's description of the north wall of the Ḥaram (see above). The 'portico' seen by al-'Umarī had become for Mujīr al-Dīn a '*majma'*' (see above); for both it is part of the Karīmiyya. The conversion will have taken place (if simultaneously with the Ghādiriyya Madrasa) in or about 836/1432. Al-'Umarī has more to say of the topography. From the dimensions he gives it is obvious that in his day the land to the east of the Karīmiyya Madrasa, between it and the spot later occupied by the Bāb al-Asbāt Minaret (1367-68), was open. In front (*amāmabā*) of the Karīmiyya, he says, was a portico with two walls, east and west. The length of 25 *dbirā'* is specified for the madrasa but in a context (above, p. 104) which indicates that it was the length of the portico that was measured. Al-'Umarī usually only gives dimensions of the porticoes and the gates, never of the buildings outside the Ḥaram walls. We know from analysis of other dimensions given by al-'Umarī that his *dbirā'* equals approximately 0.69–0.70m and so 25 *dbirā'* equals approximately 17.25–17.50m. In fact the present structure in front of the madrasa measures 17.57m from east to west – a sufficiently close correspondence to indicate that it at least occupies the same site as the original portico.

The west wall of the Ḥaram extension, which blocks the eastern arch of the south porch of Bāb Ḥiṭṭa, appears to belong to the original construction (plate 15.6). In the centre there is a rectangular window with a monolithic lintel surmounted by a *tabula ansata* frame, probably in re-use and apparently intended for an inscription that was never carved. The iron window grille has large spherical bosses at the intersections, a common Mamlūk feature.

Below the window a low door opens into a small chamber used until recently as a cistern.<sup>29</sup> It is roughly three metres square, and has a simple pointed-arched *mihṛāb* cut in its south

wall. Three steps lead down to the plastered floor which is about 1.25m below ground level (*fig.* 15.6). Flanking the door are two stone benches which are probably those described by al-'Umarī as 'abutting the aforementioned Karīmiyya'.<sup>30</sup>

As for the Ḥaram frontage, bearing in mind that al-'Umarī speaks of an arcade or portico (*arwiqa*) and not merely a single arch or bay (generally 'aqd), we can tentatively restore the original façade as a portico of three arches as in *fig.* 15.7.

In a second phase, following the collapse of that portico, the central arch was restored but those which flanked it were replaced by walls. The plain doorway (now blocked) to the west of the arch and the window to the east belong to this phase of construction. The present structure is probably little altered from that seen by Mujīr al-Dīn. The interior of the hall, now divided by modern partitions, is vaulted in three bays separated by distorted transverse arches. The two eastern bays are cross-

vaulted and the western bay, curiously, is barrel-vaulted. At some later date the central arch was blocked, and of five windows made in the blocking masonry only the lower pair (*plate* 15.7) are now open; the upper three (paired rectangular windows with a circular oculus above their common mullion) were blocked before 1920 when Creswell's photograph (*plate* 15.8) was taken. Also before 1920 a stone shaft, now choked up, was built against the Ḥaram frontage, presumably to connect the dwelling on the roof of the assembly hall with a cistern below.<sup>31</sup> That dwelling appears to be Ottoman, as indicated by the form of the semicircular-arched triple window in its south wall (*plate* 15.7) and of the round-headed window in its east wall.

(For an axonometric reconstruction of the Karīmiyya, see *fig.* 9.7.)

## Notes

- 1 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 157.
- 2 We read here *ḥāzat* as in Bodleian Ms. Pococke 191, fol. 39b. This has the same consonantal outline as the *ḥārat* in the Ms. used by Ahmad Zakī Pasha, although he read *ḥāwarat* for his edition.
- 3 The exact significance of *maṣīfayn* here is not clear. The word is explained in Cl. Denizeau, *Dictionnaire des parlers arabes de Syrie, Liban et Palestine*, Paris, 1960, as 'terrace de maison (on y dort pendant l'été)'. 'Before it (*quddāma-bā*)', with reference to the madrasa, is replaced in Ms. Pococke 191, *loc. cit. supra*, by '*quddāma-bumā*', which can only mean 'before them', the two walls. This is puzzling, unless al-'Umarī meant 'in the portico in front of the walls on an east-west axis', as though there were two chambers at either end of that enclosed part of the portico.
- 4 Sijill 1, no. 1363.
- 5 Mujīr, ii, 39-40.
- 6 *Nuf.* (Cairo), ix, 55.
- 7 *Dāris*, ii, 416. Ibn Ḥabīb (*Tadbkīra*, ii, 90) reports the visit to Damascus in 718/1318 and the completion of the mosque that year, but makes no mention of a visit to Jerusalem.
- 8 For his biography, see *Manḥal*, Cairo Ms. *Ta'rikh* 1113, fol. 347a-348a (based on Ṣafādī), and *Durar*, iii, 15-18.
- 9 al-Suqā'ī, *Tālī*, no. 350.
- 10 Ibn Abī'l-Faḍā'il, iii, 175; *Sulūk*, ii, 61.
- 11 *Sulūk*, i, 941.
- 12 *Sulūk*, ii, 81-2.
- 13 However, Karīm al-Dīn could still act for the Sultan as agent (*wakīl*) with full powers, as is clear in the document, dated Muḥarram 721/February 1321, that made a waqf of the village of Taqū near Jerusalem in favour of Amīr Baktimur al-Sāqī, see Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadbkīra*, ii, 347 and 351.
- 14 *Sulūk*, ii, 259: Thursday, 20 Shawwāl/11 October 1324; Ibn Kathīr, xiv, 116: 23 Shawwāl.

- 15 *Beiträge*, 225 and 227.
- 16 *Durar*, *loc. cit.*
- 17 Ibn Kathīr, xiv, 116-7; *Dāris*, ii, 416-8.
- 18 *Sulūk*, ii, 248 and 888; *Khitat*, ii, 59-60.
- 19 Sijill 151, 349, and Sijill 185, 168.
- 20 Sauvairé, *Histoire de Jerusalem*, 116.
- 21 See above, p. 211. For *zāwiya*, see Ḥaram nos. 87, 566, 681, 700.
- 22 Mujīr, ii, 22.
- 23 *Mufaṣṣal*, 244; Asalī, *Ma'ābid*, 256.
- 24 Ibn Baḥrūta, i, 125, and in *Rihla*, Beirut, 1960, 59.
- 25 See p. 310.
- 26 Asalī, *Ma'ābid*, 256.
- 27 *Op. cit.*, 256-7.
- 28 The lower piece of moulding may be a vestige *in situ* of a re-used cornice that once crowned the outer porch at Bāb Ḥiṭṭa. The inner porch has a Crusader corbel-table cornice (above, p. 105) and there are several other fragments of Crusader masonry (with masons' marks) re-used in the construction of both porches.
- 29 This cistern may have been used as a reservoir for the *sabil* just inside Bāb Ḥiṭṭa, which has no other obvious source of supply. The date of construction of this *sabil* is unknown; it has a billet cornice moulding which would suggest a date not earlier than the second quarter of the ninth/fifteenth century (above, p. 95). Yūsuf Sa'id al-Natsha, *Al-ābār al-islāmiyya fī Bayt al-Maqdis wa Filastīn*, Jerusalem: Islamic Archaeology Section of the Department of Awqaf, 1980, 20, and Kāmal al-'Asalī, *Min ālbārānā fī Bayt al-Maqdis*, Amman, 1982, 281, assign this *sabil* to the tenth/sixteenth century without explaining why.
- 30 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 158.
- 31 C. Wilson and C. Warren, *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, New York, 1871, 167 and plan opposite p. 7.

# 16 NORTH QANĀṬIR

## القناطر الشمالية

721/1321

North colonnade of Dome of the Rock terrace

Modern name: Mawāzīn Bāb al-'Atm

### I LOCATION (fig. 16.1)

At the north end of the Dome of the Rock terrace, at the head of the stairway opposite Bāb al-'Atm.

### II SITE AND BUILDING (fig. 16.2)

The raised terrace on which the Dome of the Rock stands is reached by eight stairways. The date of construction of all of these stairways is not known, but at least one and possibly several of them must have existed when the Dome of the Rock was built. The earliest surviving description of the Ḥaram, written in 290/903 by Ibn al-Faḡīh, lists six without specifying their positions.<sup>1</sup> Al-Muqaddasī (c.375/985) observed that four of them were opposite the four doors of the Dome of the Rock.<sup>2</sup> The first detailed account is that of Nāsir-i Khusraw, who visited Jerusalem in 438/1047.<sup>3</sup> He enumerates six stairways, one on the east side of the terrace, one on the north side, two on the west side, and two on the south side. Each of them had a colonnade at the top and was called *maqām*, 'holy place'.<sup>4</sup> The south-eastern colonnade, Maqām Ghūrī, has an inscription, possibly not in its original place, stating that it was built in 421/1030.<sup>5</sup> and the western one bears the signature of a builder, Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Bannā', and the date 340/951-52.<sup>6</sup> The other four colonnades seen by Nāsir-i Khusraw in 438/1047 were presumably built at roughly the same time as these two. Of these six colonnades, the south-eastern one was restored in 608/1211-12,<sup>7</sup> the north-western one was restored in 778/1376-77 and again between 926/1519 and 974/1567,<sup>8</sup> and the northern one was demolished, probably by the Crusaders in the sixth/twelfth century when conventual buildings for Augustinian canons were erected to the north of the Dome of the Rock,<sup>9</sup> and later replaced by two new ones, the present north colonnade dated 721/1321 (described below) and the present north-east colonnade (no. 17) dated 726/1326. The south-west colonnade (no. 60) is a later addition, built in 877/1472. Fig. 16.2 shows the disposition of the colonnades around the terrace. Note that the west and north-west colonnades are at the head of stairways built into the west side of the terrace. The other stairways are all built against the sides of the terrace. The reason for this difference is probably that the space between the west side of the terrace and the west portico of the Ḥaram is much less than the space around the other three sides of the terrace, and will have been considered too narrow to accommodate stairways protruding for their full length from the terrace.

The position of the present north colonnade, nearly on the north-south axis of the Dome of the Rock, must be close to that of the earlier north colonnade seen by Nāsir-i Khusraw. It is modelled on the south-east colonnade, composed of a triple-arched arcade, supported on two columns and, at either end, two masonry piers.

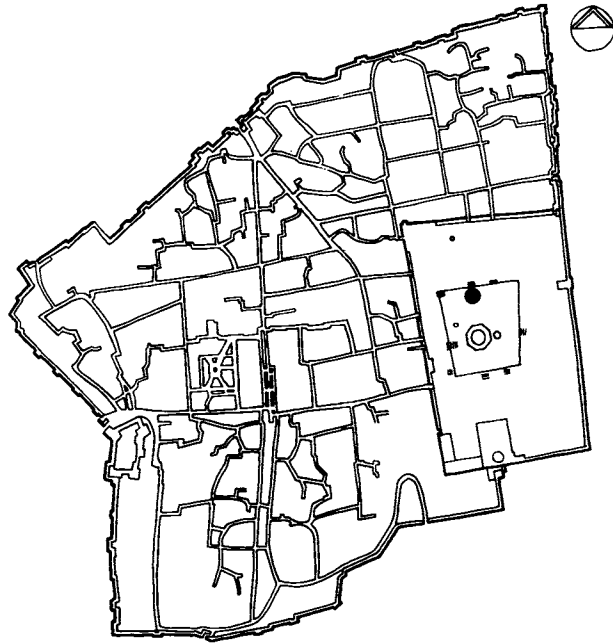


Fig. 16.1 Location plan

### III HISTORY

An inscription on two marble slabs in the south-facing spandrels of the middle arch of the arcade records that:

... these blessed arches (*qanāṭir*) were constructed (*unshī'at*) in the reign of ... Sultan al-Malik al-Nāsir ... Muḥammad ... in Jumādā II 721 (July 1321).<sup>10</sup>

Further inscriptions – two on roundels under the slabs bearing the above dating inscription and one above the crown of the middle arch – are so badly damaged as to be almost wholly indecipherable. A few legible traces on the right-hand roundel suggest a paraphrase of Koran xxii, 42.<sup>11</sup>

This colonnade, like all the others, was covered with painted plaster during the Ottoman period, perhaps during the preparations made for the visit of the German Emperor to Jerusalem in 1898. Later, between 1914 and 1917, the plaster coating was removed by Jamal Pasha, commander-general of Ottoman forces in Palestine.<sup>12</sup>

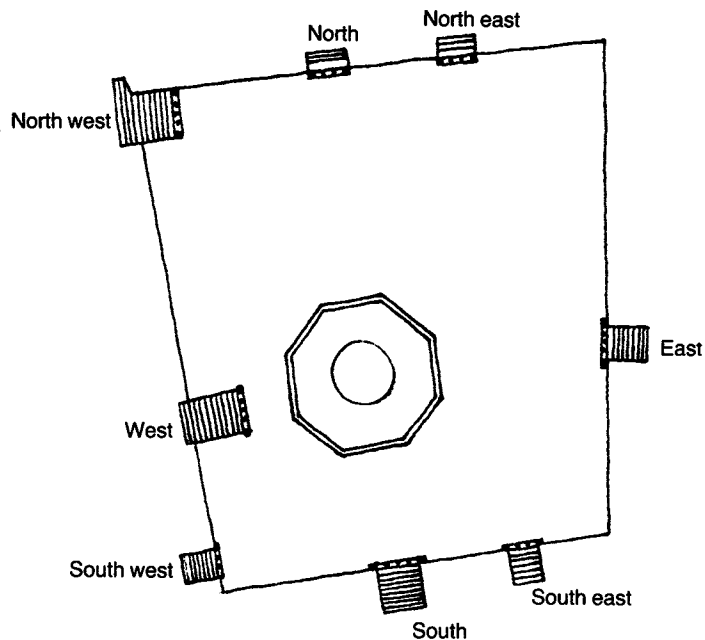


Fig. 16.2 Plan

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

Both faces of the colonnade, north (plate 16.1) and south (plate 16.2), are identical except for the inscriptions on the south face. The middle arch of the arcade is slightly greater in height and span than the other two. It springs from two marble columns which, together with their bases and Corinthian capitals in Byzantine style, are obviously in secondary use. The springing line of the arches is registered on the piers by a cyma recta

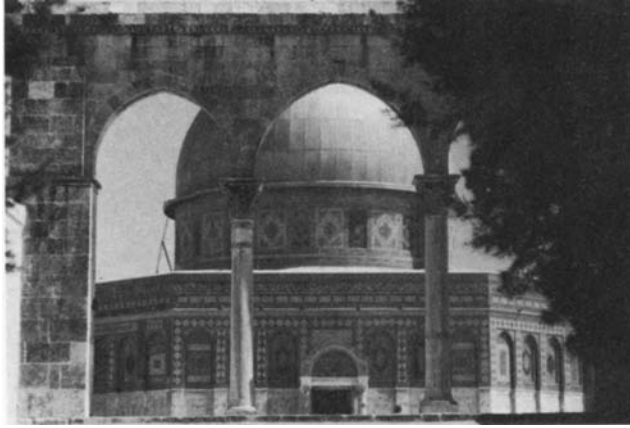


Plate 16.1 North colonnade, north face

moulding. Above this moulding the piers extend upwards (counteracting any residual lateral thrust of the arcade) to a straight cornice decorated with a saw-tooth motif. The arcade spanning between the upward extensions of the piers is only about half as thick as they are. In order to reconcile this difference in thickness cavetto mouldings with little pendentive-like brackets at either end run across the top of the arcade to carry the saw-tooth cornice. A gabled coping of dressed stone above the cornice sheds rainwater.



Plate 16.2 North colonnade, south face

#### Notes

1 Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. de Goeje in *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, v, Leiden, 1885, 100.

2 Al-Muqaddasī, *Kitāb aḥṣan al-taqāsīm*, ed. de Goeje in *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, iii, Leiden, 1906, 169.

3 Nāsir-i Khusraw, *Safar nāma*, ed. and tr. C. Schefer, Paris, 1881, 31, 95.

4 On the meanings and etymology of the word *maqām* see: E. Herzfeld, 'Damascus: Studies in Architecture – II', *AI*, x, 1943, 47-48; *CIA (Alep)*, 176; *CIA (Egypte)*, 115 n. 2, 205 n. 1; *CIA (Haram)*, 10.

5 M.H. Burgoyne and A. Abul-Hajj, 'Twenty-four Mediaeval Arabic Inscriptions from Jerusalem', *Levant*, xi, 1979, 115-17, where the date should probably be read

421/1030 and not 411/1020.

6 *CIA (Haram)*, 9-11; L.A. Mayer, *Islamic Architects and their Works*, Geneva, 1956, 40.

7 *CIA (Haram)*, 73-82.

8 *CIA (Haram)*, 183-86.

9 *CIA (Haram)*, 79 n. 2 and sources cited there.

10 *CIA (Haram)*, 119-23.

11 M.H. Burgoyne and A. Abul-Hajj, *op. cit.*

12 R.W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, London, 1949, 47; *CIA (Haram)*, 9 n. 2.

# 17 NORTH-EAST QANĀṬIR

## القناطر الشمالية الشرقية

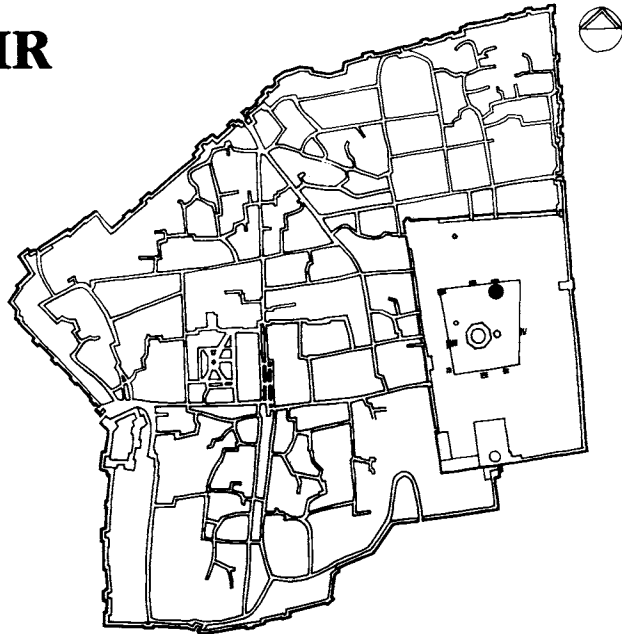


Fig. 17.1 Location plan

726/1326

North-eastern colonnade of Dome of the Rock terrace

Modern Name: Mawāzīn Bāb Ḥiṭṭa

### I LOCATION (fig. 17.1)

At the north end of the Dome of the Rock terrace, about 30m east of the North Qanāṭir (no. 16).

### II SITE AND BUILDING<sup>1</sup> (fig. 16.2)

Situated at the top of the stairway at the south end of the walkway leading from Bāb Ḥiṭṭa to the Dome of the Rock terrace, this colonnade consists of an arcade of three arches supported by two columns and two masonry piers.\*

### III HISTORY

Two inscriptions on the south face of the colonnade, one on a marble slab above the middle arch and one on two marble slabs in the spandrels, record that:

... the pavement (*balāṭ*) of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf was completed (*takammala*) and these arches (*qanāṭir*) were built during the reign of ... Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir ... Muḥammad ... That [was achieved] on 2 Rabī' I 726 (6 February 1326).

... this blessed pavement and the blessed arches were completed during the superintendency of ... Aydamur al-Shujā'ī (mamlūk) of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams ...<sup>1</sup>

The pavement of the Ḥaram referred to here must be that of the Dome of the Rock terrace, the restoration of which was begun by 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydughdī<sup>2</sup> some time before his death in 693/1294 (see above, p. 117). As this inscription testifies, that restoration took more than thirty years – perhaps as much as sixty years – to complete. The present beautifully-laid pavement of the terrace appears to belong to that restoration, except for the part which surrounds the Dome of the Rock, which was replaced in the 1960s.

### IV ARCHITECTURE

The general disposition of the colonnade, consisting of a triple-arched arcade on two columns and two end piers (see plates 17.1 and 17.2), is similar to that of the North Qanāṭir (no. 16) completed five years earlier. As at the North Qanāṭir, the columns with their bases and acanthus capitals are obviously in secondary use. The piers have cyma recta cornices on the springing line of the arcade and have upward extensions to counteract any residual lateral thrust from the arcade. The three pointed arches of the arcade are alike in height and span. They are quite markedly stilted, apparently in order to match the height of the North Qanāṭir by compensating for the relative shortness of the columns in this colonnade. The voussoirs of the arches are gadrooned on both faces and on the soffit. A



Plate 17.1 North-east colonnade, south face



Plate 17.2 North-east colonnade, north face

\* See also p. 219 above.



cavetto moulding around the extradoses of the arches continues at either end to form cornices on the pier extensions. Four square sockets (now blocked up) in the spandrels of the arches at the same level as the inscription above the middle arch (see *plate* 17.1) appear to be putlog holes that would have retained scaffolding during construction. On the south face (*plate* 17.1) a frieze of pendent *muqarnas* 'stalactite' corbelling extends between the piers as a decorative canopy over the arcade. In the corresponding position on the north face (*plate* 17.2) is a frieze of two tiers of shallow *muqarnas* corbelling. This is the only difference in the decoration of the two faces. Above these friezes a repeating lozenge moulding completes the design. A gabled cornice of dressed stone above this moulding sheds rainwater.

**Notes**

1 *CIA (Haram)*, 120-23.

2 Mujir, 606.

# 18 AL-TANKIZIYYA

## التكزية

729/1328-29

Madrasa, khānqāh, etc. of Tankiz al-Nāṣirī

Modern Name: not known

### I LOCATION (fig. 18.1)

On the south side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila, beside the Ḥaram gate, and partly over the west portico.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 18.2)

Supported by earlier substructures, the site is bounded by the street to the north, the Ḥaram wall (at ground floor level) and the limit of the Ḥaram portico (at upper floor level) to the east, the open area beside the Wailing Wall to the south, and unexplored buildings to the west.

The building has three floors: ground, mezzanine and upper. The main entrance from the little square at Bāb al-Silsila leads into a vestibule, from which a door opens south into a large madrasa, cruciform in plan, with four axial *iwāns* opening on the four sides of a central vaulted courtyard. There is a beautiful *mibrāb* in the *qibla* wall of the south *iwān*. Cross-vaulted rooms occupy the south-east and south-west corners; there are smaller barrel-vaulted rooms in north-east and north-west corners. A door in the rear (west) wall of the west *iwān* leads to a western annex comprising two rooms, the first of which has two small chambers (marked 'B' and 'C' on the plan, fig. 18.3) opening off it. This western annex may well be based on remains of an earlier structure.

A staircase leads from the entrance vestibule to the upper floors. The first of these is a small mezzanine of four rooms in the north-east corner. The main upper floor (fig. 18.5) is built partly over the Ḥaram portico and partly over the northern end of the madrasa. The principal rooms are over the portico and comprise an assembly hall to the south, a cross-vaulted room (J) to the north of it and, further north, a council chamber (K). Over the north end of the madrasa several smaller rooms (L-S) are disposed around a shaft feeding light and air to the mezzanine below.

Attached to the main building are four shops to the west of the main entrance on Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila. These shops appear to belong to the original construction, presumably intended to supplement the endowment.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

In his description of the west wall of the Ḥaram al-'Umari wrote, when dealing with the section of the portico immediately to the south of the Chain Gate, 'In this portico are two windows, whose shutters are made of ebony and ivory. Behind them is the Tankiziyya Madrasa. The roof of the portico bears the Tankiziyya Khānqāh. At the end of that section of the portico is a small door which gives access to the roof of the madrasa and the living quarters of the Ṣūfis.'<sup>6</sup>

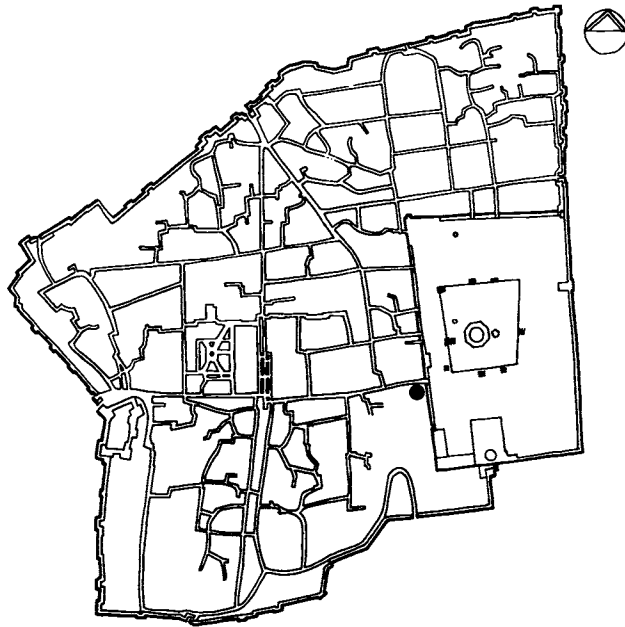


Fig. 18.1 Location plan

In another passage the same author states that 'the Sultan's viceroy has constructed a magnificent madrasa in the vicinity of the ribāṭ of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (*ilā mā jāwara ribāṭ* etc.), which is a rather eccentric way to describe the building's position, but he adds an allusion to the khānqāh 'overlooking [the Ḥaram ?] (*musbrifa*)'.<sup>7</sup> Mujir al-Dīn calls the building a madrasa 'in the Chain Gate district, possessed of an assembly-hall (*majma*)' built over the western portico of the Ḥaram.<sup>8</sup> Maqrīzī had referred only to 'the khānqāh' built by Tankiz in Jerusalem, whereas Ṣafadī used the term '*ribāṭ*'.<sup>9</sup> However, for Tankiz's ribāṭ, see below.

The foundation inscription has been preserved and is situated in a band above the door of the grand entrance portal. It runs as follows:

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. This blessed place was erected, in the hope of God's reward and His forgiveness, by his noble Excellency Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz, the servant of al-Malik al-Nāṣir (may God forgive him and reward him), [during the months of] the year seven hundred and twenty-nine [1328-29].<sup>10</sup>

The neutral 'this blessed place' is consonant with the multiple functions that were planned for the foundation.

#### DATE

It has been recorded that Tankiz ordered the construction of 'a bath, a madrasa, a Ḥadith College and a khānqāh' in 728/1327-28, when he visited Jerusalem on his return from a visit to Cairo.<sup>11</sup> As we have seen from the inscription, the date there given, the completion date most likely, was 729/1328-29. The waqf document, however, was dated 12 Jumādā I 730/3 March 1330 (see below).

#### FOUNDER

The Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Tankiz is too well known for a long exposition of his career to be necessary here. He was imported into Egypt when young by the merchant 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Siwāsī, and bought by the Amīr Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn, the future Sultan. After his death, Tankiz passed into the corps of royal pages. One tradition, claiming to go back to Tankiz's own words, makes Tankiz a mamlūk of al-Ashraf Khalīl.

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad gave him an amīrate of 10 before the voluntary exile in Kerak, whither Tankiz accompanied him. After a period of grooming for the task, Tankiz was appointed governor of Damascus in Rabī' II 712/August-September 1312. His authority grew rapidly and he became the effective ruler of

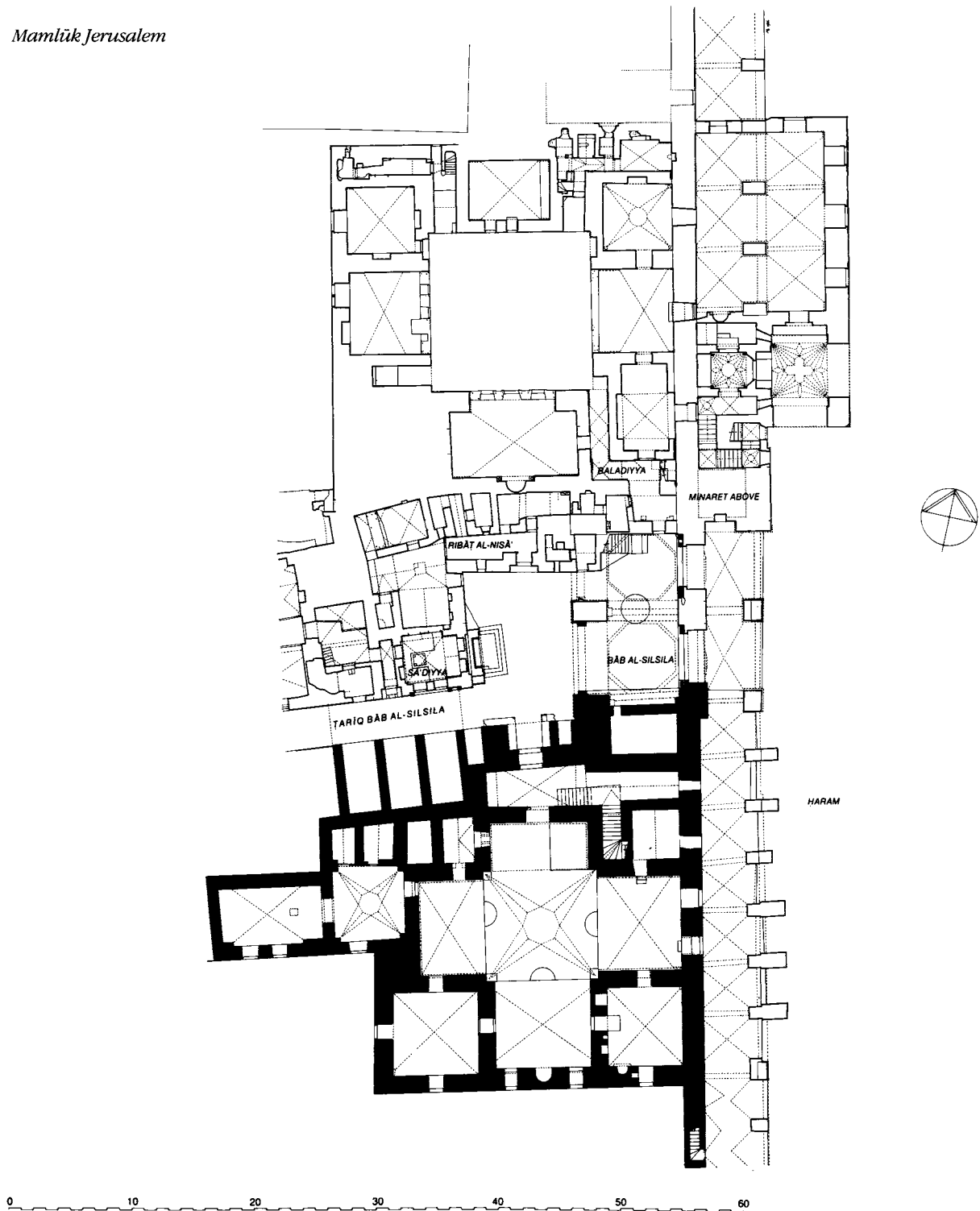


Fig. 18.2 Site plan

all Syria, a position he held until, for reasons that are far from clear but in a manner that can be often paralleled, the mighty subject fell suddenly and was arrested on the 23 Dhū'l-Hijja 740/20 June 1340. He was taken to Alexandria and imprisoned there for less than a month before he was put to death – that at least is the assumption of most sources.<sup>12</sup> Initially Tankiz was buried in Alexandria, where Şafadī appears to suggest that the population held his tomb in honour as a hallowed spot, but at the beginning of Rajab 744/mid-November 1343 his corpse was carried to Damascus and buried in his tomb chamber there.<sup>13</sup>

The chief source for this information is Şafadī,<sup>14</sup> who had seen Tankiz in his days of power and also, as he claims, when he was being put into chains on the day of his arrest. He was a good looking man of slender build, fair with a touch of swarthinness, with a handsome head of hair, lightly bearded and

greying only slightly (he was at least sixty when he died). All sources that comment on his character stress his personal rectitude and his harsh, almost domineering ways. His 'iron fist' controlling the amīrs was welcomed by many. He was particularly noted for the series of urban works he carried out in Damascus, Jerusalem and elsewhere, founding religious institutions, building caravanserais and baths and ensuring water supplies. His great wealth and many properties, details of which Şafadī copied from official reports, were sequestered but there is no evidence of the immediate effect his fall had on his waqfs.<sup>15</sup>

**WAQF DOCUMENT**

A copy of the *waqfiyya*, copied by permission of the Qāḍī 'Abd al-Halīm Muṣṭafā in 1020/1611, may be found in the Jerusalem sijill no. 92, pp. 426-30.<sup>16</sup> The date of the original is given as 12

Jumādā I 730/3 March 1330. The copyist has unfortunately left out some sections of the text by mistake. The *waqfiyya* describes not only the madrasa of Tankiz but also two baths<sup>17</sup> and the ablutions place (*ṭabāra*) near them, all of which Tankiz built and endowed. It is significant that there is no mention of a Koran school, even though al-Umarī associates one with Tankiz's charitable works and the madrasa in particular (*bi-ḥadratihā*).<sup>18</sup>

(i) *Description of the Building*

The ground floor is described as a madrasa. One enters through double doors of walnut, brass plated. The porch is built in white, yellow and black dressed stone with a gilded inscription band, bearing the name of the founder. Within there are four vaulted halls (*iwāns*), of which the southern is dedicated as a mosque (*masjid*) for public use.<sup>19</sup> Owing to a very glaring lacuna in the text, the eastern *iwān* is the only other one mentioned, with its two grille windows, opening on to the Haram and with their shutters inlaid with ivory and ebony.

The madrasa has a dado of coloured marble and the floor is paved with the same material. The central octagonal pool, fed from the conduit from 'Arūb, is mentioned, as is a kitchen, but with no location specified for the latter. Beneath the south wall are 'Roman vaults', previously known as 'The Templars' Stables', access to which is by a private door in the Moroccans' Quarter. Below the eastern wall is 'a Solomonic vault', which the founder Tankiz had restored. The latter now contains a cistern with pipes by which the rain water is collected from the madrasa roof. The length of the cistern is 45 [Hāshimī] cubits<sup>20</sup> and the breadth 17. The water is drawn through a grille (*tāqa*) in a structure (*bayt*) built by the founder next to his *ribāt* for women (see below). Within the structure is a stone basin (*jum*), the dimensions of which are 3 by 2 [Hāshimī] cubits. To the north of the vault was situated the Water-wheel Garden enclosure (*Hakūrat al-Siqāya*), the site of the later Baladiyya, it seems. The site was bounded to the west by other 'ruined vaults (*aqbā*)'.

The madrasa is said to contain 22 rooms, 11 on the ground floor for the Ḥanafī lawyers and 11 above for the Šūfis. The eleven rooms on the ground floor seem to include one for the *bawwāb*. All the rooms are vaulted and may be closed off by their own door.

Above the main porch is a set of rooms (*ṭabaqa*), roofed in wood and with two grilled windows looking north. Above two of the upper floor rooms (the text is no more explicit than that) there is a *ṭabaqa*, again roofed in wood, with windows looking south. Access is via a staircase within the madrasa, and as for use, they are to lodge whomsoever the administrator chooses to place there.

The range of buildings over the Haram portico which had been erected with the permission of the Qāḍī of Damascus, 'Izz al-Dīn al-Muqaddisī al-Ḥanbalī, is as follows.<sup>21</sup> The southernmost room, which is called the mosque (*masjid*) and is the place where the establishment of fifteen Šūfis assemble daily before dawn and after the evening prayer, has a wooden roof carved (*manjūr* ?) and decorated with gold and lapis lazuli, and walls clad in coloured marble. The *mīhrāb* in the southern wall, has similar marble and columns. The 'mosque' has several iron grille-windows, nearly all of which have double shutters, described as 'painted Frankish' ones (*madbūn ifranjī*).<sup>22</sup> There were two in the south wall and three in the east (these all overlooking the Haram) and three others in the west wall which was 'built on the Haram wall', and one more window giving on to the roof of the madrasa (*sic*). Double doors in the north wall lead into an *iwān*.

The *iwān* is also roofed with wood, painted with gold and lapis lazuli, but the eastern half of the floor only is paved with marble. Two arches built in black and white dressed stone rest on three columns of white marble, and there is a white [marble?] balustrade (*darābzīn*).

From this one moves north through a private door (*bāb kbāss*), decorated like the shutters above, into a chamber (*majlis*), roofed as before. This room has two iron grille windows, with double shutters, in the eastern wall. Two doors within give access, one, to the *ṭabaqa* over the main porch, and the other, to the roof of the madrasa.

(ii) *Endowment*

The village of 'Ayn Qinya<sup>23</sup> with all its lands, situated in the Jerusalem district west of the village of Rāmallāh, is specified as the endowment's chief source of income. It is also clear that the two baths were to provide rents for the madrasa and the other provisions of the waqf, such as the ablutions place, and its maintenance. The personnel and the administration of the madrasa have been dealt with already in earlier pages (see pp. 71-72). Their pay and allowances were as follows:

| Position                           | Monthly (dirhams) | Daily Bread (in Jerusalem rotls) |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>mudarris</i>                    | 60                | 1                                |
| <i>mu'īd</i> (assistant)           | 30                | 2/3                              |
| each law student ( <i>faqīh</i> ): |                   |                                  |
| 'finalist'                         | 20                | 1/2                              |
| 'intermediate'                     | 15                | 1/2                              |
| 'beginner'                         | 10                | 1/2                              |
| Shaykh of Ḥadīth students          | 40                | 1                                |
| Ḥadīth reader                      | 20                | 1/2                              |
| each Ḥadīth student                | 7 1/2             | 1/2                              |
| Koran reader                       | 15                | 1/2                              |
| caretaker (x 2)                    | 20                | 1/2                              |
| <i>bawwāb</i>                      | 20                | 1/2                              |
| caretaker of ablutions place       | 10                | 1/2                              |
| Shaykh of Šūfis                    | 60                | 1                                |
| each Šūfī                          | 10                | 1/2                              |
| extra for duties as cook           | 5                 | —                                |
| extra for duties as servant        | 5                 | —                                |

Each Šūfī (including the Shaykh) received a third of a rotl of olive oil and the same of soap each month. Any visiting Šūfī was given half a dirham and half a rotl of bread daily for a maximum of ten days.

(iii) *Women's Ribāt*

The *waqfiyya* gives no extended description of the *ribāt*. It merely says that it is 'in the vicinity of the madrasa (*al-mujāwir lil-madrasa*)', and 'built in stone with lime [mortar]', and refers to the inmates having to assemble for prayers 'in one of the two *iwāns* of the *ribāt*'. Some later references show, however, that the *ribāt* formed no part of the main complex of the madrasa. It was situated on the other side of the little square outside the Chain Gate.

An interesting conveyance deed, dated 953/1547,<sup>24</sup> deals with the purchase of the accommodation above the Chain Gate by a member of the Ibn Jamā'a family. The boundaries are specified as follows: south – the wall of the Tankiziyya Madrasa and the part of the same provided as living quarters, east – the 'air' of the Haram, north – the Ashrafiyya Madrasa and the upper part of the *bawwāb*'s house (*bayt*) in the Baladiyya turba, west – the 'air' of the Chain Gate market place and the roof (*zahr*) of the *Ribāt al-Nisā*', the waqf of the Tankiziyya Madrasa. In 968/1560 the same purchaser rented a further narrow strip of the roof of the *ribāt*. The east boundary is defined as 'the portico (*kbārīj*) of the Bāb al-Sakīna, on which the house of the lessee stands'.<sup>25</sup>

The general position of the *ribāt* and the fact that it stretched some way westward are illustrated by a document concerning the alienation of a house as waqf, dated 984/1576. The document shows that the *ribāt* of Tankiz formed not only part of the eastern, but also part of the northern boundary of the

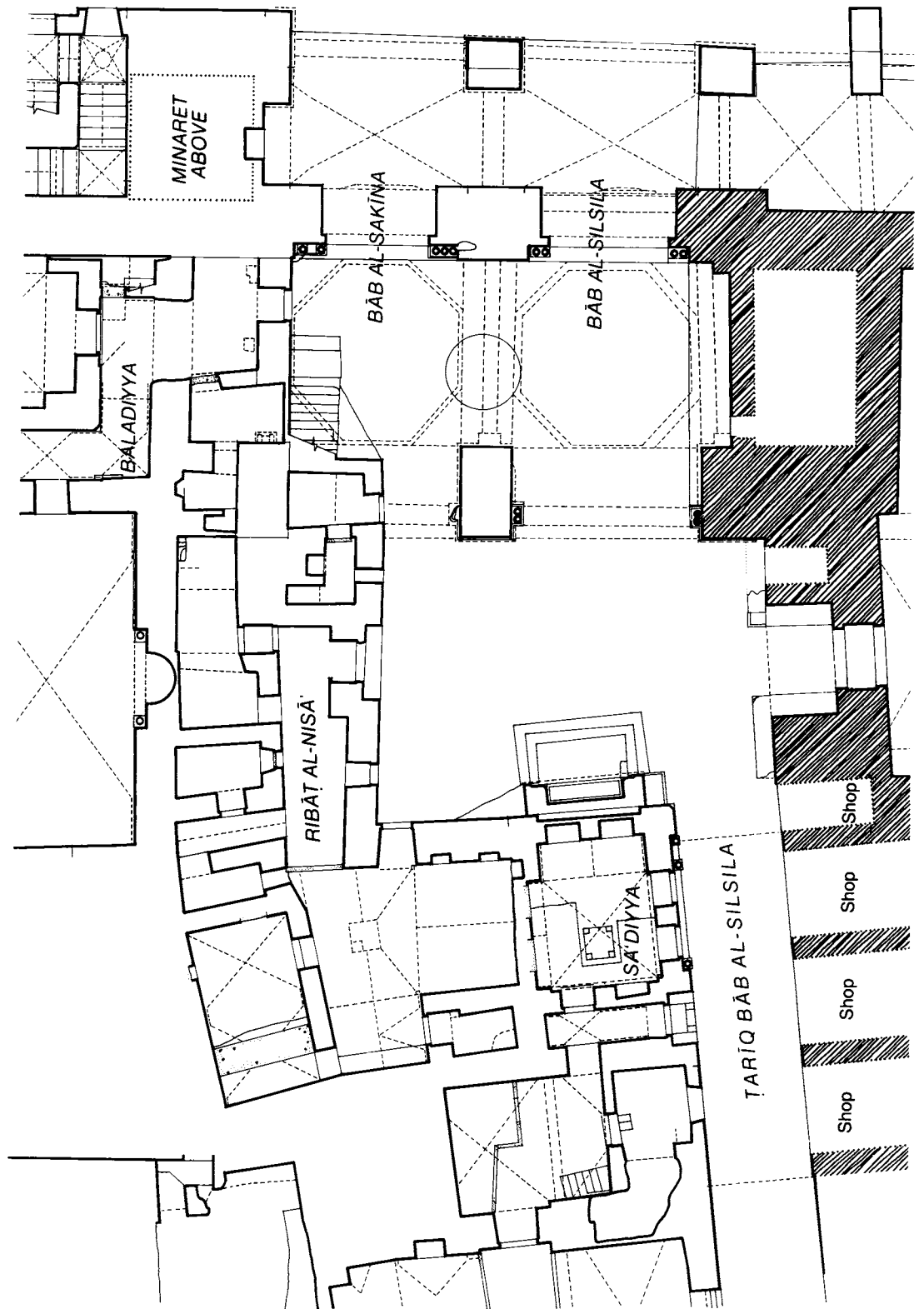
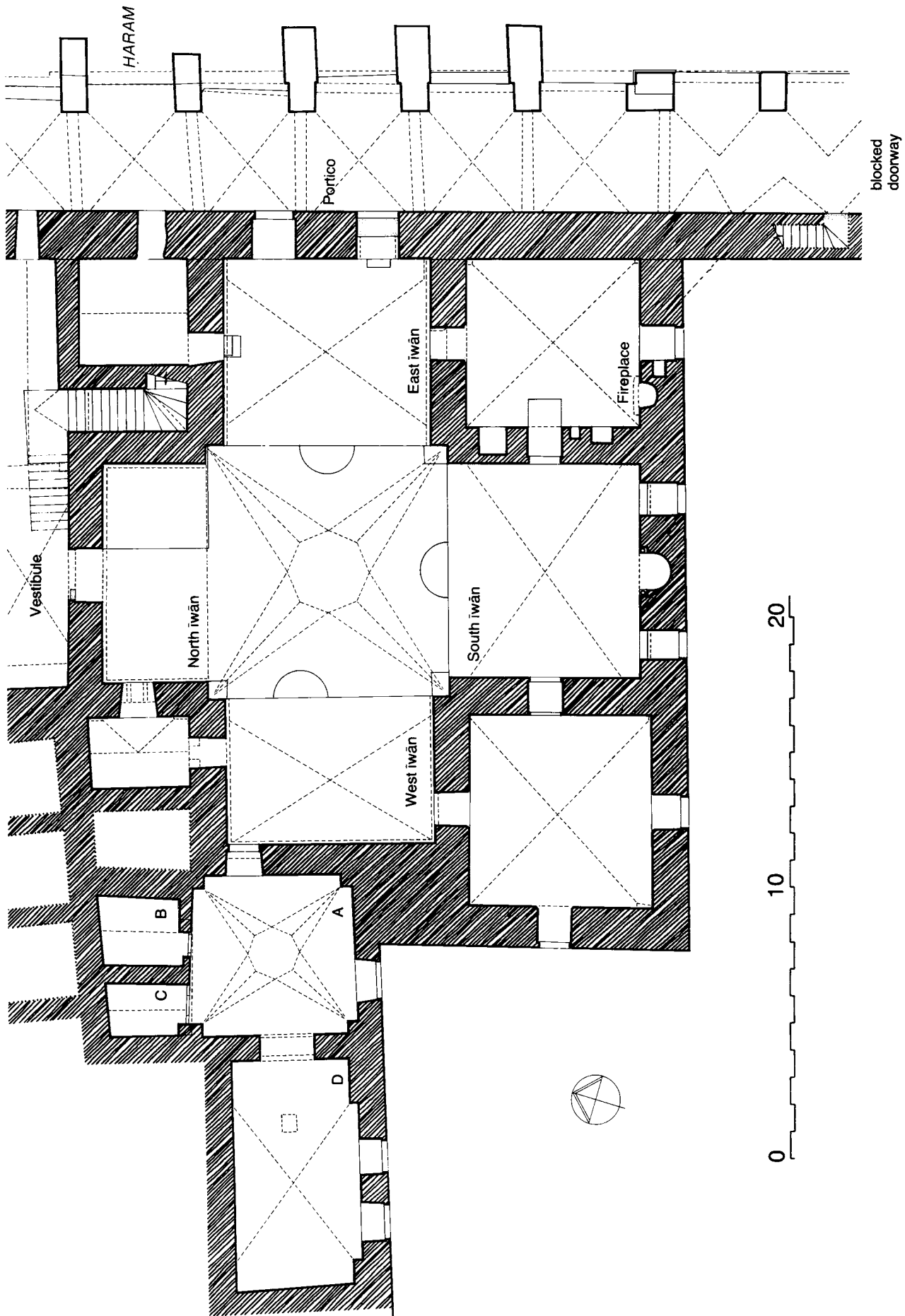


Fig. 18.3 Ground floor plan





house that itself stood to the west of the Sa'diyya Mausoleum.<sup>26</sup>

Tankiz's *waqfiyya* set out the following pay and allowances for the inmates of the ribāt:

| Position                  | Monthly<br>(dirhams) | Daily Bread<br>(in Jerusalem rotls) |
|---------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| The Shayka                | 20                   | ½                                   |
| Caretaker/ <i>bawwāba</i> | 10                   | ½                                   |
| Each woman                | 7½                   | ⅓                                   |

Each visitor was entitled to ¼ dirham and ⅓ of a rotl of bread daily for a maximum of 10 days.

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

##### (i) Mamlūk period

In 733/1333, only a few years after the foundation, we hear of an 'Alā' al-Dīn b. Mansūr, 'mudarris of the Ḥanafis at Jerusalem in the madrasa of Tankiz'.<sup>27</sup> This scholar has been identified with 'Alī b. Ayyūb b. Mansūr al-Maqdisī (d. 748/1348), although this latter was a leading Shāfi'ī and one time Shaykh of the Ṣalāhiyya, a Shāfi'ī institution.<sup>28</sup> However, other Shāfi'īs taught in the Tankiziyya. Khalīl b. Kaykaldī al-'Alā'ī, also a shaykh of the Ṣalāhiyya, taught there until his death in 761/1360,<sup>29</sup> and another prominent Shāfi'ī, Aḥmad b. Hilāl al-Maqdisī, the author of *Mubīr al-Gḥaram*, (d. 765/1363-64) taught there too.<sup>30</sup> After him until 877/1482-83 a single Ḥanafī family held the headship for three generations.<sup>31</sup>

As always, it is difficult to say how active the institution was in this period.<sup>32</sup> Towards the end there is an indication that the posts in the madrasa were divided and held in fractions, a tendency which only grew in the following Ottoman period.

The Tankiziyya makes other passing appearances in the historical record. When Sultan Faraj visited Jerusalem during his second reign, he resided there.<sup>33</sup> By the reign of Qāytbāy various tribunals were being held there. The matter of the legality of Jewish synagogue in Jerusalem was discussed before the Superintendent of the Two Harams, Ibn al-Nashashībī, in 878/1473-74.<sup>34</sup> A dispute with the Franciscans over a cemetery in 895/1489-90 was heard in the Tankiziyya,<sup>35</sup> and by royal command the governors of Gaza and Jerusalem held a conciliatory session in 899/1494 before the Shaykh of Islam, Ibn Abī Sharīf, 'in his house' in the Tankiziyya.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, it has been understood from the description given by Felix Fabri that by the time of his visit to Jerusalem in August 1483 the Tankiziyya had become the regular seat of the Qāḍī of that town.<sup>37</sup>

##### (ii) Ottoman period

The endowment mentioned in Defter no. 522<sup>38</sup> is much fuller than that referred to in the *waqfiyya*. It is true, however, that only one third of the village of 'Ayn Qinya is now recorded as waqf for the madrasa and the ribāt (the annual rent being 2000 aspers). The rest of the property mentioned includes the two baths and two *tabaqa*s above another bath (*mustahamm*) at the top of Daraj al-'Ayn,<sup>39</sup> thirteen shops in the Cotton-merchants' Market and near the madrasa,<sup>40</sup> four in the Cotton-merchants' Quarter (*maḥalla*), nine near the madrasa and twenty-one in Gaza. Of this last group only five are productive. In addition there were various properties rented out on the *hīker* basis – the khān near one of the baths, the roof of the ribāt and some other unspecified place near the Baladiyya, and accommodation (*ṭibāq*) on the north side of David St., near where it leaves the Chain Gate square.

Some accounts for repairs may be found in the sijills. In 947/1540-41 items of expenditure included 'clearing the cesspits in the madrasa' and the cost of new mats and also the cost of transport of stones from the Maymūniyya Madrasa.<sup>41</sup> Was that institution being 'cannibalised' to repair the Tankiziyya? Details of estimated costs of repair works in 984/1576-77 totalled 3489 paras.<sup>42</sup> Permission was then given 'to give precedence to the repair of the fabric of the waqf over the [payment of] beneficiaries' – something that was written into the terms of most trusts. The elements of the building mentioned on this occasion include 'the large western room in

the south *iwān*', 'the northern closet (*kbizāna*)', 'the large eastern cell (*kbahwa*)', 'the appraisal (*takbmin*) of the marble dado around the four *iwāns* and the replacement of the marble that has been removed by a red paste material (?) (*ḥamrā*)',<sup>43</sup> 'the three new wooden doors of the lower eastern cells', 'the upper northern apartment (*ma'zal*)', 'the large room (*bayt*) . . . of the *mudarris*', 'the northern wall of the stables (*sic*)', 'the western apartment (*ma'zal*) at the head of the stairs', 'the middle *ma'zal* in the middle of the staircase, to the north', and finally the two assembly halls (sing. *majma*'), presumably the two rooms over the Ḥaram portico, called 'the upper southern' and 'the upper northern'. These are the rooms called respectively 'the upper mosque' and 'the *majlis*' in the *waqfiyya*.

At some time, evidently during the nineteenth century, the building was taken over for the town's lawcourt (*al-maḥkama al-shar'iyya*).<sup>44</sup> And so it remained during the early days of the British Mandate until it became the residence of the head of the Supreme Muslim Council, Amin al-Husaynī.<sup>45</sup>

Thereafter its history is somewhat difficult to ascertain. In 1964 the building was still described as a 'lawcourt',<sup>46</sup> though only a few years later it was described as being 'used for Islamic conferences'.<sup>47</sup> *Historia temporis nostri semper obscurissima*. Since 1967 the building has been occupied by a detachment of Israeli troops.<sup>48</sup>

## IV ARCHITECTURE

### SOUTH ELEVATION

*Fig. 18.9* shows the Tankiziyya as it was in 1854. There have been few changes since. The breach in the vault of the south-west corner room has been repaired while the southern part of the upper storey over the Ḥaram portico, which was in a very poor condition then, has been demolished. The two large windows in the south wall of that part were similar in decorative treatment to those in the Ḥaram façade (see below, p. 229), which are surrounded by an elaborately modelled frame and were surmounted by panels of *ablaq* joggling.

The main south elevation (excluding the upper storey over the Ḥaram portico) consists of three 'storeys,' each constructed in a different type of masonry: large, heavily bossed ashlar for the lowest (the substructure supporting the madrasa); small smoother ashlar in the middle 'storey'; and much smaller, roughly dressed and coursed masonry at the top.

The masonry of the lowest of these storeys resembles the distinctive masonry observed in parts of the Ayyūbid halls incorporated into the Ribāt of 'Alā' al-Dīn (see above, p. 121) where it appears to be in re-use. Here the masonry is homogeneous and is most probably Crusader. The wall is strengthened by two buttresses which have sloping tops – a feature first employed in the Holy Land by the Crusaders. Three pointed arches at the base of the wall open into a series of vaults under the madrasa. These await detailed investigation. They may have served to support some buildings that previously occupied the site of the Tankiziyya. They are not part of the great causeway which carries the street in front of the Tankiziyya entrance across the town's central ('Tyropoeon') valley, but abut against part of that causeway, which dates from Herodian times and of which the easternmost arch survives, now called 'Wilson's Arch'.

The southern boundary and part of the western boundary of the madrasa coincide with the boundaries of these pre-existing substructures (see below, p. 232). The interior layout is not related to the substructures, as the best available plan of them (*fig. 18.8*), made in 1966 and based on Warren's survey of 1868, shows.<sup>1</sup>

The two upper storeys of masonry form the south wall of what is a single storey madrasa; the two tiers of windows light individual rooms. The lower storey is built in the larger, smoothly dressed ashlar and the upper one, set back slightly, is built of smaller, less carefully dressed stones.

**WEST ELEVATION**

There is no west façade as such, only the external wall of the south-west corner room of the madrasa being exposed on this side. This wall is structurally homogeneous with the south wall and shares the same three 'storeys' of masonry. *Fig. 18.9* shows that this wall appears to abut on an earlier structure to the north, thereby partly blocking a window.

**ḤARAM PORTICO** (*fig. 18.6, plate 18.1*).

The portico supporting part of the upper floor of the Tankiziyya was built, as an inscription<sup>2</sup> in the Ḥaram wall testifies, in 713/1313-14 as the second stage in the construction of the west portico by Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Al-'Umarī's description (see above) establishes that only the first nine bays of the portico south of Bāb al-Silsila were standing in his day. The southward continuation is a later construction, completed some time before 1483 when Erhard Reuwich included it in his panorama of the Ḥaram.<sup>4</sup> The six granite columns are no longer in place, but it is interesting to note that the eighth pier of the portico described by al-'Umarī appears to incorporate an earlier pier which, to judge from the tooling of the stone, is entirely Crusader (*plate 12.1*). The second to sixth piers are all reinforced with sloping-topped buttresses that are evidently later additions (see below).



Plate 18.1 Ḥaram frontage

There are five openings in the Ḥaram wall under the portico: one door and four windows. Of these the southernmost is the small door in the ninth (last) bay of the portico that must correspond to the door which, according to al-'Umarī, 'gives access to the roof of the madrasa and the living quarters of the Ṣūfīs' (see above, p. 223). It is now blocked but presumably it opened into a staircase rising northwards within the thickness of the Ḥaram wall to the roof of the portico. From there a narrow passageway spanning the corner between the west wall of the Ḥaram and the south wall of the madrasa (*fig. 18.3*) interconnects the roof of the portico with that of the madrasa (see upper floor plan, *fig. 18.5*). Mujīr al-Dīn lists the Tankiziyya as one of those buildings that could be entered from inside and outside the Ḥaram.<sup>5</sup>

To the north of the door are two windows (now blocked) that opened in the rear wall of the east *iwān* of the madrasa. The other two windows are smaller and at a higher level. One belongs to the north-east corner room of the madrasa, and the other lights the entrance vestibule (see plan, *fig. 18.3*).

**ḤARAM FAÇADE** (*fig. 18.6, plate 18.1*)

The façade of the upper floor over the portico has undergone several alterations. The small paired segmental-arched windows of the northern room (marked 'K' on the upper floor plan, *fig. 18.5*) have the appearance of having been built or rebuilt during the Ottoman period. Their construction must, however, have been before 1865, for an Ordnance Survey photograph taken in that year shows the present disposition.<sup>49</sup> The same photograph shows that the southern extension of the

upper floor (see above), demolished some time after 1914,<sup>50</sup> had a large rectangular window which matched the two surviving windows each surrounded by a deeply moulded frame.<sup>51</sup> The rough patching of the masonry above the moulded lintels of two remaining windows undoubtedly results from the removal of a panel of joggled inlay (*plate 18.2*) similar to those over the windows in the south façade (above, p. 228, *fig. 18.9*).

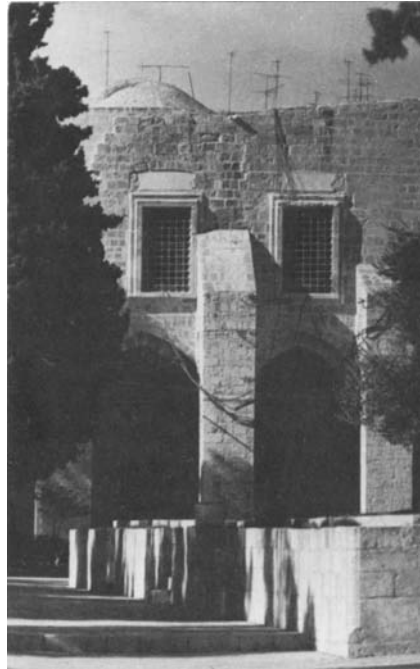


Plate 18.2 Southern windows after repairs made in 1979

Paired pointed-arched windows in the centre of the façade have been partly blocked to leave rectangular openings, more readily fitted with glazing (*plate 18.3*). The arches composed of black and white *ablaq* voussoirs are supported by two re-used columns and by curious elbow brackets cantilevered from a central pier between the openings. How extensively these windows have been altered is not clear. The *waqfiyya* (see above, p. 225) states that the arches were supported, not by two



Plate 18.3 Central windows after repairs made in 1979

columns and a central pier, but by three columns. A stone in the common spandrel between the two arches bears a repeating trefoil motif carved in low relief that matches the pattern carved in masonry above the lintel of a window in the Ḥaram frontage of the 'Uthmāniyya (*plate 57.2*). Similarly decorated stones have been re-used in the south wall of the Khātūniyya courtyard (below, p. 346) and in the soffit of a stair window in the Ashrafiyya. Presumably they were taken from some part of the 'Uthmāniyya. The stone between the arches of the Tankiziyya testifies to some not inconsiderable rebuilding of the paired windows, perhaps during the repairs proposed in 984/1576-77 (see above, p. 228).

The arches of the first three bays of the portico south of Bāb al-Silsila also show clear signs of rebuilding (see *plate 18.1*). And the buttresses strengthening all the portico piers under this part of the Tankiziyya are obviously later additions: they extend irregularly up the façade and, at the sixth pier from Bāb al-Silsila, the buttress encroaches on the moulding around one of the assembly hall windows.

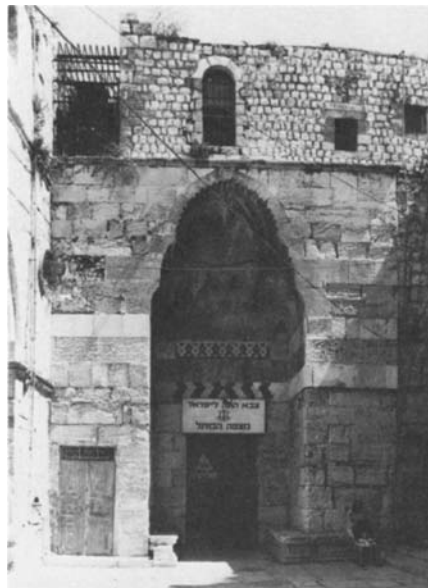


Plate 18.4 Street façade

*STREET FAÇADE* (*plate 18.4*)

The striking entrance portal is the principal feature of the street façade. The portal recess is set in a wall of finely dressed ashlars, which abuts to the east on the Ayyūbid outer porch at Bāb al-Silsila (*plate 18.5*). To the west, the same masonry extends a



Plate 18.5 Outer porch at Bāb al-Silsila, from the west

similar distance from the centre of the portal to create a symmetrical composition. A cyma recta moulding extends across the façade above the keystone of the portal. It stops against the outer porch at Bāb al-Silsila and ends abruptly a

similar distance from the centre line of the portal to the west, defining the limits of this symmetrical 'portal façade'. Such a preoccupation with symmetry seems to have been a particular characteristic of Damascene builders during the Mamlūk period (see above, p. 85).

The western limit of the portal façade is defined by a shallow return of 0.02m in the masonry. The lower masonry coursing continues to the west, past this return, to include four deep recesses opening for the whole of their width on the street. These recesses can only have been intended for the shops (a purpose they serve to this day, see *plate 18.6*) providing income for the upkeep of the Tankiziyya (see above, p. 228 n. 40). The symmetry of the portal façade is upset by a recess to the east of the portal (shown blocked up in *plate 18.7* but now fitted with steel doors), which lacks a proper lintel and appears not to be part of the original construction but rather a late insertion to serve as a small shop or stall.

Above the cyma moulding the masonry of the façade is distinctly different, resembling that of the upper 'storey' of the south and west façades. This is the façade of that part of the upper floor which sits over the northern part of the madrasa. It terminates 1.48m short of the outer porch at Bāb al-Silsila to leave a balcony (now fitted with a screen of iron bars) allowing light and fresh air to penetrate the rooms to the east and south. Of three windows in this upper façade, the west one appears to be a later insertion (the *waqfiyya* mentions only two windows, see above, p. 225) and the east one has been modified and given a semicircular arch (*plate 18.4*). The jambs of the middle window course through with the adjoining masonry and it appears to be unmodified.



Plate 18.6 Shops to west of portal

*ENTRANCE PORTAL* (*plate 18.7*)

The portal consists of a deep recess crowned by three tiers of *muqarnas* corbelling supporting a pointed semidome that is distinctively decorated with chevron fluting radiating from three centres (*plate 18.8*).<sup>52</sup> Stone benches on each side of the recess return on the west side (and originally also on the east side) across the face to the limits of the portal façade. Tankiz's blazon<sup>53</sup> – a chalice on an undivided circular field – is repeated thrice within the inscription band, once above the doorway and once on each side of the recess. Below the inscription a panel of joggled *ablaq* inlay (recently repaired) decorates the back wall over the monolithic door lintel. In a corresponding position above the inscription band there is another panel of curvilinear *ablaq* joggling, rather more elaborate than the lower one.

The Jāmi' Tankiz in Damascus, built for Tankiz in 717/1317-18,<sup>54</sup> has two monumental portals which closely resemble the portal of the Tankiziyya in Jerusalem, both having three tiers of similar *muqarnas* corbelling supporting a semidome with chevron fluting. The similarities between the doorways are so striking that there can be little doubt that the earlier doorways in Damascus (*plate 18.9*) inspired the one in Jerusalem. Indeed, despite eleven years' difference in time



Plate 18.7 Entrance portal in 1920

between the two constructions, the same builders may have been responsible for all three.

*GROUND FLOOR (fig. 18.3)*

The entrance doorway leads into a cross-vaulted vestibule. A deep tunnel-vaulted recess to the east of the vestibule is lit by a window in the Haram wall (*plate 18.10*). The area to the north of this barrel-vaulted extension, between it and the porch at Bāb al-Silsila, is inaccessible. It would appear that it was entered from the north, and it might be connected with shops mentioned in the notice of appointment dated 1018/1609-10 (see above, p. 228 n. 40). A grilled window that opens from this area north on the Bāb al-Silsila porch is now largely obscured by a modern bookstall (*plate 18.11*).

The staircase to the mezzanine and upper floor rises against the south wall of the vestibule. An inscription in that wall, above the foot of the stairs (see *plate 18.10*), records restorations made in the 1920s.

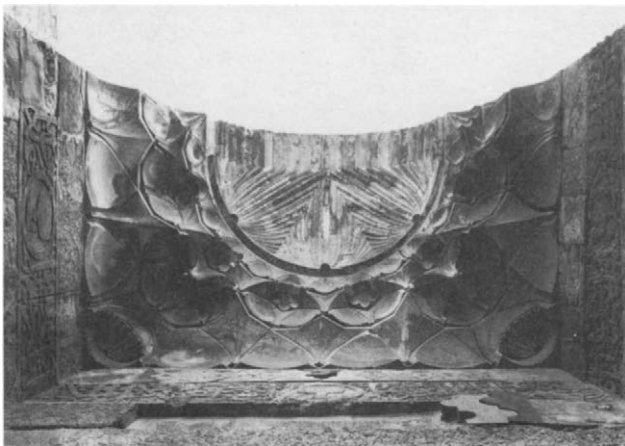


Plate 18.8 Portal vault

The vestibule was made co-axial with the interior of the madrasa. A door in its south wall opens in the middle of the back wall of the north *iwān* (*plate 18.12*). Each of the *iwāns* is cross-vaulted, and the courtyard, square in plan, is roofed in a novel fashion with a multi-faceted or 'folded' cross vault rising to an octagonal oculus at the crown. Under the oculus an octagonal stone basin<sup>55</sup> occupying the centre of the courtyard (*plate 18.13*) contains a fountain in the middle and is surrounded by a shallow trough to catch spillage. A semicircular niche in its north side reaffirms the *qibla*



Plate 18.9 Jāmi' Tankiz, Damascus: east portal



Plate 18.10 Staircase from entrance vestibule to upper floors



Plate 18.11 Bāb al-Silsila outer porch, south side



orientation of the *mibrāb*. Rainwater passing through the oculus, or compluvium, would fall into the basin/impluvium. Van Berchem<sup>56</sup> avers that water thus collected was piped into the main aqueduct (restored by Tankiz) running down ʿArīq Bāb al-Silsila to the Ḥaram, but this is improbable. The average annual rainfall in Jerusalem is 560mm with a maximum monthly average of 120mm, which means that the quantity of water that could be collected in the basin is negligible – scarcely enough ever to fill it, in fact. The piped connection with the main aqueduct was really for the purpose of supplying water to the fountain, as the *waqfiyya* implies (above, p. 225). The oculus was to give light and ventilation.

The plain stone paving of the floor appears to be largely original though the *waqfiyya* states that the floor was paved in marble. Charles Wilson noted in 1865 that ‘the building appears at one time to have been richly decorated, but now the marble paving is fast disappearing’.<sup>57</sup> He must have been alluding to the marble dado that originally ran round all the walls of the madrasa but now remains only in the south *iwān* (plate 18.13). Some of the marble panelling from the dado has been re-used to pave the floor of the south-east corner room (plate 18.14). The only marble in the floor of the madrasa is in the *mibrāb*, where the polychrome paving is flush with the plain stone paving of the *iwān*.



Plate 18.13 South *iwān* in 1920



Plate 18.12 North *iwān* of madrasa

The four *iwāns* opening off the courtyard are of varying depths, mainly as a result of restrictions imposed upon the builders by the site. The site is limited to the east by the Ḥaram wall; to the south by the boundary of the pre-existing substructure; to the west partly by the boundary of that substructure and partly by what must be regarded as the remains of an earlier building (A–D); and to the north by the street alignment and the southern abutment of the Ayyūbid porch at Bāb al-Silsila. The south *iwān* is the deepest (7.28m), as is usually the case (but see below, p. 427), and has two windows flanking the *mibrāb* in the centre of its south wall. Above the *mibrāb* is a third, pointed-arched window. The east *iwān* is only marginally less deep (6.92m) than the south one. It has symmetrically disposed windows in its back (east) wall, which opened under the portico. The north and west *iwāns* are reduced in depth compared with the other two. The space available for the north *iwān* is restricted by the vestibule and entrance portal, while the depth of the west *iwān* is curtailed by the pre-existing structure to the west.

This structure consisted of a group of rooms reached

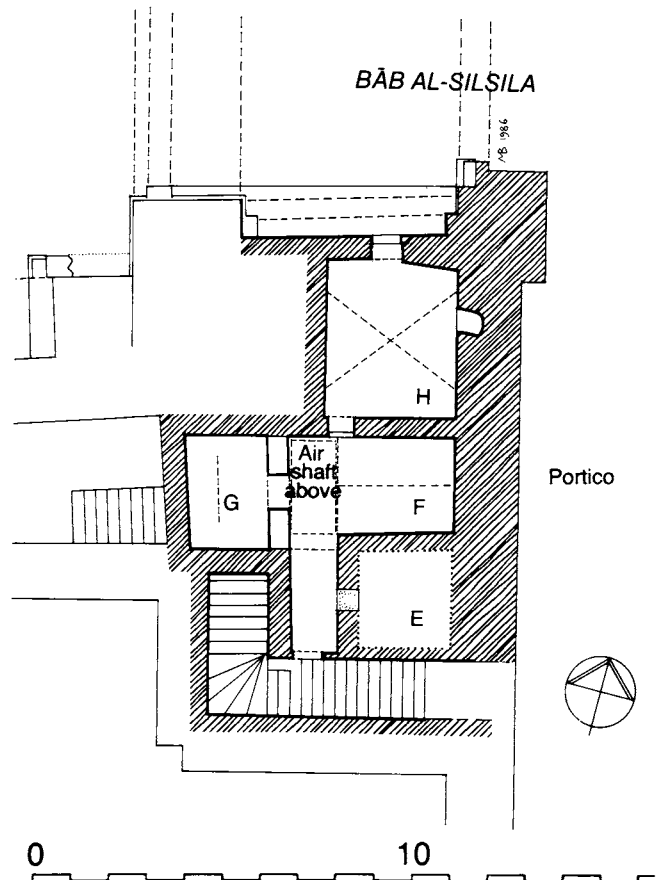


Fig. 18.4 Mezzanine plan

through a door in the west wall of the west *iwān*. The break in bond and the heterogeneous masonry of the two walls next to the window of room ‘A’, visible in Salzmann’s 1854 photograph (see fig. 18.9) but subsequently rebuilt as shown on the plan (fig. 18.3), leave little doubt that rooms ‘A’ and ‘D’ belong to that pre-existing structure. The large purposeless block of masonry between room ‘A’ and the south-west corner room of the madrasa shows that the Mamlūk builders felt obliged to maintain the regularity of the four-*iwān* layout rather than attempt to make use of this awkward corner which they must simply have filled with rubble when they connected the madrasa to the pre-existing structure to the west. The folded

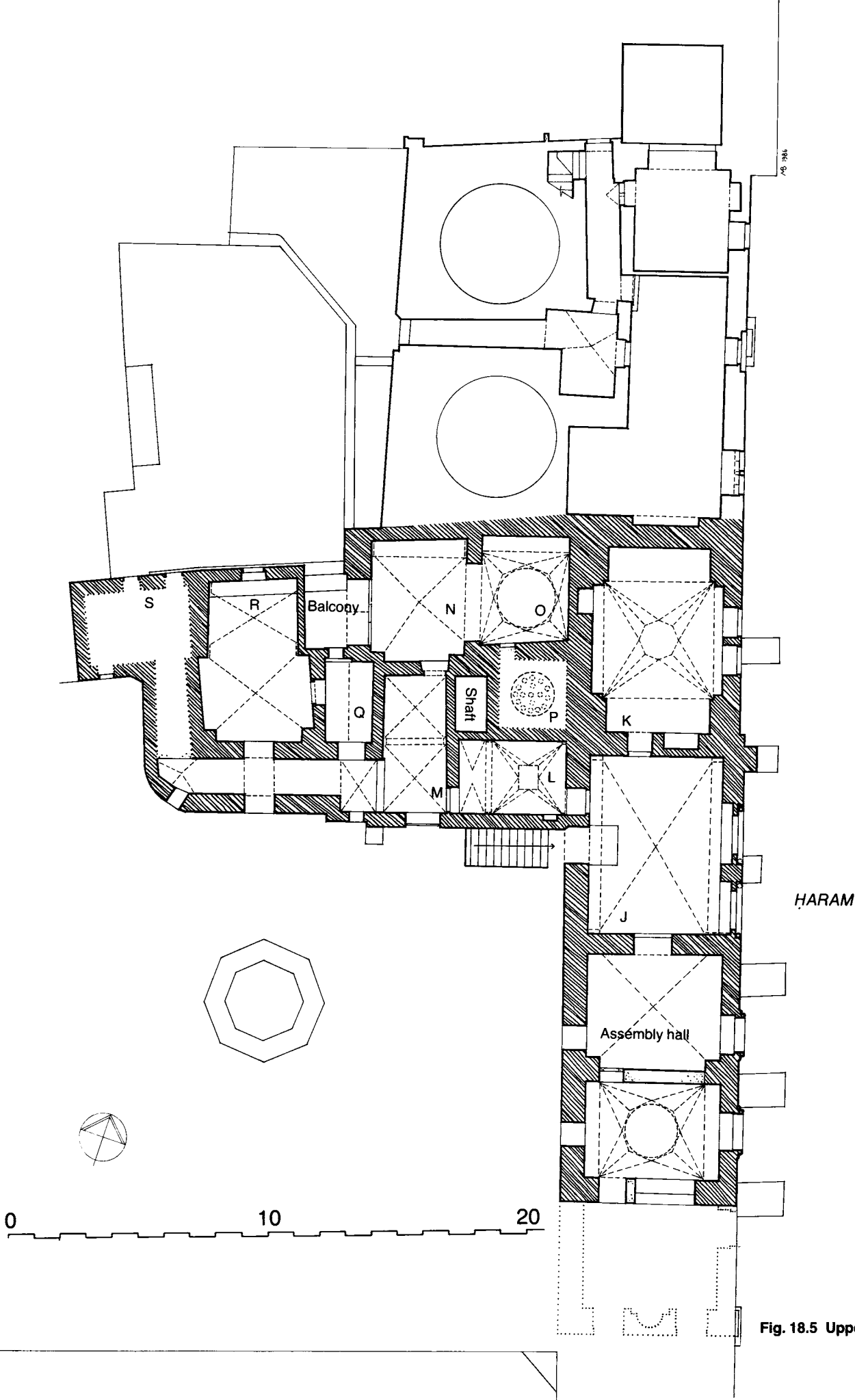


Fig. 18.5 Upper floor plan

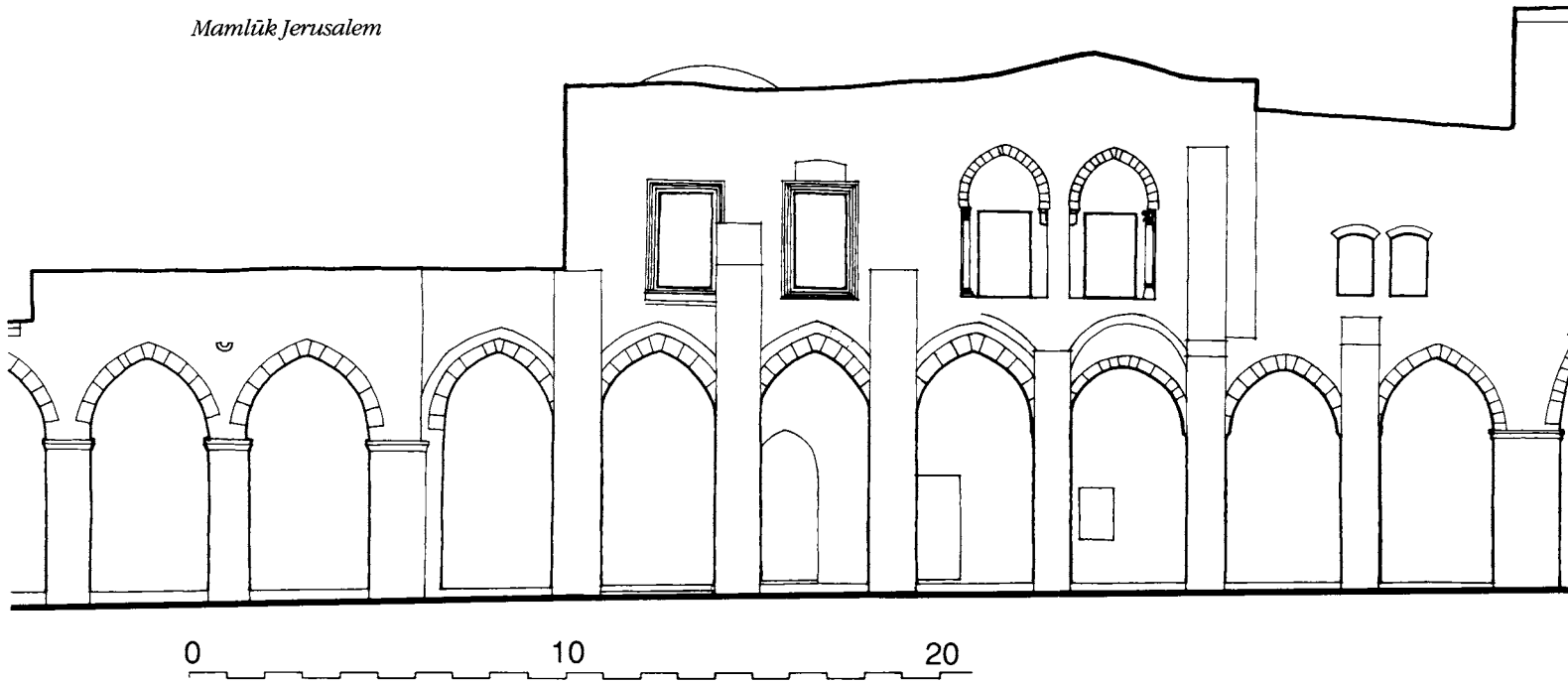


Fig. 18.6 Haram façade

cross vault of room 'A' must surely have been built at the time of construction of the Tankiziyya,<sup>58</sup> implying that the original vaulting had collapsed. The octagonal recess at the crown was originally open (see fig. 18.7). Two barrel-vaulted chambers (B and C) in the north wall of room 'A' now house latrines; their original purpose is not known. Room 'D' is reached through a wide doorway in the west wall of 'A'.

The south-west corner room of the madrasa has two doors communicating with the adjoining *iwāns*, and the south-east corner room has a door into the south *iwān* and a grilled window into the east *iwān*. Each has a rectangular grilled window in its south wall, surmounted by a pointed-arched window (see fig. 18.9). The south-west room has a similar pair of superposed windows in its west wall. A fireplace (plate 18.15) in the south wall of the south-east room appears to be a later refinement, added probably in the Ottoman period.

The barrel-vaulted northern corner rooms are much smaller than the cross-vaulted southern corner rooms. The north-east one, entered from the east *iwān*, occupies the corner between the staircase and the Haram wall. The north-west one, entered from the west *iwān*, has a grilled window opening into the north *iwān*. It is very small: its size was restricted by the presence of the shops to the north, described above, p. 230; the reason for its limited westerly development is unclear.



Plate 18.15 Fireplace in south-east corner room

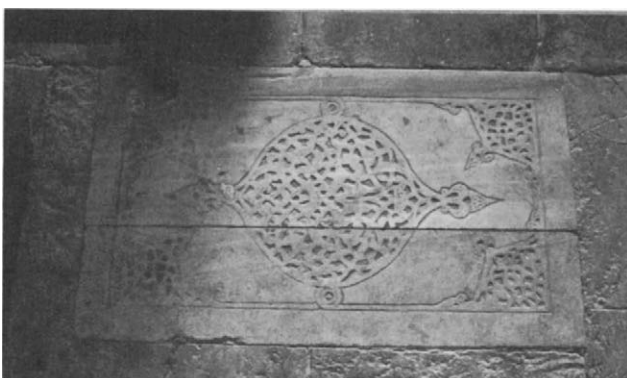


Plate 18.14 Part of marble wall panelling re-used in floor of south-east corner room

#### SETTING OUT OF THE PLAN

Thinking in terms of what the architect had to contend with on the site, it seems that he must have prepared some sort of

sketch plan, perhaps simply by pacing out the boundaries, before work on the site commenced. Unlike Cairo, where the Mamlūk builders as often as not had virgin ground to build on, in Mamlūk Jerusalem the site was almost invariably bounded by existing structures and was frequently strewn with the remains of earlier buildings. A decision would need to be reached at the outset on whether or not all or part of these remains were to be retained and incorporated into the new building. When, as in the case of the Tankiziyya, that new building had to conform to a preconceived formal layout – that of a four-*iwān* madrasa – the difficulties of deciding what existing remains could be retained while fitting the preconceived layout within the limits of an irregular site surely could not have been overcome without some sort of sketch plan of the site.<sup>59</sup>

Having satisfactorily fitted the four-*iwān* plan within the confines of the site as delineated in the sketch, the architect could then order the levelling of the site, leaving those structures he wished to retain. That done, the marking out of

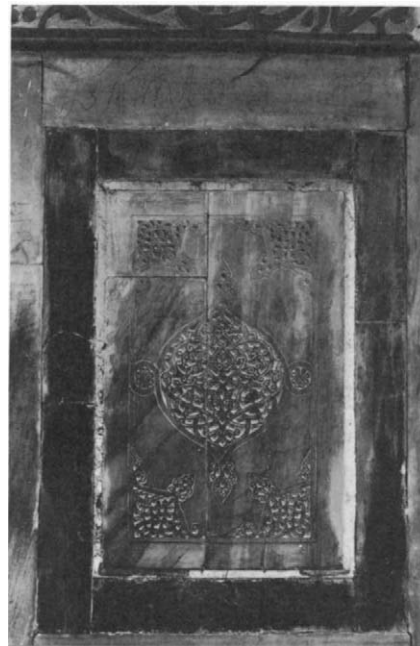
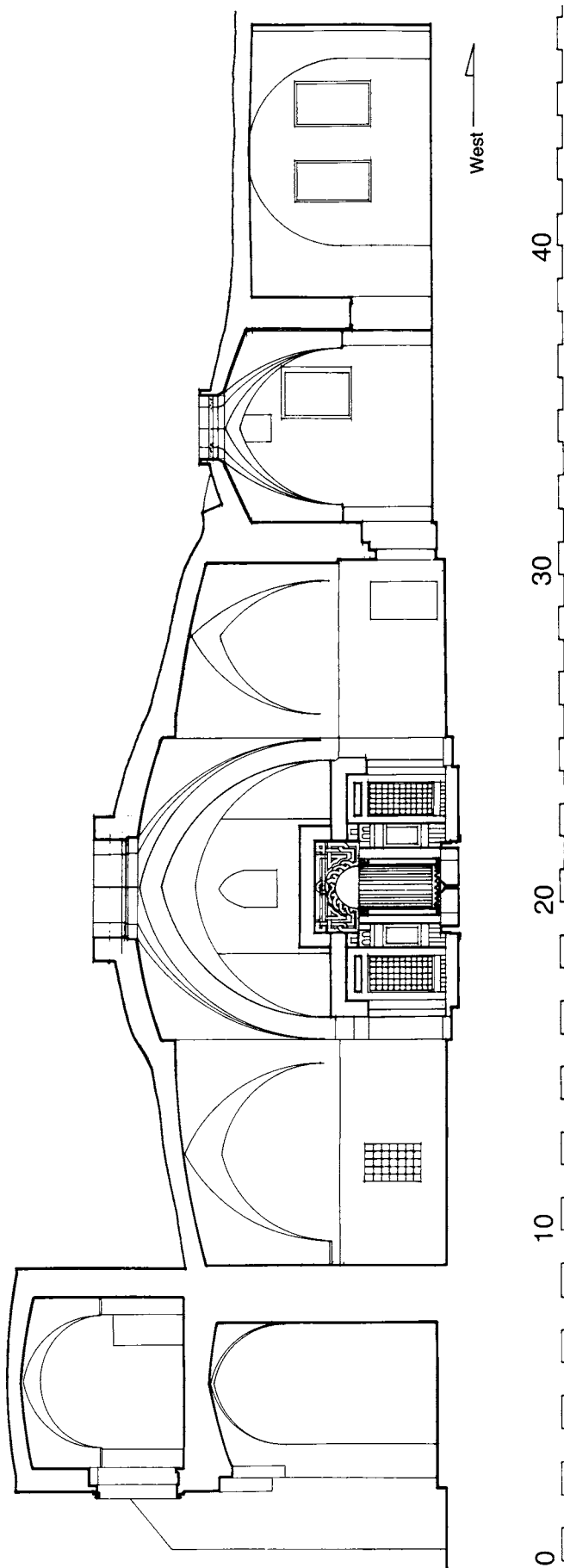


Plate 18.16 Marble panel in west wall of south *iwān* (cf. plates 18.14 and 30.6)



Plate 18.17 *Mihrāb*

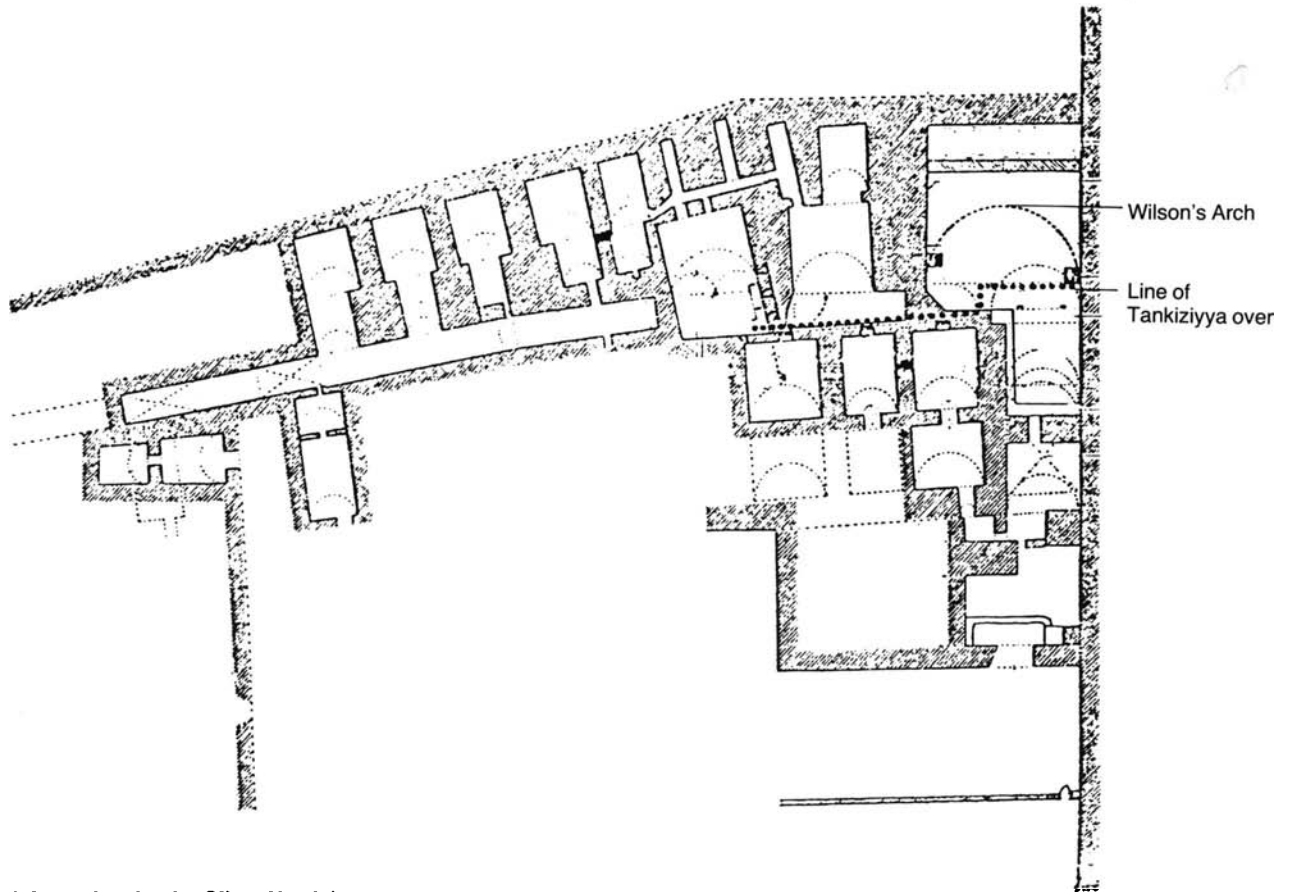
the foundations on the levelled site could proceed, presumably using quicklime as was evidently customary at that time.

No sketch plans have survived from the Mamlūk period,<sup>60</sup> and this suggests that such sketches were only drawn in some impermanent way, with a stick on the ground for instance, or with chalk on a slate which could be wiped clean afterwards.

#### INTERIOR DECORATION

The marble wall panelling in the south *iwān* (plate 18.16) including the *mihrāb* (plate 18.17), is particularly noteworthy. The lower parts of the walls of the other *iwāns* are set back to a depth of 0.10m, showing that the marble dado originally ran around all the walls of the madrasa. Marble wall panelling is rare in Jerusalem, and the way it is treated here bears such a close resemblance to the panelling in the Aqṣā Mosque<sup>61</sup> and in the Ḥaram at Hebron,<sup>62</sup> both ordered by Tankiz and completed in 731/1330-31<sup>63</sup> and 732/1331-32<sup>64</sup> respectively, that one can scarcely fail to conclude that all three examples are the work of the same team of specialists. This team presumably came from

Fig. 18.7 East-west section through courtyard of madrasa looking south



(after a drawing by Oliver Unwin)



Fig. 18.9 Tankiziyya from the south-west in 1854 (after a photograph by A. Salzmann)

Syria where repairs to the Great Mosque in Damascus, including a new *mihṛāb* and marble panelling (no longer extant) were completed on 26 Šafar 729/30 December 1328.<sup>65</sup> Having completed that work, it seems likely that this team was brought to Jerusalem where by this time the construction of the Tankiziyya was far enough advanced to permit the marble-workers to begin on the interior. They were subsequently commissioned to decorate the Aqṣā Mosque and the Ḥaram in Hebron.

Traces of a star-pattern polychrome marble inlay in the sill



Plate 18.18 Marble mosaic in sill of west window in south *iwān*



Plate 18.19 Mezzanine corridor, looking south



of the west window in the south *iwān* (plate 18.18) bear sufficiently close resemblance to similar traces (plate 24.30) in the floor of Hammām al-'Ayn, also built by Tankiz (see below, p. 291) to suggest that the same marble-workers were employed there also.

In particular, the *mibrāb* of the Tankiziyya is virtually identical with the one in Hebron, having a band of blind arcading<sup>66</sup> at the base surmounted by a lining of tall narrow strips of polychrome marble, and flanked by two re-used Crusader columns with matching capitals and bases. The distinctive marble inlay around the conch, with interlacing semicircular lobes on the haunches interconnecting with geometric strapwork on the spandrels, is, as is generally agreed, typically North Syrian,<sup>67</sup> and the craftsmen responsible may have originated there. The conchs of both *mibrabs* are decorated with glass mosaics, probably from stock made



Plate 18.20 Entrance to room 'G'

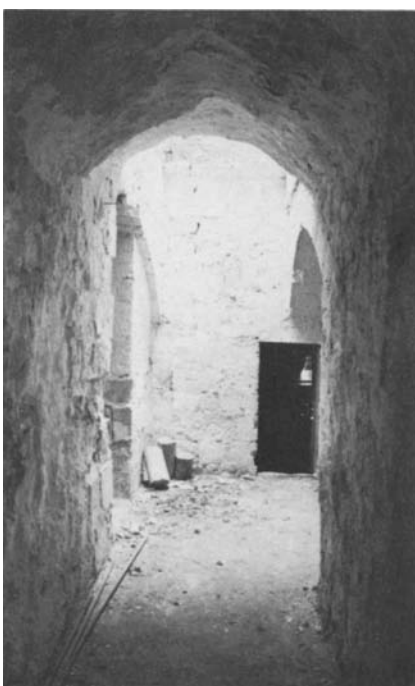


Plate 18.21 Mezzanine corridor, looking north

originally for the restoration of the mosaics at the Great Mosque in Damascus and partly used, as al-'Umarī states, for decorating the *qibla* wall of the Jāmi' Tankiz (717/1317-18).<sup>68</sup> The mosaicists therefore probably came from Damascus. It is unlikely that there were expert mosaicists in Jerusalem at that time – if there were there is no evidence of their work; the earlier restoration of the mosaics on the Dome of the Rock under Baybars (c.662/1264)<sup>69</sup> was probably done by Damascene mosaicists too,<sup>70</sup> and possibly also the restoration under Kitbughā (695/1295-96).<sup>71</sup>

Further evidence of the splendid interior decoration of the original building may be seen in a beautiful enamelled glass lamp, now in the Islamic Museum on the Ḥaram, which bears an inscription stating that it was for the madrasa of Tankiz (*bi-rasm madrasat . . . Tankiz*).<sup>72</sup>

#### MEZZANINE (plan, fig. 18.4)

The staircase to the upper floors rises against the south wall of the vestibule before turning south then east to the upper floor. The mezzanine is entered directly off the staircase, without a landing, just after the stairs turn east. It comprises four rooms (E–H) linked to the staircase by a corridor (plate 18.19). The door into room 'E' to the east of the corridor is now blocked. Room 'F' opens for its full width off the corridor like a small *iwān*, and room 'G' opposite it appears originally to have been similar but that opening has been partly blocked to leave a narrower door (plate 18.20). The northern room (H), entered from the north end of the corridor (plate 18.21), has a small grilled window opening north under the porch at Bāb al-Silsila (see plate 18.11). The area to the west of 'H' is inaccessible; there is no sign of a blocked opening into it except for a blocked circular window in the west face of the southern abutment of the outer porch at Bāb al-Silsila (see plate 18.5). The other rooms (E, F and G) have no windows and are lit and ventilated by an air shaft issuing above the north end of the corridor.

#### UPPER FLOOR (plan, fig. 18.5)

As we know from the nearly contemporary account of al-'Umarī (above, p. 223), the upper floor housed the Tankiziyya Khānqāh. All the rooms at this level are vaulted, though the *waqfiyya* states that those over the Ḥaram portico had timber roofs (above, p. 225). This suggests that their vaulting is later, perhaps part of the repairs authorized in 984/1576-77 (see above, p. 228).

The khānqāh may be regarded as comprising two parts: an eastern part over the Ḥaram portico and a western part over the mezzanine and north end of the madrasa. The eastern part consists of three large halls (the southernmost of which no longer retains its original form), which would have accommodated the communal and ritual activities of the Ṣūfīs. The rooms in the western part are built on a smaller scale, evidently intended for their lodgings.

The main staircase rises past the mezzanine to lead directly into the central hall (J) over the portico. The top of the stairs were originally sheltered by a little porch (see fig. 18.9). Hall 'J', described as an *iwān* in the *waqfiyya*, overlooks the Ḥaram through paired windows (described above, p. 229) centred on a pier of the supporting portico. It serves as a sort of covered courtyard interconnecting the various components of the khānqāh: a door in its west wall, beside the staircase (see plate 18.22), leads to the western rooms (L–S); and doorways in the north and south walls lead to the two other halls over the portico, the council chamber (K) to the north and the assembly hall (now partitioned) to the south.

An assembly hall (*majma'*) seems to have been an essential feature of khānqāhs in Jerusalem (though evidently not elsewhere) where Ṣūfīs could perform their religious exercises.<sup>73</sup> This one, like those at the Dawādāriyya (no. 8) and the Is'ardiyya (no. 33), was divided into three bays, each with a window overlooking the Ḥaram to the east. The southern bay was demolished some time after 1914 (above, p. 229). The wall



Plate 18.22 South wall of room 'J'

separating the northern and central bays is obviously a later insertion, and the south wall of the central bay must have been introduced when the southern bay was demolished. Of course, no *mibrāb* survives but we know from the *waqfiyya* that there was one between the two windows in the south wall (as shown in the dotted plan reconstruction, *fig.* 18.5). In addition to the windows in the east and south walls there were three windows in the west wall and another giving on the roof of the madrasa, according to the *waqfiyya* (above, p. 225). Now there are two doors in the west wall. The secondary staircase, leading up to the roof from under the Haram portico (see above, p. 229), must have issued just to the south of the south-west corner of the southern bay of the assembly hall.

To the north of hall 'J' is the council chamber (K), with pointed-arched recesses in all four sides and a central folded cross-vault. The *waqfiyya* seems to confuse halls 'J' and 'K' for it has two doors opening west from 'K' when in reality they open from 'J'. The first of these is the staircase entrance. The second, to the north of the first (*plate* 18.22) leads into the



Plate 18.23 Roof of rooms 'O', 'P' and 'L'

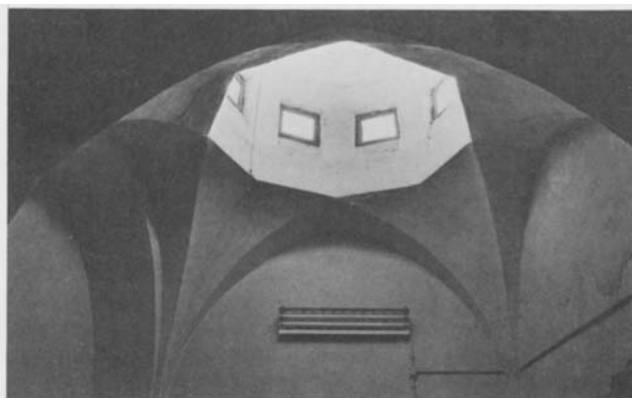


Plate 18.24 Dome over room 'O'

western rooms 'L-S'. The mezzanine air shaft forms a central core round which the rooms above the mezzanine are grouped. Those to the west of the air shaft are cross-vaulted (M and N), and those to the south-east and north-east (L and O) have folded cross vaults, while that to the east (P) is now inaccessible, though its shallow pierced dome can be seen from the roof (*plate* 18.23). This difference is for practical reasons of lighting and ventilation. Whereas the rooms to the west of the shaft have windows opening either on the roof of the madrasa or on the balcony, the three rooms to the east have no outside walls for windows. Folded cross vaults provide the possibility of openings in the roof for lighting and ventilation. As the plan (*fig.* 18.5) shows, the openings in the roof of the three rooms vary in size and shape: a small dome (*plate* 18.24) over room 'O' supported on an eight-sided drum with a window in each side, pointed-arched with gadroon voussoirs on the exterior; and a rectangular skylight covered by a hutch-like cowl with openings to north and south (see *plate* 18.23) over room 'L'. Between these the roof of room 'P' has multiple perforations mostly filled with glass – a feature usually found only in the domes of bath-houses – which may indicate that this room was originally a small *ḥammām* for the use of the inmates of the khānqāh.

A corridor leads west from room 'M' past a barrel-vaulted

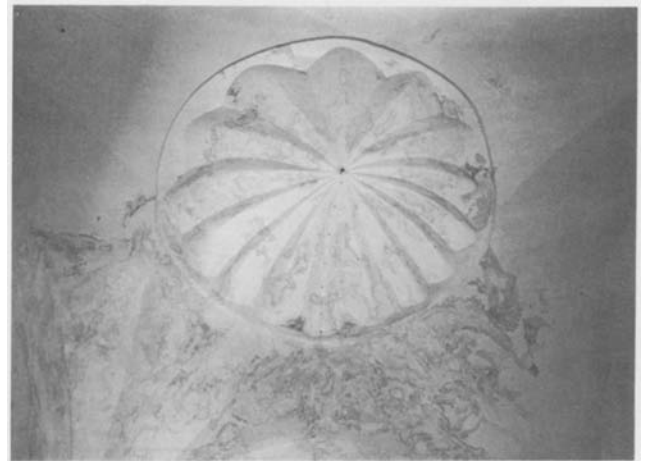


Plate 18.25 Domelet at crown of folded cross vault in central bay of assembly hall



Plate 18.26 Mason's sketch scratched on the façade of the Mausoleum of Khā'irbak in Aleppo

room (Q), which has a circular window in its north wall overlooking the balcony, to the two rooms (R and S) over the main entrance. The first of these (R), roofed by two cross vaults, overlooks the little square at Bāb al-Silsila through a window in its north wall, and is connected with room 'Q' to the east by a

door in the common wall. Room 'S' has two windows overlooking the square to the north and another opening on the roof of the madrasa to the south. Access to it is now blocked. According to the *waqfiyya* (above, p. 225) these two rooms were originally roofed in wood.

## Notes

- 1 W.F. Stinespring, 'Wilson's Arch Revisited' *The Biblical Archaeologist*, xxix, 1966, 27-36. Warren's survey is described in C. Warren and C. Conder, *The Survey of Western Palestine: Jerusalem*, London, 1884, 195-209.
- 2 *CIA (Haram)*, 117-18.
- 3 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 163.
- 4 Reproduced in *ZDPV*, xxiv, 1892, pl. 2.
- 5 Mujīr, 392.
- 6 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 163.
- 7 *Masālik*, Paris Ms. 2325, fol. 224b.
- 8 Mujīr, ii, 35.
- 9 *Sulūk*, ii, 302; *Wāfi*, x, 423. Ibn Habīb (*Tadhkira*, ii, 321) wrote of the 'handsome ribāt' built by Tankiz in Jerusalem. Since he visited Jerusalem with his mother in 738/1337-38, he presumably saw for himself the splendid recent addition to the city (see *Tadhkira*, ii, 297).
- 10 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 80.
- 11 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, Bodleian Ms. Marsh 143, fol. 218a.
- 12 Shujā'ī, i, 119, gives his date of death as Tuesday, 20 Muḥarram 741, and Mujīr al-Dīn (ii, 35) gives Tuesday, 21 Muḥarram. The Tuesday would correspond to 18 July 1340.
- 13 Shujā'ī and Mujīr al-Dīn, (see note 12) and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, Ms. *cit. supra*, fol. 284b. Mujīr al-Dīn, in fact, gives the fuller date eve of Monday, 5 Rajab/24 November, and Shujā'ī writes of 'his tomb chamber in Jerusalem'!
- 14 *Wāfi*, x, 420-435.
- 15 That his family's fortunes were not ruined utterly is suggested by the fact that two of his sons were created amirs in 747/1346-47 (*Sulūk*, ii, 717). A grandson, the Amīr Ṣalāh al-Dīn or Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, was recorded as the *nāzir* of the mosque of Tankiz in Damascus in the year 795/1393. Four years later he was allowed to reside in Damascus with *battāl* status 'because of his properties and waqfs', see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, i, 469 and 617.
- 16 Van Berchem speculated that Mujīr al-Dīn did not allude to the *waqfiyya* of Tankiz because it had perhaps been destroyed after the catastrophic fall of Tankiz (*CIA (Ville)*, 257, note 5). However, in 986/1578 the *waqfiyya* was produced before the Qāḍī of Jerusalem for a reading of the conditions attached to the post of administrator, see Sijill 58, 561 (1), and it seems to be the case that the original dated 730/1330 was intended.
- 17 This shows that the two baths (surely those later known as the Ḥammām al-Shifā' and the Ḥammām al-'Ayn) were in existence by 730/1330.
- 18 *Masālik*, Ms. *cit. supra*, fol. 224b. However, in 952/1545 the Qāḍī Aḥmad Çelebî made a further endowment for the existing Koran school (and the ribāt) of the Tankiziyya, see İpsirli, 53 (cf. note 40 below).
- 19 According to the description, the ground-floor madrasa possessed an *irāqīyya wa-ragblat kbashab wa-rafrāf madbūn*. The precise sense of this passage is not known.
- 20 Each cubit (*dhirā'*) was 66.5 cms, see Hinz, *Islamische Maße*, 58.
- 21 Note that there is no mention of a stairway access from the Haram portico, as in al-'Umarī quoted above, and that the text calls the portico below this range of rooms 'Ibn Hasan's cave' (*maghārat Ibn Hasan*).
- 22 What does this mean? Were they shutters painted in a European style, imported or taken from a Crusader building?
- 23 *HGP*, 118.
- 24 Sijill, 18, no. 2560.
- 25 Sijill, 40, 56 (1).
- 26 Sijill, 57, 95 (1).
- 27 Ibn Kathīr, xiv, 162.
- 28 Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 131; see *Durar*, iii, 99, and Mujīr, ii, 106.
- 29 Mujīr, *loc. cit.*
- 30 Mujīr, ii, 157.
- 31 Mujīr, ii, 231.
- 32 In Ḥaram no. 161 a person described as a *farrāsh* (servant) of the Tankiziyya Madrasa, who was also a glazier (*zajjāj*) in Jerusalem, cedes his place to his son (subject to the ratification of the administrator).
- 33 Mujīr, ii, 95. Perhaps during his five-day stay in 813/1411, see *Nuf.*, vi, 243, and *Sulūk*, vi, 164.
- 34 Mujīr, ii, 301.
- 35 Mujīr, ii, 348.
- 36 Mujīr, ii, 371.
- 37 For the text and discussion, see *CIA (Ville)*, 259, note 3.
- 38 İpsirli, 37 (with some correction from the facsimile, *op. cit.* 178).
- 39 This bath was waqf for the Tankiziyya in 947/1540-41, see Sijill 12, no. 697.
- 40 An administrator for three shops at the Chain Gate was appointed in 1018/1609-10. The shops are described as being bounded by the Tankiziyya to the south, the Haram Gate wall to the east, the road into the Haram to the north and to the west by a further shop made waqf for the Tankiziyya by a former Qāḍī of Jerusalem, Aḥmad Çelebî b. Nasūh. This waqf (four shops in all) was effected in 952/1545 on behalf of the Koran school and the ribāt, see Defter 522=İpsirli, 53.
- 41 Sijill 13, no. 260.
- 42 Sijill 56, 589 (4).
- 43 Could this be a composition containing powdered brick dust, see *ḥumrā* in some dictionaries.

44 *CIA (Ville)*, 260.

45 'Arif al-'Arif, *Mufassal*, 245.

46 S. Perowne, *The Pilgrims Companion in Jerusalem and Bethlehem*, London, 1964, 112-13.

47 J. Wilkinson, *A guidebook to Jerusalem* (in proof in 1967 but never published).

48 The Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums was instrumental in obtaining permission for us to survey the Tankiziyya.

49 C. Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, London, 1865, pl. 41 (by Sergt. J. McDonald).

50 In *CIA (Planches)*, lxiii taken in 1914, the third window can still be seen.

51 These broad frames moulded to a convex-concave profile, are a curious feature, unique in Mamlūk Jerusalem. Moulded door and window frames are common in the Byzantine architecture of North Syria. Analogous moulded frames surround the lateral entrance to the Artūkid Great Mosque at Mayyafiriqīn (547-52/1152-57): a parallel example decorates the entrance to the Dār al-Ḥadīth of Nūr al-Dīn (559/1163-64) in Damascus.

52 A detailed description of the vaulting of the recess is given by W. Harvey, 'Jerusalem Doorways', *AR*, April 1912, 201-3.

53 Described by L.A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford, 1933, 218-23.

54 K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, *Damaskus: die islamische Stadt*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1924, 58, pl. 19b.

55 Felix Faber ('Fabri'), cited in *CIA (Ville)*, 343 n.6, was probably referring to this basin when he wrote of a fountain of splashing water in a courtyard within a doorway not far from the Ḥaram.

56 *CIA (Ville)*, 255.

57 C. Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, London, 1865, 57.

58 It is tempting to suppose that this earlier structure might originally have had a folded cross vault and that it was the inspiration for the ones in the Tankiziyya. But the fact is that there are several folded cross vaults in the Tankiziyya, and in Jerusalem none is known to be earlier than them. After the completion of the Tankiziyya almost every major Mamlūk construction had a folded cross vault, and the implication is that these vaults were modelled on the ones in the Tankiziyya.

59 For a discussion of Muslim architects' plans see: *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 109-11; R. Lewcock, 'Architects, Craftsmen and Builders: Materials and Techniques', *Architecture of the Islamic World*, ed. G. Michell, London, 1978, 112-43, especially 131-32; U. Harb, *Ilkhanidische Stalaktitengewölbe*, Berlin, 1978.

60 Although no Mamlūk plans are known to survive, there is scratched on the façade of the Tomb of Khā'irbak b. Bilbāy (920/1514) outside Aleppo an unpublished mason's sketch design for the construction of a suspended impost (*plate* 18.26). Only an expert could have devised this sophisticated scheme whereby the suspended impost is held in place by being extended upwards to form the keystone of a segmental relieving arch. Perhaps it appeared at the time to be over-ambitious (although there is a series of earlier suspended imposts which still survive in Damascus and Jerusalem: see above, p. 157) for, as it happens the 'suspended imposts' on the façade of this tomb are merely corbelled from the back walls of the window recesses – a much simpler, though mundane, solution.

61 R.W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, London, 1959, pl. ix.

62 L. Vincent, E. Mackay and F.-M. Abel, *Hébron: le Haram el-Khalil*, Paris, 1923, 212-16, pl. ix.

63 *CIA (Haram)*, 422-25.

64 J.-A. Jaussen, 'Inscriptions arabes de la ville d'Hebron', *BIFAO*, xxv, 1925, no. 7.

65 Described by 'Ilmawī, quoting al-Asadī, and also by an anonymous contemporary observer, apparently a member of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's court. Respectively cited and quoted in *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 161, n.3.

66 *MAE*, ii, 202, for a list of Egyptian examples. The earliest is in the Tomb of Qalāwūn (683-84/1284-85) but thought by Creswell to be derived from one seen by Ibn Jubayr (580/1184) in the Great Mosque in Damascus, possibly part of the works by Malikshāh (475/1082-83).

67 *Ibid.*, 170-71; *CIA (Alep)*, 241-42, 259.

68 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 193.

69 Mujīr, 433-34.

70 M. Gautier-van Berchem, 'The Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem', *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, at p. 314. Further details of the Damascus mosaicists are given in E. de Lorey, 'Les Mosaïques de la Mosquée des Omayyades à Damas', *Syria*, xii, 1931, 326-49. De Lorey (p. 342) refers to mosaics at the 'Adiliyya' in Jerusalem (there is no building with this name), perhaps a misnomer for the Tankiziyya. M. Rosen-Ayalon, 'Une Mosaïque médiévale au Saint-Sépulcre', *Revue Biblique*, lxxxiii, 1976, 237-53, has attempted to compile a list of medieval mosaics in Syria and Palestine (excluding the list of Egyptian examples given in *MAE*, ii, 138). Her list does include the otherwise undiscussed *mibrāb* with a mosaic conch in the south wall of the outer octagon of the Dome of the Rock, which appears to be work of the sixth/twelfth century (Saladin) or seventh/thirteenth century (Baybars).

71 Mujīr, 436-37.

72 L.A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford, 1933, 221-2, pl. xii 4. Mayer asserts that this lamp was intended for the mosque at Hebron, but it is much more likely that it comes from Tankiz's madrasa, as the inscription says.

73 Van Berchem (*CIA (Ville)*, 89 n.1) comments on this special meaning of the word *majma'*, 'which I have not encountered elsewhere'.

# 19 RIBĀṬ AL-NISĀ'

## رباط النساء

Endowed in 730/1330  
 Women's hospice founded by Tankiz al-Nāṣiri  
*Modern name:* not known (photographer's shop and studio)

### I LOCATION (fig. 19.1)

Opposite the Tankiziyya, on the north and west sides of the square in front of Bāb al-Silsila/Bāb al-Sakīna.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 19.2)

The site is bounded by the Bāb al-Silsila/Bāb al-Sakīna square and by the Sa'diyya (no. 13) to the south, a room associated with the Sa'diyya to the west, the Baladiyya (no. 43) to the north, and the northern abutment of the porch at Bāb al-Sakīna to the east. The northern boundary follows the alignment of the underlying vaults (see fig. 19.3) that carry the street across the town's central ('Tyropoeon') valley.

The plan of the building is somewhat unconventional, with rooms opening to north and west off a corridor. The northern rooms may predate the founding of the ribāṭ. The corridor is reached through an entrance portal in the south façade, and there is a plain door leading from the square into the western rooms. A small chamber (marked 'P' on the plan, fig. 19.3) appears to contain a well-head where water could be drawn from a cistern provided by Tankiz.

The upper storeys are probably later additions.

### III HISTORY

See pp. 223-228.

### IV ARCHITECTURE

#### STREET FRONTAGE (plate 19.1).

The main feature of the unpretentious frontage on the square at Bāb al-Silsila/Bāb al-Sakīna is a trefoil-arched portal recess containing the main entrance. The archivolt of the trefoil arch is curved to form one large cavetto. Little brackets in the form of 'folded' pendentives adjust the cavetto of the lowest voussoirs to the square corners of the recess.

To the right of the entrance is a small window lighting chamber 'P'. Further to the right is a small door surmounted by a window opening into the room marked 'O' on the plan, fig. 19.3. This room is, as a vertical joint in the masonry shows, a later addition. To the left of the entrance is a plain rectangular window lighting the corridor.

The masonry of the street frontage continues round the corner onto the west side of the square to abut on the north-east corner of the Sa'diyya (no. 13). In the corner is a plain rectangular doorway surmounted by a small window which opens into the western part of the ribāṭ (see plate 13.5).

There are several windows in the upper part of the frontage which light rooms on two upper floors. These upper floors have not been surveyed. A small change in the dressing of masonry of the frontage seems to indicate that they do not

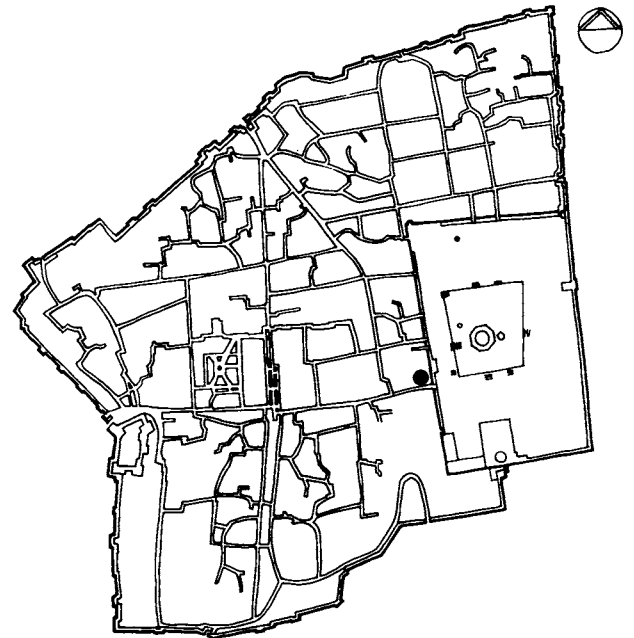


Fig. 19.1 Location plan



Plate 19.1 Street frontage

belong to the original foundation. A window above the *miḥrāb* of the Baladiyya (see below, p. 449), built around 782/1380, originally opened on the area now occupied by buildings on the first floor and this too suggests that the upper floors are later additions. Furthermore, the open staircase (see plate 19.2) to the first floor rises against the wall containing the present entrance to the Baladiyya, which appears to have been erected not earlier than 875/1470 (see below, p. 447). It is very unlikely that the staircase was built before that wall and consequently it may reasonably be supposed that the first floor (on the roof of the ground floor) was added some time after 875/1470. Since the trefoil arched portal rises about 1.90m above the crowns of the vaults of the ribāṭ, the upper part of the frontage must originally have stood as a high (approx. 1.50m) parapet wall on the roof.

#### INTERIOR (plan, fig. 19.3)

The entrance portal opens into a corridor that gives access to the various rooms of the ribāṭ. A modern plywood lining covers most walls and so little can be seen of the masonry. It is not

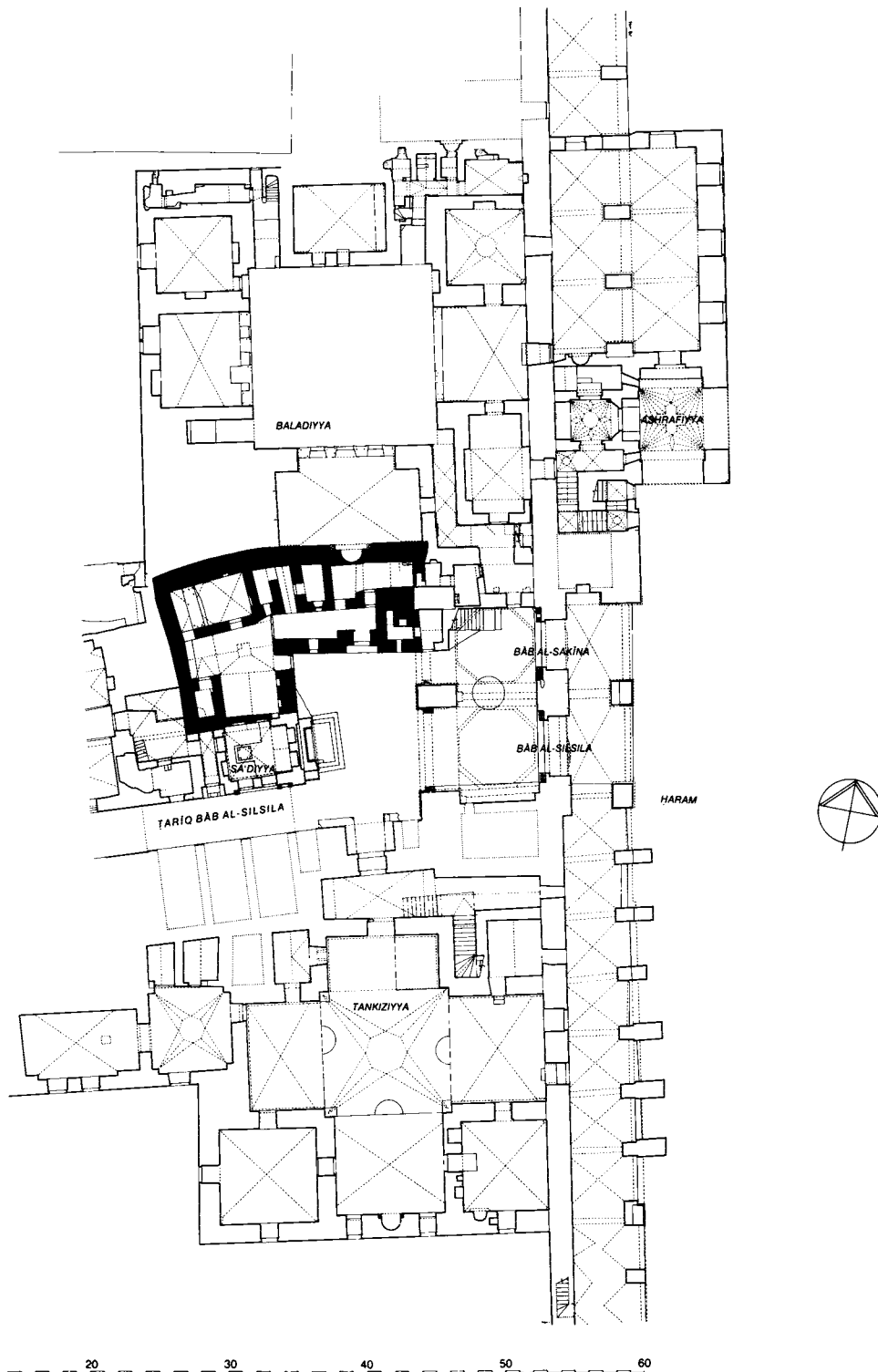


Fig. 19.2 Site plan

possible to say whether or not the northern rooms (Q–V) once opened directly on the square and were subsequently isolated from it by the construction of the wall that forms the present street frontage, as the notable lack of regularity in the plan might suggest. The vaulting of the rooms is without consistency: some have barrel vaults, others cross vaults. The northern range of rooms is lit only indirectly by the windows in the street frontage.

In the north-east corner of room 'Q' traces of an earlier wall may be seen (see plan). This room has been connected to the adjoining room 'R' by the demolition of the common wall. Room 'S' has a window into the corridor; it is entered from room 'T' to the west. Room 'T' (now containing a latrine) gives access to room 'U', which has a window in its south wall.

The west end of the corridor is blocked by a modern wall of concrete blocks. Now the area to the west is reached by the doorway at the north-west corner of the square at Bāb al-Silsila/Bāb al-Sakīna. The main rooms in this area are more generously proportioned. A barrel-vaulted hall (Y) gives access to them. The square recess at the crown of the vault of the hall may once have been open to admit light and provide ventilation. On the north side of the hall is the window into room 'U' and two doors into a large room (V) roofed by two cross vaults and now divided by a partition wall. A lower barrel-vaulted recess (W) opens to the west from the hall. A small room (X) and an *iwān* open on the south side of the hall. There is nothing in the present structure that corresponds obviously with the second *iwān* mentioned in the *waqfiyya* (above, p.



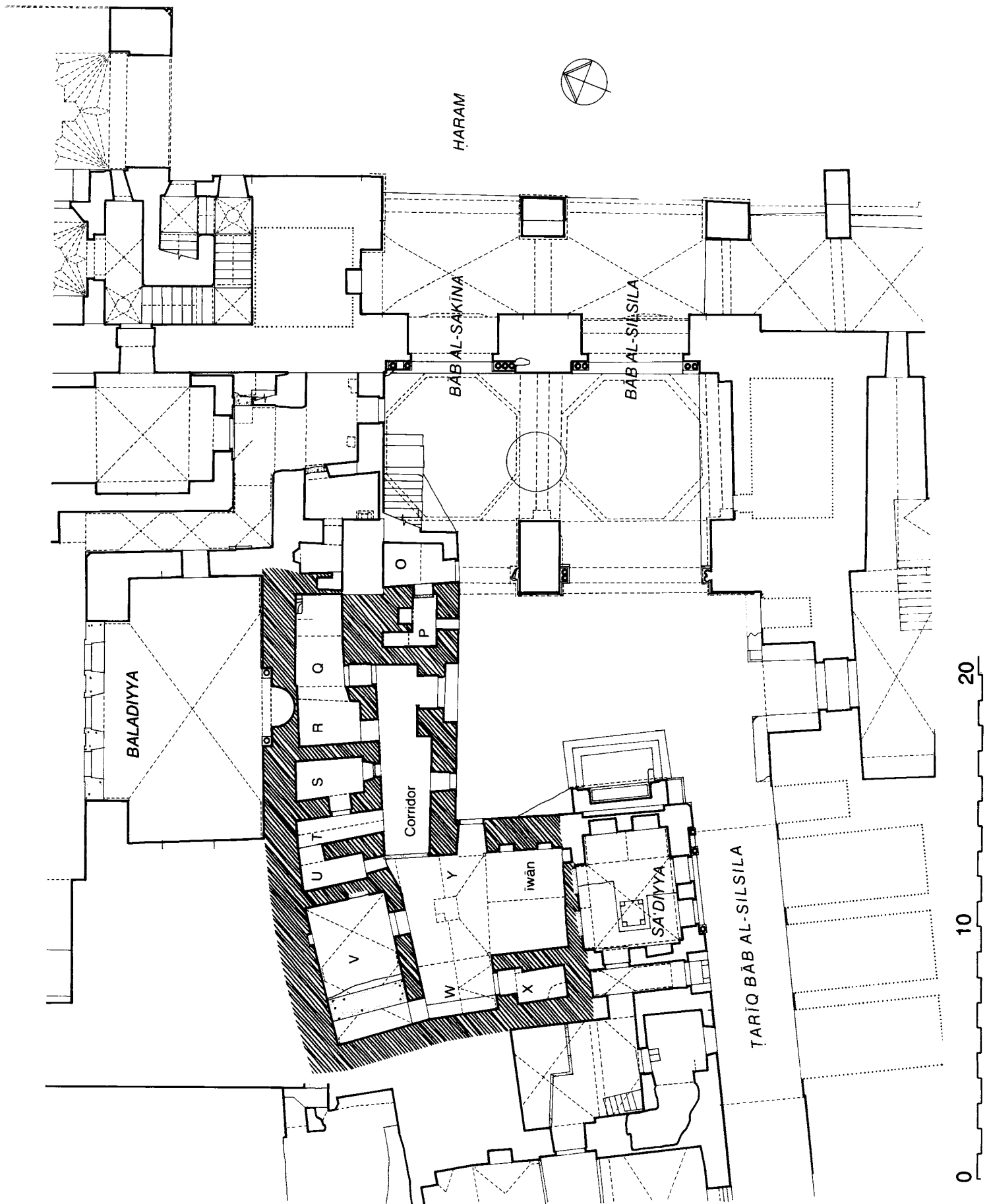


Fig. 19.3 Ground floor plan



Plate 19.2 Staircase (on right-hand side)

225). The area to the west of the hall may, however, originally have formed part of the ribāt, as suggested by the document dated 984/1576 cited above (p. 225), though there is no sign of a door from the hall into this area.

In the south-east corner of the complex is a small chamber (P) which is no longer easily accessible. Its plan (see *fig.* 19.3) was drawn from measurements taken through the high-level window in its south wall. The original entrance from the east is blocked by a modern concrete wall. The keeper of the adjoining storeroom (O) informed us that one of the recesses in its north wall contains a well-head. (The floor is now overlaid with debris.) This must be where, according to the *waqfiyya* (above, p. 225), Tankiz built a structure housing a stone basin and a grille through which water was drawn from a cistern below.

## 20 BĀB AL-SILSILA MINARET

### منارة باب السلسلة

Rebuilt 730/1329-30  
Western minaret of the Haram  
*Modern name:* Bāb al-Silsila Minaret

#### I LOCATION (fig. 20.1)

At the west border of the Haram, immediately north of the Bāb al-Silsila/Bāb al-Sakīna double gate.

#### II SITE AND BUILDING (fig. 20.2)

The minaret is based on a substantial block of masonry against the east face of the Haram wall between the inner (east) porch at Bāb al-Sakīna and the Ashrafiyya (no. 63). An irregular vertical joint in the north of face of this masonry (see below, p. 598) may indicate the original eastern extent of an earlier minaret, for Mujīr al-Dīn states that this minaret, like others around the Haram, was probably built on the foundations of an earlier minaret that existed in Umayyad times.<sup>1</sup>

The present minaret, built of stone, is of the traditional Syrian square tower type. It is now reached by way of the entrance staircase of the Ashrafiyya.

#### III HISTORY

##### IDENTIFICATION AND DATE

In the east face of the masonry base on which the minaret stands a badly weathered inscription records that the reconstruction of a minaret (the word used is unclear) was ordered in the reign of the Sultan (al-Nāṣir Muḥammad) . . . (several words missing) in the year 730/1329-30. The missing words probably included reference to the Amīr Tankiz al-Nāṣiri.<sup>2</sup> Mujīr al-Dīn writes that the second minaret (of the Haram) stands close to Bāb al-Silsila on the west side of the Haram. He adds that he had been told that it was built by the Amīr Tankiz, governor of Syria, when he built the madrasa (no. 18) that bears his name in the neighbourhood of Bāb al-Silsila.<sup>3</sup>

##### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

In Mujīr al-Dīn's day it was, he says, reserved for the best muezzins; it was from this minaret that the call to prayer was initially sounded, so giving the signal to muezzins on other minarets.

In a sequel to Mujīr al-Dīn's chronicle<sup>4</sup> it is recorded that the top of the minaret was damaged in an earthquake which occurred in 902/1496 or, more probably, 952/1546. It was subsequently repaired. Quite how extensive these repairs were is not known, though certain irregularities in the masonry below the corbelled gallery (see below) suggest that much of the upper part was rebuilt. Early photographs (e.g. *plates* 35.5 and 63.13) show that it had been given a typical Ottoman 'pencil-point' spire. That spire was removed in 1894 and replaced by a smooth ashlar drum and dome.<sup>5</sup>

The lantern was further repaired in 1923-24 when the present canopy was erected and the dome given its lead cladding.<sup>6</sup>

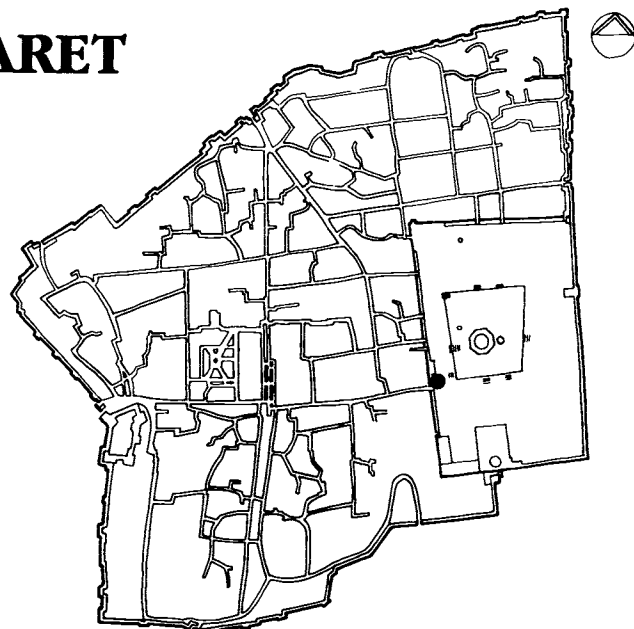


Fig. 20.1 Location plan

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### EXTERIOR (plan, fig. 20.3; elevation, fig. 20.4)

The square shaft of the minaret is divided into four storeys by string courses. The lowest storey is largely concealed by later structures (*plates* 20.1 and 20.2). Only the east side is relatively unencumbered in this way. It is quite plain apart from the rectangular entrance door (*plate* 20.3). The string course dividing this from the second storey is decorated with a cyma recta moulding

Directly above the string course, slit windows with ogee heads pierce the masonry of the second storey in the middle of the south, west and east sides to light the staircase. Above these windows are two shallow circular recesses, matched by a similar recess in the north side. The west side is plain. If these circular recesses were intended to contain some applied ornament, no trace of such survives. Perhaps more likely is that they were intended simply to relieve an otherwise blank panel of masonry on those sides of the minaret that are visible from within the Haram. A cavetto string course embellished with a repeating *muqarnas* motif divides this storey from the third.

The third storey is more elaborately decorated with recesses in each side containing round-headed slit windows. Each of these recesses is spanned by three tiers of *muqarnas* corbelling, five units wide on the north and south sides, and three units wide on the east and west sides. Nook-shafts composed of re-used Crusader columns with capitals and bases occupy the lower part of the jambs of each recess.

The fourth storey comprises a square chamber containing the stairhead of the minaret within a corbelled muezzin's gallery. This has a modern balustrade and canopy. Immediately below the corbelling supporting the muezzin's gallery traces survive of a cavetto string course embellished with a repeated *muqarnas* motif. Much of this string course has been replaced with a plain string course (see *plate* 20.4), presumably when the top of the minaret was repaired following the earthquake mentioned in the sequel to Mujīr al-Dīn's chronicle (see above). Since most of the original string course has been replaced, it follows that the corbelling above has been rebuilt or replaced also. The present composite corbels supporting the gallery, five on each side and one at each corner, are assembled in a somewhat makeshift fashion as if they are in secondary use.

The muezzin's stair emerges by a door in the south side of the stairhead chamber, above which is an octagonal lantern surmounted by a circular drum and bulbous stone dome now

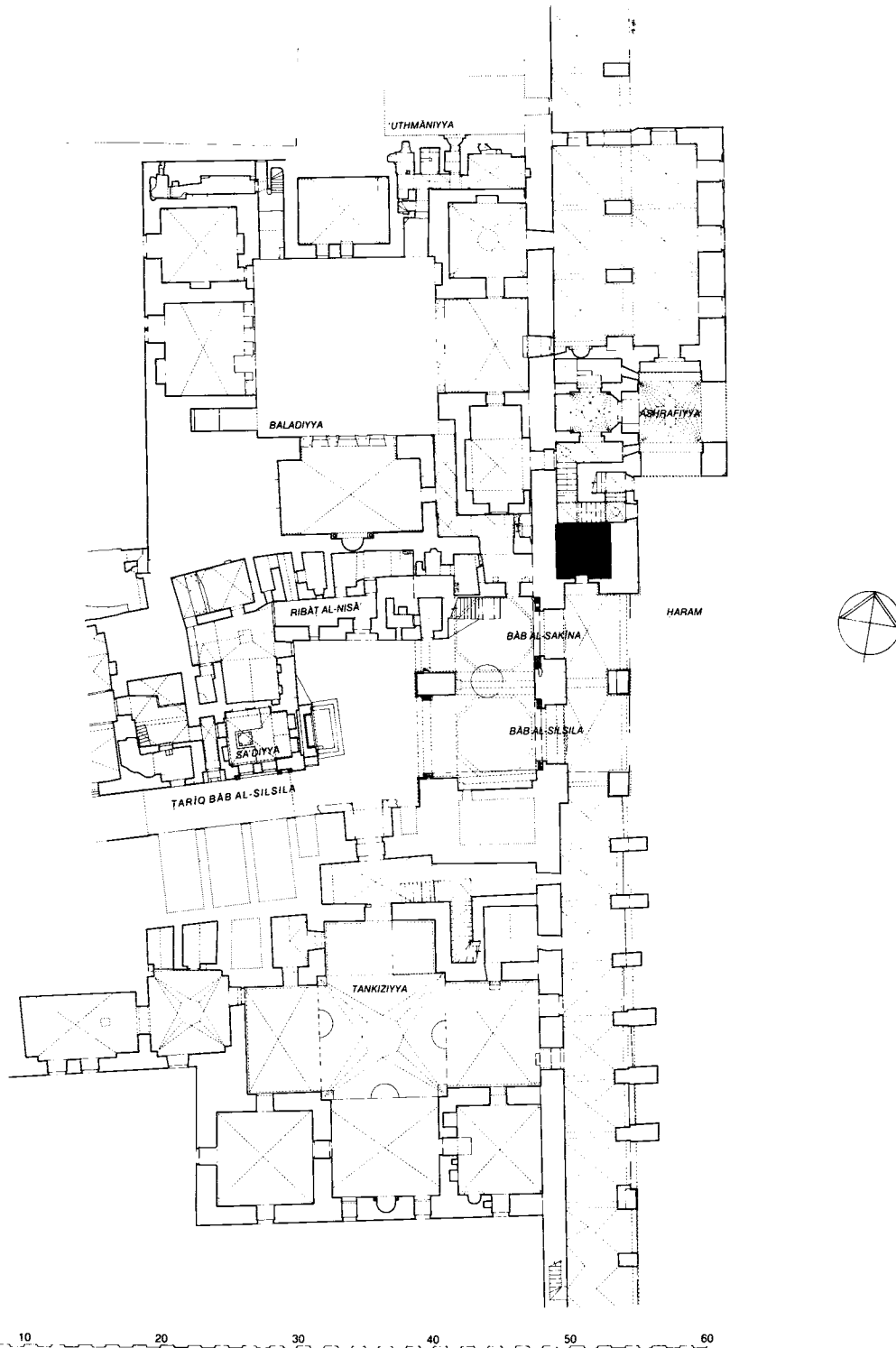


Fig. 20.2 Site plan

sheathed in lead and fitted with a crescent finial. The whole of this uppermost part of the minaret has been rebuilt, as evidenced by the texts cited above and by the ogee head of the staircase door, which is late Mamlūk or Ottoman in style and probably dates from the repairs mentioned above. The arrangement of a square chamber surrounded by a gallery and surmounted by an octagonal lantern is similar to that found at the Ghawānima Minaret (no. 10) and so may recall the original arrangement. The circular drum and dome belong to the 1894 repairs, and were refurbished in 1922-23 (see above).

*INTERIOR* (plans, figs. 20.2 and 20.3)

The minaret is now reached from the entrance staircase of the Ashrafiyya (see below, p. 598). How it was reached originally is

not known. The present Ashrafiyya staircase, built in 887/1482, may replace an earlier one, though if such existed al-'Umārī, writing c.745/1345, makes no mention of it.<sup>7</sup> Alternatively, a little staircase (now blocked) that rises from beside the tomb chamber of the Baladiyya (see below, pp. 447 and 598) might once have served to give access to the minaret.

A wide archway in the south side of the top landing of the Ashrafiyya staircase opens into a barrel-vaulted passage in which a flight of eight steps rises eastwards to an open porch along the east side of the minaret. This passage and the frontage of the porch, with one window opening north on the Ashrafiyya staircase and two opening east on the Haram, were built at the same time as the Ashrafiyya. A partition now blocks the southern end of the porch and partly masks the entrance to the



Plate 20.1 General view from south-east with Qubbat Mūsā (647/1249-50) in foreground



Plate 20.2 General view from north-east

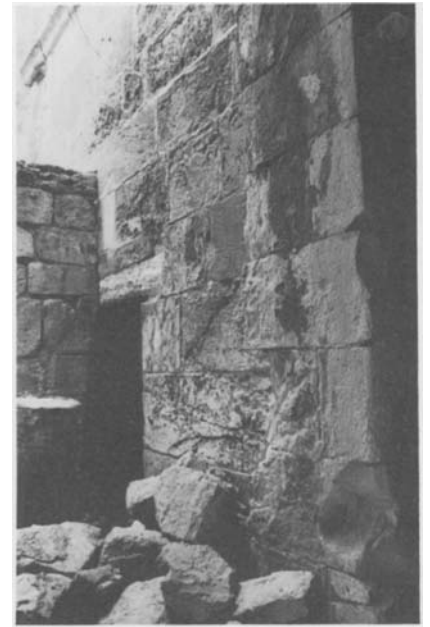


Plate 20.3 Entrance

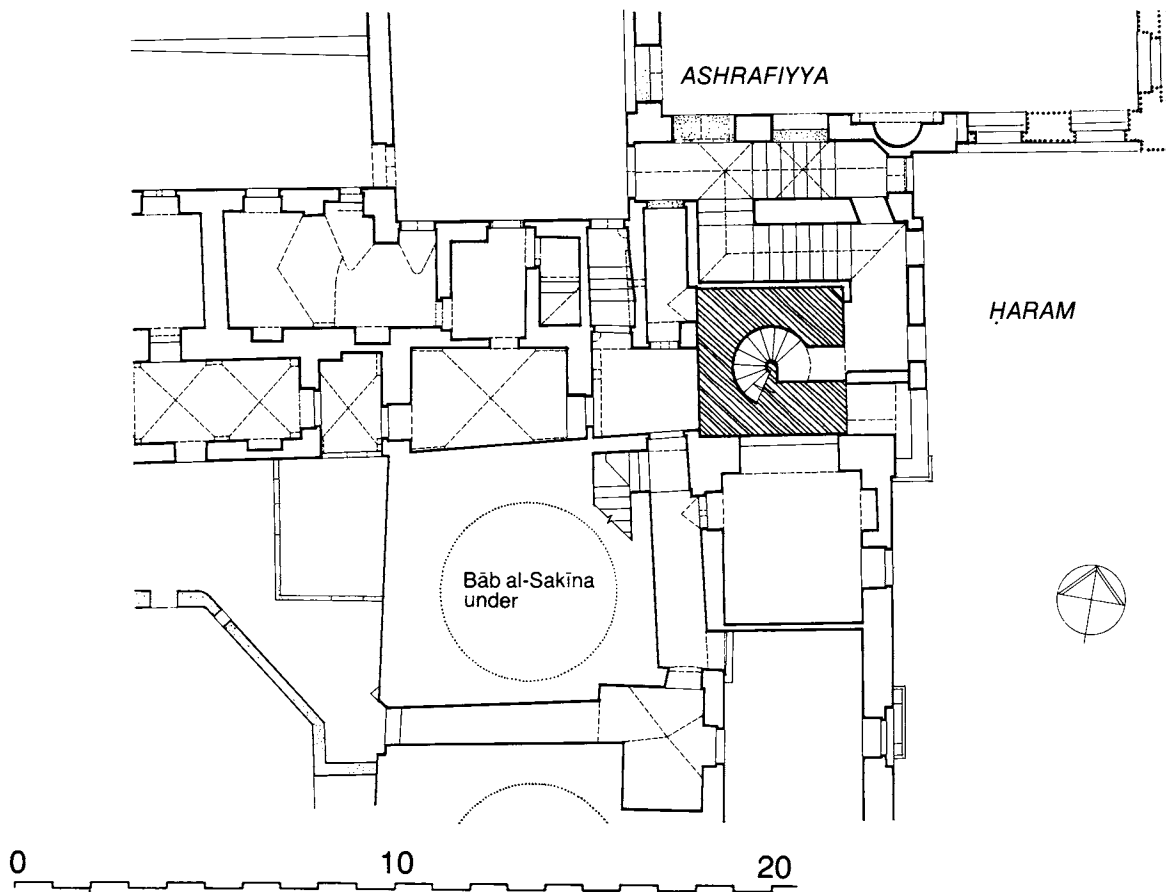
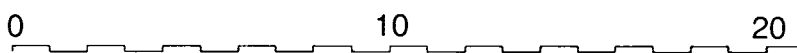
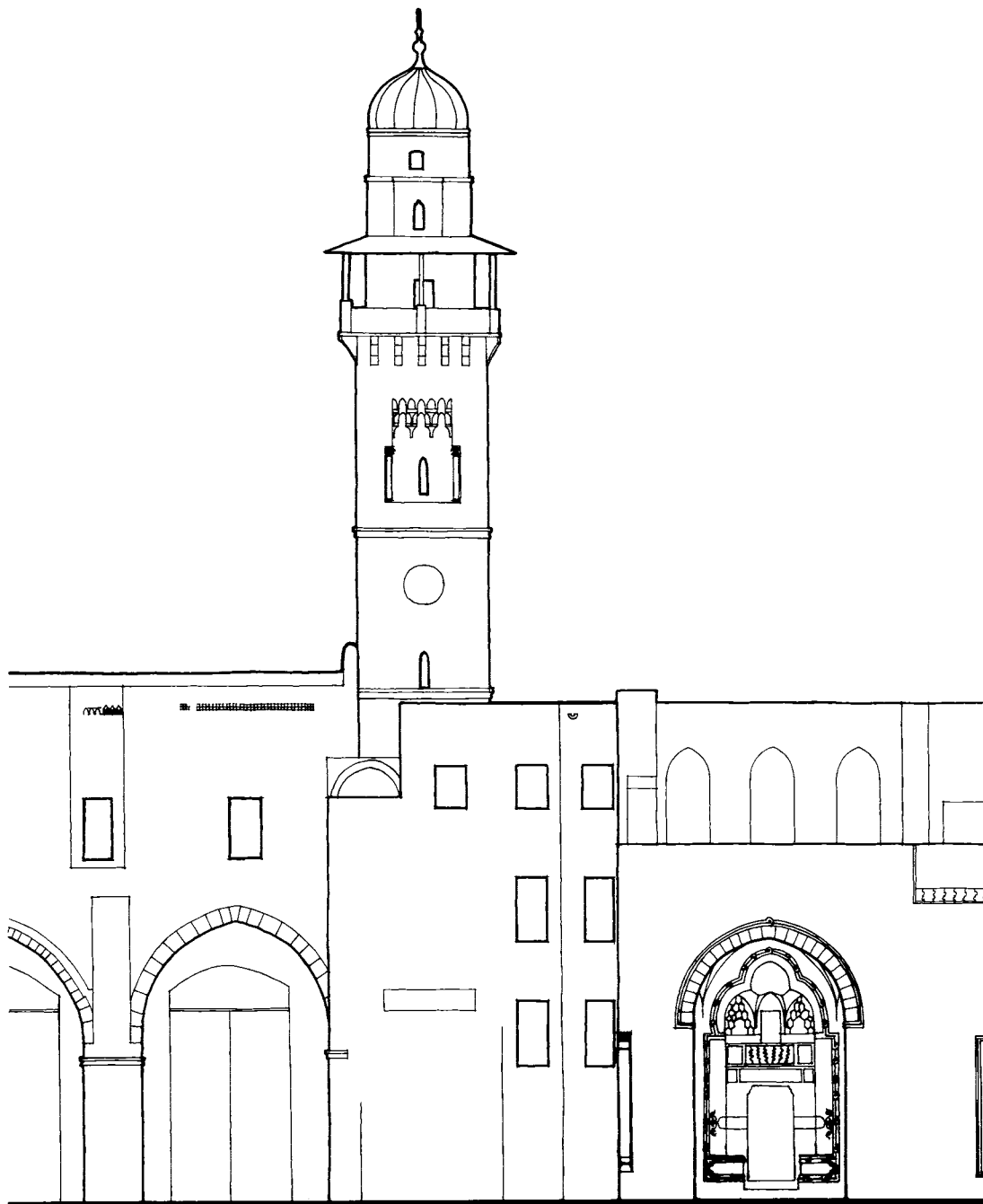


Fig. 20.3 Floor plan





**Fig. 20.4 East face**



Plate 20.4

minaret (*plate 20.3*). The plain entrance door leads to a stone spiral staircase within the core of the minaret, which rises to the muezzin's gallery. The ceiling of the staircase is formed by the underside of the steps above, dressed with plaster (*plate 20.5*).

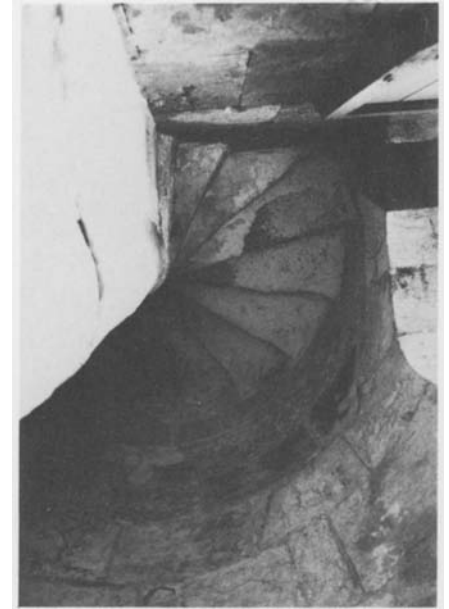


Plate 20.5 Ceiling of minaret staircase, with entrance door on right

## Notes

- 1 Mujīr, 379.
- 2 *CIA (Haram)*, 123-27.
- 3 Mujīr, 379.
- 4 L.A. Mayer, 'A Sequel to Mujīr al-Dīn's Chronicle', *JPOS*, xi, 1931, 86-87.
- 5 C. Schick, 'Notes of Changes in Jerusalem Buildings, etc.', *PEFQS*, 1894, 19-20. Compare *CIA (Planches)*, lxxxi (taken in 1893) and lxxxiv (taken in 1914).
- 6 *Bayān al-majlis al-shar'ī al-islāmī al-a'lā fī Filastīn 1341-42/1923-24*, Jerusalem, 1924.
- 7 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 163.

# 21 AL-AMĪNIYYA

## الأمينية

730/1329-30

Madrasa or zāwiya of Amīn al-Mulk

Modern name: Dār al-Imām

### I LOCATION (fig. 21.1)

Lower floors on the west side of *Tarīq Bāb al-'Atm* bounded to the south by the north wall of the Ḥaram; upper floor on top of the Ḥaram portico.

### II SITE AND BUILDING (fig. 21.2)

The site of the madrasa is bounded to the east by the street and, barely nine metres to the west, by what must be the eastern extremity of the Antonia rock scarp.<sup>1</sup> Thus the strip of land available for building was relatively narrow. These topographical restrictions mean that the accommodation was arranged on three levels. The somewhat cramped layout on two floors behind the north wall of the Ḥaram was complemented by a more spacious development over the Ḥaram portico. It is interesting to observe that the development over the portico was shifted eastward from the lower floors, apparently for the aesthetic reason of creating a striking architectural façade centred on the *Bāb al-'Atm* and facing straight on to the Dome of the Rock.

The layout of the ground floor is more or less conventional with a courtyard surrounded on three sides by cells and a deep *iwān* opening on the fourth, south (*qibla*) side. To the east of the *iwān* is a small tunnel-vaulted tomb chamber with a cenotaph. The first floor of the madrasa (which we shall call the mezzanine) is reached from the courtyard by a staircase. Continuing, this staircase serves also the development over the portico (which we shall call the upper floor). There is no *mīhrāb* in the Amīniyya.

The mezzanine was a new concept in the Mamlūk architecture of Jerusalem but the layout is no more unusual than the special limitations of the site demanded. Both the ground floor and the mezzanine have passages leading to blocked doors which once connected with a now inaccessible area to the north. The level of the street descends as it approaches *Bāb al-'Atm* and has thus allowed the extension of the mezzanine by an extra room over the street, just outside the Ḥaram gate.

At the upper floor level an entrance portal leads from a roof courtyard at the top of the stairs into a small vestibule and thence to a group of three rooms of differing sizes overlooking the Ḥaram.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

In his description of the north side of the Ḥaram al-'Umarī wrote:

Following this gate [Gate of the Glory of the Prophets (*Bāb Sbaraf al-Anbiyā'*)], the modern *Bāb al-'Atm* is a portico

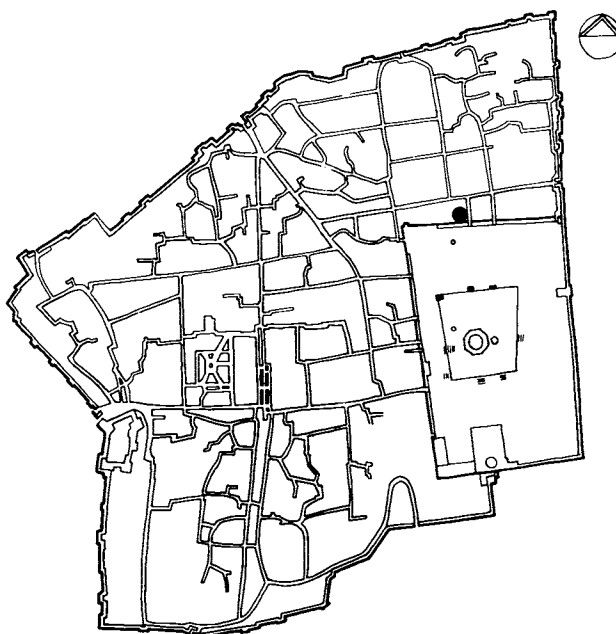


Fig. 21.1 Location plan

forty-seven cubits in length and seven and a half in breadth, carried on eight piers. At the beginning of it [i.e. to the west of the gate] are two windows, one of which is open, giving on to the zāwiya of the Vizier Amīn al-Dīn, known as Amīn al-Mulk.<sup>2</sup>

There is no inscription, but that the original designation of the foundation was as a zāwiya gains support from Haram document no. 191, where that term is used. Mujīr al-Dīn in a very short notice calls it a madrasa.<sup>3</sup>

#### DATE

In this same notice we are informed that 'The Amīniyya Madrasa at the Gate of the Glory of the Prophets, also known as the *Bāb al-Duwaydāriyya*, was endowed by the Vizier Amīn al-Dīn 'Abdallāh in the year seven hundred and thirty [1329-30].' This was in the middle of a period out of office when he may have gone to live in Jerusalem as he had done on an earlier occasion.

#### FOUNDER

The founder named by the above sources was one of the influential state officials of Coptic origin who were prominent in the period of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn. His full name was Amīn al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd 'Abdallāh (also known as Amīn al-Mulk) b. Tāj al-Riyāsa b. al-Ghannām. He gained his administrative skills and experience from his uncle, al-Sadīd, the Comptroller (*mustawfī*), and succeeded him when he died. In Rajab 700/March 1301 a campaign against the Coptic officials was launched by Baybars the Taster (subsequently Baybars II). Amīn al-Dīn went into hiding for about a month but eventually re-appeared and accepted conversion to Islam.<sup>4</sup>

There is some confusion in the sources over the details of his career, but the main lines are clear.<sup>5</sup> Within a few years of the return of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to power for the third time, Amīn al-Dīn began his first vizierate,<sup>6</sup> which office he held altogether three times. After the second time he served as Inspector (*nāzir*) in Tripoli but resigned and went to live in Jerusalem with *battāl* status and a salary of a thousand dirhams a month.<sup>7</sup> He was recalled to the vizierate for the last time, after the arrest of Karīm al-Dīn (see p. 211), in Rabī' II 723/May 1323.<sup>8</sup> When about sixteen months had elapsed he resigned, because of the pressures upon him, in favour of a military man, Mughultay al-Jamālī.<sup>9</sup> For a brief period in 728/1327-28 he was recalled to act alongside the vizier as Inspector of State (*nāzir al-dawla*), during which time the historian and biographer, al-Ṣafādī, was employed by Amīn al-Dīn to write official

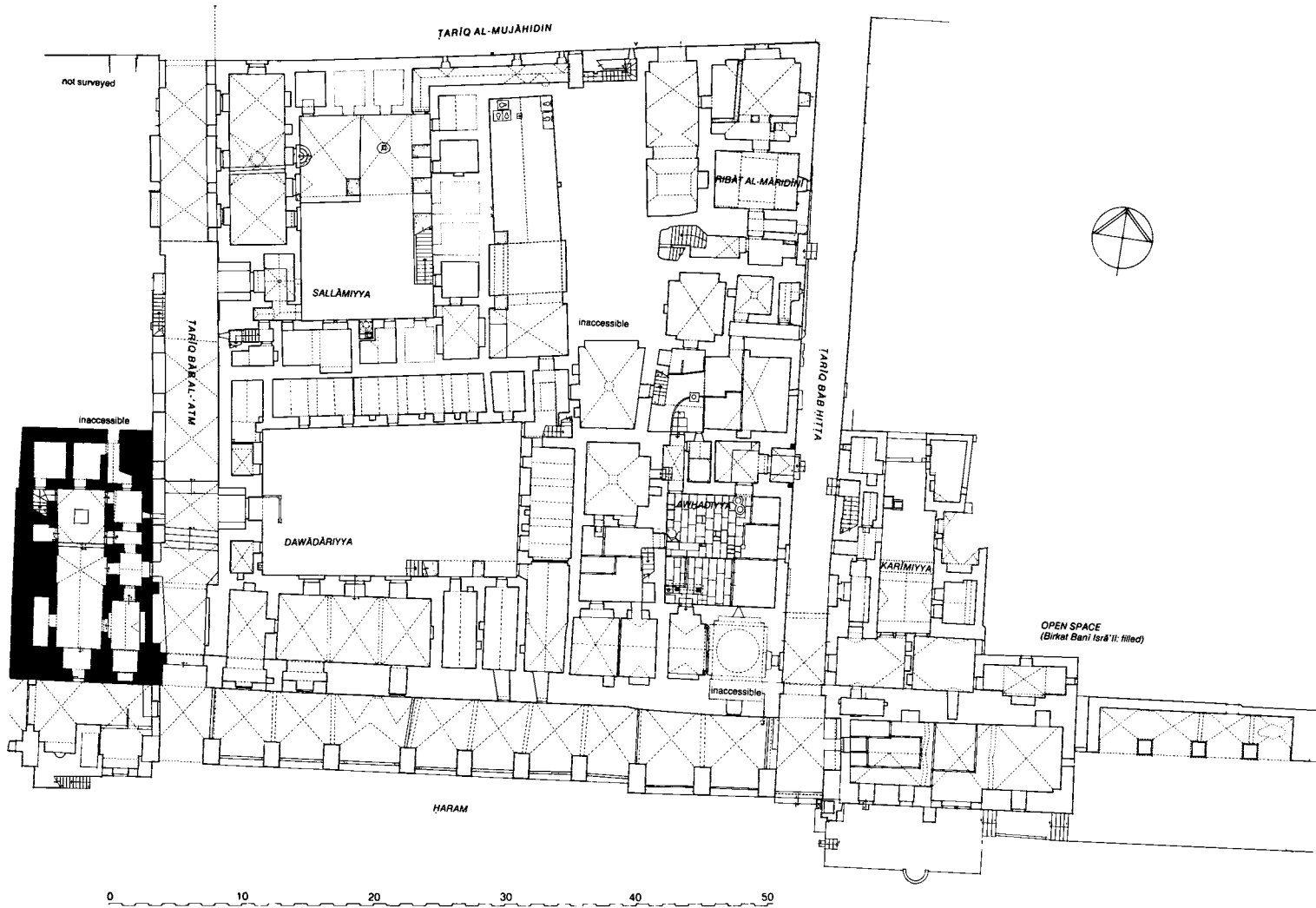


Fig. 21.2 Site plan

correspondence for him.<sup>10</sup> Otherwise he was free of public life for roughly nine and a half years, towards the end of which period, if Mujir al-Dīn is to be believed, he endowed his *zāwiya* at Jerusalem in 730/1329-30.

When in Ṣafar 733/October 1332 Amīn al-Dīn was summoned to accept a package of posts in Damascus (the Inspectorates of Syria, the Privy Purse, and the Waqfs),<sup>11</sup> it was al-Ṣafadī who composed his document of appointment (*iaqlid*) and preserved a copy of it in the biographical notice he devoted to him.<sup>12</sup> Amīn al-Dīn remained in Damascus for over seven years until, upon the downfall of al-Nāṣir's latest chief minister, 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nashū, in Ṣafar 740/August 1339, he was called to Cairo.<sup>13</sup> The Sultan intended to restore him yet again to the vizierate but the amount of opposition to Amīn al-Dīn diverted him from that, and Amīn al-Dīn was again out of office (*battāl*).

When the end came, there is a hint that it was connected with the Amīr Tankiz's tumble from power. Al-Maqrīzī writes that Amīn al-Dīn was arrested and put to torture because he was suspected of being of Tankiz's party.<sup>14</sup> His seven recent years in Damascus had surely made him a close professional associate of the all-powerful governor of Syria, and al-Ṣafadī says plainly that the Amīr Tankiz liked him very much.<sup>15</sup> Tankiz was arrested at the end of 740/June 1340 and was dead within about a month (see p. 224). If there was a connection with the arrest of Amīn al-Dīn, then there are difficulties about the year 740 being given for the latter's death.<sup>16</sup> Al-Maqrīzī writes that Amīn al-Dīn died under torture in Jumādā I 741/October 1340,<sup>17</sup> which would fit better chronologically.

His two sons who shared in their father's fall managed to re-establish their own careers. Karīm al-Dīn served as Inspector of the Household Departments (*nāzir al-buyūt*),<sup>18</sup> but the more influential was Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad<sup>19</sup> who was Inspector of the Army and then Inspector of the Privy Purse under the Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ<sup>20</sup> and was closely associated with the Amīr Tāz (see pp. 399-401). On the accession of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan he reaped the harvest of his previous differences with the Amīrs Shaykhu and Sarghitmish and of the general hatred he had gained because of his severe pruning of the administration and cutting of salaries. Once again the fortunes of the family and its associates collapsed. His house was demolished and his property sold. What happened to Karīm al-Dīn is not told, but Tāj al-Dīn, like his father, was tortured to death in Shawwāl 755/October 1354.<sup>21</sup>

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

What effect these successive disasters had on the foundation in Jerusalem can only be guessed at. The Ḥaram document already alluded to, which is dated 13 Muḥarram 784/29 March 1382,<sup>22</sup> records the name of the then *nāzir* of the *zāwiya*, the Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Ḥalabī and the fact that he agreed to receive his salary from the Qādī of Nablus, namely, a share of the rent from orchards in Nablus otherwise dispensed to the Mosque of Mercy.<sup>23</sup> The Defter no. 522 contains a note that all the waqfs of the Amīniyya Madrasa (*sic*) had disappeared.<sup>24</sup> An account for repairs carried out with the permission of the Mālīkī Qādī, and at a cost of 320 paras, nowhere mentions that this is from waqf

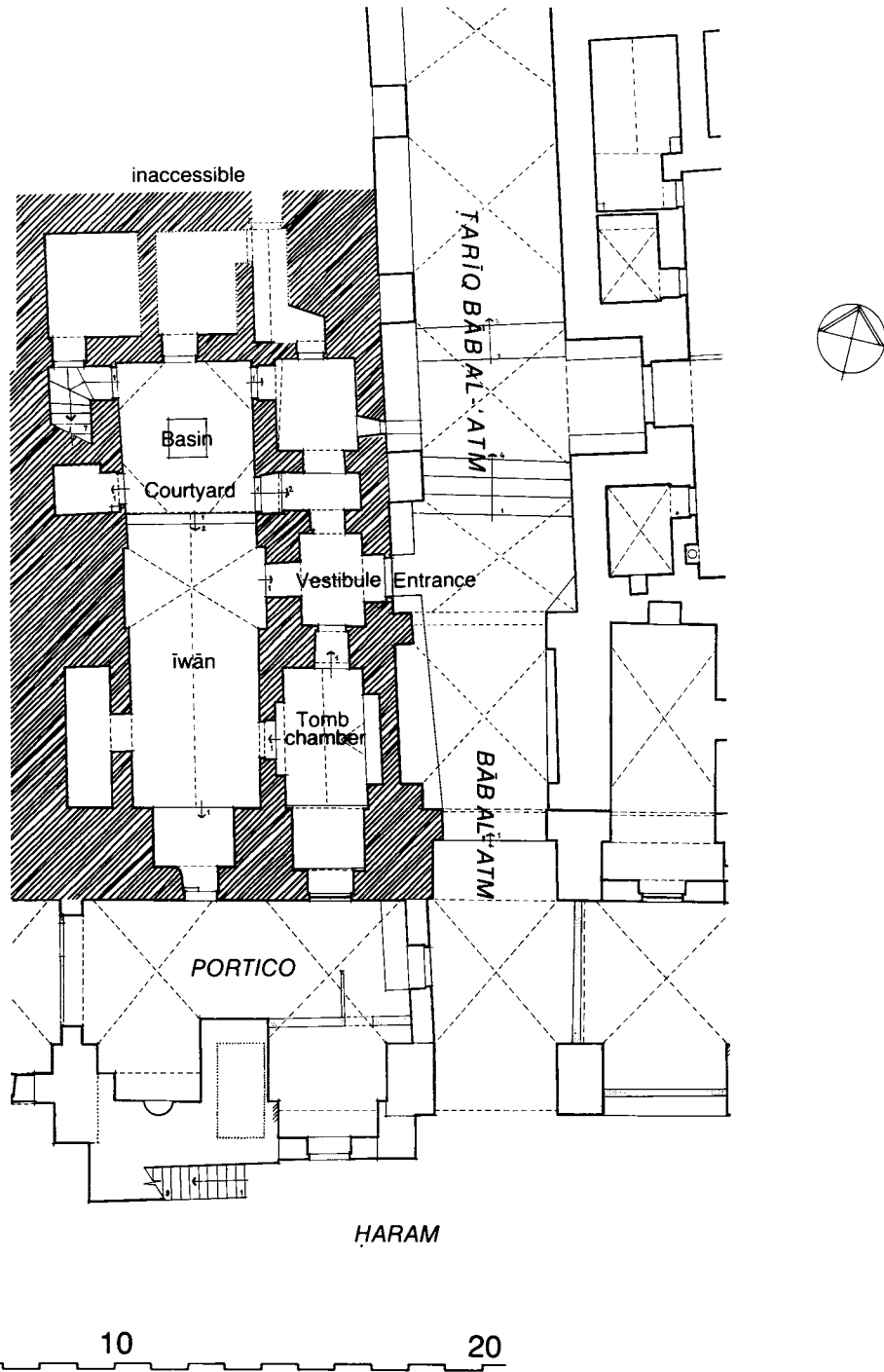


Fig. 21.3 Ground floor plan

funds.<sup>25</sup> However, other necessary works twenty-one years later by the Qāḍī of Jerusalem Muḥyī al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Qādir, who was also *nāẓir* of the ‘madrasa’ – and lived there? – were done at his own expense, although he was to recover his expenses from the waqf.<sup>25</sup> How and from where is not made clear.

It is no surprise that such references as have come to our notice in the Jerusalem sijills make it quite clear that the Amīniyya had lost any institutional role and had become a private dwelling, although still called ‘madrasa’. Even in the last years of the fourteenth century the Sultan visited the Shaykh Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī al-Shaybānī al-Mawṣilī ‘in his house in the Amīniyya’.<sup>27</sup> The Court entries include the inventory of the effects of a woman who died there,<sup>28</sup> and the report of an

incident in which two men, who had been let in one night by a ‘tall, white slave girl’ after some discreet knocking, were arrested by the watch when a disturbance began. One was arrested in ‘the madrasa, the residence of ...’ – the name would appear to be Kilābī Çelebī, the *ḥaras bāshī* (officer of the watch) (?) – and the other after he had first fled on to the roof of the Isʿardiyya.<sup>29</sup>

Finally, in Shaʿbān 1027/August 1617, Yūsuf b. Raḍī al-Dīn b. Abī al-Luṭf succeeded his brother in half of the positions of shaykh and *bawwāb* in the *zāwiya* (*sic*). His uncle held the other half. The empty formality of this is suggested by the fact that the return for the exercise of these functions was the right to reside there.<sup>30</sup>

In time the ‘madrasa’ was made a waqf for the al-Imām al-



Ḥusaynī family. Many generations have lived there, and members of the family are buried in the ground floor chamber.<sup>31</sup> The buildings are at present (1984) lived in by the Qāḍī As'ad al-Imām al-Ḥusaynī, former judge of Ramallah.



Plate 21.1 Amīniyya above Bāb al-'Atm at north side of Ḥaram

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### ḤARAM FAÇADE (fig. 21.6, plate 21.1)

The ground floor frontage is now concealed behind the Ḥaram portico which was blocked up some time in the Ottoman period to provide classrooms for a later madrasa (called the As'adiyya) founded by an ancestor of Shaykh As'ad al-Imām, the present householder. Under the portico the original frontage can be seen to be just as al-'Umarī describes it: 'two windows, one of them open . . .'<sup>32</sup> The first window, belonging to the tomb chamber, is the larger and is closed with an iron grille. The second one opens as a door into the *iwān* (shown in section, fig. 21.7). Apart from these two openings the frontage under the portico is featureless (plate 21.5).

In contrast, the upper façade over the portico is elaborate. There are five windows disposed symmetrically about a vertical axis which is aligned almost centrally on Bāb al-'Atm. The middle windows are arranged as a group of three and the outer windows are set in pointed-arched recesses on either side. The left-hand (westernmost) window had been converted into a door which now serves as the main entrance to the upper floors (shown in section, fig. 21.7). A clumsy staircase, added some time before 1865,<sup>33</sup> obstructs two bays of the portico as it rises from the Ḥaram esplanade to this upper entrance. The supporting structures of the staircase incorporate a plain *mihrab* belonging to the As'adiyya.

Originally both the outer windows on the upper façade were identical. Their essential features are preserved better over the right-hand (eastern) window: a white marble lintel surmounted by a limestone relieving lintel carved to receive an ornamental inlay of imitation voussoirs (which has disappeared) and, above, a bevelled oculus which pierces the tympanum of the arched recess (plate 21.2).

The fine triple-arched window in the centre of the façade has recently been restored. The central arch is greater in span and height than the flanking ones; all three are constructed in *ablaq* of alternately red and cream-coloured voussoirs. They are supported on six marble columns, recently disengaged from secondary masonry additions around the windows (see plates 21.1 and 21.2). The paired columns at either side of the windows have double capitals decorated with stylized acanthus; the single columns supporting the central arch have 'thick leaf' capitals. Both types of capital appear to be re-used Crusader pieces.

The original height of the western part of the façade is defined by the line of a billet moulding, some stones of which have been re-used to outline the vertical side of a late construction above it. The wall over the central and eastern part of the façade is a modern parapet.



Plate 21.2 Amīniyya façade after restoration



Plate 21.3 Street frontage, looking south-west

Since the buildings to the east and west of the Amīniyya – the Bāsiṭiyya Madrasa (no. 53) and the Fārisiyya Madrasa (no. 30) respectively – are later, that part of the Amīniyya built over the Ḥaram portico must initially have been freestanding over Bāb al-'Atm. Vertical masonry joints at the extremities of the façade indicate its original extent, which corresponds to three bays of the portico below.

##### STREET FRONTAGE

This is merely a wall partly concealed by the later vaulting alluded to previously (pp. 157 and 302) which on this side of the street is supported by buttresses. There is a humble entrance door devoid of ornament (plate 21.3) and a narrow window at ground floor level, and another three windows at mezzanine level. This utter plainness demonstrates the importance accorded to the Ḥaram façade in marked contrast to the adjacent Dawādāriyya Khānqāh (no. 8) where the main façade is on the street and the Ḥaram façade was restricted, as we have shown, to an insignificant frontage under the portico.

##### GROUND FLOOR (plan, fig. 21.3)

The entrance from Ṭariq Bāb al-'Atm leads into a vestibule with doors now opening in all directions: south into the tomb chamber, west into the *iwān* and north into a short passage connecting with the central courtyard. Of these doors, one, the western, is not original; as the coarseness of its construction shows, it is merely a later breach in the wall to allow direct access to the *iwān*. Likewise a later opening is the door in the north wall of the passage. In other words, the vestibule was originally part of a bent entrance to the courtyard. A large semicircular window above the door into the courtyard (plate 21.4) was to admit light from the courtyard into the passage and vestibule. Originally the courtyard was open to the sky. It has

subsequently been covered with a lime concrete slab at the upper level to provide a backyard for rooms added to the north of the development over the Ḥaram portico. As a result the interior of the madrasa is now very dark.

A sunken basin 1.03m square, presumably intended to hold rainwater, occupies the centre of the courtyard. The disposition of the cells and staircase around the courtyard is shown on the plan (fig. 21.3). The doors in the east and west walls are arranged more or less symmetrically at the corners. The fact that the door at the south-west corner is not exactly opposite the one at the south-east corner must be taken as another indication of the existence of the rock scarp there. The door in the north wall is placed axially, opposite the *iwān*.

Not directly accessible from the courtyard are a cell in the north-west corner and a passageway in the north-east corner of the complex. The door of the north-western cell is placed awkwardly in juxtaposition with the winders at the foot of the staircase. The entrance to the passageway is from the cell at the north-eastern corner of the courtyard. This passageway led north, but it is blocked now, rendering the area to the north inaccessible.

The *iwān*, two steps up from the courtyard, is partly cross-vaulted and partly barrel-vaulted. It extends south to the Ḥaram wall where the small window mentioned by al-'Umarī (above, p. 249) opens into the portico. This window, despite its comparatively high sill (see section, fig. 21.7), serves as a door and must have done so since at least the end of the ninth/fifteenth century when Mujīr al-Dīn<sup>34</sup> lists the Amīniyya as having direct access to the Ḥaram.

On the west side of the *iwān* there is a narrow unlit cell, and on the east side an opening into the tomb chamber. The tomb chamber has only the indication of a burial, a flat stone cenotaph. At the large grilled window in its south wall those entering and leaving the Ḥaram at Bāb al-'Atm might invoke a blessing on the tomb, according to Muslim custom. A recess in the east wall extending into the vault (plate 21.6), together with the relative thinness of the wall at that spot, indicates that there could originally also have been a window on the street, as is the case at the Awḥadiyya Turba (above, p. 168).

#### MEZZANINE (fig. 21.4)

The mezzanine is entered directly off the main staircase; there is no landing.

The complex arrangement of rooms and passages is best understood by consulting the plan (fig. 21.4) and section (fig. 21.7). The upper extension of the central courtyard functioned at this level as a lightwell into which open four splayed windows, one in each side. The corners are built up on segmental squinches (the south-east squinch is shown in plate 21.4) giving it an octagonal shape in plan. The south-west corner of the octagon accommodates the entrance to a narrow corridor over the staircase. It extends northwards as far as a blocked door. The area to the north beyond this blocked door is inaccessible, as is the area to the west since a door in the west wall of the corridor is also blocked.

There is a wider passage parallel with the east wall of the lightwell, which extends northwards and gives access to a short corridor and a pair of tiny, low cells marked 'E' and 'F' north of the lightwell and, beyond these, to two rooms (G and H) with an interconnecting passage. This area to the north of the lightwell shows signs of having been remodelled at some stage. A set of wooden steps in the north-western room leads up to the backyard of later dwellings built over the mezzanine.

The mezzanine level was originally well provided with daylight illumination and ventilation in spite of the labyrinthine maze of rooms and interconnecting passages. The later vaulting over the street and the covering of the lightwell has almost completely shut out the light, however, and now the whole floor is shrouded in sepulchral gloom. In these conditions it is tempting to believe that the narrow cross-vaulted chamber at the centre of the south wall, marked 'B' on the plan (fig. 21.4), was a sealed burial chamber, as the present tenant of the

building suggests. Strangely, the only access into the chamber is a breach in the upper part of its north wall, which has the appearance of having been made relatively recently. Half full of earth and debris, there is, however, no obvious sign of a burial in it.

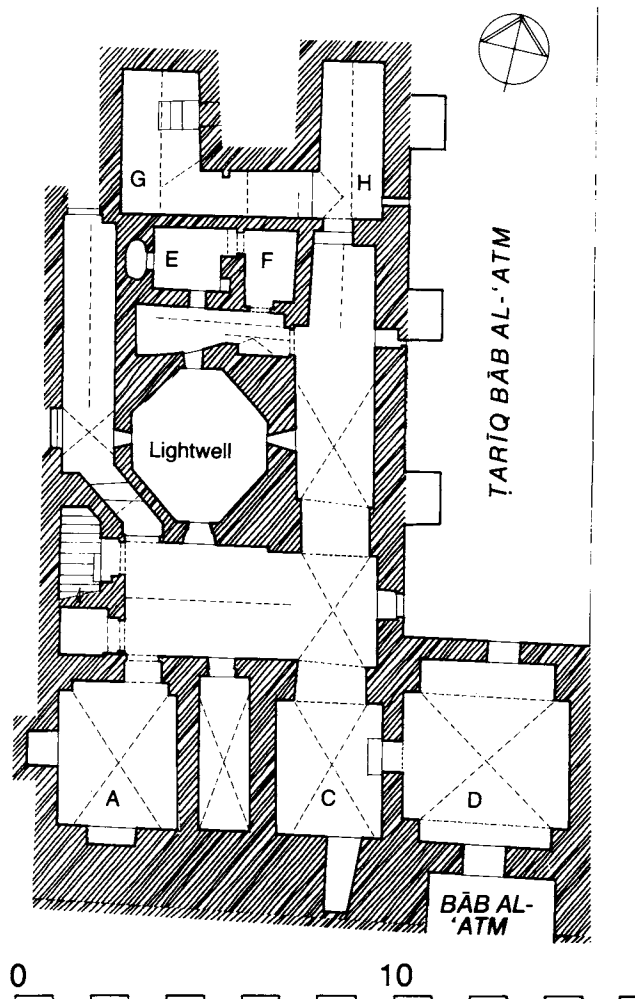


Fig. 21.4 Mezzanine plan



Plate 21.4 South-east corner of courtyard



Plate 21.5 Door into *ṭwān* and window to 'tomb chamber', seen from under Ḥaram portico looking north-east

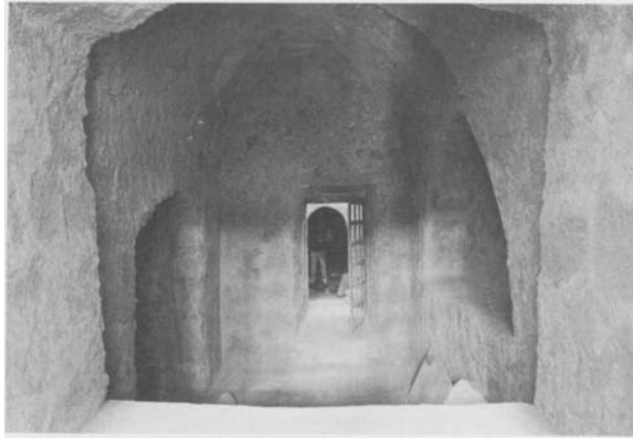


Plate 21.6 'Tomb chamber' seen from window embrasure in Ḥaram wall



Plate 21.7 Mezzanine: door into south-western room 'A'

To the east and west of this 'burial chamber' there are larger cross-vaulted rooms in the south-east (C) and south-west (A) corners of the mezzanine, each with a recess cut into its south wall, which is the north wall of the Ḥaram. The horseshoe arch of the doorway (plate 21.7) into the south-western room (A) is particularly interesting. It is largely re-used, as the vertical joint in the masonry to the left indicates. But the asymmetrical

profile and the variation in the stone dressing shows that only the left-hand spandrel and voussoirs, the keystone, and possibly one of the right-hand voussoirs are in secondary use. The remainder appears to have been newly cut – following a slightly different curve – to fit the re-used arch into the adjoining structure. This is the only horseshoe arch within the complex.

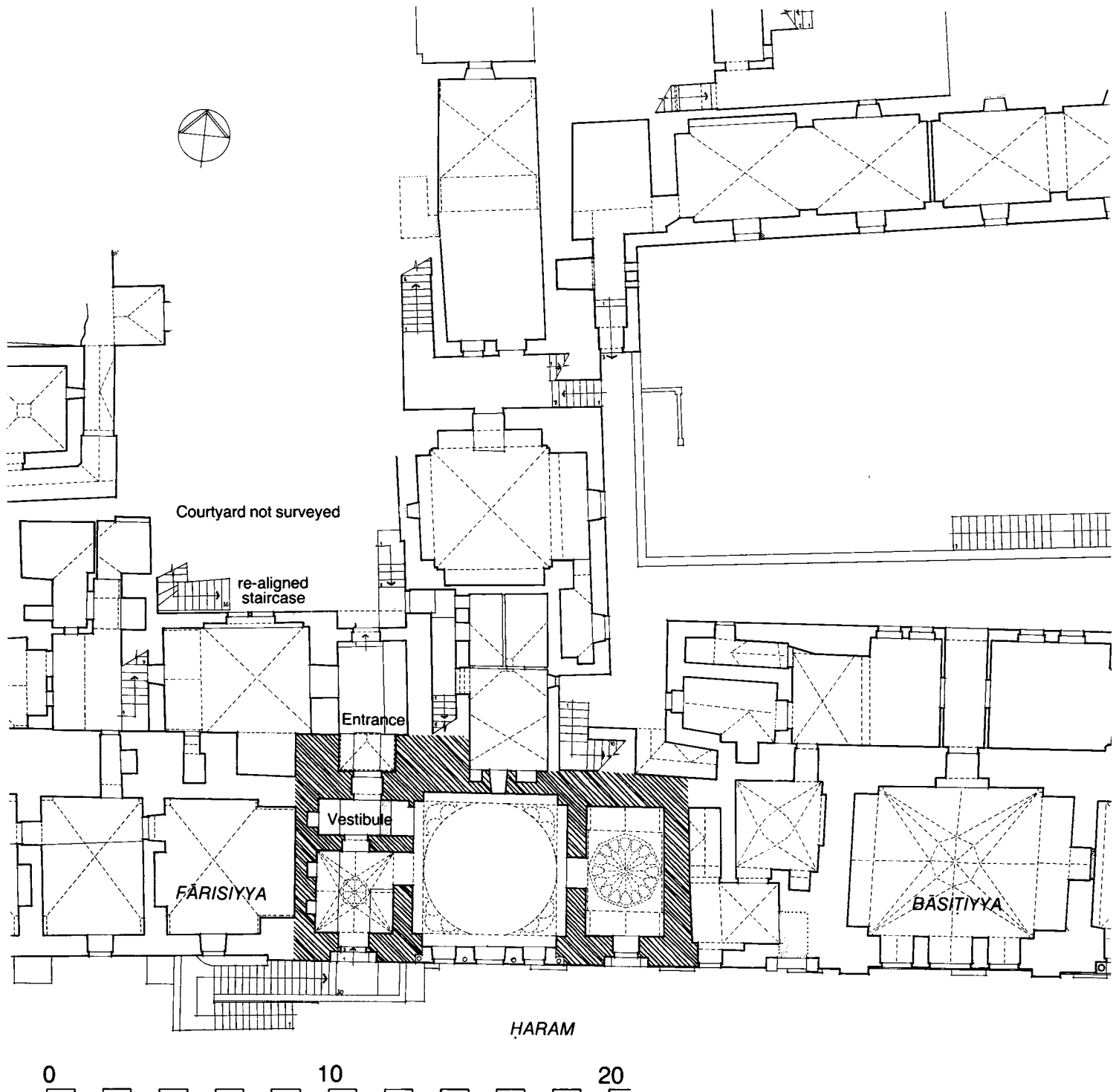
There is an unexpectedly spacious cross-vaulted room (D) immediately to the east of the south-east corner room. This room is supported on a vault spanning the street below: an ingenious way of extending the otherwise restricted accommodation at this level. It has two windows, one in the north wall overlooking the street (plate 21.8) and one in the south wall looking onto the Ḥaram from under the portico at Bāb al-'Atm. This latter window has been made by removing several stones from the upper structure of the gate itself, as may be seen in plate 21.9 and fig. 21.10.



Plate 21.8 View towards Bāb al-'Atm, showing vault across street



Plate 21.9 Upper floor: north side of principal room



**Fig. 21.5 Upper floor plan**

*UPPER FLOOR (fig. 21.5)*

The main staircase originally continued straight to an open courtyard on the roof of the mezzanine, of which the northern part has not been surveyed. Later constructions at the southern end abutting the upper part of the Haram wall blocked the final ten steps and necessitated their realignment eastwards to reach the entrance to the upper rooms of the Amīniyya at what is now the south-east corner of the courtyard.

The group of later constructions against the Haram wall includes in the centre a vestibule built in front of the original entrance to the upper floor of the Amīniyya. This entrance was hewn out of the Haram wall with sufficient expertise to form a simple portal with a cloister vault (see fig. 21.5), now coated with plaster. Stone benches flank the doorway, which leads

directly into a small vestibule. A door in the south wall of the vestibule opens into the westernmost of the three rooms over the portico. The original folded cross vault of this western room survives: the first to be built in Jerusalem after the Tankiziyya (see above, p. 231). The window in the south wall has been converted into a door which now serves as the main entrance to the upper floor (see above, p. 252).

The small, original, vestibule appears once to have given access also to the principal upper floor room to the east, but that access has been blocked and replaced by a more recent door in the east wall of the western room. The principal room is square in plan and commands a magnificent view of the Haram through its triple window. There is a small window high up in the north wall of this room (*plate 21.9*) evidently above

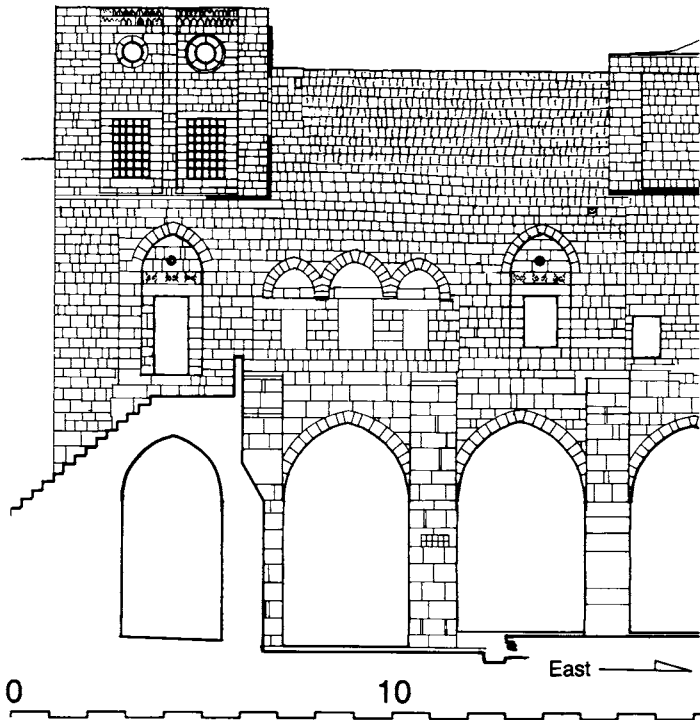


Fig. 21.6 Haram façade



Plate 21.10 Bāb al-'Atm, from Haram

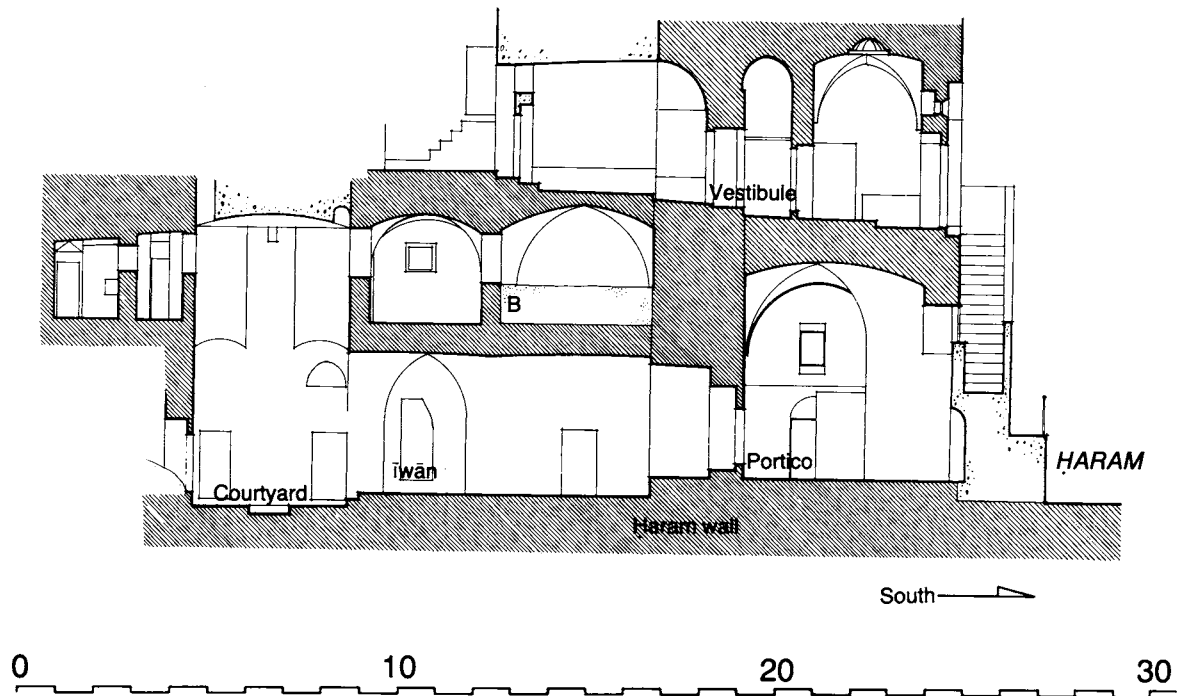


Fig. 21.7 North-south section looking east

the height of the Haram wall. It appears not to be original; it was introduced as part of an apparently later development to the north, above the room spanning the street just outside Bāb al-'Atm (see fig. 8.4). The domical vault of the principal room also appears not to be original; the unusually large *muqarnas* plaster decoration of the pendentives is Ottoman in style. This

must be the dome mentioned below (p. 257 n. 25) that was repaired inside and out in 963/1556. Similarly the domical vault in the eastern room, decorated with a *muqarnas* frieze in plaster, appears also to be the result of a later rebuilding, perhaps following the earthquake of 952/1546 (see above, p. 41).



## Notes

- 1 Although the eastern extremity of the rock scarp is not visible in the Amīniyya, the line of the rock surface can be traced in the rear wall of the portico under the Āmalikiyya and the Fārisiyya where, significantly, there are no rooms at ground floor level. By extrapolation we can establish that the rock surface, if it continued in a reasonably straight line, would originally have been a metre or two above the ground floor level of the Amīniyya.
- 2 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 158.
- 3 Mujīr, ii, 39.
- 4 Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, Paris, Ms. Arabe 2144, fol. 188a.
- 5 See *Wāfī*, xviii, 89-90; Ibn al-Dawādārī, ix, 47-51; *Durar*, ii, 357-8.
- 6 *Wāfī*, xviii, 89.
- 7 *Sulūk*, ii, 203.
- 8 *Beiträge*, 173; *Sulūk*, ii, 247-8; Ibn al-Dawādārī, ix, 312.
- 9 Ibn al-Dawādārī, ix, 314.
- 10 *Wāfī*, xviii, 90.
- 11 *Sulūk*, ii, 357.
- 12 *Wāfī*, xviii, 91-98: the document mentions a monthly salary of 4673½ dirhams and large quantities of monthly and daily allowances in kind.
- 13 *Sulūk*, ii, 478.
- 14 *Sulūk*, ii, 513.
- 15 *Wāfī*, xviii, 91.
- 16 As in *Wāfī*, xviii, 90 and *Durar*, ii, 358.
- 17 *Sulūk*, ii, 553.
- 18 *Sulūk*, ii, 879.
- 19 Al-'Umarī (*Masālik*, 100-6) quotes a longish passage from Tāj al-Dīn Ahmad, in which the latter describes the beauties of the Haram and an encounter he had one day with a Sūfi there. The piece starts with the statement, 'while living in retreat in this Noble Sanctuary I have experienced all four seasons.' Whether that was with his father or in some way connected with the Amīniyya we cannot tell.
- 20 *Sulūk*, ii, 879 and 918-19.
- 21 *Sulūk*, iii, 4-6 and 15.
- 22 Haram no. 191.
- 23 Unidentified. The Qādī was Sharaf al-Dīn 'Isā b. Ghānim al-Shāfi'. Qalqashandī gives an undated *tauqī'*, as a specimen, issued to Burhān al-Dīn Ismā'il b. Abī Bakr al-Mawṣili re his appointment as shaykh and inspector of the Amīniyya (see *Subh*, xii, 298 and 422).
- 24 Iṣṣirli, 50.
- 25 Sijill 33, 451 (3). Various doors and locks were repaired, including one 'door of the little *tāqa* (?)', rubbish was removed from 'the upper and lower places', and the dome of the 'assembly hall' repaired inside and out. These items totalled 168 paras, paid in 963/1556.
- 26 Sijill 56, 625 (3), dated 983/1575.
- 27 Mujīr, ii, 164: Abū Bakr al-Shaybānī (died Shawwāl 797/August 1395). See also *Inbā'*, i, 597, where he is called Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh, as he is in *Durar*, i, 480.
- 28 Sijill 11, no. 73, dated 946/1540.
- 29 Sijill 25, no. 193.
- 30 Sijill 100, 431 (2).
- 31 For details of this later period, see Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 236-7.
- 32 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 158.
- 33 This staircase is shown in the Ordnance Survey plan of the Haram made in 1865.
- 34 Mujīr, 393.

## 22 AL-FAKHRIYYA

### الفخرية

Before 732/1332

Zāwiya, khānqāh or madrasa of Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad

Modern name: Maktab muḍīr al-maṭḥaf al-islāmī/office of the Director of the Islamic Museum

#### I LOCATION (fig. 22.1)

Within the Ḥaram enclosure, at the south-west corner, bounded by the Ḥaram wall to the west and the Islamic Museum to the east and south.

#### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 22.2)\*

The site of the Fakhriyya is now occupied by various ruinous structures and a small columned hall, now the office of the Director of the Islamic Museum. The present entrance is from an adjoining Crusader structure to the south; the original main entrance situated just inside the Ḥaram gate called Bāb al-Maghārība is now closed. Van Berchem, who entered in 1914, says that that entrance 'gives access, by way of a dark vestibule, to a small courtyard enclosed by lodgings. It extends southwards into a second courtyard, planted with beautiful cypresses and at the bottom of which stands a small oratory. This chapel, open to the north, abuts to the west against the Ḥaram wall, to the east against the south-west angle of the Maghribī Mosque and to the south against the north-west angle of the Women's Mosque.'<sup>1</sup> This 'oratory' or 'chapel' is all that survives now apart from the closed entrance and a few remains of the lodgings seen by van Berchem. A high wall divides the courtyards from east to west and we were not permitted to examine closely the area beyond this wall where van Berchem passed a dark vestibule and lodgings.

The evolution of this site, complicated even by Jerusalem standards, is discussed below. Of the Fakhriyya little remains save for its south, *qibla* wall together with a fine marble *mīhrāb* and remains of a marble pavement.

The literary sources (discussed below) which make the location and identification of the Fakhriyya clear, as usual do not give precise details of the internal layout. However, Mujīr al-Dīn mentions an assembly hall (*majma'*) belonging to the Fakhriyya and this seems to have been located in the western part of the adjoining Crusader structure to the south.

#### III HISTORY

##### IDENTIFICATION

The Fakhriyya, which, as will be seen, was called at various times zāwiya, khānqāh or madrasa, is situated in the south-west corner of the Ḥaram. Al-'Umarī dealt with it in connection with the south wall of the Ḥaram, perhaps because the Fakhriyya had a north facing door, whereas Mujīr al-Dīn, more understandably, considered it to belong to the west wall. If you enter via the Moroccans' Gate, 'The first thing you meet with on this [south] wall to the west is a *mastaba*, which, from the *mīhrāb* northwards, measures six *dhirā'*, and is six and a half

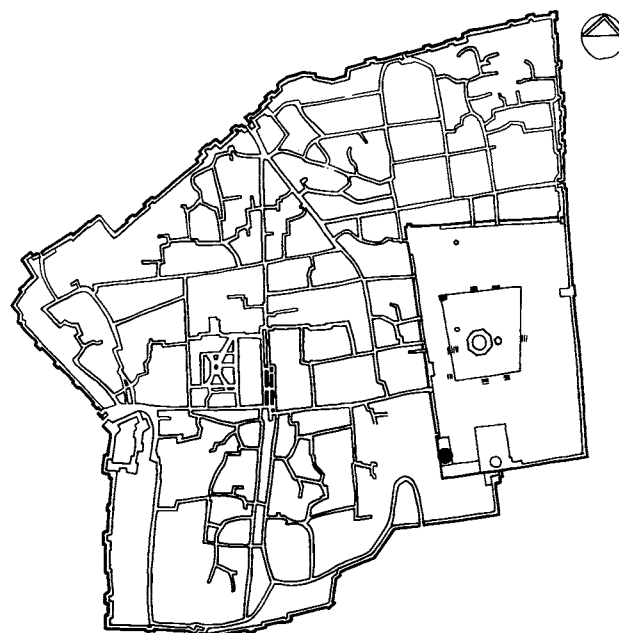


Fig. 22.1 Location plan

wide . . . To the east of this comes the entrance to the Fakhriyya Zāwiya . . . These are al-'Umarī's words.<sup>2</sup> He also makes it clear that the Fakhriyya occupied the space within the wall of the Ḥaram to the west of the Moroccans' Mosque.

Mujīr al-Dīn writes: 'As for the madrasas adjacent to the wall of the Ḥaram on the west side, which we shall mention in order, the first is the Fakhriyya Khānqāh. It is next to the Moroccans' Mosque, where the Mālikīs pray, to the west of it, and within the wall of the Ḥaram, as is also its entrance, near the gate that leads out into the Moroccans' Quarter.'<sup>3</sup>

##### DATE

There is no foundation inscription and the date of the original *waqfiyya* is not recorded. The founder died in Rajab 732/April 1332.

Fakhr al-Dīn is known to have visited Jerusalem. A son of his, who died in 714/1314, had taken over administrative responsibilities 'while his father was absent in Jerusalem'. In 716/1316 he came to the city with the Chief Qāḍī Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jamā'a, and came once more in 723/1323.<sup>4</sup> Whether it was during one of these visits that he began his building we have no way of telling.

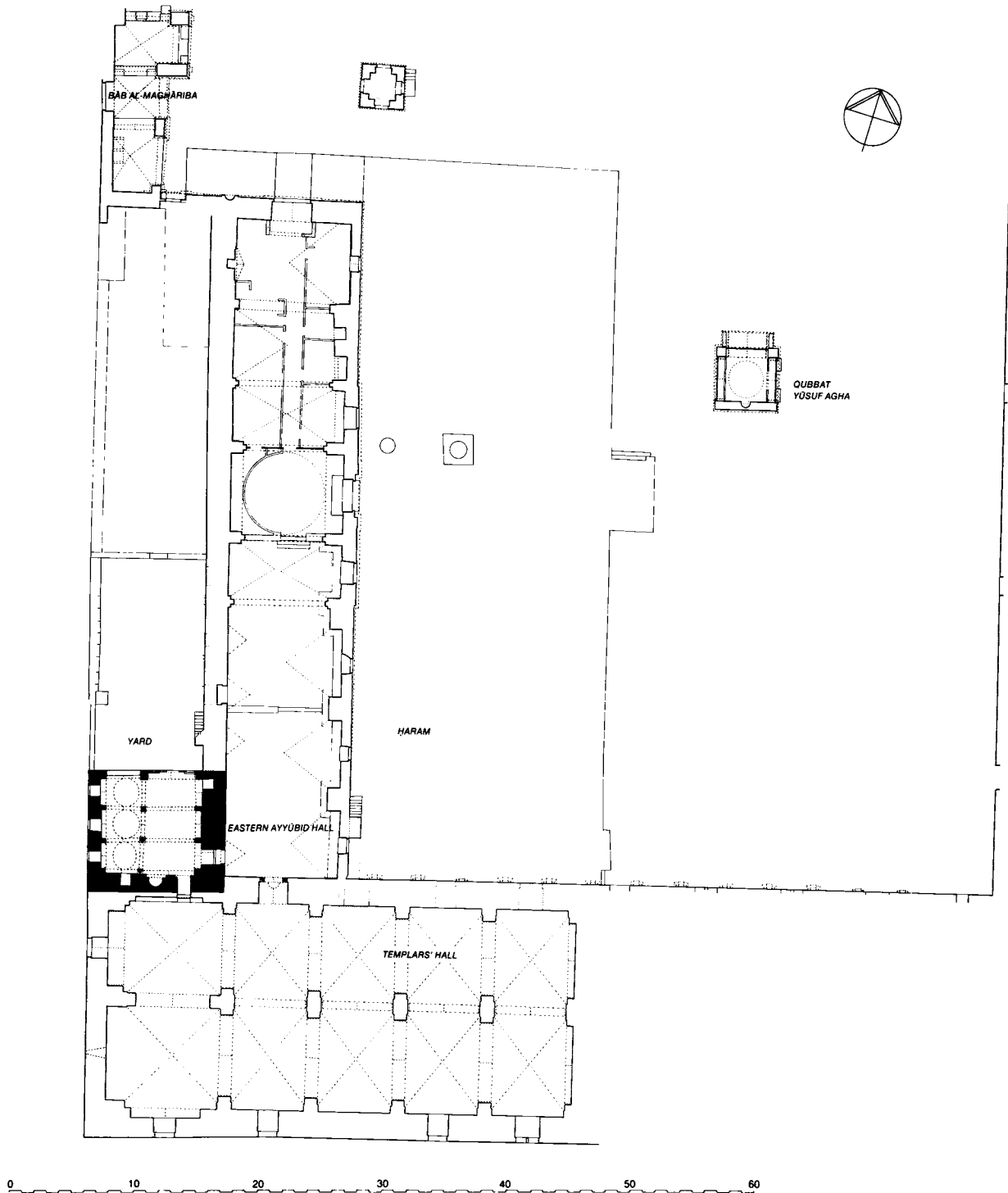
##### FOUNDER

The continuation of Mujīr al-Dīn's text identifies the founder:

The building was built and endowed by his exalted Excellency the Qāḍī Fakhr al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh, the Inspector of the Army. He was born a Copt, but converted and became a good Muslim. He made many waqfs and was charitable and generous towards the men of religious learning. He was a great and honoured state official. He died in the middle of Rajab 732 [12 April 1332], over seventy years of age.

Fakhr al-Dīn was one of the great officials of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>5</sup> His uncle was Sharaf al-Dīn b. Zūbūr, another high official. Fakhr al-Dīn was a devout person in both the Christian and the Muslim phases of his life. When pressure was being brought on him to convert, he contemplated suicide until, after a period of retreat, he reconciled himself to the necessity. He adopted the Ḥanafī school of law (*madhhab*), is said to have eschewed all contact with Christians and to have taken his Islam seriously.

He began his administrative career as clerk of the mamlūks and was transferred to the Army Bureau in Shawwāl



**Fig. 22.2 Site plan**

709/March 1310, early in al-Nāṣir's third and final reign.<sup>6</sup> He fell prey to the common internal rivalries and was dismissed for a month or so in 712/1312, during which time some 400,000 dirhams were taken from him. On his return to office<sup>7</sup> this was all restored to him, but he tactfully used it to build a mosque in Cairo in the name of the sultan. He is associated with the two cadastral surveys, in Egypt and Syria, undertaken during al-Nāṣir's reign. His high standing in the state and his personal boldness of speech with the sultan lasted till his death in office. His role in the control of affairs had increased greatly after the death of Karīm al-Dīn (see p. 212) and after he had persuaded the sultan not to appoint a vizier to succeed Muḡhultay al-Jamālī (729/1328-29). From his position as head of the Army Bureau Fakhr al-Dīn's influence was ubiquitous.

Before his death on Sunday, 15 Rajab 732/12 April 1332, he

made an attempt to avoid the likely plundering of his estate by bequeathing to the sultan a large sum of money. Nevertheless, a mamlūk of his, Lu'lu', was forced to provide a full list of his master's possessions, commodities of trade and real estate in Egypt and Syria, including some in the Jerusalem district, whether they had been made waqf or not. Sequestration orders went out, but in one version it is said that his waqfs were not touched.<sup>8</sup>

Fakhr al-Dīn's charitable foundations were numerous. The Market of Fakhr al-Dīn (*Sūq al-Fakbr*) in Jerusalem, where Muḡīr al-Dīn says that there were soap-works,<sup>9</sup> was his, and a madrasa at Nablus and a hospital at Ramla are mentioned, as are several drinking troughs (*abwād*) along the main roads. In Egypt he built three mosques, on the Nile at Mawridat al-Būrī, on Elephant Island and on Roda opposite the outlet of al-Nāṣir's

canal.<sup>10</sup> The Fakhriyya Madrasa in Hebron, which had been abandoned by Mujir al-Dīn's time, was according to him 'apparently to be attributed to the founder of the Fakhriyya in Jerusalem, but God knows best'.<sup>11</sup>

**ENDOWMENT**

The date of the original instrument of endowment is not recorded. Two Ottoman land registers<sup>12</sup> give the date of a document which would have reaffirmed the purposes and conditions of the foundation, perhaps after the loss of the original document. The date is 903/1497-98. In the same registers the details of the property and the income are recorded in the following manner:

| Description   | Income<br>(in aspers) |                   |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------|
|   | Defter<br>no. 522     | Defter<br>no. 602 |
| Land near Māmillā Cemetery  | 200                   | 160               |
| Land known as 'The Vizier's Hall'   | 250                   | 500               |
| Land known as Qamrā <sup>13</sup><br>al-Fakhriyya, south of Jerusalem     | 2000                  | 2000              |
| Land known as the Gardens of<br>Adhab and the Walnut Garden <sup>14</sup> | 300                   | 216               |
| Land near the last mentioned  | 150                   | —                 |
| Land called 'the Za'im's'   | 160                   | 137               |
| Land . . . the recent house near<br>the Khānqāh                           | 100                   | 88                |
| The Fakhriyya Market . . . and a<br>vegetable garden                      | 380                   | 380               |
| Rents of upper rooms (4) next to<br>the Madrasa                           | 60                    | 60                |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>3600</b>           | <b>3541</b>       |

These properties are mentioned throughout the Jerusalem Court records in various rent and 'farm' contracts. The properties from which the Fakhriyya drew rents, situated within the old city, are more particularly described as: two soap factories (presumably in the Market of Fakhr al-Dīn, see above, p. 259), a *dār al-khawkha* (?), a vaulted room (*qabw*), a garden, and 'the cells, [rooms over] the arch and passage, and outer house (*al-dār al-barrāniyya*) adjoining the aforementioned khānqāh on the west'.<sup>15</sup>

**OTTOMAN PERIOD**

Kāmil Asali states<sup>16</sup> that Fakhr al-Dīn's foundation in Jerusalem was originally built as a madrasa, and that the transformation into a Šūfī khānqāh seems to have been completed after the tenth/sixteenth century. Apart from the fact that the terminological and functional distinction was never so exact, al-'Umarī refers to the building as the Fakhriyya Zāwiya towards the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century and Mujir al-Dīn calls it a khānqāh at the very beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century. Both Tahrīr registers, which date from the second half of this latter century, head their entry 'the waqf of the Fakhriyya Khānqāh', but then refer once to 'the madrasa'. The Jerusalem sijills also alternate between 'madrasa' and 'khānqāh' when dealing with the Fakhriyya.

Most of the sijill entries are connected with leasing the waqf lands. For example, in 962/1555 a qāḍī leased some of the Qamrā land from the overseer for fifty years for 1000 paras.<sup>17</sup> In 984/1576, a *muqāta'a* contract, that is a farm of all the revenues, for a period of four years, was negotiated on payment of 120 gold pieces (30 annually).<sup>18</sup>

Two other entries deserve mention. An order was made in 937/1530 to unblock a door leading to an ablutions place at the Moroccans' Gate, over which the Fakhriyya was said to be constructed. This gate had been illegally closed, because of the smells the place occasioned, by the late Qāḍī 'Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad al-'Ulaymī, who had resided in the madrasa.<sup>19</sup> At the end of 963/autumn 1556 certain repairs to the Fakhriyya

were contracted for at the cost of 45 gold pieces to cover materials and labour. The details of the repairs are not easy to follow but they mention a length of the western wall (17½ cubits), the vaulting (*'aqd*) of the ruined house adjoining that wall, the vaulting of 'the cell, the old door of which has now been blocked and a new one opened', the open court (*sāba*) on the west side, the vaulting of 'the western cell which is alongside the house', 'the upper room which is in the top house (*al-dār al-'āliya*), the cells of the madrasa and the passage (*diblīz*) of the ablutions place'.<sup>20</sup>

Members of the Abū al-Su'ūd family lived in the Fakhriyya for several centuries down to recent times. The buildings became their direct property. Asali has suggested that the year 984/1576-77 was the beginning of their connection with the Fakhriyya but, dating from their taking on the office of overseer, the connection can be put back some twenty years.<sup>21</sup>

**IV ARCHITECTURE**

**EARLIER CONSTRUCTIONS**

To understand the Mamlūk phase in the complex development of the site it is necessary first to attempt to determine the extent of earlier structures around it.

*(i) Great Hall of the Templars*

Along the south end of the Ḥaram between the south-west corner and the Aqṣā Mosque stands a long two-aisled hall roofed by twenty cross vaults supported on a central row of nine piers. The distinctively dressed masonry of the north wall of the hall, bearing several masons' marks, shows it to be Crusader. This hall must be the monastic quarters of the Templar Order built probably in the 1160s<sup>22</sup> and described by Theodorich in 1170.<sup>23</sup> The eastern part of it was converted into the Women's Mosque, evidently shortly after Saladin's conquest of the city. The western part became an assembly hall for the Fakhriyya.

A more or less regular series of openings pierce both the north and south walls of the hall; all those in the south wall remain open but of those in the north wall (*fig. 22.2*) only three are still open: one at the east end, one in the centre (which serves as an entrance to the Women's Mosque) and one towards the west end, which was blocked by the *mihṛāb* (*plate 22.1*) of the former Maghribī Mosque, but re-opened to link the



Plate 22.1 Remains of *mihṛāb* of Jāmi' al-Maghārība

two parts of the Islamic Museum. At the west end the structure changes somewhat. The south-western bay had a pointed arch in its south wall clearly visible in the exterior masonry of the Ḥaram wall. It is hard to imagine what the purpose of this arch might have been for it is blocked by masonry similar to that of the rest of the south and west walls and contains a grilled window virtually identical to others that are obviously original. Since the arch and the masonry blocking it appear to be contemporaneous, one can only guess that it was intended somehow to facilitate construction of this corner of the

building, though quite how it could have done so is a mystery. Opposite that arch, at the west end of the north wall of the hall, there is a similar arch which was originally open. It is now blocked by the *qibla* wall of the Fakhriyya.

(ii) *Vaulting springers*

In the north face of the north wall of the Templar Hall (fig. 22.2) are a series of springers apparently intended as the southern abutments of a series of vaults. The springers are well integrated into the masonry of the wall and appear almost as if they were built along with it. There are, however, indications that they are in fact later insertions. For instance, while the springers are spaced exactly half as far apart as the springings of the Templar Hall vaults, they are not symmetrical with them as would be expected if they were built simultaneously. As a result several springers impinge awkwardly on the lintels over openings in the north wall of the Hall (see figs. 22.3 and 22.7). It would appear, therefore, that the springers were inserted after the Hall was built, perhaps to support the vaults of a portico or cloister. No other trace of such a cloister exists and it is likely that the work was interrupted, possibly by Saladin's capture of Jerusalem, never to be completed.

(iii) *Ayyūbid halls*

Extending northwards from the two westernmost bays of the Templar Hall were two long halls roofed by barrel vaults with

various excisions to clear openings in the supporting walls. Only the eastern hall survives; the Fakhriyya was constructed on the site of the western one. The articulation of the south-east corner (marked 'A' on the plan, fig. 22.3) of the eastern hall so as to avoid blocking one of the windows of the Templar Hall on which it abuts shows that these walls were built some time after the Templar Hall. The re-use of one of the springers (marked 'B' on the plan) discussed in section (ii) for the vaulting at the south end of the eastern hall confirms that the construction of this hall was subsequent also to the springers. Since the masonry of these later halls bears no coherent evidence of Crusader tooling or masons' marks, they are likely to be post-Crusader, probably Ayyūbid.<sup>24</sup>

The eastern hall initially opened to the east in a series of arches of which the southern three and a springing of a fourth as well as the northernmost one are still discernible (see fig. 12.2, fold-out at back). They have been filled in to leave in the centre of each a rectangular window surmounted by a slit. This may have been done when the eastern hall was consecrated as a mosque for North Africans, known as the *Jāmi' al-Maghāribā*,<sup>25</sup> probably in about 590/1194 when Saladin's son, al-Malik al-Afdal, endowed the neighbouring town quarter in favour of the Maghribī community in Jerusalem.<sup>26</sup> About the middle of the eastern wall a new entrance façade (see fig. 12.2, fold-out) was

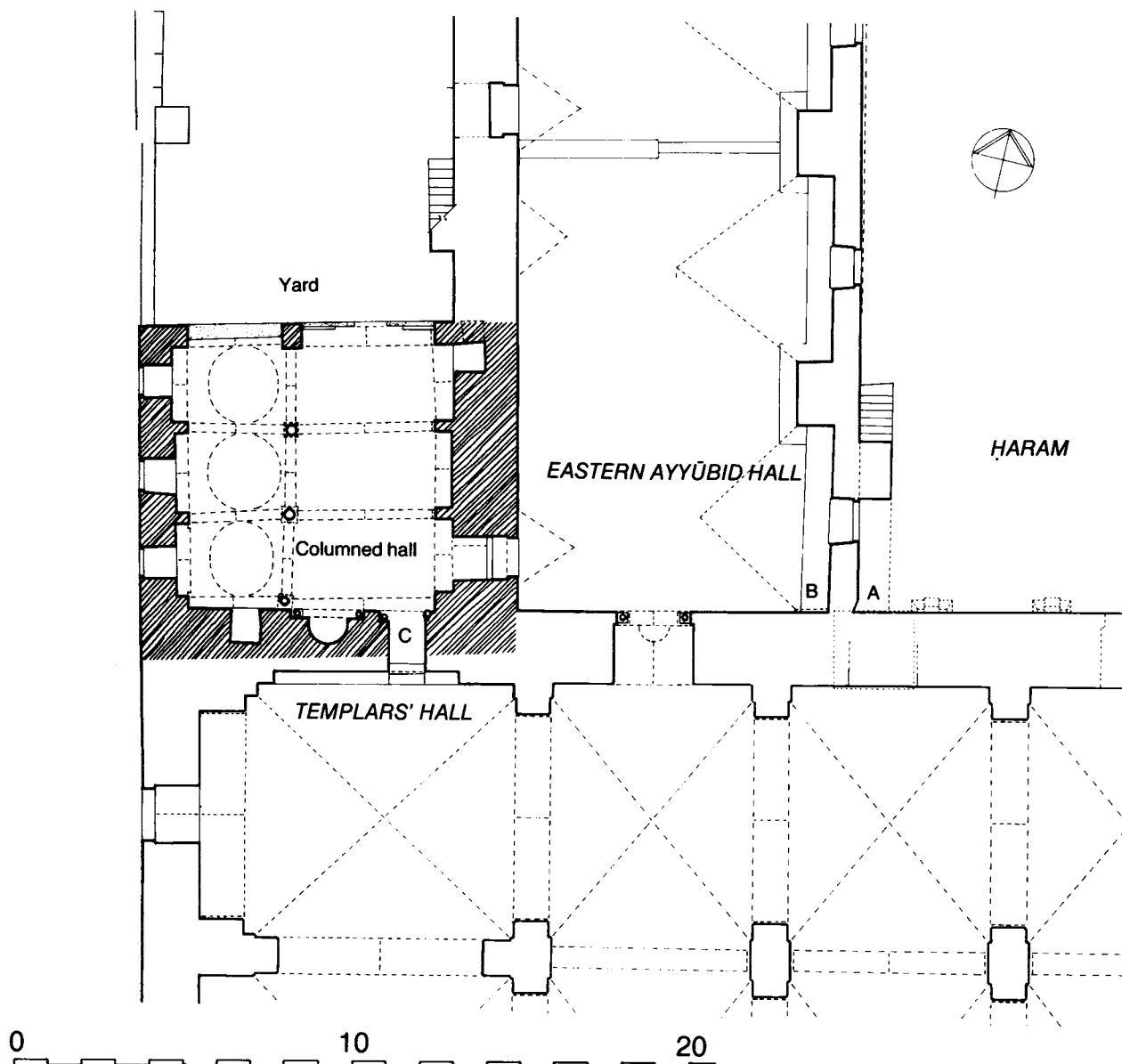


Fig. 22.3 Ground floor plan



erected in 1288/1871, partially obscuring the arched frontage of the original hall.<sup>27</sup> At the same time the vaulting was altered to provide a domed bay immediately inside the new entrance.<sup>28</sup> This eastern hall, together with the western part of the Templar Hall, was converted into the Islamic Museum in 1927.<sup>29</sup>

Of the western hall little remains except for traces of vaulting in the spine wall between the two halls (see below).

These Ayyūbid halls extended north to within 6.5m of the Bāb al-Maghāriba. Their north façade survives (*fig. 22.4, plate 22.2*). It consists of two pointed-arched doorways placed more or less symmetrically on either side of the central axis. The doorways are built largely of re-used Crusader elements including hoodmoulds and (on the left-hand doorway) elbow brackets supporting a lintel (*plate 22.3*). Both doorways have



Plate 22.2 North façade of Ayyūbid halls with entrance to former Jāmi' al-Maghāriba on the left and entrance to Fakhriyya on the right



Plate 22.3 Detail of entrance to former Jāmi' al-Maghāriba

undergone subsequent alterations. The tympanum of the left one is blocked save for three small windows; the tympanum of the right one is still open but its right-hand jamb is masked by a pier of the western portico of the Ḥaram (erected some time between 745/1345 and 887/1482), and a pointed arch (also composed of re-used Crusader elements) containing a smaller door has been built into the original doorway. A *mīhrāb*, probably late Mamlūk or early Ottoman to judge by the small circular inscription above it,<sup>30</sup> has been placed centrally between the two doorways.

The left doorway opened into the Jāmi' al-Maghāriba, the right one into the Fakhriyya. This is how al-'Umarī described it:

(The south wall of the Ḥaram) begins on the west side with a raised platform . . . in front is a *mīhrāb* [no longer extant], next to it on its eastern side is the door of the Fakhriyya Zāwiya . . . which is followed by a raised platform next to which is the door of Jāmi' al-Maghāriba . . . the length of the porch [in front of this façade] is  $11\frac{2}{3}$  *dbirā'* (approx. 8.16m) . . .<sup>31</sup>

The porch mentioned by al-'Umarī survived until the 1920s when it was demolished. It is clearly visible in early photographs (*plate 22.4*).



Plate 22.4 General view of south-west corner of Ḥaram

#### THE FAKHRIYYA

##### (i) Site

The right-hand (western) doorway in the north wall of the Ayyūbid halls led, as al-'Umarī states, into the Fakhriyya. Access to the area immediately beyond that door is restricted nowadays; we have only van Berchem's description (above, p. 258) as a guide to the northern part of it. The southern part is entered by a door from the Templar Hall, now part of the Islamic Museum, to the south. That door (marked 'C' on the plan, *fig. 22.3*) leads into the columned hall (van Berchem's 'oratory'), described below, which opened to the north through two archways. These archways have been blocked up to leave two round-headed windows in the west one and a door surmounted by a window in the east one. Now only the door remains open (see *plate 22.5*). To the north, beyond the

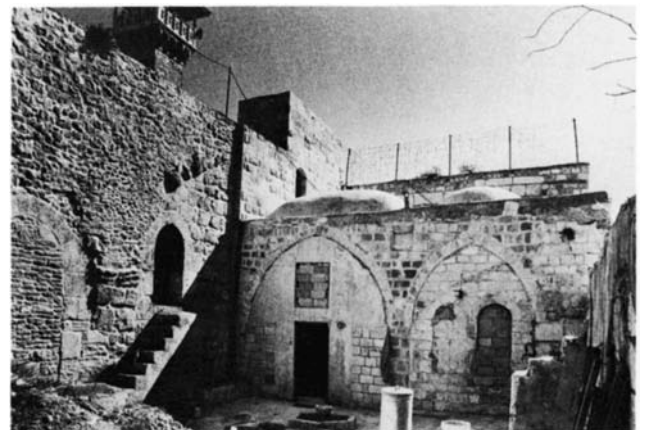


Plate 22.5 North frontage of columned hall

columned hall, is an open yard enclosed by a low wall (the upper part of the Ḥaram wall) on its west side, by a relatively modern partition wall to the north (*plate 22.8*), and to the east by the spine wall that originally divided the two Ayyūbid halls.

There are several openings in this spine wall, all blocked up<sup>32</sup> save for one, reached by an open flight of eight steps, that gives access to the roof by way of a staircase in the thickness of the wall (see *fig. 22.3*). Traces of springers and voussoirs protruding from the spine wall (*plate 22.5*) indicate that this area was once vaulted. The uniform north façade of the two halls (described above) suggests that the vaulting of this western hall was contemporaneous with and extended alongside the eastern Ayyūbid hall. The lateral thrust of the vault must have contributed to its collapse, perhaps during an earthquake. Subsequent rebuilding on the site can be traced in the masonry of the Ḥaram wall.



Plate 22.6 South end of west wall of Ḥaram

distinctive Herodian masonry, type 1. Immediately above the Umayyad masonry at the south wall comes masonry of type 3 which extends round to the west wall, and which may belong to the 'Abbāsid period. Masonry type 4, under the unmistakable Crusader masonry type 5, may be Fātimid. The regularly bossed masonry type 5 of the Templar Hall originally continued north as far as the dotted line x-x<sup>1</sup>. North of that line, under the columned hall, there is another masonry, type 6, incorporating here and there bossed stones similar to those of the Crusader type 5. These bossed stones seem to be in secondary use and this part of the wall may be remains of the substructure of the western Ayyūbid hall. Whatever the actual date of masonry type 6 may be, it is sure that it precedes the masonry type 7 above it, which belongs to the columned hall and is, so far as we can tell, Mamlūk. Finally there are repairs made in masonry type 8, which not only separates type 4 from type 6 but, as the continuity of the coursing shows, extends over the top of type 7. This makes it the latest of all, almost certainly Ottoman. Two rows of putlog holes are discernible in this masonry.

Certain conclusions can be drawn from this analysis of masonry types. The north-west corner of the Templar Hall collapsed evidently before the western Ayyūbid hall was constructed since the masonry of type 6 extends southwards beyond the line x-x<sup>1</sup>. The Ayyūbid hall itself subsequently collapsed, perhaps in the earthquake of 702/1303. Masonry type 7 seems to belong to the Fakhriyya, built after that collapse but

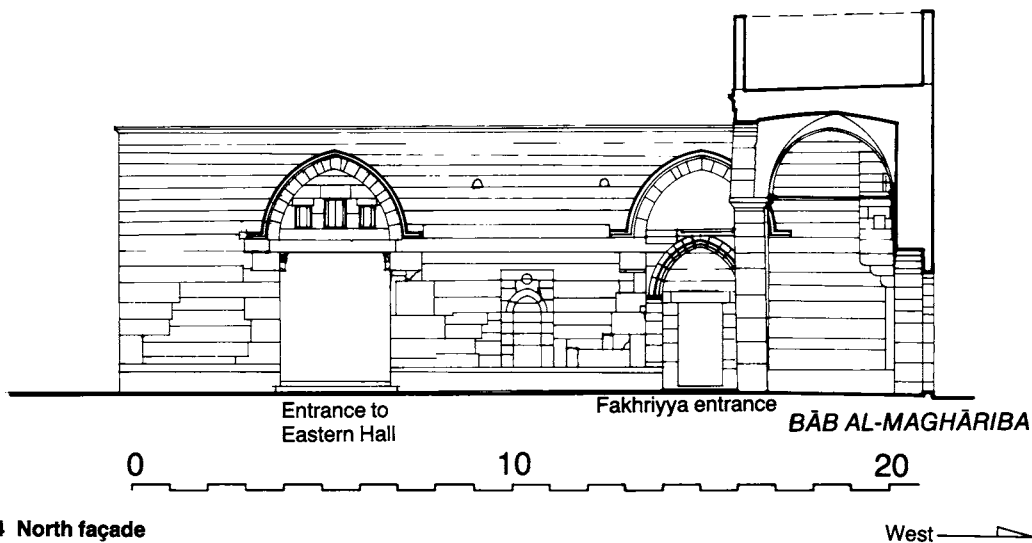


Fig. 22.4 North façade

(ii) *Ḥaram Wall* (*plate 22.6; fig. 22.5*)

The stretch of Ḥaram wall from the south-west corner to the Bāb al-Maghārība is in its present form the result of untold building operations over the years, as the intricate mosaic of different masonries testifies. By isolating individual components of this mural mosaic, rather in the way an archaeologist might analyse the stratigraphy of an excavated trench, we can establish the relative phases of construction and so comprehend better the state of the site when the Fakhriyya was founded.

Our 'stratigraphical' analysis deals with the area of wall extending from the south-west corner of the Ḥaram to the northern limit of the columned hall. Beyond this point, attached to the Ḥaram wall to the north, there formerly existed a group of buildings (see *plate 22.7*), some of which may have belonged to the Fakhriyya according to the Ottoman Tahrir registers (cited above, p. 260). These buildings were demolished unrecorded in 1968-69 and the wall partly rebuilt.

*Fig. 22.8* illustrates the various phases of building. The precise dating of the pre-Mamlūk 'strata' need not detain us here, but it is worth noting that there is only a trace of an Umayyad phase (masonry type 2). Round the corner, however, at the south wall, the masonry which we consider to be Umayyad (see p. 45) is plentiful, built directly on top of the

some time before 732/1332 (the date of the death of the founder) on the remains of the western Ayyūbid hall. Later still, probably in the Ottoman period, repairs to the north-west corner of the Templar Hall made in masonry type 8 included the replacement of the vaulting of the columned hall (see below).

(iii) *Columned hall* (*plates 22.9 and 22.10*)

The relative narrowness of the site limited the width of the columned hall. It is approximately 8.10m wide and 8.30m long. This area could have been spanned in the usual way by a cross vault; indeed, it may originally have been roofed in this way. Now a row of three columns supporting transverse arches and six small vaults divides the hall from north to south into two aisles of three bays each. Iron tie-bars above the column capitals help to brace the structure. The vaults of the east aisle are elliptical and those of the west one are domical. Both types are typically Ottoman in Jerusalem, as are their carved stone crescent finials (one of which is visible in *plate 22.8*). The masonry analysis of the west wall also suggests that the upper part of the structure is Ottoman. They may be part of the repairs made in 963/1556 (above, p. 260). Three windows in masonry type 7, thought to be Mamlūk, open in the west wall in positions corresponding to the centres of the vaulting bays, suggesting that the Ottoman builders arranged their columns and vaults to



Plate 22.7 General view of Haram wall, from the south-west



Plate 22.10 Interior of columned hall, looking north-west



Plate 22.8 General view of Fakhriyya site looking north from roof of columned hall



Plate 22.11 *Mihrāb*

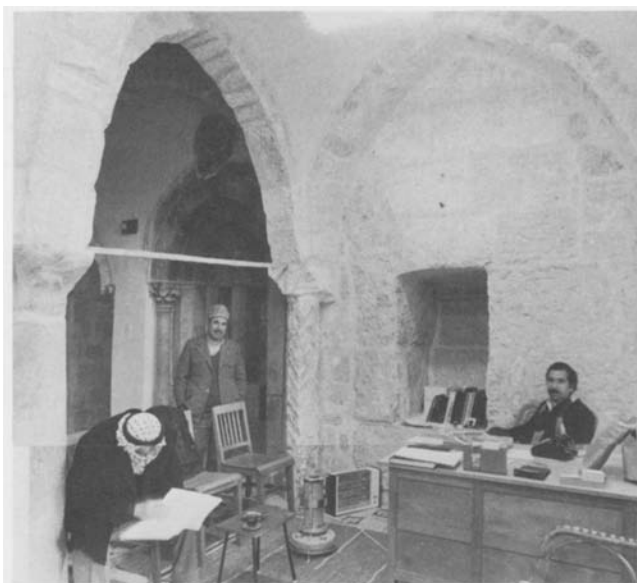


Plate 22.9 Interior of columned hall, looking south-east

accommodate existing openings. A doorway (now blocked) in the east wall opened into the former Jāmi' al-Maghārība and it too is accommodated by the vaulting system. The two archways in the north wall are aligned with the aisles, and they must belong to the Ottoman reconstruction.

A *mihrāb* (fig. 22.9, plate 22.11) beautifully constructed in marble *ablaq* and flanked by two re-used Crusader columns complete with capitals and bases, is placed not quite in the centre of the south wall. A marble border frames its pointed arch and forms a loop over the keystone. Within the loop a roundel is inscribed with the phrase *li'llāh*, 'for Allāh'. This marble border has an unfinished appearance on the left side. The wall containing the *mihrāb* blocks the archway that

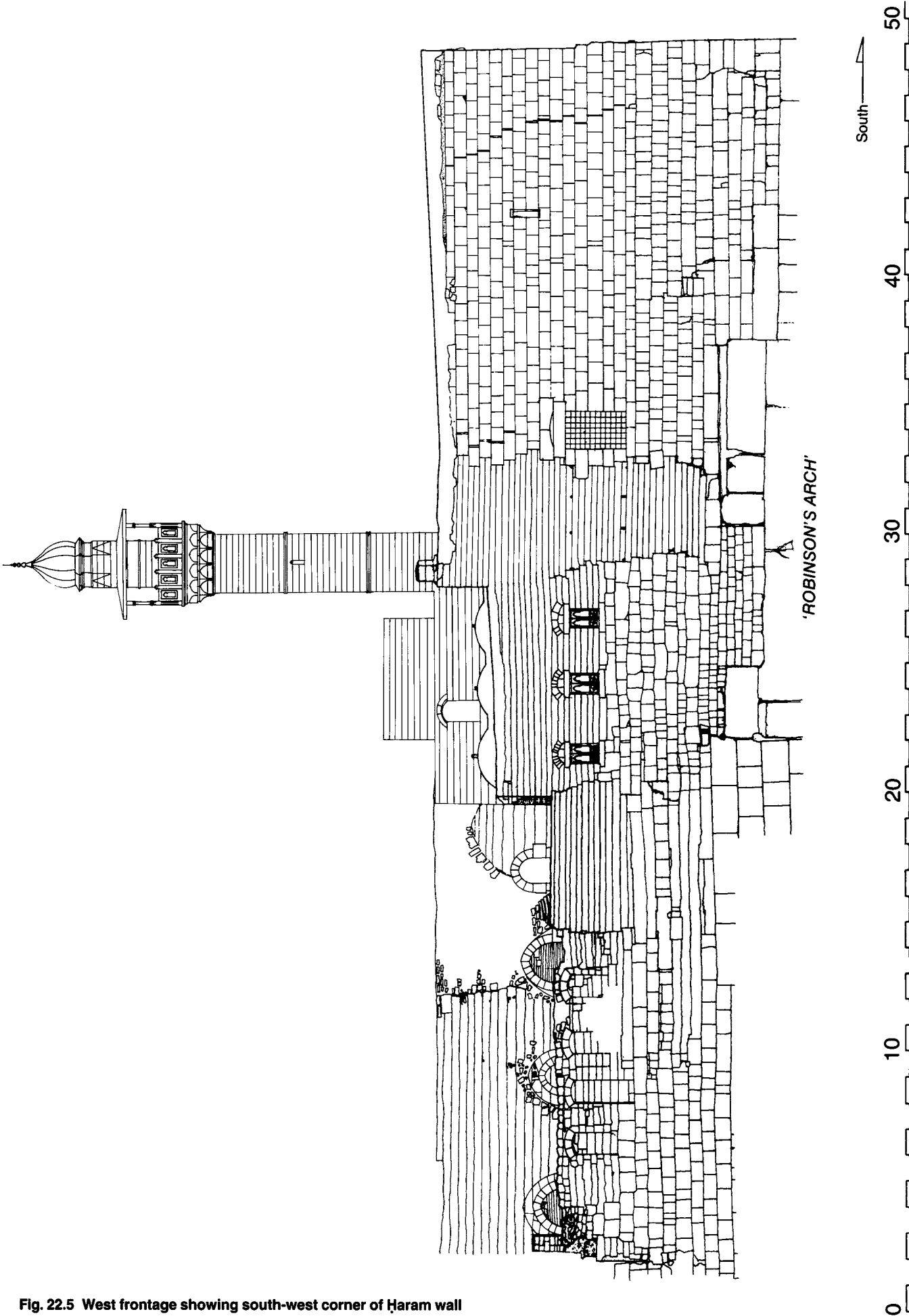


Fig. 22.5 West frontage showing south-west corner of Haram wall

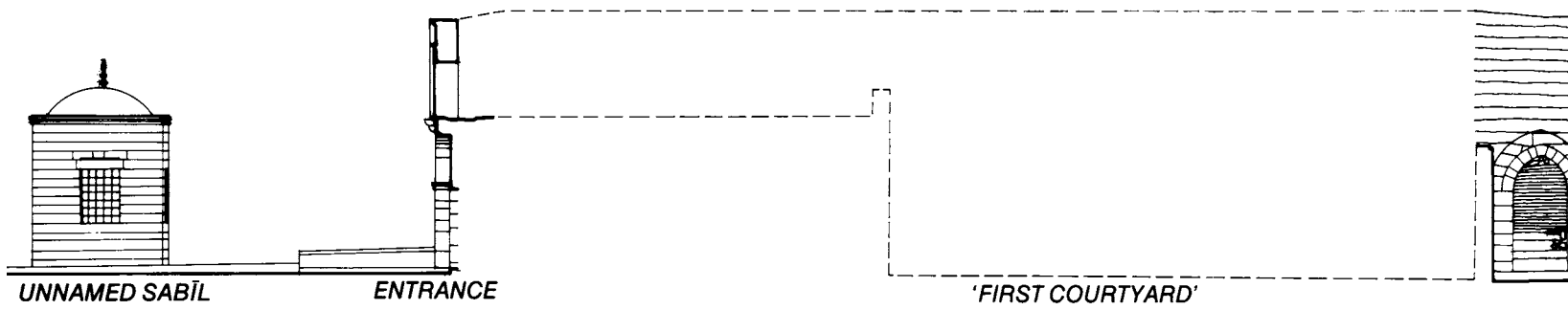


Fig. 22.6 North-south section through courtyards and columned hall

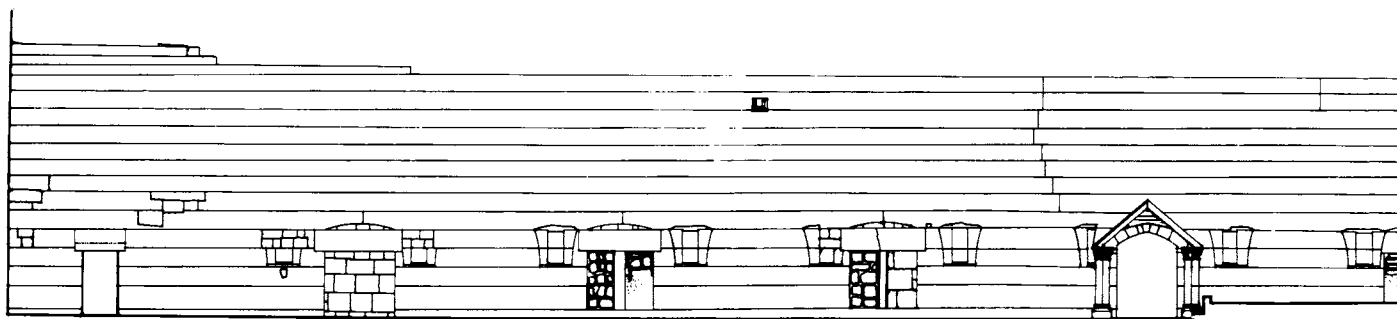
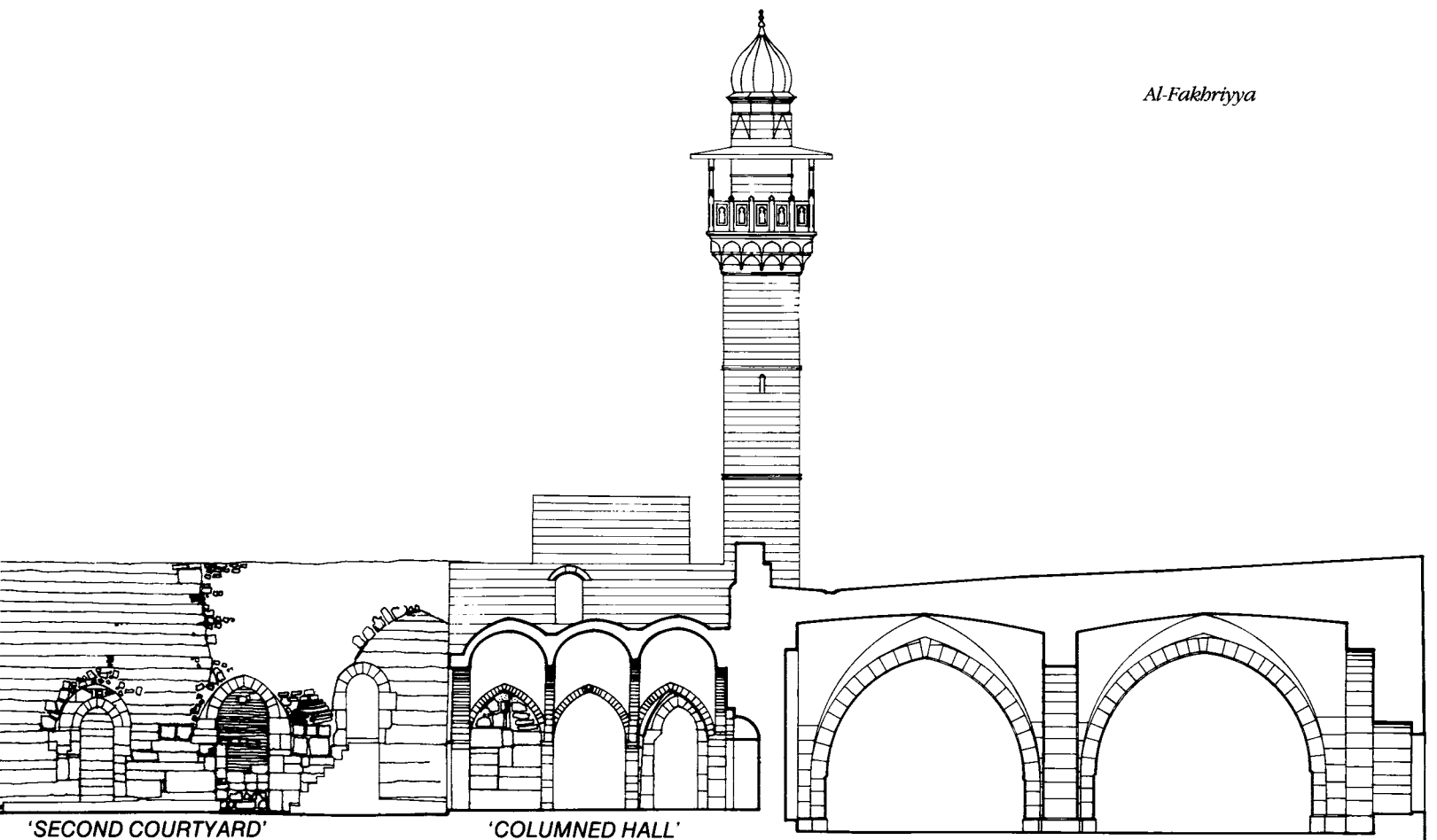


Fig. 22.7 East-west section through Jāmi' al-Maghārība and columned hall looking south



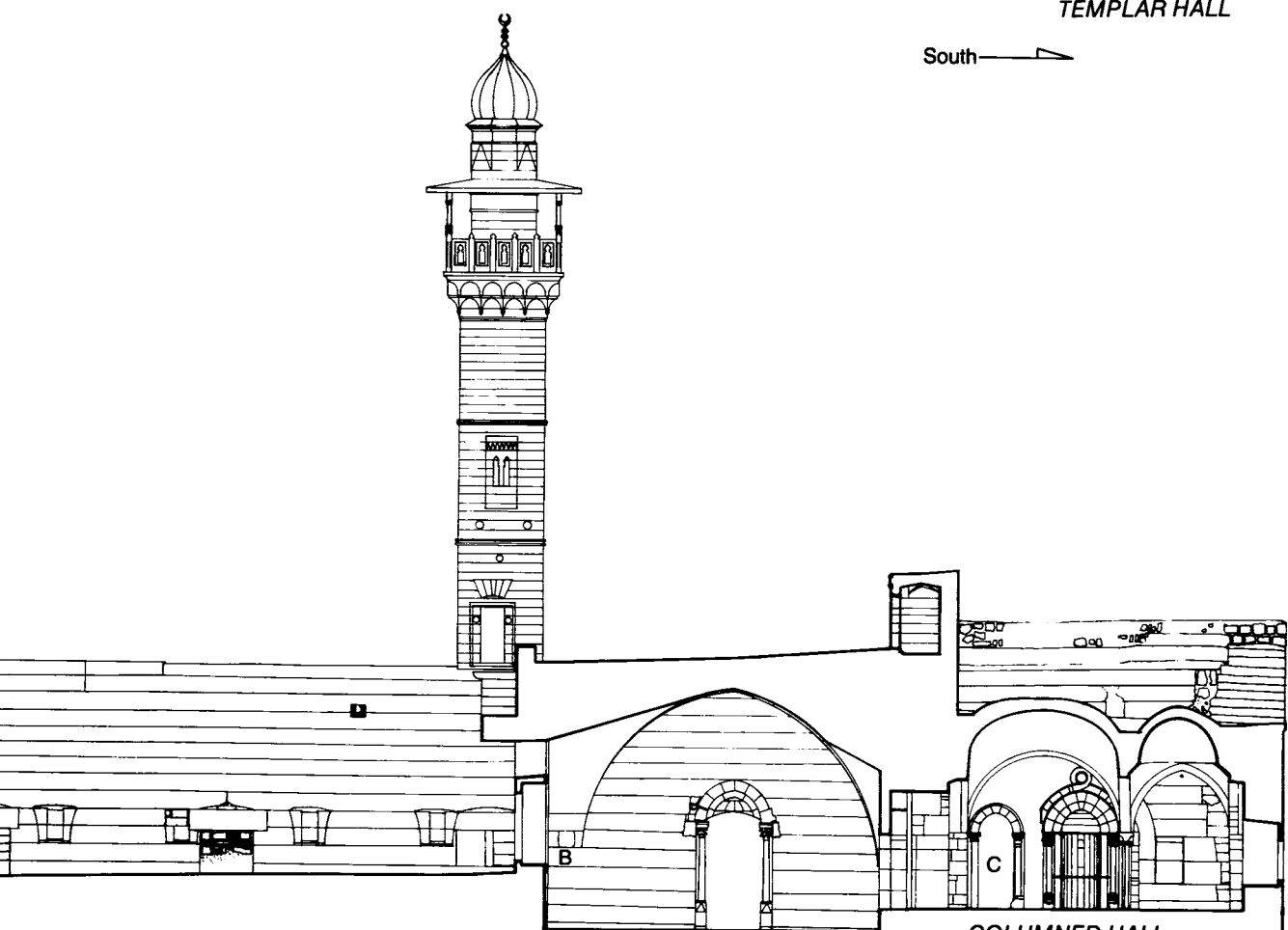


'SECOND COURTYARD'

'COLUMNED HALL'

TEMLAR HALL

South →



JĀMI' AL-MAGHĀRIBA

COLUMNED HALL

West →

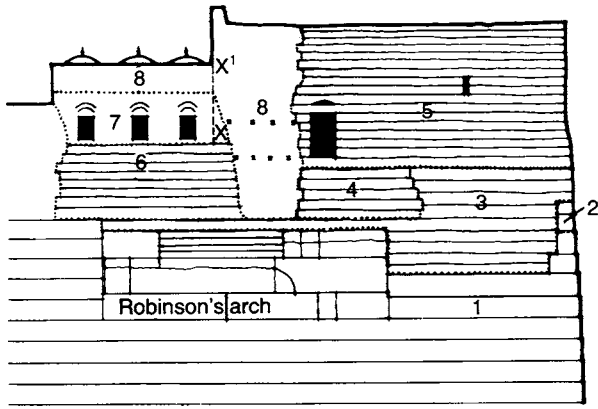


Fig. 22.8 'Stratigraphic' analysis of west frontage



Plate 22.12 Entrance (C) to columned hall from Templar Hall

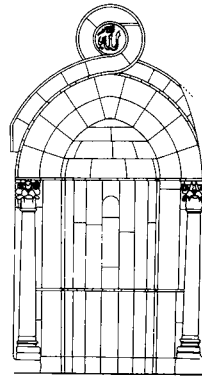


Fig. 22.9 Mihrāb

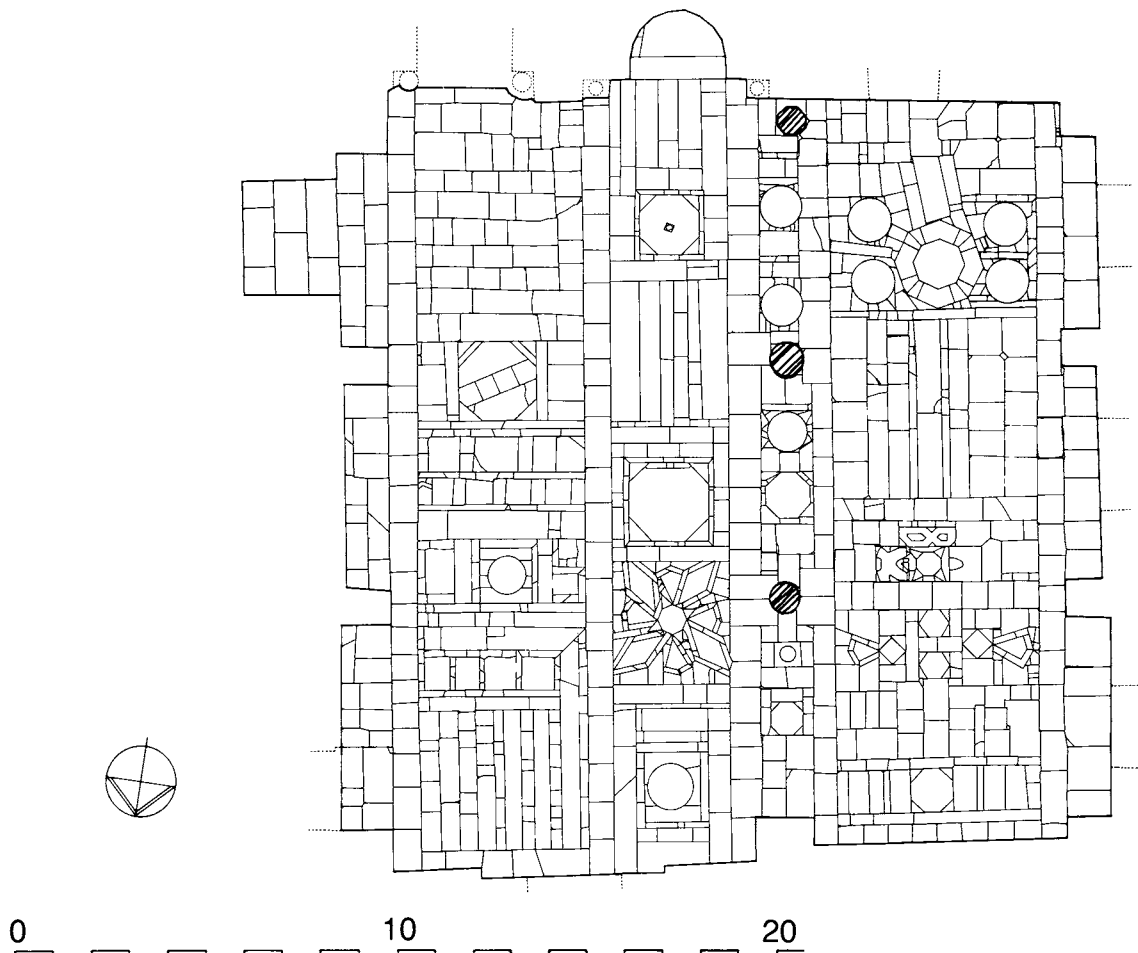


Fig. 22.10 Plan of pavement of the columned hall

originally opened into the Templar Hall (see above, p 261). The right-hand springing of that archway is still visible (see *fig.* 22.7), as is its crown above the roof of the columned hall. The *mihṛāb* has been set as far to the right as possible within the confines of that earlier archway in an apparent effort to have it as close as possible to the central axis of the hall. The present row of columns is arranged so that the east aisle is wider than the west one, obviously in order to avoid masking the *mihṛāb*. In this the builders did not entirely succeed for in places the south-east transverse arch overlaps the looped marble border round the *mihṛāb* arch (*plate* 22.11). At its other end it overlapped the left-hand edge of a re-used Koranic inscription in sixth/twelfth-century foliated *kūfī* script in marble that was built into the south wall.<sup>33</sup> Thus it is clear that the *mihṛāb* preceded the Ottoman vaulting; it is typically eighth/fourteenth century Mamlūk in style and must surely belong to the Fakhriyya.

At the east end of the south wall the narrow pointed-arched doorway (*plate* 22.12) marked 'C' on the plan (*fig.* 22.3) leads down to that western part of the Templar Hall that al-'Umari's text<sup>34</sup> appears to include as a sort of extension of

(*kharja fī*) the Fakhriyya. Mujir al-Dīn states that the adjoining Haram minaret (see below, pp. 270-272) is built upon the assembly hall (*majma'*) of the Fakhriyya.<sup>35</sup> The doorway is flanked by corner columns, obviously in re-use for one has a base for a capital and the other, though it has a Crusader thick-leaf capital, has a bulbous base in typical Mamlūk style.

To the right of the *mihṛāb* a cupboard (see *plate* 22.9) has been opened in the masonry, perhaps intended to hold Korans. Evidence of the collapse of the north-west corner of the Templar Hall may be seen in repairs to the wall on the right-hand side above the cupboard.

The floor of the hall is laid with a polychrome marble pavement set out in a pattern (*fig.* 22.10) which seems to take little account of the architecture. The central strip of paving does not align with the *mihṛāb* and in several places rough limestone pavers are used instead of marble. The pattern suggests that the present pavement is not the original one. It is quite probable that the marble itself belongs to an original Mamlūk pavement, but it was lifted and relaid at some time, possibly when the columns were introduced to support the new vaulting.

## Notes

\* We should like to thank Mr Mark Potter (who, with the assistance of Mr Graeme Pert, was largely responsible for our survey of the site) for helpful discussion of the analysis of this building.

- 1 *CIA (Haram)*, 129-30.
- 2 Al-'Umari, *Masālik*, 152.
- 3 Mujir, ii, 34.
- 4 *Sulūk*, ii, 142, 166 and 250.
- 5 For his biography in general, see *Wāfī*, iv, 335; *Durar*, iv, 255-6; *Kbitāt*, ii, 311; Ibn Battūta, i, 87 (Gibb, *Travels*, i, 55).
- 6 *Beiträge*, 151.
- 7 *Beiträge*, 157-161; *Sulūk*, ii, 115-123.
- 8 *Sulūk*, ii, 347-8, but see *Durar*, iv, 256. Maqrīzī met a son 'in poverty, begging from people, after having enjoyed unlimited wealth', *Kbitāt*, ii, 311.
- 9 Mujir, ii, 54.
- 10 *Beiträge*, 225; *Durar*, *loc. cit.*: at one point one reads 'a hospital at Ramla and another at Nablus', then a few lines below 'a madrasa at Nablus and a hospital at Ramla'. In agreement with the second version are *Wāfī*, iv, 335 and *Manhal*, Vienna Ms. fol. 298b.
- 11 Mujir, ii, 79.
- 12 Defer no. 522 (see Ipsirli, 22 and 165) and Defer no. 602, 428, no. 18.
- 13 Ipsirli (*loc. cit.*) reads 'Umrān, but Qamrā is constant in the Sijills.
- 14 Reading not certain. Ipsirli (*loc. cit.*): Adib. The Haram document no. 464 (dated 795/1393) mentions 'the quarter of Adhab outside Jerusalem'. The *Bustān al-Jawza* was near the Moroccans' Gate, see Sijill 17, no. 2103.
- 15 Sijill 57, 231 (2), dated 984/1577.
- 16 *Ma'ābid*, 114.
- 17 Sijill, 30, 325 (2).
- 18 Sijill, 57, 231 (2).
- 19 Sijill, 1, no. 702.
- 20 Sijill, 33, 20 (2).
- 21 *Ma'ābid*, 114. See the reference in the previous note.
- 22 S. Rovik, 'Templar Occupation of the Haram during the Twelfth Century'

(unpublished paper read at Cardiff in August-September 1983), 5.

23 Theodorich, *Description*, xvii, 31, cited by Rovik, *op. cit.*

24 The eastern hall lies partly over the staircase leading up from the Herodian gate known since the nineteenth century as Barclay's Gate. Consequently, that gate must have been blocked at the time of construction of the Ayyūbid halls, if not earlier.

25 Al-'Umari (*Masālik*, 153) is careful to point out that, although called *jāmi'*s, congregational mosques, the Women's Mosque and the Maghribi Mosque were in fact *masjids*:

We have used the expression Jāmi' al-Maghāriba because this is the name most commonly used. Had we said Masjid al-Maghāriba the people of Jerusalem would not have understood it; this is also the case with the Women's Mosque. Neither of these is a *jāmi'* in which the *kbutba* is read: each has a single *imām* who leads the five prayers there and nothing else.

26 Mujir, 397. The text of a certified copy of al-Afdal's endowment deed is given in A.L. Tibawi, *The Islamic Pious Foundations in Jerusalem: Origins, History and Usurpation by Israel*, London, 1978, 13-15, Arabic text in Appendix II.

27 *CIA (Haram)*, 216-18.

28 A raised platform and a pavement to the east, between the eastern Ayyūbid hall and the Aqṣā Mosque, were probably done at this time. A Bergheim photograph of 1870 (reproduced in *The First Photographs of Jerusalem: The Old City*, ed. E. Schiller, Jerusalem, 1978, 98) shows that neither the platform nor the pavement existed then.

29 *Bayān al-majlis al-shar'ī al-islāmī al-a'lā bi-Filastīn*, Jerusalem, 1347/1928, 6; cf. St.H. Stephan, 'Evliya Tshelebi's Travels in Palestine', *QDAP*, ix, 1942, 84 n.5.

30 *CIA (Haram)*, 218.

31 Al-'Umari, *Masālik*, 152.

32 One of these blocked openings into the Jāmi' al-Maghāriba is shown as still open in the 1865 Ordnance Survey plan of the Haram.

33 *CIA (Haram)*, 133.

34 Al-'Umari, *Masālik*, 152.

35 Mujir, 379.

## 23 'FAKHRIYYA MINARET'

### مأذنة الفخرية

After 745/1345\*  
 South-western minaret of the Ḥaram  
 Modern name: Fakhriyya Minaret

#### I LOCATION (fig. 23.1)

At south-west corner of Ḥaram where the former Jāmi' al-Maghārība meets the Templar Hall (see above, p. 260).

#### II SITE AND BUILDING (plate 23.1)



Plate 23.1 General view from the north

The minaret is built directly on top of the north wall of the Templar Hall that extends westward from the Aqṣā Mosque. It was originally reached from the yard south of the columned hall of the Fakhriyya (no. 22) by way of a staircase rising in the thickness of the spine wall of the Ayyūbid halls (see above, p. 263). A later stairway against the west wall of the Ayyūbid halls now provides access to the minaret.

Though much smaller than other minarets around the Ḥaram, the present Fakhriyya Minaret is of the traditional Syrian 'square tower' type. The shaft is divided by mouldings into three 'storeys', above which two tiers of *muqarnas* corbelling carry a muezzin's gallery around a square chamber, smaller in area than the shaft and surmounted by an octagonal drum and lead-covered dome.

The minaret appears to have been completely rebuilt in the Ottoman period, and the upper part of the shaft together with the muezzin's gallery were renewed in the 1920s. Nothing is known of the original form of the minaret.

\* See text.

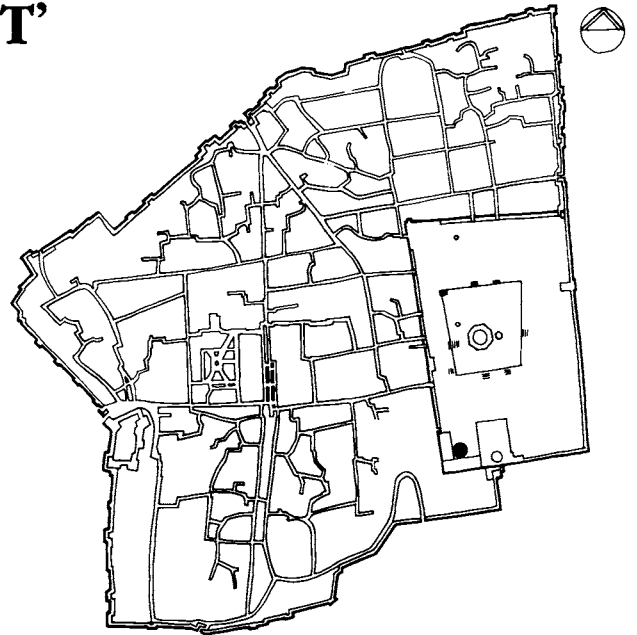


Fig. 23.1 Location plan

#### III HISTORY

Mujīr al-Dīn wrote that:

The first minaret [that he describes] is situated on the fore [i.e. southern] part (*muqaddam*) of the Ḥaram at the south-west angle, above the Fakhriyya Madrasa. It is the most finely built of them for it has no foundations and it stands on the assembly hall (*majma'*) of the Fakhriyya Madrasa. Perhaps it was built by the founder (*ṣāhib*)<sup>1</sup> of the Fakhriyya – God knows best!<sup>2</sup>

Mujīr al-Dīn's suggestion that the founder of the Fakhriyya was responsible for this minaret cannot be maintained since al-'Umarī, who wrote his description of the Ḥaram about thirteen years after the death of the founder (see above, p. 259), makes no mention of a minaret here.<sup>3</sup> Al-'Umarī gives precise details of those minarets that did exist in his day – the Ghawānima and Bāb al-Silsila minarets (nos. 10 and 20) – and so we can assume that this minaret did not exist then (c.745/1345). It must, therefore, have been erected some time after 745/1345 and before 901/1496 when Mujīr al-Dīn completed his account.<sup>4</sup> A more exact date for the original construction remains to be established.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### ACCESS STAIRS

In the yard north of the columned hall of the Fakhriyya eight steps against the west face of the spine wall of the Ayyūbid halls rise southward to a pointed-arched doorway (see plate 22.5; fig. 22.3). This doorway leads to a further flight of steps within the thickness of the spine wall. At the head of the steps is a stone chamber of recent construction. A door in the west wall of this chamber gives access to the roof of the columned hall of the Fakhriyya; and a door in the east wall opens on the roof of the eastern Ayyūbid hall. The minaret will have been reached from this staircase by crossing the roof of the Ayyūbid hall.

##### SHAFT (elevations: figs. 22.6 and 23.2; plate 23.2)

The decoration of the shaft is concentrated on the north face where an entrance door gives on a spiral staircase rising within the shaft to the muezzin's gallery.



Plate 23.2 North elevation



Plate 23.3 Entrance door

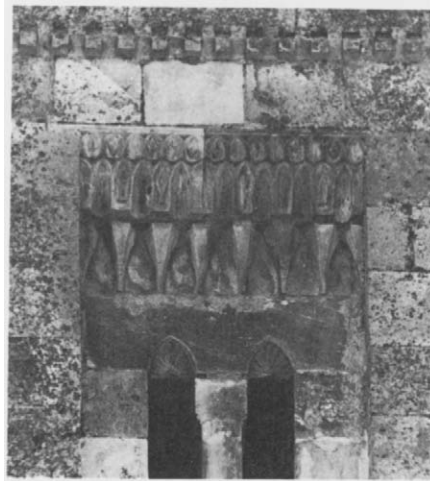


Plate 23.4 *Muqarnas* window-head

The entrance door is set in a very shallow recess framed by a quirked ogee moulding. On either side of the door are two carved stone bosses (see *plate 23.3*); and over the lintel is a relieving arch of voussoirs with rebated joints. A raised stone disk or patera three courses above the relieving arch is carved in low relief with a five-pointed star.

The lower storey is divided from the second storey by a quirked ogee moulding. One course above that moulding are a further two paterae decorated with six- and eight-pointed stars. In the middle of this storey a shallow recess with a sloping sill and a *muqarnas* head (*plate 23.4*) contains paired slit windows separated by a dumpy column. The windows have little fluted conchs carved in their common lintel.

A billet moulding marks the transition from the second to the third storey. Three courses above this moulding a change in the colour and texture of the stone indicates that the upper part of the minaret is a later reconstruction. An inscription under the canopy of the muezzin's gallery gives the date: 1342/1923-24. Contemporary photographs<sup>5</sup> show that the top of the minaret was dismantled and completely rebuilt at that time. The earlier muezzin's gallery was carried on roll corbels.



DATE

While the date of reconstruction of the top of the minaret is known, the date of construction or reconstruction of the shaft is not. It appears to belong to a single phase of construction, there being no trace of any earlier masonry. The style of decoration – notably the feeble profile of the moulding around the entrance door, the paterae above the door, and the finicky daintiness of the *muqarnas* head of the window recess – is

characteristic of Ottoman architecture in Jerusalem.

Evliya Çelebî, who visited Jerusalem in 1083/1672, saw only three minarets in the Haram area and he specifically stated that there was none by the Mosque of the Mālikīs (the Jāmi' al-Maghāribā).<sup>6</sup> Thus the minaret seen by Mujīr al-Dīn must have fallen before Evliya Çelebî's visit, perhaps in the earthquake of 952/1546, and have been rebuilt some time after 1083/1672.

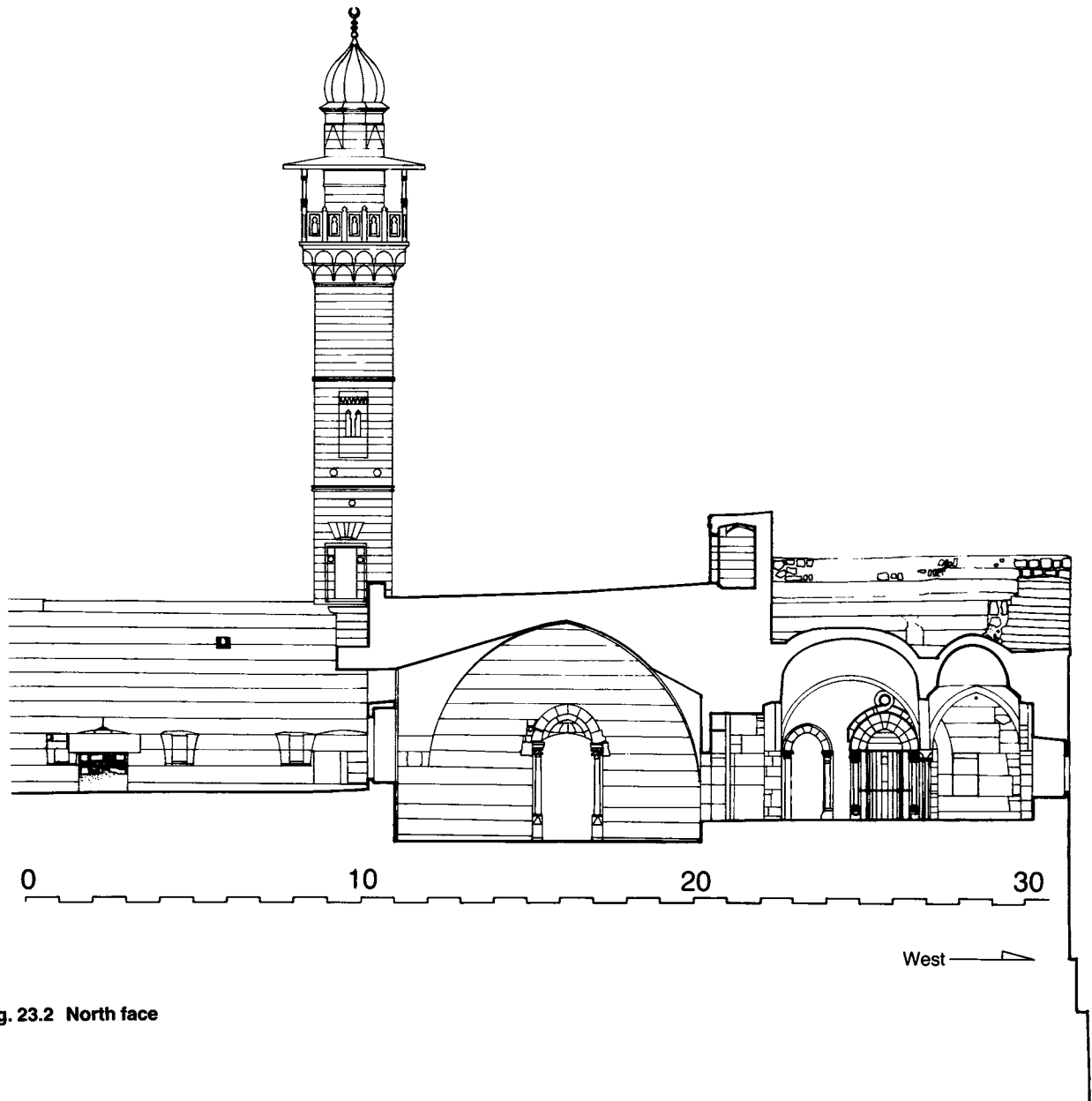


Fig. 23.2 North face

Notes

- 1 Elsewhere in Mujīr al-Dīn's text it is clear that by *sāhib* of the Fakhriyya he means its founder (Mujīr, 404, 426).
- 2 Mujīr, 379.
- 3 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 152.
- 4 Al-Suyūṭī, writing shortly after 875/1470, calls the Bāb al-Silsila Minaret (no. 20) the 'southern' one, implying that none existed to the south of it, but it is difficult to believe that if the Fakhriyya Minaret was built after that date Mujīr al-Dīn would not have known its history.
- 5 *Bayān al-majlis al-sbarī al-islāmī al-a'lā bi-Filastīn*, Jerusalem, 1341-42/1923-24, unnumbered plate.
- 6 St. H. Stephan, 'Evliya Tshelebi's Travels in Palestine', *QDAP*, ix, 1942, 100.

# 24 'SŪQ AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN'

## سوق القطنين

Completed 737/1336-37  
 Commercial centre of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Tankiz al-Nāṣirī  
 Modern name: Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn

### I LOCATION (fig. 24.1)

At the middle of the west border of the Ḥaram, extending between the Ḥaram and Ṭarīq al-Wād.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 24.2)

The general title Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn, 'Market of the Cotton Merchants', the popular name for this market-street since the ninth/fifteenth century though not the original one,<sup>1</sup> has been adopted to introduce conveniently the building complex shown on fig. 24.2. This huge complex was designed as a sort of commercial centre comprising a long covered market-street with shops on either side and monumental entrances at each end, living quarters (*rubū'*, plural of *rab* ') above the shops, two public bath-houses known as Ḥammām al-Shifā' (the Bath of Healing) and Ḥammām al-'Ayn (the Bath of the Spring) and a *khān* or caravanserai.<sup>2</sup>

Fig. 24.13 illustrates the marked difference between the frontage of the shops in the western part (bays 1–16) of the market-street and that of the shops in the eastern part (bays 17–30). The lower western part appears to belong to a different order of construction and design from the eastern part. The large, rock-face bossed masonry of the lower courses in the western part rises to a height of several metres at either end, suggesting that it belongs to an earlier building which lay in ruins when the construction of the Mamlūk market-street was begun. The relatively strong corners at each end would naturally survive a collapse better than the interconnecting walls. Unfortunately no systematic analysis of the various types of masonry to be found in Jerusalem has yet been completed,<sup>3</sup> and so it is impossible to establish with certainty the age of this masonry. It does, however, resemble the bossed masonry under the Tankiziyya (above, p. 228), which is probably Crusader.

Vertical joints in the masonry where the eastern part of the market-street meets the western part between bays 16 and 17 (figs. 24.11 and 24.18, plates 24.1 and 24.2) confirm that the lower part of the structure was built in two stages. The fact that the eastern part is built against the distinctive bossed masonry of the western part suggests that this masonry is *in situ*. Enough of the masonry survives at the west end of the market-street (plate 24.3) to show that the present west entrance is built on the remains of an earlier one. Indeed, the whole of the western part of the market-street appears to be built on the remains of an earlier market hall, which in that case must have been laid out along much the same lines. There is nothing in the present layout of the western part of the market-street to contradict a Crusader origin: a Crusader market hall, similar in plan, exists at the Wakāla (see below, p. 480). It is known that Frederick II

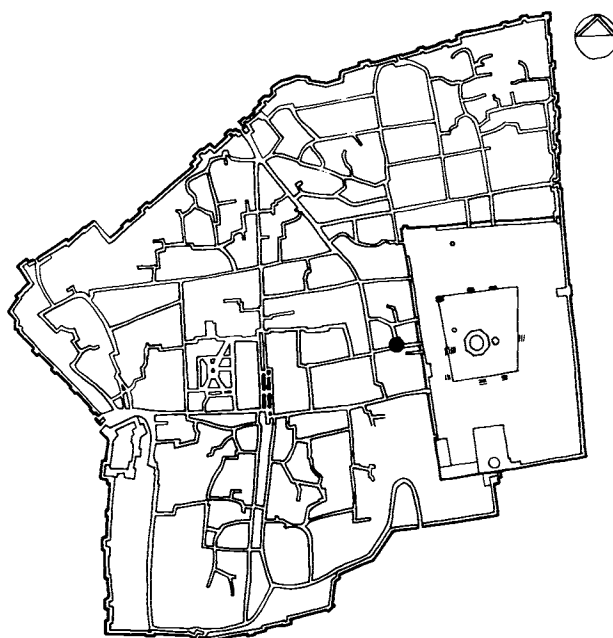


Fig. 24.1 Location plan

established a system of *fondachi* in which merchants were required to deposit their goods pending the levying of customs dues,<sup>4</sup> and it is possible that these formed part of that system.

Thus it transpires that the western part of Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn is founded upon the remains of an earlier market, possibly Crusader, which may well have been ruined by an earthquake. This earlier market was entered from the valley street, Ṭarīq al-Wād; there is no indication that it ever extended to the east of bay 16 of the present market-street. On the contrary, the vertical joints in the masonry between bays 16 and 17 seem to show that the earlier market stopped there, about 40m short of the Ḥaram wall.

Consequently Tankiz, acting for Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (see below), undertook to build on the ruins of that earlier market a new market-street extending eastward to reach the Ḥaram where a monumental new gate, Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn, was erected (plate 24.8). Since the earlier market drew its clientele from the street, its floor level matched the level of the street (plate 24.3). The eastern extension of the market, possibly for ease of construction, continued at that level, which means that at the east end it is about 4m below the level of the Ḥaram. This difference in level is accommodated by two flights of steps, an eastern flight within the Ḥaram and a western flight within the market-street (see section, fig. 24.18). In this way soil excavated from within the Ḥaram to form the eastern flight could be utilized to form a ramp for the western flight: an intelligent and economical method of construction.

At the eastern end of the earlier market (at bay 16) there are two passages, one leading north to Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd, the other leading south to the boiler room of the eastern bath-house, Ḥammām al-Shifā'.

The location of Ḥammām al-Shifā' at the east end of the pre-Mamlūk market suggests that it functioned at the same time as that market. In fact, the curious orientation of this bath-house (see fig. 24.2), divergent from the alignment of the market, would appear to indicate that its foundations predate those of the market. This curious orientation is unique among the buildings close to the Ḥaram border and the reasons for it are unclear. There is nothing in the layout of the contiguous Ḥaram-oriented Ablutions Place (*maṭhara*), the former *siqāya* of al-'Adil,<sup>5</sup> to the south that might offer a clue. It can only be supposed that the orientation is accidental, that this earlier (possibly pre-Crusader) structure originally stood in isolation not bound to follow the Ḥaram-oriented grid pattern of surrounding streets (see above, p. 44). The choice of such an

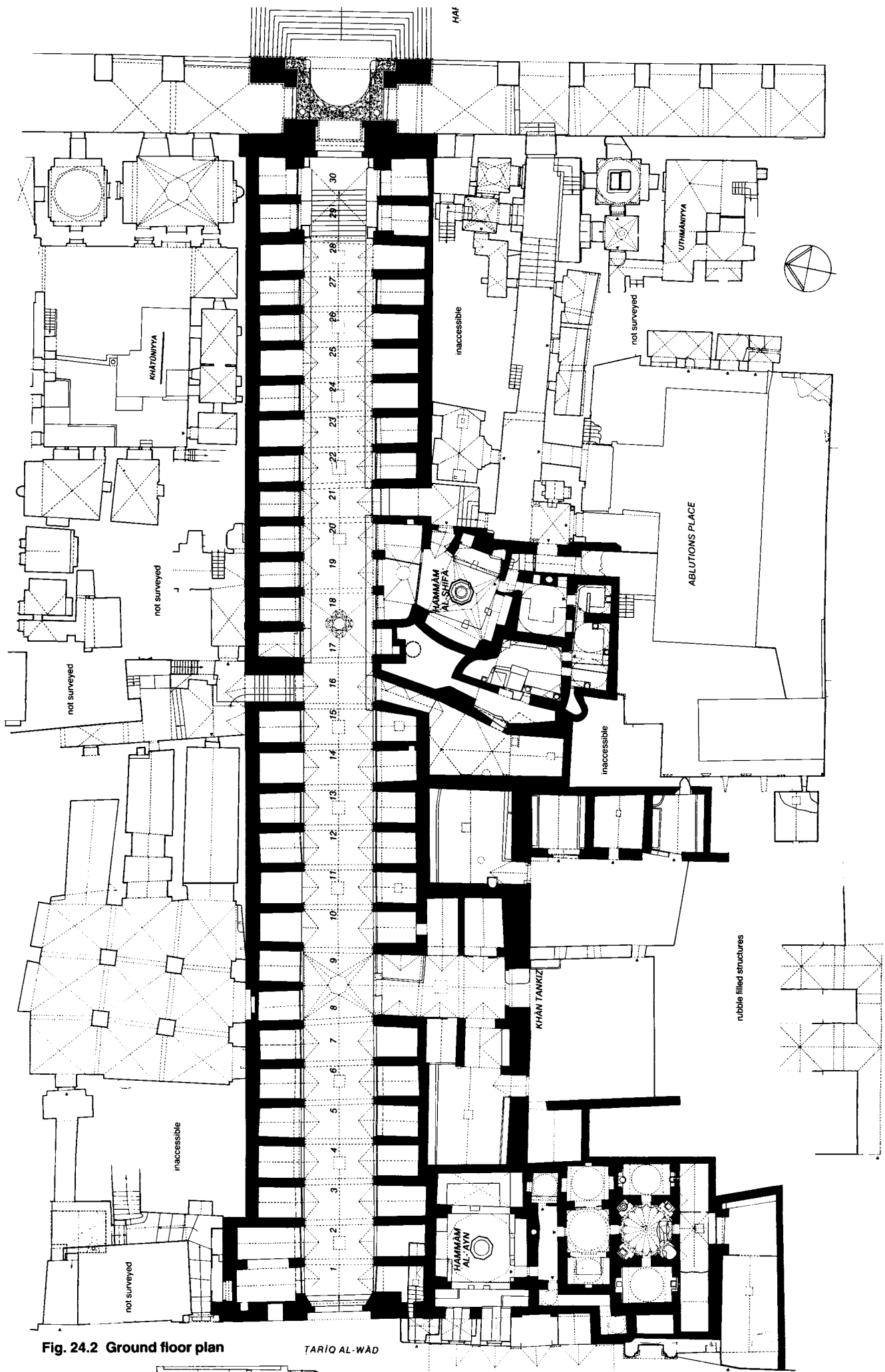


Fig. 24.2 Ground floor plan

TARIQ AL-WAD

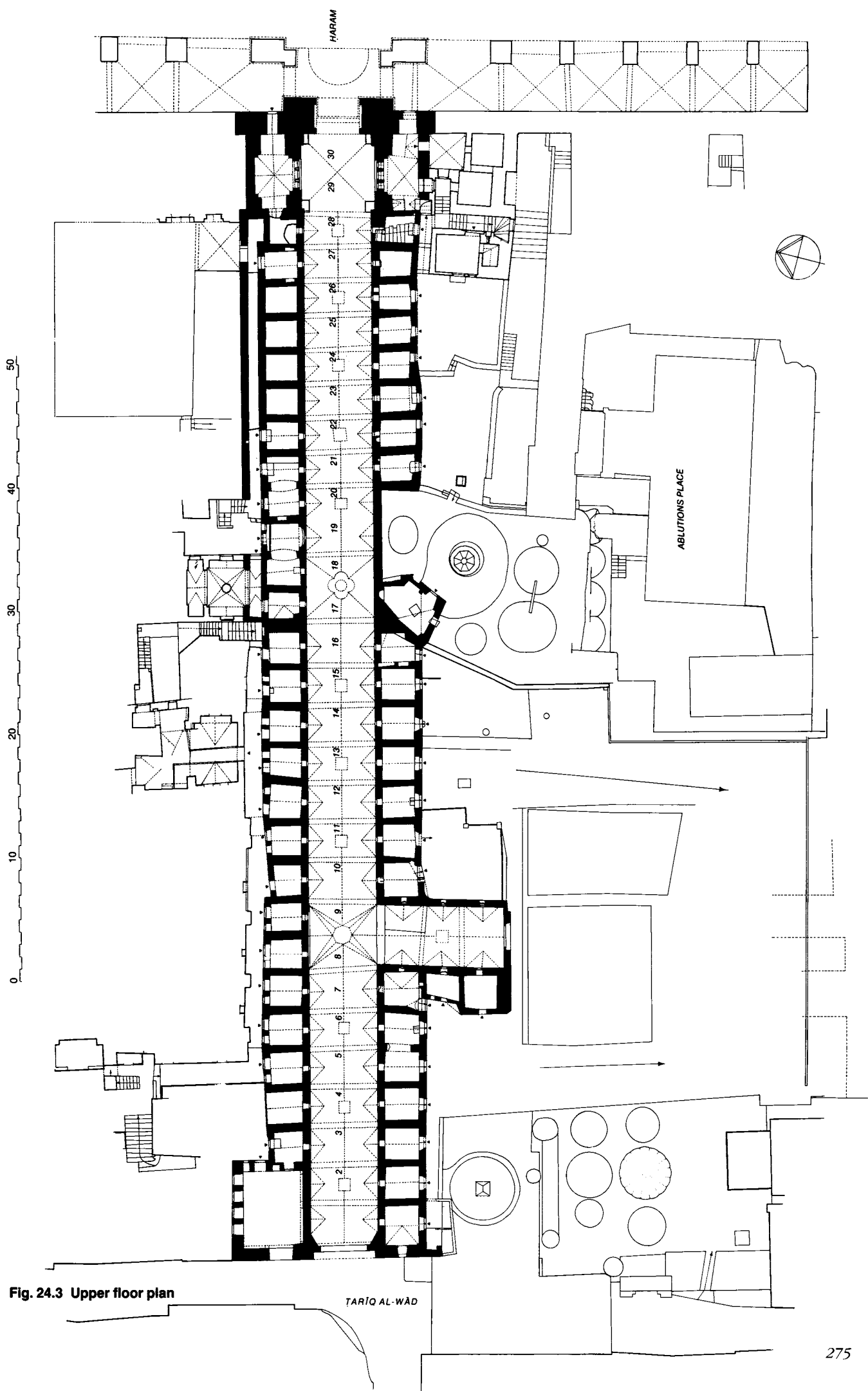


Fig. 24.3 Upper floor plan



Plate 24.1 Masonry joint between bays 16 and 17 (north side)



Plate 24.2 Junction at bays 16 and 17, south side, showing entrance to service area of Ḥammām al-Shifā'



Plate 24.3 West entrance



Plate 24.4 Vaulted hall north of bays 6–11

isolated situation may have been influenced by an available water supply<sup>6</sup> – a deep well that intrigued Victorian explorers (see *fig.* 24.10).<sup>7</sup>

The western bath-house, Ḥammām al-'Ayn, situated to the south of bays 1–3 of the market-street, is normally oriented and though its floor level is considerably lower than that of the market-street (see *fig.* 24.16) it has the typical plan and appearance of an original Mamlūk ḥammām.<sup>8</sup>

Similarly the *khān* situated between the two bath-houses is obviously an original Mamlūk foundation. While its courtyard walls are constructed partly of stones with distinctive rock-face bosses of the type described above, the irregular disposition of these stones indicates that here they are in secondary use.

To the north of bays 6–10 of the market street is a large hall roofed by nine cross vaults supported on four piers (see *plate* 24.4) with three long barrel-vaulted chambers extending eastwards from it. This hall is now reached by a zigzag passage from the street, Ṭarīq al-Wād. A blocked opening in the south wall of the hall may, however, once have given access to it from the market-street by way of the north shop at bay 8. This hall and its eastern annexes should perhaps be associated with a *khān*, known as Khān al-Qaṭṭānīn, which was founded by Zaynab al-Khaṣṣakiyya, wife of Sultan Ināl (reigned 857/1453 to 865/1461) and mother of his successor, al-Mu'ayyad Shihāb al-Dīn, according to a document dated 937/1531.<sup>9</sup> A later document records that the khān comprised *bawāyik* (large vaulted warehouses?), upper and lower storerooms, and shops in Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn.<sup>10</sup>

Another khān, somewhere to the south of Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn, was founded by the Qāḍī Fakhr al-Dīn b. Nusayba some time in the last three decades of the ninth/fifteenth century. Its northern boundary is given as the furnace of the Ḥammām of Tankiz (i.e. Ḥammām al-'Ayn); its western boundary was the street, Ṭarīq al-Wād.<sup>11</sup>

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION AND DATE

The Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn complex contains three inscriptions and an artisan's 'signature'.<sup>12</sup> Two of the foundation inscriptions are at the monumental east entrance, the so-called Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn, one on the east face of the lintel of the gateway and the other on brass bands adorning the west face of the original wooden doors.<sup>13</sup> The door leaves open towards the Ḥaram, fitting flushly into lateral reveals, and so the inscription is visible when the doors are open. This inscription is essentially an extended version of the one on the lintel which, though partly eroded, can be read thus:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This gate was built anew (*juddida*) in the reign of . . . al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad . . . on the instruction of (*bi-ṣbāra* or *bi-*



*mubāshara*) Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz al-Nāṣirī . . . in the months of the year 73(7) (1336-37).<sup>14</sup>

Only the first letter, *sīn*, of the last number of the date in the inscription on the lintel is clearly legible, but traces of the letter *'ayn* show that this must be *saba'*, seven, and the date 737, not 736. Mujīr al-Dīn, who will have seen this inscription in a better state of preservation, confirms that the date of construction was 737.<sup>15</sup> The inscription on the doors is better preserved and contains the date 736 (1335-36). Thus the doors were made before the inscription was carved on the lintel of the gate.

The formula *bi-ishāra* or *bi-mubāshara* in the inscription (the text is not quite clear) indicates that the foundation was a royal one. Tankiz was responsible for the undertaking on behalf of the Sultan, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.<sup>16</sup>

Al-'Umarī, who visited Jerusalem in 745/1345 or thereabouts, less than ten years after the completion of the work, states that it was a covered market-street the income from which was divided between the Ḥaram and the Tankiziyya (no. 18):

. . . Next to this part of the west portico is a big gate, recently built and newly opened . . . from it the new market-street (*al-qaysariyya al-mustajadda*) is reached. It contains [two] rows of shops, some of which are waqf of the Ḥaram and some are waqf of the madrasa and khānqāh which were founded by the Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz.<sup>17</sup>

On the lintel over the entrance to the khān is another inscription. The first and last words of this inscription are quite illegible and the full text cannot be ascertained. A plausible restoration as suggested by van Berchem is:

[. . . has ordered the construction of this khān] and market (*sūq*) and the lodgings (*rubū'*) above it . . . Tankiz al-Nāṣirī . . . in the months of the year [. . .].<sup>18</sup>

The inscription incorporates three specimens of Tankiz's blazon which, in addition to the inclusion of only Tankiz's name, suggests that this part of the complex was ordered by Tankiz personally. A later document<sup>19</sup> records that its revenues were for the subvention of Tankiz's madrasa (no. 18) and ribāt (no.19). The khān to which the inscription must refer is now partly buried under debris, but the original layout – barrel-vaulted chambers around a large open courtyard – may be inferred from the surviving remains. The *sūq* referred to in the inscription is unlikely to be the main market-street which, as we know from al-'Umarī's nearly contemporary account, was called *qaysariyya*.<sup>20</sup> The *sūq* must in fact comprise the shops which are grouped around the entrance to the khān; that is, four booths, two on each side, opening on a broad entrance hall leading south from the market street to the khān.

As for the bath-houses, since they contain no inscription we must turn to the literary evidence. Al-'Umarī and Ibn Taghrībirdī (died 874/1470) both attribute to Tankiz two bath-houses in Jerusalem.<sup>21</sup> This is confirmed by a copy made in 1020/1611 of the *waqfiyya* (endowment deed) of the Tankiziyya dated 730/1330, which states that the two baths, south and west, near Wādī al-Ṭawwāhīn (Ṭarīq al-Wād) were founded by Tankiz and that the income from them was for the subvention of his madrasa and khānqāh.<sup>22</sup> The description of these two baths fits the ones now known as Ḥammām al Shifā' and Ḥammām al-'Ayn, attached to Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn. Thus these two bath-houses must have been in existence by 730/1330.

If the epigraphic and textual evidence indicates that the Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn complex comprises both royal and amiral foundations, the continuity of the upper part of the structural fabric shows that the complex was planned and built as a complete architectural entity.

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

At the end of the ninth/fifteenth century Mujīr al-Dīn was impressed by the quality of its construction: 'it is a market of

extraordinary height and solidity; you will not find its like in many towns.'<sup>23</sup> But by the nineteenth century Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn created a less favourable impression, for by then it had become neglected and was used as a rubbish dump.<sup>24</sup>

The Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn was repaired in about 1890,<sup>25</sup> but the market-street remained full of rubbish. When the Pro-Jerusalem Society undertook its restoration in 1919, it was 'a public latrine, the shops filled with ordure, and the debris in some cases was lying five foot high'.<sup>26</sup> At the same time the khān housed a flour mill 'whose 20 h.p. engine was gradually shaking the ancient masonry out of place. This the Society has removed.'<sup>27</sup> The Pro-Jerusalem Society's restoration affected only the west end of the Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn; the east end remained untouched.<sup>28</sup> In 1227/1812 Ḥammām al-'Ayn was reported to be in a ruined condition – full of rubbish with the boiler house and some of the rooms lacking their paving and in need of repair.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, despite the evidently squalid surroundings, the bath-houses functioned more or less continuously from the time of their foundation. Until at least 1227/1812 the income from the Ḥammām al-'Ayn was divided between the Ḥaram and the Tankiziyya,<sup>30</sup> but by 1320/1902 the waqf had changed – by what means is not known – so that the income was entirely for the benefit of the Khālidī Library (see above, p. 111).

Further repairs were made to Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn in 1927.<sup>31</sup> In 1966 it was proposed that a folk museum be established in the khān,<sup>32</sup> but the plan was never implemented. The khān was more imaginatively used as a farm where a wonderful variety of livestock was reared.

It was not until 1974 that the market-street was extensively restored (*plate* 24.7) and reopened by the Department of Awqāf.<sup>33</sup> More recently, in 1984 the Department of Islamic Archaeology began work on the restoration of Ḥammām al-'Ayn and, it is proposed, Ḥammām al-Shifā'. And so it is anticipated that the components of this magnificent complex, the finest bazaar in Syria according to Creswell,<sup>34</sup> may regain their corporate identity and once more produce revenues for the upkeep of the Ḥaram.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

*BĀB AL-QAṬṬĀNĪN* (figs. 24.2 and 24.8, *plate* 24.5)

Mujīr al-Dīn wrote of the gate that:

It is written over it [the gate] that the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn rebuilt it (*jaddada 'imāratabu*) in the year 737 (1336-37).<sup>35</sup>



Plate 24.5 Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn

Thus Mujīr considered the gate to have been built on the site of an earlier gate, but this conclusion may have been based on a misinterpretation of the inscription. What the inscription

actually says *juddida bādhā'l bāb* . . . The meaning of *juddida* in this context is ambiguous; either 'was renewed' or 'was built anew' would fit.<sup>36</sup> Van Berchem, following Mujir al-Dīn, opted for the former, while Grabar favours the latter. The archaeological evidence, in so far as the pre-Mamlūk market opened off the street and stopped about forty metres short of the Ḥaram wall, tends to suggest that there was no pre-Mamlūk gate. The substantial difference in level between the market-street and the Ḥaram, accommodated by two flights of steps evidently built as part of the Mamlūk development, also suggests that no earlier gate existed. At least, there is no visible evidence of any earlier adjustment of the levels nor of any earlier gate. The pre-Crusader descriptions of the Ḥaram, as is well known,<sup>37</sup> include lists of gates, but none that can be satisfactorily associated with the site of the present Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn. Indeed, had an earlier gate existed there, it would be difficult to explain the close proximity of the Bāb al-Maṭhara which is only thirteen metres to the south. That gate was apparently open in the Ayyūbid period to give access to the *siqāya* of al-Malik al-'Ādil (589/1193). In short, the indications are that Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn is an original Mamlūk construction, 'recently constructed and newly opened' in al-'Umari's words, to link the new market-street with the Ḥaram.

This new gate was built into the west portico of the Ḥaram. The lateral walls of the portal open directly under the portico (*plate* 24.6), and above these openings is some stalactite vaulting of the highest quality.<sup>38</sup> As *fig.* 12.2 (see fold-out at back) shows, the two bays of the portico which flank the gate are larger than the others, rising to buttress the substantial bulk of the gate itself. The structural harmony of this composition implies a homogeneity of construction: the gate was deliberately incorporated as part of the central portico which connects the two earlier portions of the west portico to the north and to the south. Mujir al-Dīn confirms that this portico was built at the same time as the gate:

The porticoes at the west border of the Ḥaram were rebuilt during the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad . . . The portico which extends from the minaret at Bāb al-Silsila to near Bāb al-Nāṣir was built or rebuilt (*umira*) in the year 737.<sup>39</sup>

The gateway is set in a trefoil-headed recess contained within a much larger recess spanned by a vast semidome supported on five tiers of stalactite corbelling (*plate* 24.9). The *ablaq* voussoirs of the trefoil arch<sup>40</sup> over the gateway are alternately cream-coloured limestone and black bituminous limestone.

The voussoirs of the pointed arch which frames the slightly smaller frontal arch of the semidome are of red and cream-coloured *ablaq*, the usual combination in Jerusalem. The cornice moulding which crowns the composition steps up on either side of the semidome before curving over the crown of the arch. The profile of this moulding is not typically Mamlūk, seeming to belong rather to an earlier period. The section which bends up over the crown of the arch was obviously made specially for the gate and so must date from 737/1336-37 or thereabouts. But the fact that this section is less eroded than the adjoining straight sections suggests that these straight sections might have been re-used. There are analogous cyma mouldings below the parapets of both the Golden Gate (Umayyad?) and the south wall of the Aqṣā Mosque. R.W. Hamilton has proposed a Fātimid (fifth/eleventh century) date for the Aqṣā moulding,<sup>41</sup> although an earlier dating should not be ruled out. A similar moulding is to be found below the parapet of the south wall of the Umayyad Great Mosque at Damascus, which was built by al-Walīd between 88/707 and 96/714-15.<sup>42</sup> A more detailed comparison of these mouldings is needed before any firm conclusion can be reached.

The architecture of the gate has been likened to the entrance portal at the Tankiziyya,<sup>43</sup> but there is no strong resemblance between the two. Distinctive features of the Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn (*plate* 24.10) not to be found in the Tankiziyya portal (*plate* 18.8) are: the stepped plan, the *ablaq* trefoil-headed gate recess, the five-tiered *muqarnas* system, the undecorated semidome, the *ablaq* voussoirs of the recess arch, and the cyma cornice moulding bent around the arch. Consequently van Berchem's suggestion that the two monuments are perhaps the work of the same architect<sup>44</sup> is not really supported by the architectural evidence.

Van Berchem is correct, however, in observing that Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn faces to the west and announces the market-street to the west rather than the Ḥaram to the east. But there are indications that the western approach to the gate was decorated as well. The abutments of the present cross vault which spans the western flight of steps leading up to the gate are obviously later additions; hence the vault itself must also be a later addition. The bay spanned by the original vault – before the present vaulting abutments were introduced – is almost exactly square in plan, which suggests that the original vault may have been domical. Re-used *muqarnas* fragments (*plate* 24.11) built into the walls of the room directly above the present vault (*fig.* 24.18), match in size and general style the fourth tier of *muqarnas* corbelling supporting the semidome of Bāb al-

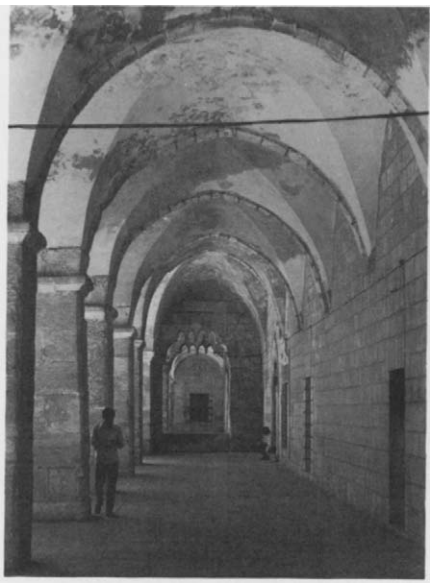


Plate 24.6 West portico of Ḥaram, looking south towards lateral openings at Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn

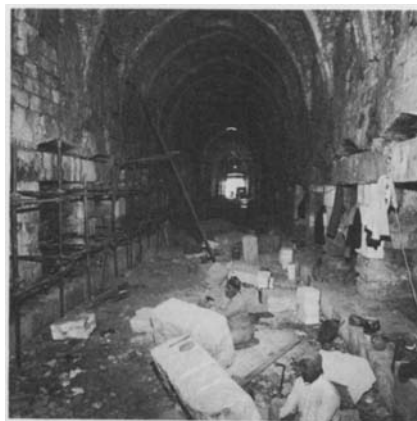


Plate 24.7 Restoration in progress in the early 1970s

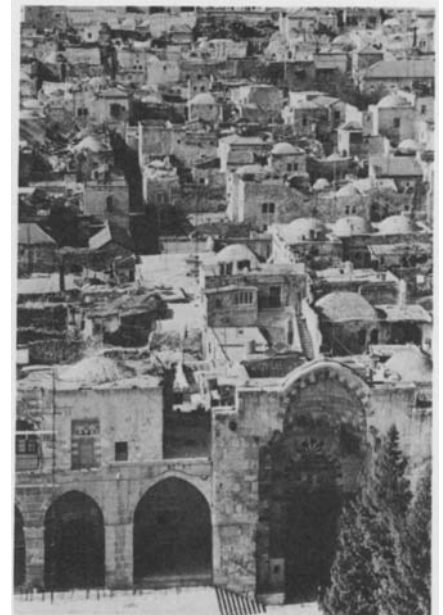


Plate 24.8 General view from the top of the Dome of the Rock

Qaṭṭānīn. These *muqarnas* fragments are thus of such a size and shape as would be suitable for the transition zone of a dome over the western approach to the gate. An exemplary model of a dome on a *muqarnas* transition zone is to be found just a stone's throw away at the inner porch of Bāb al-Nāṣir (*plate 35.3*) built in 707/1307-08 for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

Whatever the original vaulting of this bay on the town side of Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn was – and the indications outlined above show that it was probably a dome – it collapsed or was demolished some time before the present cross vault was erected.<sup>45</sup> The room above must have been built shortly after the erection of that cross vault. Apparently at the same time a little pointed-arched window, visible in the early photographs of the gate,<sup>46</sup> was opened in the tympanum of the trefoil arch. This window was blocked and the arch refurbished during the 1927 repairs.<sup>47</sup>

#### WESTERN ENTRANCE (*plate 24.3*)

The lower part of the western entrance to Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn appears to belong to the pre-Mamlūk (Crusader) phase of construction since the distinctive bossed masonry survives apparently *in situ* to a height of almost four metres. The Mamlūk masonry above is smooth-faced.

A tall pointed-arch recess encloses the entrance proper, which is spanned by a flat arch composed of seven interlocking voussoirs surmounted by a relieving arch and a circular oculus. The flat arch rests on simply profiled shoulders in a similar fashion to the lintel at the entrance to the khān, which bears Tankiz's foundation inscription.

Flanking the recess are two springings for vaults (*plate 24.3*) which either spanned or were intended to span across Ṭarīq al-Wād on each side of the entrance. These vault springings are integral parts of the springers of the recess arch and must be contemporaneous with it. The vaults themselves may never have been built; no trace of them exists and there is no indication of corresponding abutments on the opposite side of the street.

The moulding which extends across the central part of the west façade just below the parapet above the entrance is again not typically Mamlūk, being similar to the one over the eastern entrance, Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn (above, p. 278).

The western entrance, in contrast to the eastern entrance, has no doors. Nor could doors ever have been fitted for there is no provision for hinge sockets and, in any case, the booths nearest to this entrance would be blocked by opened door leaves. Likewise the passage leading north from the middle of

the market street to Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd was evidently open at all times. The individual booths in the market-street could be locked up of course. The gates of Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn were therefore to prevent access to the Ḥaram from the market-street and not *vice versa*. This arrangement is in accordance with current practice whereby all the Ḥaram gates are closed at night, with only a guard patrol remaining within the precinct.

#### MARKET-STREET (plan, *fig. 24.2*; section, *fig. 24.18*)

The market-street extends 95m from east to west. On either side open ranges of shops. The arched openings of the shops in the western part of the market-street are different from those in the eastern part (see *fig. 24.18*), one of the indications that the two were separate constructions (see above, p. 273). The barrel vault roofing the market-street appears, however, to be a continuous and homogeneous structure.<sup>48</sup> Transverse arches spanning across the market-street divide the vaulting into individual bays (numbered 1–30 on the plan). Alternate transverse arches are constructed differently: one type is composed of well-cut voussoirs, the others are mere simulations built up in plaster, as may be seen between bays 19 and 20 where the plaster has been removed. Each alternate bay contains a rooflight; those at bays 20, 22 and 24 are now blocked by later structures on the roof. In three places a pair of adjacent bays is spanned by a single vault: at bays 8–9 a folded cross vault rises to an octagonal oculus; at bays 17–18 a cross vault rises to a *muqarnas* cupola at the crown, which is inscribed twice on the bottom tier of *muqarnas* with the signature of the craftsman Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (see *plate 24.12*); and at bays 29–30 is the later cross vault. Each of these double bays marks a special feature. The one at bays 8–9 corresponds to the entrance to the khān (thus implying that the khān was built more or less contemporaneously with the market-street); that at bays 17–18 by the entrance to Ḥammām al-Shifā' distinguishes the west end of the eastward extension of the market-street towards the Ḥaram; and the cross vault at bays 29–30 replaces what appears to have been a dome next to the Ḥaram gate (see above).

The street pavement was re-levelled during the recent restoration. Originally it sloped gently down from the foot of the steps at bay 28 to emerge at the west end on the same level as the street, Ṭarīq al-Wād (see *plate 24.3*), where four new steps have been built to compensate for the re-levelling. Stone benches on either side of the market-street, which still survive in the eastern part (see *plate 24.7*), originally continued for the full length of the street. These benches provided space where merchants could display their wares and conduct their business.<sup>49</sup> The continuity of the benches was interrupted on the north side at bay 16 where a flight of steps rises north to the lane leading to Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd, and on the south side at bay 21 where the rear wall of a shop has been breached at some time to give access to the Ablutions Place (formerly the *siqāya* of al-'Ādil). Presumably there will also have been a break on the south side at bays 8–9, the entrance to the khān.

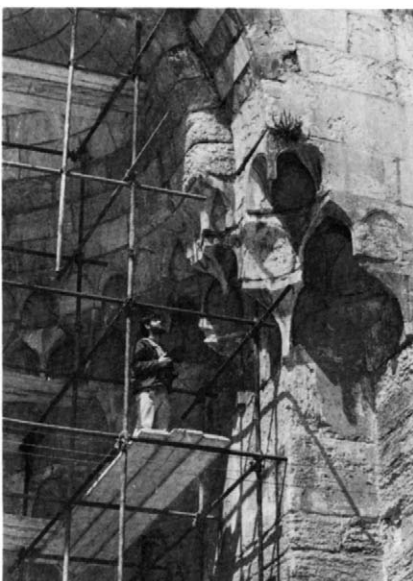


Plate 24.9 Robin Kent surveying *muqarnas* corbelling of Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn

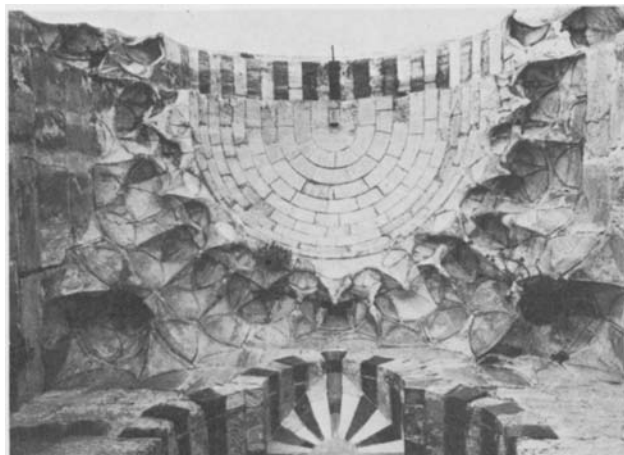


Plate 24.10 Vault of Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn

UPPER FLOOR LODGINGS (plan, *fig. 24.3*)

On either side of the market-street are a series of small upper floor rooms that provide lodgings (*rubū*). Two on the south side (at bays 11 and 15) have what appears to be a blocked trapdoor in the middle of the floor, suggesting that they were used as storerooms for the shops below. Each room is lit by a small window opening on the market-street (see *plate 24.13* and *fig. 24.18*).

On the north side of the market-street the barrel-vaulted rooms of the *rubū* ran in a continuous series, one above each shop, with a more elaborate cross-vaulted chamber at the east end (bays 29–30). The two westernmost rooms have been replaced by a later (Ottoman) hall. A corridor on the north side of the rooms, now blocked in several places (see plan, *fig. 24.3*), gave access to them (*plate 24.14*). This corridor appears to have been reached by a dog-leg staircase entered from the lane leading to *Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd*.

On the south side of the market-street the arrangement of rooms is similar except for interruptions at *Ḥammām al-Shifā'* and at the *khān*. At *Ḥammām al-Shifā'* the entrance porch (higher than the adjoining shops, section, *fig. 24.15*) and a well-room on the roof (see below, p. 286) intervene between the room at bay 16 and the one at bay 21. At the *khān*, its tall entrance hall intervenes. The easternmost rooms (bays 27–30) on this side have been incorporated into the later *Ribāt al-Zamanī* (see below, p. 576). Access to the other rooms is from the roofs of neighbouring buildings (*plate 24.15*). These roofs are reached by an open stair on the north side of *Zuqāq Bāb al-Maḥara* and another on the east side of *Ṭarīq al-Wād* over the boiler-room of *Ḥammām al-'Ayn* (see below).

KHĀN TANKIZ (plan, *fig. 24.6*; section, *fig. 24.12*)

At bays 8–9 of the market-street a broad archway (now partly blocked by a modern wall) opens to the hall leading south to the entrance to the *khān*. The shops on either side of this entrance hall are virtually identical in design and construction to those in the western part of the market-street.

The tall barrel vault of the entrance hall is divided into three bays by transverse arches. Excisions in either side provide clearance for high-level windows admitting light to the lodgings on the upper floor. At the crown of the central vaulting bay is a square rooflight like those in the market-street. On the roof a masonry cowl (see *plate 24.16*), open to the south,

shelters this rooflight. It may be presumed that similar cowls once sheltered the rooflights in the market-street, which are now fitted with modern glass covers.

At the south end of the entrance hall is a doorway, 2.76m wide, that leads to the *khān*. It was originally fitted with double doors opening south, but these have long since disappeared. The doorway is spanned by a monolithic lintel which is supported at each end on corbels and surmounted by a relieving arch composed of three massive stones (see *fig. 24.18*). The damaged foundation inscription (cited above, p. 277) is carved on the keystone of the relieving arch, on the lintel, and on the corbels. Tankiz's blazon – a cup on an undivided circular shield – decorates the middle of the lintel and is repeated on either side of the corbels. Above the doorway a segmental-arched window admits light to the entrance hall.

The entrance doorway opens into a large courtyard. A substantial wall now divides the courtyard from north to south (*plate 24.16*). Since this wall abuts on the north wall of the courtyard without keying into it, it would appear to be a later insertion.

Various doors, some altered from their original form, open in the east, north and west sides of the courtyard. At the east and west ends of the north side they open into large barrel-vaulted chambers now used as stables. Square openings (now blocked) at the crowns of the vaults provided light and ventilation. The east wall of the western chamber has been dismantled at some time to connect this chamber with the two western shops in the entrance hall (see *plate 24.17*). That later opening to the northern of these shops has subsequently been blocked by a concrete partition.

The structures on the south side are now buried under an enormous pile of debris retained by a modern wall across this end of the courtyard. Nothing is known of the former structures there. *Fig. 24.7* gives an impression of what the original layout might have been. In the west side of the courtyard only one door remains. It opens into a plain barrel-vaulted chamber. In the east side an archway (now partly blocked) and two doorways (see section, *fig. 24.12*) lead into barrel-vaulted rooms. The southern of these rooms has a splayed embrasure to a window giving on the court of the Ablutions Place to the east.

At the north end of the east wall of the courtyard are the



Plate 24.11 *Muqarnaş* fragments in room above bays 29–30



Plate 24.12 Vaulting, looking west, showing *muqarnaş* cupola at bay 17–18

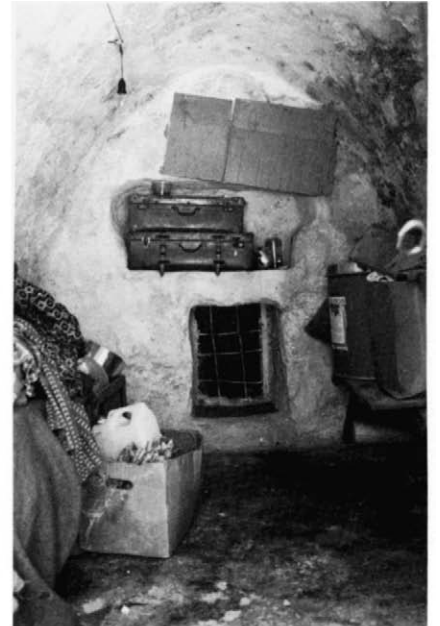


Plate 24.13 Interior of lodging room

Fig. 24.4 Hammām al-'Ayn: Ground floor plan

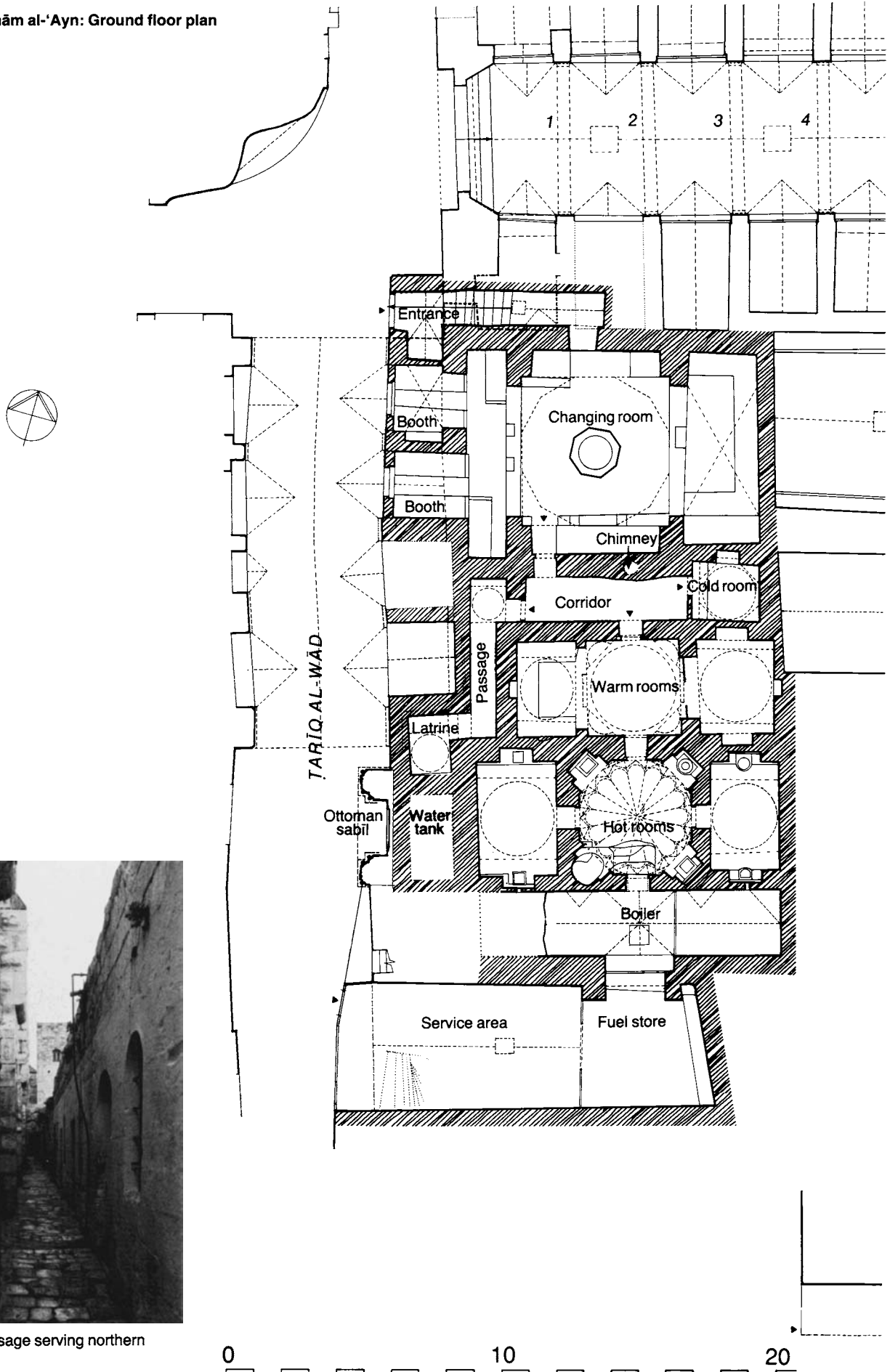


Plate 24.14 Passage serving northern lodgings



remains of the springing of an arch (see *plate 24.18*) which might once have supported a staircase to additional accommodation on an upper floor, but of such no trace exists.

**BATH-HOUSES**

A familiar feature of Islamic towns is the public bath-house, usually located close to the markets and congregational mosque, where bathing for ritual or social purposes could be enjoyed in pleasant surroundings.<sup>50</sup> The plans of these bath-houses, derived from Roman baths, varied little. An entrance, usually quite plain, led into a spacious changing room. Latrines were generally isolated from the changing room by a long passageway. From the changing room bathers progressed through cold and warm rooms to the hot room. The bathing rooms were roofed by domes perforated with little circular windows through which shafts of light penetrated the steamy

atmosphere. Next to the hot room, water was heated in a boiler room which, along with its associated fuel store, had a separate 'service' access. Both bath-houses connected with Sūq al-Qattānīn have this sequence of rooms, but their disposition varies in each.

(i) *Ḥammām al-Shifā'* (plan, *fig. 24.5*; section, *fig. 24.15*).

In the copy of Tankiz's *waqfiyya* (see above, p. 225 n. 17) this bath is referred to as the Southern Bath; it is situated to the south of the market-street. The *waqfiyya* includes a brief description of the layout and fittings, which have altered little over the centuries.

While the oblique alignment of the northern and eastern parts of the bath-house suggest that they are built on older foundations, the normal orientation of the south-eastern part indicates that it is Mamlūk.

On the south side of the market-street at bays 18–20 three

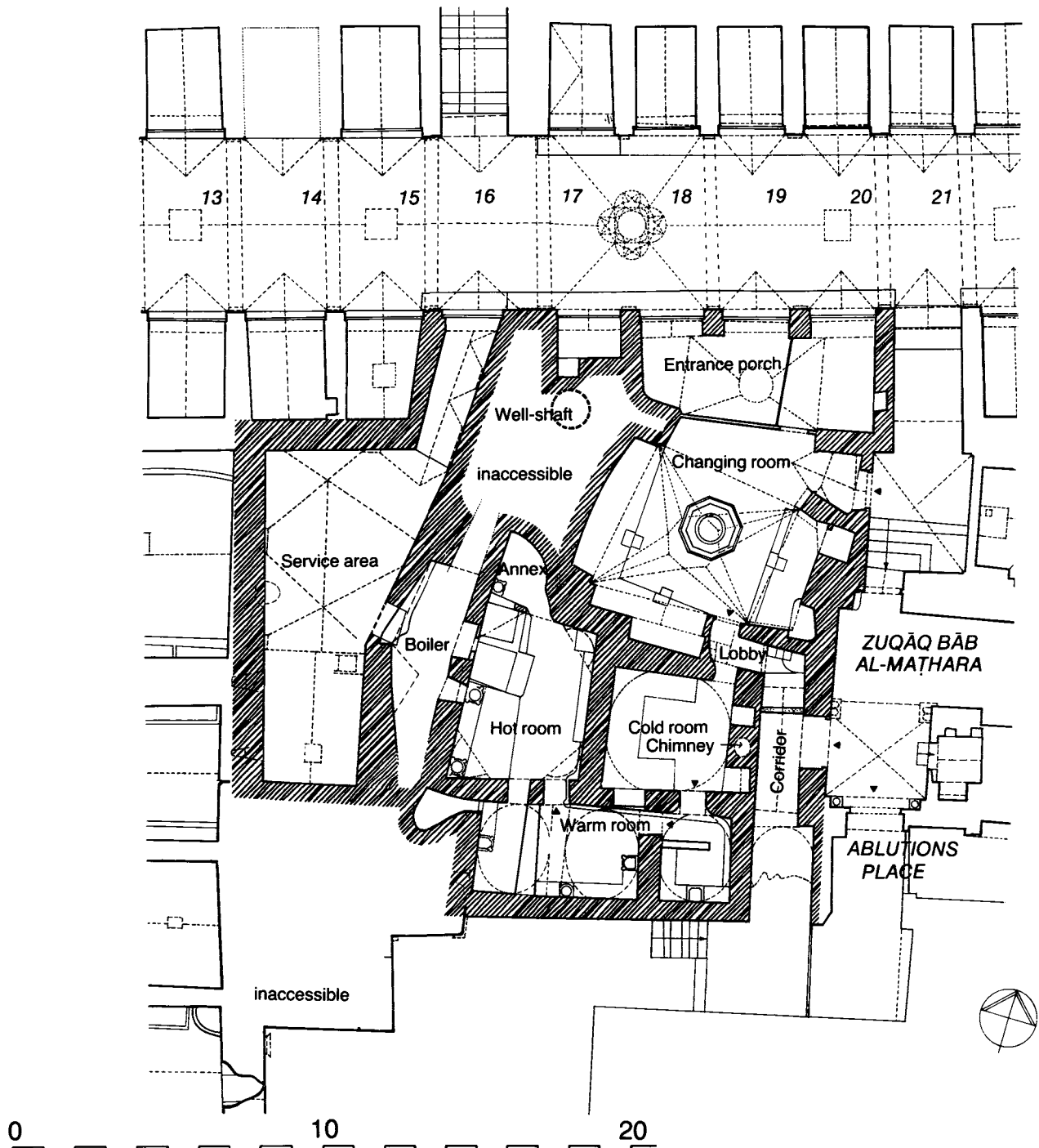


Fig. 24.5 Ḥammām al-Shifā': Ground floor plan

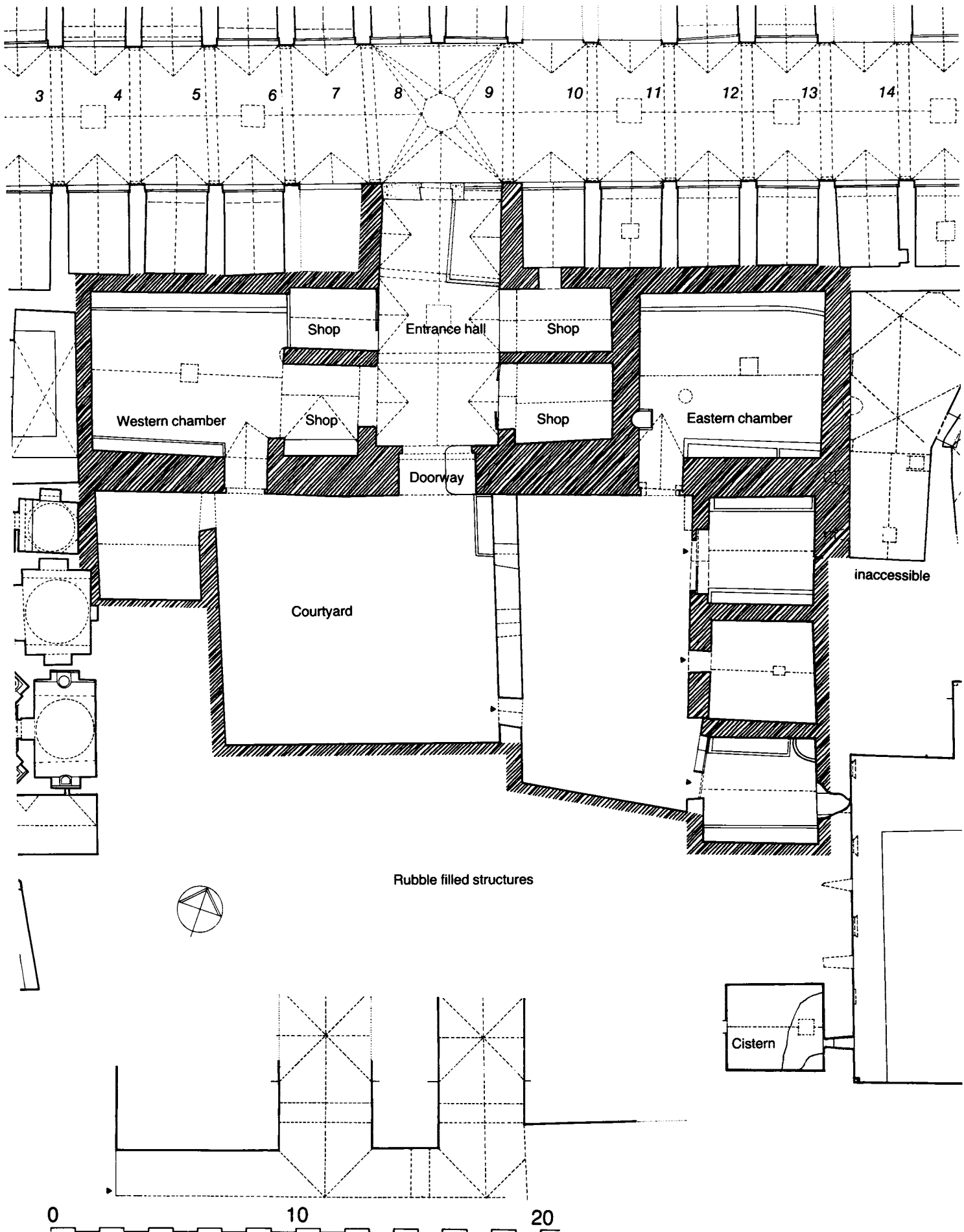


Fig. 24.6 Khān Tankiz: Ground floor plan

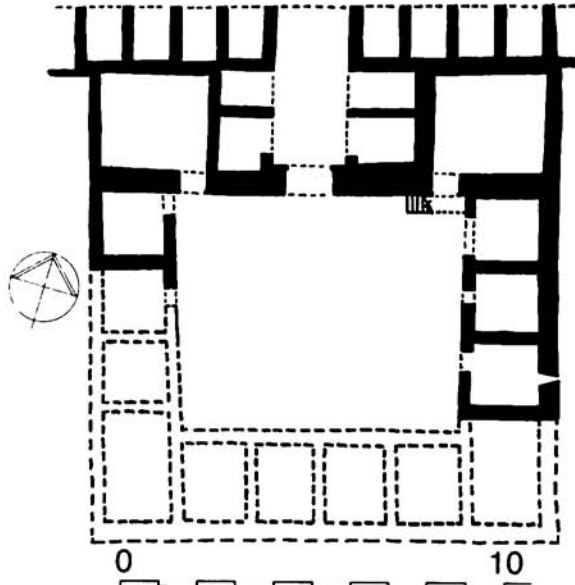


Fig. 24.7 Khān Tankiz: Sketch reconstruction



Plate 24.15 Southern range of lodgings



Plate 24.16 Khān Tankiz: general view of courtyard from the south

archways, similar to those of the shops in the eastern half of the street, open on a vaulted entrance porch. Originally a wide opening (now blocked) in the south wall of the porch led directly into the changing room.

The changing room, called *masblab* in the *waqfiyya*, consists of a large hall roofed by a folded cross vault rising to an octagonal oculus at the crown, now covered by a modern cylindrical rooflight that probably replaces an earlier lantern (see *plate* 24.19). The vault is criss-crossed with wires from which towels hang to dry (see *plate* 24.20).

Towards the middle of the floor, not quite under the oculus, stands an octagonal marble tank containing a fountain enclosed by a later iron cage in baroque style. The fountain is made from a hollowed-out Byzantine basketwork capital (with



Plate 24.17 Khān Tankiz: interior of north-west corner room, looking east



Plate 24.18 Khān Tankiz: north-east corner of courtyard showing doorways and remains of arch springing



Plate 24.19 Hammām al-Shifā': general view of roofs from south-east

Chi-Rho monograms alternating with trefoils in a guilloche round the rim) resting on a short marble column. It no longer works; some hydraulic system must once have maintained a supply of water to the fountain through the column shaft into the hollow capital from where it poured through holes in the side into the tank, which also has holes in its sides to let the water spill into a gutter around the base. From the gutter water

will presumably have run off into a drain, perhaps to a cistern.

The floor of the changing room is paved with slabs of fine greyish marble, possibly the original pavement though the *waqfiyya* states that it was of coloured marble. Arched recesses with raised floors reached by three steps in the east, south and west sides of the room are where bathers dress and undress and may relax with a refreshing drink. There is a smaller arched recess in the back wall of the south recess, and two alcoves in the back wall of the east recess. To the north of the east recess a short barrel-vaulted passage leads to a door, now the sole entrance to the bathhouse. According to the *waqfiyya* there were three iron [grilled] windows in this side of the room – presumably the present door and two alcoves – which opened on a little garden (*junayna*) planted with orange trees and rose bushes. Sadly, this garden no longer exists.

A doorway in the south-east corner of the changing room leads into a small lobby from which a long corridor (now blocked) led south to an oblong room with a pierced dome, now partly collapsed (*plate* 24.21). This room must originally have housed the latrines. The present latrine is located at the north end of the corridor, and the south end (beyond the modern blocking wall) now serves as the entrance to the men's latrines in the Ablutions Place.<sup>51</sup>

At the lobby, a door opposite the one from the changing room opens south into the first bathing room. This is the cold room where bathers might undress close to the warmer rooms in winter. A stone bench against the west wall returns some way against the north and south walls (see plan, *fig.* 24.5). The room is roofed by a shallow dome on pendentives; the dome (*plate* 24.22) is pierced by numerous circular windows (several of which are now blocked) composed of pottery cylinders closed by glass disks, some coloured, on the exterior.

Near the east end of the south wall of the cold room a door opens into the warm room. This room is divided by partitions that appear to be later insertions. Benches against the walls contain marble washbasins. A small high-level opening in the west wall gives access to an irregular space (shown on the plan, *fig.* 24.5) with no obvious purpose. The room is roofed in three bays by perforated oval domes separated by transverse arches. The glass disks closing the perforations in these domes occasionally have a protuberant spherical bulb, like the lid of a bon-bon jar, apparently intended to focus sunlight into specially brilliant shafts.

From the western bay of the warm room (now divided by a partition) two doorways open north to the hot room, which lies to the west of the cold room. A stone bench against the west wall contains two marble washbasins. In the north-west corner stands a deep plunge-bath filled with cold water, which is referred to in the *waqfiyya* as *tashtīyya*. The hot room is roofed like the others by a perforated dome, here supported on squinches. In the north-west corner of the room a window and



Plate 24.21 Hammām al-Shifā': remains of dome at south-east corner

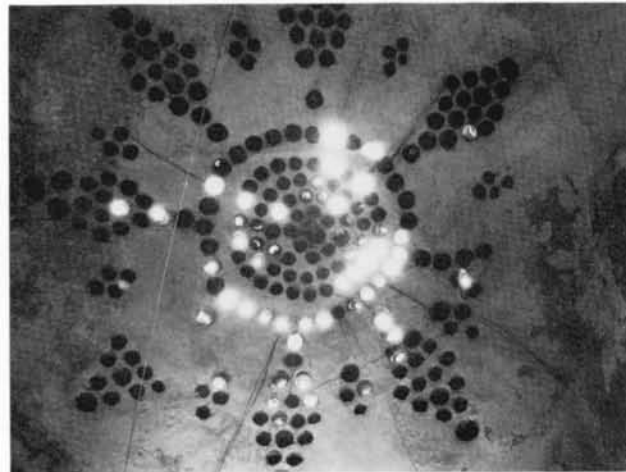


Plate 24.22 Hammām al-Shifā': interior of dome over cold room



Plate 24.23 Hammām al-Shifā': well-house on the roof (now demolished)



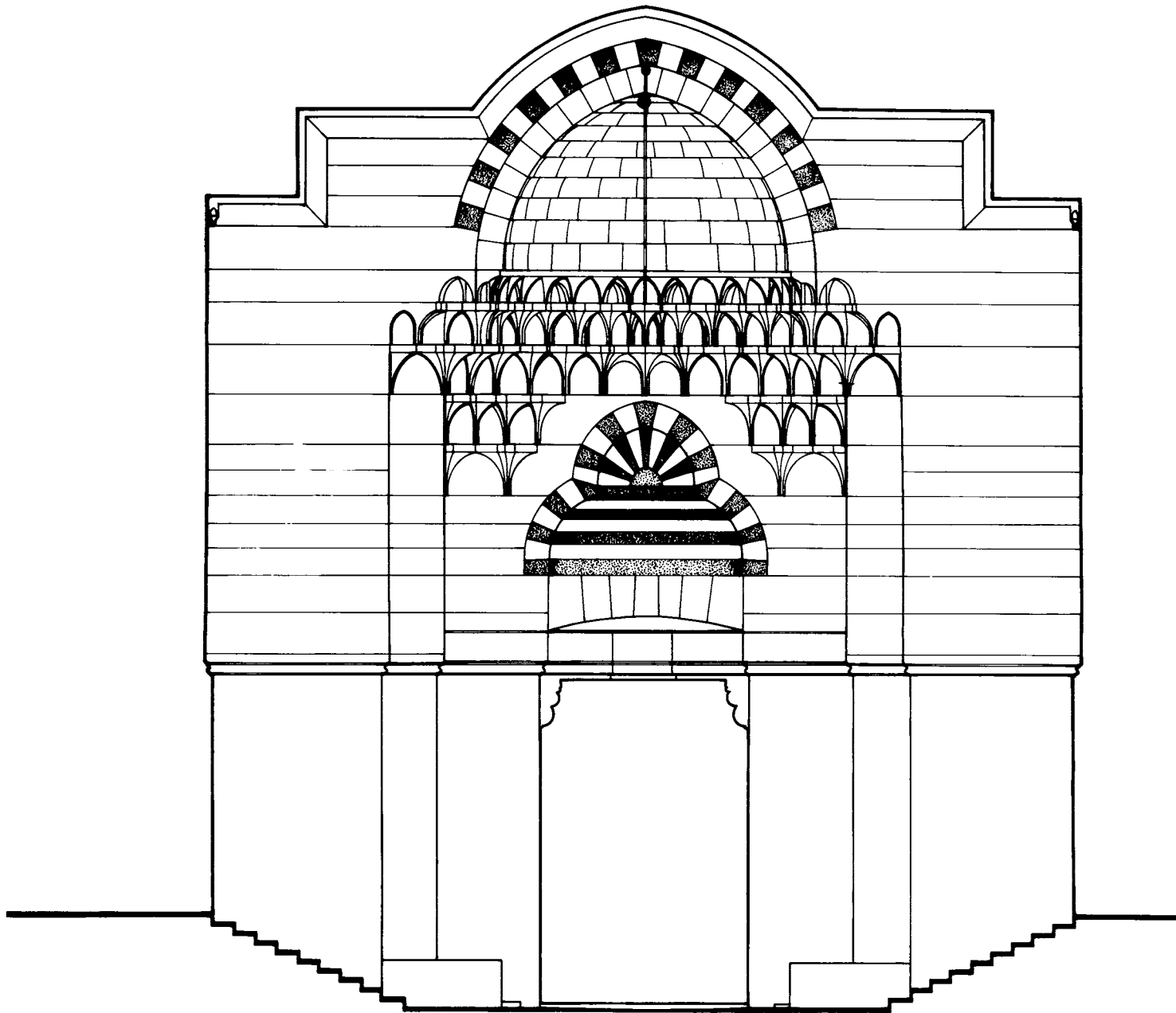


Fig. 24.8a Elevation of Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn

a door open beside the plunge-bath to a small irregular vaulted annex furnished with another marble washbasin.

A protrusion in the middle of the west wall of the hot room covers the furnace. Above this protrusion are two windows through which steam issues from a boiler placed above and around the furnace (fig. 24.5).

The furnace is stoked from a vaulted service area to the west, which is reached by a passageway from a smoke-blackened pointed-arched doorway in the south side of the market-street at bay 16. An *iwān*-like barrel vaulted recess in the southern part of the service area would hold a substantial quantity of fuel (probably animal dung). The boiler is now oil-fired. The floors of the hot and cold rooms were heated by exhaust gases from the furnace ducted under the floors to a flue in the east wall of the cold room (see fig. 24.19).

The original method of supplying water to the boiler appears complicated. At the north end of the boiler a passageway (see fig. 24.5) can be seen to lead off in the

direction of the vertical shaft that was explored and described in the nineteenth century. This shaft descends about 25.5m from the roof of the bath-house to a long passage leading southwards, perhaps originally to connect with the same water supply that fed the Ablutions Place.<sup>52</sup> By the nineteenth century the level of water in this passage was erratic, varying according to the season.<sup>53</sup> When the level at the bottom of the shaft was low someone had to descend the shaft and carry water from a deeper pool at the end of the passage. The *waqfiyya* states that the bath-house was supplied by the main aqueduct from Solomon's Pools (*qanat* known as al-'Arrūb), which Tankiz was responsible for restoring in 728/1328.<sup>54</sup> At any rate, water was drawn from the passage up the shaft to a well-house on the roof of the bath-house (plate 24.23). A system of runnels carried water from the well-house across the roof, presumably to supply the fountain in the changing room and the boiler. Nowadays the bath is connected to the city's water main.

Waste water was drained into gutters, one around the



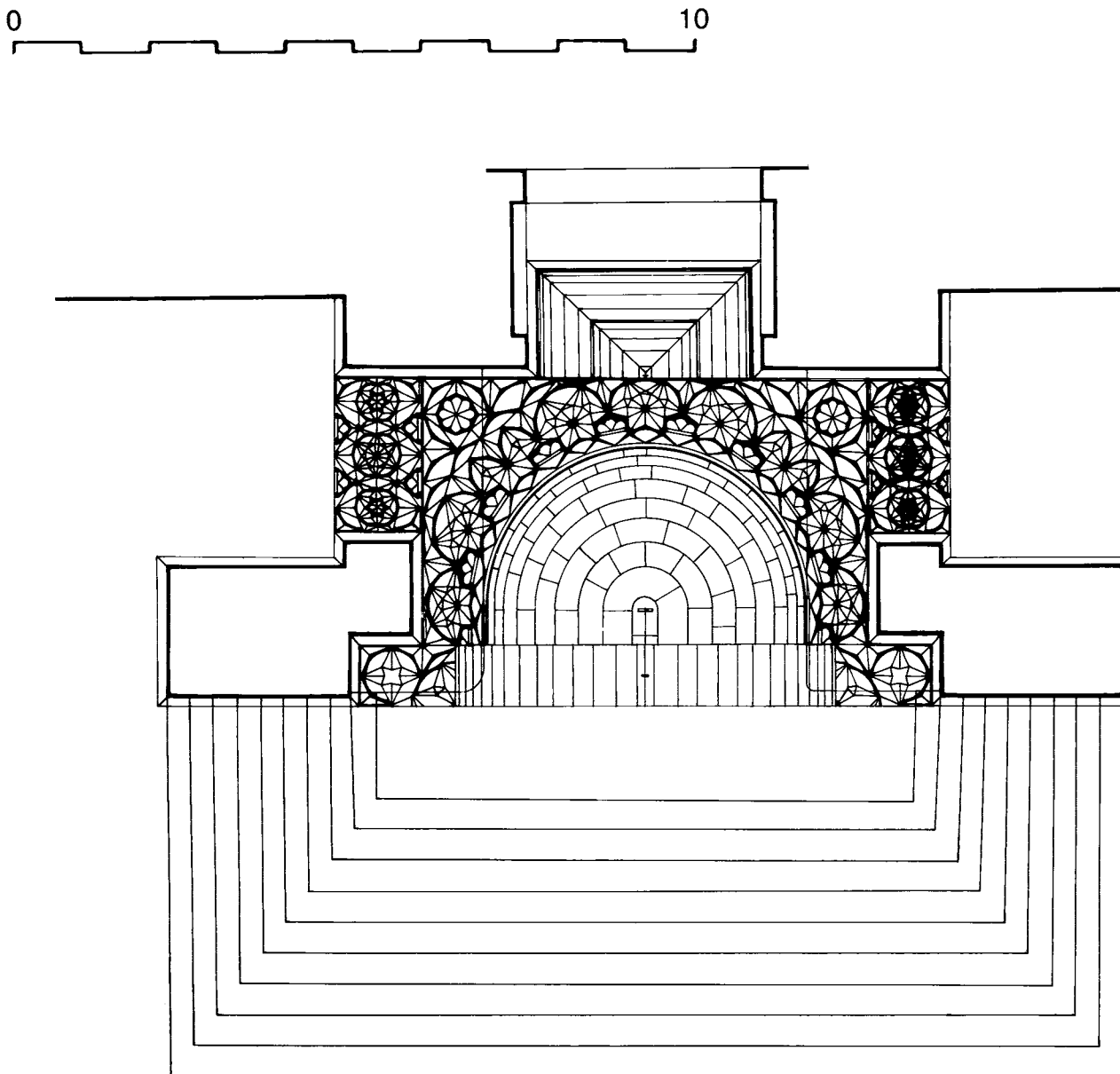


Fig. 24.8b Vaulting plan of Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn

fountain (see above) and one that runs along the east wall of the hot room and then along the north and east walls of the warm room to a drain in the south-east corner of that room, which is presumably connected to the same sewer that serves the Ablutions Place.

(ii) *Ḥammām al-ʿAyn* (plan, fig. 24.4; section, fig. 24.16)

Tankiz's *waqfiyya* refers to this as the Western Bath. It is situated at the west end of the market-street, immediately south of the shops at bays 1–3. The orientation of this bath-house is normal. Its ground floor is about 1.6m below the level of the street, Ṭarīq al-Wād, but this need not indicate that the bath is built on older remains (which might have retained an early floor level while the level of the street rose with the accumulation of debris over the years). In fact it is not unusual for medieval bath-houses to be lower than their surroundings, apparently in order to facilitate water supply and possibly also to improve thermal insulation.<sup>55</sup>

The entrance to the bath-house is from Ṭarīq al-Wād, 3m

south of the western entrance to the market-street, where a relatively modern porch (see *plate* 24.3) now shelters the plain entrance door which leads down a flight of eight steps to a door opening south into the changing room. The vault above the steps protrudes into the shop above (*plate* 24.24) at bay 1 of the market-street (see section, fig. 24.16).

The changing room is roofed by a dome on double-faceted pendentives. A circular oculus opens at the crown (see *plate* 24.25). Under the oculus an octagonal stone tank contains a fountain composed of a prismatic stone bowl on a short marble shaft (see *plate* 24.26). In each side of the room three steps lead up to raised platforms set in pointed-arched recesses where customers dress and undress and may relax after bathing.

Two segmental-arched openings in the back wall of the west recess (*plate* 24.26) admit to booths that once gave on the street, Ṭarīq al-Wād. These booths belong to a series of shops, four on each side of the street, forming a small market. The date



Plate 24.24 Shop on south side, bay 1



Plate 24.25 Hammām al-'Ayn: roofs from south-east



Plate 24.26 Hammām al-'Ayn: changing room, looking north-west

of construction of this market is not known, but the conjunction between the bath-house and the east range of shops appears to show that these shops were built after the bath. At some time the northernmost pair of shops on this east side of the street were appropriated to the bath-house by the introduction of the segmental-arched openings in their east walls and the partial

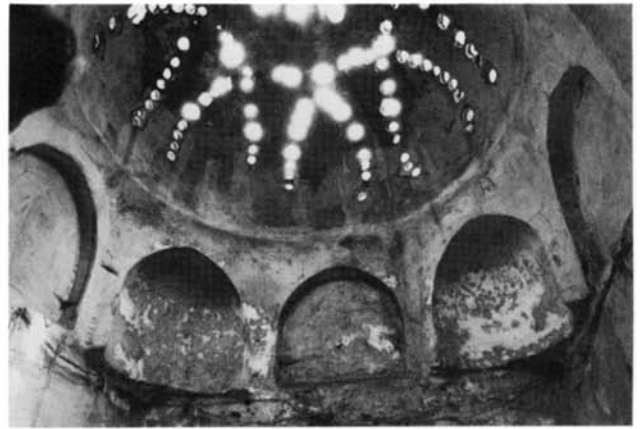


Plate 24.27 Hammām al-'Ayn: dome of principal warm room

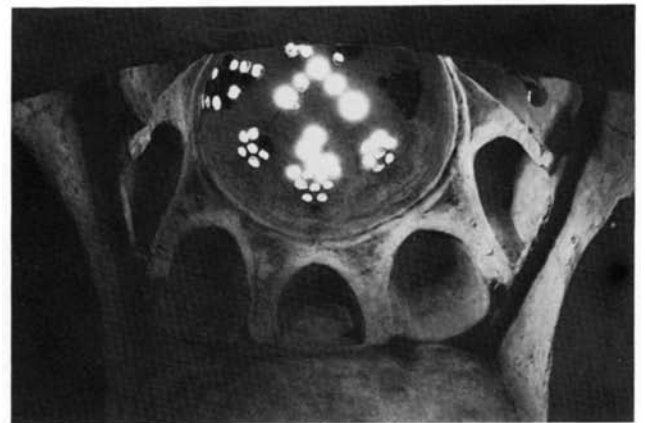


Plate 24.28 Hammām al-'Ayn: dome of western subsidiary warm room



Plate 24.29 Hammām al-'Ayn: warm room, looking east

blocking of their archways on the street to form new windows.

From the changing room a door in the south-west corner leads into a corridor running from east to west. At the west end of the corridor a dog-leg passage runs south then west to a small cubicle with a perforated dome, which contains a latrine. At the east end of the corridor a door opens to a small domed room now full of rubbish. This room would appear originally to have been the cold bathing room.

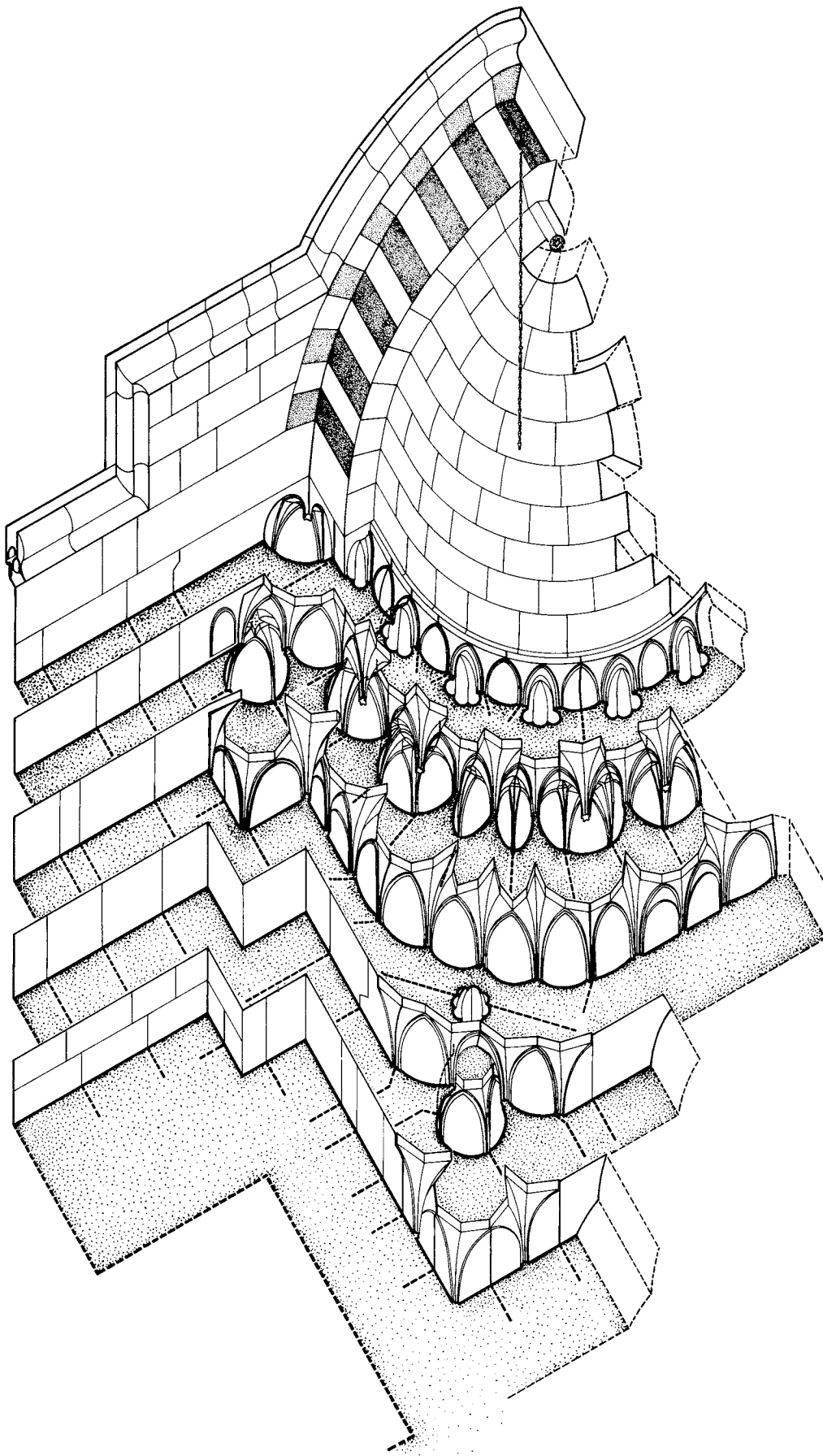


Fig. 24.9 Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn: Exploded diagram of *muqarnas* corbeling, showing masonry joints

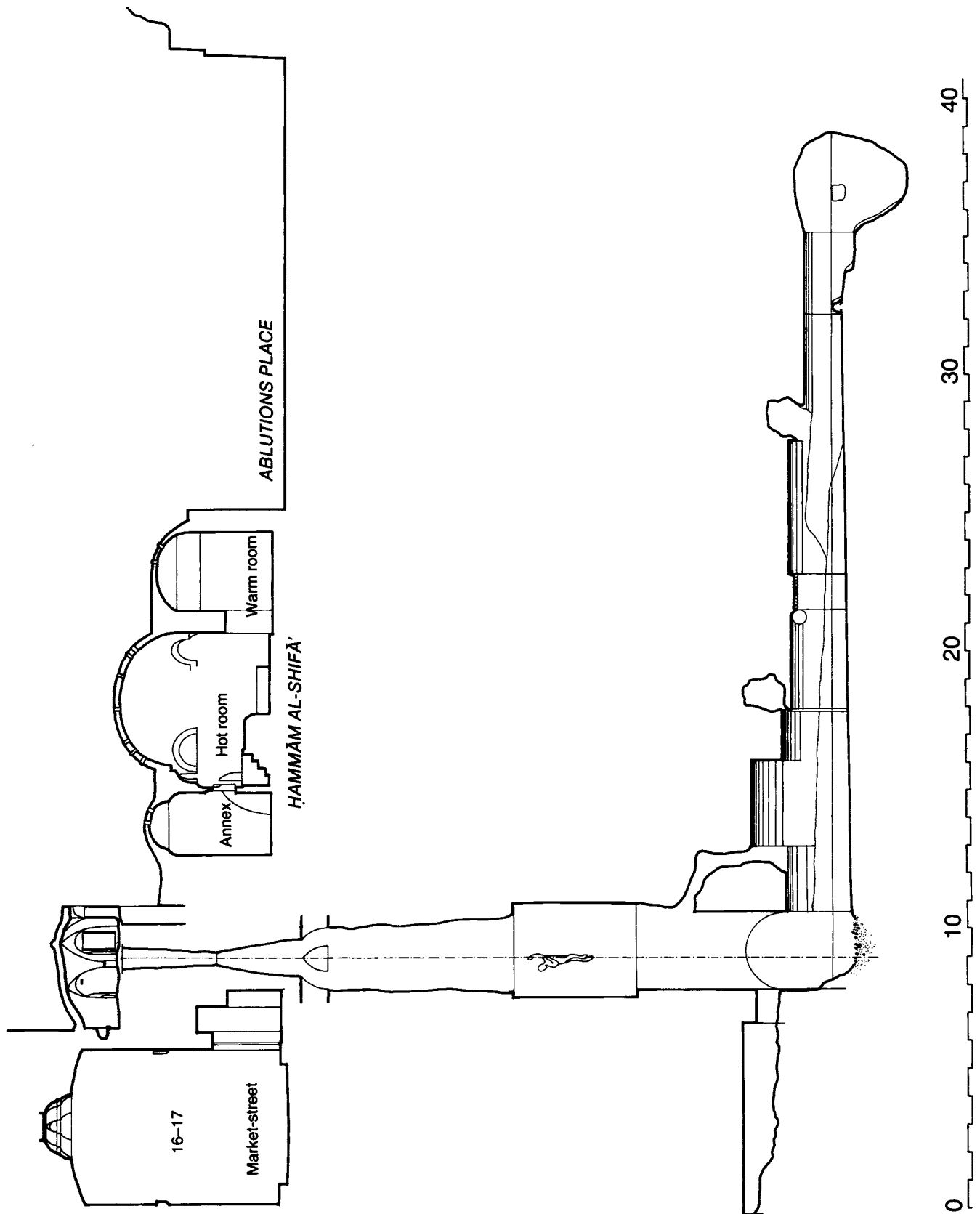


Fig. 24.10 Hammām al-Shifā' well-shaft: Section looking east incorporating results of the following surveys: 1849, Woolcott (Williams, *Holy City*, II, 457 f.); 1853 (Nov. 19), Barclay (*City of the Great King*, 1857, 528 f.); 1863, Whitty (*Proposed Water Supply & Sewerage for Jerusalem*); 1864 (Oct. 29), Wilson (*Ordnance Survey Notes*, 85, pl. xxii). The assistance of Dr John Landgraaf is also gratefully acknowledged.

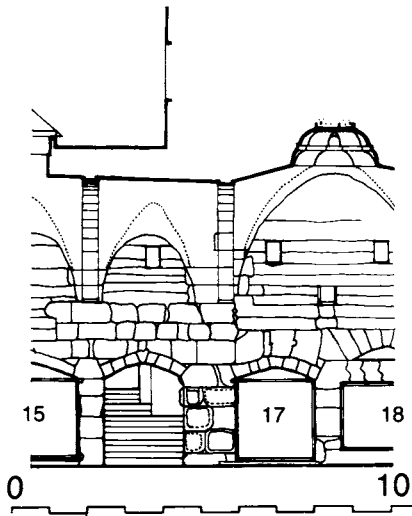


Fig. 24.11 Junction between western and eastern parts of the market-street (north side)

In the south wall of the corridor a door opens on the central axis of the warm and hot bathing areas. It leads directly into the principal warm room, roofed by a perforated dome on squinches (*plate 24.27*). On the east and west sides of this room wide archways open into subsidiary warm rooms, also roofed by perforated domes (see *plate 24.28*). The western subsidiary room has a stone bench against the side and back walls; other stone benches flank doorways in the north and south walls of the principal warm room. The archway into the eastern room is now partly blocked by a modern concrete wall (*plate 24.29*) and the dome replaced with a concrete slab.

The *waqfiyya* records that the floor of the bath-house was originally paved with coloured marble. Now only a small fragment of the original floor survives in the western subsidiary room (*plate 24.30*). This shows the original greyish marble floor to have been bordered by a band of beautiful polychrome marble mosaic arranged in star patterns.

The door in the middle of the south wall of the principal warm room leads to the principal hot room. Doors in the east and west walls of this room open into subsidiary hot rooms. The principal room is octagonal in plan (*fig. 24.4*) with arched recesses in diagonally opposing corners. This layout of an octagonal room with subsidiary rooms on two sides is typical of warm, not hot, rooms in Ayyūbid baths in Damascus,<sup>56</sup> a fact which, together with the exiguousness of the cold room, might suggest that in Hammām al-'Ayn the present hot rooms were once warm rooms and that an earlier hot room to the south was subsequently replaced by the present service area. However, apart from the layout of these rooms there is nothing in the present structure to suggest that there was ever a hot room to the south.

The perforated dome and transition zone of the principal hot room are specially elaborate (*plate 24.31*). The dome is divided into sixteen fluted sectors, expressed also on the exterior (see *plate 24.25*). The base of each sector is marked by a pointed-arched niche. The recesses in the north-west, north-east and south-east corners of the room contain marble



Plate 24.30 Hammām al-'Ayn: traces of polychrome marble pavement



Plate 24.31 Hammām al-'Ayn: dome of principal hot room



Plate 24.32 Hammām al-'Ayn: principal hot room – south-east recess (left) and boiler (right)



Plate 24.33 Hammām al-'Ayn: eastern subsidiary hot room – recess in south wall



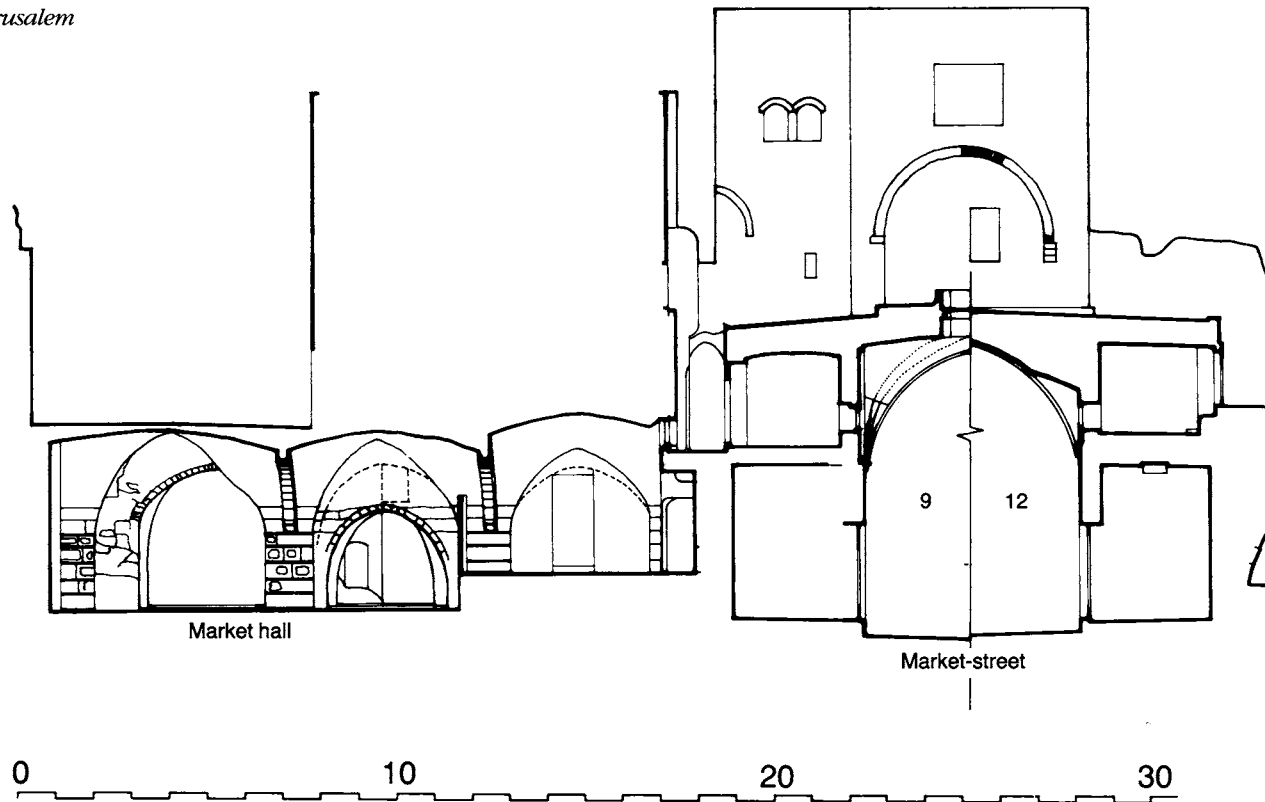


Fig. 24.12 North-south section (C) through Market-street and Khān Tankiz looking east

washbasins (see *plate 24.32*). The recess in the south-west corner accommodates a plunge-bath. From the middle of the south wall protrudes the upper section of the flue from the furnace (see below), above which is a small pointed-arched window (see *plate 24.32*) issuing steam from the boiler. A gutter in the floor runs north from this end of the room along the central axis of the bathing areas to a drain in the corridor and, presumably, from there to a sewer under the street to the west. The subsidiary hot rooms, rectangular in plan, have curious gabled recesses in their north and south walls containing marble basins flanked by stone benches (*plate 24.33*). The domes of these rooms rest on corner squinches typical of medieval bath-houses (*plate 24.35*), including a particularly distinctive intersecting-arch type in the eastern room (*plate 24.34*).

To the west of the western subsidiary room a large water tank was uncovered during the recent restoration work. This tank, storing water presumably drawn from a branch of the main aqueduct (see p. 286 n. 54 above), seems originally to have supplied the bath-house (and subsequently an Ottoman *sabīl*<sup>67</sup> on the street).

The service area, including the furnace and boiler, is situated to the south of the hot rooms and reached only from the street, *Ṭarīq al-Wād*. There, some 24m south of the entrance to the bath-house proper, a low vault opens on the east side of the street. This vault appears to have served as a fuel store. An opening in its north wall gives access to the furnace. An upper vault, above the fuel store, also has an opening to the furnace and, above that, an aperture to the boiler over the furnace. A flue protrudes into the principal hot room then runs in a duct under the floors of that room and the warm room to a chimney rising in the thickness of the north wall of the corridor. Investigation of the interrelationship between these components of the heating system, shown in section in *fig. 24.16*, was made possible by an explosion that caused the boiler to be shut down. The modern use of oil to fire the boiler had led to a build-up of soot in the flue sufficient to block it and so cause the explosion. According to the proprietor this was a not uncommon occurrence.

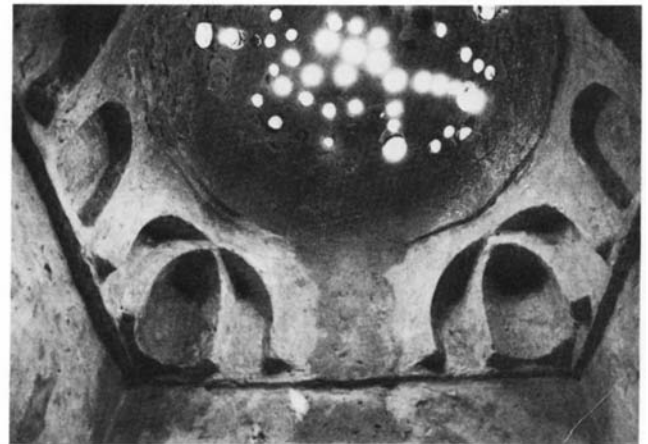


Plate 24.34 Hammām al-'Ayn: dome of eastern subsidiary hot room

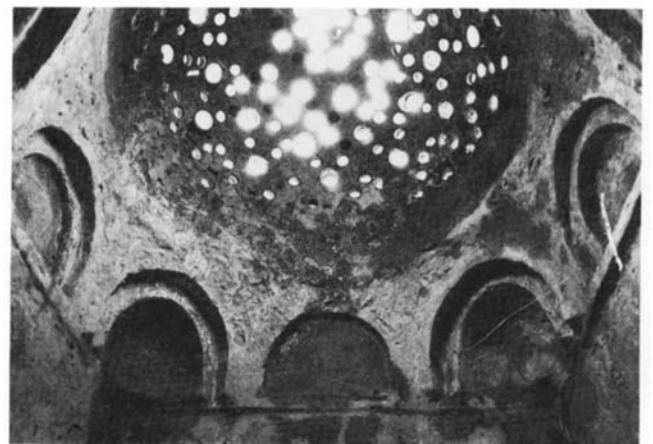
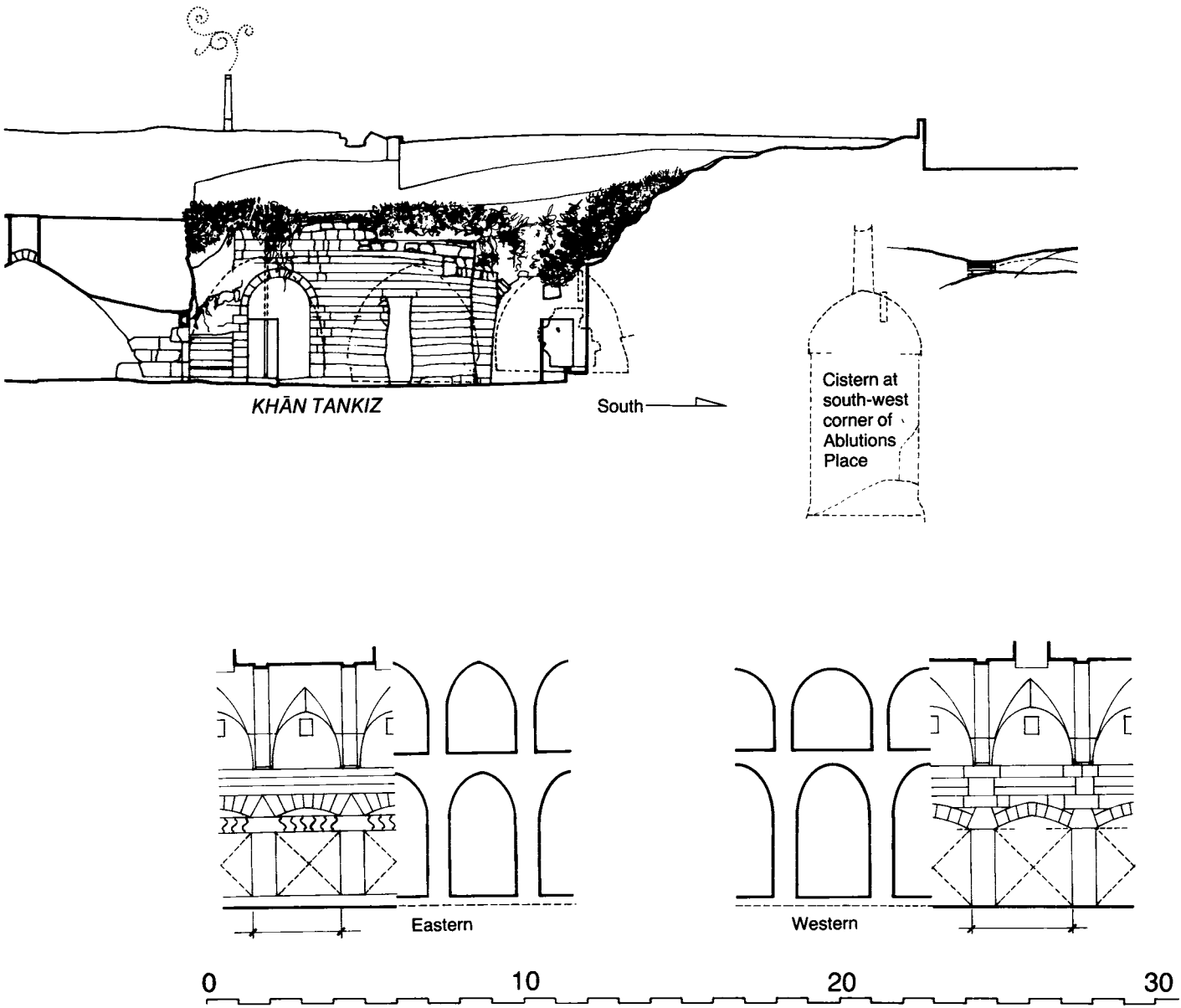


Plate 24.35 Hammām al-'Ayn: dome of western subsidiary hot room



**Fig. 24.13** Typical bays of eastern and western Sūq

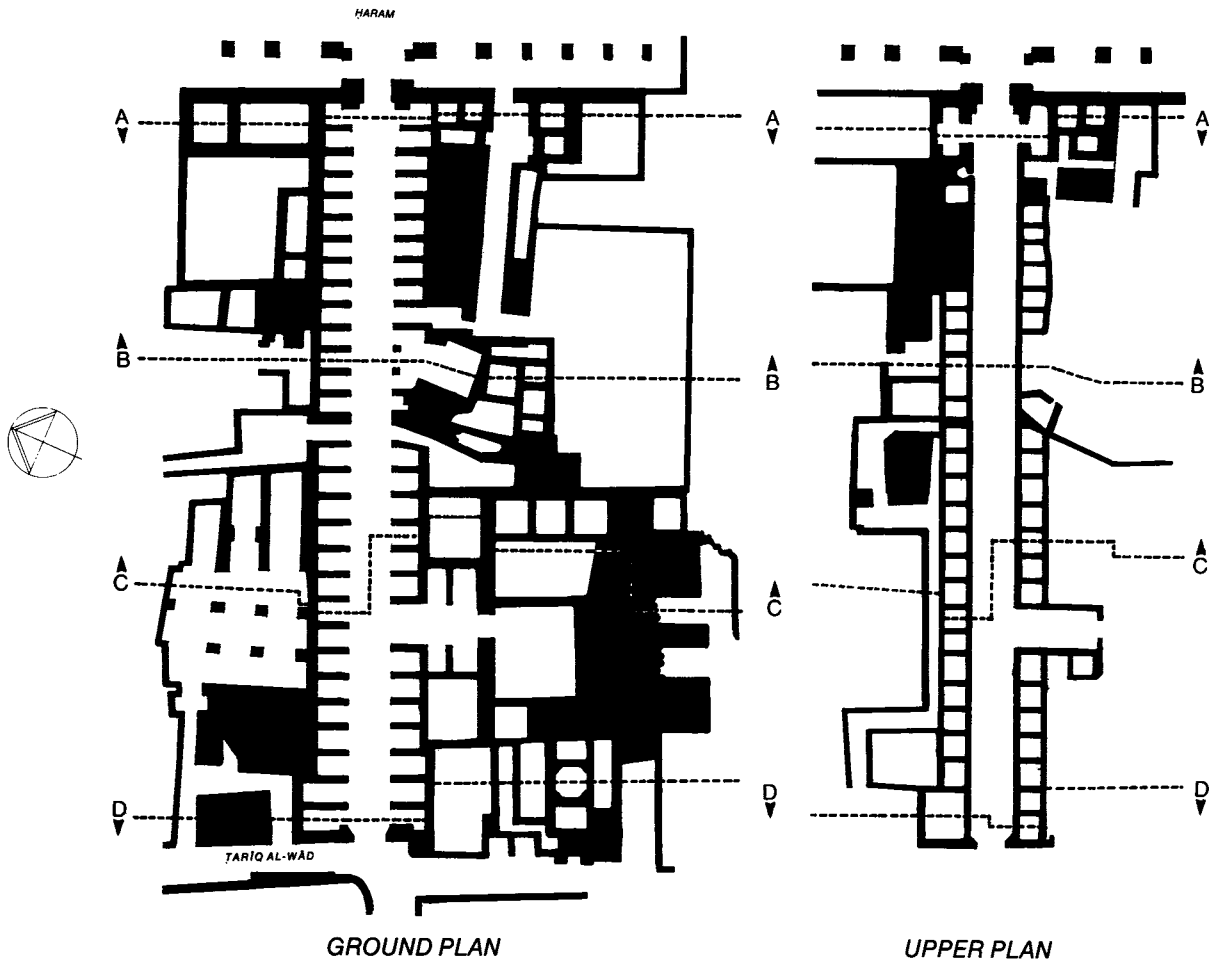


Fig. 24.14 Sections key

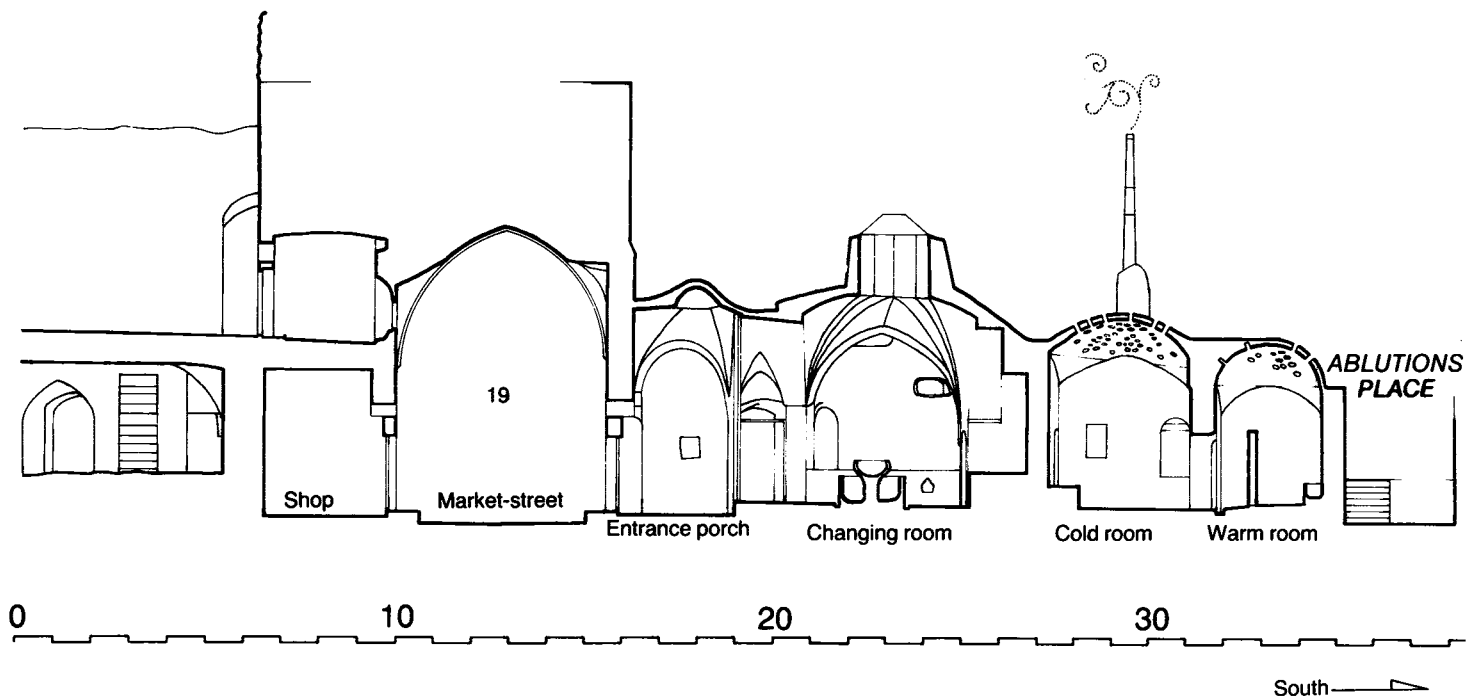


Fig. 24.15 Hammām al-Shifā': North-south section (B) looking east

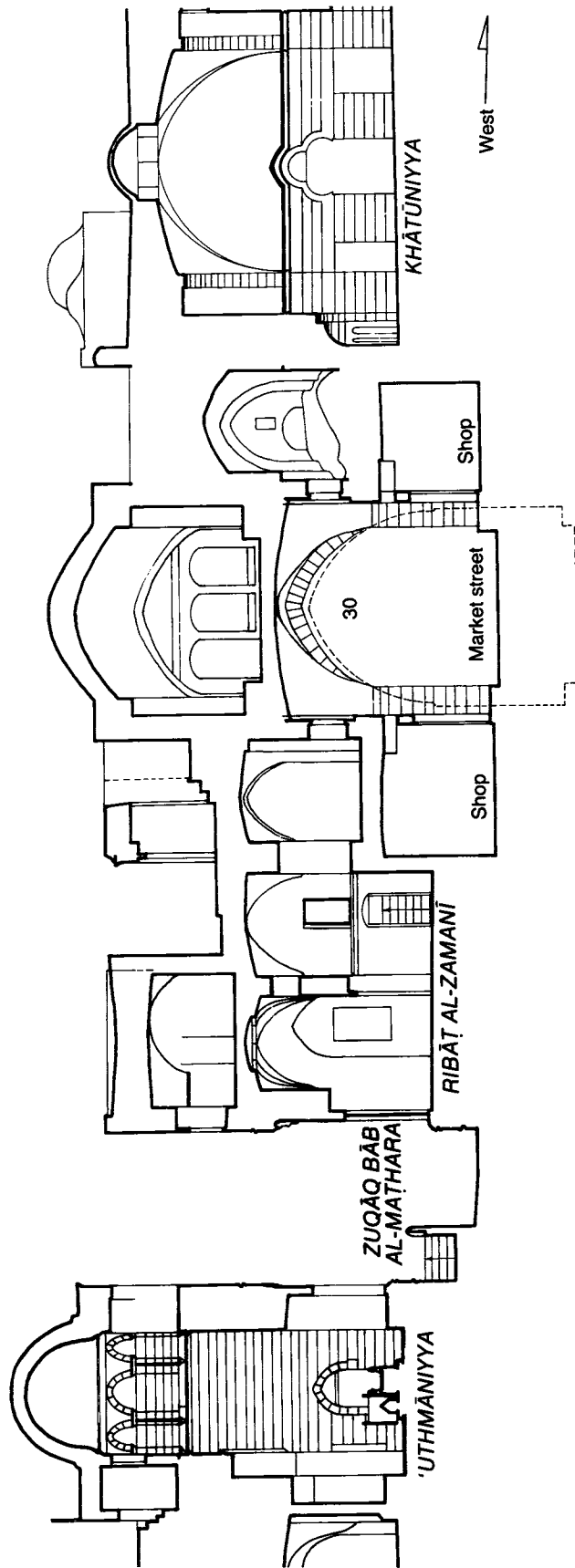
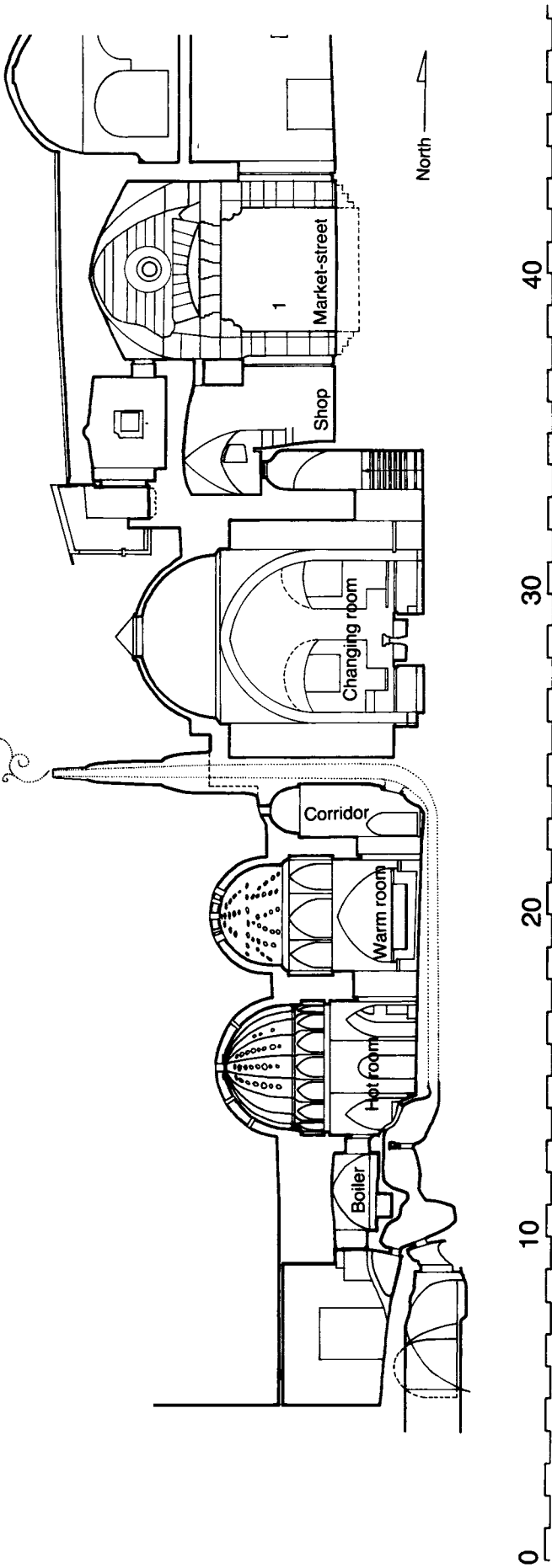
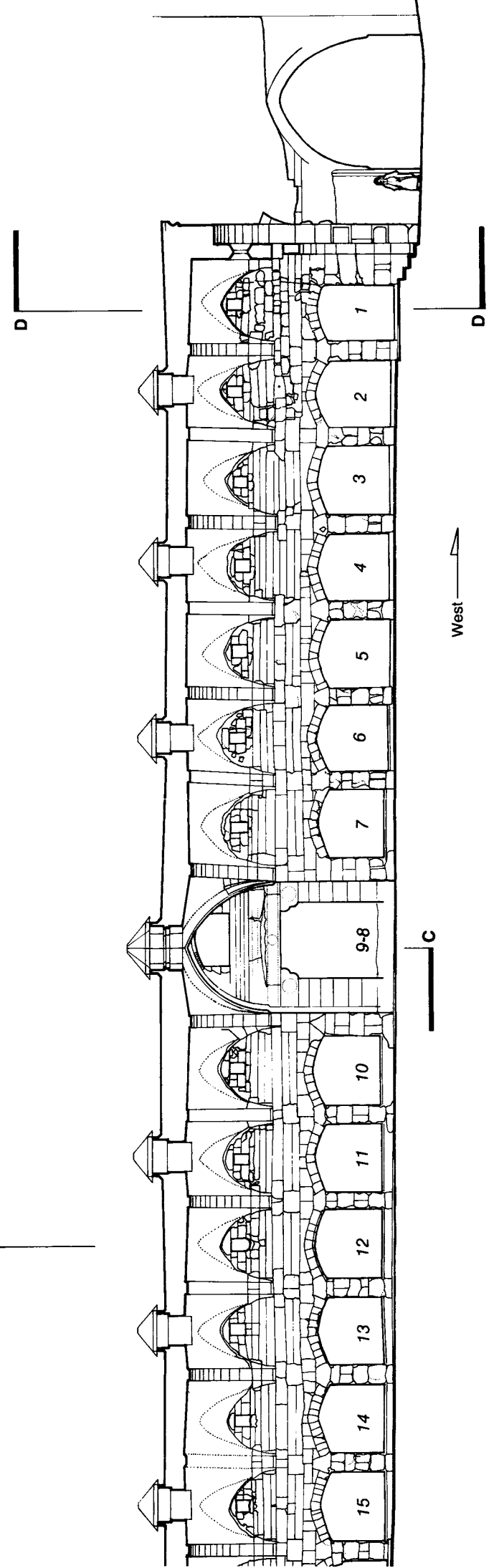
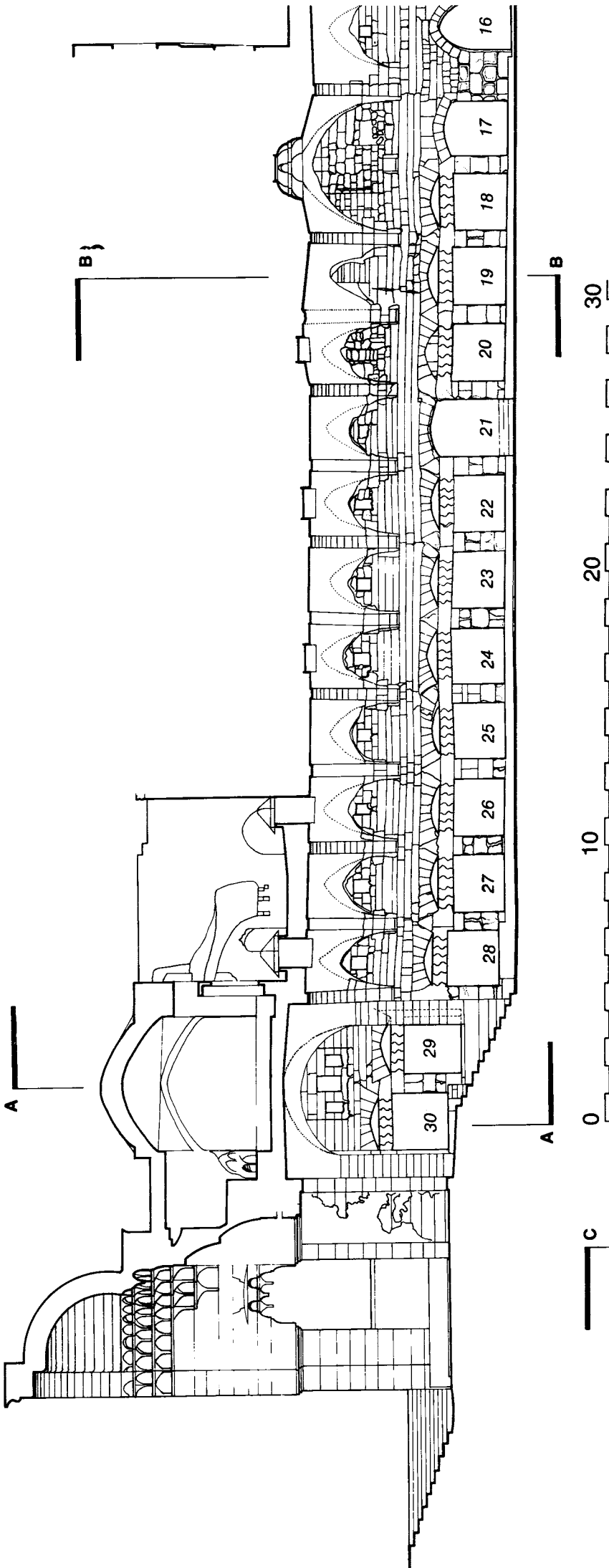


Fig. 24.16 Ḥammām al-'Ayn: South-north section (D) looking west

Fig. 24.17 South-north section (A) at bay 30 looking west





◀ Fig. 24.18 East–west section through market-street looking south

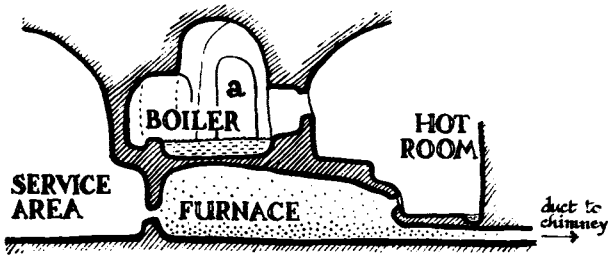


Fig. 24.19 Ḥammām al-Shifā': West–east section through boiler showing entrance to passageway at 'a' (from a sketch by Robin Kent)

## Notes

- 1 Al-'Umārī, who saw the place less than ten years after its completion, called it a *qaysariyya*. See below, n. 17.
- 2 A general description of the Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn complex is given by L. Golvin, 'Quelques notes sur le Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn et ses annexes à Jérusalem', *BEO*, xx, 1967, 101-17.
- 3 Such an analysis is currently being prepared by Mark Potter.
- 4 T.C. van Cleve, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen*, Oxford, 1972, 270.
- 5 *CIA (Ville)*, 103-8.
- 6 Jean Sauvaget observed in his review of M. Ecochard and C. Le Coeur, *Les bains de Damas*, Beirut, 1942-43, that 'l'obligation de disposer d'un "droit d'eau" considérable impose aux hammams une remarquable fixité topographique... on reconstruit normalement sur le même site un bain hors d'usage, pour profiter des anciennes canalisations', (*JA*, ccxiv, 1947, 329).

7 C. Warren and C. Conder, *The Survey of Western Palestine: Jerusalem*, London, 1884, 261-63.

8 See J. Sauvaget, 'Un bain damasquin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Syria*, xi, 1930, 370-80; E. Pauty, *Les hammams du Caire*, Cairo, 1933; M. Ecochard, 'Trois bains ayyoubides de Damas', *Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, Paris, 1940, 92-112; M. Ecochard and C. Le Coeur, *Les bains de Damas*, Beirut, 1942-43; J. de Maussion de Favières, 'Note sur les bains de Damas', *BEO*, xvii, 1961-62, 121-31; and J. Sourdel-Thomine, 'Ḥammām', *Et.*

9 Sijill 1, 221; see also Sijill 57, 498 and Sijill 58, 99.  
 10 Sijill 6, 190, dated 943/1536. Somewhere in the vicinity was another khān, called Khān al-Ghādiriyya. The location of this khān, which was a waqf of the Ghādiriyya Madrasa (see below, p. 527) is given variously as: 'below (*bi-sūf*) Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn' (Sijill 2, no. 200); 'at Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn' (Sijill 12, no. 408), and 'in Bāb

- al-Qaṭṭānīn district' (Sijill 17, no. 1020; Sijill 100, 120). This khān has not been identified but in another document it is listed as one of the boundaries of a house 'in Ḥārāt Marzubān, now in Khuṭṭ Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn' (Sijill 33, 344-46). This suggests that it lay somewhere to the west of Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn in the direction of the old Marzubān District (see below, p. 424).
- 11 Sijill 1, 283, dated 937/1531. To the south of this khān lay a small bath-house known as Mustahamm Daraj al-'Ayn (Sijill 10, 91 and 127, cited by K. 'Asālī, *Min āṭbārīnā fī Bayt al-Maqdis*, Amman, 1982, 200). Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874*, London, 1899, 233-34, noted in 1870 some remains at the junction between Ṭarīq al-Wād and the steps up to Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila, known as Daraj al-'Ayn (see above, p. 184), and these he supposed to be vestiges of an Arab bath.
- 12 M.H. Burgoyne and A. Abul-Hajj, 'Twenty-four Mediaeval Arabic Inscriptions from Jerusalem', *Levant*, ix, 1979, 128-29.
- 13 O. Grabar, 'A New Inscription from the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem', *Studies ... in Honour of Professor K.A.C. Creswell*, Cairo, 1965, 72-83.
- 14 Text in *CIA (Haram)*, 127-28, with van Berchem's suggestion of 737/1336-37 for the date.
- 15 Mujir, 383.
- 16 A distinction between works done by Tankiz on his own behalf and those done for the State on his recommendation is apparent in the inscriptions. On Tankiz's personal foundations (e.g. *RCEA* nos. 5572, 5589, 5780) his name is introduced by the verb *anshā'a*, 'to found', or the formula *amara bi-insbā*, 'ordered the construction', whereas in works done for the State (e.g. *RCEA* nos. 5587, 5588, 5606, 5607, 5619, 5649, 5660, 5706) his name is introduced by the formula *bi-ishāra* or *bi-mubāshara*, 'on the instruction of'. The inscription on the Tankiziyya (no. 18) begins *anshā'a*, indicating that the foundation was a personal one, while the inscriptions at Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn introduce Tankiz with the formula *bi-ishāra*, or *bi-mubāshara*. For the significance of the formula *bi-ishāra*, which ultimately derives from Saljūq chancery practice, see S.M. Stern, 'Petitions from the Mamluk Period (Notes on the Mamluk Documents from Sinai)', *BSOAS*, xxix, 1963, 268-75.
- 17 Al-'Umari, *Masālik*, 161-62.
- 18 *CIA (Ville)*, 262-63.
- 19 Tapu Tahrir Defteri no. 522, p. 23 cited by K. 'Asālī, *Min āṭbārīnā fī Bayt al-Maqdis*, Amman, 1982, 64.
- 20 The word *qaysariyya* is derived from the Greek (E. Herzfeld, 'Etimologia d'al qaisariyya', *Oriente Moderno*, 1962, 691). Its precise denotation is not clearly established, however. Van Berchem (*CIA (Ville)*, 300) suggests 'a square building in the form of a cloister, which encloses rooms, shops and boutiques for merchants'. A characteristic of *qaysariyyas* is that they were covered (L. Hauteceur and G. Wiet, *Les mosquées du Caire*, Paris, 1932, 108; *MAE*, ii, 204) though not necessarily closed, as has been suggested (D. and J. Sourdel, *L'Islam classique*, Paris, 1968, 401). The Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn could not be closed (see p. 279). *Qaysariyyas* generally housed precious goods, notably costly stuffs like silk and cotton. Thus 'a covered market for precious goods' might serve as a translation if not a definition. The historical sources are reviewed by A. Raymond and G. Wiet, *Les marchés du Caire*, Cairo, 1979, 19-21.
- 21 Cited by van Berchem, *CIA (Ville)*, 263 n. 3.
- 22 See K. 'Asālī, *Min āṭbārīnā fī Bayt al-Maqdis*, Amman, 1982, 175-78.
- 23 Mujir, 401.
- 24 C. Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, London, 1865, 29.
- 25 *CIA (Haram)*, 127 n.4.
- 26 C.R. Ashbee (editor), *Jerusalem 1918-1920*, London, 1921, 69.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 30.
- 28 K.A.C. Creswell, 'Muslim work touched by the Pro-Jerusalem Society', in C.R. Ashbee (editor), *Jerusalem 1918-1920*, London, 1921, 69.
- 29 Sijill 295, 106 cited by K. 'Asālī, *Min āṭbārīnā fī Bayt al-Maqdis*, Amman, 1982, 194.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 192.
- 31 *Bayān al-majlis al-shar'i al-islāmī al-a'lā bi-Filasṭīn*, Jerusalem, 1347/1928, 5.
- 32 L. Golvin, *Jordan: setting up a museum of folks arts and traditions*, UNESCO report WS/0367.67-CLT., Paris, 1967.
- 33 Some of the shops, though rented out, were kept permanently locked for the duration of our survey in 1977-78 and so could not be measured.
- 34 K.A.C. Creswell, 'Muslim work touched by the Pro-Jerusalem Society', in C.R. Ashbee (editor), *Jerusalem 1918-1920* London, 1921, 69.
- 35 Mujir, 383.
- 36 See *CIA (Ville)*, 301; *CIA (Alep)*, 162.
- 37 The Haram gates are discussed by O. Grabar, 'A New Inscription from the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem', *Studies ... in Honour of Professor K.A.C. Creswell*, Cairo, 1965, 77-83.
- 38 The stalactite vaulting is described by H. Saladin, *Manuel d'art musulman. I. L'architecture*, Paris, 1907, 125. J. Bourgoïn, *Précis de l'art arabe*, Paris, 1892, i, pls. xxxiv-xxxvi, illustrates the stalactite vaults of the gate and lateral openings.
- 39 Mujir, 375.
- 40 On the origins of the trefoil arch see: M. Burgoyne, 'The Development of the Trefoil Arch', *Proceedings of the Symposium on the Art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia*, (in press).
- 41 R.W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, London, 1949, 70.
- 42 *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, pls. 41b, 42, 43, 44a, 45a.
- 43 *CIA (Haram)*, 129; J.M. Rogers in *Die Kunst des Islam*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine and B. Spuler (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, Band 4); Berlin, 1973, 332.
- 44 *CIA (Haram)*, 129.
- 45 The plan of Warren and Wilson, (*The Survey of Western Palestine: Jerusalem*, London, 1884, opposite p. 116) showing the results of their researches in Jerusalem between 1867 and 1870, indicates this bay as open to the sky. However, the Ordnance Survey plan of 1865 marks this bay as vaulted.
- 46 C. Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem - Photographs* [by Sergt. J. McDonald], London, 1865, pl. 6a; *CIA (Planches)*, lxvii, lxxi.
- 47 *Bayān al-majlis al-shar'i al-islāmī al-a'lā bi-Filasṭīn*, Jerusalem, 1347/1928, 5.
- 48 The original plaster on the vaults was removed during the recent restoration.
- 49 A. Raymond and G. Wiet, *Les marchés du Caire*, Cairo, 1979, 26-27.
- 50 See n. 7 above.
- 51 From the waqfiyya it emerges that Tankiz was responsible for the construction of a public lavatory (*tabara*) with a garden (*ḥakīra*) in this place.
- 52 When the well of al-'Adil's *siqāya* dried up in 665/1266-67, masons explored the aqueduct from Solomon's Pools. They are reported to have followed an underground passage as far as a cistern under the [Dome of the] Rock where they found an arched gate, which was blocked. They opened it and immediately a flood of water engulfed them, almost drowning them (al-Nuwayrī, MS. Pa 1578, folio 37a, cited in *CIA (Ville)*, 104 n. 4). This account seems to indicate that the *siqāya* was supplied by a cistern under the Haram.
- 53 J.T. Barclay, *City of the Great King*, Philadelphia, 1858, 528-36.
- 54 Mujir, 387. A branch of the main aqueduct, restored in 874/1469 by Sultan Qāytbāy, according to an inscription built into the north side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila at the top of Daraj al-'Ayn (*CIA (Ville)*, 338-43), may well have supplied water to the bath-houses.
- 55 M. Ecochard, 'Trois bains ayyoubides de Damas', *Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, Paris, 1940, 92-112; M. Ecochard and C. Le Coeur, *Les bains de Damas*, Beirut, 1942-43.
- 56 See previous note.
- 57 *CIA (Ville)*, 413-14.

# 25 AL-SALLĀMIYYA

## السلامية

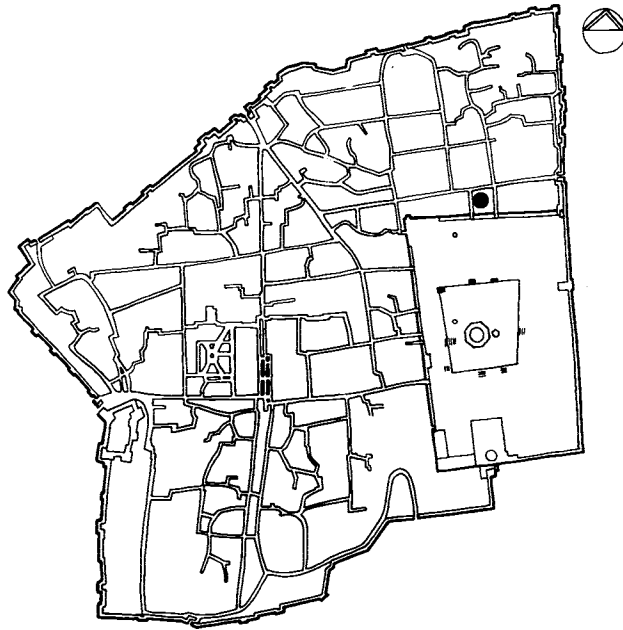


Fig. 25.1 Location plan

c. 738/1338

Madrasa of al-Majd al-Sallāmī

Modern name: Dār Jārallāh

### I LOCATION (fig. 25.1)

On the east side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-'Atm,<sup>1</sup> at the corner of that street and Ṭarīq al-Mujāhidīn.<sup>2</sup>

### II SITE AND BUILDING (fig. 25.2)

The site is bounded by Ṭarīq Bāb al-'Atm to the west, Ṭarīq al-Mujāhidīn to the north, the Dawādāriyya (no. 8) to the south and the northern annex of the Dawādāriyya to the east.

The main entrance, from Ṭarīq Bāb al-'Atm, leads through a vestibule and short passageway into a large open courtyard enclosed by cells on the north, east and south sides. A vaulted hall (which we shall call 'the assembly hall') occupies the north-western corner of the building. A staircase in the south-west corner leads to the roof. A narrow corridor, evidently part of an earlier building that occupied the site, takes off north from the north-east corner of the courtyard then turns east parallel with Ṭarīq al-Mujāhidīn. There is no *mihrāb*.

A double vault covering the northern section of the courtyard is a later accretion designed to support part of an extensive Ottoman development on upper floor levels.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

The building is anepigraphic<sup>3</sup> but Mujīr al-Dīn places it with some care for accuracy 'in the street of the Gate of the Glory of the Prophets, opposite the Mu'azzamiyya, and next to the Duwaydāriyya Madrasa, on the north side of it'.<sup>4</sup> In other words, it is immediately to the left as one enters the impressive but somewhat dark street that leads into the Ḥaram through one of its northern gates, the present day Bāb al-'Atm, otherwise called Fayṣal's Gate. The Sallāmiyya's south boundary met the property of the Bāsiṭiyya (see p. 519) and together these two institutions formed in early Ottoman times<sup>5</sup> the west boundary of the hall (*qā'a*) which gives on to the Bāb Ḥiṭṭa Street, situated between the Awhādiyya and the Māridīnī Ribāt (see p. 412).

#### DATE

Having named the founder, Mujīr al-Dīn admits to having been unable to ascertain any date for the foundation but adds, without explanation, that it appears to have been after the year 700/1300-1.<sup>6</sup> On stylistic grounds, we have dated the main entrance portal to c. 738/1338 (see below).

#### FOUNDER

The person who made the original endowment, according to Mujīr al-Dīn, was the *Khwāja*, that is, the merchant, Majd al-Dīn Abū al-Fiḍā' Ismā'il al-Sallāmī.<sup>7</sup> He was born in 671/1272-73 in the town of Sallāmiyya, a day's journey downstream from Mosul

on the east bank of the Tigris.<sup>8</sup> From 717/1317-18, the year in which his name is first mentioned, he played a major role in the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, both as importer of mamlūks (he was *tājir al-kbāṣ ḡ al-raḡiq*, the Privy Purse slave merchant) and as a diplomatic contact and peace negotiator with the Ilkhānid ruler, Abū Sa'īd. Several letters accompanying Mongol envoys and gifts, and also visits of his own to Cairo are recorded in the chronicles. A ten year and ten months peace was concluded in 723/1323.<sup>9</sup> As for his diplomatic gifts, 'I have never seen his like for saying what is felicitous and appropriate' – to quote the words of Ṣafādī. He was rewarded with sizeable commercial privileges and concessions, allowances in money and kind (presumably when he was in Mamlūk territory), said by Ṣafādī to be near 150 dirhams a day in value, and with the grant of the village of Arrāq, in the district of Baalbek, worth 10,000 dirhams annually.

He possessed a house in Cairo in a street that was called after him, Darb al-Sallāmī, and al-'Umarī had known him personally and used him as an informant, questioning him about Baghdad and Tabriz.<sup>10</sup> He died on Wednesday, 7 Jumādā II 743/6 November 1342, having been arrested in the previous year, Monday, 9 Muḥarram 742/25 June 1341, not long after the death of the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He was buried in a mausoleum that he had built for himself outside the Bāb al-Naṣr (Victory Gate).

#### MAMLŪK PERIOD

The Circassian period saw various supplementary endowments for the Sallāmiyya Madrasa, some of the details of which have been preserved in the Defter no. 522.<sup>11</sup> For example, in 831/1427, a Shaykh Majd al-Dīn 'Abd al-Malik b. Abī Bakr al-Mawṣilī<sup>12</sup> endowed it with a third of the income from various lands. The other two thirds were to go to his descendants, or failing that, to be divided into quarters and to be dispensed in equal portions to the 'feast' (*simāt*) provided at the Ḥaram at Hebron, to the Maṣūrī Hospice, the Hospital of Ṣalāḡ al-Dīn and the Great Sallāmiyya Zāwiya.<sup>13</sup> A similar division of the income of another two portions of agricultural land near Jerusalem, a third to the Sallāmiyya Madrasa and two thirds to his offspring and descendants, was made by the same 'Abd al-Malik. His grandson (?), Sadr al-Dīn b. Aḡmad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Mawṣilī, endowed his offspring and descendants with a quarter of the village of Bīra, which, if they died out, would benefit equally a zāwiya, founded by his ancestors in Damascus, and the Sallāmiyya Madrasa.

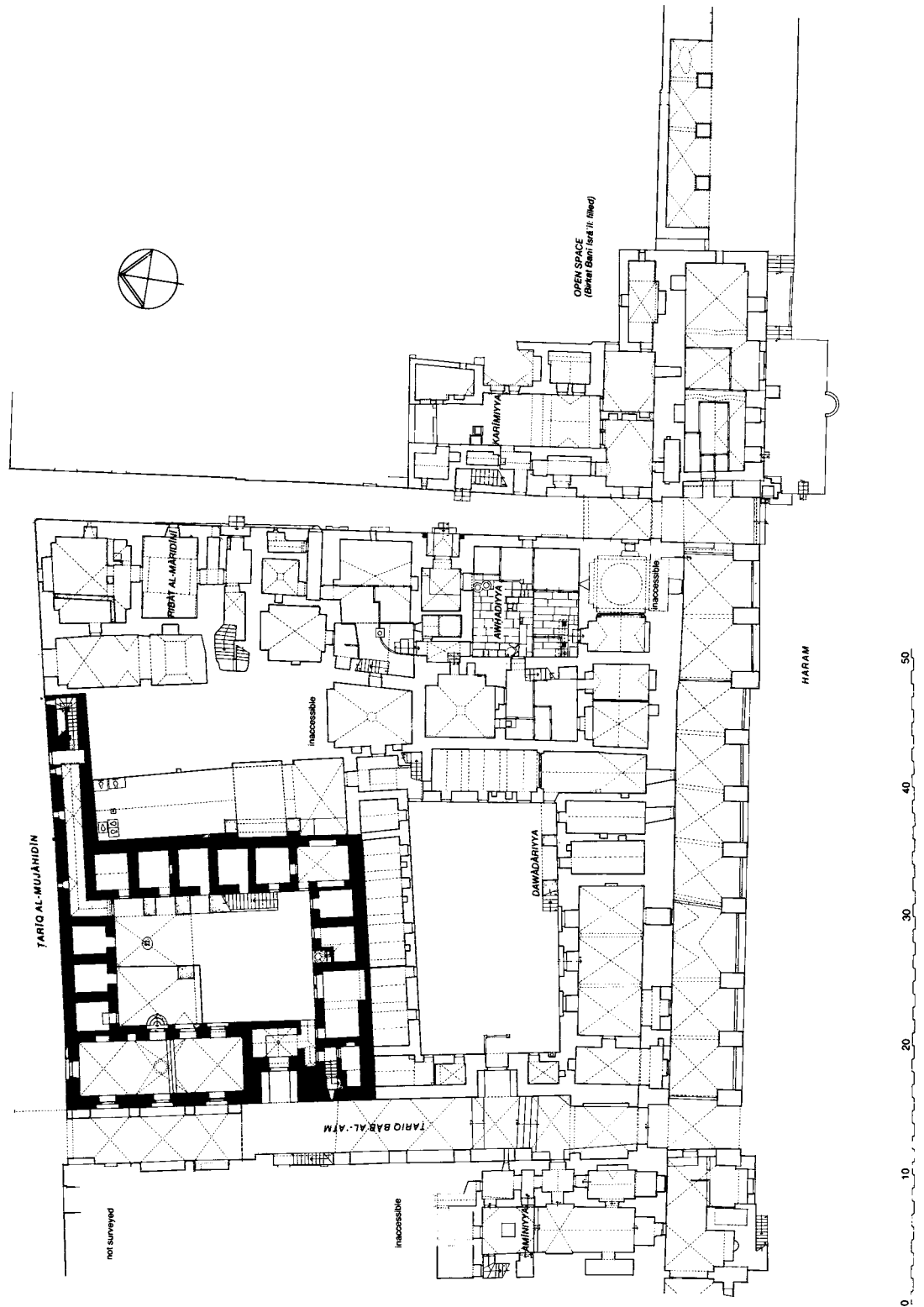


Fig. 25.2 Site plan

The first of these waqfs, the one dated 831/1427, envisaged, as far as the Sallāmiyya was concerned, the maintenance of a Koran specialist (15 dirhams monthly) to instruct six persons daily over a period of two years, in which they would each receive 7½ dirhams monthly. There was also to be a Hadīth specialist to recite from the collection of Bukhārī during the months of Rajab, Sha'bān and Ramaḍān each Muslim year, who would receive 20 dirhams a month. Any excess was to be spent on 'the Mosul Šūfīs who assemble to pray for the benefactor (*al-muḡtami 'in 'alā awrād al-wāqif*)'.

Asali has argued that the Sallāmiyya in due course came to be known as the Mawṣiliyya.<sup>14</sup> Van Berchem mentioned that in 1893 he had noted a popular name 'Musliyya'. He questioned the value of this information and asked whether it could be a corruption of 'Salāmiyya'.<sup>15</sup> It is clear that it should be understood as a corruption of Mawṣiliyya. The change could have arisen to mark the importance of the supplementary endowments of the Mawṣilī family in the early fifteenth century, or it is possible that there was some built-in preference for Šūfīs from the Mosul region (see the mention of Mosul Šūfīs in the *waqfiyya* of 'Abd al-Malik, dated 831/1427). We may assume that there was no intention to found an *independent* institution above or behind the Sallāmiyya since the waqf of 831/1427 was stated to be 'for the good of the Great Sallāmiyya Madrasa'. Also one must note that no Mawṣiliyya is recorded in Mujīr al-Dīn, even though the second endowment of 'Abd al-Malik al-Mawṣilī refers to the Sallāmiyya-Mawṣiliyya Madrasa. At all events, the date 831/1427 fits well with that predicated on stylistic grounds for substantial rebuilding of the upper structures, namely the decade c.830-40/1426-36.<sup>16</sup>

In view of the strong connection with the Mosul region it is odd that al-Sakhāwī records that two members of a family of North African origin and of Mālikī allegiance in law held the post of shaykh of the Sallāmiyya in the fifteenth century. Khalīfa b. Mas'ūd came in 784/1382-83 to settle in Jerusalem and become imām of the Moroccans' Mosque in the Ḥaram.<sup>17</sup> His son, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad (801-89/1399-1484),<sup>18</sup> succeeded him in that post and was shaykh of the Šūfīs of the Abū Madyan Way (an order of Western Islamic origin) in addition to his headship of the Sallāmiyya. In the latter post and as imām of the Moroccans' Mosque he was followed by *his* son, another Muḥammad (851-97/1448-91).<sup>19</sup> Although Mujīr al-Dīn mentions all three persons, he does not record any link with the Sallāmiyya.

#### OTTOMAN PERIOD

As far as the nomenclature is concerned, the position is complicated. There exist within the Court records references to the 'Sallāmiyya Madrasa' in 968/1561 and as late as 1027/1618. Both entries concern the leasing of waqf property in Jerusalem, a stable and a shop.<sup>20</sup> The only double naming, as in the *waqfiyya* abstract, concerns the appointment of a Zayn al-Dīn 'Umar to be shaykh and administrator of the Mawṣiliyya-Sallāmiyya Madrasa (*sic*) in 982/1575.<sup>21</sup> All other entries, which range in date from 947/1540 to 1093/1682, refer to the Mawṣiliyya simply, which in one case, in 1071/1661, is described as the Mawṣiliyya *Kbanqāb*.<sup>22</sup>

A schedule of repairs to the 'Mawṣiliyya', dated 985/1578,<sup>23</sup> which were estimated to cost 4,774 paras, mentions 'the cells adjoining the Bāsiṭiyya . . . three rooms (*buḡarāt*) and three apartments (*buyūt*) . . . the main residence (*al-dār al-kabīra*) . . . and the cells in the lower madrasa (*al-madrasa al-taḡlāmiyya*)'. Does this last phrase relate to the original Sallāmiyya? By about two years later, 3,579 paras had been spent for work which began early 986/spring 1578.<sup>24</sup> Further repairs were authorised in 1008/1600 at an estimated cost of 2,065 paras, when the cells (*al-kbalāwī*) were mentioned.<sup>25</sup>

The lands of the 'Mawṣiliyya' were farmed for the tax year 985/1577-78 to a Jerusalem resident for 40 gold pieces. It is expressly recorded<sup>26</sup> that the income for both the madrasa and the descendants of the benefactor was covered by this. The phraseology recalls the division of the income in the *waqfiyyas*

of 'Abd al-Malik al-Mawṣilī and proves the change of name conclusively, since the madrasa named originally in those documents was the Sallāmiyya.<sup>27</sup>

In 1065/1655 the boundaries of a house made waqf for a daughter by Iṣḥāq al-Luṭfī, a member of the family who in the first century or so of Ottoman rule held positions in the institution and then control of the waqf,<sup>28</sup> prove that the Mawṣiliyya then spanned the street to the north.<sup>29</sup> The house in question was clearly situated in the vaulting where the Bāb al-'Atm Street joins the main east-west Mujāhidīn Street. Its south boundary was a house in the vault over the side street, completed by a portion of the Mawṣiliyya. The north boundary was the tomb chamber of the Ḥanafīyya madrasa, that is the Mu'azzamiyya, and to the east was the Mawṣiliyya with the street below it.



Plate 25.1 North frontage

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### NORTH FRONTAGE (plate 25.1)

The north frontage on to Tarīq al-Mujāhidīn is of heterogeneous construction. The lower part, which forms the north boundary of the Sallāmiyya, includes many stones with characteristic Crusader diagonal dressing and masons' marks. The consistency of the coursing, colour and texture of this masonry suggests that these stones are not in secondary use; in other words, the wall is Crusader. The window design and the stone dressing indicate that the upper wall is entirely Ottoman or modern.

Two doorways which are integral features of the Crusader wall have been blocked.<sup>30</sup> Above one of these, at the west end of this frontage, is a shallow pointed-arched recess with a sloping sill, which contains the northern window of the Sallāmiyya's assembly hall (plate 25.1). The insertion of the recess into the pre-existing wall has produced an awkward conjunction with the lintel of an older doorway below. The other blocked doorway is 23m to the east (see below, p. 305).

In the upper part of the Crusader wall may be seen four small windows which light a corridor behind the wall. Four springings for vaults, which evidently spanned or were intended to span Tarīq al-Mujāhidīn, survive at regular intervals in the two uppermost remaining courses of the western half of the Crusader wall. There is nothing to correspond with these springings on the opposite (northern) side of the street, which is formed partly by the south wall of the Ayyūbid Mu'azzamiyya Madrasa (614/1217-18), and so it may be inferred that either the vaulting over the street was demolished before the construction of the Mu'azzamiyya or, alternatively, it was never completed.



WEST FAÇADE (fig. 25.5)

The west façade on Ṭarīq Bāb al-‘Atm is the only external wall of Mamlūk construction. Its northern part is somewhat obscured by later vaults spanning the street. The entrance portal and part of the wall south of it are unencumbered by later vaults and stand at the only part of the street to remain open to the sky. The most distinctive decorative features are concentrated on this west façade and since we are obliged to depend on stylistic analysis of these features to establish our dating criteria, they are worthy of special attention.

The façade is divided into two unequal lengths of 13.72m and 3.44m respectively by the monumental portal unit, which presents a front of 5.97m including a frame moulding, and a height of 7.80m to the original cornice. The total length of the façade is therefore 23.13m. The short length to the right of the entrance is plain apart from two very small windows admitting light to the staircase giving access to the roof. The other length, left of the entrance, is relieved by three shallow recesses, evenly spaced, which contain grilled windows of the assembly hall. The head of the central recess has four tiers of angular *muqarnas* corbelling while the two lateral recesses have three-tiered curvilinear *muqarnas* heads. The use of angular *muqarnas* is significant: this is the only known occurrence in Bahri Mamlūk Jerusalem and, as we shall see, is a valuable clue in the dating process. The decoration below the *muqarnas* corbelling is similar in each case: the sills of the recesses slope at an angle of approximately 45°; the window jambs are of red and cream-coloured *ablaq*; and above the plain monolithic lintels are panels of joggled *ablaq* revetment simulating flat relieving arches.

The monumental entrance portal (plate 25.2) is framed by a quirked ogee moulding (fig. 25.5) which extends inwards to frame stone benches on either side of the portal recess. The deep recess (2.85m wide and 2.41m deep) is covered by a horizontally developed *muqarnas* system with pendent elements, like a stalactite canopy (plate 25.3).<sup>31</sup> This distinctive stalactite canopy is the crucial element in the dating process (see below). Within the frame moulding up to the height of springing of the stalactite canopy the portal is constructed in red and cream-coloured *ablaq*. The canopy and the surrounding stonework are constructed in the usual ‘malaki’ limestone, which has taken a beautiful amber tint. The stalactites are badly weathered now. Since no amount of stereotomical ingenuity could keep them naturally in place they are tied back to the superstructure of the canopy by eight

judiciously placed iron nails with wide heads. Even so, the canopy has sagged in places and now sparrows nest in interstices between the stones.

The recess is paved with a massive slab of limestone surrounded by a black stone border. The entrance doorway,<sup>32</sup> which opens in the rear wall of the recess, is surmounted by a lintel fronted with pseudo-voussoirs of *ablaq*<sup>33</sup> like the pseudo-relieving arches over the windows. The outer face of this revetment is set approximately four centimetres back from the surrounding masonry within a narrow frame moulding. The lintel rests on shoulders decorated with three tiers of *muqarnas*. A relieving arch, separated from the lintel by one course of red stonework, is functional in this case, albeit fronted with pseudo-voussoirs as well. Two square frames, one at either end of the relieving arch, enclose circular medallions each linked to its frame by four circlets inlaid with red-coloured stone (fig. 25.6). The medallions are inscribed with the Muslim confession of faith: ‘There is no God but Allāh’ (in the right-hand one) and ‘Muhammad is the Apostle of God’ (in the left-hand one).<sup>34</sup> A sunken band, evidently intended for an inscription which has never been carved, runs round the portal recess under the stalactite canopy and extends across the frontage where it is closed at each end by pointed, bow-shaped *ansae* with palmette terminals.

The original iron-plated double doors and heavy iron knockers are still in use (plate 25.4). Iron nails with lozenge shaped heads, arranged according to a hexagonal grid with gibbous ribbed-headed nails in the centres of the hexagons, fix the horizontal iron bands to the timber frames. The iron bands are carried round the sides of the door leaves and nailed to the timber stiles. Two wooden panels of geometric ornament are all that survive of the decoration of the inner faces of the doors (plate 25.5). The leaves turn on spindles located in the usual fashion in sockets in the paving behind the threshold and in the springers of a segmental arch behind the lintel.

The constructions over the entrance portal (shown in fig. 25.5) are difficult to assess. A vertical joint in the masonry above the top right-hand corner of the portal is evidence of two phases of construction. This is confirmed by the colour and texture of the masonry. The greyish stonework of the structure directly over the entrance portal is quite different from the masonry of the lower façade, while at least the lower masonry courses of the adjoining structure to the south appear to match those of the façade below.

The southern structure incorporates the remains of a

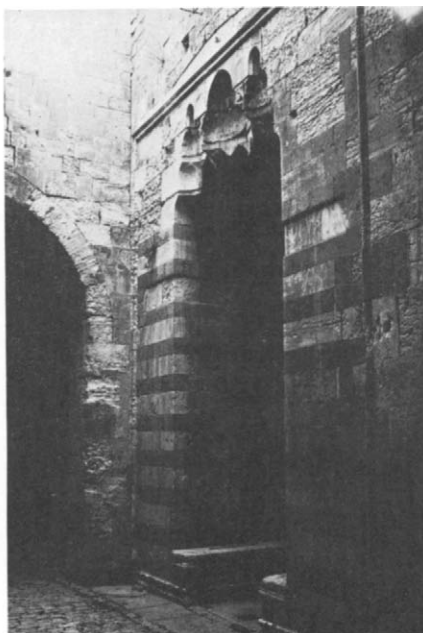


Plate 25.2 Entrance portal



Plate 25.3 Vault of entrance portal

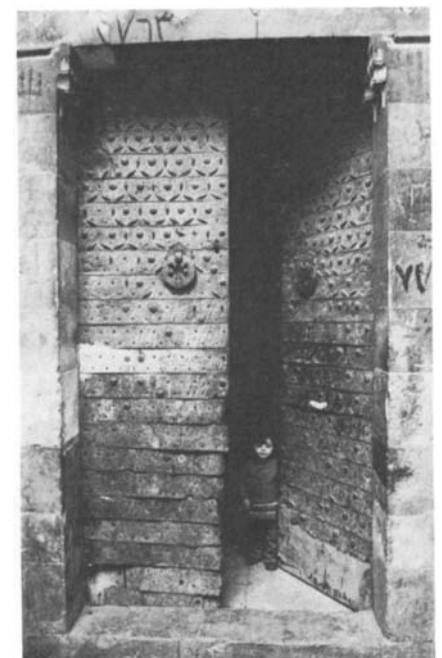


Plate 25.4 Iron-plated entrance doors

balcony (now partly obscured by the later vaults spanning the street) framed by a quirked ogee moulding and supported on carved brackets, one of which is still visible (*plate 25.6*). The fact that the moulding framing the balcony is identical to the one framing the portal is a good indication that the two are contemporaneous. The interior of the room which opens onto the balcony is square in plan and roofed with a shallow domical vault (*plate 25.7*), a feature generally associated with buildings of the Ottoman period in Jerusalem, but the vault might have been rebuilt. Indeed, some remodelling must have been done when the balcony was encroached upon by the later structures spanning the street. At any rate it seems likely that originally there was a single room within the balcony.

The date of the structure directly above the entrance portal is hard to say. The vertical joint in the masonry shows that it cannot be contemporaneous with the adjoining room discussed above, and the colour and the texture of the stonework seem to indicate that it is not part of the original foundation. Its small triple window composed of twin round-headed windows surmounted by a circular oculus (see *fig. 25.5*) offers a clue, however: only two other examples of this feature are known to us in Jerusalem and both are dated to the fourth decade of the ninth/fifteenth century.<sup>35</sup> Consequently, in the absence of more substantial evidence, we might tentatively date this upper floor structure to the same decade, i.e. 830-40/1426-36. Here too there are signs of what may be a later remodelling of the upper fabric; the stone-paved dome appears to be Ottoman for it has no drum but simply rises directly from the adjoining roof. Unfortunately it has not been possible to enter to inspect the interior of this part of the building.

#### GROUND FLOOR (*fig. 25.3*)

The entrance doorway leads into a lofty cross-vaulted vestibule, beautifully constructed in dressed stone and lit by a small window high in the east wall. A stone bench runs around the north and east walls. The paved floor is level with the paving of the portal recess; a monolithic sill 0.12m high separates the two.

From the south side of the vestibule a pointed arch opens into a short tunnel-vaulted passage (*plate 25.8*) leading east into the courtyard. A door in the south wall of this passage belongs to a small cell lit by a slit window at the south-west corner of the courtyard. This cell has been annexed to the adjoining cell to the east. A cloister-vaulted recess at the west end of the passage has a door in its south wall giving access to

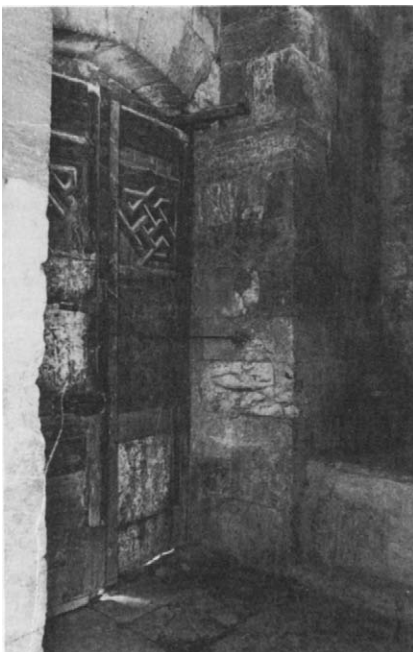


Plate 25.5 Entrance door, from vestibule

a small dark compartment at the foot of the staircase leading to the roof (described below).

The original height of the west wall of the courtyard is given by a short section of moulded cornice (visible in *plate 25.9*), while another section similarly preserved at the same height in the east wall suggests that the cornice originally extended around all four sides.

The plan (*fig. 25.3*) shows the arrangement of twelve cells around three sides of the courtyard: three on the south side, six on the east and three on the north. The entrance vestibule and assembly hall occupy the fourth, west side. Each cell has the usual pointed-arched doorway with a slit window above (apart from the door of the annexed cell in the south-west corner, which has been converted into a window and paired with a similar window (see *plate 25.10*)). A staircase against the eastern range of cells is a later, Ottoman addition; it completely blocks one door and partly blocks another.

The doorway into the corridor at the north-east corner of the courtyard (*plate 25.11*) is different from those of the cells; it is larger, spanned by a flat lintel surmounted by a relieving arch. A slit window above the relieving arch has a small trefoil head. The door opening has been narrowed with a pile of loose stones and a new lintel inserted under the original one. The corridor runs northwards for about two metres before turning east where it is lit by the windows set high in the street wall



Plate 25.6 Balcony



Plate 25.7 Upper floor room with window to balcony

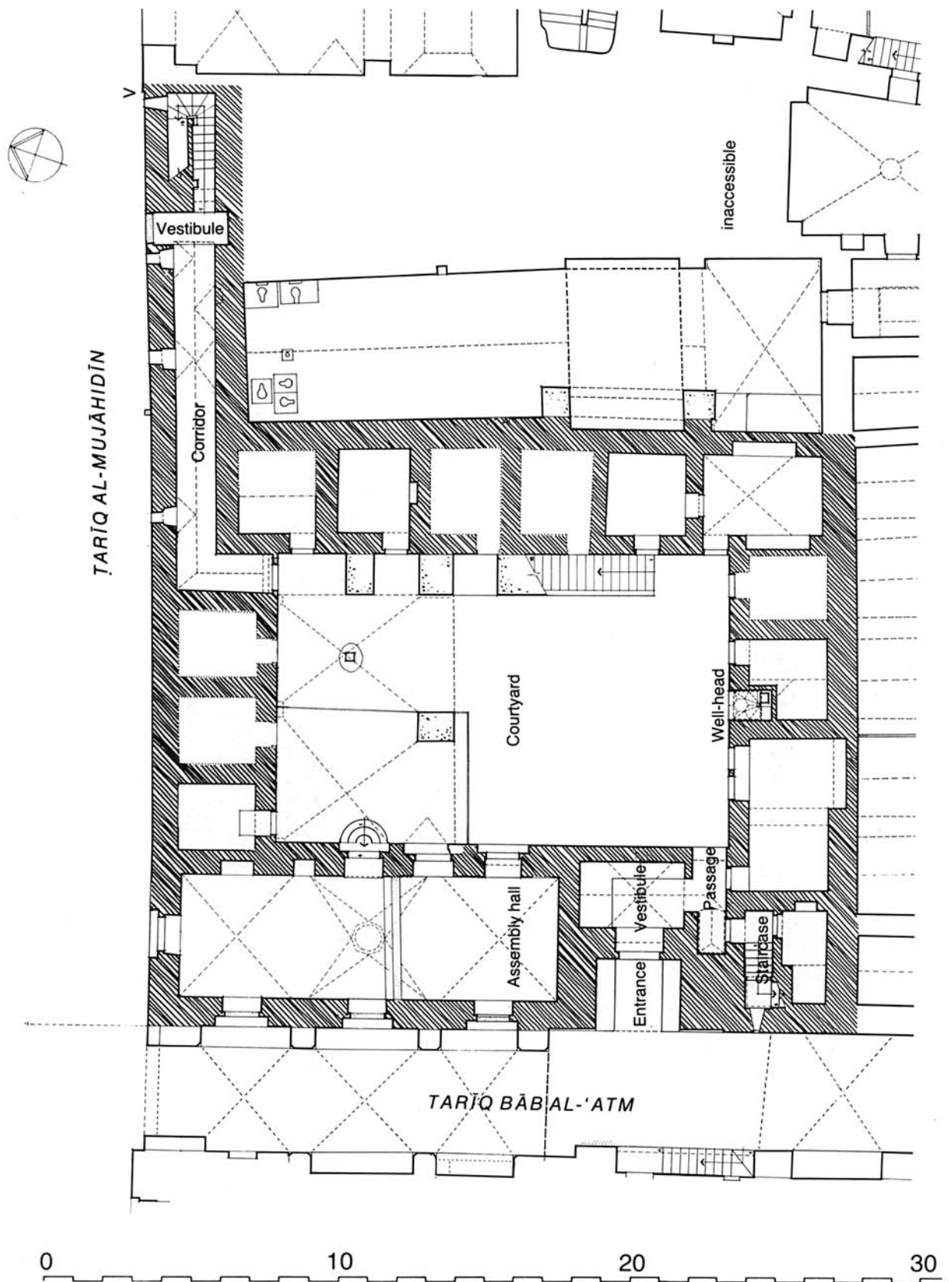


Fig. 25.3 Ground floor plan



Plate 25.8 Passage to courtyard from vestibule

(above, p. 301). These windows are accommodated by excisions in the tunnel vault. The corridor is piled high with rubble and progress is only possible by crouching in the confined space under the vault itself. At a distance of roughly thirteen metres from the entrance, the pile of rubble ends abruptly in a sheer drop and a ladder is needed to descend to a small vestibule behind the blocked street door (mentioned above, p. 301). Before it was blocked this door must have given access through the corridor to the courtyard of the madrasa. Beyond the vestibule the corridor continued eastwards but a modern staircase, reinforced with concrete, has been added; it rises in three narrow flights within the width of the original corridor to come out among the Ottoman buildings at first floor level. The homogeneity of construction of the Crusader street wall (the northern boundary of the madrasa) and the tunnel-vaulted corridor shows that the two are contemporaneous.

In the centre of the southern wall of the courtyard a tall recess houses a well-head where water was once drawn from a cistern – it is no longer used, having been superseded first by a second well-head in the middle of the courtyard and latterly by mains water supply. The recess remains, however, a noteworthy architectural feature (plate 25.10): behind a hoodmould over the recessed voussoirs of a pointed arch is an unusual stone vault. This little vault (fig. 25.7) springs from three points: the centre of the rear wall of the recess and the two internal springing points of the pointed arch. The triangular vaulting pattern thus formed encloses a hexagonal cupola with a central pendent *muqarnas* element identical to the cupola over the inner porch at Bāb al-Nāzir (plate 35.3) which was built in 707/1307-8.

In the west wall of the courtyard a group of three pointed-



Plate 25.9 South end of west wall of courtyard



Plate 25.10 South end of courtyard with well-recess in centre



Plate 25.11 Door into corridor at north-east corner of courtyard

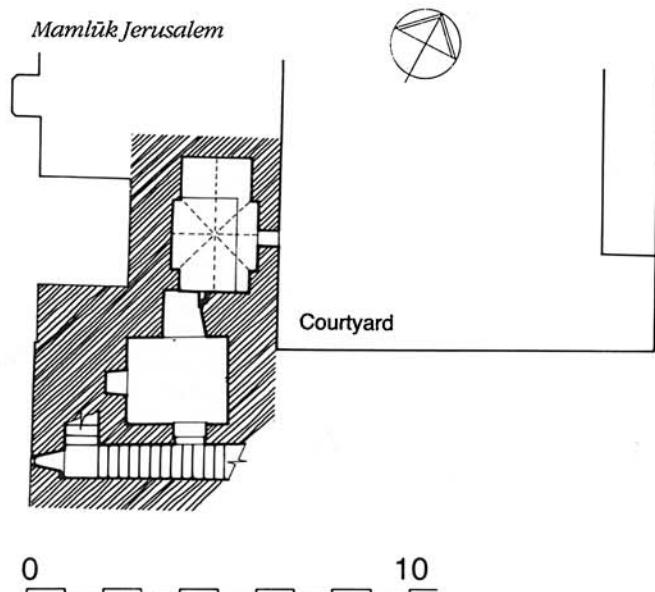


Fig. 25.4 Mezzanine plan

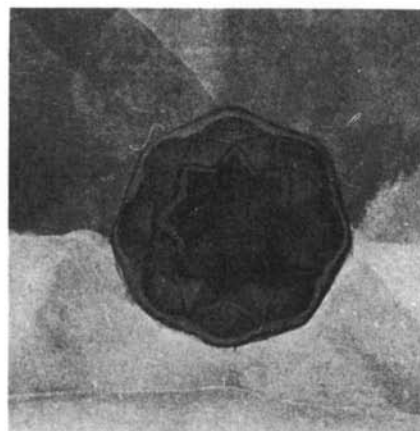


Plate 25.12 *Muqarnas* at crown of folded cross vault of central bay of assembly hall

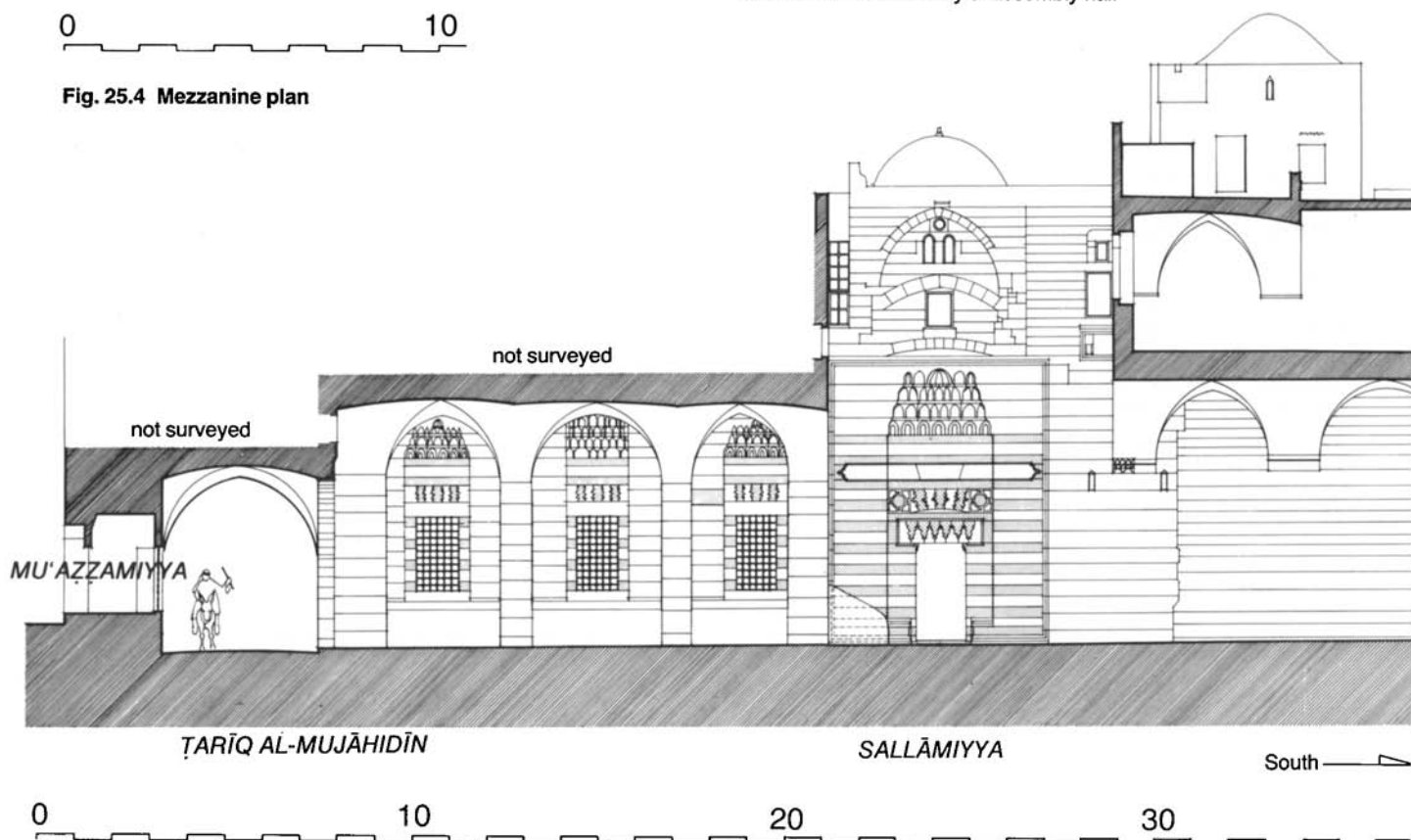


Fig. 25.5 ʿAṭm Bāb al-Mujāhidīn: Elevation of east side

arched recesses originally emphasized the façade of the assembly hall.

Now an Ottoman double vault in front of the north wall of the courtyard conceals the upper part of the two northern recesses but the southern recess remains unobstructed (see *plate 25.9*); its relatively simple decoration consists of one course of *ablaq* joggling over the window lintel and *ablaq* window jambs.

The central recess houses the entrance door and is somewhat wider than the flanking recesses (both of which originally held windows) though to judge from the visible remains all three rose to the same height. Now that a modern partition divides the interior of the assembly hall, the window in the northern recess has been converted into a second door.

The floor of the assembly hall is approximately one metre higher than the level of the courtyard. The ceiling is vaulted in three bays with a small octagonal stone cupola (*plate 25.12*) at the crown of the central folded cross vault. The hall must

originally have been unusually well lit by its six windows, but the three western windows are now blocked.

#### UPPER FLOORS

The staircase in the south-west corner of the building, covered by a rising tunnel vault, makes three flights round a central core in rising to the roof over the southern range of cells. It is rather badly lit since there are only the two slit windows opening on the street, one at the first landing and the other at the second, though some light does filter down from an open doorway at the top. About half-way up the third flight is the door of a curious mezzanine room which is dimly lit by a window opening in the upper part of the south wall of the entrance vestibule, immediately below the vault (*fig. 25.4*). The staircase evidently existed originally to provide access to this mezzanine as well as to the roof-tops around the courtyard and possibly the upper floor room with the balcony (above, p. 302).





Fig. 25.6 Detail of Schriftwappen

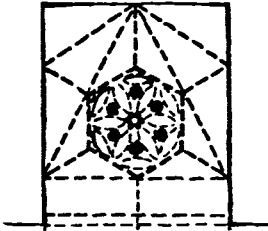


Fig. 25.7 Detail of well-head vault

## DATE OF CONSTRUCTION

Mujīr al-Dīn (cited above, p. 299) states that 'I have not been able to discover the date of its foundation. It appears that it was after 700 (1300)'. He does not give his reason for proposing 'after 700'. The construction must have been before 743/1342 when the founder, al-Majd al-Sallāmī, died. In order to date it more closely we must rely on the architectural evidence.

Several features on the west façade suggest a pronounced Egyptian influence on the design: the tall, rectangular window recesses with *muqarnas* heads and sloping sills; the angular *muqarnas* system itself; the sunken panel or 'inscription band' extending onto the façade with *ansa* and palmette terminals; the recessed door lintel with joggled revetment; the roundels on either side of the relieving arch over the lintel;<sup>36</sup> and the flat stalactite canopy. All these features belong to a specifically Cairene repertoire. It is therefore to the architecture of Cairo that we must turn for stylistic parallels.

Van Berchem observed that the remarkable architectural style of the Sallāmiyya betrays an early eighth/fourteenth

century date of construction.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, the first five features listed above are prevalent in the Mamlūk architecture of Cairo from the beginning of that century. But the sixth, the flat stalactite canopy, can be dated more precisely. The earliest Cairene parallel to the specially deep recess of the Sallāmiyya portal covered with a flat stalactite canopy is the entrance portal at the Mosque of Ālmās (730/1330).<sup>38</sup> Moreover, the fashion for such deep stalactite canopies was relatively short-lived. There are only three other close parallels known to me: the portals at the Mosque of Bashtāk (736/1336) (*plate 23*) the Palace of Bashtāk (738/1337-38)<sup>39</sup> and the 'Palace of Yushbak' (built for Qawṣūn c.738/1337).<sup>40</sup>

Thus by comparison with the Cairene monuments we arrive at an approximate range of dates between 730/1330 and 738/1338. The actual date of construction of the Sallāmiyya probably belongs rather to the end of that decade, say c.738/1338, when the special vaulting technique had been practised in Cairo for some time (see above, p. 99).

## TWO BUILDING TEAMS?

The characteristically Egyptian features outlined above are to be found only on the west façade. There is nothing comparable in the interior. The pointed-arched recesses and folded cross vault of the assembly hall, and the little *muqarnas* cupola over the well recess are typically Syrian. We have already remarked that this cupola is identical to the cupola of the eastern porch at Bāb al-Nāzīr (707/1307-8). A similar feature, though in a modified form to suit the particular structural requirements of a portal vault, is to be found in Jerusalem also in the *muqarnas* corbelling of the entrance portal at the Tankiziyya (no. 18).

And so it would appear that the construction might have been undertaken by two teams of builders: a local Syrian team who built the bulk of the structure, and a team of Egyptian specialists sent from Cairo to erect the façade.

The privilege of having a special team sent from Cairo to work on the Sallāmiyya may have been by favour of the sultan. The literary sources include many references to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's frequent contributions of various kinds, including builders and architects, to the building works of his amīrs in Cairo.<sup>41</sup> It has been noted above (p. 299) that al-Majd al-Sallāmī was a very important merchant who was responsible for buying mamlūks for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and one might speculate that he too benefited in this way.<sup>42</sup>

## Notes

- 1 See above, p. 165, n. 1, for the various names of the gate Bāb al-'Atm.
- 2 This street is also known by the names 'Ṭariq Bāb Sittī Maryam' and 'Ṭariq al-Sarāy al-Qadīm'.
- 3 If one ignores the two medallions on either side of the entrance which together contain the confession of faith, 'There is no god but God and Muḥammad is His prophet' (see *CIA (Ville)*, 222).
- 4 Mujīr, ii, 42.
- 5 Sijill 12, no. 2574, which refers to the Mawṣiliyya Madrasa (see later).
- 6 *Loc. cit.*
- 7 For his biography, see *Wāfi*, ix, 220-1; *Khitāt*, ii, 43; *Durar*, i, 408; *Sulūk*, ii, index.
- 8 Yāqūt, iii, 113: with double *lam* according to Maqrīzī, *Khitāt*, *loc. cit.*
- 9 Ibn al-Dawādārī, ix, 312-3.
- 10 *Masālik*, fol. 193b.
- 11 Ipsirli, 33-4.
- 12 Is Khadija . . . al-Dimashqiyya, wife of the Shaykh Zayn (?) al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān b. *Shaykh al-Islām* Taqī al-Dīn Abī Bakr al-Mawṣilī al-Shāfi'i, who appears in Ḥaram no. 160 (dated 795/1393), the sister-in-law of this *wāqif*?
- 13 Whether a separate institution or a part of the main madrasa is intended we do not know. Note that the inventory of possessions of a woman, resident 'in the Ribāt al-Sallāmiyya', is found in Sijill 57, 57, (3), dated 984/1576.
- 14 *Ma'ābid*, 244-5.
- 15 *CIA (Ville)*, 223, note 1.
- 16 See above, p. 303.
- 17 Mujīr, ii, 246: born 749/1348-9, died 833/1430; *Daw*, iii, 187.
- 18 *Daw*, viii, 44; Mujīr, ii, 252, but Ms. Pococke 362, fol. 195a reads Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh.
- 19 *Daw*, ix, 105; Mujīr, ii, 253.
- 20 Sijill 40, 249 (5) and Sijill 100, 401.
- 21 Sijill 56, 305 (9).
- 22 Sijills 12, no. 2574; 58, 69 (4) and 395 (1) and 468 (7); 80, 338 (1); 151, 30; 160, 152 (1); 185, 215 (2).

- 23 Sijill 58, 69 (4).
- 24 Sijill 58, 395 (1).
- 25 Sijill 80, 338 (1).
- 26 Sijill 58, 468 (7).
- 27 The lands named in the *wāqfiyya* (Ipsirli, 33-4) are those named in this Sijill entry.
- 28 For names and dates, culled from later sijills, see Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 247.
- 29 Sijill, 151, 30.
- 30 The eastern door was still open when van Berchem photographed the street in 1893 (*CIA (Planches)*, xlviii).
- 31 A perspective view and plan (not quite accurate) of the stalactite vault was drawn by J. Bourgoin, *Précis de l'Art Arabe* . . . , i, Paris, 1892, pl. 37.
- 32 The doorway is well illustrated in *CIA (Planches)*, liv.
- 33 This feature is discussed by van Berchem, *CIA (Ville)*, 222 n.2.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 221-23.
- 35 No. 53, the Bāsiṭiyya (*wāqf* 834/1431), and no. 55, the Hasaniyya (837/1434).
- 36 In Cairo these roundels usually contain a heraldic blazon but since al-Majd al-Sallāmī was not an amīr he had no blazon and so the confession of faith was inscribed in the roundels instead.
- 37 *CIA (Ville)*, 222.
- 38 Illustrated in; Ministry of Waqf, *The Monuments of Egypt*, i, Giza, 1949, pl. 56.
- 39 J. Bourgoin, *Précis de l'Art Arabe* . . . , i, Paris, 1892, pl. 55.
- 40 Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe, *Exercice 1894*, Cairo, 1895, pls. V-X.
- 41 The question of State patronage and the individual amīr is discussed with copious references to the sources by Layla 'Alī Ibrāhīm, 'The great Ḥanqāh of the Emir Qawṣūn in Cairo', *MDIK*, xxx, 1974, 52-57.
- 42 The Sallāmiyya appears to be the only Bahri Mamlūk foundation in Jerusalem to have been built partly by craftsmen from Egypt. Later on, towards the end of the Circassian Mamlūk period, three monuments were built in Jerusalem in a distinctly Egyptian style: the Zamanī Ribāt (881/1476-77), the Muzhiriyya (885/1480-81) and the Ashrafiyya (887/1482).

# 26 AL-ĀLMALIKIYYA

## الأمليكية

741/1340  
Madrasa of Ālmalik<sup>1</sup> al-Jūkāndār  
Modern name: Dār al-Khaṭīb

### I LOCATION (fig. 26.1)

At the north border of the Ḥaram, above the portico, between the Is'ardiyya (no. 33) to the west and the Fārisiyya (no. 30) to the east.

### II SITE AND BUILDING (figs. 26.2 and 26.4)

The architectural fabric of the building stands virtually as it was first erected – an exceptional circumstance in Jerusalem where so many medieval monuments have been remodelled when converted into dwellings.

The madrasa is built entirely above the level of the Ḥaram portico. A staircase situated at the western limit of the main building leads up from the Ḥaram esplanade to the main entrance and also serves the Is'ardiyya. The entrance portal faces west and is elaborately decorated.

The internal layout may conveniently be considered as a combination of two interconnected units: a southern unit consisting of an assembly hall overlooking the Ḥaram; and a northern unit composed of a square courtyard, open to the sky, surrounded by two tiers of cells including a tomb chamber. The roof of the northern unit is level with the roof of the southern unit; in other words, the high vault of the assembly hall rises to more or less the same height as the two storeys of cells around the courtyard. There is no *mīḥrāb*.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

Al-'Umarī saw the building just a few years after its completion and described its position above the Ḥaram portico at its continuation westwards from the present Bāb al-'Atm and mentioned the stairs there, leading to the Ālmalikiyya and the Is'ardiyya.<sup>2</sup> The foundation inscription of the Ālmalikiyya is still *in situ* on the south-facing façade. Mujīr al-Dīn knew it – 'on the southern wall [of the madrasa] above the north portico of the Masjid al-Aqṣā [i.e. the Ḥaram]' – and quoted from it.<sup>3</sup>

#### DATE

The text of the extant inscription is as follows:<sup>4</sup>

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. The construction of this blessed place was made as an offering by the servant needful of God Almighty, al-Ḥājj [the pilgrim] Ālmalik al-Jūkāndār [the Bearer of the Polo-stick], the servant of al-Malik al-Nāsir (may God pardon him in life and in death, and also those who pray for mercy and forgiveness for him). It was completed in God's month, Muḥarram, the beginning of the year seven hundred and forty-one from the Hījra of the Prophet (the best of blessings and greetings be upon him).

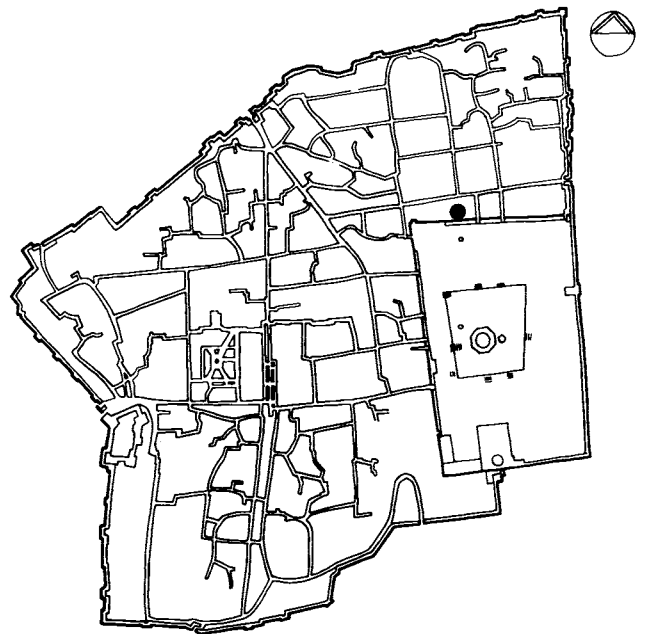


Fig. 26.1 Location plan

Mujīr al-Dīn interpreted the date of completion unambiguously as 1 Muḥarram 741/27 June 1340.

#### FOUNDER

Ālmalik was acquired by Baybars I as part of the booty of the battle of Elbistan in 676/1277. Qalāwūn, while still an amīr, purchased him and presented him to his son-in-law, al-Sa'īd Barka Khān. He passed through the hands of an amīr of the latter, called Kundak, and then came into the possession of 'Alī, the son of Qalāwūn, who died in 687/1288.<sup>5</sup> The famous traveller, Ibn Baṭṭūta, met Ālmalik in 726/1326, when the amīr was camped with his troop outside a *zāwiya* at Fuwwa in the Delta, and describes him as one of the *kbāssakiyya*, the intimate retinue, of Sultan al-Nāsir Muḥammad.<sup>6</sup> By 739/1338-39 he was an amīr of 100.<sup>7</sup> He held the court post of Bearer of the Polo-stick, the appropriate arms for which are exhibited on his foundation in Jerusalem, finished just over nine months before the sultan's death.<sup>8</sup>

For a brief while in the reign of al-Nāsir Aḥmad he left Cairo to serve as governor of Ḥamā (Dhū'l-Qa'da 742/April 1342), but he was recalled by al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl and appointed Viceroy of Egypt (Muḥarram 744/June 1343).<sup>9</sup> In addition to the normal *iqṭā'* for this position he was given the two districts of Matarīyya and Khuṣūs, the annual yield of which was 450,000 dirhams.<sup>10</sup>

Various strict 'puritan' measures made him enemies among the amīrs.<sup>11</sup> He was also opposed to the party that pressed for the succession of Sha'bān, as the illness of his brother, al-Ṣāliḥ, became apparent. Al-Ṣāliḥ died in Rabī' II 746/August 1345. Al-Kāmil Sha'bān succeeded and that was the end of Ālmalik's short-lived pre-eminence.<sup>12</sup> He quickly sought, and was allowed, to exchange positions with the governor of Damascus, but even while he was making his way there, he was demoted to the governorship of Ṣafad.<sup>13</sup> Soon he found himself accused of plotting and disaffection. Summoned to Cairo, he was arrested in Dhū'l-Hijja 746/April 1346 at Gaza, and eventually sent to prison in Alexandria.<sup>14</sup>

His possessions were seized, including 75,000 dirhams, 4,000 dinars and 30,000 ardebs of grain. His family shared his fall, and his corps of mamlūks was broken up and divided amongst other amīrs.<sup>15</sup> Ibn Hajar says that he was executed (strangled according to one source) either at the end of 746 or at the beginning of 747. The dates given are many and various but it is hardly surprising in the circumstances.<sup>16</sup>

His son, Shihab al-Dīn Aḥmad, spent some time in prison and lost 100,000 dirhams, but did not remain in disgrace. In a

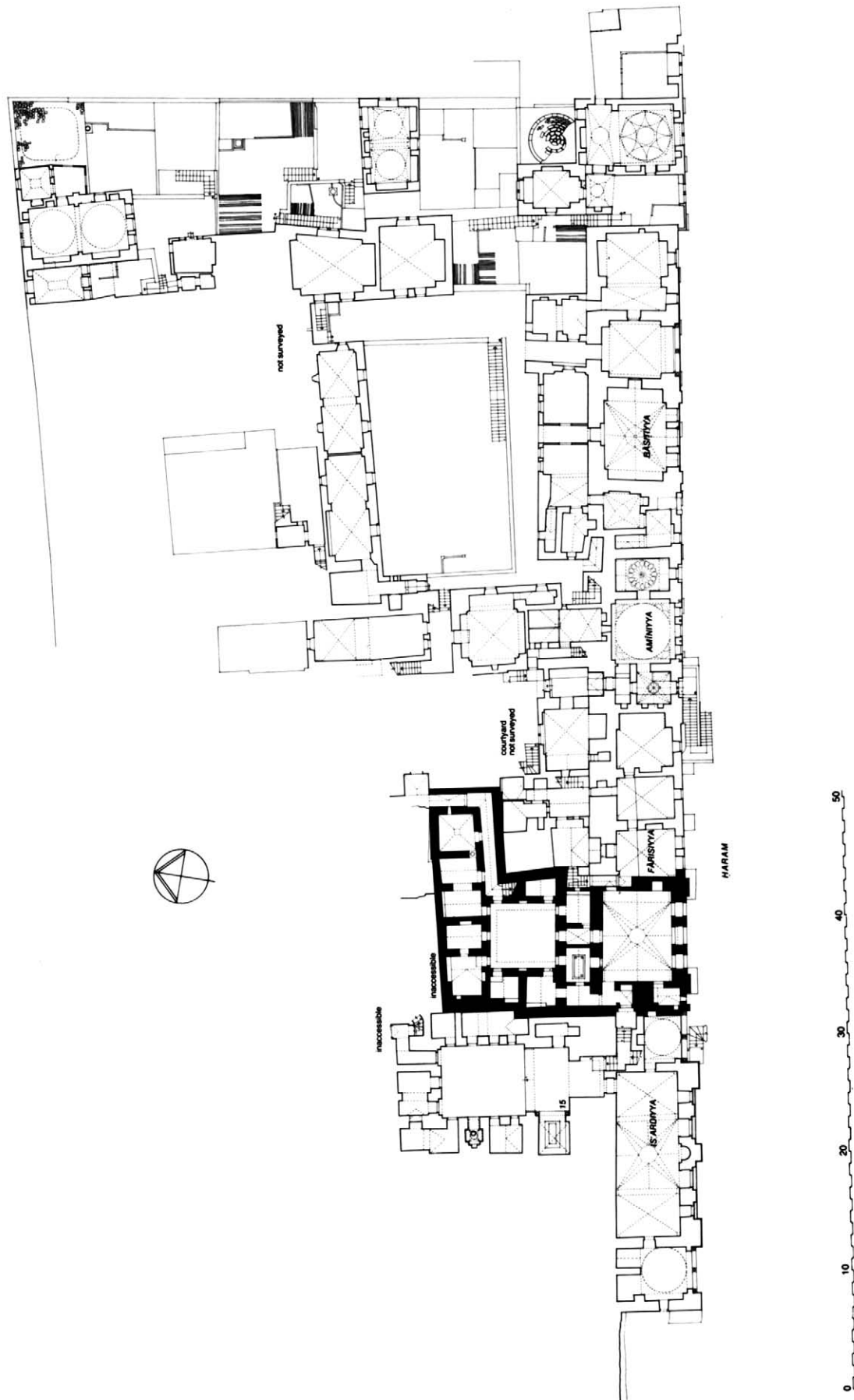


Fig. 26.2 Site plan

subsequent reign he was raised to the rank of Amīr of 100.<sup>17</sup> In the autumn of 1373 and the spring of the following year he moved from the governorship of Gaza to the post of Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams, then to that of a minor chamberlain in Cairo.<sup>18</sup> He resigned in July 1377, gave up his amīrate and turned to religion, living on the proceeds of his father's endowments until his death in May 1391.<sup>19</sup>

Ālmalik's nephew, who initially shared some of his fate, was the Amīr Īlbaḳī, the founder of the Fārisiyya (see p. 337).

There is nothing to connect Ālmalik's career with Jerusalem, nor any mention in any source of his building there. His strictness has been mentioned already, and his preference for the society of the learned and his own scholarship are remarked upon. He was the founder of two religious institutions in Cairo. One was a madrasa near the Shrine of Ḥusayn, which he endowed for the instruction of Shāfi'ī lawyers and furnished with a large library. The madrasa was still important in Maqrīzī's time, but then became a residence for a son-in-law of al-Ṣāliḥ.<sup>20</sup> The other was a mosque (*jāmi'*) in the suburb of al-Ḥusayniyya outside the Bāb al-Naṣr, which was opened in Jumādā I 732/December 1331.<sup>21</sup> In 745/1344-45 Ālmalik had an aqueduct built at Minā in the Ḥijāz.<sup>22</sup>

#### ENDOWMENT

As we have seen, the inscription unequivocally attributes the construction of the madrasa to Ālmalik. The question of the endowment is not clear. This is what Mujīr al-Dīn has to say:

Its endowment came from his wife, Ay-malak, the daughter of Qutluqtimur al-Nāṣirī, and the date of the endowment was 16 Rabī' II 745/27 August 1344. Apparently her husband built it for her with her money, but God knows best.<sup>23</sup>

The Defter 602 dates the *waqfiyya* to this same year and attributes it clearly to Ay-malak, and adds that the madrasa is known after *ber*.<sup>24</sup> The defter published by Ipsirli, no. 522, confuses the names of husband and wife, something which it is very easy to do in the Arabic script, and assigns the endowment to Ālmalik, daughter of Qutluqtimur.<sup>25</sup> The wife, Ay-malak, must have been intended. However, this latter defter gives the date of the *waqfiyya* as 757/1356, which further complicates the matter. Indulging in pure speculation one may wonder whether the endowment of 745/1344 was not in truth Ālmalik's. That year saw the acme of his power and influence, and we have seen that one charitable undertaking is dated to it. Then, after his fall and the temporary eclipse of his family, it was necessary to re-endow his madrasa in Jerusalem, and this was done by his wife in 757/1356. Confusion arose later from the similarity in names.

Nevertheless, there is one further piece of evidence which it is difficult to fit into our reconstruction of events. In the Aqṣā Library there is a list of waqfs in favour of the Ḥaram at Hebron, which was probably drawn up in the early sixteenth century. One tenth of the village of Dayr Bazī,<sup>26</sup> which is elsewhere claimed in full as the endowment of the Ālmalikiyya, is listed as a waqf of 'Ay-malak, the daughter of Qutluqtimur al-Silāḥdār' on behalf of the Hebron Sanctuary.<sup>27</sup> This would strongly suggest that she was also the source of the benefaction for the madrasa, whatever the truth about the division of the income. But what do we make of the date given for this waqf, 16 Rajab 746/12 November 1345? It is somewhat over a year later than the first date recorded for the waqf of the madrasa and six months or so before the fall and execution of her husband. It is prudent, in the absence of any copies of the *waqfiyya* or *waqfiyyas*, to leave the facts such as they are, to speak for themselves and to repeat Mujīr al-Dīn's 'but God knows best'.

The resources for the madrasa which are recorded in the defters were as follows: the complete (but see above) village of Dayr Bazī, a shop at the Chain Gate in Jerusalem and several properties in Gaza, namely a caravanserai, seven shops and four store-rooms (*makhbāzin*).<sup>28</sup>

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

The foundation inscription refers only to 'this blessed place'. Although al-'Umarī within a few years writes only of a 'madrasa', it is clear that the neutral 'place' meant a complex which included a separate ribāt for women and also a tomb chamber. Three Ḥaram documents deal with the registration of the effects of residents in the ribāt. All three were Turkish ladies, and it is fascinating to find that one, in 795/1393, is described as 'the freedwoman of the Lady Ay-malak bint Qutluqtimur al-Nāṣirī', who, incidentally, is not explicitly said to be 'the late...'.<sup>29</sup> This is another example of dependants enjoying 'grace and favour' residence.

An account of the expenditure of waqf income from Dayr Bazī for the tax year 939/1532-33 mentions the beneficiaries, including several members of the Ibn Jamā'a family, through their functions in the madrasa, and then notes a small sum destined 'for Fātima al-Yamāniyya personally and the rest of the old women (*'ajā'iz*) resident with her in the hospice'.<sup>30</sup> A report (1018/1609) on the state of the madrasa and 'its ribāt next to it to the north', apart from completely non-explicit items, refers to 'the *iwān* in the ribāt' and 'improving the ribāt stairs, renewing the doors of some of the rooms and repairing the entrance (*bāb*) of the ribāt', all at a cost of 1,990 paras.<sup>31</sup> A similar later report (1072/1661) lists repairs estimated to cost 185 Asadī piastres. Parts said to be in a ruined state were 'the southern wall dividing the Ālmalikiyya Madrasa from the Fārisiyya' (*sic!*) and – and this is the only mention of it – 'the turba which is in the madrasa'.<sup>32</sup> The Amīr Ālmalik was buried in his mosque in Cairo.<sup>33</sup> Although there is no positive evidence, it seems reasonable to assume that the cenotaph in the tomb chamber contains the mortal remains of the Lady Ay-malak.

The names of several persons who held positions in the madrasa are given by Asali.<sup>34</sup> Some of them, as he suggests, were surely only nominal appointments. They were mostly Shāfi'ite in allegiance, which indicates that the madrasa was founded with that law school in mind, as was the case with Ālmalik's comparable institution in Cairo. However, confusion arises in Arabic from the similarity of the name of the madrasa (Ālmalikiyya) to the plural noun meaning 'lawyers of the Mālikī school' (*al-Mālikīyya*). Hence there is no need to worry how Ibn Baṭṭūṭa could have met Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Gharnāṭī and called him the *mudarris* of the Ālmalikiyya in 726/1326 before the Ālmalikiyya existed. The scholar he met in Jerusalem was 'the leading teacher of the Mālikīs (*mudarris al-Mālikīyya*)'<sup>35</sup> and therefore likely to have been attached to the Afdaliyya Madrasa, also known as the Dome (*al-Qubba*) in the Moroccans' Quarter, which had been endowed by al-Afdal, the son of Saladin, for the Mālikīs.<sup>36</sup> The same phrase applied to another Mālikī scholar, who died in about 750/1349, 'Abdallāh b. Sulayman b. 'Abdallāh al-Anṣārī'.<sup>37</sup> However, one must take into account the case of Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, a *Hanbalī* scholar (died 755/1354), who was 'shaykh of the Ālmalikiyya in Jerusalem'. If we accept the reading 'shaykh of the Mālikīs (*Mālikīyya*)', then we have an even odder statement.<sup>38</sup>

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### ḤARAM PORTICO (figs. 26.3 and 26.6, plate 26.1)

Mujīr al-Dīn states that the portico under the Ālmalikiyya was rebuilt when the madrasa was constructed. The composite masonry of the portico shows how it was rebuilt. Of the last four piers at the western end of the earlier portico (see above, p. 107) the westernmost survives, another has been replaced and the two flanking its replacement were incorporated into new massive piers built to support the madrasa. These sloping-topped composite piers extend upwards to form buttresses framing the madrasa's main façade. That the pier between them replaces an earlier one may be deduced from the distance between the centres of the earlier parts of the flanking piers,

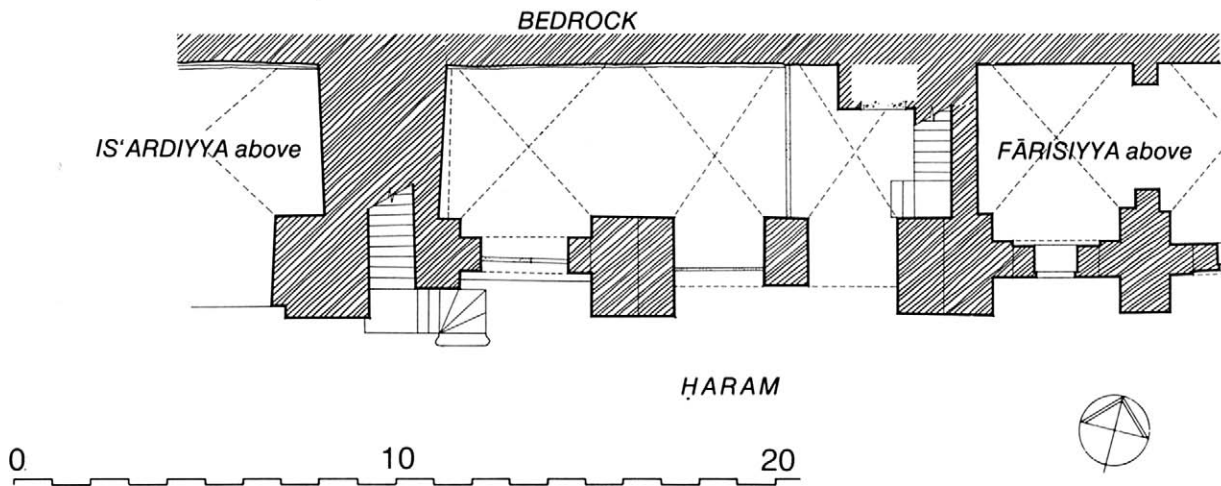


Fig. 26.3 Plan of portico

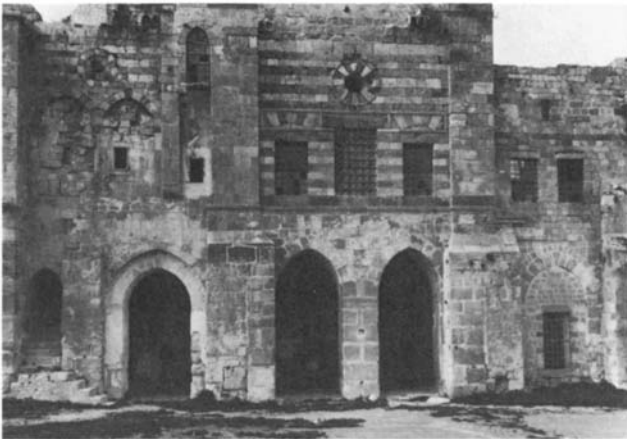


Plate 26.1 Ḥaram façade

Plate 26.2 Foundation inscription with flanking blazons of *jūkandār*

9.28m, which is double the average 'pitch' of the rest of the earlier portico. Above that intermediate pier the foundation inscription and flanking blazons of the *Jūkandār* (plate 26.2) were inserted when the madrasa was completed.

The westernmost bay of this portico now supports part of the *Is'ardiyya* (no. 33) but its roof must initially have been unbuilt on, forming a forecourt to the main entrance in the west wall of the *Āmalikiyya*. Against the end of that westernmost bay rises an entrance staircase (plate 26.1). It leads to a small landing from where one flight continues to the *Is'ardiyya* and another branches eastward to the entrance of the *Āmalikiyya*

(plate 26.3). The masonry above the staircase entrance differs from that of the portico (see fig. 26.6), suggesting that the rising tunnel vault covering the staircase was concomitant with the construction of the *Is'ardiyya*.

#### HARAM FAÇADE (fig. 26.6, plate 26.1)

The façade of the *Āmalikiyya* is framed by the two buttresses that extend upwards from the supporting piers. In this way the frontage of the madrasa is integrated with the portico below to form an impressive two-storey façade. The conjunction of the two storeys is articulated by a moulded string course. At the top of the façade a two-tiered *muqarnas* canopy surmounted by a cornice moulding which extended between the buttresses (plate 26.4) was largely destroyed between 1893 and 1914 by vegetation rooted in the interstices between the stones.<sup>39</sup>

Between the flanking buttresses under the *muqarnas* canopy the façade is 0.25m in recess. It is built of red and cream-coloured *ablaq*. A large, gridded rectangular window in the centre of the main façade is flanked by lower, narrower gridded windows and surmounted by an oculus. These windows belong to the assembly hall. A shallow moulding (fig. 10f) surrounds the *ablaq* relieving arches of the two flanking windows and extends over the lintel of the central window, above which it turns in a tight loop before encircling the *ablaq* radial voussoirs of the oculus (plate 26.1). Several voussoirs and part of the moulding around the oculus were restored and the masonry of the façade repointed in 1982.

A broad string course, slightly recessed, runs across the main façade above the oculus onto the face of the flanking buttresses. There it terminates in a decorative manner, interlocking with the adjoining masonry in a joggled joint which extends vertically to define the ends of narrow red-coloured stone courses above and below the recessed course (plate 26.4).

The Haram frontage includes a short projection to the west beyond the western buttress. Here there are two windows placed one above the other; the lower window is small and rectangular, the upper larger and arched. The masonry of the upper part of the buttress extends west on the same plane to form the jambs and pointed arch of the upper window (fig. 26.6). The sill of this window is a projecting slab spanning between the buttress and a single corbel on the west side. The wall below the sill has been set back 0.35m from the face of the buttress in an apparent effort to avoid disrupting the symmetry of the façade. The west wall is concealed by the *Is'ardiyya*, built hard against the madrasa.

#### ENTRANCE (plates 26.3 and 26.5)

The entrance proper to the madrasa is on the cramped upper landing of the staircase which, since the construction of the



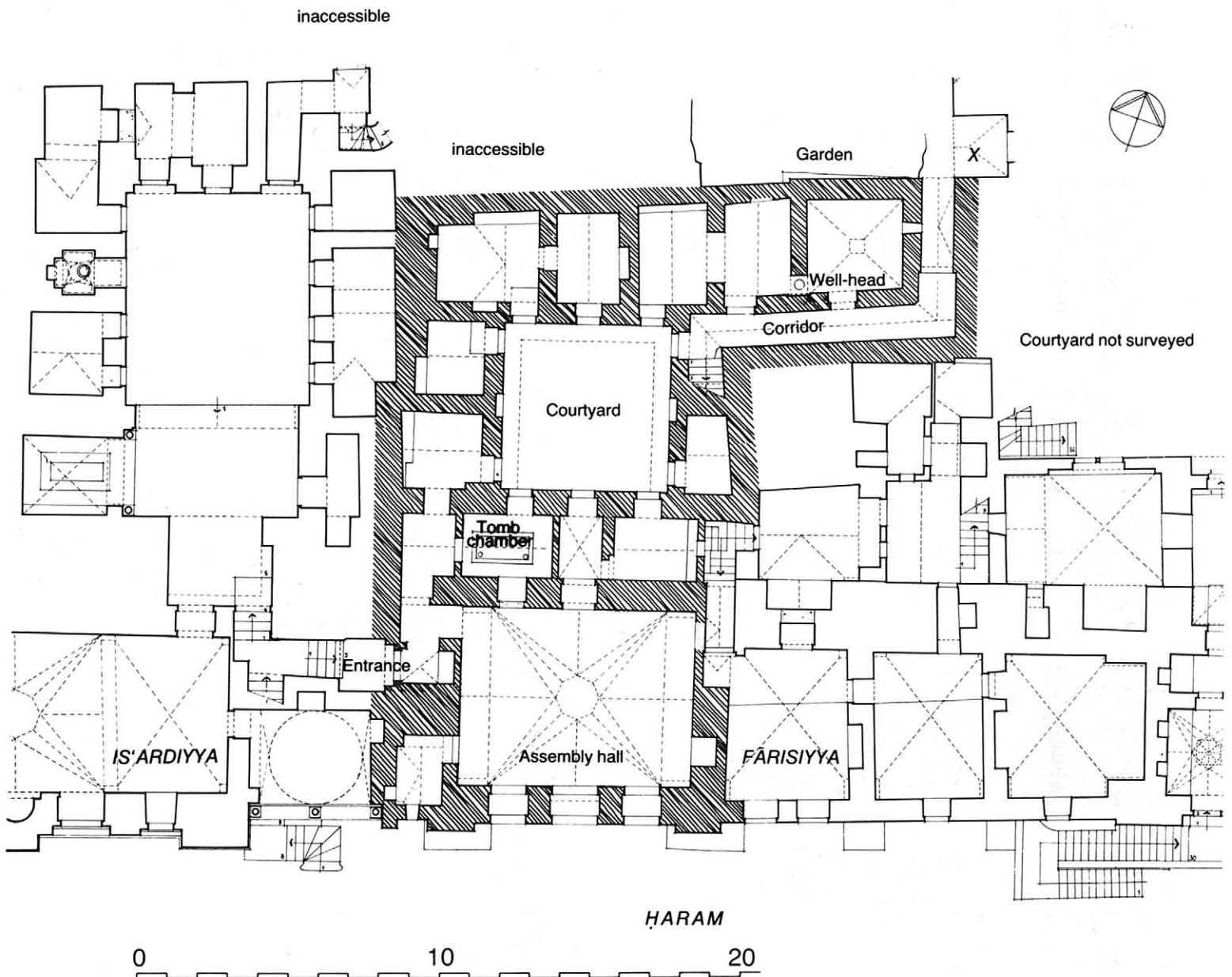


Fig. 26.4 Main floor plan

adjacent Is'ardiyya, forms a tiny patio open to the sky. The doorway is ornamentally developed, set in a tall, narrow recess with a *muqarnas* hood. Its red monolithic lintel is set back slightly, supported on moulded brackets and edged with a simple border which continues upwards to frame a roundel composed of ten joggled *ablaq* voussoirs in the form of an oculus. Four of the voussoirs are badly eroded, revealing the superficial nature of the joggling. The roundel is set back on the same plane as the lintel and surrounded by a raised border inscribed within the square frame. Each of the four corners between the square frame and the circular border is emblazoned with the paired polo-sticks of the *jūkândār* intaglied in the grey stone veneer as if to receive a paste filling.<sup>40</sup>

The hood consists of three tiers of curvilinear *muqarnas* culminating in two small conchs with stubby stalactite elements at their apexes. Above the uppermost tier of *muqarnas* runs a horizontal moulding identical in profile to (but at a lower level than) the cornice moulding which complements the Ḥaram façade.

The narrowness of the entrance portal suggests that the space available for it was restricted. To the north (see plan, fig.

26.4) lies part of the four-metres thick wall associated with the Tower Antonia (above, p. 204), which would have formed an effective boundary. But what the wall forming the southern boundary belonged to is not at all clear. The room beyond it is part of the Is'ardiyya, which must have been built after the Ālmalikiyya.

#### VESTIBULE

The entrance door opens into a dark vestibule connecting with both the assembly hall and, by way of an intermediate chamber with a window opening into the tomb chamber, a tunnel-vaulted cell at the south-west corner of the courtyard.

#### ASSEMBLY HALL (fig. 26.4)

The assembly hall overlooks the Ḥaram through three windows constructed in *ablaq* masonry whose coursing matches that of the exterior façade (plate 26.9). The soffits of the two lateral window embrasures are of stucco carved with an arrangement of stalactites around two eight-pointed stars enclosing rosettes; both are identical except that the rosettes in the western soffit are composed of sixteen radial petals, while those in the eastern one (plate 26.6) have sixteen whorled



Plate 26.3 Entrance doorway

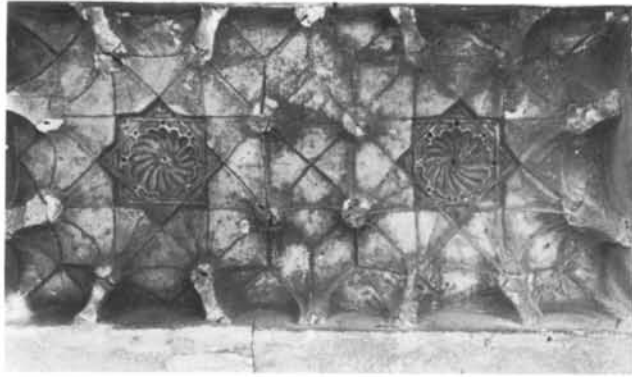


Plate 26.6 Soffit of eastern window of assembly hall

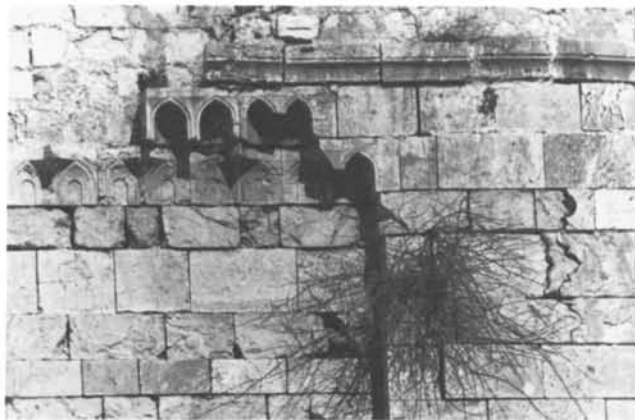


Plate 26.4 Detail of upper right-hand corner showing remains of *muqarnas* corbelling

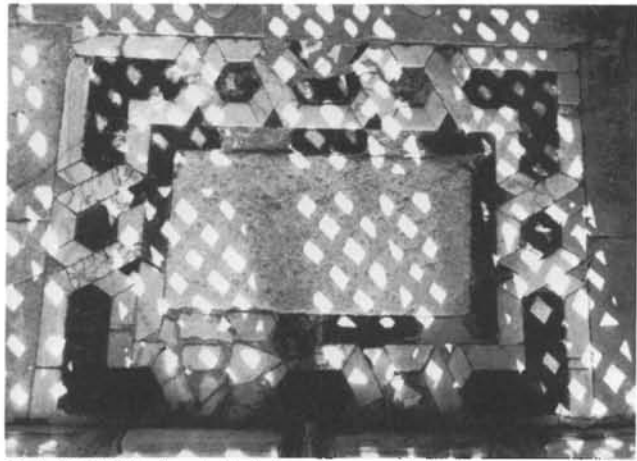


Plate 26.7 Sill of central window of assembly hall



Plate 26.5 Entrance doorway

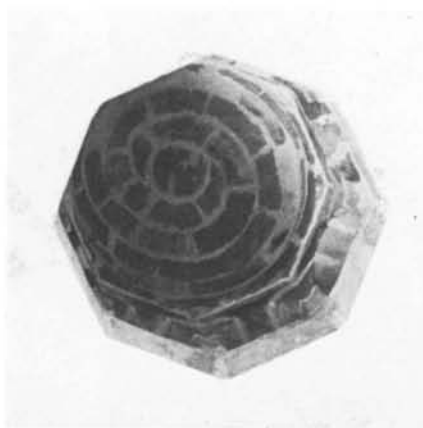
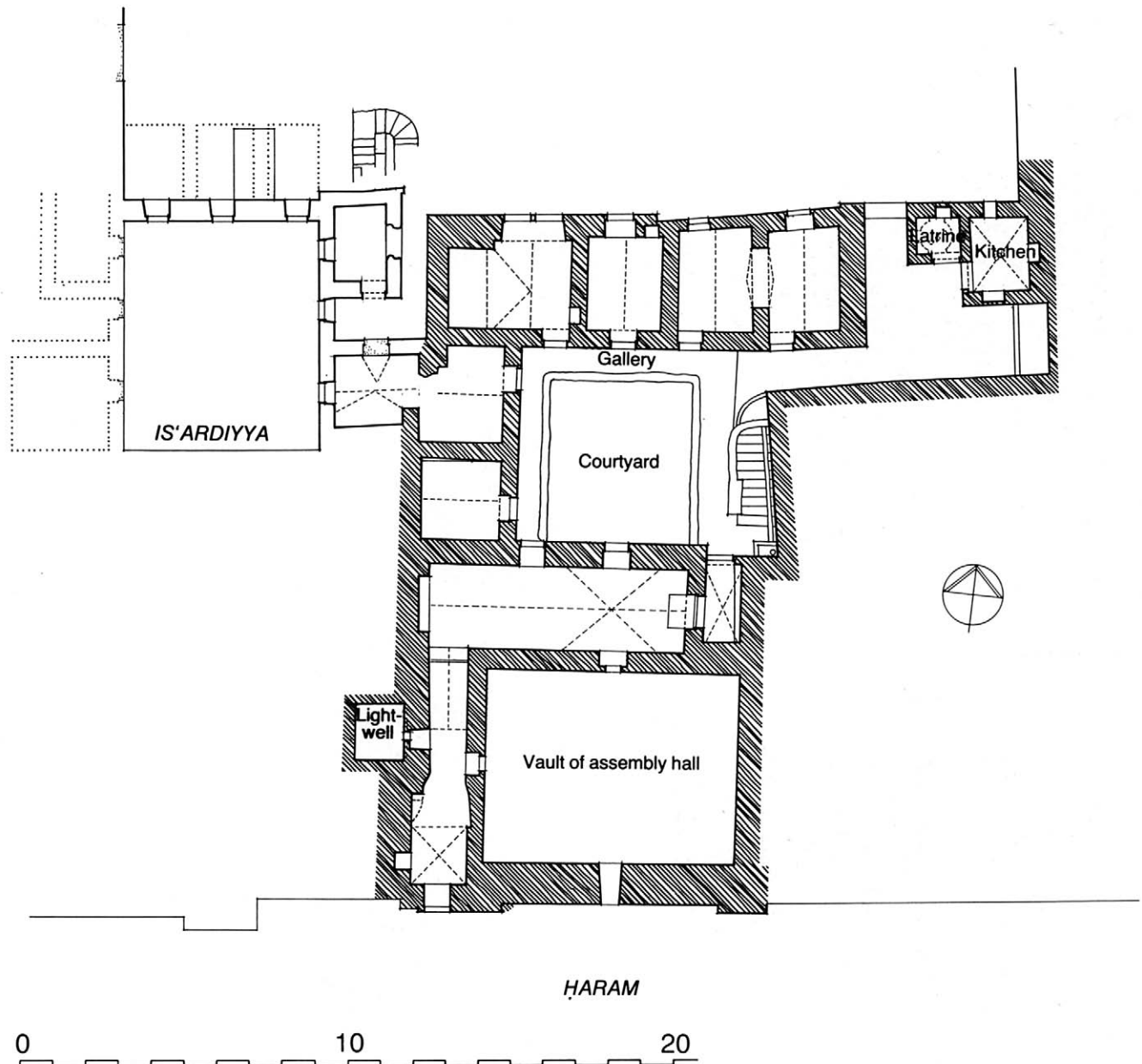


Plate 26.8 Lantern dome



Plate 26.9 South-east corner of assembly hall



**Fig. 26.5 Upper floor plan**

petals. The soffit of the central window is undecorated, but the sill is inlaid with polychrome marble strapwork (*plate 26.7*), absent in the lateral windows.

The oculus above the central window is ringed by a decorative inlay of six intersecting circles of black stone cut off by the central opening to form six interlaced lobes (*fig. 26.7*).<sup>41</sup> The mason responsible for this decoration may have copied it from analogous eight-lobed designs on two earlier monuments in Damascus, the *Zahiriyya Madrasa* (676/1277)<sup>42</sup> and the *Takritiyya Turba* (c.698/1299).<sup>43</sup> Extra light was admitted to the hall by a domed octagonal lantern at the crown of the high folded cross vault. The eight pointed-arched windows of the lantern have been blocked and the roof repaved with the result that all but the tops of the arches are concealed (*fig. 26.8* shows the lantern as it must have looked before the repaving of the roof). The dome appears to be constructed of *ablaq* masonry unusually arranged in spiralling courses, visible on the interior (*fig. 26.7, plate 26.8*). The exterior is cement-rendered.

Transverse arches springing from *muqarnas* impostes span the east and west ends of the hall. With the exception of the *ablaq*-decorated south wall, the walls and vaulting of the hall are plastered.

In the south-west corner a narrow door opens into a small vaulted room with a window overlooking the Haram. A recess in the west wall of this room may originally have been a window which was subsequently blocked by the adjoining *Is'ardiyya*. At the north wall of the hall the marble jambs and lintel of a blocked window protrude through the plaster; this window originally opened into the tomb chamber (see below). In the centre of the north wall, a door with exposed *ablaq* jambs leads into a short passageway connecting the hall with the courtyard.

#### COURTYARD

The layout of the cells around the courtyard is shown on the plan (*fig. 26.4*). There are doors opening off the courtyard at both ends of each of the four enclosing walls (*plate 26.10*), and in addition there is one (see *plate 26.11*) in the centre of the southern wall (connecting with the assembly hall) and one in the centre of the north wall (opening into a small cell). To enhance the symmetrical disposition, blind doors (*plate 26.12*) imitating the others have been added at the centre of the west and east walls. The horseshoe arches of the doorways have *ablaq* voussoirs of alternately red and cream-coloured stone

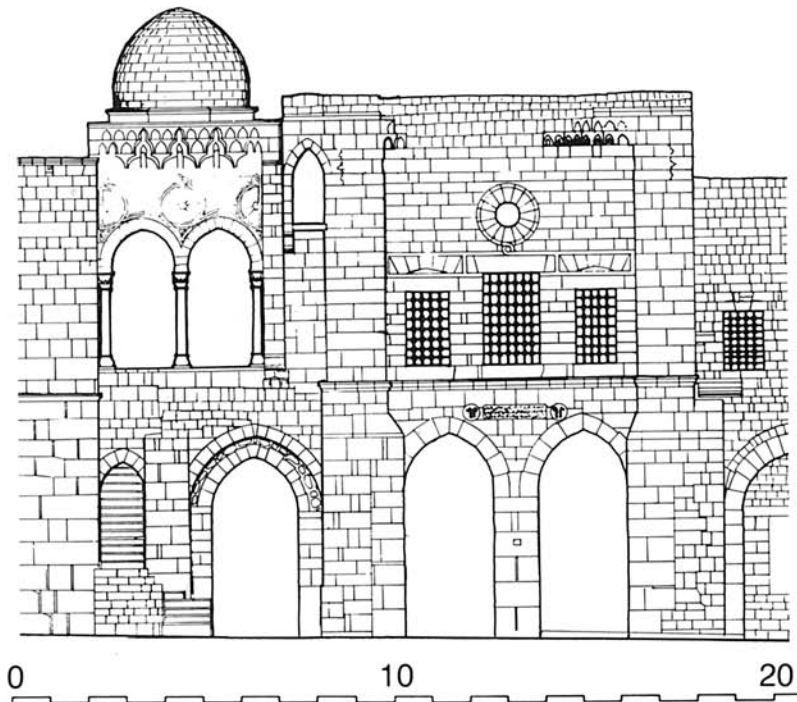


Fig. 26.6 Haram façade

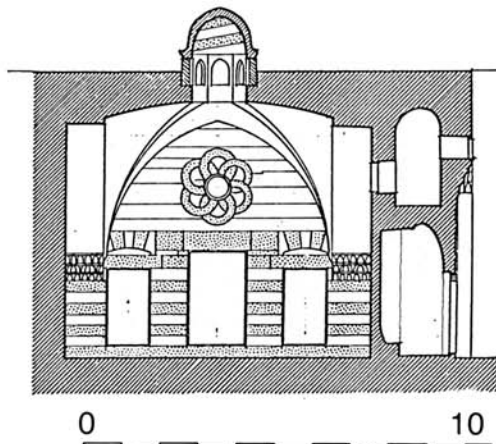


Fig. 26.7 East-west section through assembly hall looking south

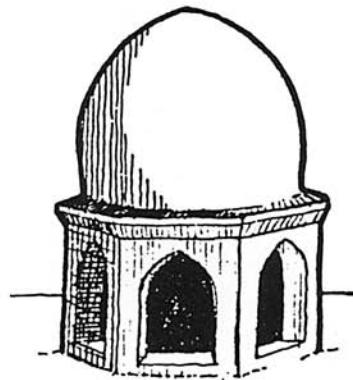


Fig. 26.8

set back slightly within a chamfered frame cut in the surrounding masonry. Slit windows with chamfered jambs and delicately cusped heads are placed directly above the doors.

The tunnel-vaulted tomb chamber at the south-west corner contains a marble-clad cenotaph set on a low plinth. Three corners of the cenotaph are fitted with stumpy marble pillars which have typical Mamlūk pointed bulbous finials; the fourth pillar has disappeared. The tomb chamber originally had openings on all four sides. The windows in the south and west walls of the tomb chamber have been referred to above; the door from the courtyard, which is original, is in the north wall. Only the east wall is blank, but it is a later infilling.

The cell at the south-east corner has a small window in its eastern wall admitting light from the light-well at the head of the entrance staircase of the contiguous Fārisiyya.

A course of foundations (marked by a thin line on the plan, fig. 26.4) in the cell at the southern end of the west wall may be a trace of the Antonia (above, p. 43) of which more substantial remains have been isolated in the Is'ardiyya and the Jāwiliyya Madrasa (no. 14).

A long, dark corridor extends eastwards from the north-east corner of the courtyard and then turns north up to what is

now a raised garden outside the northern limits of the madrasa. Two northern chambers are entered off this corridor. A low opening in the wall separating these two vaulted chambers houses a well-head opening into a cistern. The western chamber has in its north wall a blocked doorway which, according to the present occupant of the building, once led to a series of vaulted rooms under the garden. These rooms may belong to the ribāt mentioned above (p. 310) which was situated to the north of the madrasa. A doorway (marked 'X' on the plan) just to the right of the door from the corridor into the garden (plate 26.13) also may be associated with that ribāt. Its cloister vault is partly rebuilt. The area beyond the door was not accessible to us.

The walls of the corridor are unplastered but show no trace of a door to the south, where our survey has revealed a large square-shaped structure with no apparent entrance. Its irregular orientation governs the alignment of the eastern boundary of that part of the madrasa which abuts on it, and therefore it must have existed before the construction of the madrasa. Yet the masonry of the south wall of the corridor is small and continuous, not unlike that of the north wall. It may mark the site of some fortification connected with the Tower



Plate 26.10 North-east corner of courtyard

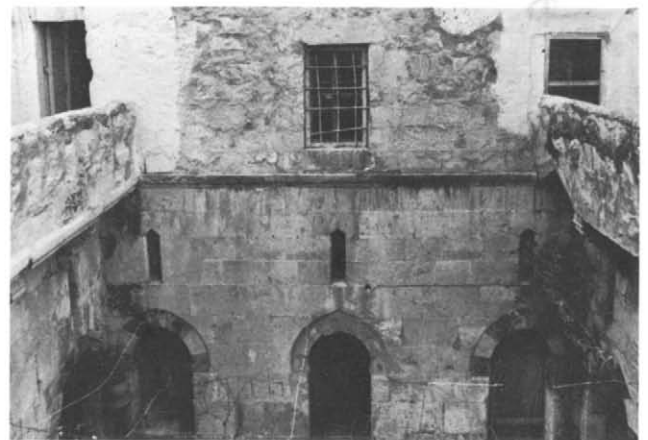


Plate 26.11 South side of courtyard



Plate 26.12 Courtyard



Plate 26.13 Door (on right) from corridor to garden

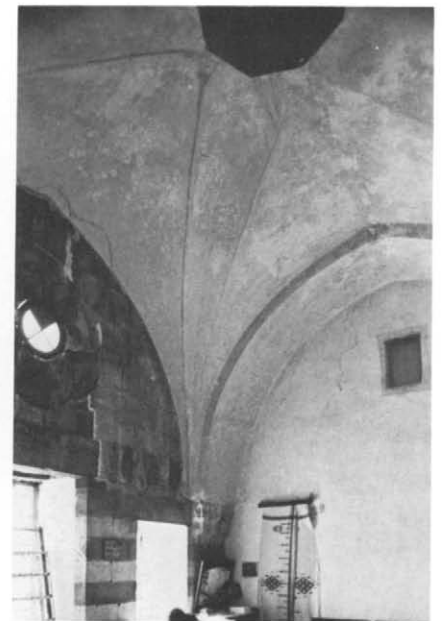


Plate 26.14 South-west corner of assembly hall

Antonia but in the absence of further evidence its function and history remain a mystery.

#### UPPER FLOOR (fig. 26.5)

A staircase to the upper level rooms of the madrasa is reached from the courtyard by the same doorway that gives access to the corridor. This staircase rises southward along the west side of the mysterious structure described above. At upper floor level a gallery projects over the west, north and east walls of the courtyard, supported on handsome carved stone consoles of two types arranged alternately (plate 26.10).

The rooms at this level are laid out in much the same way as those on the lower level. The assembly hall rises the full height of both storeys. The most noticeable difference is a long vaulted chamber which runs parallel with the north wall of the assembly hall, and a narrow southward extension of it parallel with the west wall of the assembly hall. That long chamber and its southern extension have small windows pierced in,

respectively, their south and east walls looking into the assembly hall at roughly the same high level as the oculus in the south wall of that hall (see plate 26.14). In addition, the long chamber has two windows facing north, while the southern extension has a small window in its west wall, opening on the light-well over the entrance portal, and a pointed-arched window at its southern end (plate 26.15) overlooking the Haram (see above, p. 311).

On the north and west sides of the courtyard there are at this level six cells, four entered from the northern gallery and two from the western gallery. In the north-west cell, entered from the western gallery, the rear wall has been breached to establish a connection with the adjoining cell to the west, which is part of the Is'ardiyya (plate 26.16).

Isolated at the north-east corner of the complex are two domed rooms (plate 26.17) which house a kitchen and a latrine.





Plate 26.15 Upper floor: southern chamber alongside assembly hall



Plate 26.16 Upper floor: cell of Is'ardiyya through breach in west wall of Āmalikiyya cell



Plate 26.17 Upper floor: domed chambers at north-east corner of site

## Notes

- 1 The transcription of Mamlūk names from the 'original' Turkish into Arabic tended to produce a variety of divergent forms (J.M. Rogers, 'The name Qawṣūn' in Layla 'Alī Ibrāhīm, 'The great Ḥanqāh of the Emir Qawṣūn in Cairo', *MDIK*, xxx, 1974, 57-60). Ālmalik is such a case. Van Berchem first transliterated it as 'Āl-malik' (*CIA (Le Caire)*, 170-71) and later as 'Yl-malak' (*CIA (Ville)*, 267). Subsequently L.A. Mayer argued in favour of 'Almalik' (*Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford, 1933, 60). In Ahmad Zakī's edition of al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 'Ālmalik', the spelling we have adopted here, is used, while Mujīr al-Dīn calls him simply 'Malik' and refers to his madrasa in Jerusalem as 'al-Malikiyya', doubtless reflecting the popular nomenclature of his day.
- 2 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 159.
- 3 Mujīr, ii, 38.
- 4 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 82.
- 5 For biographical information, see *Wāfi*, ix, 312-3; *Nuj.*, v, 47. For details of his early career, see *Sulūk*, ii, 723, and a shorter version *Khitāt*, ii, 310.
- 6 Ibn Baṭṭūta, *Ribla*, 50-51. The traveller gave an indication of the spelling of Ālmalik's name, which is discussed by van Berchem (see notes 1 and 4 above) and Gibb, *Travels*, i, 31 and note 79.
- 7 al-Shujā'i, i, 50.
- 8 The arms are also found on a glass lamp of Ālmalik in the Islamic Museum in Cairo.
- 9 *Sulūk*, ii, 605; al-Shujā'i, i, 233.
- 10 *Sulūk*, ii, 640; al-Shujā'i, i, 254.
- 11 *Sulūk*, ii, 641-3, 667.
- 12 *Sulūk*, ii, 667-8, 680-1.
- 13 *Nuj.*, v, 2-3.
- 14 *Sulūk*, ii, 699.
- 15 *Sulūk*, ii, 700-2.
- 16 *Durar*, i, 439-40; *Khitāt*, ii, 310. In *Sulūk*, ii, 723 the date is Friday, 29 Jumādā II 747/17 October 1346, but = Tuesday. In *Nuj.*, v, 48, however, the date is Friday, 19 Jumādā II 748/26 September 1347, but = Tuesday. Should one change the date of the month in the *Sulūk*, but not the year, which would give 7 October 1346? This was a Saturday, but an adjustment for one day is perfectly satisfactory. As a matter of fact, the date 19 Jumādā II 747 is given from an anonymous source in *Wāfi*, *loc. cit.*, but then Ṣafadī quoted Rabi' I or II 747 as well.
- 17 *Sulūk*, iii, 63.
- 18 *Sulūk*, iii, 219, 224.
- 19 *Sulūk*, iii, 754-5.
- 20 *Khitāt*, ii, 392.
- 21 *Khitāt*, ii, 310 (see also *Nuj.*, v, 48, *Sulūk*, ii, 723, al-Shujā'i, i, 116).
- 22 al-Zarkashī, *I'ām al-sājid*, fol. 30a.
- 23 The text has been corrected (Mujīr, ii, 38) on the basis of the Bodleian Mss., Pococke 362, fol. 132a, and Marsh 677, fol. 125b.
- 24 Defter 602, 453.
- 25 Ipsirli, 35.
- 26 *HGP*, 118: Dayr Ibzī', in the district of Jerusalem.
- 27 We are grateful to Dr Khidr Salameh, the Librarian, for permission to consult this uncatalogued document.
- 28 Defter no. 602, *loc. cit.*, lists all these and gives the value of the village as 3,000 aspers. In Defter no. 342, quoted by Ipsirli, *loc. cit.*, Dayr Bazā' (*sic*) is worth 3,100 aspers. Defter no. 522 (Ipsirli, 35) lists only the Gaza property. If the father of Aymalak can be identified with the Qutluqtimur who is mentioned in the years 710-

- 32/1310-31 and held the post of governor of Gaza (*Sulūk*, ii, 89, 101, 352), could that explain why property in Gaza was given in the endowment?
- 29 Haram no. 130. The other two are nos. 89 (794/1392) and 845 (795/1393).
- 30 Sijill 4, no. 3568.
- 31 Sijill 90, 191 (1).
- 32 Sijill 160, 393 (1).
- 33 *MAE*, ii, 271.
- 34 Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 231-2.
- 35 Ibn Baṭṭūta, *Ribla*, i, 125.
- 36 Mujīr, ii, 46; add *bi'l-Qubba* from Mujīr, 397.
- 37 Mujīr, ii, 244. The reading of Ms. Pococke 362, fol. 193a is to be preferred: *mudarris al-Mālikīyya*, leaving out the *al-Madrasa*. It is not known whether the Afdaliyya was ever called *al-madrasa al-Mālikīyya*.
- 38 *Nuj.*, v, 144; *Durar*, iii, 244-5.
- 39 The stalactite canopy was photographed by van Berchem in 1893 (*CIA (Planches)*, lxxv) before most of it was 'destroyed by the roots of shrubs allowed to grow here' sometime before 1914 (*CIA (Ville)*, 265).
- 40 Illustrated in L.A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford, 1933, pl. xlv, 2.
- 41 This type of decoration composed of interlaced lobes around a circle was relatively more common in the minor arts, notably metalwork, where the smaller scale would allow the compass-drawn pattern to be drafted easily (e.g. the celebrated mid-seventh/thirteenth-century brass wallet from Northern Mesopotamia in the Courtauld Galleries: see B.W. Robinson 'Oriental Metalwork in the Gambier-Parry Collection', *The Burlington Magazine*, March, 1967, 169-73, pls. 81-83).

In an architectural context there are, apart from the two earlier Damascus examples, analogous but later examples at the Mosque of Sultan Ḥasan (757-64/1356-62) in Cairo and at the Ulu Cami (787/1385-86) in Manisa in South-west Anatolia (M. Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)*, p. 156 of typescript).

A similar motif was popular for decorating the haunches of arches, especially in Syria and Anatolia. An incomplete series of examples is illustrated by E. Herzfeld, *CIA (Alep)*, pl. cix, and *idem*, 'Damascus: Studies in Architecture - II', *AI*, x, 1943, fig. 83, to which should be added the unpublished early example (carved, not inlaid) over the double window of the North Minaret (before 580/1184; see *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, 177) of the Great Mosque in Damascus. In Palestine there are several examples on *mibrābs*, most if not all of which were probably the work of craftsmen from Damascus: in Jerusalem at the Qubbat al-Silsila (*mibrāb* dated 659-71/1261-73) and the Tankiziyya Madrasa (729/1329); in Hebron at the Masjid of Sanjar al-Jawilī (720/1320) and the Haram (*mibrāb* dated 732/1331-32); and in Gaza at the Jāmi' of Ibn 'Uthmān (*mibrāb* dated 834/1430-31). In Cairo there are also several examples: e.g. at the so-called Mausoleum of Mustafā Pasha (c. 666-72/1267-73; see *MAE*, ii, pl. 55a); the Aqbughāwiyya Madrasa (740/1339; see The Ministry of Waqf, *The Mosques of Egypt*, Cairo, 1949, pl. 59); and an anonymous tomb tentatively ascribed to the Amīr Bashtāk (c. 740/1339-40; see M. Meinecke, 'Zur mamlukischen Heraldik', *MDIK*, xxvii, 247; 48, pl. lviii a).

42 K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, *Damaskus: die islamische Stadt*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1924, 5, 43; J. Sauvaget, *Les Monuments Historiques de Damas*, Beirut, 1932, 67-68.

43 E. Herzfeld, 'Damascus: Studies in Architecture - III', *AI*, xi-xii, 1946, 61; J. Sauvaget, 'Notes sur quelques monuments musulmans de Syrie', *Syria*, xxv, 1946-48, 226.

# 27 'SUMMER PULPIT'

## منبر السيف

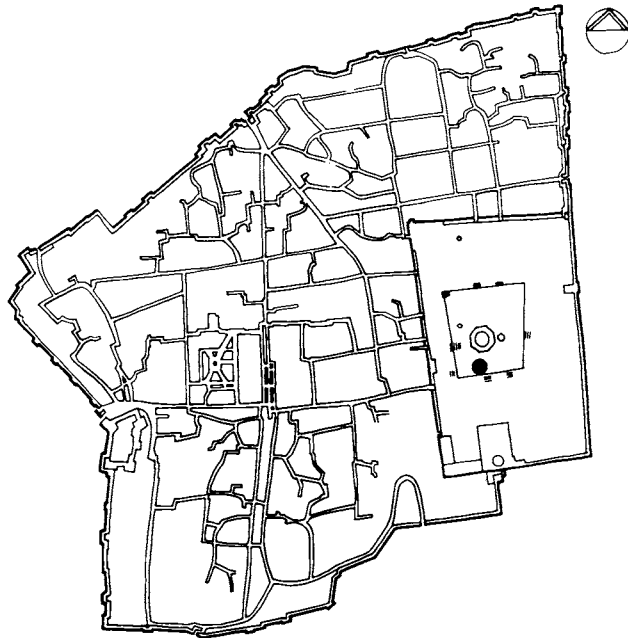


Fig. 27.1 Location plan

Restored mid-eighth/fourteenth century  
Open-air pulpit on the Dome of the Rock terrace  
*Modern name:* Minbar Burhān al-Dīn

### I LOCATION (fig. 27.1)

Beside the west abutment of the colonnade at the middle of the south side of the Dome of the Rock terrace.

### II SITE AND BUILDING (plate 27.2)

Against the north face of the west abutment of the southern colonnade stands a flat *mihṛāb* constructed of a pointed arch supported on two re-used columns and decorated with marble panelling (plate 27.1). Immediately to the west of this *mihṛāb* is the Summer Pulpit.

The pulpit is a two-tiered structure composed of a little hexagonal domed pavilion superimposed on a sculptured quadrilateral base opening in round horseshoe arches on all four sides. The arch in the south side of the base is blocked by a later buttress wall. A staircase on the north side rises to the pavilion.

### III HISTORY

Al-'Umarī, writing c.745/1345, describes the *mihṛāb* and the

two-tiered dome beside it, which he says was called Qubbat al-Mīzān (the Dome of the Balance).<sup>1</sup> No mention is made of a staircase, and there is no suggestion that the structure was used as a pulpit at that time.

By Mujīr al-Dīn's day (901/1496) it was a pulpit, which he was told had been restored by the Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn b. Jamā'a (born 725/1325, died 790/1388)<sup>2</sup> and which had formerly been made of wood and borne on wheels<sup>3</sup> (see below). From it prayers on the Muslim feasts were said and rogations made for rain: a practice that continued at least until the end of the seventeenth century, as attested by al-Nābulūsī.<sup>4</sup>

A further restoration, commemorated in an inscription on a stela placed above the entrance to the staircase, was made in 1259/1843 during the reign of the Ottoman Sultan 'Abd al-Majīd.



Plate 27.1 *Mihṛāb*



Plate 27.2 General view from the north-east



Plate 27.3 Domed pavilion and horseshoe arches from the east

## IV ARCHITECTURE

The structural conjunctions between the colonnade and the pulpit and between the pulpit and the *mihṛāb* show that the construction of the colonnade preceded that of the pulpit and that both precede the *mihṛāb*. Since al-'Umarī accurately describes both the *mihṛāb* and the two-tiered dome but not the staircase, we can assume that the staircase was added some time after 745/1345.

The two-tiered dome (plates 27.2 and 27.3) is composed almost entirely of Crusader sculpture of the highest quality, apparently taken from some Latin ciborium or baldacchino. It has often been described,<sup>5</sup> most recently and exhaustively by Buschhausen.<sup>6</sup> The date of re-assembly of this Crusader sculpture into its present form is not known except that it must have been some time before 745/1345 when al-'Umarī described it; most likely it was towards the end of the sixth/twelfth century at the time of the Ayyūbid purging and reconsecration of the Ḥaram (see above, p. 48).<sup>7</sup> The only obviously non-Crusader element is the marble ceiling of the quadrilateral base, which is decorated with a low-relief strapwork frieze in typical Ayyūbid or Mamlūk style.

It seems probable that the wooden structure on wheels that Mujir al-Dīn was told of (see above) was actually a flight of steps that could be wheeled up to the two-tiered dome when it was to be used as a pulpit.<sup>8</sup> The replacement of this *ad hoc* contrivance by a stone staircase was presumably the object of Burhān al-Dīn's 'restoration' in the eighth/fourteenth century. An early nineteenth-century engraving illustrates the pulpit as it was before the restoration of 1259/1843. This engraving (fig. 27.2) shows that much of the present staircase, including the marble balustrade carved in low-relief with panels of strapwork, existed before the 1259/1843 restoration. What that later restoration appears to have involved was the blocking of a tall rectangular opening flanked by columns under both sides of the upper part of the staircase and the fitting in their place of vertical panels of marble decorated with Ottoman-style roundels including two with crescent-and-star motifs (see plate

27.2). Also part of that restoration was the replacement of the original entrance to the staircase by the present entrance surmounted by the inscription stela.

In short, then, little but the steps and balustrade of this charming structure, now usually referred to as the Minbar of Burhān al-Dīn, appears to belong to the restoration made by that *qādī* in the eighth/fourteenth century.

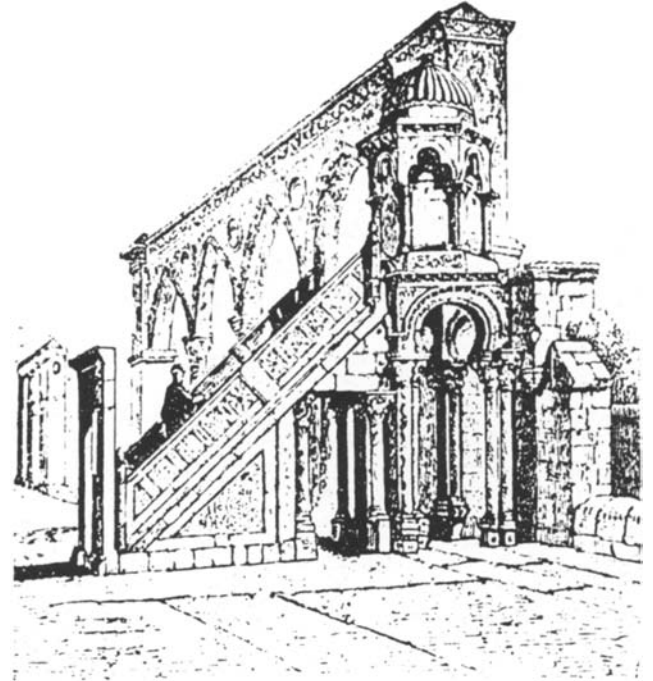


Fig. 27.2 General view from the west in the early nineteenth century (after J.N. Sepp, *Jerusalem und das Heilige Land*, I, Schaffhausen, 1873, 381)

## Notes

- 1 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 145.
- 2 Mujir, 373.
- 3 Mujir, 453.
- 4 *CIA (Ḥaram)*, 212 n. 4.
- 5 See, for example, *CIA (Ḥaram)*, 211-16; J. Strzygowski, 'Ruins of Tombs of the Latin Kings on the Ḥaram in Jerusalem', *Speculum*, xi, 1936, 501-2; and T.S.R. Boase, 'Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria' and J. Folda, 'Painting and Sculpture in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099-1291', *A History of the Crusades*, iv, ed. by H.W. Hazard, general ed. K.M. Setton, Madison, Wisconsin, 1977, 89, 271.
- 6 H. Buschhausen, *Die süditalienische Bauplastik im Königreich Jerusalem*, Vienna, 1978, 225-32, figs. 243-92.

7 The style of the Crusader sculpture in the pulpit is similar to that re-used on the *qibla* wall of the Aqṣā Mosque, redecorated in 583/1187-88 by Saladin. The internal faces of the voussiors of the horseshoe arches in the quadrilateral base of the pulpit have curious annular grooves which closely resemble analogous grooves in the voussiors of the main *mihṛāb* of the Aqṣā Mosque, also dated 583/1187-88.

8 A wooden *minbar* on wheels is reported to have been used in the Great Mosque of Cordova in the tenth century (F.H. Jiménez, 'El almimbar móvil del siglo X de la mezquita de Cordoba', *Al-Andalus*, xxiv, 1959, 381-99) and a similar *minbar* was made by a craftsman from Ahlat in eastern Anatolia in 550/1155 for the Great Mosque in Algiers (E. Kühnel, *Die islamische Kunst*, Leipzig, 1929, 432).

# 28 TURBA OF TURKĀN KHĀTŪN

## تربة ترکان خاتون

753/1352-53  
Tomb of Turkān Khātūn  
Modern name: unknown

### I LOCATION (fig. 28.1)

On the north side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila to the west of the Sa'diyya (no. 13).

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 28.2)

The site is bounded to the south by the street, Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila, to the east by rooms that may once have formed part of the Sa'diyya but which have obviously been rebuilt, and to the west by a shop, beyond which is a narrow lane leading to various structures (not shown on the plan, fig. 28.2) including some that form the north boundary.

The tomb consists of a domed chamber with wall arches on three sides and a deeper recess on the fourth, north side. A later opening in the rear wall of this recess leads to a small cross-vaulted room, roughly built, that may predate the domed chamber, which abuts against it. In the middle of that room stands a stone cenotaph.

The masonry of the lower part of the east and west walls of the domed chamber is different from the rest, which suggests that it was built on the remains of an earlier construction of which no other obvious traces survive.

The original entrance was from the west but it is now blocked and one of two windows in the main street façade serves as the present entrance.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION AND DATE

This building allows us to experience how lost we would be generally without our trusty guide, Mujīr al-Dīn. He somewhat surprisingly fails to mention it at all, even though there is a brief inscription,<sup>1</sup> which gives us the following information:

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate . . . 'Every soul tastes death.'<sup>2</sup> This tomb was built for the deceased (lit. the martyr) Turkān Khātūn, daughter of the Amīr Tuqtay b. Saljutay al-Uzbekī, in the year seven hundred and fifty-three [1352-3].<sup>3</sup>

#### FOUNDER

The heading for this section is strictly inaccurate, because we are clearly not faced with the case of a mausoleum built in advance by its future and intended occupant. Even if death had intervened before completion, one might have expected an inscription something like that of the Amīr Arghūn's foundation (see p. 356). The Lady Turkān was very likely from the eastern parts of the Islamic world. The names of her father and grandfather are those borne by members of the family of the Khāns of the Golden Horde, but it would be hazardous to suggest a positive identification. Van Berchem has created an

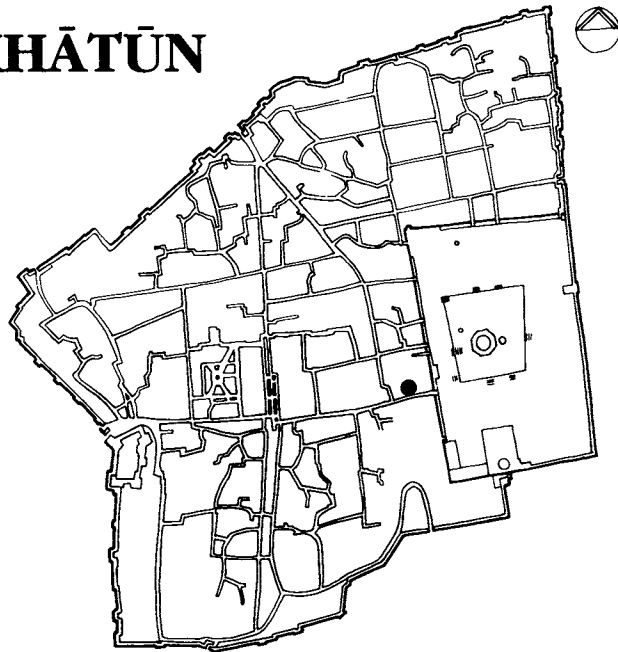


Fig. 28.1 Location plan

elaborate hypothesis which portrays the lady coming to Jerusalem on her pilgrimage to Mecca, dying during her stay and being laid to rest in a tomb especially made for her, or, more possibly, adapted from an existing structure by her relatives or retinue.<sup>4</sup> As a story, all that one can say is that it is as good as any other.

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

As van Berchem has already argued, if Turkān Khātūn was a transient foreigner, coming from beyond the Mamlūk frontiers, that would explain why nothing was remembered of her and perhaps why Mujīr al-Dīn passed over the building in silence. This silence is maintained by the Ḥaram documents and by the Ottoman sijills, as far as can be ascertained.

In van Berchem's day (1914) it housed the stall of a lemonade seller (*CIA (Ville)*, 273). On 27 May 1926, L.A. Mayer reported that the building was used as a dwelling house, neglected and smoky inside (Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum, File 'Jerusalem').

### IV ARCHITECTURE

#### STREET FAÇADE (fig. 28.3)

The street façade contains two windows set in shallow recesses, 0.12m deep, separated by a central stone pier bearing the dedicatory inscription (translated above). The heads of the recesses are spanned by cyma recta mouldings with downturns at the outer ends.<sup>5</sup>

The whole façade is framed by a quirked ogee moulding with a distinctive frieze<sup>6</sup> of fretted lobes protruding inwards from it in such a way that the lobes carved in relief are matched in mirror image by the excised lobes between them to form a continuously repeating pattern (see *plate* 28.1). In the lateral, vertical runs these lobes follow a 'module' provided by the stone coursing, the larger (mostly lower) courses bearing three lobes in relief and the smaller ones two. Since the lobes are regular in size and the stones on which they are carved do not consistently course through with the stonework of the rest of the façade it would appear that these stones were carved off the site in some mason's yard. The same sort of 'modular' carving occurs also at the top and bottom horizontal runs of the moulding. Some coordination between the moulding carvers and the builders must have existed, however, for the bottom run is articulated around the bases of the window recesses.

The window jambs are of red and cream-coloured *ablaq*;



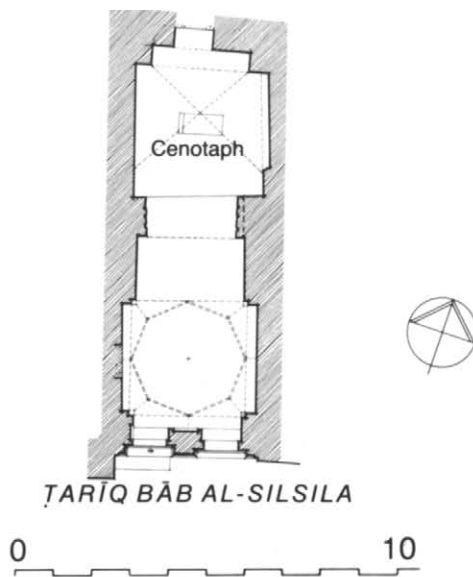


Fig. 28.2 Ground floor plan

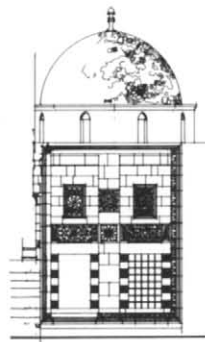


Fig. 28.3 Façade

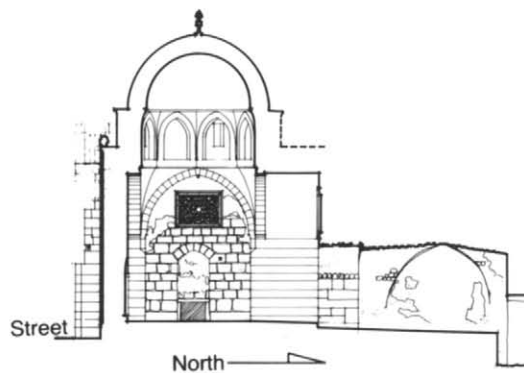


Fig. 28.4 South-north section looking west

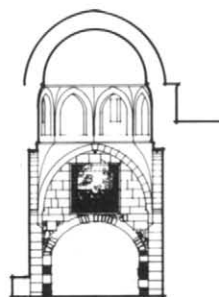


Fig. 28.5 West-east section looking north

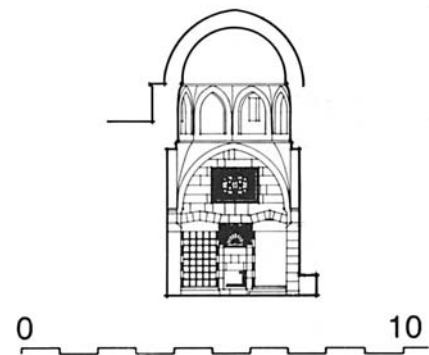


Fig. 28.6 East-west section looking south

elsewhere the construction is entirely of plain limestone. Above each window lintel is a larger stone, slightly undercut along the base as if to relieve the load on the lintel, and elaborately carved with various star and palmette patterns. Above each of these ornamental relieving lintels is a panel of analogous carving, recessed about 0.03m from the surface of the recess. On the pier between the two recesses are two more panels of low-relief carving. The lower one is of strapwork around a central rosette and the upper one is the dedicatory inscription.

A single course of stones forms a later parapet on top of the façade. This parapet obscures most of the dome from view though the apex can still be seen from the street. The dome sits on an octagonal drum, each side of which is pierced by a pointed-arched slit housing a rectangular window (*plate 28.2*). Alternate windows were blind, only four being open originally. A later structure encroaches on the drum and dome from the north (*plate 28.3*) and now only two windows remain open. A cavetto moulding marks the exterior transition from the drum to the dome. The dome is somewhat shallow in profile, built of rubble masonry rendered with a sort of water-resistant plaster of which traces survive. A carved stone finial completes the design (*plate 28.2*).

*INTERIOR* (plan, *fig. 28.2*; sections, *figs. 28.4–28.6*)

The original entrance from the west is blocked and the left-hand window in the façade has been converted to serve as a doorway. It opens directly into the domed chamber. The floor is paved with rough stone flags, presumably replacing an earlier pavement.

From moulded impost wall arches span the south, west and east sides, and a deep recess opens in the north side (*plate 28.4*). That recess now has an opening in its rear wall into a cross-vaulted room. The irregular masonry of the jambs and segmental arch of this opening show it to be a later insertion. The room to which it gives access appears to be an earlier structure. It has a blocked opening, evidently the door that originally gave access to it from the north. In the middle of the floor is a stone cenotaph; there is none in the domed chamber. It seems reasonable to surmise that this cenotaph (*plate 28.5*) originally marked a grave in the usual place directly under the dome, though no sign of such a grave exists now, and that it was removed to the adjoining room when the building was taken over for domestic use.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps it was at the same time that the original entrance door in the west wall of that chamber was blocked up (see *plate 28.6*).

Like the façade, the interior is decorated with panels of low-relief carving, one in the tympanum of each wall arch and one at the back of the north recess (*figs. 28.4–28.6*). On the south side there is in addition an interesting *mihrab* (*plate 28.7*) on the internal face of the pier between the two windows. It is badly eroded now but enough survives to establish its original form: a flat recess 0.07m deep surmounted by a pointed arch with gadrooning in the tympanum, pseudo-voussoirs carved to represent a strange form of joggling, and foliate scrollwork in the spandrels (*plate 28.8*).



Plate 28.1 Street façade



Plate 28.4 Recess in north side of domed chamber



Plate 28.2 Dome



Plate 28.5 Cross-vaulted room to north of domed chamber



Plate 28.3 General view from the east, showing dome (in centre of picture) surrounded by later structures



Plate 28.6 West wall of domed chamber



Plate 28.7 *Mihrāb*

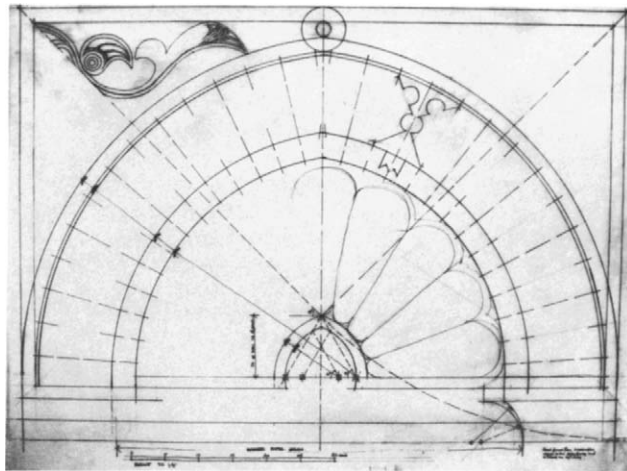


Plate 28.8 Sketch of *mihrāb* arch

The eight-sided drum rests on double-faceted pendentives which taper down to bevelled points between adjoining wall arches<sup>8</sup> (plate 28.9). Each side of the drum had a shallow pointed-arched recess, alternate ones originally



Plate 28.9 East wall of domed chamber

being pierced by unusually small slit windows (see sections, figs. 28.4–28.6). Between the recesses little double-faceted pendentives make the transition from the octagonal drum to the circular base of the dome. Both drum and dome are coated with plaster.

#### DATE OF CONSTRUCTION

Scrutiny of the structure tends to indicate that the tomb was built on the remains of some earlier building. Van Berchem (cited above, p. 321) speculated that the tomb itself was an existing structure purchased after Turkān Khātūn's death to serve as her funerary monument. There is, however, no real evidence that this was the case. The building has the typical domed cube form of a Mamlūk tomb and it seems very unlikely that there were builders in Jerusalem erecting tombs as speculative ventures in the absence of a specific commission. Nevertheless, the profusion and variety of carved ornamental panels, together with the suggestive 'modular' treatment of the fretted frame moulding, implies some sort of practical commercial transaction, as if the designs had been chosen from a monumental mason's pattern book. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that following the death of Turkān Khātūn the tomb was commissioned from a contract builder. At any rate there is nothing in the architecture to suggest that it was not built specifically as a funerary monument for Turkān Khātūn, in which case it should be dated shortly after her death in 753/1352-53.

#### Notes

- 1 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 84.
- 2 Koran iii, verse 185, or xxi, verse 35, or xxix, verse 57.
- 3 For a discussion of the reading of the names, see *CIA (Ville)*, 274, notes 2-4.
- 4 Hence the appellation 'martyr'. For a full discussion, see *CIA (Ville)*, 273-6.
- 5 The profile of this moulding is reminiscent of the one formerly over the street façade of the Dawādāriyya (above, p. 157).

- 6 A similar type of fretted frieze is found at the well-niche of the Is'ardiyya (below, p. 378).
- 7 See above, p. 321.
- 8 There are similar bevelled points at the bases of pendentives in the domed reception hall of the Manjakiyya (below, p. 391).

## 29 AL-KĪLĀNIYYA

### الكيلانية

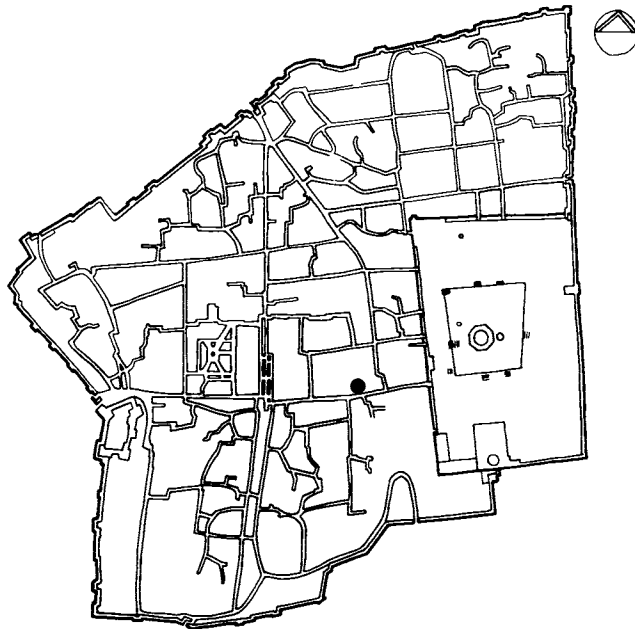


Fig. 29.1 Location plan

After 753/1352  
Tomb of Jamāl al-Dīn Pahlavān  
Modern name: Dār al-Da'nā'

#### I LOCATION (fig. 29.1)

On north side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila immediately to the west of the Ṭāziyya (no. 36).

#### II SITE AND BUILDING (fig. 29.2)

The building, bounded by pre-existing structures on three sides and the street on the fourth, comprises three main parts: (1) a pair of domed tomb chambers beside the street, separated from each other by an entrance portal and vestibule surmounted by a third, higher domed chamber; the eastern chamber houses a cenotaph marking a grave, presumably that of Jamāl al-Dīn; (2) a central open courtyard originally with a tall arched recess in each of its east and west walls; (3) an earlier barrel-vaulted hall in the north-west corner of the site and, above that, a reception hall. Other structures on the north side of the courtyard do not belong to the Kilāniyya and are not accessible from it.

The building has been generally remodelled for domestic use.

#### III HISTORY

##### IDENTIFICATION

The building is without a foundation inscription. It is located by Mujīr al-Dīn<sup>1</sup> next to the Ṭāziyya (see p. 399) on its west side. In two Ottoman documents<sup>2</sup> of the middle of the sixteenth century the Kilāniyya was given as the eastern boundary of a first-floor house in the portion of David Street known as Sūq al-Qashshāsh<sup>3</sup> (Market of the Straw-worker). The south boundary of the house is the street itself and the Ṭashtamuriyya arch over the street.

##### FOUNDER AND DATE

The information which Mujīr al-Dīn gives<sup>4</sup> is as follows:

The Kilāniyya Mausoleum is situated next to the Ṭāziyya on the west side. It is named after the Ḥājj Jamāl al-Dīn Pahlavān, son of the Amīr Shams al-Dīn Qurādshāh (*sic*) b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kilānī al-Lāhijī, known as the son of the Lord of Kīlān.<sup>5</sup> In his will he instructed his son, the Amīr Nizām al-Dīn Kehshīrwān to realise a hundred thousand dirhams from the third of his property and to hand that sum to his nephew, that is, the testator's nephew, the Amīr 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Bahā' al-Dīn Sālār b. Shīr Malik al-Kilānī, to buy a plot and build a mausoleum in Jerusalem, if it proved possible to transport his body and bury it there. The date of the will was 10 Sha'bān in the year 753 [21 September 1352]. This mausoleum was built, which contains his grave. His body was brought there, as he had willed.<sup>6</sup>

One may assume that the actual construction took place just a year or so after 753/1352.

To attempt to identify the founder, and following the clues given by Mujīr al-Dīn, one looks for a member of a princely family ruling at the appropriate time in the district of Lāhij, or Lāhijān,<sup>7</sup> in the Caspian province of Gīlān.<sup>8</sup> The historian Zāhir al-Dīn Mar'ashī mentions two brothers, Sharaf al-Dawla and Muḥammad, who ruled Lāhijān and Rānikūh respectively and both died in 766/1364-65.<sup>9</sup> Their father was called Pahlavān, and may well be the Pahlavān whose corpse was buried in the Kilāniyya. His grandfather – or father (the relationship is not clear) – was called Nūḥ Pādshāh, whom the Mongol Ūljaytū confirmed in his rule of Lāhijān in 706/1307, giving him also wider authority throughout Gīlān.<sup>10</sup> According to the Mujīr al-Dīn printed text, the father of our Pahlavān was called Qurādshāh. However, Sauvaire in his translation gave 'Toubād-Shāh', which is in fact the reading of one of the Bodleian manuscripts.<sup>11</sup> The other Oxford manuscript has the same name, practically without diacritical points<sup>12</sup> and the reading Nū-Pādshāh is a very obvious one. Mar'ashī uses the form Nū-Pāshā, but Qāshānī has Nū-Pādshāh. All in all, the identification of the Pahlavān of the Kilāniyya with the member of the fourteenth-century Nāṣirvand dynasty of Lāhijān seems very plausible. The founder of the Kilāniyya was described as *al-Ḥājj* (the pilgrim), and one of the sons mentioned above, Sharaf al-Dawla, abdicated in favour of his son, Jahān, and set out on the pilgrimage to Mecca but fell ill in Tabriz and died in Lāhijān, whither he had returned.<sup>13</sup>

##### ENDOWMENT

The only information available is the brief note in the Defter no. 602.<sup>14</sup> That gives no date for the *waqfiyya* of the mausoleum and mentions just three agricultural properties, all of which are in the district of Ramla. Two are not fully legible in the register, and only the third, which is called Ard al-'Ajamiyya, has a figure for revenue against it, namely 400 (aspers).

##### OTTOMAN PERIOD

Not a single reference to the Kilāniyya in the Ḥaram documents has been traced. Other Mamlūk sources are equally silent. Information is scanty in the Ottoman period too.

The two documents alluded to above<sup>15</sup> describe the Kilāniyya as a *turba* in one case and a madrasa in the other. In Muḥarram 985/April 1577 the overseer of the turba, 'Abd al-Rāziq b. Shams al-Dīn b. Abī 'l-Wafā' al-Hanafī, reported to the

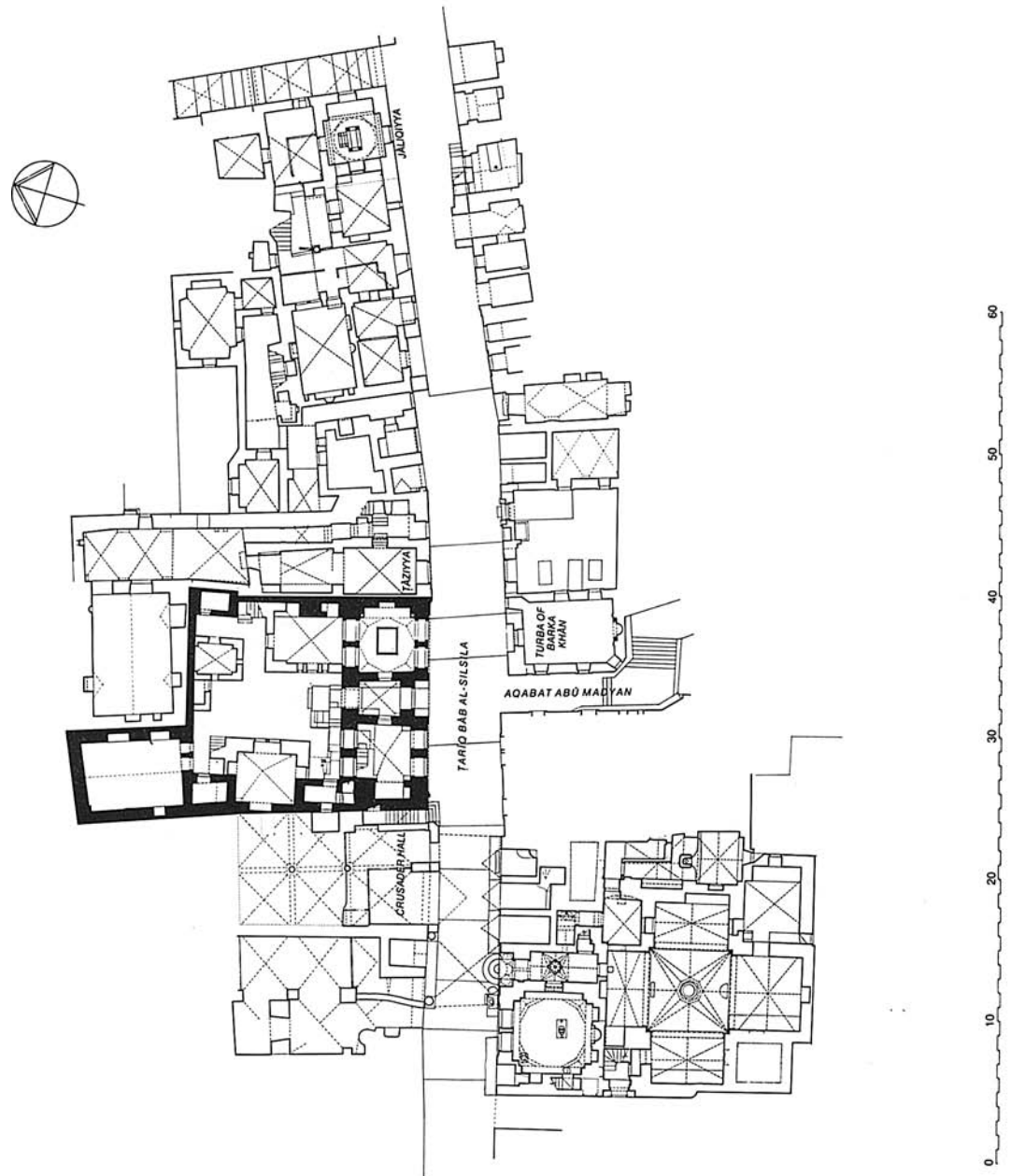


Fig. 29.2 Site plan



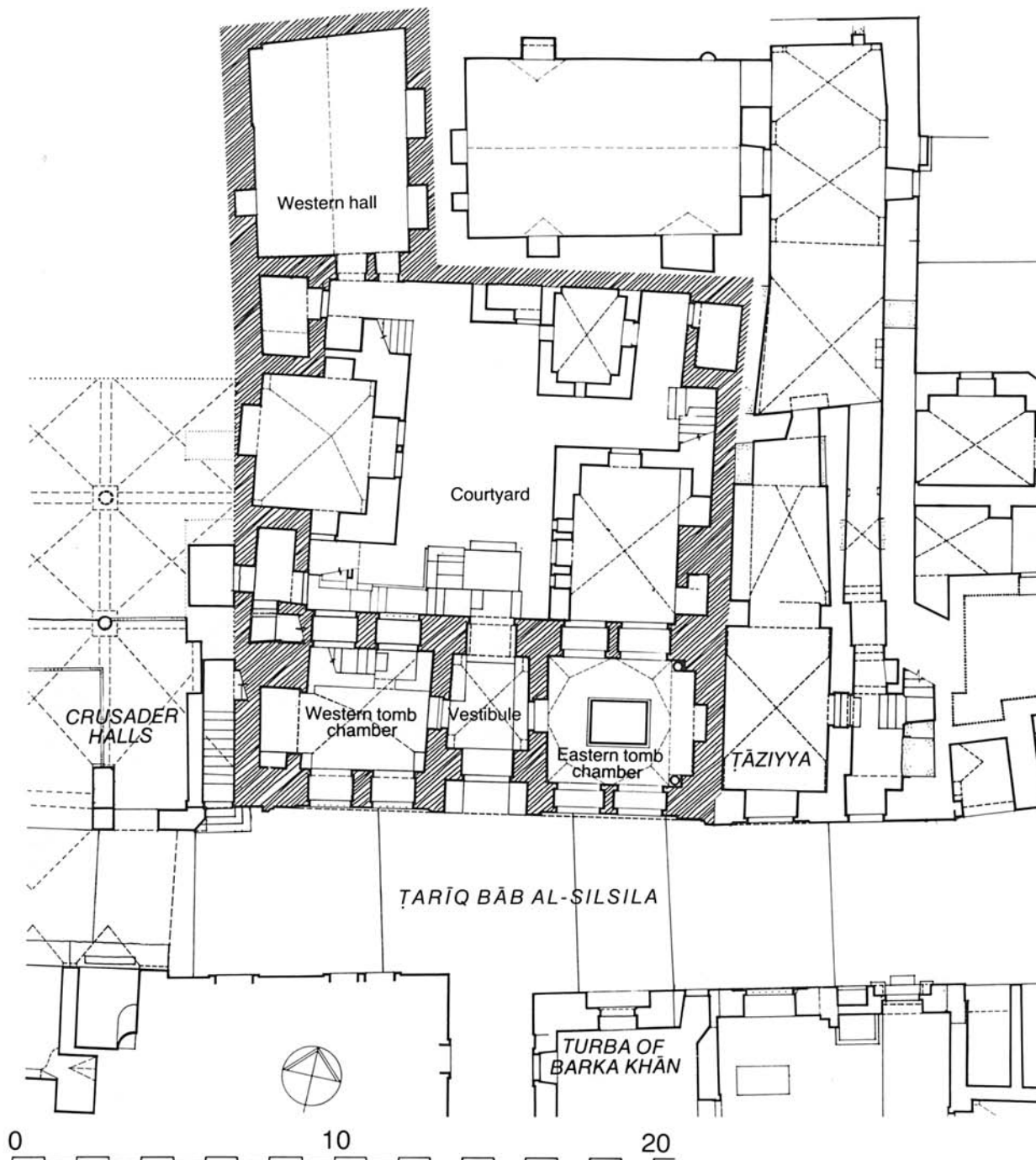


Fig. 29.3 Ground floor plan

qādī that through long neglect the building was in disrepair and that the waqf possessed no ready capital and he sought and gained permission to spend the income for 983/1575-76 on necessary repairs.<sup>16</sup>

Whether the Kilāniyya functioned as a madrasa or with a madrasa extension is difficult to say. The case of the Tāziyya Mausoleum should be borne in mind (see p. 401). At all events an appointment of a *mudarris*, Faḍl Allāh b. Ghadiya, was made in 1129/1716. A series of appointments were made in 1156/1743, none of which were specifically madrasa posts. Moreover, they were concentrated in one family. Ibrāhīm al-Dā'ūdī, deceased, had held a Koran 'readership' in the 'madrasa', the lamplighter and sweeper and rent-collector positions in the turba, and various posts, shared half and half with his brother, in the 'madrasa', i.e. deputy *nāzir*, clerk, tomb guardian (reading *turbadāriyya*?) and another Koran 'readership'. His sons took over these positions. The whole situation suggests a family sinecure.<sup>17</sup>

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### STREET FAÇADE (fig. 29.5)

The street frontage is bounded to the west by the first bay of a vaulted Crusader building, possibly a market hall<sup>18</sup> (see *plan*, fig. 29.3). To the east the frontage abuts on the Tāziyya which, though erected after the Kilāniyya, may occupy the site of an earlier building (see below, p. 399).

The façade (*plate* 29.1) is symmetrical about its central axis. It is completely framed by a cavetto moulding that rises as a rectangular pediment (*pīsh-tāq*) over the entrance portal. On either side of the entrance, each tomb chamber has two grilled windows set back slightly within a quirked ogee frame moulding (*plate* 29.2). (The eastern windows are now blocked.) The stone course above the lintel of each window is decoratively undercut with a pattern of curves and darts (*plate* 29.3) as if to relieve the load on the lintels. The next course above is recessed 1.5cm to form a sunken panel with decorated



Plate 29.1 Street façade from south-east



Plate 29.2 Façade from south-west

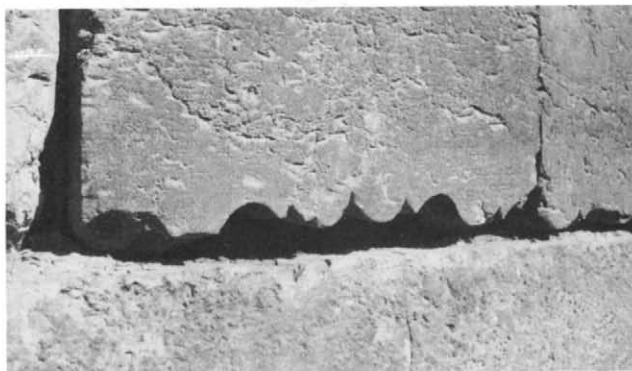


Plate 29.3 Detail of undercut course above lintel of eastern tomb chamber window



Plate 29.4 Upper-level window of eastern tomb chamber

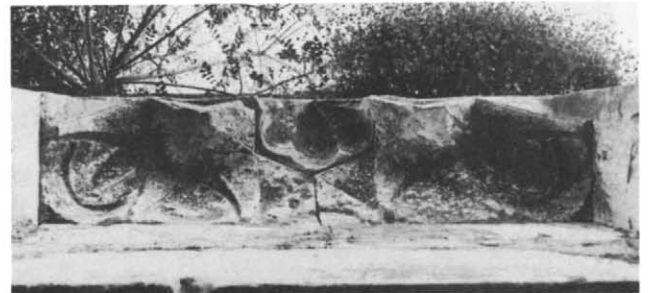


Plate 29.5 *Muqarnas* corbelling over middle-level window of eastern tomb chamber, from below



Plate 29.6 Entrance portal

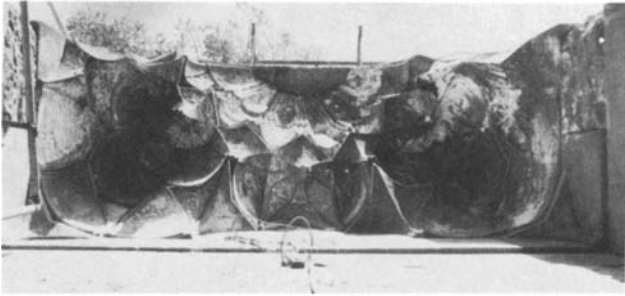


Plate 29.7 *Muqarnas* semidome of portal, from below

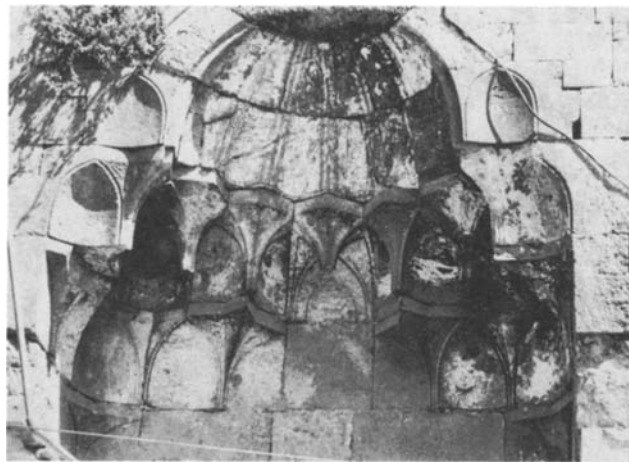


Plate 29.8 *Muqarnas* semidome of portal

ends that may have been intended for an inscription though none was ever applied. Above the mouldings framing the main windows each tomb chamber has an upper window (plate 29.4) placed directly over the central mullion of the lower windows. These upper windows are set in identical recesses with sloping sills and *muqarnas* heads (plate 29.5).

The centrally-placed recess for the entrance portal is 1.30m deep, crowned by a fluted semidome supported on three tiers of *muqarnas* corbelling. Remains of stone benches flanking the door are barely discernible in Creswell's 1920 photograph (plate 29.6).<sup>19</sup> The masonry course above the monolithic door lintel is undercut to form a thin rectangular groove, apparently intended to suggest visually some reduction of direct load on the lintel. The third course above the lintel is sunk 0.015m around the recess and onto the façade where it ends with decorative terminals. Above that course two little pendentive-like *muqarnas* elements mark the springing of the robust *muqarnas* corbelling under the semidome (plate 29.7). The apex of the semidome was repaired with concrete some time after 1920 (see plate 29.8).

Above the entrance portal three windows open into the central domed chamber. The middle window, larger than the ones on either side of it, is set in a *muqarnas*-headed recess. The masonry course above the lintels of the flanking windows is undercut in the same way as the lower windows of the eastern and western tomb chambers.

The three domes rise above the façade, the central one about 1.20m higher than those of the tomb chambers (which are partly obscured by modern parapet walls). The central and eastern domes rest on octagonal drums pierced by eight windows; those in the central drum are rectangular and those in the eastern drum round-headed. The western drum is sixteen sided and has eight round-headed windows. All the drums have simple splay-faced cornices.

#### VESTIBULE (fig. 29.3; sections, figs. 29.6 and 29.7)

The original iron-plated doors (plate 29.9) survive, though only the left-hand one now opens.<sup>20</sup> It leads down one step into a vestibule roofed by a folded cross vault with a small cupola at the crown. This vault is no longer visible from the vestibule since a later vault has been inserted to provide an extra floor (see section, fig. 29.7). In the east and west walls of the vestibule are doors into the tomb chambers. The eastern one is now blocked but the western one retains its original timber double leafed doors which are bound by four brass straps. The floors of the tomb chambers are about 0.90m higher than the floor of the vestibule and the thresholds of the doors into these chambers are a similar height above the vestibule floor. There must originally have been steps up to the doors but nothing survives now apart from piles of rubble against the walls.

#### WESTERN TOMB CHAMBER

This chamber is square in plan with an irregular recess in its

west wall. Originally it rose the full height to the apex of the dome (11.15m) but was subsequently divided by two later vaults to provide extra accommodation. Evidently it was intended for a tomb since there is a barrel-vaulted crypt under the floor, which can be seen through a recent breach in the lower wall of the vestibule (section, fig. 29.7). Whether or not any burial was ever made there is not known, but it seems unlikely: there is no mention of one in the texts and no trace of one is visible.<sup>21</sup>

The chamber was lit by windows on three levels. At the lowest level are two pairs of originally grilled windows, one pair in the south wall opening in the street façade (described above) and the other pair (now much altered) in the north wall opening on the courtyard. The southern pair of windows retain their double leaf timber shutters bound like the door leaves with four bands of brass. A middle-level window opens in the south wall and, at the top of the chamber, are eight windows in the drum. The interior of the drum is eight sided though the exterior is sixteen sided.

#### EASTERN TOMB CHAMBER

This chamber is similar in size and shape to the western one apart from a tall pointed-arched recess in its east wall at the rear of which there is a small cupboard. The arch of the recess springs from two re-used columns with 'black leaf' Cosader capitals and water-holding bases (fig. 29.7).

The chamber was damaged by fire in 1958 but traces of an interlaced triple bead moulding (fig. 29.7, plate 29.10) planted in the plaster around the arch, door and window openings still exist in places. Like the western chamber this one has been divided by two later floors.

It is lit by an arrangement of windows identical to that of the western chamber except for an extra north-facing window at the middle level. At the same level smooth pendentives (plate 29.11) rise to support the eight-sided drum.

In the middle of the floor a stone cenotaph with plastered sides and curious triple humps running lengthwise from east to west (figs. 29.3 and 29.7) marks a grave, presumably that of Jamāl al-Dīn, who commissioned the building and is buried in it, according to Mujīr al-Dīn. The area under the floor is inaccessible but it may reasonably be assumed that there is a crypt here like the one under the western chamber.

#### COURTYARD

A door at the north end of the vestibule opens directly into the courtyard. It retains much of its original paving at a level 0.85m below that of the street and this difference in levels is accommodated by two steps within the vestibule and another two in the courtyard itself. The latter two steps are modern but must replace earlier steps (as shown in the axonometric reconstruction, fig. 29.9).

At the north side of the courtyard two barrel-vaulted halls appear to have existed before the construction of the Kilāniyya;

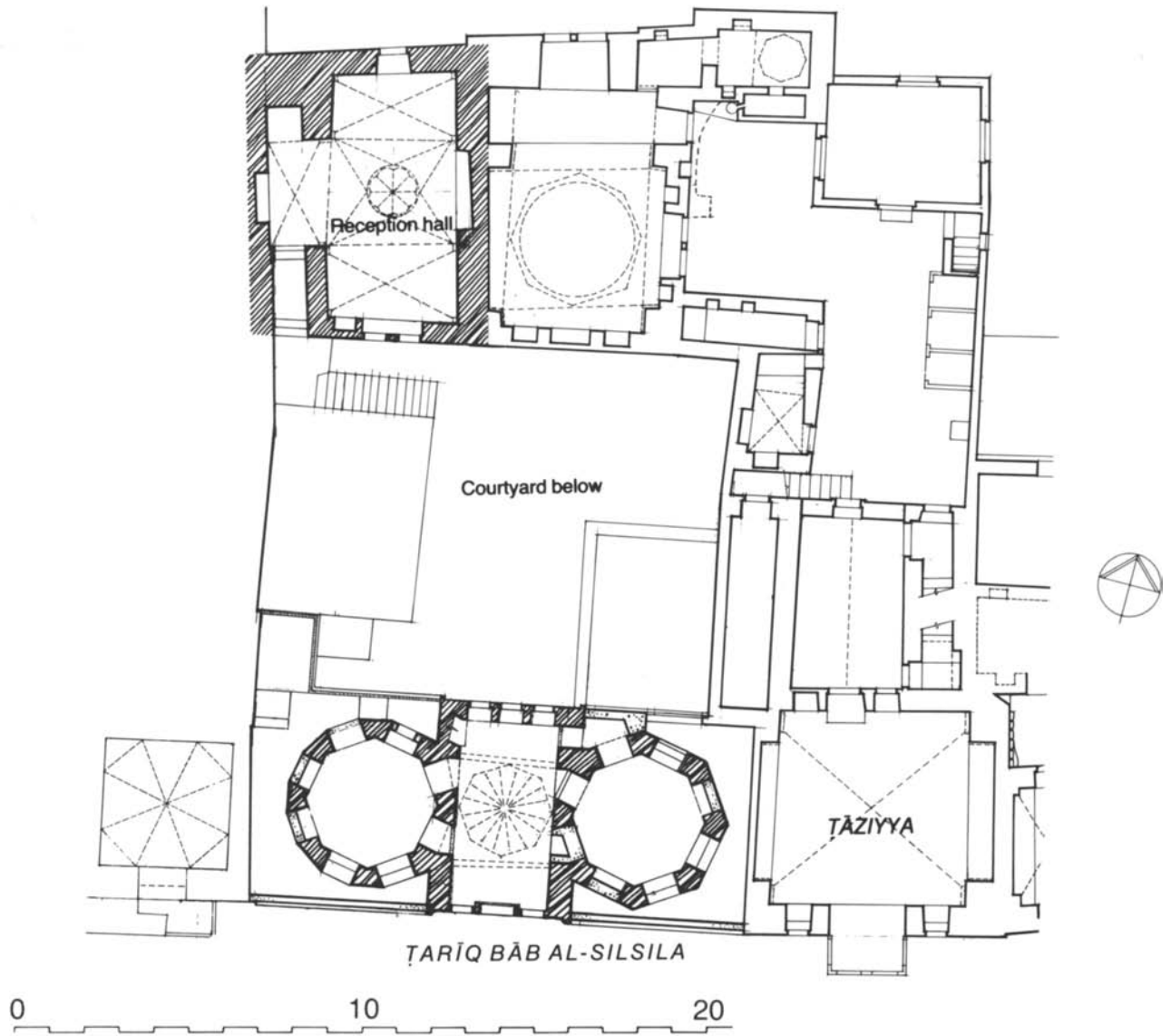


Fig. 29.4 Upper floor plan



Plate 29.9 Entrance doors



Plate 29.10 Plaster moulding

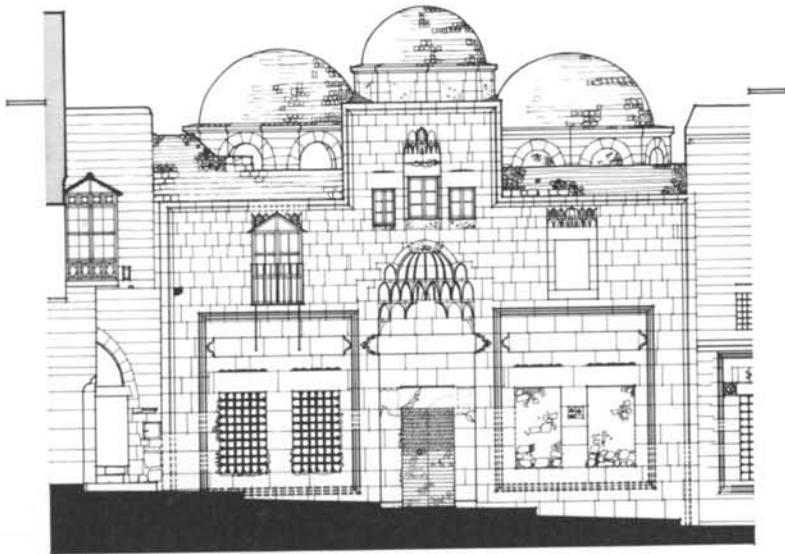


Fig. 29.5 Street façade

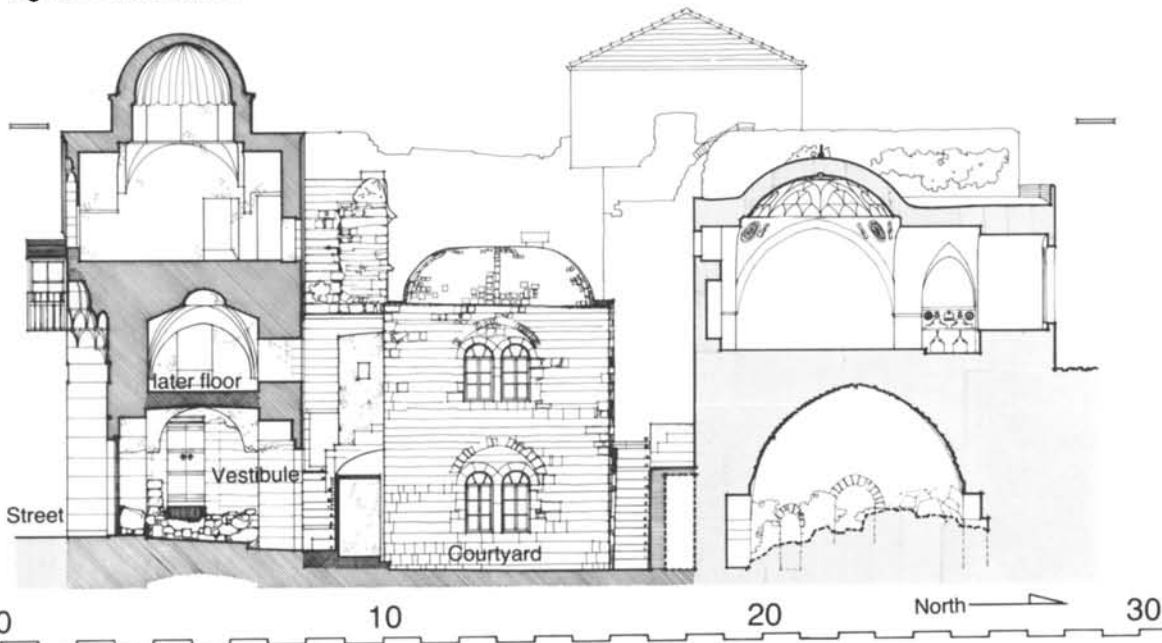


Fig. 29.6 South-north section through vestibule and courtyard looking west

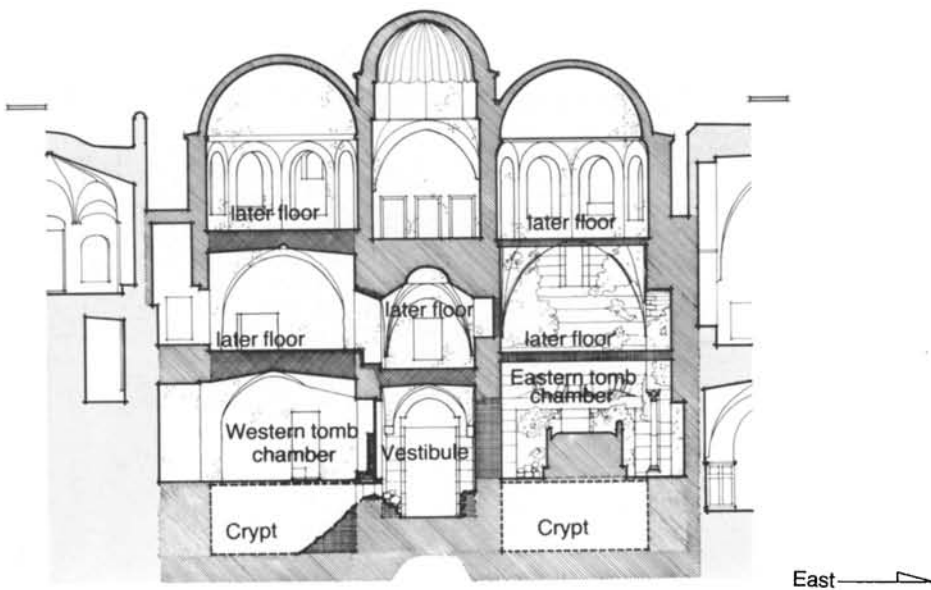


Fig. 29.7 West-east section through tomb chambers looking north



these defined the northern boundary of the site. The Crusader halls (above, p. 327) defined the western boundary, and the eastern boundary may have been defined by some pre-existing structure which was later incorporated into the Tāziyya. The tomb chambers and vestibule next to the street form the southern boundary.

Within these limits the builders of the Kīlāniyya clearly endeavoured to provide as large a courtyard as possible. But its original arrangement is no longer obvious. On the north side the pre-existing wall seems merely to have been heightened and re-faced. But the west and east walls have been largely rebuilt and are obscured by modern outbuildings in the courtyard. Both are discernible, however, in the plan (fig. 29.3).

At the centre of each wall is a broad recess originally spanned by a tall pointed arch, as shown in the east wall by voussoirs remaining *in situ* on the right-hand side. These show the initial arrangement, for the ashlar masonry coursing next to the voussoirs matches that of the south wall which is undoubtedly original. The upper structure of the west wall has disappeared but its plan is still visible.

The recesses in the two walls were designed to mirror each other, but they differ in depth. That in the west wall is 1.80m deep from front to back, and that in the east only 1.03m. The difference is explained by the differing uses made of the spaces behind the walls on either side. Giving access to these, there is in each wall a pair of rectangular doors placed symmetrically at the north and south ends. On the east side the two doors lead only into tiny chambers measuring 1.30 x 2.04m and 0.58 x 1.15m respectively. On the west side the door at the south end gives access to a narrow passage running south to a well-head (now blocked).<sup>22</sup> The similar door at the north end of the wall opens into a staircase (see below). These four doorways survive intact.

The south wall of the courtyard (fig. 29.8) is also built mostly of fine ashlar masonry. Above the door from the vestibule, the masonry rises in a tall *pīsh-tāq* framed by a cavetto moulding (plate 29.12). This moulding extends at slightly different levels on either side of the *pīsh-tāq* across the walls of the tomb chambers. At the south-west corner of the courtyard it turns and continues for a short distance along the west wall. Originally it must have extended around the four sides of the courtyard; a short length of it survives *in situ* at the same level at the west end of the north wall (see below). Above the moulding on either side of the *pīsh-tāq*, the upper walls of the

tomb chambers are built of coursed, snecked rubble rendered with a plaster facing of which substantial traces survive. The middle-level window of the eastern tomb chamber opens in the lowest courses of that rubble masonry and, in the corresponding position on the west side of the *pīsh-tāq*, a somewhat smaller window lights a staircase leading to the central domed chamber (see below). Directly above the vestibule door there is a window intended to light the vestibule and, above that, three windows in the ashlar masonry of the *pīsh-tāq* light the central domed chamber.

Plastered rubble masonry appears to have been used also for the upper walls on the other three sides of the courtyard, though it survives now only at the south end of the west wall and at the west end of the north wall. The original height of these walls was 9.28m; at that height the remains of stepped undercut crenellations survive *in situ* on either side of the *pīsh-tāq* at the south wall and at the west end of the north wall. These crenellations, unique in Jerusalem, must have crowned all four walls of the courtyard (but not the *pīsh-tāq*), as suggested in fig. 29.9.

#### NORTHERN HALLS

At the north side of the courtyard are two barrel-vaulted halls. They share roughly the same alignment, about 6° askew on a line drawn perpendicular to the west wall of the courtyard. This different orientation seems to indicate that these halls predate the construction of the Kīlāniyya. The eastern hall incorporates stones bearing Crusader masons' marks, indicating that it cannot be earlier than the sixth/twelfth century. The north walls of the halls appear to coincide more or less with the northern boundary line, if produced westward, of an underlying bridge<sup>23</sup> which spans eastwards across the town's central ('Tyropoeon') valley, al-Wād, towards the Ḥaram.

The eastern hall is not accessible from the Kīlāniyya and, to judge from the complete absence of openings in its south wall, it never was. The western hall appears, however, to have been incorporated into the Mamlūk foundation, though the present door and windows under a half-arch (plate 29.13) in its south wall are obviously of relatively recent construction. The rest of the north wall of the courtyard appears also to be modern, though perhaps only a re-facing of the earlier wall since the vault beyond it is intact. Two blind arches in the masonry of this wall seem to have been intended to improve its stability; they do not correspond to either of the recesses in the south wall of the eastern hall (see plan, fig. 29.3).



Plate 29.11 Pendentive in north-west corner of eastern tomb chamber



Plate 29.12 South-west corner of courtyard

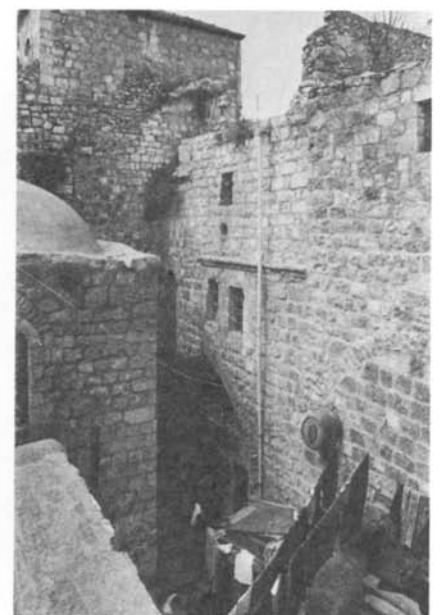
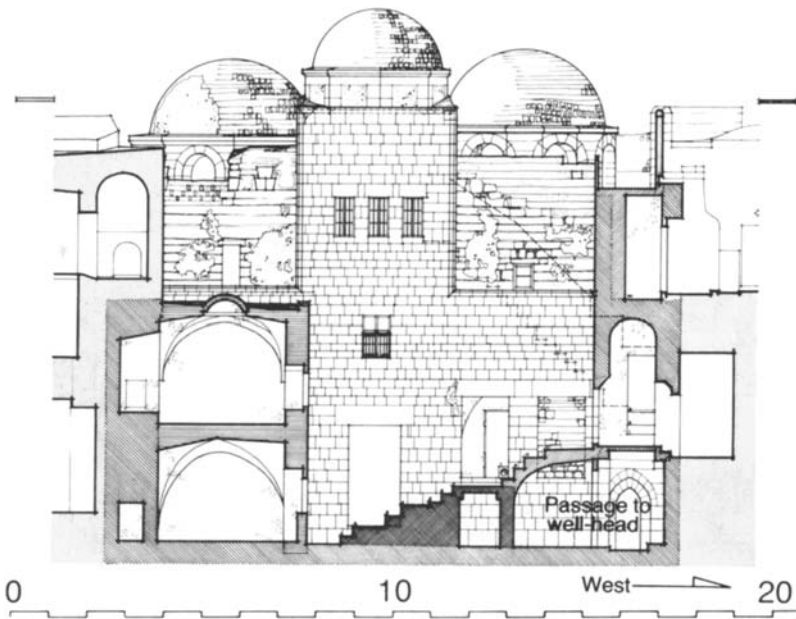
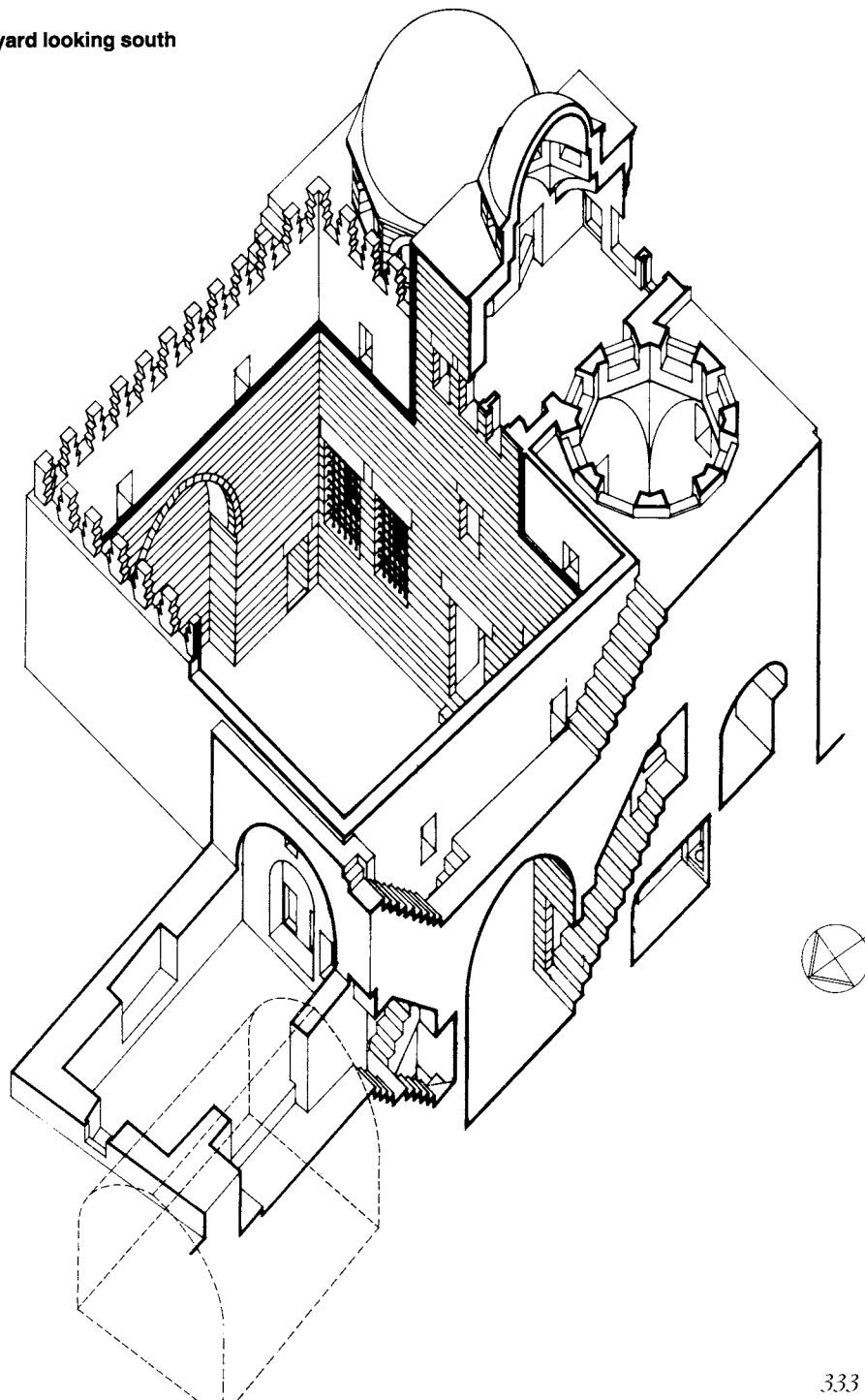


Plate 29.13 North-west corner of courtyard



**Fig. 29.8** East–west section through courtyard looking south



**Fig. 29.9** Axonometric reconstruction

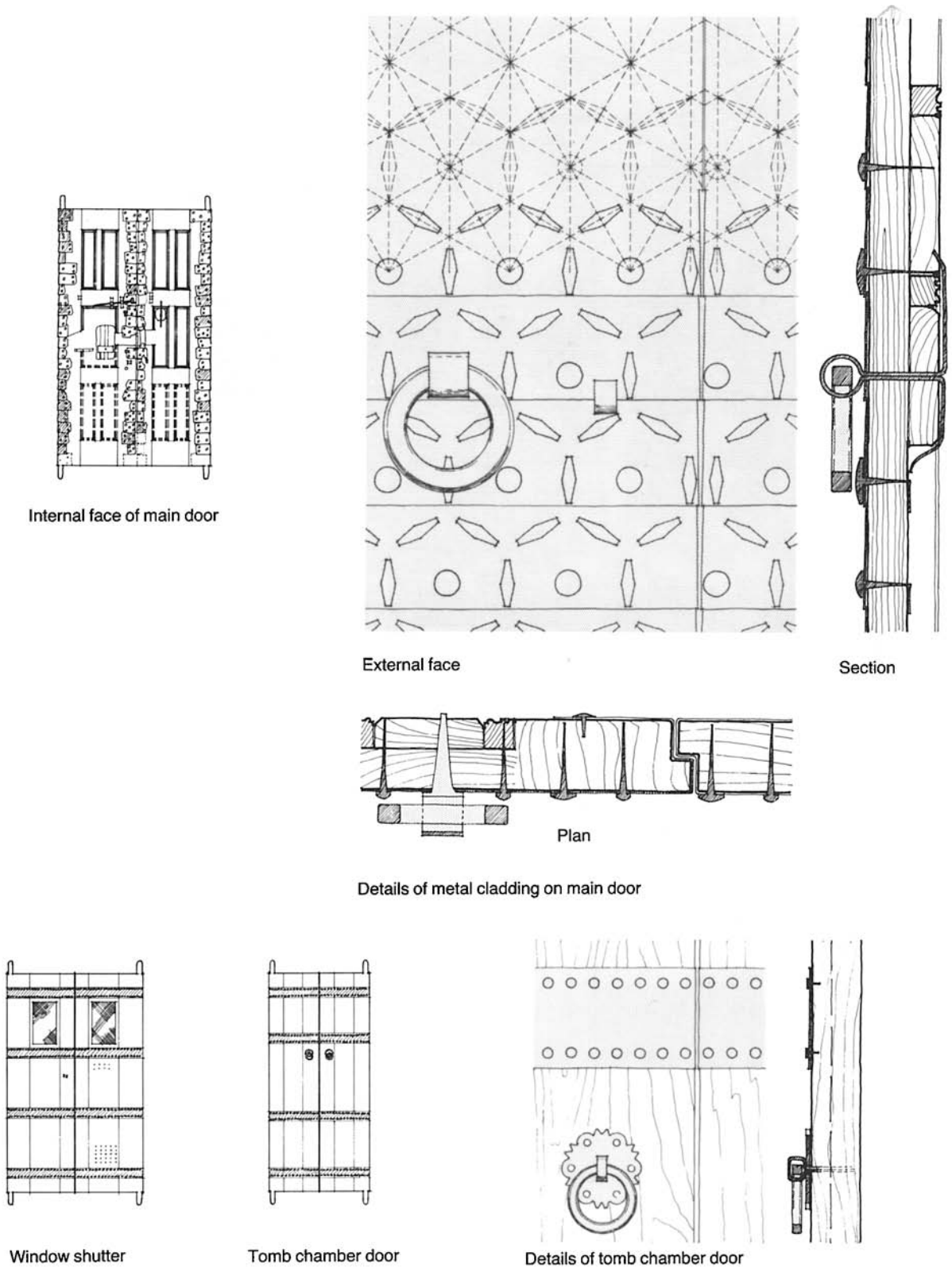
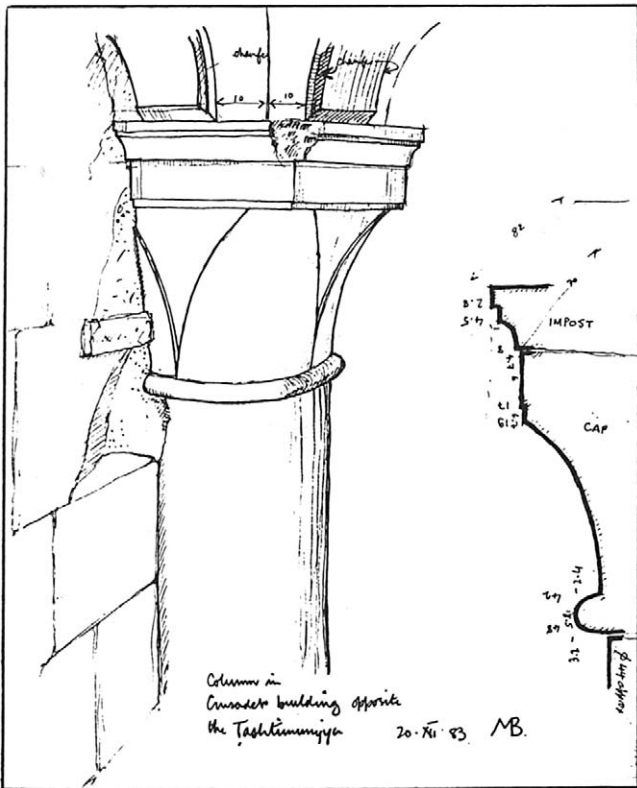


Fig. 29.10 Details of doors and window shutters



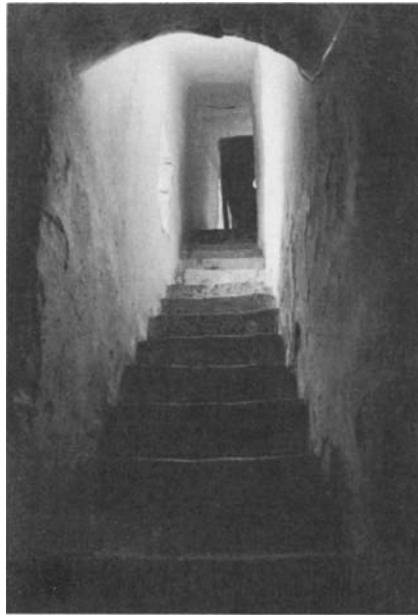
**Fig. 29.11** Column in Crusader building opposite the Tashtamuriyya

#### UPPER FLOORS (plans, figs. 29.3 and 29.4)

On the upper level there appear to have been only two rooms, one over the entrance vestibule (described below) and one over the western hall at the north-west corner of the courtyard. The latter is reached now by a modern stairway, the original staircase having disappeared. It is possible to reconstruct that original staircase in the very limited space available as shown in *fig. 29.9*. The unusually narrow stairs (0.68m wide) can be explained by the builders' desire to keep the courtyard as wide as possible (see above). Within the door at the north end of the west wall the stairs rose immediately to the left, wound through 360°, and continued up to a small landing. From the landing the upper floor room is reached up three steps through a narrow pointed-arched doorway (0.79m wide) into a tunnel-vaulted passageway leading up one more step to a cross-vaulted antechamber. From there a pointed arch opens into a large hall to the east.

The tripartite vaulting of this hall is distinctive: a central folded cross vault with a fluted cupola at the crown and flanked by cross vaults at its north and south ends. This system of vaulting, similar to that of the *qā'as* in the Palace of Sitt Tunshuq (no. 48) and the Tashtamuriyya (no. 45), suggests that the room was intended to serve as a reception hall. It is the only large room in the complex. (The adjoining elaborately decorated domed room to the east is a later, Ottoman addition entered from the Tāziyya.) Paired rectangular windows surmounted by a circular oculus and a smaller rectangular window open in the reception hall's south wall (*plate 29.13*), which is the only part of the north wall of the courtyard to retain its original form. The segmental-arched window in the north wall of the hall is a later insertion.

The staircase serving the reception hall described above continued from the landing beside the entrance to the hall up to a covered gallery running behind the upper part of the west wall of the courtyard (see *fig. 29.9*). Further flights of steps at either end of that gallery led up to the roofs of the western tomb chamber and of the reception hall at its south and north end respectively. Only the uppermost steps of these stairs survive. The shaving of the drum of the western tomb chamber, giving



**Plate 29.14** Staircase to room above vestibule

it sixteen sides instead of eight, was presumably to permit easier passage to the windows of the central domed chamber where Koran readings might have been held (see below).

The central domed chamber was reached by a separate staircase built mainly within the thickness of the north wall of the western tomb chamber (*plate 29.14*). The lower part of the staircase has disappeared and has been replaced in recent times by a flight of steps against the north wall of the western tomb chamber. So far as we can tell, the original staircase was entered from a door in the south side of the arched recess in the middle of the west wall of the courtyard (see *fig. 29.9*). From there it rose south to a small landing where it turned eastwards in the thickness of the tomb chamber wall. At the top the stairs skew southwards to open into the central domed chamber. A similar opening (now blocked) in the north-east corner of the chamber led out to the roof of the eastern tomb chamber, from which it may once have led down to a gallery along the east side of the courtyard.

The central domed chamber over the vestibule has three windows in the south wall overlooking the street, three in its north wall overlooking the courtyard, two in its west wall (one now blocked) into the western tomb chamber, two in its east wall (one now blocked) into the eastern tomb chamber, and eight (all blocked) in the drum, which supports an internally fluted dome (*fig. 29.7*). Obviously eighteen windows are more than were required for light and ventilation; indeed, the room must have been exceedingly uncomfortable in winter. Since the foundation included at least one Koran reader, the most likely reason for this profusion of openings was to enable readings in this room to be heard in the street, in the courtyard and (since there were windows in both tomb chambers) 'within the hearing of the dead', as one writer puts it.<sup>24</sup>

#### INSCRIPTION (*plate 29.15*)

An inscribed stone plaque was recovered in 1969 from debris on the floor of the eastern tomb chamber. It is now housed in the Haram Museum. The inscribed surface is very badly damaged, apparently by being recut for use as a paving slab, and the six lines of text are generally indecipherable. Lines 2–3 appear, however, to read

... the High Amīr [Sharaf] al-Dīn 'Isā b. [Badr al-Dīn?] . . .

If this reading is correct, the inscription may come from a Dār al-Ḥadīth (Tradition School), said by Mujīr al-Dīn<sup>25</sup> to be near and to the west of the Jāliqīyya (no. 11), about 30m to the east of the Kilāniyya, which was founded in 666/1268 by the Amīr

Sharaf al-Dīn 'Īsā b. Badr al-Dīn b. Abī'l-Qāsim al-Hakkārī, son of the founder of the Ayyūbid Badriyya Madrasa (610/1213-14).<sup>26</sup>



Plate 29.15 Remains of inscription

## Notes

- 1 Mujīr, ii, 45.
- 2 Sijill 12, no. 1144; Sijill 33, 76 (2).
- 3 Mujīr, ii, 52: this stretched from the steps that lead to the Wād Street, that is the Daraj al-'Ayn (the Fountain Steps), eastwards to just past the Ṭashtamuriyya.
- 4 Mujīr, ii, 45.
- 5 Correct the printed text, by omitting the article before *ṣāhib* (as in Bodleian Mss. Pococke 362, fol. 134a, and Marsh 677, fol. 127b).
- 6 Accepting that Jamāl al-Dīn Pahlavān was indeed buried in the eastern tomb chamber, where a ruined cenotaph survives, Walls has speculated that the nephew, 'Alā' al-Dīn, built the western chamber for himself but was in the event not buried there, see A.G. Walls, 'The Mausoleum of the Amir Kilani', *Levant*, vii, 1975, 50-51.
- 7 See *EF<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Lāhidjān.
- 8 See *EF<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Djilān, and Yāqūt, iv, 344.
- 9 Mar'ashī, *Tārīkh-i Gilān va-Daylamistān*, ed. M. Satudeh, Tehran, 1347 A.H., 15.
- 10 Abū 'l-Qāsim Qāshānī, *Tārīkh Ūljāytū*, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran, 1348 A.H., see index. See also H.L. Rabino di Borgomale, 'Les Dynasties locales du Gilan et du Daylam', *JA*, ccxxxvii, 1949, 318-321.
- 11 Ms. Marsh, *fol. cit.*: Sauvare, *Histoire de Jérusalem*, 161.
- 12 Ms. Pococke, *fol. cit.*: only the letter *shīn* is marked.
- 13 Mar'ashī, *op. cit.*, 19-20, and 'Les Dynasties locales, etc.', cited above.
- 14 Defter no. 602, 455 (190).
- 15 See note 2.
- 16 Sijill 57, 284 (9).
- 17 Sijill 232, 202 and 212, quoted from Y. Natsheh, *al-Turba al-Kilāniyya*, Jerusalem, 1979, 13, note 3.
- 18 Attention was first drawn to this Crusader structure by J.E. Hanauer, who thought it was part of the Church of St. Giles ('The Churches of St. Martin and St.

John the Evangelist', *PEFQS*, 1893, 303-4). The form of the building, difficult to determine nowadays, is not that of a church but rather that of some commercial structure. The cross-vaulted bays, divided by transverse arches, spring from limestone columns with simple capitals (*fig. 29.11*). The upper storey appears to be of Ottoman construction. The masonry is pierced by a window with an arch of gadroon voussoirs (now hidden behind a timber oriel window and part of the *qā'a* of the Ṭashtamuriyya, no. 45). The remains of a corbel, apparently of Crusader workmanship, survive alongside that window.

19 Benches shown intact in T. Tobler, *Denkschriften aus Jerusalem*, Saint-Gall, 1853, pl. ii.

20 A detailed description of these doors is given by A.G. Walls, *art. cit.*, 48-49.

21 Mr Yusuf Natsheh kindly informs us that when he opened both crypts in 1984 preparatory to restoration work in the southern part of the building he found no human remains in the western crypt and the remains of two persons in the eastern crypt.

22 Described briefly by Y. Natsheh, *op. cit.*, 20, *fig. 7*.

23 A passage has recently been cleared under one arch of this bridge. A definite boundary line can be detected to the north of Tarīq Bāb al-Silsila in the composite structure of the bridge. The northern walls of the halls attached to the Kilāniyya are approximately parallel to that boundary line. Part of this area under the bridge was examined archaeologically in 1931, the evidence suggesting that the central arch of the bridge was early Islamic with later extensions, including stones with characteristic Crusader dressing, added to north and south (R.W. Hamilton, 'Street Levels in the Tyropoeon Valley. II', *QDAP*, ii, 1933, 34-40).

24 A.G. Walls, *art. cit.*, 43.

25 Mujīr, 396.

26 *CIA (Ville)*, 125-29.



# 30 AL-FĀRISIYYA

## الفارسية

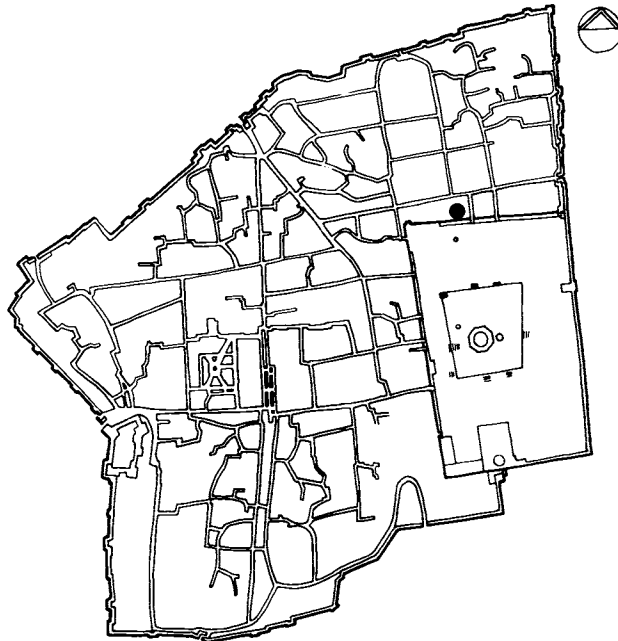


Fig. 30.1 Location plan

Endowed in 753/1352-53  
Madrasa of Fāris al-Dīn  
Modern name: Dār al-Dajānī

### I LOCATION (fig. 30.1)

At the north border of the Ḥaram, above the portico between the Amīniyya (no. 21) and the Ālmalikiyya (no. 26).

### II SITE AND BUILDING (fig. 30.2)

Very little of the original construction survives and so it is difficult to define precisely its configuration. The main features are clear, however. Entrance was and still is by means of a staircase entered under the portico supporting the Ālmalikiyya. The original building was bounded to the north by the upper part of the Ḥaram wall, and on the east and west respectively by the adjoining madrasas, the Amīniyya and the Ālmalikiyya. In this way the development was initially confined to the roof of the Ḥaram portico.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

There is no extant inscription and the foundation was several years too late to be mentioned by al-'Umarī in his account of the Ḥaram.<sup>1</sup> Mujīr al-Dīn sites the Fārisiyya on the north side of the Ḥaram and in his methodical progress from west to east he places the Fārisiyya between the Ālmalikiyya and the Amīniyya.<sup>2</sup> It is in this position that al-'Umarī mentioned a door giving access via stairs to a Zāwiya al-Lāwī, which is otherwise unknown.<sup>3</sup>

#### DATE

Mujīr al-Dīn claims to have seen the waqf document in which a portion of the village of Tulkarm was given in endowment to the Fārisiyya. The date of the document was 3 Sha'bān 755/23 August 1354.<sup>4</sup> However, the earlier date of 753/1352-53 is that given by the Tahrīr Register no. 602<sup>5</sup> for the waqfiyya in which half the village of Shuwayka was made waqf for the institution, called in the register a khānqāh. There is no reason why there should not have been at least two separate endowment deeds. We may assume that the Fārisiyya was founded soon after 750/1349-50.

#### FOUNDER

Fāris al-Dīn Īlbakī b. Qutlūmalik<sup>6</sup> was the nephew of the Amīr al-Ḥājj Ālmalik (see p. 308). In 745/1344-45 he was assigned the amirate of the deceased son-in-law of his uncle. Before then Īlbakī had been an officer (*muqaddam*) in the Ḥalqa, which post now went to his brother, Ḍarūt. He had been serving as the Major-Domo of his uncle, the viceroy.<sup>7</sup> He apparently escaped lasting misfortune as a result of his uncle's fall, and in the following year he was made a Ṭablkhāna amīr. In 749-50/1348-49 he went to the Ḥijāz as Amīr of the Ḥājj and carried out some

restoration work on the aqueduct from Arafat to Mecca, which the Īlkhānid amīr, Chūbān, had earlier restored in 726/1326.<sup>8</sup>

He took on the post of governor of Gaza in Jumādā I 751/ July-August 1350. After a bare year he was replaced and returned to Cairo.<sup>9</sup> Late in 752/spring 1351, now holding an amirate of 100, he was engaged in operations against the Bedouin of Upper Egypt. The next year he took part in a campaign against Baybughā Rūs in Syria under the command of the Amīr Ṭāz.<sup>10</sup> Ṣafadī's brief notice given over to Īlbakī was written while the latter was still alive. Ibn Ḥajar gives his date of death as late Shawwāl 756/early November 1355.<sup>11</sup>

That same year in Cairo Īlbakī had demolished a church, which had been damaged in anti-Christian disturbances, and rebuilt it as a madrasa, which was also known as the Fārisiyya.<sup>12</sup> His period as governor of Gaza left its mark in Jerusalem in the form of an inscription, dated 751/1350-51, recording some restoration work on the Aqṣā portico, carried out 'on the initiative of his Honour Fāris al-Dīn, his Majesty the Sultan's governor in the Coastal and Hill Districts'.<sup>13</sup> Although the close control of the work was in the hands of the Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams, 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Miṣrī,<sup>14</sup> one may speculate that Īlbakī visited Jerusalem during the second half of 751/1350 in connection with the work on the Aqṣā and to give instructions for his own madrasa. This would fit well with the dates discussed above. As with the foundation in Cairo, it may have been a case of adapting a previously existing building, the Zāwiya al-Lāwī referred to above. Another part of Īlbakī's foundation was some sort of zāwiya (also called a madrasa) within the Aqṣā near the Well of the Leaf.<sup>15</sup>

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

There is no mention of the Fārisiyya in the Ḥaram documents and only one shaykh of the madrasa is known by name for the Mamlūk period, Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Umar, a local Ḥanbalī scholar of Tradition (749-838/1348-1434).<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, the Fārisiyya makes frequent appearances in the Ottoman court registers, where the reference is often to the 'two Fārisiyya Madrasas' (see above). It seems quite clear that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and beyond the main Fārisiyya on the north portico of the Ḥaram was a sinecure for members of the al-Dayrī family. The posts of inspector and shaykh were divided into fractions, even into sixths,<sup>17</sup> which were passed on by inheritance. In 1008/1599 three of the family, joint inspectors of the two Fārisiyyas, farmed the revenue of half the olives of Shuwayka to four local headmen for 95 gold pieces.<sup>18</sup> The sum contracted for in 1092/1681 was

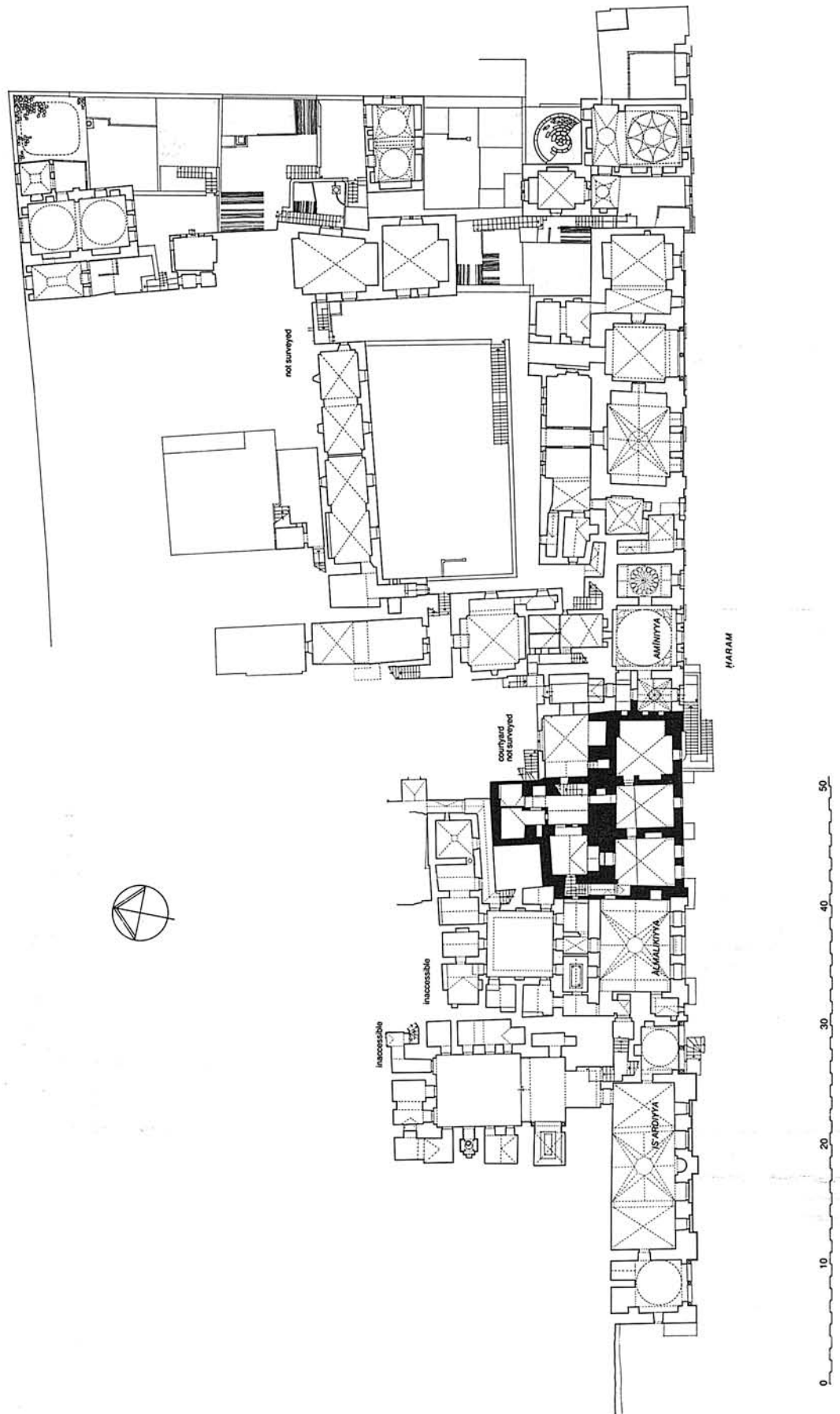


Fig. 30.2 Site plan

150 piastres along with the appointment to act as *muhtasib* and to collect the customary dues.<sup>19</sup> An entry for 1080/1669 confirmed Faṭḥ al-Dīn b. Ṭaḥā al-Dayrī as successor to his deceased father in the post of shaykh and in his residential occupation of the madrasa.<sup>20</sup> To all intents and purposes the madrasa and its endowments had become the private property of the family.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

The founder obviously had an eye for economy: having appropriated with few if any modifications the Crusader annex to the Aqṣā Mosque (the second of the 'two Fārisiyya Madrasas') he then proceeded to insert his madrasa into a site where three of the four exterior walls were already standing.

The madrasa and possibly also the portico supporting it must have collapsed at some later date, presumably during an earthquake. The Ottoman rebuilding on the site of the madrasa is arranged to provide comfortable domestic accommodation.

##### HARAM FRONTAGE (fig. 30.5, plate 30.1)

Mujīr al-Dīn states that the ancient portico under the Amīniyya was reconstructed in 610/1213-14. The piers of that Ayyūbid reconstruction survive, but apart from a fragmentary cornice moulding and the springers of the left-hand (western) arch the remainder of the frontage appears to have been rebuilt. Certain details of the structure and its scanty decoration – notably the double row of voussoirs over each of the three arches of the portico and the 'fretwork' ornament over the right-hand window lintel at the upper floor level (visible in *plate 30.1*) – are manifestly Ottoman, and the uniformity of the masonry above the arches of the portico implies a unity of construction. The sloping-topped central piers have short vertical extensions, also with sloping tops, added to buttress the wall.

The rebuilt portico was blocked up some time before 1914<sup>21</sup> save for rectangular windows in the two left-hand arches and the open tympanum of the right-hand arch. Under the portico the rear (north) wall is plastered and devoid of architectural features; the Antonia rock scarp begins hereabouts to rise above the level of the ground.



Plate 30.1 Haram frontages of Ālmalikiyya (left) and Fārisiyya (right)

##### ENTRANCE COMPLEX

The entrance to the Fārisiyya is situated under the portico which sustains the Ālmalikiyya. There, a simple doorway opens in the north wall of the Haram built on the Antonia rock scarp, which at this point stands about 2.50m above the level of the Haram esplanade. A stairway of three flights, sheltered by the portico, rises to a landing in front of this elevated doorway (fig. 30.6). The space under the landing was formerly utilized for a small closet, but it is blocked now.<sup>22</sup>

Beyond the entrance doorway a narrow passage (*plate 30.2*) leads up to a low, dark chamber apparently partly cut into the rock (fig. 30.4). This must be the Zāwiya al-Lāwī which al-'Umarī located thus '... after (the two windows of the Amīniyya)

comes a door through which one goes up to the Zāwiya al-Lāwī.<sup>23</sup> Mujīr al-Dīn makes no mention of the zāwiya, which may by then have been incorporated into the Fārisiyya. Therefore the stairway under the portico and the passage must have belonged initially to the zāwiya before Fāris al-Dīn made use of them for access to his madrasa. The staircase rising towards the east past the zāwiya may also have existed prior to the construction of the madrasa. It leads directly up to a forecourt by the madrasa's original entrance, now enclosed within a later room (A). The southern extension of the staircase (*plate 30.3*) appears to be a later addition; it connects with a passage cut through the Haram wall to replace the original entrance to the madrasa, which is blocked.



Plate 30.2 Entrance staircase, looking north

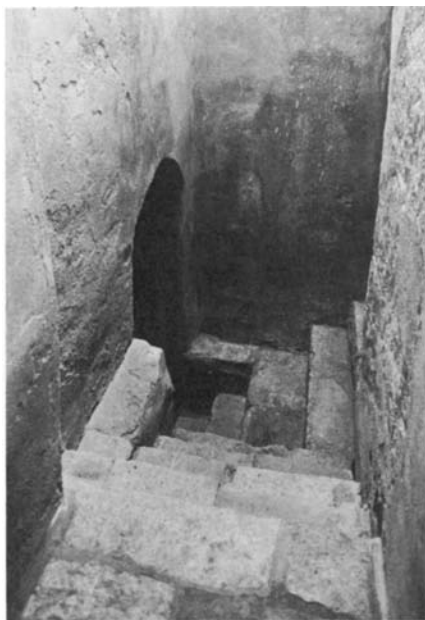


Plate 30.3 Entrance staircase from above, looking north

That original entrance doorway is hewn out of the Haram wall and, though blocked, retains its simple pointed-arched profile. It seems to be the only structural feature of the Mamlūk development to have survived at this level. All the other construction appears to be Ottoman with the exception of the Haram wall itself (which actually projects here above the roof, as shown in *plate 30.4*) and the possible exception of the

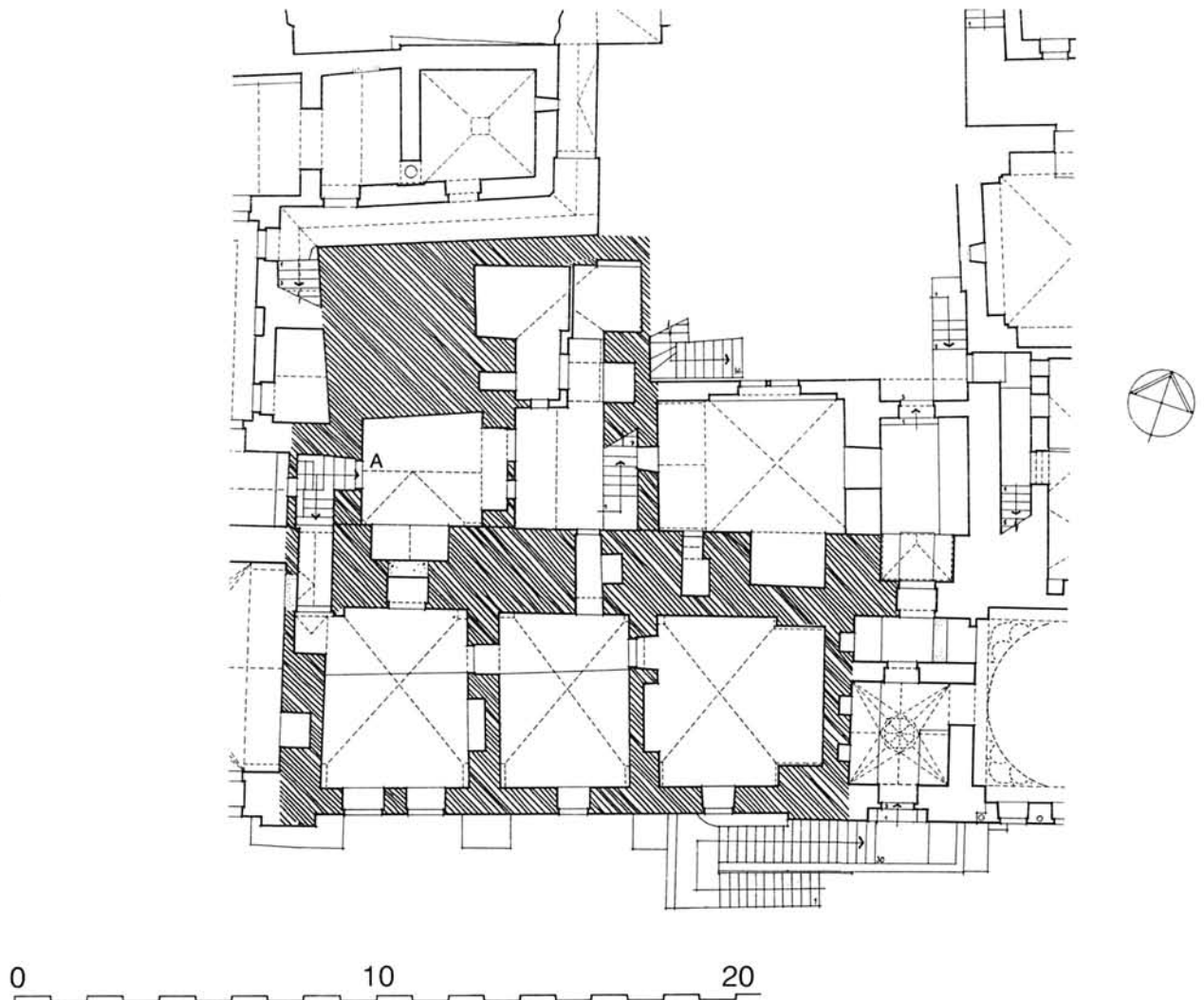


Fig. 30.3 Plan

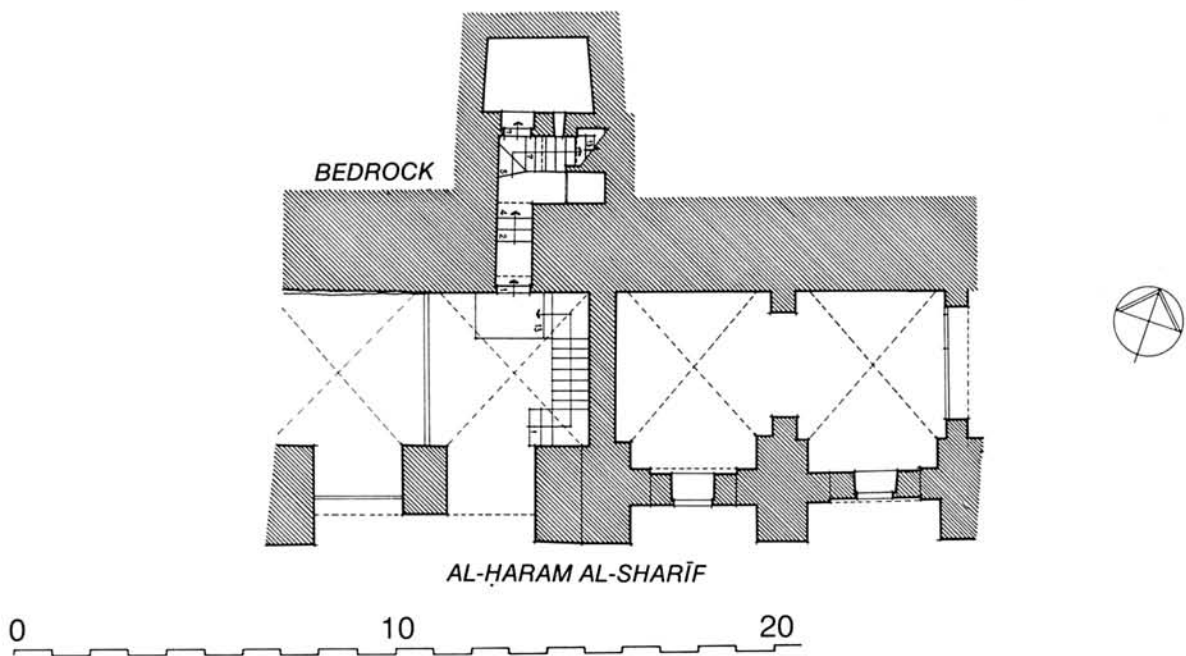


Fig. 30.4 Plan of entrance stairs

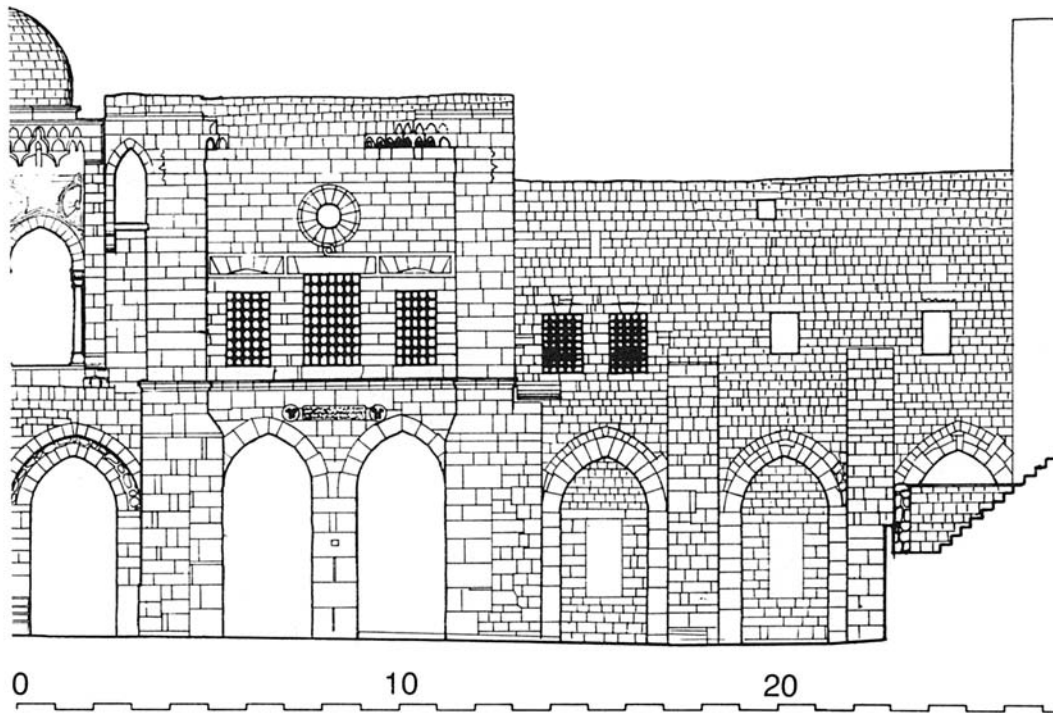


Fig. 30.5 H̳aram frontage

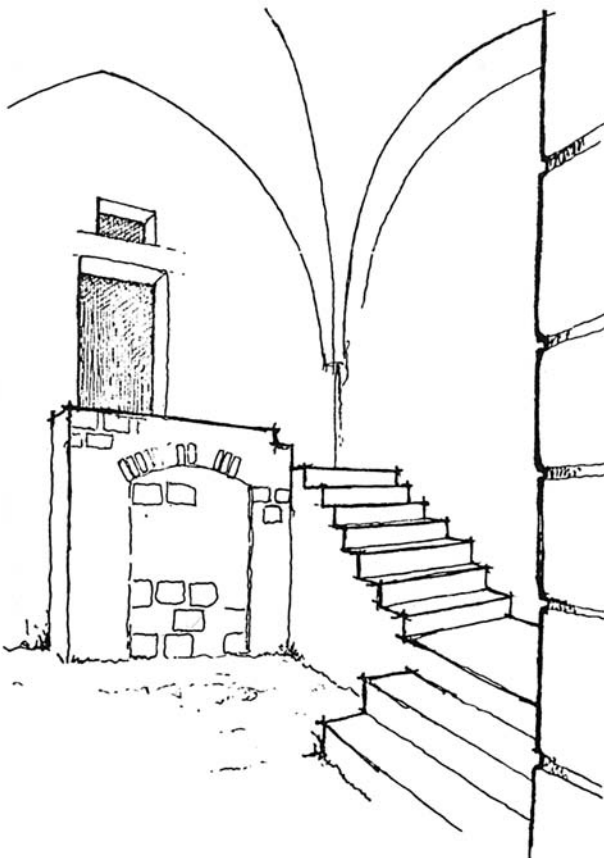


Fig. 30.6 Entrance under the H̳aram portico



Plate 30.4 Part of H̳aram wall projecting above roof

impenetrable offset structure which may mark the site of some fortification connected with the ancient Tower Antonia (see above, p. 315).

#### INTERIOR DECORATION

A quantity of marble, presumably the remains of wall panelling used to decorate the original madrasa, is incorporated in the Ottoman assemblage paving the floor (*plate 30.5*). This includes two pieces of a rectangular plaque (*plates 30.6 and 30.7*) carved with an exquisite foliate decoration in the shape of a pointed ovoid, each of the points having a trefoil finial, linked to a rectangular border whose corners are similarly decorated. This type of ornament occurs fairly frequently in Bah̳rī Mamlūk marble wall panelling and in Jerusalem there are other examples, all attributable to the Am̳ir Tankiz, surviving in two monuments: the Tankiziyya Madrasa (no. 18) and the Aqṣā Mosque (730/1330-31).<sup>24</sup> The carved design on the fragments in the Fārisiyya, similar to those in the Aqṣā Mosque, is identical to those in the Tankiziyya (*plate 18.16*), which both appear to be



*Mamlūk Jerusalem*

the work of the same craftsman. Fāris al-Dīn may well have retrieved one or more panels from the east wall of the Aqṣā Mosque during the works he supervised there in 751/1350-51 (above, p. 337). In that case Tankiz's marble panelling in the Aqṣā Mosque would be more extensive than was previously thought.



Plate 30.5 Western room over Ḥaram portico

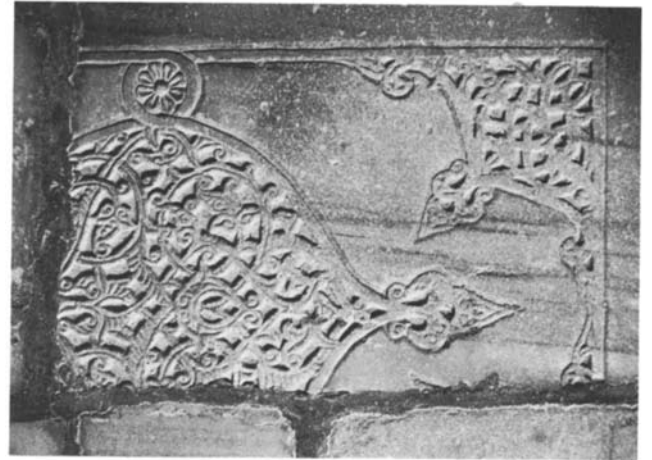


Plate 30.6 Fragment of carved marble panel re-used in floor (compare with *plate 18.6*)

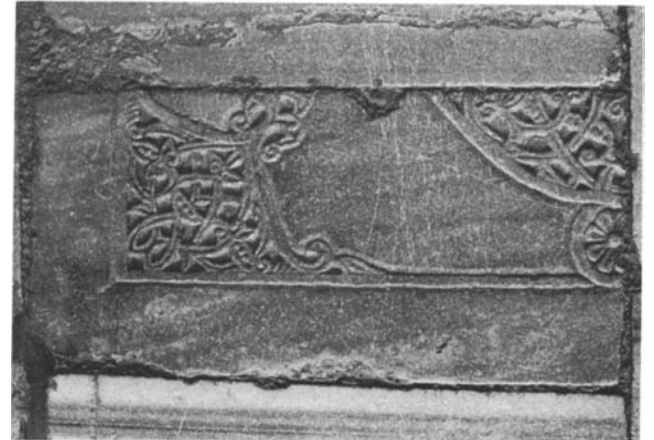


Plate 30.7 Fragment of carved marble panel re-used in floor (compare with *plate 18.6*)

**Notes**

- 1 Since he died in 749/1349.
- 2 Mujīr, ii, 38-9.
- 3 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 158 (and also 151).
- 4 Mujīr, *loc. cit.*
- 5 Defter 602, 450.
- 6 *Durar*, i, 432, and Mujīr, *loc. cit.*
- 7 al-Shujā'i, i, 271.
- 8 Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken*, ii, 53 and 128.
- 9 *Sulūk*, ii, 821 and 840.
- 10 *Sulūk*, ii, 850-5 and 868.
- 11 *Wāfi*, ix, 352; *Durar*, *loc. cit.*
- 12 *Khiṭāṭ*, ii, 393. The man who was presumably the first *mudarris* of this Cairo Fārisiyya died in 761/1359-60, Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Zarkashī (*Sulūk*, iii, 56).
- 13 *CIA (Haram)*, no. 288.
- 14 Superintendent certainly between 746-53/1345-53, see *CIA (Haram)*, nos. 285-6, 289-90. He died 760/1359 according to van Berchem, but his reference cannot be traced in Mujīr.
- 15 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 151; Mujīr, ii, 33.
- 16 Mujīr, ii, 260-1.

- 17 Sijill 184, 295 (4).
- 18 Sijill 80, 197 (2). The annual value of the waqf-owned half of Shuwayka (see *HGP*, 137: Shuwayki (*sic*) in the Qaqun district of the Nablus *liwā'*) was 11,170 aspers according to the Defter 602, 450. As far as can be ascertained there is no mention of Fārisiyya property in Tulkarm in the Ottoman period.
- 19 Sijill 184, 337 (1).
- 20 See Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 234, quoting Sijill 171, 196. Other similar references will be found in Asali, *op. cit.*
- 21 Shown already blocked in van Berchem's photograph taken in 1914 (*CIA (Planches)*, lxiv).
- 22 It was blocked some time after Creswell's photograph (*plate 30.1*) was taken c.1920.
- 23 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 158-59, with another reference to Zāwiyyat al-Lāwī on p. 151.
- 24 The two marble panels on the east wall (taken down during the current repairs) may be seen *in situ* in *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, pl. 63a and b. Other panels at the south-east corner of the Mosque are shown in R.W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, London, 1949, pls. vii, viii, ix.

# 31 AL-KHĀTŪNIYYA

## الخاتونية

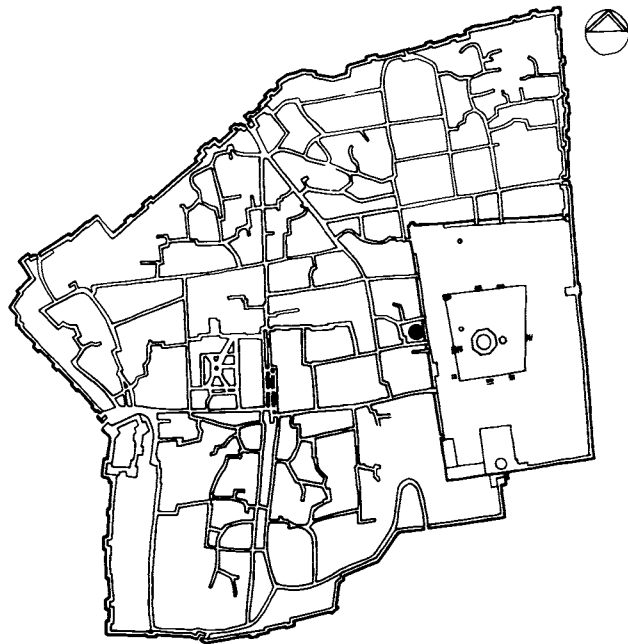


Fig. 31.1 Location plan

Begun c.755/1354; completed 782/1380  
Madrasa of Oghul Khātūn  
Modern name: Dār al-Khaṭīb

### I LOCATION (fig. 31.1)

At the west border of the Ḥaram between the Arghūniyya (no. 32) to the north and Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn (no. 24) to the south; entered from a passageway on the south side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 31.2)

The site is enclosed by surrounding structures. It is bounded to the east by the Ḥaram wall; to the south by Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn; to the north by the Arghūniyya and the Muzhiriyya (no. 62); and to the west by various structures of uncertain date.

Entrance is by way of a long passageway from the street, Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd. This passageway was built as part of the Arghūniyya, presumably replacing some earlier access blocked by the Arghūniyya (see below, p. 359). It leads through a barrel-vaulted cell to an open courtyard enclosed by cells on the south, west and north sides. Two *iwāns* confront each other across the east end of the courtyard. The most important units of the complex are situated at this end of the courtyard beside the Ḥaram wall. These are: an assembly hall with a *mihṛāb*, and a domed tomb chamber with an adjoining anteroom.

The building has undergone various alterations and some later structures occupy the courtyard and the roofs of cells around the courtyard.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

In the absence of any inscription, one simply takes note of Mujīr al-Dīn's locating the Khātūniyya in the area of the Bāb al-Ḥadīd and makes the identification by a process of elimination. Al-'Umarī is silent on the Khātūniyya. For that stretch of the Ḥaram wall he mentioned only a door leading into a Ṣūfī's cell, which means that the Khātūniyya did not exist in about 745/1345.<sup>1</sup>

#### DATE

Two separate endowments are mentioned by Mujīr al-Dīn.<sup>2</sup> The first is dated 5 Rabī' II 755/29 April 1354, so that we may assume that the building was begun soon after 750/1349-50. However, it was not completed until about twenty-five years later, when the second endowment was effected, the date of which is given as late Jumādā II 782/late September 1380.

#### FOUNDER

The initial builder was a certain Oghul Khātūn, daughter of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sayf al-Dīn, known as al-Qāzāniyya, from Baghdad. The lady who completed the construction was named Iṣfahān Shāh, daughter of the Amīr Qāzān Shāh. No sure identification has proved possible. Van

Berchem remarked<sup>3</sup> that they were possibly pilgrims who belonged to a great Turkish or Mongol family under the Jalā'irids. The mention of Baghdad in the mid-fourteenth century, of course, points in this direction. Oghul Khātūn, however, was possibly a resident of Jerusalem for a number of years since there exists in the Islamic Museum in the Ḥaram a Koran 'part' donated by her in the year 760/1359 to be used 'in the Khātūniyya Zāwiya which she had built in Jerusalem'. The manuscript is the twelfth 'part' of a set (*rab'a*) consisting of thirty altogether. The waqf note describes the donor as 'the builder of charitable and pious [institutions], the special nurturer (*murabbiyya*) of princes and sultans, the *Hājja* (pilgrim) Oghul Khātūn, daughter of the Amīr Muḥammad, son of the Amīr Thawr'. This is suggestive of high-rank but completely unspecific.<sup>4</sup>

Does the epithet 'al-Qāzāniyya' mean that Oghul Khātūn was the wife of Qāzān Shāh? Since her father and grandfather are named, she could hardly have been a slave. It would be entirely credible if her foundation was completed by a daughter, Iṣfahān Shāh.

#### ENDOWMENT

The text of Mujīr al-Dīn specifies that the initial endowment of Oghul Khātūn consisted of agricultural land (*mazra'a*) known as 'the Camel's Back', which before the chronicler's time had somewhat mysteriously changed its name to 'the Camel's Belly'. What Iṣfahān Shāh added to the endowment is not mentioned by Mujīr al-Dīn, but details are given by Defter no. 602 for 'The waqf of Iṣfahān Shāh, daughter of Qāzān Shāh, the date of the endowment instrument being the year 914 [1508-91]'.<sup>5</sup> This date must be that of a later confirmation or copy of the waqf. The five items, not all clearly legible, are as follows:

- (i) 5 parcels of land in Qasr al-Bakjūrī (?) in Damascus (al-Shām) known . . . as al-Marī (?) etc.: yield 160 (aspers)
- (ii) House to the right of the Bāb al-Ḥadīd near the Ribāṭ of the Sultan.<sup>6</sup> annually . . . [left blank]
- (iii) House in the Zion Quarter: annually 80 (aspers)
- (iv) Shop near the mill : annually 10 (aspers)
- (v) Apartment (*tabaqa*) . . . known as Ḥawsh al-Futūḥ
- (vi) Shop in the Cotton-Merchants' Market.

The nature of the earlier waqf is confirmed by Defter no. 522.<sup>7</sup>

Waqf of Ūghul (*sic*) Khātūn, daughter of Muḥammad, al-Qāzāniyya, in favour of the Khātūniyya Zāwiya: the copy of

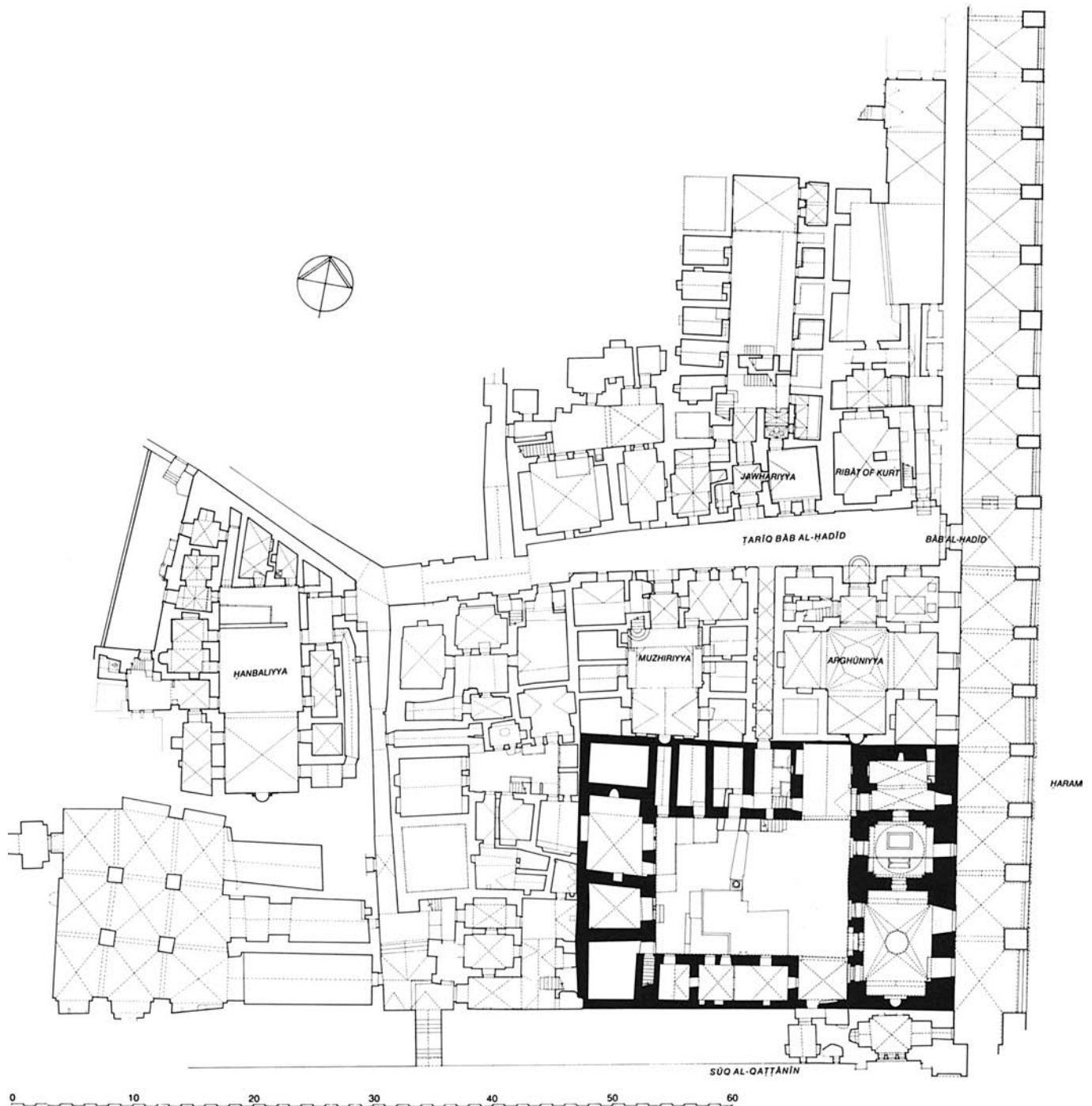


Fig. 31.2 Site plan

the *waqfiyya* in the Court record (*sijill*) is dated the year 897/1491-92.

The *mazra'a* known as 'the Camel's Back', now known as 'the Camel's Belly', belonging to (the district of) Jerusalem, near Dār Jarīr.<sup>8</sup> (annual) yield 3,800 (aspers).

#### MAMLŪK PERIOD

To judge from four references in Mujīr al-Dīn's work the Khātūniyya came to be used, at least in part, as a residence for amīrs of some distinction sent to Jerusalem under a cloud. For instance, the Amīr Khā'irbak al-Zāhirī Khushqadam, who was known as the 'Sultan for a Night', having moved from his more extreme exile in Mecca, died a year later, 879/1474, in the Khātūniyya.<sup>9</sup> Another amīr, Jānī Beg, arrested at 'Aqaba in Muḥarram 883/April 1478 and sent to Jerusalem, died in the Khātūniyya in Rajab/October of the same year.<sup>10</sup> The governor of Damascus, Qānṣūh al-Yahyāwī, blamed for a defeat before

Edessa at the hands of the Karakoyunlu, was despatched to Jerusalem in 886/1481 and took up residence in the Khātūniyya Madrasa.<sup>11</sup> Finally, the Amīr Yashbak al-Jamālī died there in 901/1496.<sup>12</sup>

#### OTTOMAN PERIOD

The administration of the Khātūniyya and its endowments was in the hands of the Ibn Jamā'a family. Such is the inference to be drawn from various entries in the Court Records. Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn 'Abd al-Nabī b. Jamā'a, muftī in Jerusalem, became shaykh with a daily salary of two aspers in 964/1557,<sup>13</sup> and the post of *bawwāb* was divided by 982/1575 in a way that seems typical of institutions which have lost their active role and become family sinecures, one half of the post passing to a brother (Ṭahā), and a quarter to a son (Aḥmad), of the deceased previous holder, Muḥyi al-Dīn b. Jamā'a.<sup>14</sup>

The same Ṭahā b. Jamā'a, now appearing as administrator

of the waqf, presented an account of the 982/1574-75 income from the 'Camel's Belly' and rent of a house and mill in Jerusalem:<sup>15</sup>

| Income                 |                   | Expenditure                     |                    |
|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| from 'Camel's Back'    |                   | repairs to room for boxed Koran | ] 600 paras        |
| 200 mudds of wheat     | 1,000 paras       | repairs to Koran stand          |                    |
|                        |                   | mats for the madrasa            |                    |
| rent of mill and house | 50 paras          | repairs to building             | 127 paras          |
|                        |                   | beneficiaries:                  |                    |
|                        |                   | Shaykh                          | 70 paras           |
|                        |                   | administrator                   | 100 paras          |
|                        |                   | <i>bawwāb</i> /caretaker        | 70 paras           |
|                        |                   | clerk                           | 35 paras           |
|                        |                   | readers of Koran<br>and Bukhārī | 13 paras           |
| <b>Total</b>           | <b>1050 paras</b> | <b>Total</b>                    | <b>1,050 paras</b> |

The same waqf property in 986/1578 was contracted by the administrator, Ṭahā b. Jamā'a to the imām of the Dome of the Rock, Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā b. Fityān al-Ḥanafī, for 220 mudds of wheat and 110 of barley, from which amounts deductions were to be made for expenses. They were in mudds, 20 wheat and 10 barley for 'tithes (*usbr*) of the imāms', 15 of wheat for transport, and 49 of barley for half the transport and other administration expenses, leaving 185 of wheat and 51 of barley clear for the waqf. The combined value works out at 1,078 paras.<sup>16</sup> Later in the same month an arrangement marginally more profitable for the waqf was arrived at with other persons<sup>17</sup> in which the amount fixed was 300 mudds of wheat, with administrative costs to be deducted: it was further stipulated that if a yet higher offer were to be made and accepted before the crops were assessed, a compensation of 15 paras a day would be paid for labour and care of crops.<sup>18</sup>

Over a hundred years later the administrator of both the Zamaniyya and the Khātūniyya Madrasas presented a report<sup>19</sup> on the state of the two buildings together with an assessment of the repair costs, which amounted in the case of the Khātūniyya to 300 piastres. The features of the Khātūniyya mentioned in the report were the western room (*oda*), the second room within it, the facilities (*murtafiq*) reached via a new door, the madrasa's kitchen, the passage-way (*diblīz*),<sup>20</sup> the western screening wall (*sitāra*), situated on the wall of the madrasa's mosque (*jamī'*), the mosque itself and the tomb chamber (*madfan*) in it.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### HARAM FRONTAGE (fig. 31.4)

The west wall of the Haram has been refaced, disguising the original disposition of openings under the portico shown in van Berchem's 1914 photograph<sup>21</sup> and Creswell's 1920 one (plate 31.1). These were a plain door into the assembly hall and a grilled window to the tomb chamber. The door has been converted into a window and a new door has been opened into the assembly hall, while the tomb chamber window has been made into a door. The new door and windows of the assembly hall bear elaborate funerary inscriptions commemorating some of the dignitaries buried in that hall, including Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hindī, who was the first to be buried there, in 1930.

Other structures – with an elaborate façade on the Haram – stood on the roof of the portico until 1925 when they were demolished.<sup>22</sup> It is not known exactly when these structures were erected (see below).

##### INTERIOR (plan, fig. 31.3)

The present entrance passageway from Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd was built as part of the Arghūniyya, which was completed in 759/



Plate 31.1 Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn from the east, showing door and window of the Khātūniyya under the portico on the right and various structures (now demolished) above the portico

1358 (see below, p. 356). Nothing is known of an earlier entrance. The passageway, 14.45m long, leads south to a plain doorway into a barrel-vaulted cell (marked 'A' on the plan), which serves as a sort of entrance vestibule. This cell originally opened south to the courtyard through a door in the middle of its south wall but this door has been blocked by the construction of a later, Ottoman staircase and replaced by a high-level window. Instead, two new doors give access to the courtyard, one in the east wall, which is reached by a flight of six steps up to the north *iwān*, and one in the west wall, which leads through an adjoining cell (B) and from there under the later staircase to the courtyard.

The courtyard is split from north to south on two levels, the west end being lower than the east end. Much of this difference in level is accounted for by an accumulation of debris at the east end, where it covers the lower part of a decorated *ablaq* façade. How far this façade continues below the present surface level will be revealed only by excavation. Nevertheless, the original threshold of a door in that façade is calculated to be about 1.45m above the original lower courtyard level (see below) and so to reach it a total of at least five steps would have been needed. The reconstruction suggested in fig. 31.9 shows three steps up to the door in addition to two steps dividing the courtyard.

In the middle of the courtyard there is a well-head made from a hollowed column base giving access to a cistern below.

The layout of cells (A–K) around the courtyard is shown on the plan, fig. 31.3. The doors and windows of most of these cells have been rebuilt in recent years. (Two of the original pointed-

arched doors, at the south-west corner of the courtyard, are visible in Creswell's 1920 photograph, *plate 31.2*.) The interiors of several cells have also been altered by the breaching or removal of partition walls, and two cells (E and H) in the north-west and south-west corners are no longer accessible. The door at the south end of the west wall leads to a small landing with a blocked door to the west and a stair rising south to the roof. A quirked ogee moulding forms a cornice above the cells around the courtyard. The structures above this cornice are later, almost certainly Ottoman, additions.

At the east end of the north and south walls the same moulding forms a sort of impost supported by coupled elbow brackets from which spring the arches of the two *iwāns* that confront each other across this end of the courtyard. These elbow brackets (*fig. 31.11*) are most unusual features, though not unique.<sup>23</sup> At the east end of the porch at the Aqṣā Mosque a virtually identical bracket is to be found, which is described by Hamilton as a passable copy of the original (Crusader) brackets in the central bays of that porch.<sup>24</sup> That copy is part of the rebuilding of the east end of the porch in 751/1350 under the supervision of an Egyptian amīr, 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Miṣrī.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, the brackets at the Khātūniyya are so similar to the one at the Aqṣā Mosque that we may infer with some confidence that they were carved by the same mason, possibly shortly after work at the Mosque was finished but in any case before 755/1354 when the Khātūniyya was first endowed.

The frontal arches of the two *iwāns* are built of red and cream-coloured *ablaq* voussoirs, and the coursing of the *ablaq* masonry in the spandrels is adjusted in order to have the lower courses coincide with the extrados of voussoirs of the same colour. A simple splay-face moulding runs across the top and down the west spandrel of the north *iwān*; the south *iwān* has lost whatever frame moulding it might have had when a later building was erected over it.



Plate 31.2 Courtyard, south side



Plate 31.3 Courtyard, north side

The north *iwān* now measures 6.38m from front to back, but Creswell's photograph (*plate 31.3*) reveals that its rear (north) wall has been rebuilt some time after 1920. The back of the marble lining of the *mihṛāb* of the Arghūniyya is exposed in the north-east corner of the *iwān*, indicating that the wall here is very thin indeed. Creswell's photograph shows that the rear wall of the *iwān* was on the same alignment as the north wall of cell 'A'. Immediately above the modern pavement at the north end of the east wall of the *iwān* the masonry contains three voussoirs of what seems to be the remains of an arch. It is not clear what the original purpose of this arch might have been unless it belonged to the pre-existing Süfi's cell mentioned by al-'Umarī (see above). To the south of the arch is a modern door (now blocked) that led into the tomb anteroom. The original door is in a pointed-arched recess near the southern end of the wall.

The south *iwān* is shallower than the north one, being 3.65m from north to south. In the east wall is a pointed-arched recess containing a grilled window (now blocked) that opened to the assembly hall. A crudely arched recess in the rear (south) wall contains a door into the east end of the passage giving access to the lodgings (*rubū*) on the north side of Süq al-Qaṭṭānīn (above, p. 280). Both door and recess appear to be modern.

The decorated façade at the east end dominates the courtyard (*fig. 31.5*). The lower part of the façade is built of red and cream-coloured *ablaq* masonry and continues some way into the *iwāns* at either end. This part of the façade that is built of *ablaq* is framed by a quirked ogee moulding similar in profile to the cornice above the cells, which extends horizontally across the façade between the *iwāns*, then descends vertically at either end and returns over coupled brackets carrying the eastern springings of the *iwān* arches. From there it continues south into the south *iwān* and north into the north *iwān*. In the south *iwān* it frames the recess containing the assembly hall window. In the north *iwān* it extends across the recess containing the door into the tomb anteroom. Between these two arched recesses the façade contains three openings (all blocked): a window to the tomb chamber and a window and door to the assembly hall (*plate 31.4*). The two windows are each set in a shallow recess

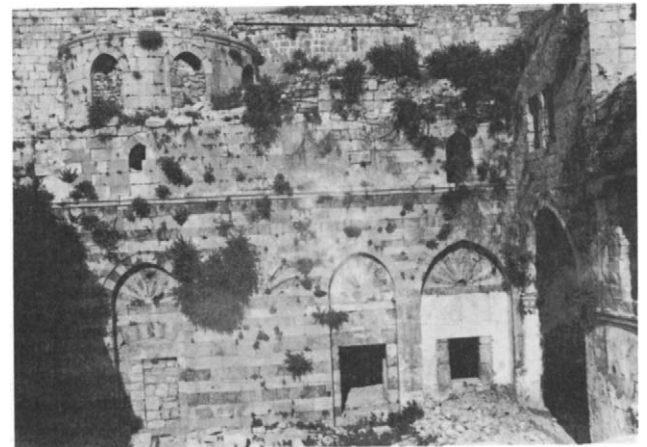


Plate 31.4 Courtyard, east side

spanned by a pointed horseshoe arch. The tympanums are decorated with an *ablaq* revetment radiating from a small central hub. The wall surface between the two arches is decorated with a similar radial *ablaq* revetment, which enlivens this otherwise blank section of façade. The door into the assembly hall is wider than the windows and is set in a correspondingly wider recess with matching radial revetment in the tympanum of its pointed arch. The lintels of all five openings are surmounted by *ablaq* relieving arches.

The tops of stone benches flanking the assembly hall door protrude approximately 0.30m above the surface of the packed debris at this end of the courtyard; the original threshold level



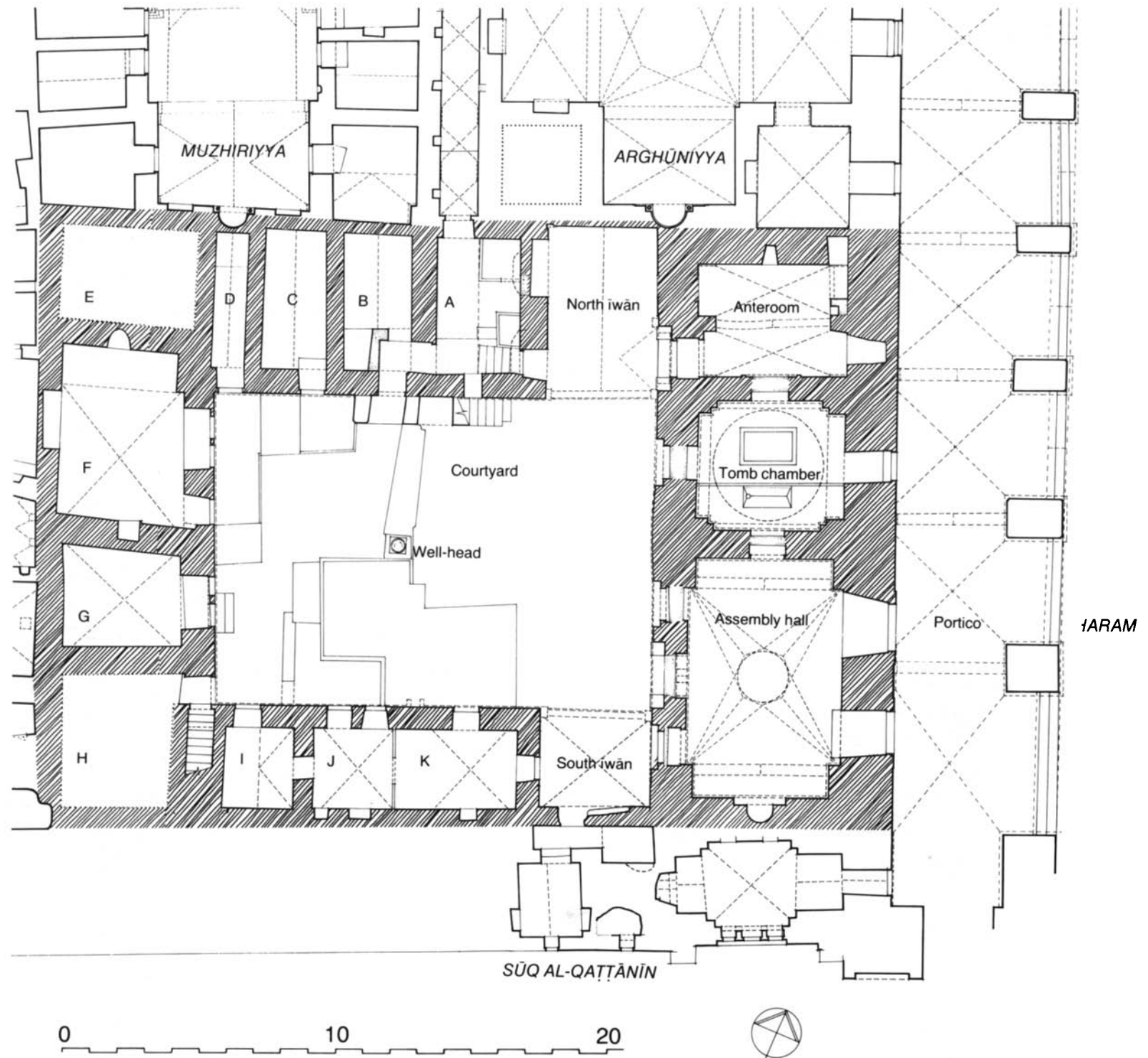


Fig. 31.3 Ground floor plan

must be 0.35m or so below the present surface or, in other words, about 1.13m above the present lower courtyard level. However, through a gap in the paving beside the entrance to cell 'G' at the west end of the courtyard may be seen earlier paving stones that presumably belong to the original pavement 0.32m below the present pavement. Thus the threshold of the assembly hall door appears to be about 1.45m above the original pavement in the west part of the courtyard.

The upper part of the façade is of plain limestone pierced by two pointed-arched windows, one lighting the assembly hall and one lighting the tomb chamber. The dome over the tomb chamber is raised on a tall circular drum. The dome itself collapsed in the winter of 1919-20<sup>26</sup> and at some later date the drum was rebuilt one course higher and the dome replaced

with a pitiful concrete cap that bears no resemblance to the original.<sup>27</sup>

The tomb chamber was reached by way of the anteroom from the recessed doorway in the north *iwān* (plate 31.5). The arch of this doorway springs from inward-facing coupled elbow brackets. Each of these is attached to a similar coupled bracket facing west. On the right side the west-facing bracket carries the opening arch of the *iwān* (plate 31.6), confronting a similar bracket at the west springing of that arch. The bracket on the left, having no arch to support, is structurally redundant. Each pair of coupled brackets is carved from a single block of stone. In the tympanum of the doorway a recessed panel with elaborately foliated ends appears to have been intended for an inscription that was never carved. The top edge of the panel is



Plate 31.5 Entrance to anteroom



Plate 31.6 North iwān, east bracket

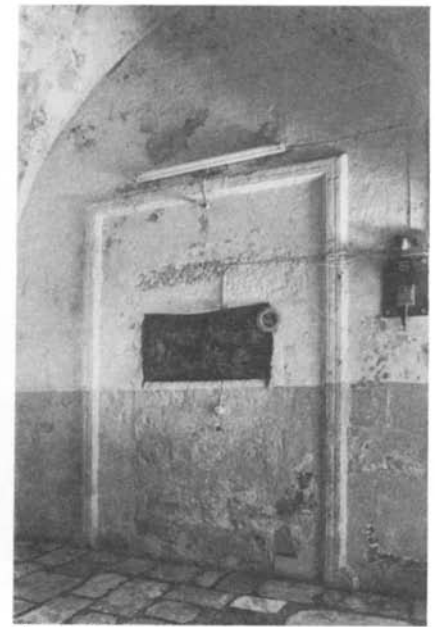


Plate 31.7 Door from anteroom to tomb chamber

broken by a crude round window made some time after 1920.

The anteroom within that doorway is roofed by two cross vaults separated by an east–west transverse arch. Two small cupboards open in the north wall, and an irregular high-level recess has been cut into the south half of the east (Haram) wall. The north half of the east wall is hidden by a modern partition. There is no sign of any windows except for the modern opening above the entrance door. In the south wall of the anteroom a wide doorway (now blocked) is framed by a simple moulding with volute finials at the bottom partly masked by modern paving (*plate 31.7*). This doorway led into the tomb chamber.

The tomb chamber contains two cenotaphs. In the southern part is a small gabled cenotaph, now coated with cement, which presumably marks the grave of Oghul Khātūn. To the north is a grander cenotaph marking the recent grave of the Hashemite Sharif, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd.

The chamber is almost square in plan with tall wall arches in each side to reduce the central area under the dome to an exact square. The north, west and south walls are constructed of red and cream-coloured *ablaq*, as are the wall arches. The east wall, which is the Haram wall, is plastered. Originally there was in each of the three *ablaq* walls an opening spanned by a lintel and an *ablaq* relieving arch: in the north wall the entrance from the anteroom; in the west wall a window to the courtyard; and in the south wall a door or window to the assembly hall. All these openings are now blocked. In the east wall was a window opening on the Haram but this has been converted into a door, which is now the only entrance to the chamber. Above the *ablaq* masonry an ogee moulding runs round three sides of the chamber at the springing level of the wall arches. Around the extrados of the four arches a splay-face moulding articulates the conjunction between the arches and the double-faceted pendentives that make the transition from the square base to the drum, which is eight-sided in the interior though the exterior is circular. Pointed-arched windows open in each side of the drum. The lower part of each of these windows is blocked by the surrounding roof, presumably when the roof was resurfaced at some time. There are two more windows, one opening in the tympanum of the west wall arch and the other in the corresponding position in the south wall arch.

The pendentives and the tympanums of the wall arches originally bore a rich stucco decoration in relief. That decoration has now entirely disappeared, but the dilapidated remains visible in Creswell’s 1920 photograph (*plate 31.8*) suffice to convey a reasonably accurate impression of the

overall scheme. The two pendentives shown in this photograph are decorated alike with a swirling arabesque of interlacing leafy tendrils, and the whole composition is enclosed within a raised stucco border. The decoration of the tympanum is quite different: a more formal composition framed by a fretted border. Across the base of this border runs a frieze of intersecting semicircles with trifoliate terminals to the upturned points. There are two identical circular medallions on either side of the window in the middle of the tympanum. These contain a distinctive strapwork motif comprising a six-pointed star interlaced with a six-lobed rosette (*fig. 31.12*) – a common design in Islamic art and architecture.<sup>28</sup> A photograph in the collection of the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem<sup>29</sup> shows that all four wall arches and pendentives were decorated identically, which suggests that a mould or a stencil was used.

The assembly hall to the south of the tomb chamber was originally reached from the courtyard through the recessed entrance door described above. There was a second entrance, now a window, from the Haram, and possibly a third from the tomb chamber (see above). The only entrance nowadays is the modern door from the Haram at the south end of the east wall of the hall.

The floor of the hall has been raised about 0.40m. On it stand modern cenotaphs marking the graves of five notables buried here since 1930. The vaulting is in three bays with short barrel vaults at the north and south ends and a folded cross vault in the centre, which rises to an octagonal cupola at the crown (see *fig. 31.6*). The three bays are separated by *ablaq* transverse arches. The south, west and north walls are built in *ablaq* masonry to a height of 2.99m where an ogee moulding extends around the three walls. The whole of the east wall, that is the pre-existing Haram wall, is plastered, as are the upper parts of the other walls and the vaults. The two high-level windows, opening on the courtyard and on the tomb chamber, have screens of polychrome glass set in plaster tracery (*plates 31.9 and 31.10*). Both screens may be later insertions.

The entrance door from the courtyard is flanked by two windows; all are now blocked. The door is set in a shallow recess spanned by a trefoil arch composed of *ablaq* voussoirs (see *plate 31.11*), which may have been inspired by the nearby *ablaq* trefoil arch at Bāb al-Qaṭānīn (above, p. 278). The tympanum of the upper lobe of the arch is decorated with a radial revetment similar to that of the exterior arch of the doorway. The ogee moulding bends upwards here over the head of the arch. The flanking windows are plain rectangular embrasures in the *ablaq* masonry of the walls, as is the opening

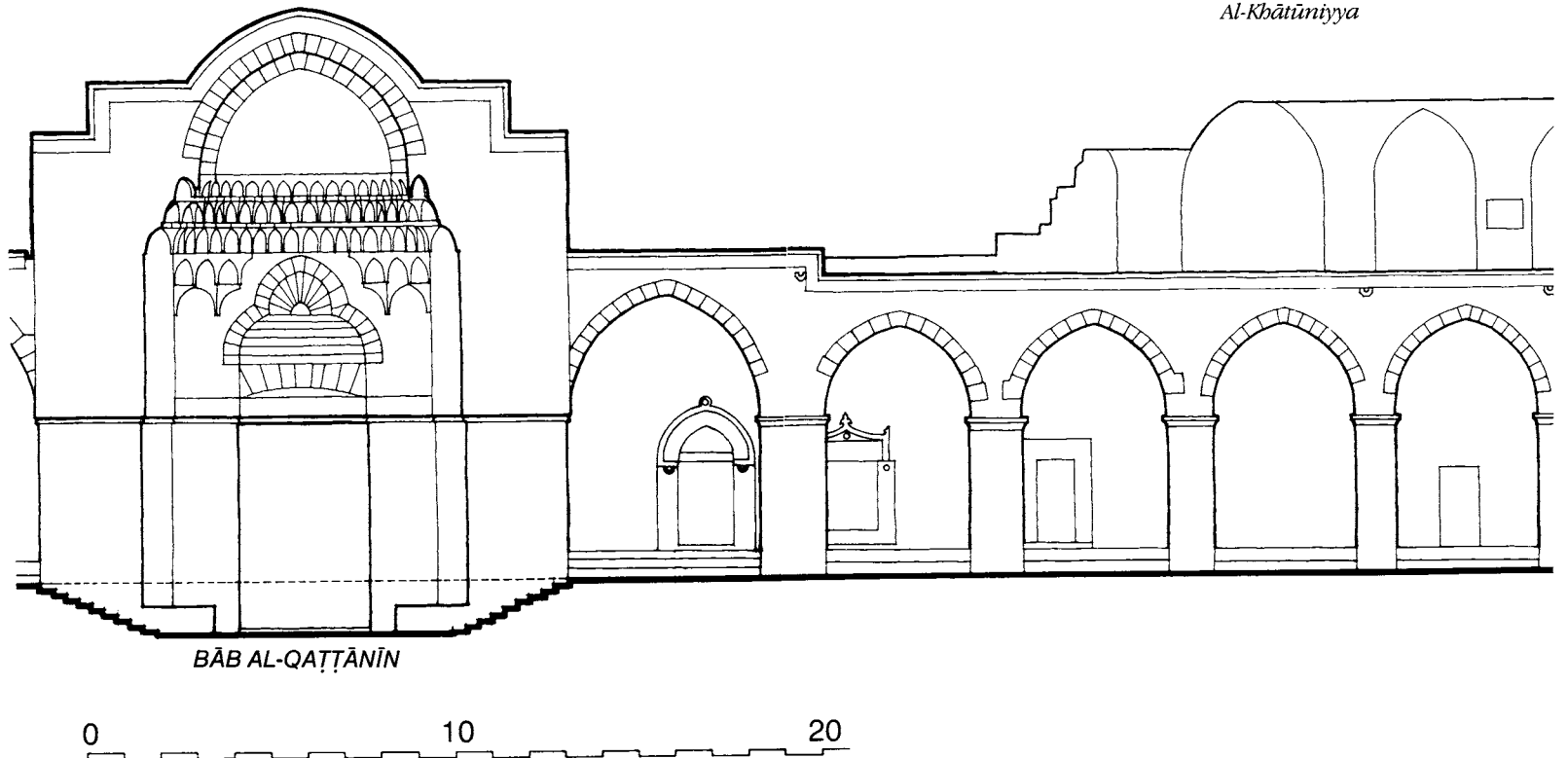


Fig. 31.4 H̳aram frontage



Plate 31.8 Tomb chamber, west wall



Plate 31.9 High-level window to courtyard from assembly hall

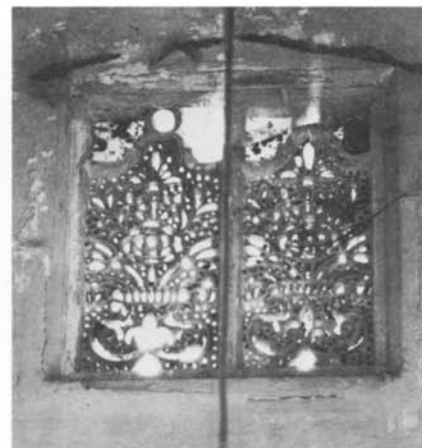


Plate 31.10 High-level window to tomb chamber from assembly hall



Plate 31.11 Assembly hall, south-west corner

to the tomb chamber in the north wall. The soffit of the second masonry course above the lintels of the windows is undercut as if to reduce the load on the lintels, while the lintel of the opening in the north wall is surmounted by an *ablaq* relieving arch.

The *mihrāb* in the middle of the south wall is somewhat squat in appearance due to the raising of the floor level. It is set in an arched recess (see *plate 31.11*), the pointed horseshoe arch of which has unsupported haunches, doubtless originally sustained by nook-shafts. The conch is of coursed *ablaq*, below which the curved interior of the niche is inlaid with five round-headed vertical panels of red stone.

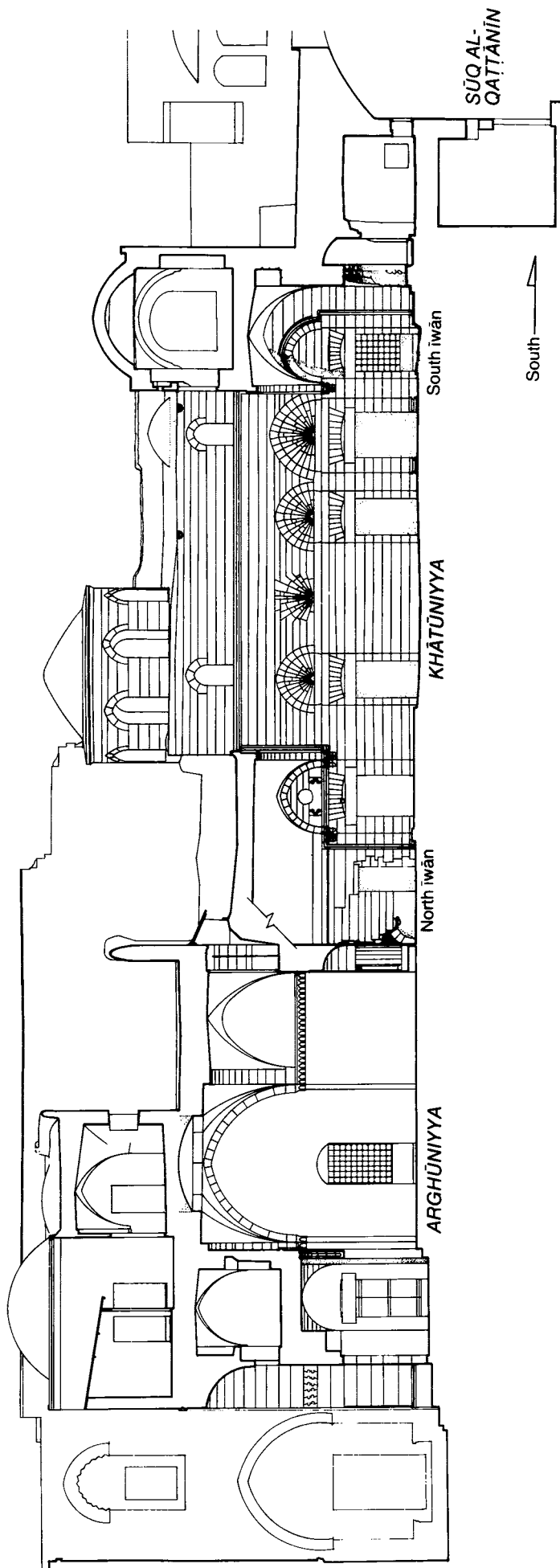


Fig. 31.5 North-south section looking east through the courtyards of the Arghūniyya and the Khātūniyya

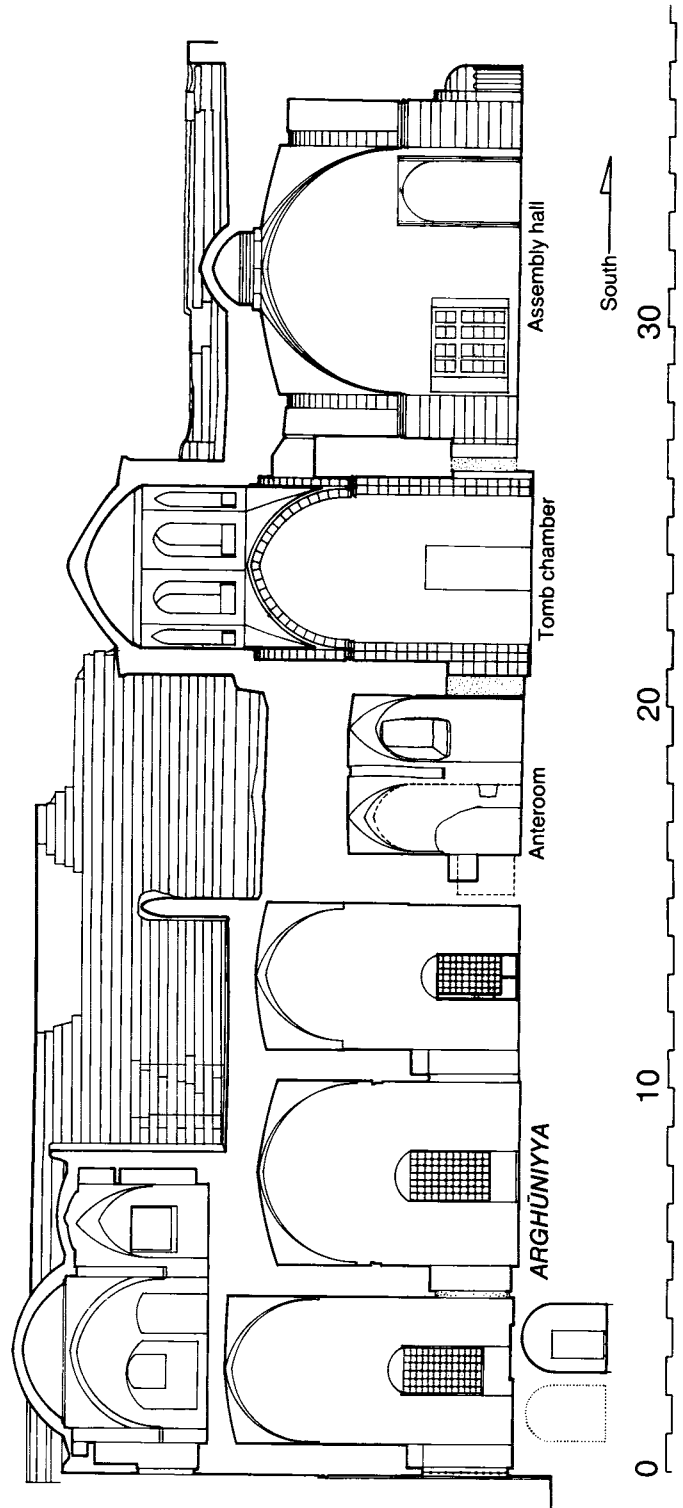


Fig. 31.6 North-south section through tomb chamber and assembly hall looking east

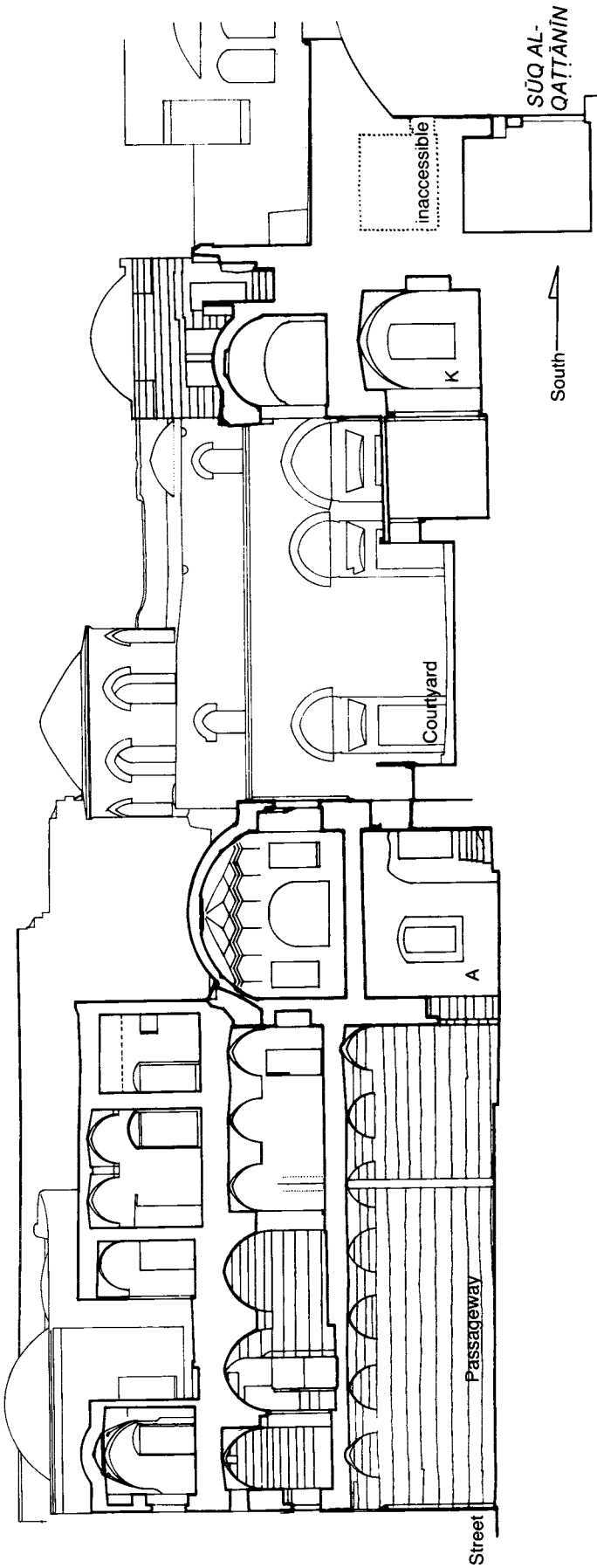


Fig. 31.7 North-south section through entrance passageway and courtyard looking east

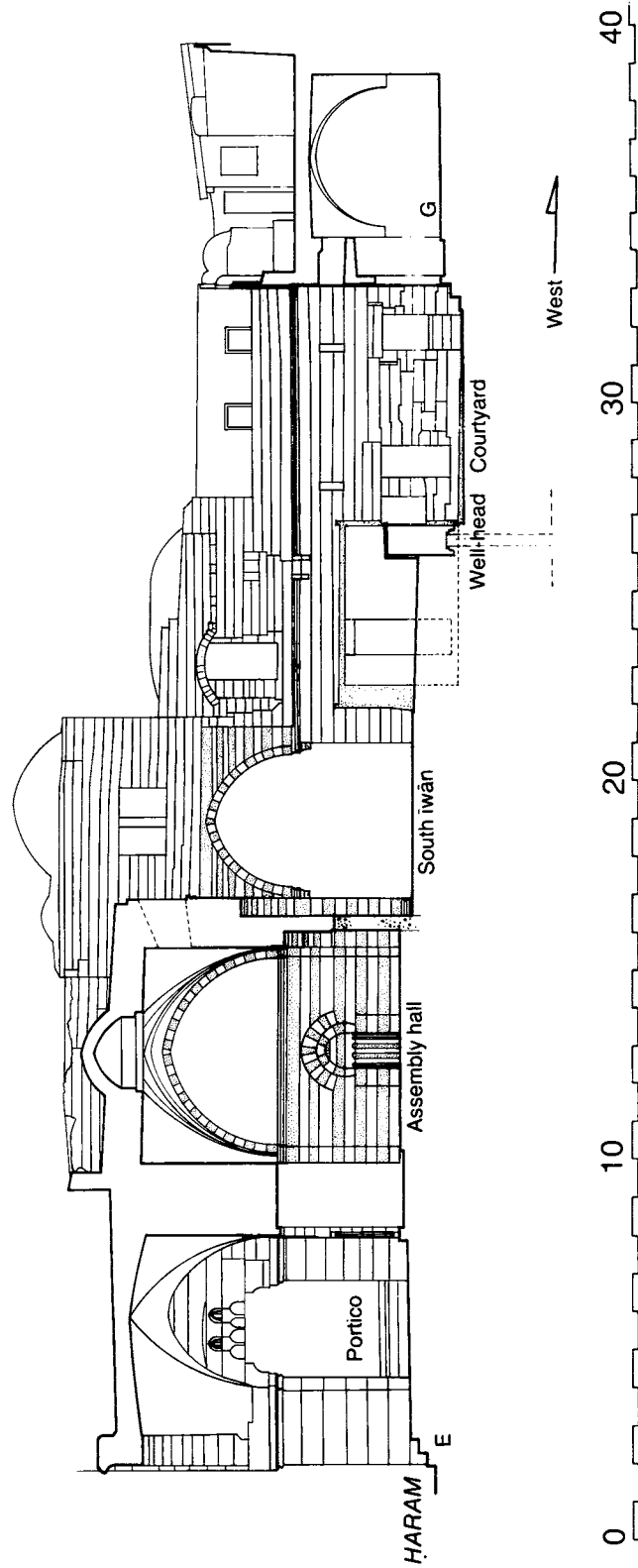
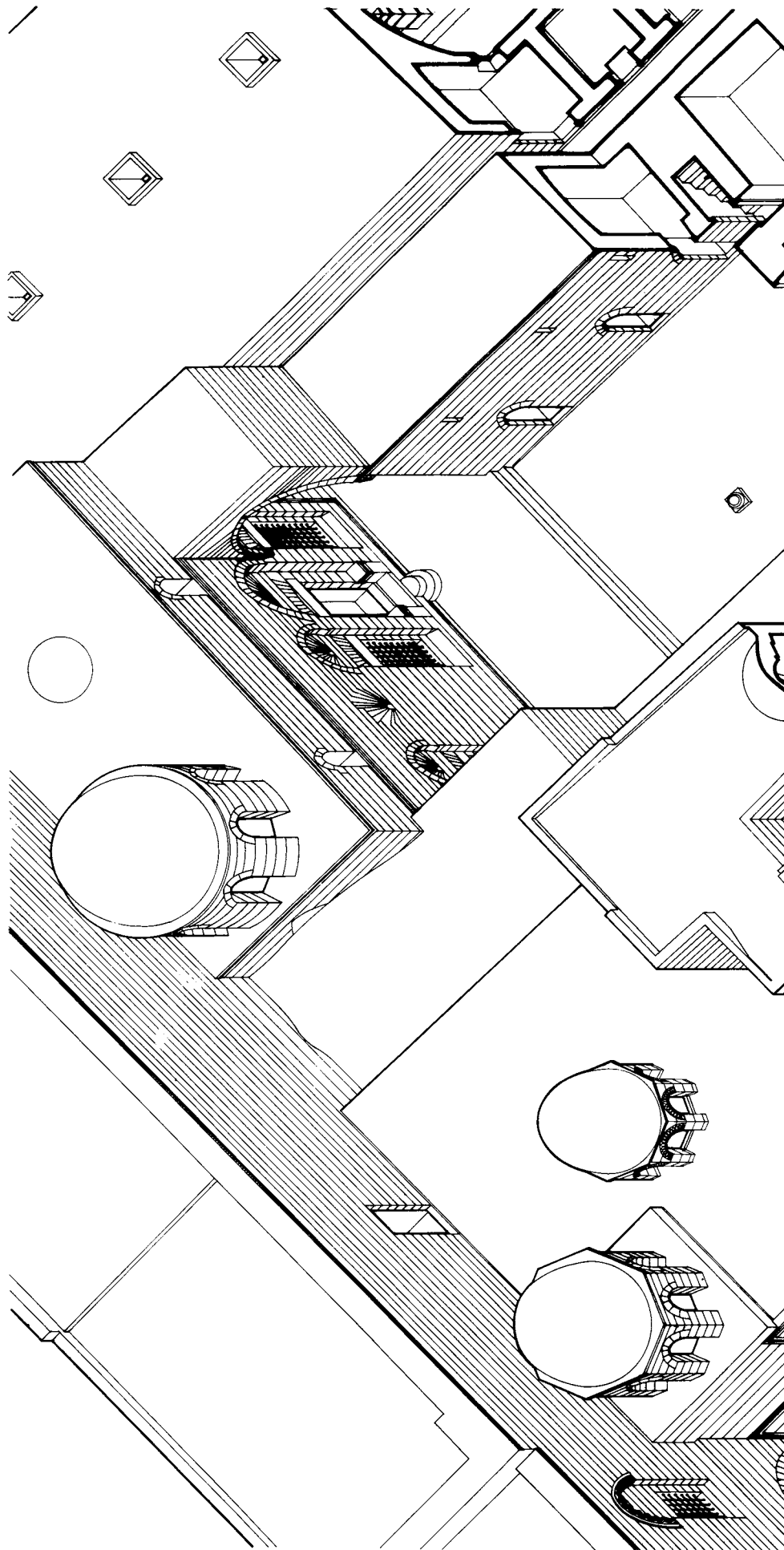
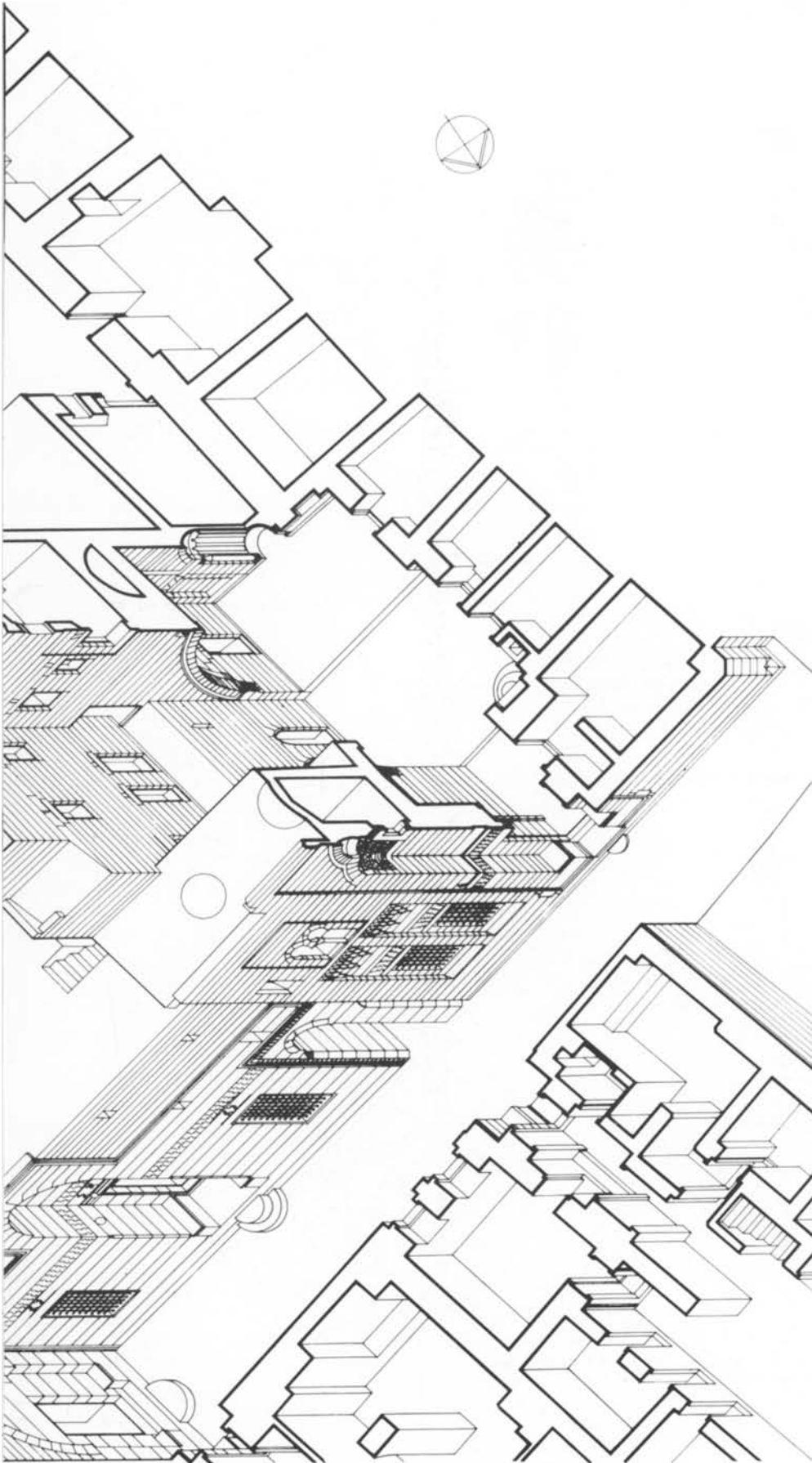


Fig. 31.8 East-west section looking south





**Fig. 31.9** Cut-away axonometric view of buildings on south side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd as they may have appeared at the end of the fifteenth century



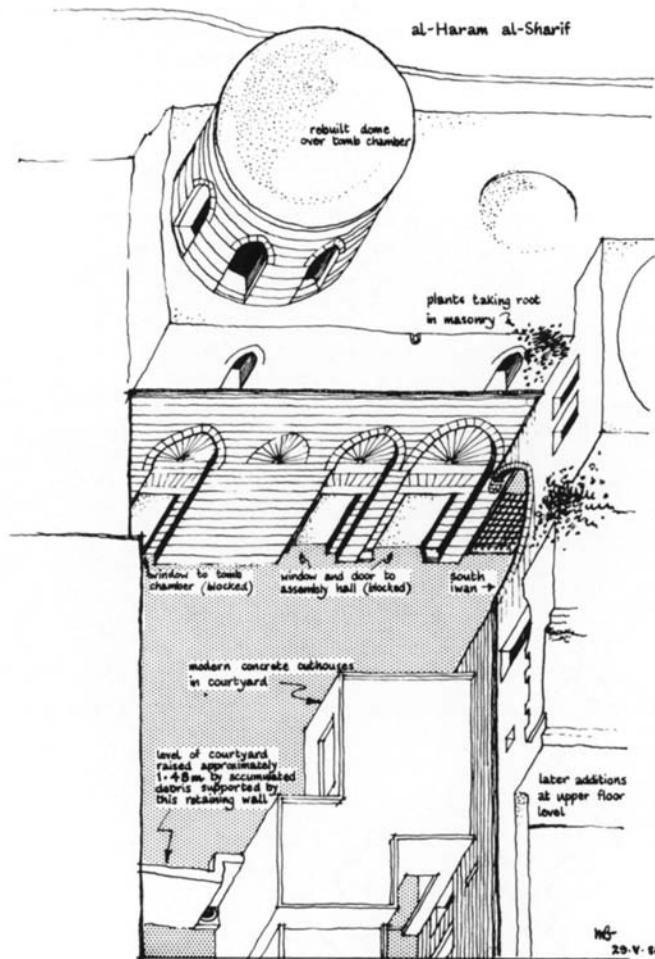


Fig. 31.10 Bird's-eye view of the Khātūniyya Madrasa showing present condition

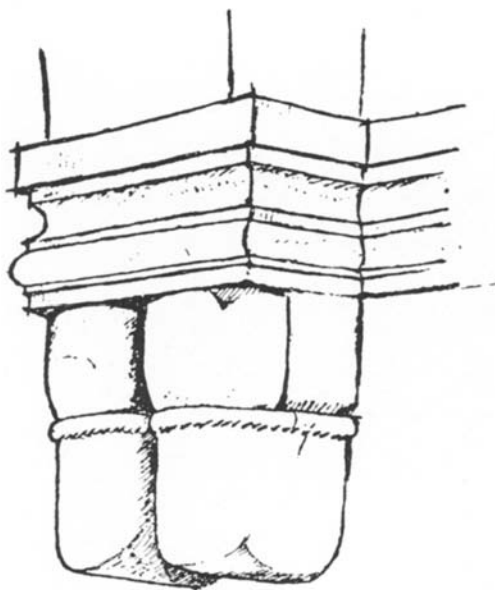


Fig. 31.11 Elbow bracket

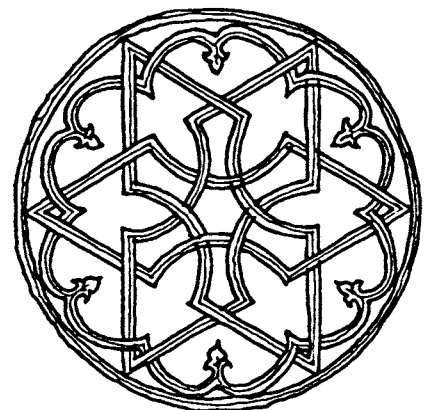


Fig. 31.12 Detail of roundel

## TWO STAGES OF CONSTRUCTION?

Mujir al-Dīn records that the construction, first endowed in 755/1354 by Oghul Khātūn, was *completed* and re-endowed in 782/1380 by Iṣfahān Shāh. The provision in the Arghūniyya of an entrance passageway to the Khātūniyya shows that the Khātūniyya existed before the Arghūniyya was constructed in 759/1358. That earlier construction must surely have included the main assembly hall/tomb chamber/anteroom complex beside the Haram wall. What more did it include? Or, to put the question another way, what did Iṣfahān Shāh's 'completion' entail? There would appear to be three possibilities: (1) the finishing of minor details of no great architectural significance; (2) the addition of all or part of the two *iwāns* and cells that enclose the courtyard; or (3) the addition of an upper extension above the Haram portico.

About the first possibility we can say little except that the present building, despite later alterations and additions, has the appearance of a homogeneous whole.

The second possibility nevertheless deserves careful consideration for there are certain irregularities in the design and construction of the two *iwāns* in particular. The north *iwān* is barrel-vaulted and has a pointed frontal arch composed of twenty-nine voussoirs, whereas the south *iwān* is cross-vaulted and its frontal arch is slightly horseshoed and composed of only twenty-five smaller voussoirs. Moreover, the frontal arch of the south *iwān* masks the vertical run of the quirky ogee moulding in the façade at the east end of the

courtyard. The moulding returns above the coupled elbow brackets supporting the east springer of that *iwān* in an awkward fashion as if the bracket were a later insertion. The bracket itself is the only one that is damaged, which might have happened if it was lying around for some time before being used. Furthermore, the vault of the *iwān* obscures part of the continuation of the moulding over the assembly hall window (see fig. 31.5). At the north *iwān*, on the other hand, the moulding is obviously an integral part of both the façade and the springer of the *iwān*'s frontal arch. We may conclude, therefore, that the south *iwān* is a later addition, perhaps part of Iṣfahān Shāh's 'completion'. All the cells around the courtyard, surmounted by a continuous cornice moulding similar to that on the façade of the complex beside the Haram wall, appear, however, to form part of the earlier construction. This would explain why the long entrance passageway had to lead through one of the cells to give access to the courtyard.

Of the third possibility – that Iṣfahān Shāh added an extension over the Haram portico – all that can be said is that there was indeed a structure above the portico but there are indications that it formed part of the Ribāt al-Zamanī (below, p. 576) or the 'Uthmāniyya (below, p. 550). If the latter were true it is conceivable that there might have been some confusion between the founder of the 'Uthmāniyya and the completer of the Khātūniyya for both were called Iṣfahān Shāh. That structure above the portico was demolished in 1925.

## Notes

- 1 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 161.
- 2 Mujir, ii, 36.
- 3 *CIA (Ville)*, 280, note 1.
- 4 We are grateful to Mr. Nazmi Ju'beh of the Haram Museum for bringing this to our attention and providing us with a copy of the full text.
- 5 Defter no. 602, 456.
- 6 If this means to the right when leaving the Haram, then a house somewhere between the Ribāt Kurt and the Qalāwūn Hospice seems to be intended.
- 7 İpşirli, 46 and 184.
- 8 *HGP*, 113. Correct İpşirli's reading (*Dār Harb*).
- 9 Mujir, ii, 305 (cf. Ibn Iyās, iii, 97).
- 10 Mujir, ii, 321 (cf. Ibn Iyās, iii, 144 and 148).
- 11 Mujir, ii, 327 (cf. Ibn Iyās, iii, 170-1 and 190).
- 12 Mujir, *Dbayl*, fol. 221b (cf. Ibn Iyās, iii, 317).
- 13 Sijill 33, 152 (2).
- 14 Sijill 56, 306 (2): the combined salary was 1½ aspers daily.
- 15 Sijill 57, 71 (5).
- 16 Sijill 58, 162 (7), dated Rabī' II 986. The prices at that time were for wheat, 1 mudd for 5 paras, and for barley, 1 mudd for 3 paras.
- 17 Sijill 58, 570 (4).
- 18 *Qabla tamām istiḡā' al-ghilāl*. This appears to mean that the 'auction' for the farm (*muqāta'a*) could continue until the crops were assessed. The daily 'compensation', if more than a certain time had elapsed, would effectively make it uneconomic to accept a further offer in any case.
- 19 Sijill, 185, 124, dated 1093/1682.
- 20 This is taken to be the access from the Bāb al-Ḥadīd Street, in other words, an indirect piece of evidence for identification.
- 21 *CIA (Planches)*, lxxi.
- 22 *Bayān al-majlis al-sbarī al-islāmī al-a'lā bi-Filasṭīn*, (Jerusalem, 1928, 6 and first plate)

- 23 There are two single elbow brackets in the window recesses on the Haram façade of the Tankiziyya (above, p. 229). Van Berchem (*CIA (Ville)*, 207 n.1) gives a list of Crusader examples as well as referring to the remarkable 'Islamic' example at the 'Alā' al-Dīn Mosque (617/1220) in Konya. He also refutes de Vogüé's inexplicable contention that the device is Arab in origin (*CIA (Ville)*, 207. n.2). R.W. Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, London, 1949, 45, suggests that 'the device may well have originated in the consoles carrying colonnettes or arches which are to be seen in some north Syrian churches of the sixth century'.
- 24 R.W. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 41, pl. xxiv, 2.
- 25 *CIA (Haram)*, 482-32.
- 26 Undated note in archives of the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum. An anonymous report in the same archives, dated 29 January 1912, describes the building thus: 'Exterior recently repaired. Inside still in ruin, though worth preserving'.
- 27 The original dome is barely discernible in *CIA (Planches)*, cvi.
- 28 Early examples are found on painted tie beams from the Aqṣā Mosque (R.W. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 76, Fig. 35, E6). Others have been recorded as far afield as Afghanistan (A.D.H. Bivar, 'Seljūqid Ziyārāts of Sar-i Pul (Afghanistan)', *BSOAS*, xxix, 1966, 57-63, pl. III) and Bulgaria (G. Migeon, 'Orfèvrerie d'argent de style oriental trouvée au Bulgarie', *Syria*, iii, 1922, 141-44, pl. xxx). There are many other examples in different materials from different periods, and so this motif is obviously unreliable as a dating criterion (cf. A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Le Bronze Iranien*, Paris, 1973, 12-13).
- 29 Photograph no. J74. See also report no. ATQ/5/203 in file 88 in the archives of the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum, which includes other photographs of this stucco.

## 32 AL-ARGHŪNIYYA

### الأرغونية

759/1358

Madrasa and tomb of Arghūn al-Kāmilī

Modern name: Dār al-'Afīfī

#### I LOCATION (fig. 32.1)

At the west border of the Ḥaram on the south side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd beside the gate.

#### II SITE AND BUILDING (fig. 32.2)

The madrasa is quasi-cruciform in plan with *iwāns* opening on the east, south and west sides of a vaulted courtyard and an entrance vestibule in the form of a lower and narrower fourth *iwān* (now blocked) on the north side, which we shall call the 'vestibule-*iwān*'. At the crown of the vaulting over the courtyard is a large octagonal oculus, now closed. There is a *mibrāb* in the *qibla* wall of the south *iwān*.

The corners between the *iwāns* are occupied by rooms serving various purposes. The most important of these is a tomb chamber at the north-east corner which has two windows, one opening on the street and one on the Ḥaram. The south-east corner has a cross-vaulted room with doors into both the Ḥaram and the east *iwān*, providing now the only means of access to the courtyard of the madrasa. The room in the south-west corner is sealed off. The north-west corner contains a small room, a well-niche and a staircase leading to an upper floor, which comprises five small rooms.

Included within the eastern boundary of the complex is a long passageway leading to the Khātūniyya (no. 31).

#### III HISTORY

##### IDENTIFICATION

The extant inscription (see the translation below) identifies beyond doubt this building situated on the south side of the quiet street leading to the Bāb al-Ḥadīd.

##### DATE

A completion date after the death of the founder is communicated by the inscription, the original of which has been edited by van Berchem,<sup>1</sup> and confirmed by Mujīr al-Dīn. First the inscription:

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. The construction of this blessed tomb and madrasa was ordered by his most noble excellency Sayf al-Dīn Arghūn al-Kāmilī, the former Governor of the Province of Damascus. He died [and passed] to the mercy of God Almighty on the 28 Shawwāl in the year seven hundred and fifty-eight. Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Sayfi took charge of the building and its completion. It was completed in Rabī' II of the year seven hundred and fifty-nine [13 March-10 April 1358].

The building was finished under the superintendence of

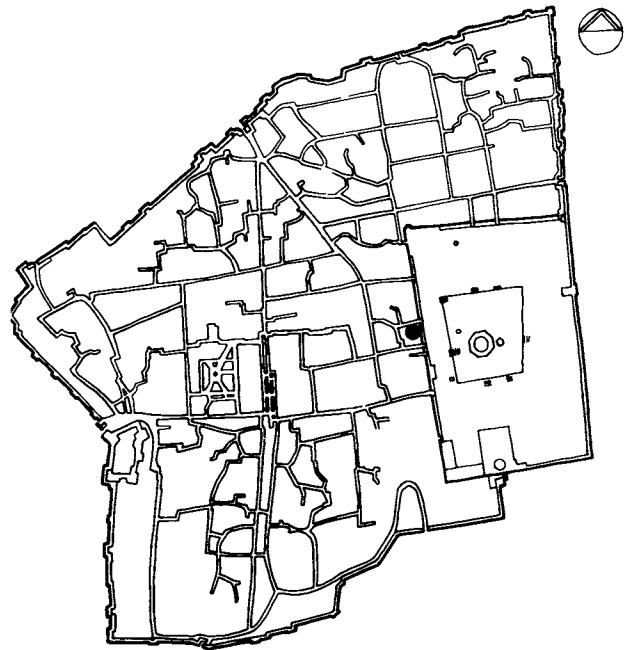


Fig. 32.1 Location plan

someone who may have been one of the mamlūks of Arghūn. Yet to make this assumption, as van Berchem did,<sup>2</sup> on the basis of the *nisba* 'al-Sayfi', when the honorific Sayf al-Dīn was borne by so many, owes more to a sense of the fitness of things than it does to solid evidence.

Mujīr al-Dīn's text is as follows:<sup>3</sup>

The Arghūniyya Madrasa at the Bāb al-Ḥadīd was endowed by Arghūn al-Kāmilī, the Governor of Syria. He was the person who renewed the Bāb al-Ḥadīd, one of the gates of the Ḥaram. At one time the gate was known as the Arghūn Gate.<sup>4</sup> He died on Thursday, 26 Shawwāl<sup>5</sup> in the year seven hundred and fifty-eight in Jerusalem, and he was buried there. The construction of it was completed after his death in the year fifty-nine.

##### FOUNDER

Since Arghūn is said to have been less than thirty when he died,<sup>6</sup> he could not have been born before 728/1328. Therefore he would have been at the most seventeen when he was given an amirate of 40 by Sultan al-Sāliḥ Ismā'īl in Shawwāl 745/February 1345.<sup>7</sup> He was mamlūk of the Sultan, who was himself still in his teens. His brief career started with good connections. He married the Sultan's half sister, a child of her mother's union with the regent, Arghūn al-Alā'ī. Arghūn al-Kāmilī was initially known as 'the Younger' (*al-Saghbūr*). He probably held the court post of *jāmdār* (Master of the Robes) at this time, the blazon of which office appears in the inscription of the Arghūniyya.

Under al-Kāmil Sha'bān, Arghūn was advanced to the rank of Amīr of 100<sup>8</sup> and his *nisba* changed by royal command to 'al-Kāmilī'.<sup>9</sup> During a visit to Jerusalem, a visit full of profit and honour, severe sanctions were threatened against anyone who continued to refer to him as 'the Younger'.<sup>10</sup> After a brief setback to his career in 747/1346, Arghūn, restored to his high rank, was sent as governor to Aleppo, where he continued till Rajab 752/September 1351.<sup>11</sup> Transferred to Damascus, he remained loyal to Cairo during the rebellion of Baybughā Rūs, his successor in Aleppo. With the rebellion checked and the participants hunted down and executed, and a successful expedition against the Dhulghādir lands completed, Arghūn reached the high point of his career.<sup>12</sup> As Maqrīzī tells us: 'Despite his young years, he had four mamlūks who were amīrs, his son aged three was an amīr of 100, the sources of whose amirate were on his death added to the fief of the Governor (of Aleppo) [i.e. Arghūn's], and four members of his



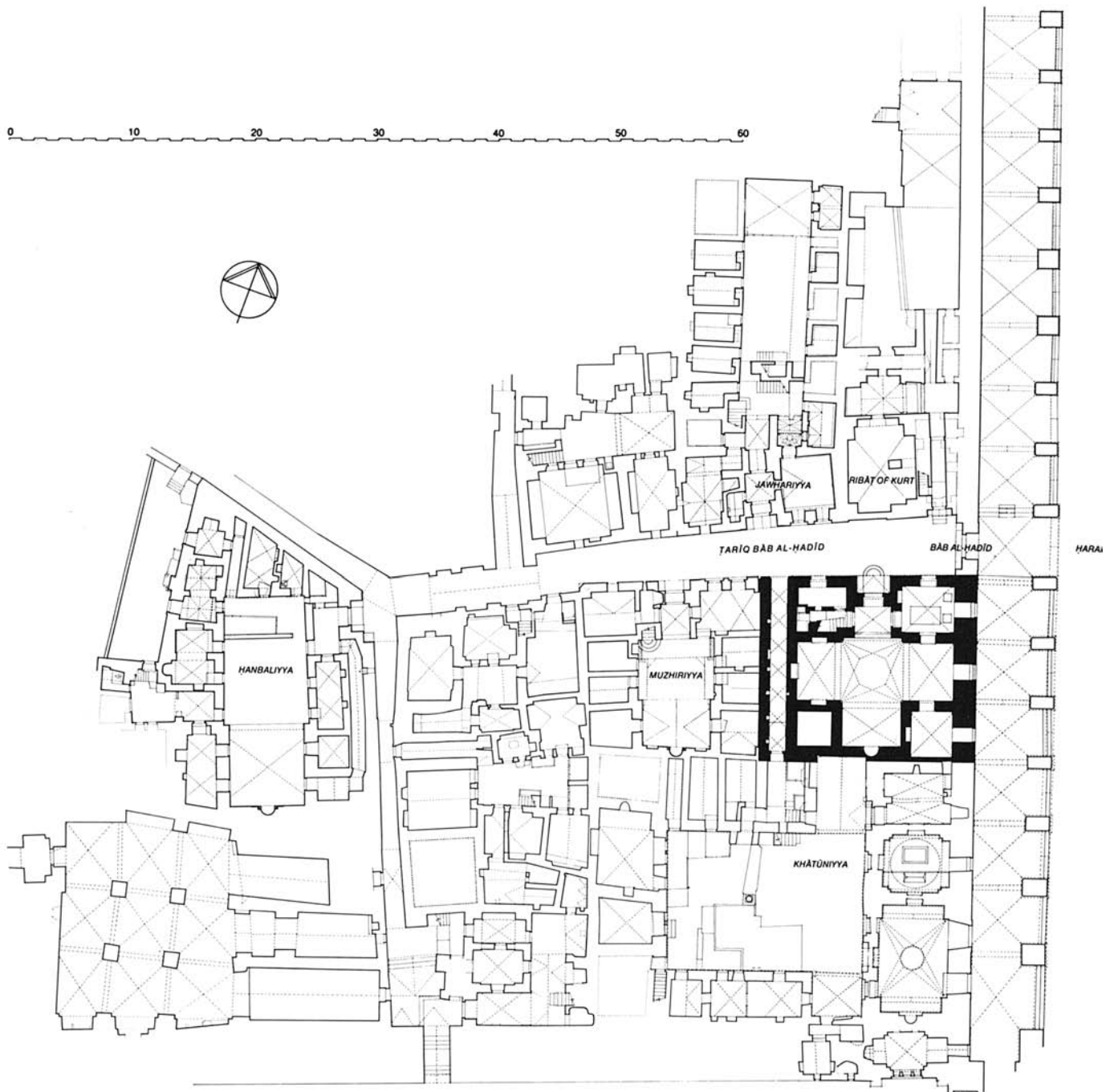


Fig. 32.2 Site plan

family, who had arrived as immigrants, held four amirates<sup>13</sup>

After al-Nāṣir Ḥasan returned for his second reign in 755/1354, Arghūn was recalled to Cairo and replaced in Aleppo by Ṭāz (see p. 399). In Egypt Arghūn was given an amirate of 100, but in circumstances that are not explained he was arrested in Ṣafar 756/February 1355, and sent to prison in Alexandria.<sup>14</sup> Later he was ordered to Jerusalem with *baṭṭāl* status, where, as we have seen he died in 758/1357,<sup>15</sup> with the Arghūniyya, which he had embarked upon, about five months or so from completion.

In Cairo, as part of the royal favour shown him, Arghūn had been given the means to erect a fine palace on the banks of Elephant Lake.<sup>16</sup> In 755/1354, as governor of Aleppo, he had endowed a hospital in that city, and at Jerusalem, in addition to this present tomb and madrasa complex, he built and endowed a school for the study of the Koran (*dār Qur'ān*) and a ribāt.<sup>18</sup>

#### ENDOWMENT

The only endowments of which anything is known were located at Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Krak des Chevaliers) which came under the administration of Tripoli. They consisted of half the village of A'nāz, the mill there and three fifths of the *mazra'a* of al-Jandaliyya.<sup>19</sup> A record of the change of agent for the collection of waqf revenue for the year 945/1538-39 mentions that the lease agreement was drawn up in the court of the Tripoli Qādī.<sup>20</sup>

#### MAMLŪK PERIOD

There is not a single reference to the Arghūniyya in the Ḥaram documents, as far as can be ascertained.

According to Mujīr al-Dīn, the Qādī Sa'd al-Dīn Sa'd al-Dayrī (d.867/1462-63) studied much of 'The Guidance in Law' under a certain Ḥanafī shaykh, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Naqīb, in

the Arghūniyya Madrasa.<sup>21</sup> However, there is no certainty that that was part of a regular public course.<sup>22</sup> It could have been a private arrangement in effectively private accommodation. One should note the case of the Qāḍī Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl al-Kinānī, a former shaykh of the Ṣalāhiyya, and therefore most certainly a Shāfi‘ī, who returned to Jerusalem in 879/1475 in the hope of benefiting from his friendship with the newly appointed governor, Jār Qutlī al-Zāhirī, and took up residence in the Arghūniyya.<sup>23</sup> Some years later, a governor of Jerusalem and Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams, Amīr Khidr Beg, lived in the Arghūniyya, as one gathers from the fact that, after his death in Sha‘bān 897/June 1492, his brother and successor, Jānbalāt, came with witnesses to recover effects, including 700 dinars, which had been sealed ‘in a cupboard in his brother’s house in the Arghūniyya Madrasa’, but, as it happened, found the chest broken into and the money gone.<sup>24</sup>

#### OTTOMAN PERIOD

Scattered references to the Arghūniyya in the Jerusalem Court records mainly concern appointments and salaries. In Jumādā II 968/February 1561 the *mudarris*, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Zayn al-Dīn was paid three previous years’ salary at the rate of nine aspers a day.<sup>25</sup> A Koran ‘readership’ in the Arghūniyya was one of seven posts held in different institutions by Muḥyī al-Dīn b. Jamā’a up to his death in 982/1575. Close relatives followed him in all of them, except that the Arghūniyya post went to Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jamāl al-Dīn b. Abī al-Luṭf, a Shāfi‘ī.<sup>26</sup> In 1021/1612 a similar post was inherited by one member of the Ibn al-Sāmit family from another.<sup>27</sup>

The Defterdār of Damascus instructed the inspector and his *wakīl* – they were brothers, members of the Ibn Abī al-Luṭf family – to apply the revenue of 979/1571-72 and subsequent years if necessary to the repair of the madrasa and ‘to give precedence to the repair of the fabric over the payment of salaries’. The estimated expenditure was as follows:<sup>28</sup>

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| To repair of 3 <i>iwāns</i> , 2 rooms and new paving for west <i>iwān</i> : | 2,640 paras |
| To repair of 5 upper rooms:   | 760 paras   |
| To repair of the 2 domes ( <i>al-qubbatān</i> ):                            | 684 paras   |
| Total   | 4,084 paras |

The revenue of 981/1573-74 amounted to 61 gold pieces, that is 2,440 paras. Official salaries took 45 and fourteen Koran readers received 15, since one person had two gold pieces. The *mudarris*, who was Muḥammad b. Abī al-Wafā’ al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī received 20, the inspector (the same person as the *mudarris*) 9, the Shaykh of the madrasa, Shams al-Dīn b. Abī al-Luṭf, 5. The clerk also received 5 and the *bawwāb* and the attendance clerk 3 each. That left one for administrative costs in Tripoli and Jerusalem.<sup>29</sup>

By 1020/1611 the *mutawallī* was ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Ajmal b. al-Dahhān. He managed to collect only 88 out of 100 piastres owing to the waqf, and paid out 141. Recipients of 56¼ piastres were fifteen faqīrs (*sic*).<sup>30</sup>

Asali has noted a number of other appointments within the Arghūniyya recorded in the sijills. In the late eighteenth century the post of shaykh went to a member of the al-‘Afīfi family, and the madrasa became known as ‘Afīfi House because of their occupation of it.<sup>31</sup>

#### MODERN HISTORY

The courtyard and *iwāns* of the madrasa were refurbished in 1931 when King Ḥusayn I, leader of the Arab Revolt during World War I, was buried in the east *iwān*. An inscription built into the Ḥaram wall above the window opening into the east *iwān* records his death and burial. At that time the opening between the vestibule-*iwān* and the courtyard was blocked.

The tomb chamber was cleaned and repaired in 1982 by the Islamic Archaeology Department of the Awqāf Administration.

The upper floors of the building are still used as a dwelling by members of the ‘Afīfi family.

## IV ARCHITECTURE

### THE ḤARAM PORTICO

This portico next to the Arghūniyya was erected in 736/1335-36.<sup>32</sup> At Bāb al-Ḥadīd three flying buttresses (visible in *plate* 35.7) were added to support the structure, presumably after the assembly halls of the Jawhariyya (no. 58) and the Muzhiriyya (no. 62) had been built on the roof of the portico in the ninth/fifteenth century. These buttresses and the adjacent seven bays of the portico were demolished and the portico was rebuilt after the 1927 earthquake.<sup>33</sup> The present appearance of the portico together with analysis of the variation in span between the arches suggests that the rebuilding closely followed the lines of the original arrangement.

### ḤARAM FRONTAGE (fig. 32.6)

The original appearance of the frontage under the portico is difficult to determine since the Ḥaram wall has been recently refaced. The present aspect of the openings is modern but they must all be original. A doorway like the present one into the Ḥaram from the south-east corner room would have provided a bent entrance according with Mujīr al-Dīn’s statement that the Arghūniyya had direct access to the Ḥaram.<sup>3</sup> The window opening into the east *iwān*, shown as a blocked recess in van Berchem’s sketch plan made in 1914,<sup>35</sup> was presumably re-opened in 1931 when King Ḥusayn I was buried in the east *iwān* of the madrasa. Similarly the window into the tomb chamber, also shown as a recess in van Berchem’s sketch, would have been re-opened then. Certainly it would be unusual if the tomb chamber beside the Ḥaram gate did not have a window opening on the Ḥaram as well as the one opening on the street.<sup>36</sup> Since al-‘Umarī mentions no openings in this stretch of the Ḥaram wall, these openings must have been introduced with the construction of the Arghūniyya.

### BĀB AL-ḤADĪD (*plate* 32.1)

Mujīr al-Dīn records that Bāb al-Ḥadīd was renewed (*istajadda*) by Arghūn al-Kāmilī and that it was once known as Bāb Arghūn.<sup>37</sup> Al-‘Umarī, writing about ten years before Arghūn arrived in Jerusalem, described an earlier gate ‘called Bāb al-Ḥadīd . . . its height is 4½ *dbirā*’ and its width 2⅔ *dbirā*.<sup>38</sup> Taking al-‘Umarī’s *dbirā* to measure 0.69m (above, p. 33 n. 11) his measurements give a height of 3.10m and a width of 1.84m. The present gate aperture measures 3.07m by 1.83m, so it would appear that Arghūn’s renewal of the gate retained the dimensions of the original.

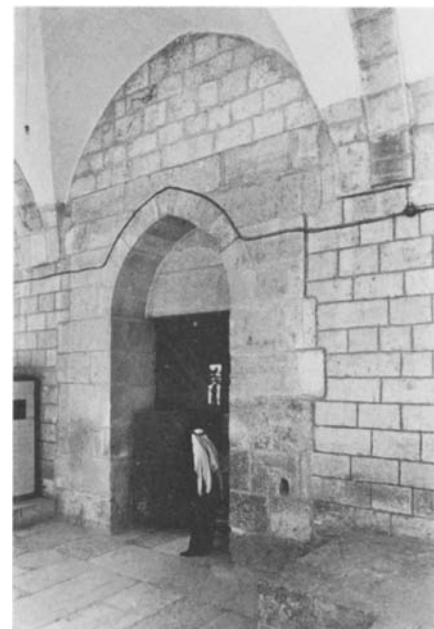


Plate 32.1 Bāb al-Ḥadīd, from the Ḥaram



Plate 32.2 Street façade, from east

*STREET FAÇADE* (fig. 32.5, plate 32.2)

With a tall entrance portal placed centrally between two large windows, the disposition of the street façade would be quite symmetrical were it not for a short westward extension to incorporate the entrance to the Khātūniyya. The lower part of the façade is constructed in *ablaq* of red and cream-coloured stone. As is customary, the *ablaq* masonry is bounded by a quirked ogee moulding (fig. 32.5), which rises in a high *pish-tāq* over the main entrance. At the west end of the façade the moulding makes a curious return emphatically to exclude the Khātūniyya entrance from the *ablaq* construction – in this way the Khātūniyya entrance is visually separated from the Arghūniyya although structurally the two are integrated.

In addition to the two large windows there are two insignificant openings in the *ablaq* masonry, one above the Khātūniyya entrance and one above the large western window. At roughly the same level a strainer arch of more recent construction, almost certainly Ottoman, spans the street to buttress the façade (see above, p. 147). The upper part of the façade above the moulding is of plain limestone.

Two steps, semicircular in plan, lead up to the entrance door set in a pointed-arched recess spanned by a cloister vault (plate 32.3). As usual, stone benches flank the doorway. Above

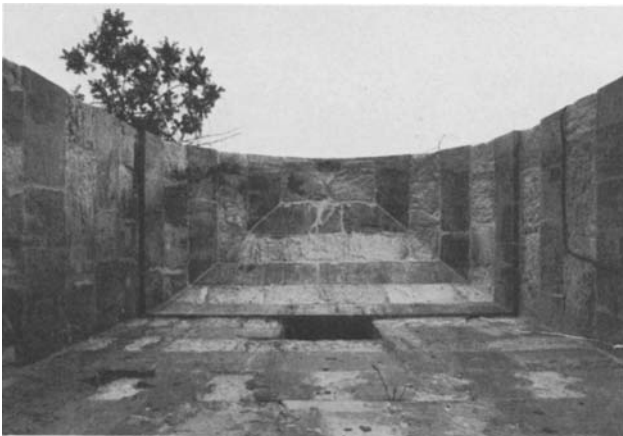


Plate 32.3 Portal vault from below

the benches the stonework of both outer corners of the recess is rounded off in the form of diminutive engaged columns 2.20m high with vase capitals and bases. The door opening itself is trimmed with a delicate moulding (fig. 32.4) which, most unusually, does not circumscribe the *ablaq* masonry but



Plate 32.4 Entrance door

is carved across it.<sup>39</sup> Above this moulding the dating inscription extends across the width of the recess (plate 32.4). The two blazons contained within the inscription have been published repeatedly. L.A. Mayer describes the blazon as a 'napkin on the middle field of a three-fielded shield', the badge of the *jamdār*, master of the robes.<sup>40</sup> Traces of red paint survive in the middle field of both shields. The colours of Arghūn's blazon – gold rhomb in centre of red middle field, top and bottom fields white – are known from a glazed pottery shard in the Citadel Museum in Aleppo. In the centre of each side wall of the recess, at the same height as the inscription on the rear wall, faint traces of pencil and plaster mark two circles. These may originally have been decorated with blazons. Immediately above the lintel is a revetment of three inlaid marble slabs with interlocking trefoils to represent the joggled voussoirs of a flat relieving arch, slightly undercut over the middle of the lintel. This in turn is surmounted by a course of *ablaq* joggling which extends around the portal recess and across the façade. A plain rectangular window pierces the rear wall of the recess above the door to admit daylight to a small room (marked 'E' on the upper floor plan, fig. 32.4) above the vestibule-*iwān*.

The two large windows in the façade are decorated like the doorway with mouldings around the openings and marble lintels (part of a continuous course of marble). The course above is here enlivened by an inlaid marble slab with interlocking trefoils (plate 32.2). Above this the course of joggling is very slightly arcuated as if to relieve the load in the lintels. The eastern window, belonging to the tomb chamber, retains its original iron grille, while at the western window the sill has been lowered to form a doorway into the small room there (which, incidentally, houses a sweet shop).

The frontage of the Khātūniyya entrance (fig. 32.5) consists of a simple pointed-arched opening built exclusively in cream-coloured limestone. As if further to segregate this entrance from the main construction, a shallow *muqarnas* frieze supervenes on the returning quirked ogee moulding just above and to the left of the opening (fig. 32.5). The jambs are lightly chamfered up to the height of the springing of the arch. There is a similar though deeper chamfer apparently intended to prevent detrition of the north-western corner of the building; it was rendered obsolete by the contiguous construction of the Muzhiriyya (no. 62).

The entrance leads into a long groin-vaulted passage. In five narrow recesses in the west wall and one in the east wall of this passage remnants of earthenware pipes are still discernible. These pipes were presumably intended to channel rainwater from the roof into the underground cistern whose

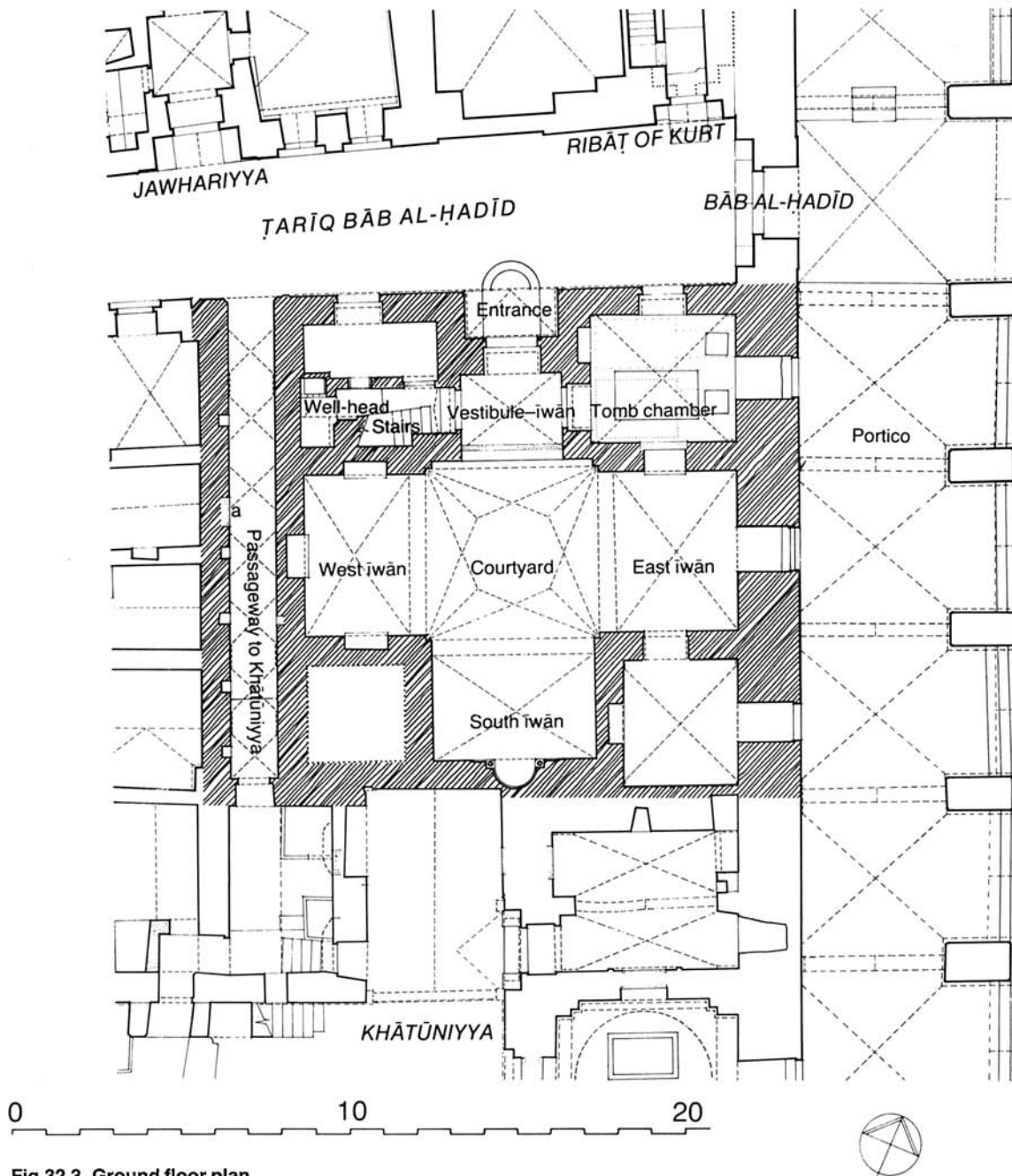


Fig.32.3 Ground floor plan

well-head is to be found next to the staircase (below, p. 363). A blocked opening or recess (marked 'a' on the plan, fig. 32.3) in the west wall of the passage has a very low head only 1.20m above the floor. The original purpose of this opening is not known.

Several features of the façade such as the high *pišb-tāq* of the portal, the extensive use of *ablaq*, the continuous band of joggling and the *muqarnas* frieze at the Khātūniyya entrance recall the distinctive architectural style of Mamlūk tombs at Damascus in the quarter known as al-Maydān,<sup>41</sup> and it would appear therefore that Arghūn, a former governor of Damascus, had employed craftsmen from this provincial capital to design and build his funerary monument in Jerusalem.

**MADRASA** (plan, fig. 32.3)

The straight access through the vestibule from the street into the courtyard is another typically Syrian feature. The courtyard, square in plan, is roofed with a folded cross vault rising to a large octagonal recess at the crown (plate 32.6). Without doubt this recess originally opened into a lantern dome (one of the two domes mentioned in the list of projected repairs drawn up

in 979/1571-72, see p. 358 above) to light and ventilate the courtyard. A similar lantern dome, though smaller in relation to the vaulted surface, survives at the Ālmalikiyya (above, p. 314, fig. 26.7). The dome was removed and the oculus blocked some time before 1914 (when van Berchem photographed the interior), presumably when the floor above was taken over for a dwelling.

The vault over the courtyard is supported by the frontal arches of the cross-vaulted *iwāns* on the east, south and west sides, and a fourth identical though blind arch on the north side enclosing the much smaller segmental-arched opening of the vestibule-*iwān*, which is decorated with a double quirked ogee moulding (fig. 32.11). A small window (now blocked) in the tympanum of that blind arch formerly opened into a room over the vestibule-*iwān*. Van Berchem's photographs (*CIA Planches*), lxxix upper and lower) show that the walls of the *iwāns* were built of ashlar masonry. The vaults, built of rubble masonry, are plastered as usual.

A slightly corbelled string course runs around the *iwāns* just below the springing of the arches. This string course is decorated with a repeating shallow *muqarnas* element similar

to that on the façade at the Khātūniyya entrance. At the north side the string course is bent up over the apex of the pointed segmental arch of the vestibule-*iwān* (fig. 32.11). Today the walls are lined with blockboard up to the height of the string course (plate 32.5). Above the string course the walls and vaults are plastered; only the voussoirs of the arches are exposed.

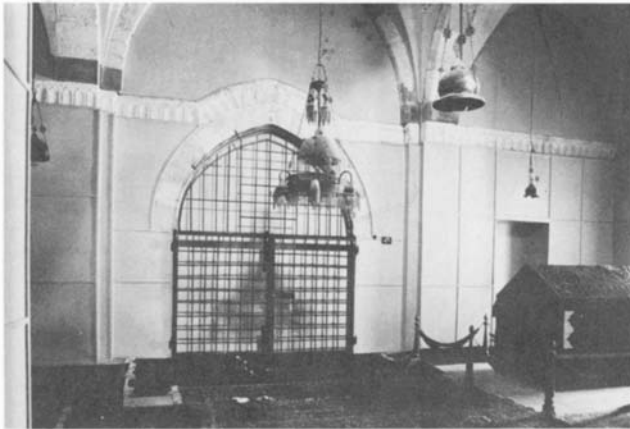


Plate 32.5 'Vestibule-*iwān*' and grave of Ḥusayn I in east *iwān*

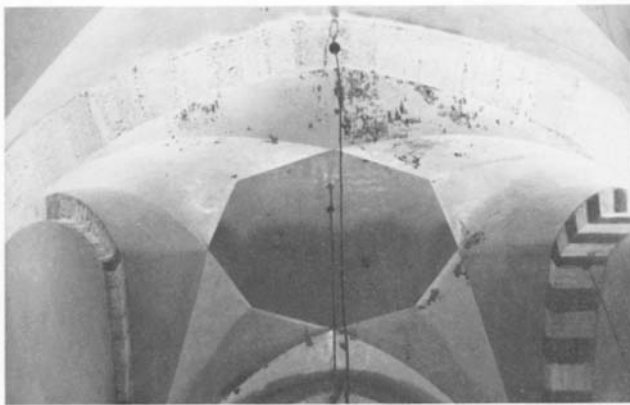


Plate 32.6 Blocked opening at crown of courtyard vault

The *mīhrāb* in the rear (*qibla*) wall of the south *iwān*, semicircular in plan, has a stilted pointed arch (plate 32.7). Creswell's photograph (plate 32.8) shows how it looked in 1920, with ill-fitting unmatched nook-shafts evidence of some rough-and-ready repair. It was refurbished in 1931 when a new capital was made for the left-hand shaft. (The original capital, undiscovered by the refurbishers, was found by us in the room over the vestibule-*iwān*: see plate 32.9.) The lowest masonry course of the *qibla* wall is plain limestone but above that, up to the level of the springing of the *mīhrāb* arch, the wall is faced with upright oblong panels of polychrome marble. Above the marble panelling the wall is built in *ablaq* masonry up to the *muqarnas* string course. The *mīhrāb* is framed by a rectangular quirked ogee moulding which, like the moulding on the façade, is carved across the *ablaq* masonry. The upper part of the *qibla* wall was open when van Berchem visited but, as he surmised, that opening was probably made when the lantern dome was removed. There is now above the *mīhrāb* a rectangular window of coloured glass set in carved stucco.

Two tall brass candlesticks now flank the *mīhrāb* (plate 32.7). They both have inscriptions around their necks recording that they were made for the Ottoman Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid II in 1306/1888-89 for the Aqṣā Mosque. Many of the carpets on the floor bear tags dated 1378/1958-59.

The other *iwāns* are decorated slightly differently in each case. The west *iwān* has in the centre of its south wall a recessed doorway to the south-west corner room, which has been blocked up. Shallow recesses of a similar size occupy the centre of the west and north walls of the *iwān*. There are three

openings in the corresponding positions in the east *iwān*: the one in the north wall communicates with the tomb chamber; that in the east wall is a window to the Ḥaram and that in the south wall a doorway leading into the south-east corner room. A large cenotaph in this east *iwān* marks the grave of King Ḥusayn I. It is covered by a gabled timber frame supporting a beautiful gold-embroidered green brocade (*kiswa*) made in 1366/1946-47 by 'Uthmān 'Abd al-Ḥamid the embroiderer (*al-qaṣabajī*) in Khān al-Khalilī in Cairo.

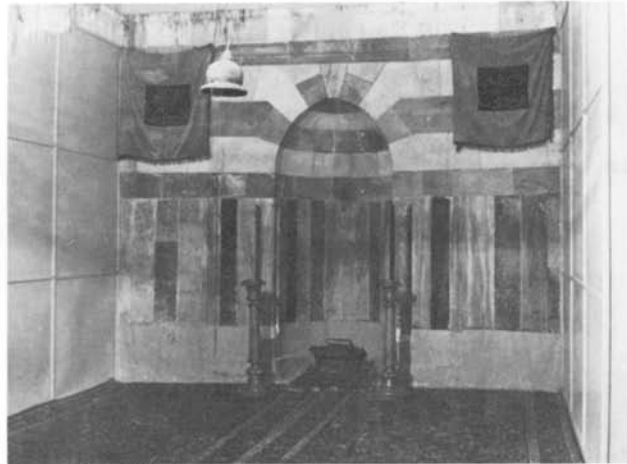


Plate 32.7 *Mīhrāb* in 1980

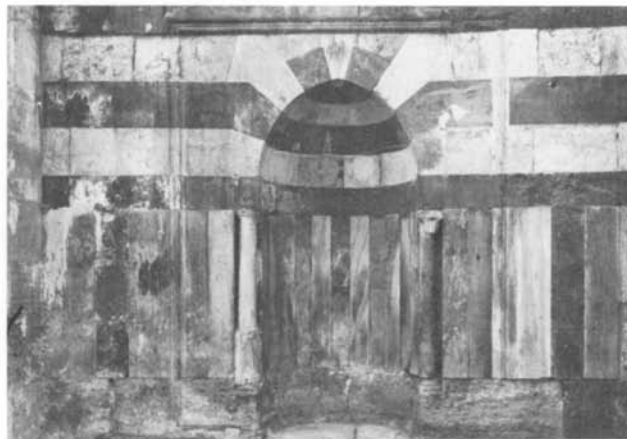


Plate 32.8 *Mīhrāb* in 1920



Plate 32.9 Capital from *mīhrāb*



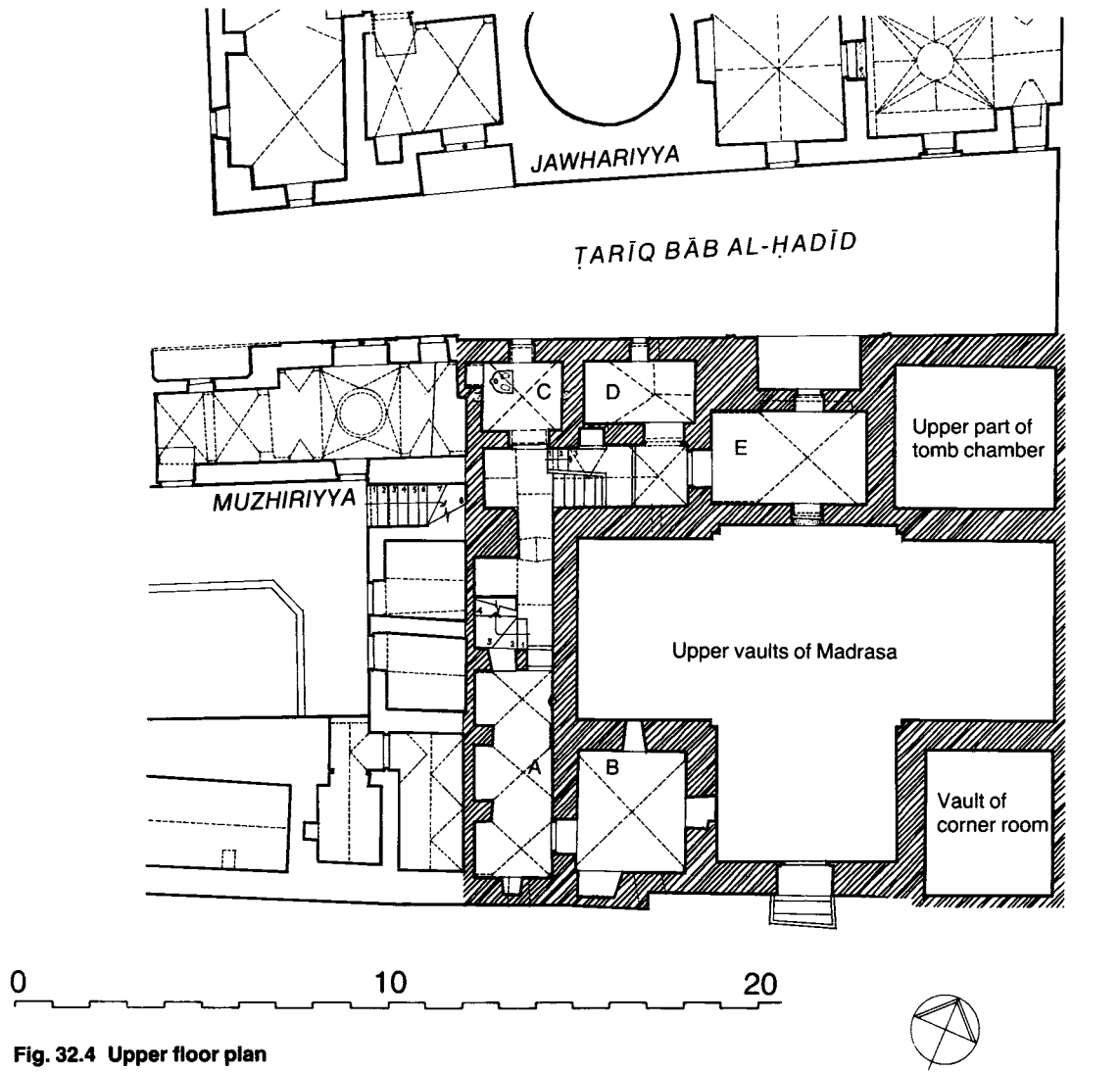


Fig. 32.4 Upper floor plan

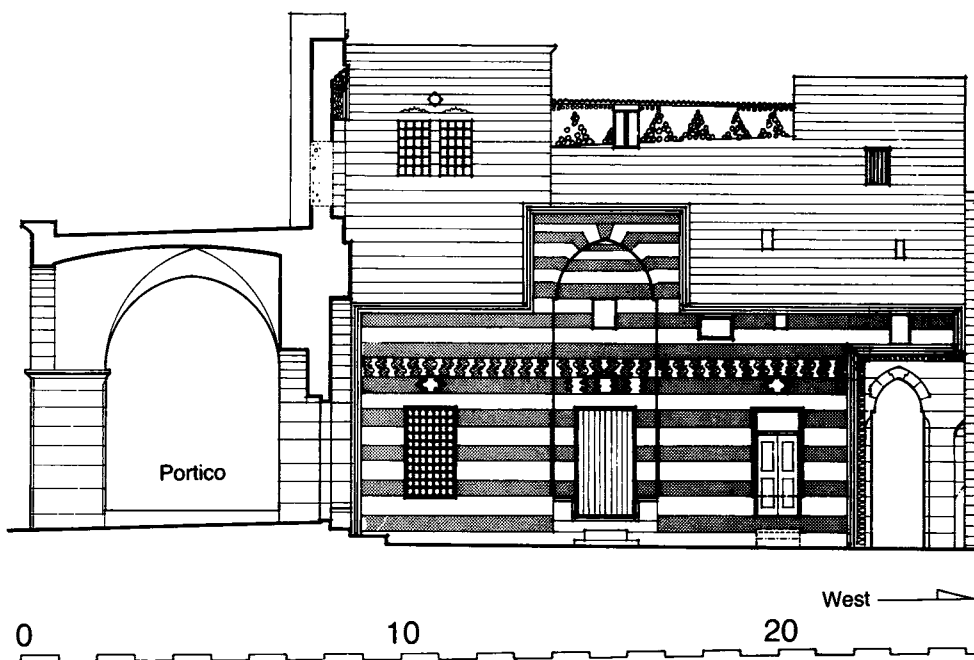


Fig. 32.5 Street façade

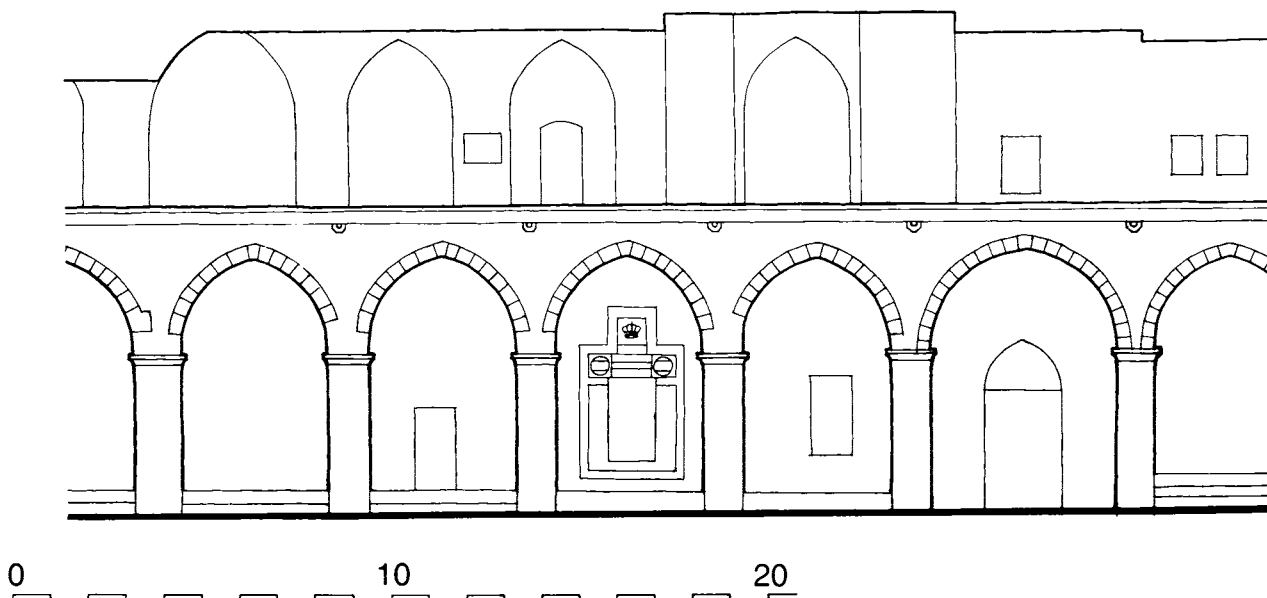


Fig. 32.6 Haram frontage

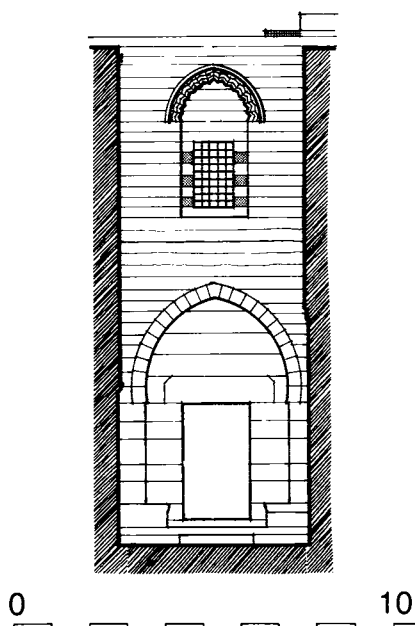


Fig. 32.7 Bāb al-Ḥadīd: Street elevation

The east *iwān* (4.29m deep) is somewhat deeper than either the south *iwān* (3.82m deep) or the west *iwān* (3.81m deep). Normally the south *iwān* would be the deepest (cf. the Tankiziyya, above, p. 232). Van Berchem has surmised that the reason for this anomaly was 'the configuration of the site that the architect had to deal with, and which led him to sacrifice this detail for the sake of the overall effect'.<sup>42</sup> Our survey reveals the more specific reason. By comparing the plan (fig. 32.3) with the street elevation (fig. 32.5) it can be seen that the extra depth of the east *iwān* is an unavoidable concomitant of the symmetrical façade. The pre-existing Haram wall serves as the rear wall of the east *iwān* whereas the rear wall of the west *iwān* had to be built entirely anew. The position of this rear wall of the west *iwān* was restricted by the obligation to provide a passage to meet the cell on the north side of the courtyard to the Khātūniyya. Turning to the façade, which is symmetrical about the entrance portal, we see that at the east end the vertical moulding abuts on the Haram wall, i.e. in line with the rear wall of the east *iwān*. But at the west end of the façade proper (excluding the extension for the Khātūniyya

entrance) the moulding is not in line with the rear wall of the west *iwān*, being 0.48m to the west of it. Since the courtyard is also centred on the entrance portal, it follows that the west *iwān* is 0.48m shallower than the east *iwān*.

As for the south *iwān*, since the north-south depth of the site was restricted by the street to the north and the Khātūniyya to the south, there was insufficient space to develop a conventional four-*iwān* layout and at the same time have a symmetrical façade. If the entrance portal had occupied a corner then there would have been room for matching north and south *iwāns*. But the designer opted for the symmetrical façade with the entrance taking up the space which might otherwise have accommodated a north *iwān*. Consequently the north and south *iwāns* were reduced to the minimum, the south *iwān* matching the depth of the west *iwān* and the north 'vestibule-*iwān*' occupying the remaining space between the courtyard and the entrance doorway.

The north-west corner of the madrasa houses a small barrel-vaulted room with a window (now a door) opening on the street, the staircase to the upper floor, and a trefoil-headed well-niche (section, fig. 32.10). A shaft above the well allows water to be drawn to the upper floor. Opposite the well-niche is a recess under the staircase.

#### TOMB CHAMBER

In the north-east corner of the complex the tomb chamber has – as noted above – one window opening on the street beside the Haram gate, one on the Haram and another in the south wall communicating with the east *iwān*. It is entered through a door in its west wall, opening from the vestibule-*iwān* (plate 32.10). An anepigraphic cenotaph in the middle of the floor marks the founder's grave. Next to the cenotaph a stone trap door (plate 32.11) gives access to five steps leading down to the burial vault (see sections, figs. 32.8 and 32.10). The present occupants of the upper floors of the building say that a second burial vault beside this one contains the remains of the founder's wife and family. There is a second trap door (see plan, fig. 32.3) but we did not open it. The texts make no mention of a second grave.

The cross-vaulted ceiling of the tomb chamber is a later insertion. Originally the chamber, square in plan, was domed (with the second of the two domes mentioned in the 979/1571-72 list of projected repairs, see p. 358 above). The axonometric reconstruction (fig. 31.9) shows the relationship between the two domes. The dome must have been replaced by a cross vault to allow the construction of the present room over the chamber some time after 979/1571-72 (sections, figs. 32.8 and 32.10).

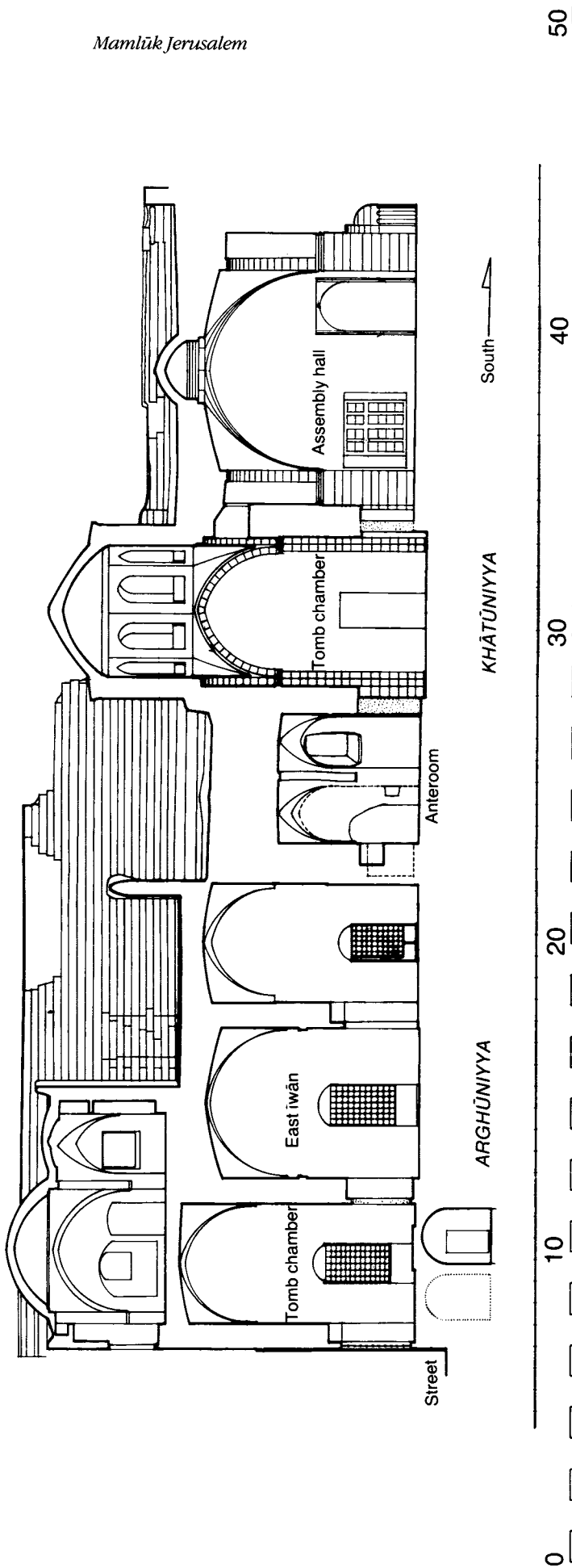


Fig. 32.8 North-south section through tomb chambers of Arghūniyya and Khātūniyya looking east

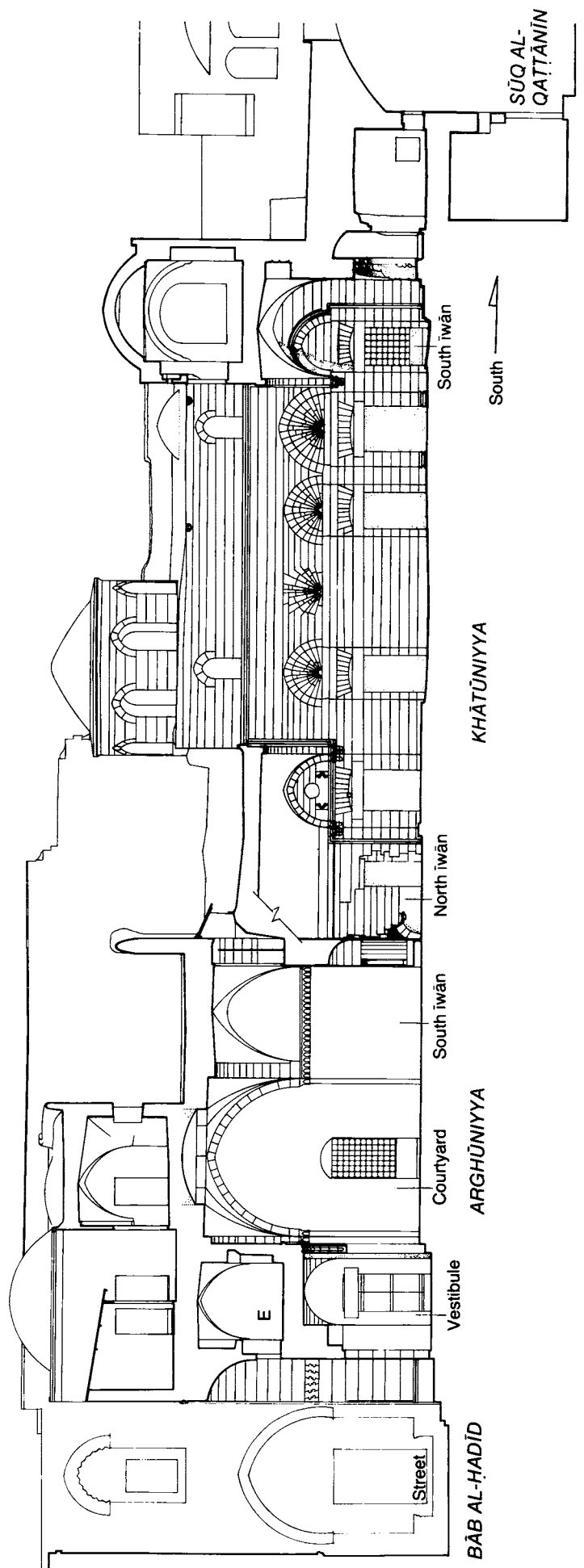


Fig. 32.9 North-south section looking east through the courtyards of the Arghūniyya and the Khātūniyya

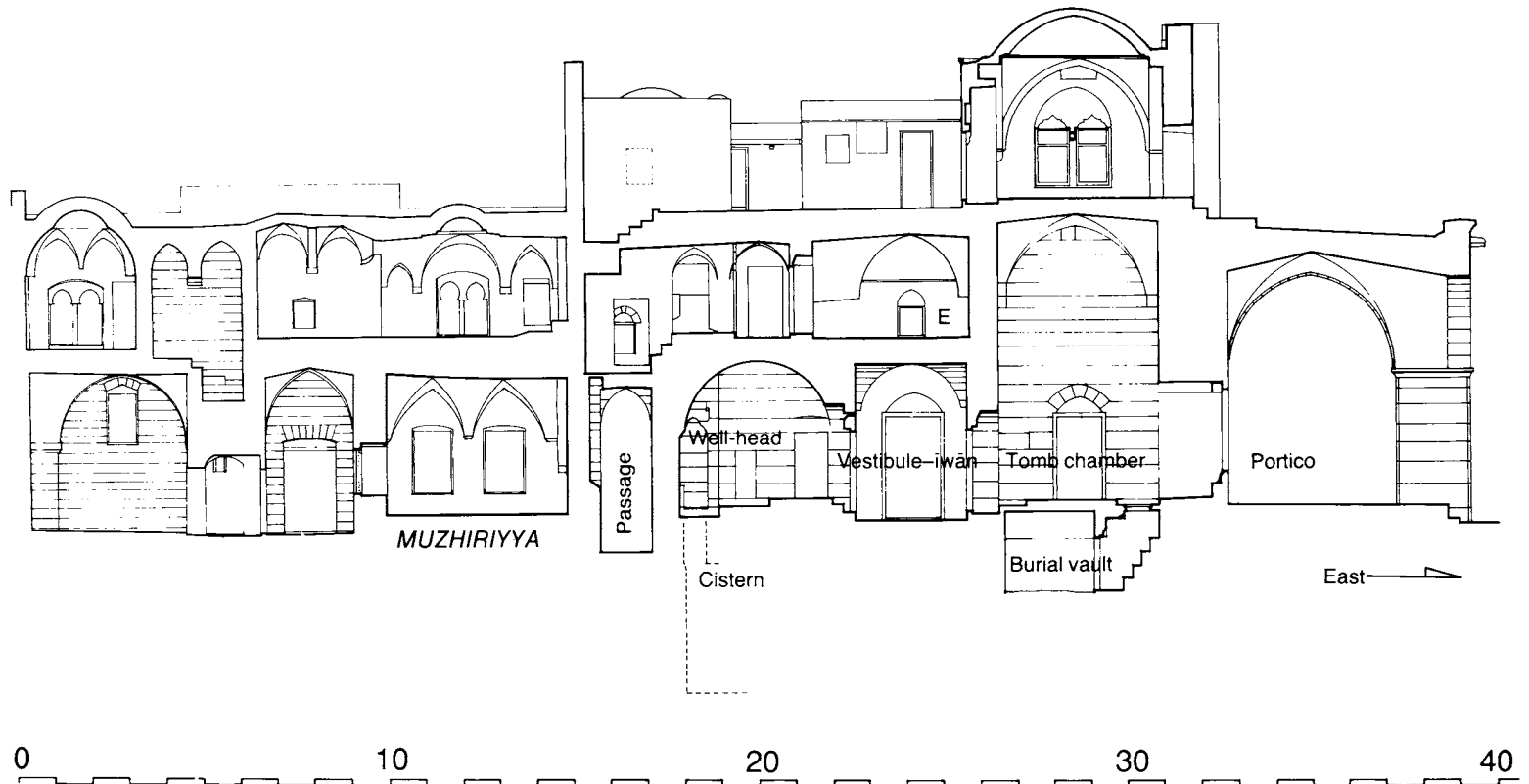


Fig. 32.10 West-east section looking north through vestibule and tomb chamber



Plate 32.10 Entrance to tomb chamber

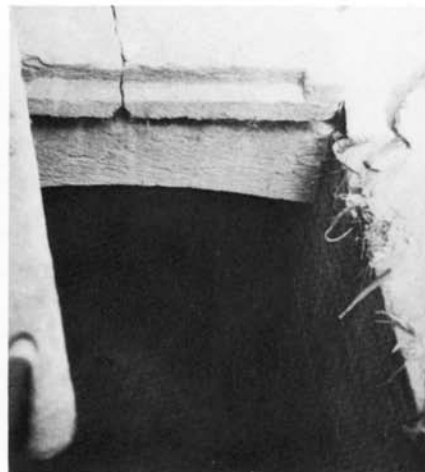


Plate 32.11 Entrance to burial vault



Plate 32.12 Upper floor: entrance to room 'A'

**UPPER FLOOR** (plan, fig. 32.4)

A door in the west wall of the entrance vestibule opened at the foot of the staircase to the upper floor. The pitch of the stairs has been reduced somewhat by the addition of new treads for the lower steps and the addition of two new steps at the bottom, obstructing the swing of the original door, which has been removed. Originally the lowest step was in line with a 0.36m southward return in the south wall of the staircase (see ground floor plan, fig. 32.3).

The staircase leads up to a corridor (plate 32.12) that runs south above the Khātūniyya passageway, past a stairway to the roof, to give access to a long room (A) roofed by three cross

vaults (plate 32.13). A door in the east wall of that room opens into a cross-vaulted room (B) over the (blocked) south-western corner room of the madrasa, which has two windows (now blocked), one opening into the south *iwān* and the other into the west *iwān*. A later high-level window has been opened in the south wall.

At the north end of the corridor there is a cross-vaulted chamber (C), now a latrine, with a small window overlooking the street. Three steps lead east from this end of the corridor up to an L-shaped landing (plate 32.14) from which two rooms are entered: a vaulted room (D) which also has a window overlooking the street, and the cross-vaulted room (E) over the



Plate 32.13 Upper floor: room 'A', looking south



Plate 32.14 Upper floor: steps up to L-shaped landing and room 'E' over 'vestibule-*iwān*'



Plate 32.15 Top floor: Ottoman room on roof

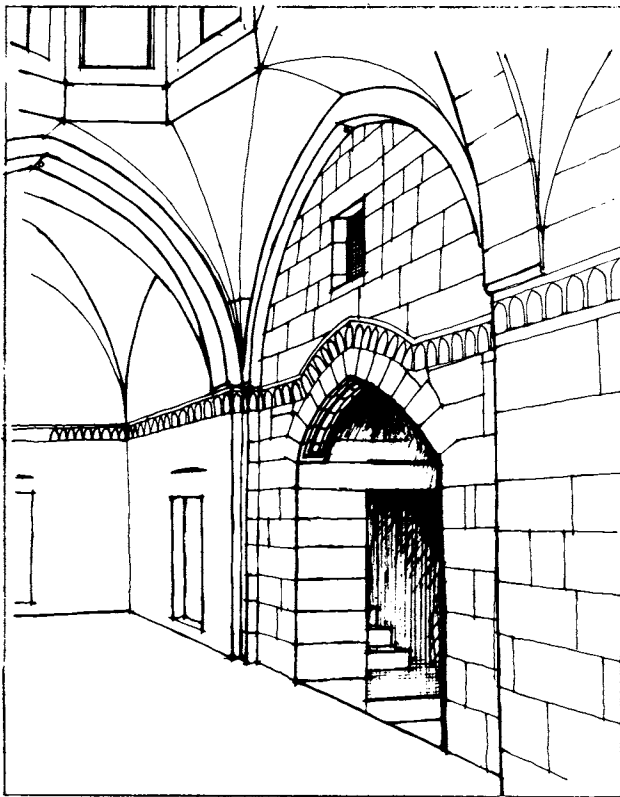


Fig. 32.11 'Vestibule-*iwān*' at north side of courtyard, after CIA (*Planches*), lxi

vestibule-*iwān*. The latter room has a window opening in the rear wall of the portal and another (now blocked) into the courtyard of the madrasa to the south. A recess in the north wall of the landing originally housed a shaft to allow water to be drawn up from the well-head below.

These upper floor rooms may have been intended to serve as Arghūn's temporary living quarters during his enforced retirement in Jerusalem. Since he died before completion of the building they would never have served as such, however, and must have been used to accommodate the madrasa's officials.

The staircase on the west side of the upper floor corridor rises to the roof, which was originally unbuilt upon. Several rooms of Ottoman and later construction now occupy the roof (plan, fig. 62.5; plate 32.15).



## Notes

- 1 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 85.
- 2 *Op. cit.*, 283-4.
- 3 Mujīr, ii, 36-7.
- 4 Bāb al-Ḥadīd means 'the Iron Gate'. The belief that Arghūn also means 'iron' is without any basis, see *Mufaṣṣal*, 247; Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 189.
- 5 See note 15 below.
- 6 *Durar*, i, 375; *Nuj.*, v, 167.
- 7 *Sulūk*, ii, 672; or on the last day of Ramaḍān/4 February, see Shujā'ī, *Chronik*, i, 276.
- 8 In Rabī' II 746/August 1345, see Shujā'ī, *Chronik*, i, 273.
- 9 *Wāfī*, viii, 356; *Sulūk*, ii, 687; *Nuj.*, v, 5.
- 10 *Sulūk*, ii, 693.
- 11 *Sulūk*, ii, 745-9 and 834-7.
- 12 *Sulūk*, ii, 867-891.
- 13 *Sulūk*, ii, 895. His father and mother and other relatives had been welcomed to Cairo in 751/1350, see *Sulūk*, ii, 819.
- 14 *Khitat*, iii, 20.
- 15 *Sulūk*, iii, 36; see in general, *Durar*, i, 375; *Wāfī*, viii, 356-8; *Khitat*, ii, 73. It will have been noticed that the inscription gives the date of death as 28 Shawwāl, whereas Mujīr al-Dīn (Mujīr, ii, 37) says Thursday, 26 Shawwāl/Thursday, 12 October 1357. Other sources agree on the 'Thursday'. The inscription date would correspond to *Saturday*, 14 October. One would expect the inscription to be correct. Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāsiriyya gives the death date as Thursday, 11 Dhū'l-Hijja 758/Thursday, 23 November 1357, but confirms that Arghūn 'was buried in the turba he had built for himself there' (Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāsiriyya, fol. 133b).
- 16 *Khitat*, ii, 73.
- 17 *CIA (Alep)*, no. 180; see also two fifteenth-century inscriptions, *op. cit.*, nos. 182-3, and Ahmad 'Isā Beg, *Ta'rikh al-Bimāristānāt etc.*, Damascus, 1939, 252-8.
- 18 Van Berchem quotes Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba to this effect, see *CIA (Ville)*, 283, n.3.
- 19 Sijill 85, 264, quoted by Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 190.
- 20 Sijill 10, no. 1458.
- 21 Mujīr, ii, 221.
- 22 Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 191, considers Ibn al-Naqīb a regular *mudarris*.
- 23 Mujīr, ii, 311. This passage has been misunderstood to mean that the governor in 879/1475 resided in the Arghūniyya, as in the case of Khidr Beg which follows, but it can hardly be understood otherwise than to mean that the *shaykh* took up residence in the madrasa. The printed edition specifies the date of his arrival as Sha'bān/8 February-8 March, whereas it had been said before that the new governor only arrived Thursday, 15 Dhū'l-Qa'da/Thursday, 23 March. This leaves the case of Khidr Beg an isolated one. Cf. *CIA (Ville)*, 283, note 8, and Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 190.
- 24 Mujīr, ii, 361 and 364.
- 25 Sijill 40, 194 (1).
- 26 Sijill 56, 306 (8).
- 27 Sijill 92, 323 (2).
- 28 Sijill 56, 11 (1), dated Ramaḍān 981/14 January 1574.
- 29 Sijill 57, 55 (1).
- 30 Sijill 92, 76 (1). The *mutawallī* received 40 piastres. The daily rate was said to be 8 aspers a day.
- 31 Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 191.
- 32 Mujīr, 375.
- 33 Report in *Bayān al-majlis al-shar'ī al-islāmī al-a'lā bi-Filastīn*, Jerusalem, 1347/1928, 6, and photograph (unnumbered: first plate) showing the demolished portico.
- 34 Mujīr, 392.
- 35 *CIA (Ville)*, 276-81, fig. 48. The south-east corner room is not shown on the sketch plan.
- 36 A similar arrangement exists at the Awhādiyya Turba (above, p. 168) and may have existed at the Amīniyya Madrasa (above, p. 253).
- 37 Mujīr, 389.
- 38 Al-'Umari, *Masālik*, 161. That an earlier gate existed may be inferred also from the position of the Ribāṭ of Kurt al-Manṣūrī (above, p. 144) built in 693/1293-94, which was reached from the Ḥaram through Bāb al-Ḥadīd. As van Berchem suggests (*CIA (Ville)*, 283) Arghūn's work at Bāb al-Ḥadīd was probably contemporaneous with the construction of the madrasa.
- 39 Analogous examples of a moulding around the doorway and the rounding-off of the corners of the recess are to be found at the Māristān of Arghūn in Aleppo, built four years earlier in 755/1354 and otherwise quite dissimilar from his madrasa in Jerusalem. The Aleppo māristān appears to have been built by local craftsmen (*CIA (Alep)*, 332-38) while the madrasa in Jerusalem was probably built by craftsmen from Damascus.
- 40 L.A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford, 1933, 74.
- 41 E.g. the Araqiyya Turba dated 750/1349 (a very brief description in J. Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques de Damas*, Beirut, 1932, 70); cf. K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, *Damaskus: die islamische Stadt*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1924, pls. 20b, 21a, 21b. In the caption to pl. 22c Wulzinger and Watzinger draw attention to what is an unusual feature amongst the buildings in this quarter: an 'asymmetrische Fassade'. It would be interesting to compare the layout of the Arghūniyya with that of the Mamlūk funerary madrasas at al-Maydān in Damascus but no survey of these monuments has been published.
- 42 *CIA (Ville)*, 279.

# 33 AL-IS'ARDIYYA

## الاسعدية

Endowed in 760/1359  
Khānqāh and/or Madrasa of Majd al-Dīn al-Is'ardi  
Modern name: Dār al-Anṣarī

### I LOCATION (fig. 33.1)

At the north border of the Ḥaram, west of the Ālmalikiyya (no. 26).

### II SITE AND BUILDING (fig. 33.2)

A restoration of the building in 1346/1927-28 explains its exceptionally fine condition, albeit incorporating some modifications. Creswell's photographs (plates 33.1–33.6) taken before the restoration have enabled us to establish the relatively minor nature of these modifications.

The main building is entirely above the level of the portico which was erected in several stages before the construction of the rooms above. Access is by means of the staircase built initially to serve the Ālmalikiyya. The entrance door at the upper landing of the staircase is not the original one which must, however, have been nearby.

A massive wall four metres thick, almost certainly a vestige of the ancient Tower Antonia (see above, p. 43), divides the building into two parts, north and south. The northern part is linked to the southern part by a tunnel-vaulted recess (which we shall call the 'inner porch') hewn out of the ancient wall. The present entrance opens directly into this inner porch.

Next to the present entrance doorway a second door in the south wall of the inner porch opens into a large vaulted hall (which we shall call the 'assembly hall') over the portico. A door in the east wall of that hall leads into an eastern domed chamber, while a similar door in the west wall leads into a somewhat larger western domed chamber, possibly a later addition. The assembly hall and its ancillary domed chambers overlook the Ḥaram to the south. A *mīhrāb* in the centre of the *qibla* wall of the hall has a curious external salient.

To the north of the inner porch is a high *iwān* which forms the south (*qibla*) end of an open courtyard. A deep *iwān*-like recess in the west wall of the *qibla iwān* contains a cenotaph marking the grave of some unspecified person, presumably the founder. The courtyard is enclosed on the remaining three sides by two storeys of cells; the roof of the upper storey is level with the roof of the *qibla iwān*. There is an elaborately vaulted well-niche in the west wall. Entered from the north-east corner of the courtyard, a spiral staircase gives access to the upper cells.

This must have been a difficult site on which to build, with space to extend westwards above a portico along the face of the escarpment of Antonia but only a strip of land extending northwards (bounded to the east by the Ālmalikiyya and to the west by vestiges of the Antonia) separated from the area above the portico by the massive southern wall of the Antonia. The inherent limitations of the site were overcome by siting the residential unit further to the east and linking it with the

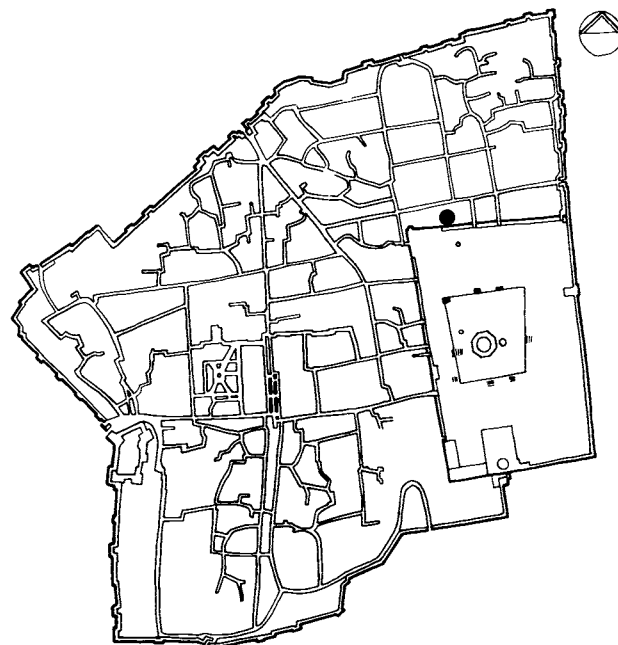


Fig. 33.1 Location plan

construction over the portico by means of a porch cut into the massive Antonia wall. The altogether harmonious and practical layout so achieved bears witness to the skill and ingenuity of the builders, while the consistently high quality of the workmanship and materials reflects the affluence of the founder.

Al-'Umarī calls the Is'ardiyya 'khānqāh' while Mujīr al-Dīn invariably refers to it as 'madrasa'. There is no way of telling which of these purposes, if not both, the building was originally intended to serve. It has an *iwān* as do most madrasas and it also has a *majma'* as do all *khānqāhs* (see above, p. 88).

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

In his description of the north wall of the Ḥaram al-'Umarī writes of the last section of the portico to the west of the Dawādāriyya Gate (called by him the Gate of the Glory of the Prophets) as follows:

Above it are situated the Madrasa of the Amīr Sayf al-Dīn al-Ḥājj Ālmalik, the Bearer of the Polo-stick, and the Khānqāh of Majd al-Dīn al-Is'ardi, the merchant. At the beginning of it near the cistern which I have mentioned are the steps which lead up to the madrasa and the khānqāh.<sup>1</sup>

Al-'Umarī also states that the Dome of Sulaymān (*Qubbat Sulaymān*) on the north side of the Ḥaram is directly opposite the steps which give access to the Is'ardiyya Khānqāh and the Madrasa of Sayf al-Dīn Ālmalik.<sup>2</sup>

Further confirmation is given by Mujīr al-Dīn who, in his progressive description of the north side of the Ḥaram, deals with the Is'ardiyya between the Ṣubaybiyya Madrasa and the Ālmalikiyya.<sup>3</sup>

#### DATE

The only precise date recorded is that of the waqf, which is given by Mujīr al-Dīn as 20 Rabi' I 760/19 February 1359. This is the date given by the two Bodleian manuscripts<sup>4</sup> and explains why Sauvaire in his translation gave the year as 760 without comment,<sup>5</sup> although the printed text he used and the more recent one both read 770.<sup>6</sup>

However, the fact that the Is'ardiyya features in the text of al-'Umarī would appear to prove that it was already in existence around about 745/1345, when he visited Jerusalem. A gap of at least fourteen years between the building and the endowment

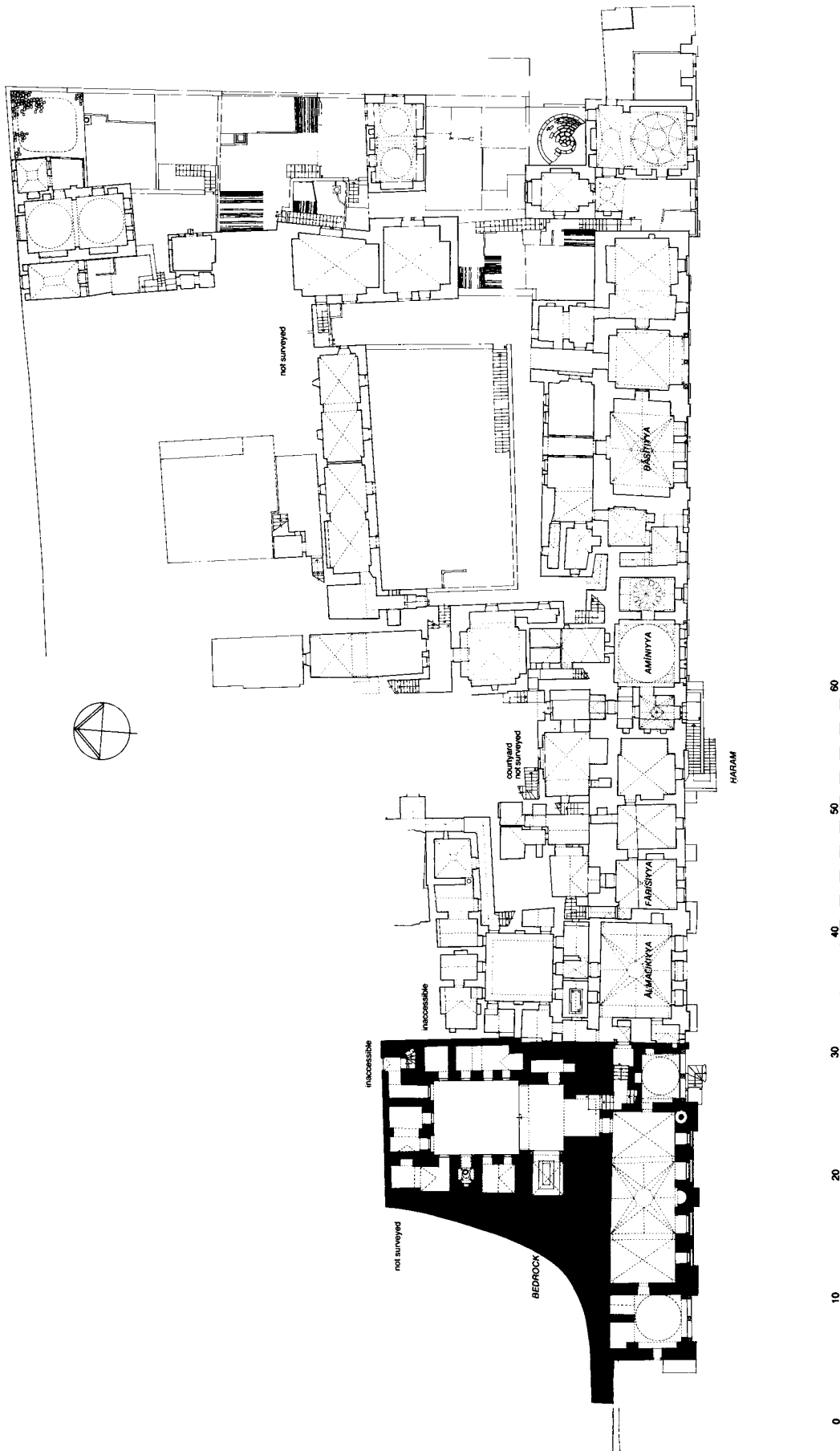


Fig. 33.2 Site plan

deed need not disturb us unduly. The Ṭulūniyya Madrasa was built before 800/1397 and no waqf document was drawn up before 827/1424, which means a gap of at least twenty-seven years in that case.<sup>7</sup>

#### FOUNDER

Al-'Umarī in the extract translated above attributed the khānqāh to a merchant called Majd al-Dīn al-Is'ardī. His full name is preserved for us by Mujīr al-Dīn<sup>8</sup> as follows: al-Khwāja Majd al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Sayf al-Dīn Abī Bakr b. Yūsuf al-Is'ardī. By his name he originated from Is'ard, the modern Siirt, south-west of Lake Van in Turkey. It is interesting to note that two persons with the *nisba* al-Is'ardī appear in the Ḥaram documents at the end of the fourteenth century. Both died in Jerusalem, while the heirs of one of them still lived in Is'ard.<sup>9</sup>

No further information is available for the founder as named by Mujīr al-Dīn. A great merchant in Damascus called al-Hasan b. 'Abd al-Walī al-Is'ardī died early in 801/autumn 1398.<sup>10</sup> Whether he had any family connection with the merchant Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Mubārak Shāh al-Is'ardī (d. 826/1423) who built an Is'ardiyya Madrasa in Damascus,<sup>11</sup> is not known. Nor is it known that our Majd al-Dīn was related to these later merchants from Is'ard. However, it is stated that the relatives of Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm formed a sizeable clan, and the importance of the trading community from Is'ard is plainly demonstrated.

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

There is no mention of the endowments of the khānqāh in either of the Ottoman Defters available to us, which means only that any rent from lands came from outside Palestine. A lease agreement dated 1007/1599 proves that the Is'ardiyya owned some urban property within Jerusalem.<sup>12</sup> A few years earlier, in 962/1555, the Is'ardiyya Madrasa (*sic*) featured as the southern boundary of a house described as 'near the Dawādāriyya Gate'.<sup>13</sup>

Another Sijill entry quoted by Asali recorded the appointment of a Yūnus Effendi al-Khalīlī to one third of each of the top three posts in the 'madrasa', those of inspector, administrator and shaykh, in the year 1168/1754-5, and also the confirmation of his residence there.<sup>14</sup> One surmises that the Is'ardiyya's days as a fully functioning institution were already over.

#### MODERN HISTORY

An inscription in the south wall of the inner porch commemorates the fact that:

The Supreme Muslim Council has renewed the construction (*jaddada 'imārat*) of this madrasa and has made it into a library in the year 1346 of the Ḥijra of the Prophet (1927-28).

The library was to be known as 'Dār Kutub al-Masjid al-Aqṣā'. Part of the building was used as a dwelling; there are various graffiti in the name of Nasīb Bīṭār, sometime qāḍī of Jerusalem, who resided there in 1946. Now the Aqṣā Mosque Library has found new accommodation in the Ashrafiyya (no. 63) and the whole building serves as a dwelling.

## IV ARCHITECTURE

### ḤARAM FAÇADE (*fig. 33.6*)

The façade on to the Ḥaram has the appearance of having been erected in several phases. The eastern bay of the supporting portico and the entrance staircase were built initially as part of the substructure of the Ālmalikiyya. The portico and the assembly hall supported by it were built against that staircase, and the eastern domed chamber built over it. Later on, the westernmost bay of the portico and the domed chamber above were added after the completion of the assembly hall as their structural discontinuity indicates: the westernmost bay breaks bond with the assembly hall and its supporting portico.

Al-'Umarī mentions only the three piers supporting the

two bays of portico under the assembly hall beyond which he says there is only an open space. We may deduce therefore that the main part of the Is'ardiyya was built after 741/1340 (the date of construction of the adjoining Ālmalikiyya) but before 743/1342-43 when this part of al-'Umarī's text was written, and that the western domed chamber was added some time after 743/1342.

These phases of construction would seem, however, to have followed in close succession as part of a deliberate plan to emulate the façade of the Ālmalikiyya. In both cases the assembly hall is contained between projecting buttresses rising the full height of the façade. The western buttress of the Ālmalikiyya defines the eastern limit of the Is'ardiyya façade. This was subsequently matched by a similar buttress determining the western limit.

The tripartite façade indicates the layout of rooms behind. The long assembly hall between the intermediate buttresses is supported by two cross-vaulted bays of the portico. At each end are the domed chambers. The westernmost is supported by a single cross-vaulted bay and the easternmost by the pre-existing bay of the Ālmalikiyya portico supplemented by the narrow rising vault over the entrance staircase. A simple cavetto moulding running across the central compartment between the intermediate buttresses distinguishes the upper façade (of the assembly hall) from the portico below.

A stone pier abutting<sup>15</sup> on the westernmost buttresses appears to be all that remains of a portico built later to provide access to the Ṣubaybiyya (no. 51). This westward continuation of the portico is alluded to by Mujīr al-Dīn who states that the porticoes under the Ālmalikiyya, the Is'ardiyya and the Ṣubaybiyya were built at the same time as the madrasas above.<sup>16</sup>

A regular series of about a dozen empty sockets shaped to receive the springers of a vaulted portico survives cut into the face of the escarpment of Antonia (above, p. 44) at a height of approximately 2.60m above the Ḥaram esplanade. The average span between the centres of the sockets is 3.89m. These sockets certainly antecede the Mamlūk portico which sustains the Is'ardiyya and the Ālmalikiyya, for they continue empty and redundant in the rock face under these two buildings.

In describing the upper façade we shall treat each section in the likely sequence of construction: assembly hall, eastern domed chamber and western domed chamber. The 1927-28 restoration has introduced several changes at this level and these will be itemized briefly, but it is the pre-restoration aspect of the façade (*plate 33.1*) which merits detailed description.

#### (i) Assembly hall

The cantilevered *mibrāb* salient – a unique form in the architecture of Jerusalem – is the dominant feature of the façade (*plate 33.8*). It is semicircular in plan, capped by a ribbed semidome and resting on *muqarnas* corbelling.

The façade of the assembly hall is arranged symmetrically about the *mibrāb* with four rectangular windows, two on each side of the *mibrāb*, set in shallow, *muqarnas*-headed recesses with sloping sills. The two windows and their recesses adjacent to the *mibrāb* are considerably wider and taller than two lateral windows and recesses. Originally the larger windows had shallow relieving arches with joggled *ablaq* voussoirs to reduce the load on the lintels, while the load on the lintels of the lateral windows was lessened by two relieving lintels with undercut soffits. These original lintels have been replaced with flat arches composed of *ablaq* voussoirs.

The curvilinear *muqarnas* corbelling of the window recesses is original. The design of the corbelling is basically the same in each case, but the slight extra depth of the two larger recesses has permitted a more complete development of the design to include pendent elements ('stalactites'). At the lateral recesses the base of the corbelling rests on moulded shoulders (*fig. 33.8*) which reduce the effective span. This seems to indicate that in the design of the *muqarnas* system a pattern was used which did not quite match the width of the recess and therefore necessitated the introduction of shoulders to adjust the span to suit.

Three oculi in the upper part of the wall ventilate the assembly hall. The central oculus above the *mibrāb* is at a somewhat higher level than the oculi over the lateral window recesses and is encircled by ten radial *ablaq* voussoirs of alternately red and cream-coloured stone. The oculi over the lateral recesses are alike, encircled by six radial voussoirs of plain cream-coloured limestone.

Originally a moulded cornice ran straight across the top of the façade and onto the intermediate buttresses. The rectangular *pīsh-tāq*-like pediment above the central oculus and the water spouts in the intermediate buttresses were added during the 1927-28 restoration, as was the central dome, which is much larger than the original small dome it encloses (cf. plates 33.1 and 33.9).



Plate 33.1 H̄aram façade before restoration

(ii) Eastern domed chamber

The façade of this chamber was reconstructed during the restoration and very little of the original remains. The photograph taken by Creswell (plate 33.1) shows the original Mamlūk design, which consisted essentially of a double-arched window surmounted by a central oculus and crowned by a *muqarnas* canopy. The voussoirs of the window arches and of the outer ring of the oculi were *ablaq* (presumably of red and cream-coloured stone) as were the courses of masonry above the arches. The inner ring of voussoirs around the oculus was of plain limestone.

Originally the pointed arches of the double window spanned from a central marble column with a Mamlūk capital and base (barely discernible in the pre-restoration photograph) and lateral jambs of ashlar masonry. The left-hand (western) jamb abutted on the buttress to the west in such a way as to indicate that it was built later than that buttress. The masonry courses of the right-hand (eastern) jamb are

continuous and contemporaneous with the masonry of a narrow buttress built hard against the western end of the Ālmalikiyya. That buttress, carried by a simple rounded console, was added at this eastern end of the upper façade to support the *muqarnas* canopy which spans the recess.

Almost all of these details were altered in the reconstruction. The double arch of the window now rests on three columns with new capitals and bases. The design of the façade above the window has been fundamentally altered to reproduce that of the western domed chamber (described below).

The *muqarnas* canopy, of which almost half survived in 1914,<sup>17</sup> has been restored to its original form. The height of this compartment of the façade is higher than the façade of the assembly hall and matches that of the adjoining Ālmalikiyya. The earlier low dome of the room behind, which is visible in the photograph of Creswell, has been replaced by a much larger and bulbous one on an octagonal drum duplicating the likewise new dome of the assembly hall.

(iii) Western domed chamber

This echoes in its layout the original façade of the eastern domed chamber, though the architectural details are more elaborate. It was scarcely altered in the restoration. The pointed arches of the double window rested on three re-used columns with torus bases and stylized thick-leaf acanthus capitals of undoubted Crusader manufacture. These Crusader capitals and bases have been replaced with modern 'Islamic' *muqarnas* capitals and bulbous bases; the column shafts may be replacements as well. (The present whereabouts of the Crusader capitals is unknown.) A stone shelf which projected from the middle of the window sill (see plate 33.1) was removed in the restoration.

As in the corresponding eastern compartment, the voussoirs of the pointed window arches are *ablaq*, as is the panel of ornament above, but here the extrados of the arches is outlined by a moulding, which is identical in profile to the mouldings which frame lintels of the Ālmalikiyya (fig. 10f) and the double window arches of the Manjakiyya (no. 35). This moulding extends upwards to frame the panel of ornament comprising, in the central spandrel, a circular medallion of *ablaq* radial voussoirs around an inlaid disk, and, in each of the side spandrels, a semicircular medallion of *ablaq* radial voussoirs around a semicircular inlay. The moulding surrounds the medallions and connects with the upper transverse band through circular links in a fashion which recalls the analogous feature on the façade of the Ālmalikiyya.

The three-tiered *muqarnas* canopy, unaltered in the restoration, is fussy and more intricate than the canopy over the eastern compartment of the façade, and also rises above the height of the assembly hall. The slightly pointed dome seems to be original; it sits on an octagonal drum. Originally the dome

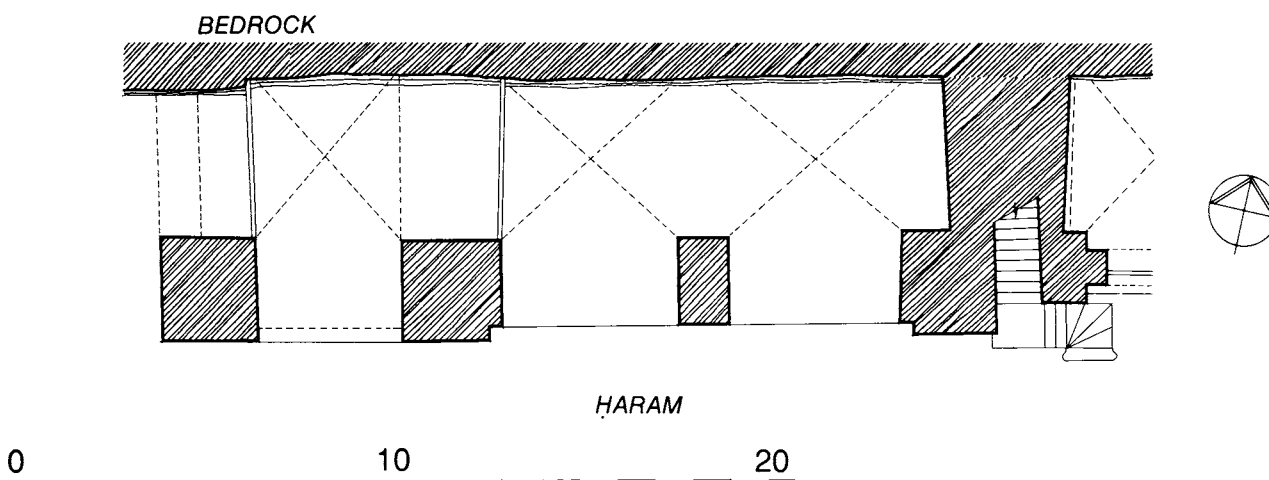


Fig. 33.3 Plan of portico



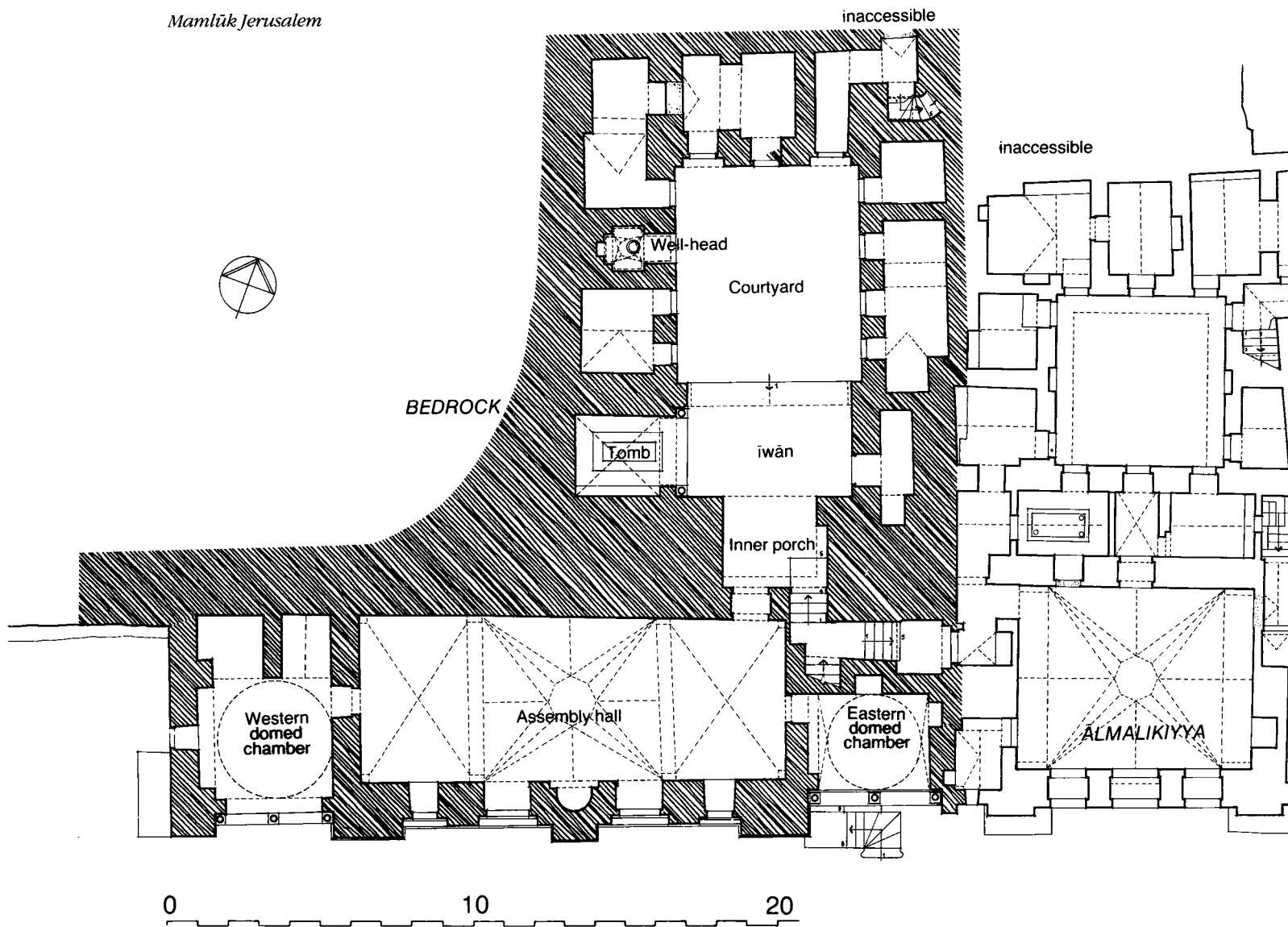


Fig. 33.4 Main floor plan

was probably cement-faced; the present stone cladding – merely repointed in the restoration – appears to be Ottoman.

*INTERIOR* (plan, fig. 33.4)

(i) *Entrance*

The staircase leads up to an entrance door which is not original, as Creswell's photograph of the interior (plate 33.6) shows. The present door takes the place of a flat niche decorated in *ablaq* with a pointed arch inlay in the form of a *mibrāb*. The location of the original entrance is not shown in Creswell's photograph nor is any trace of a blocked doorway discernible now. But there are two clues which allow its position to be established with a measure of certainty.

We know from al-'Umarī's text (p. 368 above) that the steps leading up to the Ālmalikiyya also gave access to the Is'ardiyya. Inside, in the south wall of the tunnel-vaulted inner porch, the present entrance door and the door leading into the assembly hall occupy a shallow recess spanned by a continuous frieze of *muqarnas* corbelling, which returns 1.65m northwards over a plastered recess in the east wall of the porch but, significantly, does not return along the west wall. The design is asymmetrical and the reason is obvious: the recess in the east wall initially housed the entrance doorway. Indeed, the two large fluted niches in the upper register of the *muqarnas* frieze at the south wall are directly above the door into the assembly hall and the former '*mibrāb*' while, in the east wall, a corresponding fluted niche in the upper register surely marks the centre-line of the original entrance doorway below.

In the restoration the entrance doorway was blocked up, the *mibrāb* dismantled, a new straight-through entrance doorway introduced,<sup>18</sup> and the *muqarnas* corbelling above it recut (plate 33.10). In the south wall of the porch, above the *muqarnas* corbelling, is a rectangular limestone panel framed by a band of red and cream-coloured stone. This panel, originally uninscribed, now bears the restoration inscription (above, p. 370).

(ii) *Assembly hall* (plate 33.5)

The right-hand door in the rear wall of the inner porch is the sole entrance to the assembly hall overlooking the Ḥaram. The interior of the hall is vaulted in three bays separated by two transverse arches resting on *muqarnas* impostes. The three oculi in the south wall are positioned immediately under the apexes of the vaults for maximum heat ventilation. The end bays have plain cross vaults while the wider central bay has a folded cross vault rising to an ornate cupola at the crown (plate 33.11). The octagonal base of the cupola is decorated with three tiers of *muqarnas* supporting a ring of sixteen stalactites.

The south wall of the centre bay is unplastered, showing the *ablaq* construction. The *mibrāb*, semicircular in plan, is placed in the centre of that wall within a shallow *muqarnas*-headed recess (fig. 33.7, plate 33.12). The remaining walls and the vaults are plastered. The main surfaces of the pre-restoration plaster were defined by a small semicircular moulding or baguette (visible in plate 33.5) which was restored in 1927-28.

(iii) *Eastern domed chamber*

A simple rectangular doorway in the east wall of the assembly hall leads directly into the eastern domed chamber. Here the dome rests on a circular drum and double-faceted pendentives (*plate 33.13*). The dome was rebuilt, at least externally, in the 1927-28 restorations (see above, p. 371).

(iv) *Western domed chamber*

A plain doorway in the west wall of the assembly hall opens into the western domed chamber. This chamber has in addition to the double window overlooking the Haram to the south (described above, p. 371) a small rectangular window in its west wall. Two arches at the north wall and one against the west wall reduce the rectangular area to create a square basis for the dome. Three-tiered *muqarnas* pendentives support the octagonal drum, which has a double-arched squinch in each corner and a double-arched flat niche in each of its four sides (*plate 33.14*). The drum and the dome are plastered. The *muqarnas* pendentives appear to match the consistent style of the *muqarnas* decoration found throughout the building and

this stylistic continuity implies a close chronological correspondence between the western domed chamber and the rest of the construction.

(v) *Tomb*

The inner porch opens directly on a tunnel-vaulted *qibla iwān* (*plate 33.6*) at the south end of the open courtyard. A cross-vaulted recess in the west wall of the *iwān* houses an unmarked cenotaph. The importance of this tomb recess is stressed by the special decoration of its entrance (*plate 33.4*): a pointed horseshoe arch composed of black and white *ablaq* voussoirs springing from two re-used marble columns with unmatched Crusader capitals (*plates 33.16* and *33.17*).

The lower part of the south wall of the recess, distinct from the other walls, is unplastered and the masonry, to judge from its size and tooling, is Herodian and *in situ* up to a height of about two metres (*plate 33.18*).<sup>19</sup> The stepped plan of the upper masonry shows that here as elsewhere the Herodian wall was articulated in a series of pilasters.<sup>20</sup>

The plain, marble-clad cenotaph (*plate 33.19*) is raised on



Plate 33.2 Courtyard, looking north



Plate 33.3 Well-niche

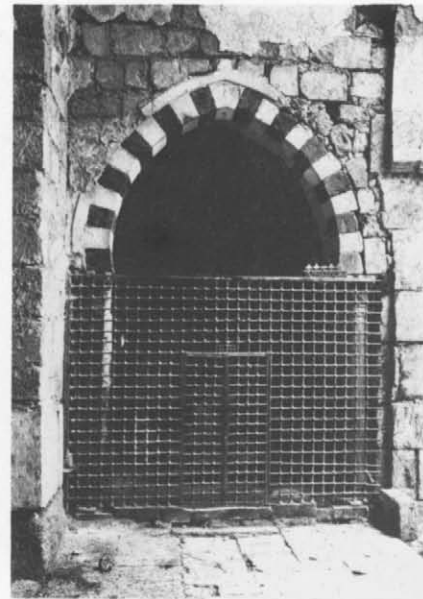


Plate 33.4 Tomb recess



Plate 33.5 South wall of assembly hall



Plate 33.6 *Iwān*, inner porch and tomb recess in 1920



Plate 33.7 *Iwān* in 1978

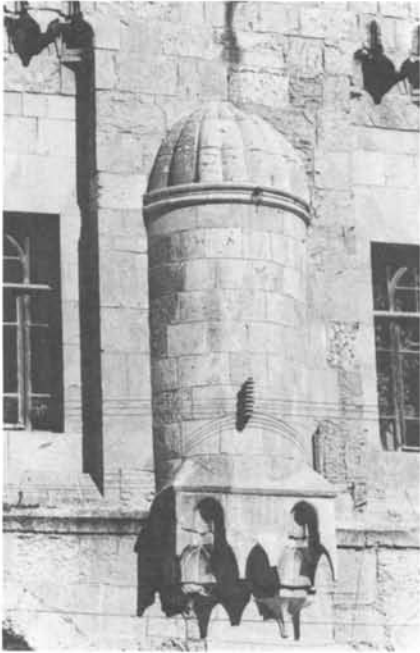


Plate 33.8 *Mihrāb salient*

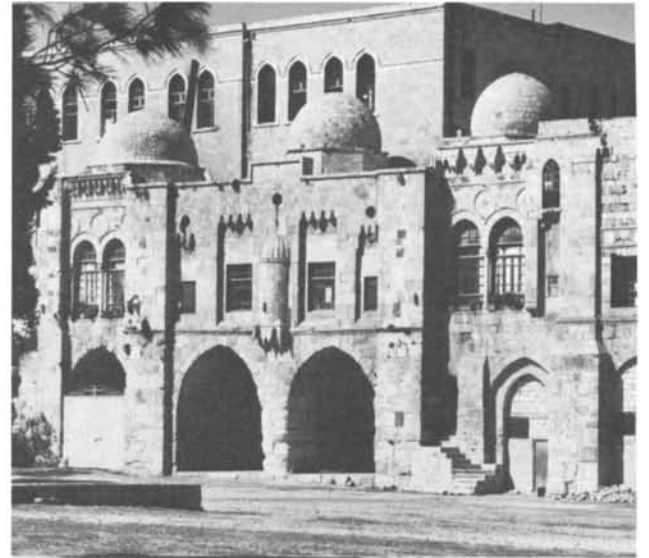


Plate 33.9 Haram façade after restoration



Plate 33.10 Inner porch

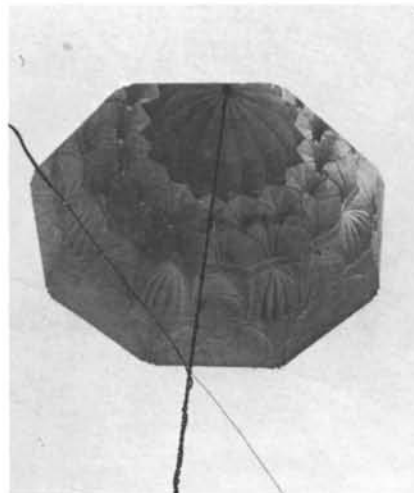


Plate 33.11 Dome at crown of assembly hall vault

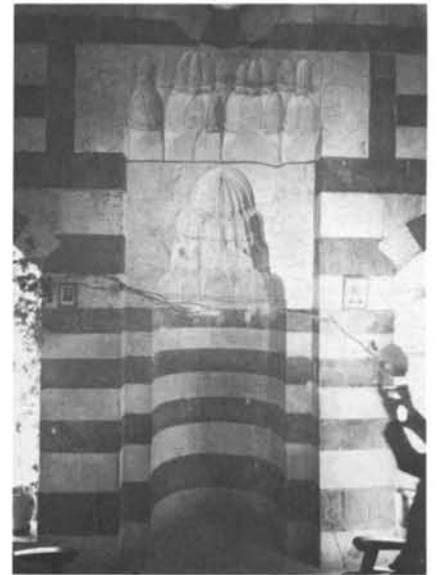


Plate 33.12 *Mihrāb*



Plate 33.13 Pendentive in eastern domed chamber



Plate 33.14 Transition zone in western domed chamber



Plate 33.15 General view of Ālmalikiyya (left) and Is'ardiyya (right) from north



Plate 33.16 Capital at north side of tomb recess



Plate 33.17 Capital at south side of tomb recess



Plate 33.18 'Pilastered' masonry in south wall of tomb recess

a low marble plinth with a moulded base placed centrally within the recess and oriented as usual east–west.

The opening under the arch of the tomb recess is screened by a beautifully-made iron grille with a small gridded wicket gate of two leaves in the centre. The original trefoil cresting and Koranic inscription have become detached from the grille, though a short length visible *in situ* in 1920 (plate 33.4) still survives (plate 33.20). Mamlūk ironwork of this quality is extremely rare and the grille deserves specialist study, particularly since it is inscribed with what seems to be the 'signature' of the craftsman who produced it:

Muḥammad b. al-Zayn, the servant of the humble servant of the one in need of Allāh, who hopes for the pardon of his Lord, His Excellency (*al-maḡarr*) . . .

This inscription is incised on an iron strip (plate 33.21) originally attached to the lintel bar on the wicket gate so that the curved, downward projection would have been in the centre where the two gate leaves meet. The strip is broken just beyond the mid-point and the continuation of the inscription is lost. The gate leaves themselves are marked at the corners with curious symbols (plate 33.22), one on the vertical member matching another on the adjoining horizontal member, apparently intended to facilitate assembly of the gates on the

site, away from their place of manufacture.

(vi) Courtyard (plate 33.2)

The irregular internal arrangement of cells around the courtyard, evident in the plan (fig. 33.4), is not expressed externally. The pointed-arched doors and windows are set out quite regularly; only the elaboration of the well-niche (plate 33.3) in the west wall interrupts the rhythm of the scheme.

The door of the middle cell in the east wall, opposite the well-niche, has recently been converted into a window when, by the removal of an internal partition wall, that cell was united with the adjoining south-eastern cell. The two pointed-arched doorways at the eastern and western ends of the north wall (plate 33.2) are set in shallow recesses each decorated with three tiers of curvilinear *muqarnas* corbelling. The jambs of the recesses are straight but the heads are chamfered, as are the pointed arches of all the doors and windows around the courtyard. The western door in the north wall has been converted to a window and the internal arrangement of the cell it served has been altered. A partition between it and the adjoining cell to the east has been removed and a door in its west wall is blocked (see plan). The small room that that blocked door originally gave access to has instead been linked, by the removal of its south wall, to the northern cell in the west wall of the courtyard.



Plate 33.19 East end of cenotaph



Plate 33.20 Fragment of wrought iron cresting from grille



Plate 33.21 Iron strap with craftsman's signature

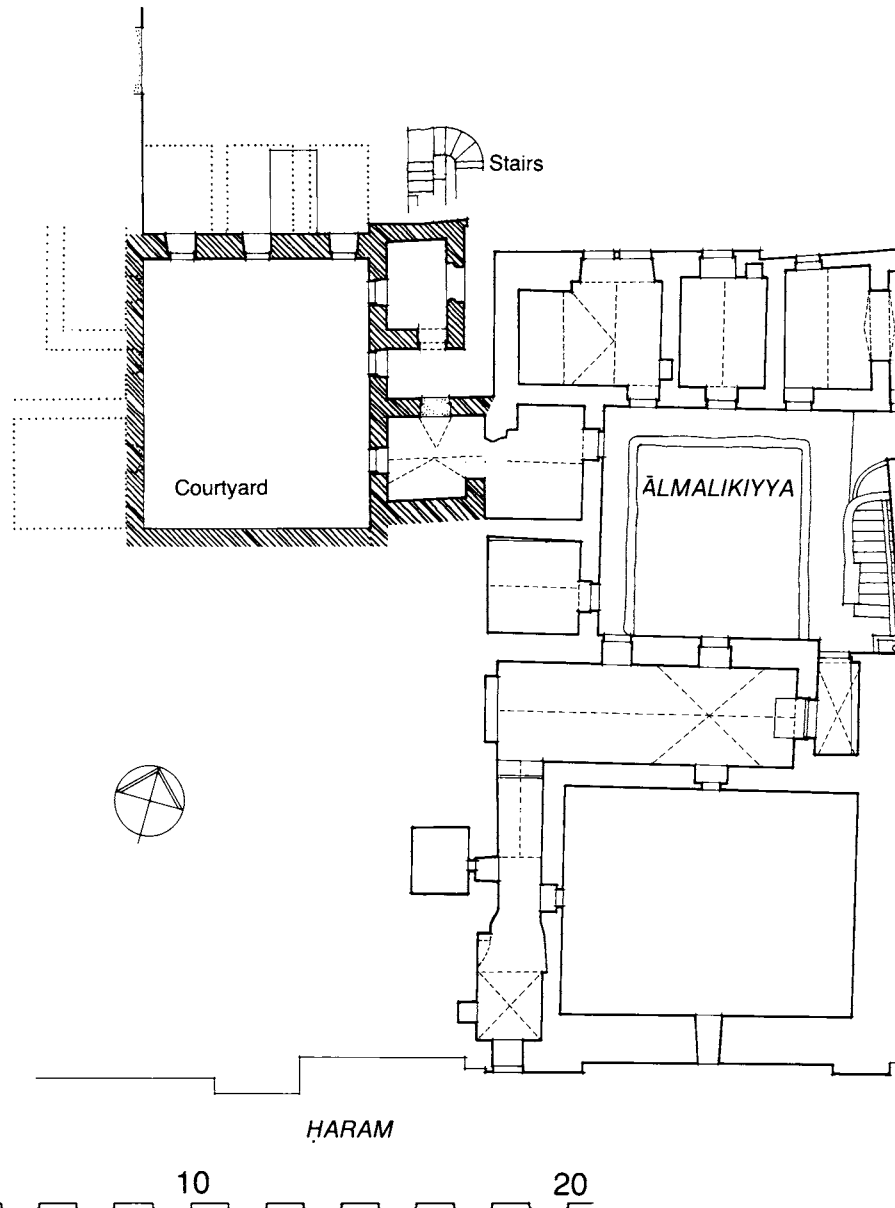


Fig. 33.5 Upper floor plan



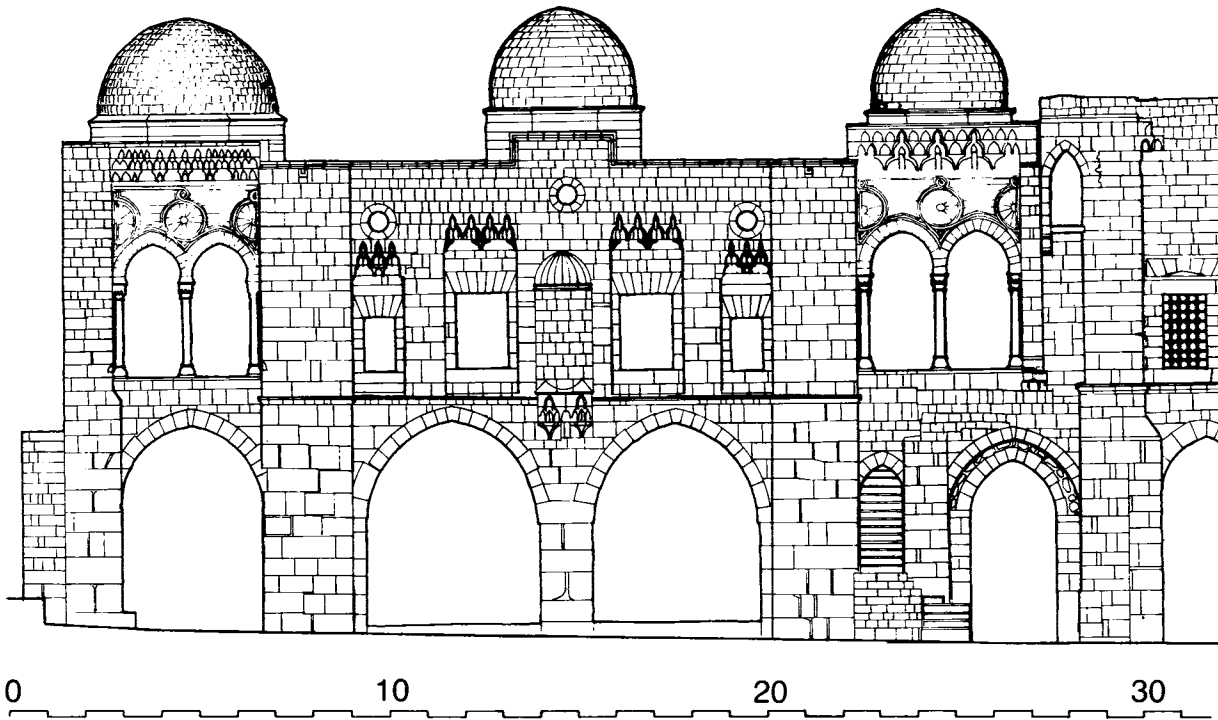


Fig. 33.6 Harem faade

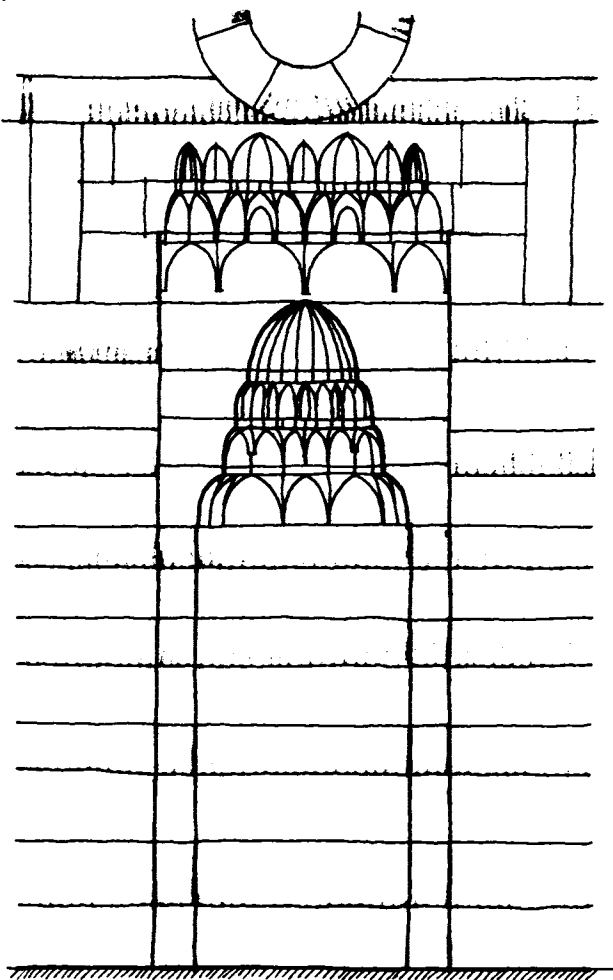


Fig. 33.7 Elevation of mihrab

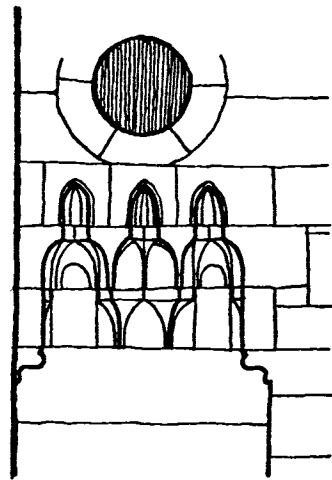


Fig. 33.8 Detail of muqarnas

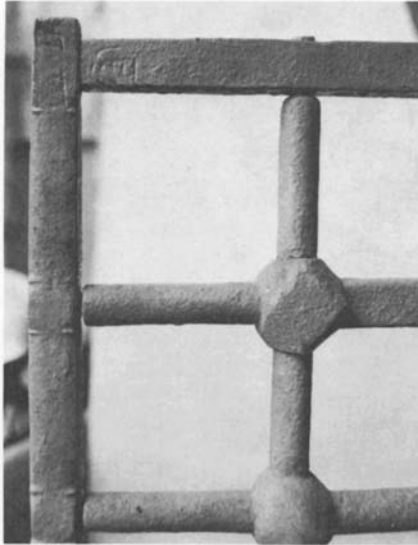


Plate 33.22 Corner of grilled wicket gate showing assembly marks

With the exception of the two doorways at either end of the north wall, the doors and windows around the courtyard at this level are each surmounted by an eight-lobed oculus (*plates* 33.2 and 33.23). The upper walls on the west, north and east sides of the courtyard project slightly, corbelled on a bed moulding decorated with a repeating shallow *muqarnas* element (see *plate* 33.23). A cyma recta cornice moulding runs around all four sides of the courtyard.

(vii) *Well-niche*

The elaborate decoration of the well-niche is illustrated in *plate* 33.3. The chamfered trefoil which outlines the outer bay of *muqarnas* vaulting is set within a recessed pointed arch. The arch has two orders of decoration, the outer one an interlocking trefoil pattern in relief such as occurs commonly at Damascus,<sup>21</sup> and the inner one a chevron moulding which reflects a local Crusader influence.<sup>22</sup> The impression created by the composition is one of considerable imagination, as if the mason in charge were practising his repertoire with enthusiasm; and the muddling of the mouldings at the keystone of the chevron arch shows that the work was to some extent experimental.

The deep niche is vaulted in two bays which are separated by a simple pointed arch (*plate* 33.24). The outer bay with its

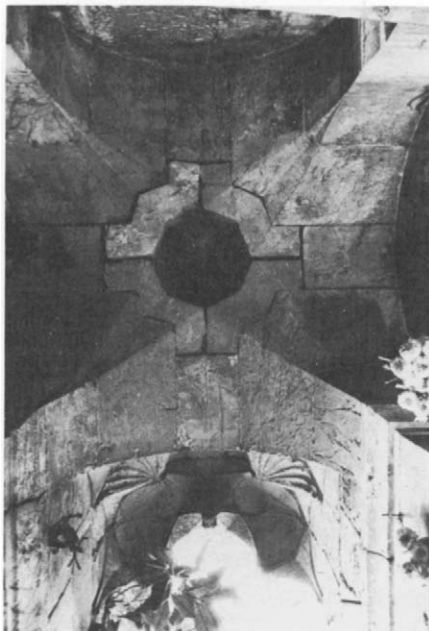


Plate 33.24 Vaulting over well-niche

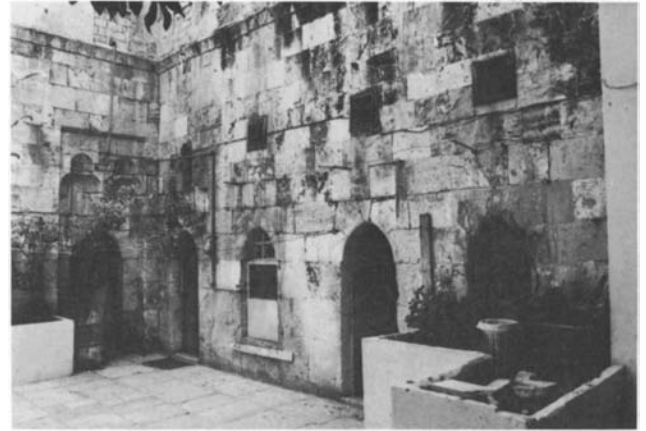


Plate 33.23 North-east corner of courtyard

elaborate *muqarnas* vaulting contrasts with the simpler cross vault of the inner bay, which is over the well-head. A chimney-like orifice at the crown of the inner vault allowed water to be drawn from the cistern to the cells above.

(viii) *Staircase*

The special decoration of the doorway at the eastern end of the north wall of the courtyard (described above) could be expected since that led to the upper floor. The similar decoration of the door at the western end was probably intended for symmetry. The eastern doorway opens into a passage leading to a spiral staircase which rises under a well-built ashlar vault to the upper floor (*plate* 33.25).

(ix) *Upper floor* (*fig* 33.5)

At the top of the stairs the vaulting has been dismantled (*plate* 33.26); one now emerges in the open air beside a passage connecting with two cells on the east side of the courtyard. The door into the southern one has been walled up and the cell annexed to the Ālmalikiyya (above, p. 316). The northern cell is entered by a door in its south wall (the breach in its east wall is modern). No other rooms survive at this level but the disposition of the windows around the courtyard gives some idea of the original layout. At the south side the *iwān* rises to the full height of the two storeys. In each of the north, west and east walls are three square windows with *muqarnas*-headed slit windows above. To reduce the direct load on the lintels of the square windows, the course of masonry immediately above each is undercut to a cusped profile. Evidently there were three cells entered from the north at the north end of the courtyard, and possibly two cells on the west side arranged like those on the east side with an access corridor. The cells at the north side were ruined before 1920 and the breach in the north wall, shown in *plate* 33.2, was repaired presumably during the 1927-28 restoration. The cells on the west side were demolished to make way for a new school built in 1923-24 (above, p. 207), though their (blocked) windows remain.

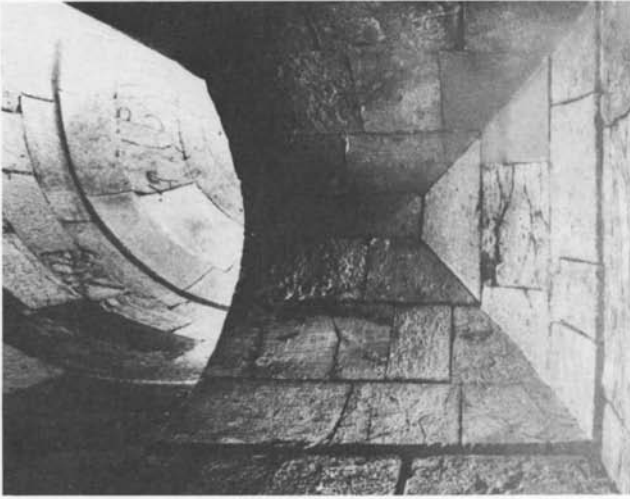


Plate 33.25 Staircase vault



Plate 33.26 Staircase emerging at upper floor level

## Notes

- 1 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 159.
- 2 *Op. cit.*, 165.
- 3 Mujīr, ii, 38.
- 4 Ms. Pococke 362, fol. 132a, and Ms. Marsh 677, fol. 125b.
- 5 Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem*, 149. He converted the date incorrectly as 1 March 1359. In his short unpaginated preface, Sauvaire referred to the large number of manuscripts of the work in Paris, London, Vienna, etc., but said that his translation was based on the early printed edition and a manuscript he had acquired in Jerusalem. Asali, again with no explanation and no quoted source, stated that 760/1359 was the date of the completion of the building of the Is'ardiyya, see *Ma'ābid*, 226.
- 6 Mujīr, 390, and Mujīr, ii, 38.
- 7 Mujīr, ii, 40.
- 8 Mujīr, ii, 38.
- 9 Hāram nos. 172 and 567.
- 10 *Imbā'*, ii, 69.
- 11 Completed in 812/1410, see *Dāris*, i, 150. For his *tarjama*, see *Daw*, i, 118; *Imbā'*, iii, 310.
- 12 Sijill, 80, 105 (2).
- 13 Sijill, 30, 46.
- 14 Sijill, 228, 1180; quoted by Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 227.
- 15 The top of the pier was given a sloping top presumably during the 1346/1927-28 repairs; a dilapidated top is shown in *CIA (Planches)*, lxiii.

- 16 Mujīr, 376. Cf. *CIA (Ville)*, 229.
- 17 *CIA (Planches)*, lxii and lxiv.
- 18 This conversion to a 'straight-through' entrance was probably to facilitate the entry of long planks of wood for scaffolding, etc. needed during the restoration. After the restoration large bookcases had to be brought in (shown in *Bayān al-majlis al-shar'i al-Islāmi al-a'lā fi Filasṭīn*, Jerusalem, 1924, on the photograph facing p. 32). The double bend of the original entrance would have prevented the introduction of inflexible objects more than two or three metres long.
- 19 Incised in the masonry of this wall were graffiti in Hebrew which tempted Mayer (L.A. Mayer, 'Hebräische Inschriften im Ḥaram zu Jerusalem', *ZDPV*, lviii, 1930, 229) to associate the Is'ardiyya with the Zāwiyat al-Lāwī ('the Zāwiya of the Levite') mentioned by al-'Umarī. These inscriptions have since been effaced. According to al-'Umarī's description (cited above, p. 104) the Zāwiyat al-Lāwī should be placed rather towards the Fārisiyya Madrasa (above, p. 337).
- 20 The upper part of the Herodian walls enclosing the sanctuaries at Jerusalem and Hebron were articulated in a series of pilasters, see for Jerusalem: C. Warren and C. Conder, *The Survey of Western Palestine: Jerusalem*, London, 1884, 212-15; for Hebron: L. Vincent, E. Mackay and F.-M. Abel, *Hébron: le Haram el-Kbalīl*, 1 vol. text and 1 vol. plates, Paris, 1923.
- 21 Cf. E. Herzfeld, 'Damascus: Studies in Architecture – I', *AI*, ix, 1942, 46-48, figs. 30-34, and *CIA (Alep)*, 180 n. 1.
- 22 *CIA (Ville)*, 425 n. 2.

# 34 DĀR AL-QUR'ĀN AL-SALLĀMIYYA

## دار القرآن السلامية

Endowed in 761/1360  
Koran School of Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar  
Modern name: Qabr Shaykh Mūsā

### I LOCATION (fig. 34.1)

On the south side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila, almost directly opposite the Jāliqiyya (no. 11).

### II SITE AND BUILDING (fig. 34.2)

Situated over the south side of the bridge (discussed above, p. 184) that spans east-west across the town's central ('Tyropoeon') valley, al-Wād, the building comprises a single barrel-vaulted chamber entered from the street. To east and west are vaulted shops and to the south are various adjoining buildings that we have not surveyed.

The original structure appears to predate by more than a century its endowment as a Koran School. It now houses a stone cenotaph, presumably a later intrusion, marking the grave of some unknown person.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

Mujīr al-Dīn states that this institution was situated 'opposite the Ḥadīth College (*Dār al-Ḥadīth*)',<sup>1</sup> that is to say, on the south side of the Chain Gate Street. According to Asali,<sup>2</sup> it was just a short distance to the east of the Khālidī Library. Late sijill entries, quoted by him, show that access to the lower parts was from the former Moroccans' Quarter.

#### DATE

No date of construction is recorded. Only the date of the drawing up of the endowment instrument is preserved, 20 Rabī' II 761/10 March 1360.<sup>3</sup>

#### FOUNDER

As we owe the date above to Mujīr al-Dīn, so we owe to him the name of the source of the endowment, a Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. Abī Bakr Abī 'l-Qāsim al-Sallāmi.<sup>4</sup> The identity of this person has not been traced. There is the possibility that he was an important merchant like the founder of the Sallāmiyya Madrasa (see p. 299).

#### ENDOWMENT

A list of properties is given in Deft̄er no. 602,<sup>5</sup> but without any confirmation of the waqf date recorded by Mujīr al-Dīn. The institution is there described as 'the ribāt, known as the Sallāmiyya Koran School'. The eight rent-producing items included a room within the 'ribāt' and two shops at the door. All the others were in Jerusalem (shops, *qā'as*, etc.), in Bāb Ḥiṭṭa (including a dye-works) or in the Bāb al-'Amūd district. Only one item (a room) had no recorded rent. The total for the rest was 344 aspers.

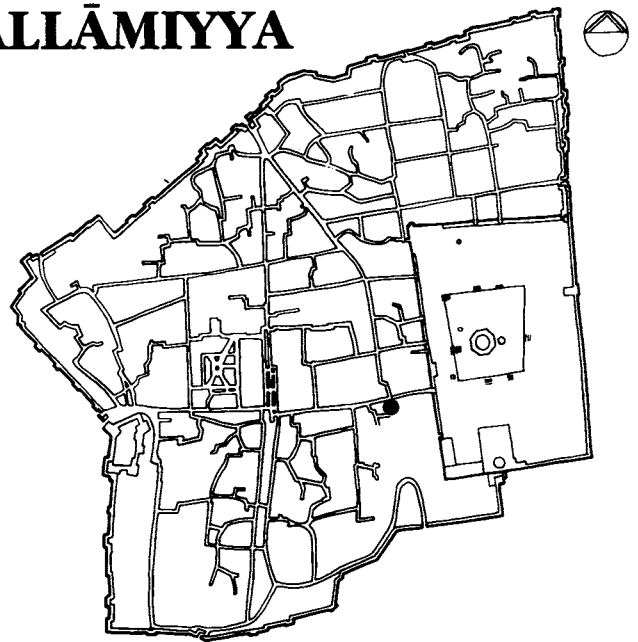


Fig. 34.1 Location plan

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

As far as can be ascertained, there is no reference to the Koran School in the Ḥaram documents. The name of one early shaykh is recorded by Mujīr al-Dīn,<sup>6</sup> a Mālikī scholar from North Africa called 'Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Sikrī (or al-Sukkārī). In this context Mujīr al-Dīn calls the institution 'the Sallāmiyya School of Koranic Textual Studies (*Dār al-Qirā'āt al-Sallāmiyya*)'. It is clear that this shaykh was perhaps more celebrated for his Sūfī 'sainthood'. He died around about the age of ninety on 2 Jumādā II 829/11 April 1426.

No reference was found in the Jerusalem sijills which were perused. However, Asali found two late pieces. One, dating from the early eighteenth century, referred to appointments to the headship and inspectorate of the 'madrasa'.<sup>7</sup> The other, dated 1203/1788-89, records the surrender of these offices by a member of the Imām family to a member of the Khālidī family,<sup>8</sup> in whose hands the building has remained a family waqf until the present.

#### LATER HISTORY

A document dated 6 November 1930 (in File 102/A6 Jerusalem) in the archives of the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum gives details of the later development of the site:

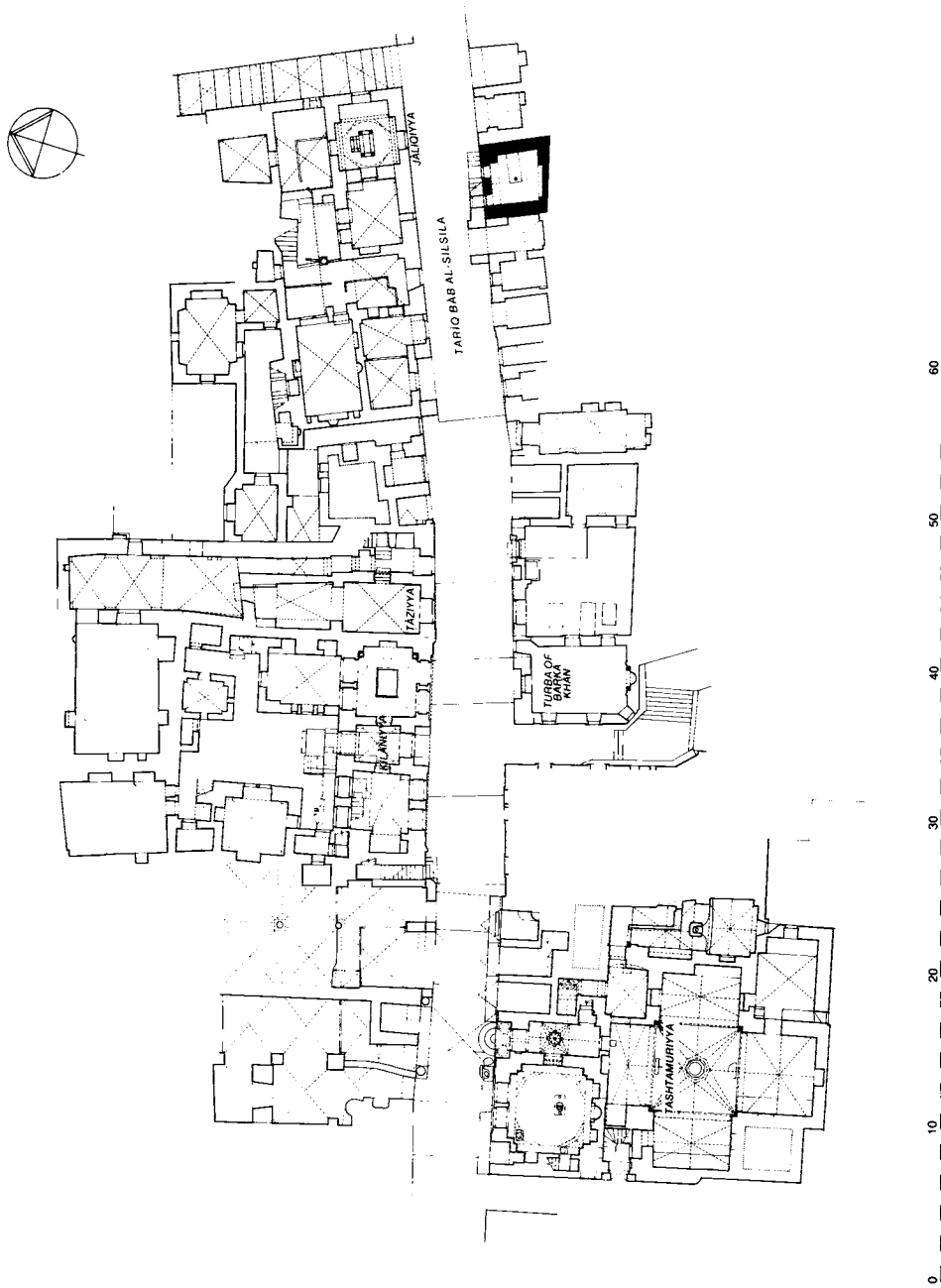
In 1266/1811 the upper two storeys were added by a certain Daqāq. Between 1261/1846 and 1262/1847 it was repaired by a certain Khālidī who bought the house from Daqāq for a female relative (from *hujjas* written in 1227/1812 and 1262/1847 respectively and in the possession of Ḥājj Rāghib Effendi al-Khālidī).

### IV ARCHITECTURE

#### STREET FRONTAGE (plate 34.1)

The street frontage is quite plain. The main feature is an archway which appears originally to have been the only opening into the chamber. The archway is blocked with large well-cut stones so as to leave only a small square window opening in the centre. To the right of the archway a low door has been opened in the original masonry, probably when the archway was blocked. This doorway is now the only entrance to the chamber.

A later stairway giving access to upper floors added in 1811 rises from east to west across the street frontage concealing much of it from view. It was dismantled in 1983 allowing more of the masonry to be examined (plate 34.1). It has since been



**Fig. 34.2** Site plan



replaced by a modern stair. A small passage under the stair maintains access to the entrance door.

The stonework of the street frontage appears to be homogeneous except for the later masonry around the entrance and blocking the archway (see *plate 34.1*). A kite-shaped shield carved on the left-hand springer of the archway, similar to others seen at the Bāb al-Silsila, the Ribāṭ of 'Alā' al-Dīn and the Turba of Barka Khān (above, p. 115), suggests that the archway was in existence by the early seventh/thirteenth century.



Plate 34.1 Street frontage after removal of stair to upper floor

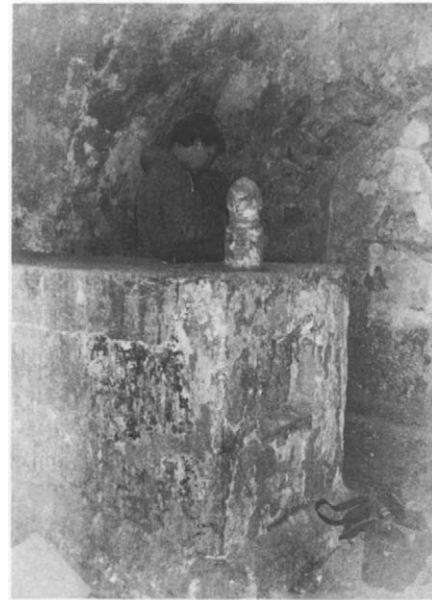


Plate 34.2 Interior, looking south-east, showing cenotaph

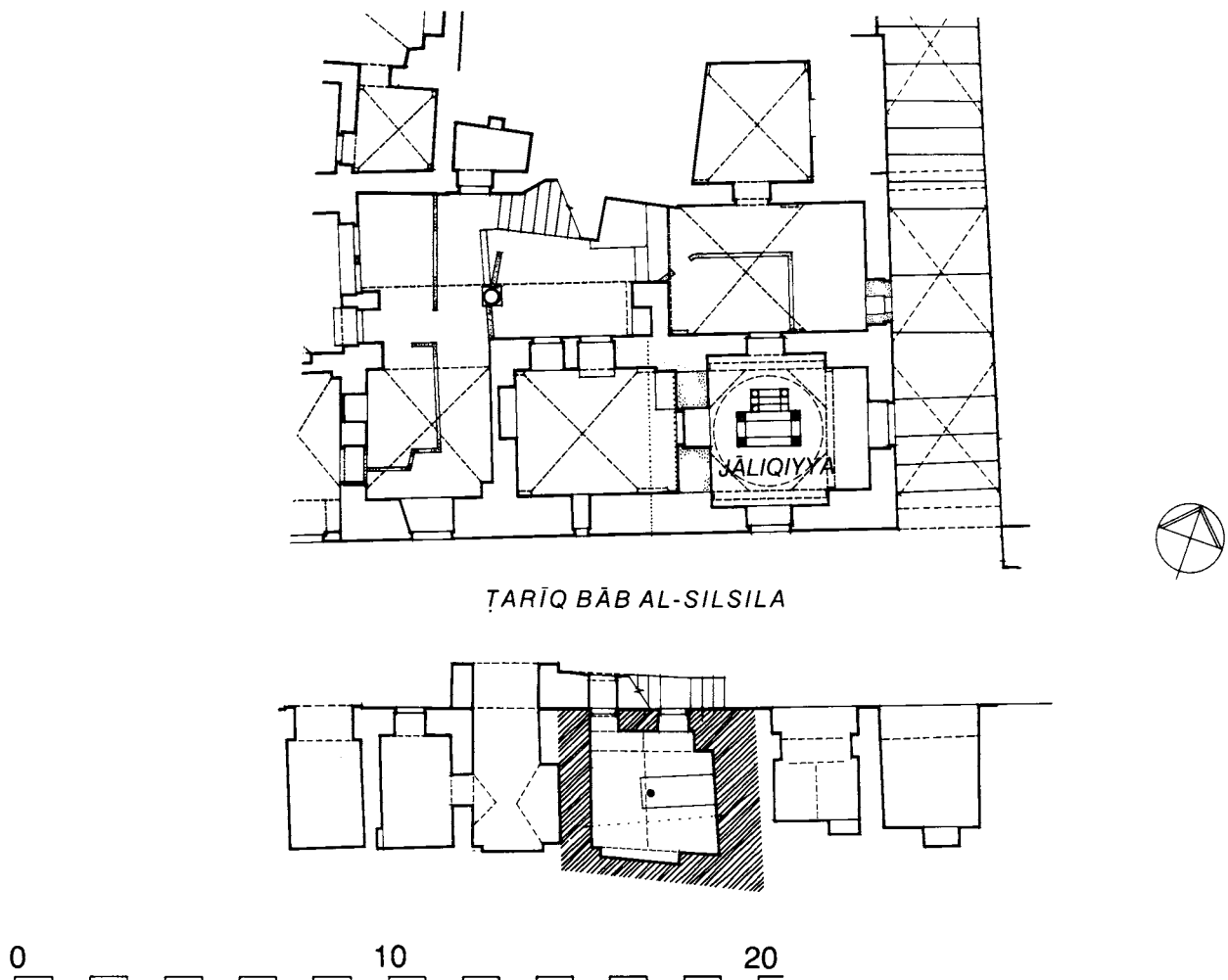


Fig. 34.3 Ground floor plan

*INTERIOR* (plan, *fig. 34.3*; *plate 34.2*)

The entrance opens directly into the chamber, which is roofed by a barrel vault spanning from east to west. A pointed arch of well-cut ashlar spans a recess in the north wall next to the street. This arch springs directly from the west wall and, at the other end, from a respond occupying the north-east corner of the chamber. It does not correspond to the (blocked) archway in the street frontage, being greater both in span and height. In the south wall is a smaller recess under a crudely-built segmental arch, possibly a later modification. Some suggestion of other changes in the structure is made by a break (shown as a dotted line on the plan, *fig. 34.3*) running east-west across the vault.

The chamber houses a stone cenotaph (1.98m long, 0.79m wide, 1.05m high), presumably a later addition, projecting from the east wall. Whose grave the cenotaph marks is not known. It is possible that the window and door in the street frontage were made when the grave was introduced in order to restrict access to it. A clue as to when that might have been is given by a finely carved octagonal post of marble at the west end of the cenotaph (*plate 34.2*). This post appears to be in secondary use for it has a slot cut into one side that serves no useful purpose in its present position. Normally such posts marked the four corners of Mamlūk cenotaphs (p. 191), and the style and carving of this one is typically Mamlūk (*fig. 34.4*) but its solitary placement as a headstone conforms to Ottoman funerary practice.<sup>9</sup> We may therefore be justified in assuming that the grave is Ottoman.

The evolution of the site may thus be summarized:

- (1) Structure in existence in the early seventh/thirteenth century, possibly used as a shop, with an archway opening on the street.
- (2) Endowed by Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar as a Koran School in 761/1360 with no known architectural modifications.
- (3) Used to house a grave in the Ottoman period when the present cenotaph<sup>10</sup> was built and, in all probability, the present window and door in the the street frontage were inserted.

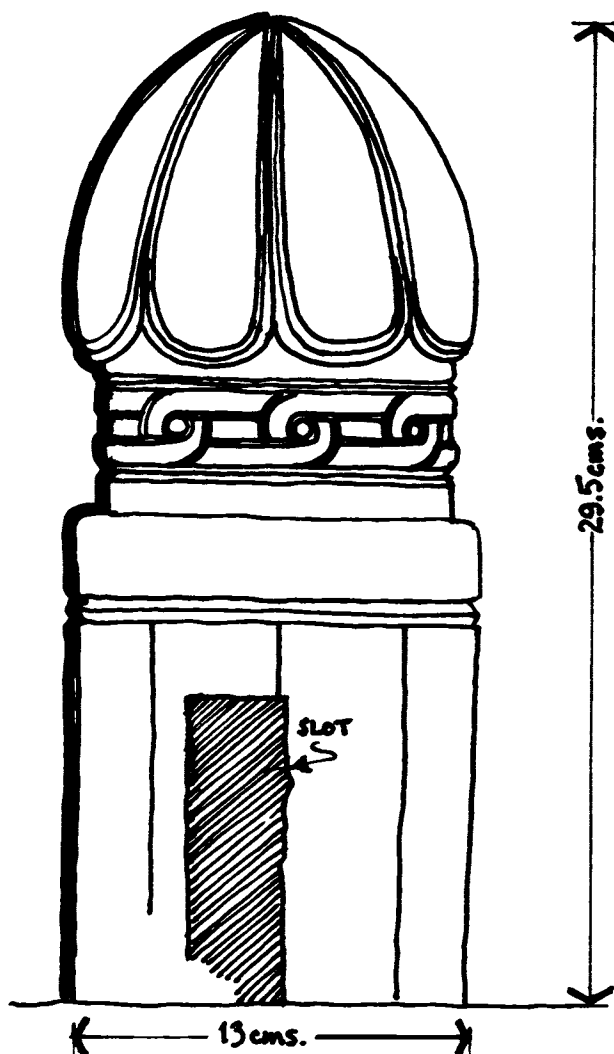


Fig. 34.4 Sketch of marble post re-used as headstone

## Notes

- 1 Mujir, ii, 45.
- 2 Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 134.
- 3 Mujir, *loc. cit.*
- 4 Mujir, *loc. cit.*
- 5 Defter 602, 429. There is no entry in Defter 522.
- 6 Mujir, ii, 246.
- 7 Sijill 209, 264 (quoted in Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 134).
- 8 Sijill 270, 81 (quoted in Asali, *Ma'ābid*, *loc. cit.*).
- 9 G. Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, London and Baltimore, 1971, 333, 367.
- 10 The present owner of the property, Hā'idar Khālidī Effendi, believes that the cenotaph marks the grave of Shaykh Mūsā al-Khālidī, chief qāḍī in Medina when the Wahhābis rose to power. He died about 150 years ago.

# 35 AL-MANJAKIYYA

## المنجكية

c.762/1361

Madrasa of Manjak al-Yūsufi

Modern name: Dā'irat al-awqāf wa'l-shu'ūn al-islāmiyya/  
Department of pious endowments and Islamic affairs

### I LOCATION (fig. 35.1)

At the west border of the Ḥaram above the north end of the west portico and entered from the north side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Nāzir.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 35.2)

The Manjakiyya stands partly on the roof of the northernmost eight bays of the west portico and partly on the roofs of various structures to the west, some of which may have been built at the same time.

The portico from the south of Bāb al-Nāzir to near Bāb al-Ghawānima (i.e. the portico on which the Manjakiyya stands) was built in 707/1307-8, according to Mujīr al-Dīn.<sup>1</sup> A beautiful inscription on the face of the portico in front of Bāb al-Nāzir (plate 35.1) confirms that 'this portico . . . was built in . . . the year 707'.<sup>2</sup> Yet al-'Umarī, writing about seventeen years before the construction of the Manjakiyya, describes a garden planted with trees and vines where now stand the northernmost six bays of the portico. According to his description, the portico extended only one bay north of Bāb al-Nāzir.

Al-'Umarī's description is substantiated by a distinct change in the architecture of the portico between the first and second bays north of the gate and between the second and third

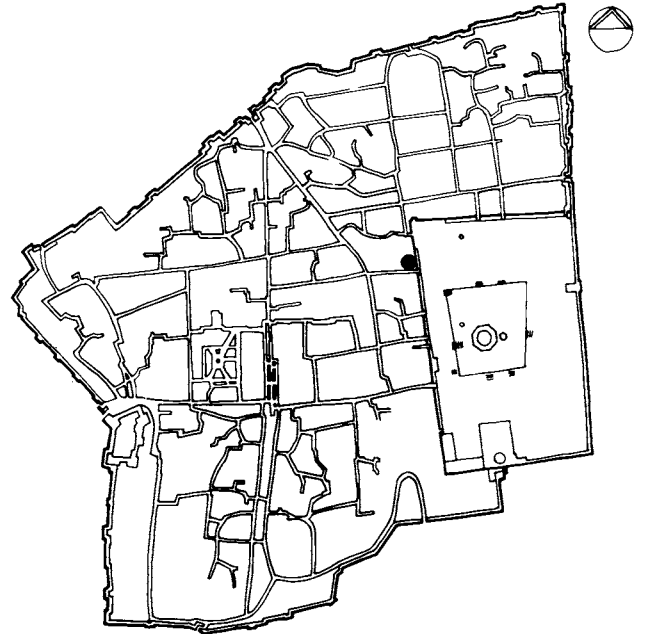


Fig. 35.1 Location plan

bays south of the gate. Thus the portico built in 707/1307-8 appears to have been asymmetrical about the gate, comprising four bays only, two south of the gate, one at the gate itself, and one north of the gate. The frontage of these four bays is recessed 0.30m from the supporting piers. Each bay has a simple cavetto moulding which runs across the top of the recess. At the bay in front of the gate this moulding terminates at each end with a pair of pendent *muqarnas* stalactites, and at the other three bays it extends about 0.35m down each side of the recess to little pendentive corbels (see plate 35.1).

The portico to the south was, as Mujīr al-Dīn records, added in 737/1336-37.<sup>3</sup> But when were the six bays to the north added? It must have been after c.745/1345 (when al-'Umarī's description was written) but before c.762/1361 when the Manjakiyya was built over them. The last two bays at the north end of the portico are different from the others, being built largely of re-used Crusader stones (many of which bear masons' marks) and lacking the impost mouldings found on bays 3-6 and from 11 southwards. The absence of impost mouldings may be explained by the fact that, as the ground level of the Ḥaram rises towards the north, the springing level of the arches rises correspondingly and, rather than have impost mouldings misaligned with those of the neighbouring bays of the portico, the builders omitted them altogether.

The structures on the lower floor to the west of the Ḥaram wall are laid out according to no coherent plan and seem likely to predate the main construction above. There is, however, no way of telling when they were constructed, especially since the building has been substantially remodelled (see below), and so the possibility that part of this lower floor belongs to the Manjakiyya cannot be ignored.

The building 'had fallen into a sorry state' by Mujīr al-Dīn's time, and was later substantially remodelled in 1921-22. It is now impossible to identify the original western limits of the site. Old photographs (see plates 35.5-35.8) show, however, that the original building followed roughly the lines of the present one. Those parts of the building that occupy the roof of the Ḥaram portico, though slightly altered in the remodelling, nevertheless retain largely their original form. These include a domed loggia, overlooking the Ḥaram through a fine double-arched window, and a small prayer hall over the Ḥaram gate. The Ḥaram façade is entirely unaltered except for the addition of an unsightly council chamber above the south end in 1935.

Entrance was by way of a *muqarnas* portal on the north side of the street, Ṭarīq Bāb al-Nāzir, which leads through a vestibule into a staircase. Only the first (lower) section of the



Plate 35.1 Inscription on south pier of portico at Bāb al-Nāzir

He [i.e. Manjak] was ordered to reside in Jerusalem as *tarkhān*. He came to the city in Ṣafar 761 [December 1359-January 1360]. In a certain history [it is written that] 'He came to Jerusalem to build the madrasa for the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Hasan'. It was his intention to build it for him, but when the Sultan was killed in the year 762 [1361], he built it for himself and it took his name. He endowed the madrasa and provided it with students of law (*fuqabā'*) and other personnel.<sup>6</sup>

The 'certain history', which Mujīr al-Dīn quotes, offers a more circumstantial framework for the commencement of the madrasa. The passage might be taken to mean that al-Nāṣir Hasan initially planned the madrasa in Jerusalem, which is very plausible in view of his many other foundations in his second reign (755-62/1354-61), including madrasas in Hebron, Tripoli and Aleppo, not to mention his magnificent madrasa in Cairo. There is a slight problem. If Manjak was sent to take responsibility for the Sultan's madrasa, he cannot be said to have chosen Jerusalem for his *tarkhān* residence. Yet the choice of place of residence *was* his. The Sultan's order (*tauqī'*) is quoted by Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya from Ibn Ḥabīb's history under the year 761, including this sentence: 'Thus it has been ordered that the aforementioned should be *tarkhān*, residing wherever he wishes'.<sup>7</sup> The text quoted by Mujīr al-Dīn does not actually say that he was ordered to build by the Sultan. One could understand that Manjak was acting on his own initiative, planning to win the favour of the Sultan by building the madrasa in the Sultan's name.<sup>8</sup>

Mujīr al-Dīn does not give a clear date for the commencement or the completion of the Manjakiyya Madrasa.<sup>9</sup> Nu'aymī (d. 927/1521), who wrote later than Mujīr al-Dīn, places the construction of Manjak's 'khānqāh and madrasa' in Jerusalem during his period of residence there.<sup>10</sup> But is this based on any independent evidence? If one considers the date of the endowment, which presupposes the completion of the building, then there is again some lack of clarity. The two late sixteenth-century land registers available provide conflicting dates for the *waqfiyya* of Manjak. No. 522 gives 770/1368-69,<sup>11</sup> and no. 602 773/1371-72.<sup>12</sup> However, there is some sense in accepting dates of about that period, since, as we shall see, Manjak became governor of Damascus for the second time in 769/1368 and remained there for six years. If we accept that the erection of the madrasa was begun, and even completed, in the period 761-62/1360-61, Manjak's immediate participation in the revolt against Yalbughā and his subsequent five and half years' imprisonment could have spelt the temporary eclipse of his foundation, which would have needed re-endowment on his return to power and affluence.<sup>13</sup>

#### FOUNDER

The founder, Sayf al-Dīn Manjak<sup>14</sup> began as a mamlūk of the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He is commonly given the *nisba* al-Yūsufī, but as far as is known, it is nowhere explained to whom that refers. His career was a very chequered one, full of incident and many changes of fortune. He appears in the chronicles in the year 745/1344, when, as *silābdār* (swordbearer), he brought the head of the deposed al-Nāṣir Aḥmad from Kerak to Cairo.<sup>15</sup> In Rabī' II 745/August 1344 he was made an amīr of *ṭablkhāna* rank<sup>16</sup> and in the following year he was commissioned to investigate the Amīr Ālmalik in Ṣafad and then to bring him to Cairo (see p. 308). After the arrest of the governor of Damascus, Yalbughā al-Yahyāwī, it was again Manjak who was dispatched to procure the rebel's head (Jumādā II 748/September 1347).<sup>17</sup> Perhaps as a reward for these efforts, in Rajab 748/November 1347 Manjak was promoted to be Amīr of 100 and Chamberlain (*Ḥājib*) of Damascus.<sup>18</sup>

The second stage of his career begins after the accession of al-Nāṣir Hasan and the appointment of his own brother, Baybughā Rūs, to be viceroy in Cairo. Manjak was brought to court in Shawwāl 748/January 1348 and given the posts of vizier

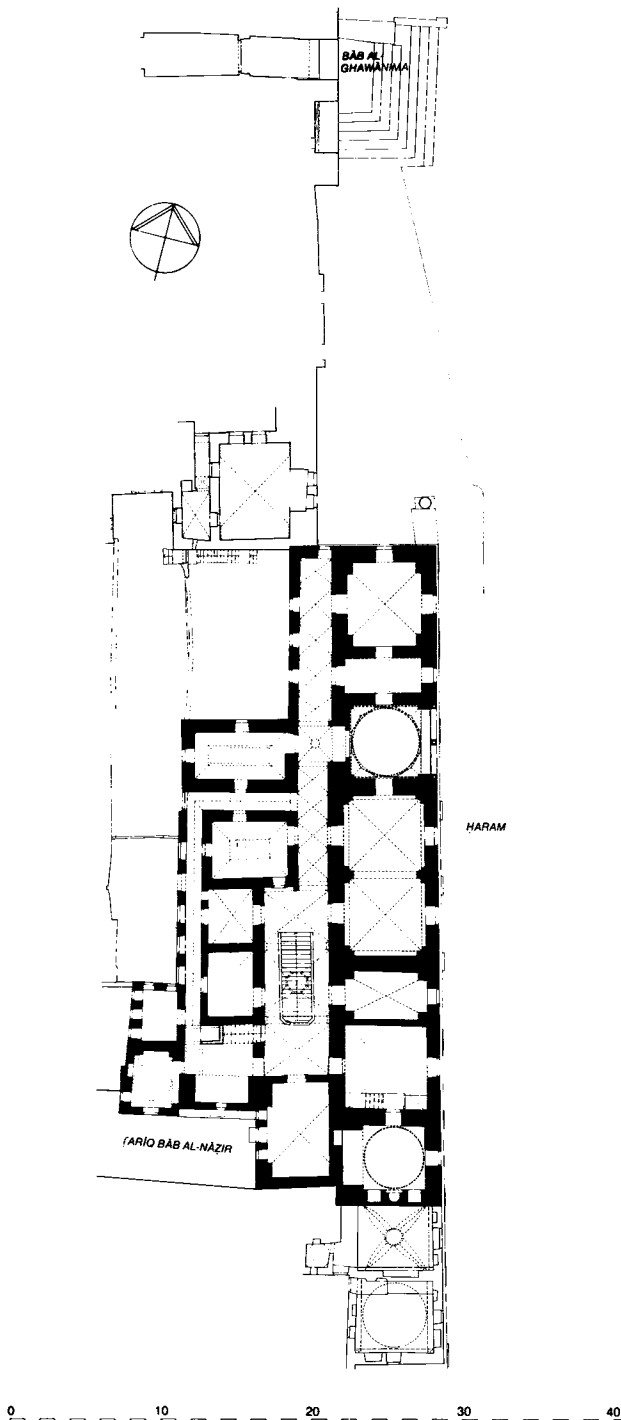


Fig. 35.2 Site plan

staircase remains. A second, spiral staircase in the thickness of the Ḥaram wall led up from the portico to the loggia.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

This madrasa was located by Mujīr al-Dīn at the Bāb al-Nāzīr, as one of the institutions found on the west side of the Ḥaram.<sup>4</sup> Its identification has also been discussed by van Berchem, although it is anepigraphic, and thus would not normally fall within his scope.<sup>5</sup>

#### DATE

In the absence of a foundation inscription, there is some doubt about when the madrasa was built and also when it was endowed. Mujīr al-Dīn wrote:

and major-domo.<sup>19</sup> This period of power lasted nearly three years with one slight interruption of forty days. He was one of the ruling circle of amīrs, which included his brother, the viceroy, Shaykhū al-'Umarī and Ṭāz (see p. 399). The balance between the rivals in the oligarchy was very delicate. When Baybughā and Ṭāz went on pilgrimage in 751/1350, Sultan Hasan asserted himself, urged on without a doubt by two amīrs, Manglibughā al-Fakhrī and Mughultay. Manjak was arrested in Shawwāl/December of that year.<sup>20</sup> His first imprisonment in Alexandria lasted about eight months.

After quite bewildering changes of alliance amongst the amīrs and a change of sultan – al-Šāliḥ Šāliḥ came to the throne in Jumādā II 752/August 1351 – Manjak was released<sup>21</sup> and his brother, Baybughā, freed from his confinement in Kerak, was sent to be governor in Aleppo.<sup>22</sup> In a brief interlude Manjak conspired with his brother but the plot was discovered; Manjak was restored to his cell in Alexandria<sup>23</sup> and Baybughā, having failed in his revolt, was after a while put to death. This time Manjak spent about twenty months in prison. As the amīrs continued to play their deadly game of factional politics, Manjak was released through the influence of Shaykhū and sent to Šafad as a *battāl* (755/spring 1354).<sup>24</sup>

There followed a particularly complicated period of his life. Soon after the return of the Sultan al-Nāsir Hasan, Manjak was given the governorship of Tripoli in Dhū'l-Qa'da 755/December 1354.<sup>25</sup> After the arrest of Ṭāz, Manjak was transferred to Aleppo in 759/1358,<sup>26</sup> and after only a little while moved to Damascus. He remained governor there until Muḥarram 760/December 1358, when he was dismissed, summoned to Cairo, but at Gaza fled into hiding.<sup>27</sup> Arrested outside Damascus a little over a year later, he was pardoned by Sultan Hasan, given an amirate of 40 and declared to be *ṭarḫbān*, free to choose his place of residence.<sup>28</sup>

In Cairo Sultan Hasan was overthrown in Jumādā I 762/March 1361. The regent of the new ruler, al-Manšūr Muḥammad, was Yalbughā al-'Umarī. Manjak joined the revolt of the then governor of Damascus, Baydamur, against him. Both were seized by treachery outside Damascus (Ramaḍān 762/August 1361), and once more Manjak found himself in prison at Alexandria.<sup>29</sup> This time, the third, he stayed there for five and a half years.

The political map again changed greatly in his absence. Al-Manšūr was deposed (Sha'bān 764/May 1363) and succeeded by al-Ashraf Sha'bān, aged 10 years. Yalbughā, who continued as regent, was killed by his mamlūks in Rabī' II 768/December 1366.

Freed once more, Manjak began the last stage of his life and nearly eight years of power and influence. In Muḥarram 769/September 1367 he was governor of Tripoli,<sup>30</sup> before being transferred to govern Damascus by Jumādā I 769/January 1368.<sup>31</sup> His last move was made in Dhū'l-Ḥijja 775/May 1374 when he made a magnificent entry into Cairo, there to be given complete authority throughout the state.<sup>32</sup> A little over a year later he fell ill and died on Thursday, 29 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 776/31 May 1375.<sup>33</sup>

Manjak was praised for his public works: 'He was . . . active in promoting the welfare of the people and fond of buildings. He acquired fine properties and selected beautiful old buildings/monuments, and renovated (*ammara*) several mosques, Sūfī convents and hospices, and erected several public caravanserais in Egypt and Syria, indeed throughout the kingdom. He repaired bridges and roads'.<sup>34</sup> His own building was extensive, and it is noteworthy that he directed the building of a palace for Ṭāz in Cairo in Muḥarram 753/February-March 1352.<sup>35</sup> He built a mosque (*jāmi'*) in Cairo, which was completed in 750/1349-50,<sup>36</sup> a madrasa in Damascus, which is described as Ḥanafīte,<sup>37</sup> and a zāwiya at Kiswa.<sup>38</sup> In Defter no. 522 two Koran schools are mentioned, one in Jerusalem and the other in Gaza, which were to have ten orphan pupils in each and which were supported by the waqf income of a village in Gaza district. The date of the endowment is given as 771/1369-70,<sup>39</sup> but in another defter as 749/1348-49.<sup>40</sup> Again in Cairo, he

had built a fine palace in the first stage of his career, that is, before 748/1347-48,<sup>41</sup> and, finally, a mausoleum near his mosque, in which he was buried.<sup>42</sup>

#### ENDOWMENT

Both the Defters are in broad agreement on the details of the endowment. It consisted of:

- (i) The whole bath at Šafad, formerly known as the Citadel Bath<sup>43</sup> and now as the New Bath.
- (ii) Three shops known as the Wakāla (lit. caravanserai) at Jerusalem.
- (iii) 1 share ( $\frac{1}{12}$ ) of the *qā'a* (hall) at the top of the Ḥarāfish Hill in Jerusalem.
- (iv) Rent (*biker*) of a plot of land west of Jerusalem known by the name of the *wāqif* and as the Charity Land.
- (v) 6 shares and a third and an eighth of a share of the village of Bayt Saḫāfa in the Jerusalem district.
- (vi) A parcel of land known as Manjak's Land and Charity Land in the Jerusalem district.

Item (vi) is only found in no. 522, as a separate entry. The income of item (iv) is given in no. 522 as 1,513 aspers and in no. 602 as 1,510. As for item (i), the bath at Šafad, register no. 522 has an entry<sup>44</sup> which declares one fifth of its revenue to belong to the Adhamiyya Zāwiya at Jerusalem, which contradicts the statement that it was wholly an endowment of the madrasa. It is recorded that Manjak built the zāwiya of the Adhamiyya Sūfīs north of the old city and that he and other 'pious people' provided endowments for it. That the rights of the zāwiya were sometimes overlooked is demonstrated by a document in the Jerusalem sijills<sup>45</sup> in which the administrator of the zāwiya laid claim to a fifth of the Bath's income, had recourse to the terms of Manjak's waqf instrument, stating that 'no more than two thousand dirhams should be expended annually from the income and rents of the said Bath', declared that his predecessor had agreed with the father of the present administrator of the madrasa that the 2,000 dirhams of the original waqf should be understood to be 2,000 aspers, and then acknowledged receipt of the zāwiya's share for five years (ending 983/1576), namely 40 gold pieces.

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

One of the three shops forming item (ii) is presumably the one (called a *ḥamūt*) 'in David Street adjoining the Ḥarāfish steps in the southern row [of shops]', the annual rent of which in 939-40/1532-34 was 240 aspers. Of that sum 12 went to the waqf of the Ribāt of 'Alā' al-Dīn, no doubt because the shops purchased by Manjak for his waqf were subject to a *biker* rent for that earlier foundation,<sup>46</sup> although it is not easy to identify the property in the list of the holdings of the Ribāt waqf (see pp. 117-119). In Ramaḍān 947/May 1531 the 'hall' (*qā'a*), described as being 'below the madrasa connected with the portal (*bawwāba*)', was let for 200 aspers for a period of three years.<sup>47</sup>

No mention has been found in the Court registers of any damage suffered by the madrasa in the major earthquake of January 1546. Doubtless there was some. A 'small room' belonging to the madrasa and over part of the Ribāt of 'Alā' al-Dīn collapsed along with the vault below (see p. 119). In 959/1552 29 paras were spent on clearing the drain of the madrasa privy and in 961/1554 353 paras were paid out for the repair of 'the residence on the roof (*qasr al-saḥb*)'.<sup>48</sup>

One of the earliest, if not the first, of the heads (shaykhs) of the Manjakiyya was Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd al-Dayrī (c. 750-827/1349-1424).<sup>49</sup> He was succeeded by his son, Sa'd al-Dīn Sa'd (d. 867/1462-63).<sup>50</sup> By the sixteenth century, a member of this same family, Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā al-Dayrī, had become, to all appearances, the administrator of the waqf of the madrasa in addition to the headship (*mashyakba*), according to documents that cover the period 943-962/1536-1555.<sup>51</sup> The al-Dayrī family were all Ḥanafīs, which has led to the assumption that that was the chosen school for the madrasa. However, in two court documents dated 984 and 1018/1576 and 1608, the administrator is named as Zayn al-Dīn Ishāq b.



'Umar b Abī 'l-Luṭf, who was *Shāfi'i* muftī in Jerusalem.<sup>52</sup> In fact, one of these documents makes it clear that Zayn al-Dīn was only the deputy administrator – and this was doubtless true of the al-Dayrī family earlier – acting for a descendant of Manjak, the Amīr Muḥammad Pāshā. This latter had written to his deputy that 'it has come to my attention that the waqf of the madrasa is ruined and that the entitled persons are not receiving their stipends'. The deputy requested the Qāḍī to summon the people concerned and to ask them whether they were receiving their stipends annually or not. All, including the *mudarris*, Abū 'l-Faṭḥ b. Abi 'l-Luṭf, the *mu'īd*, Šāliḥ al-Dayrī, the usual range of waqf officials and twenty-four readers of Koran parts, return a contented positive answer. The fabric of the madrasa is also attested to be in good order (*āmira*). One should recall that in 901/1496 Mujīr al-Dīn had written: 'In our own time it has fallen into a sorry state. God alone gives success!'<sup>53</sup>

A note added to the entry of the Manjakiyya Madrasa in Defter no. 522 reads: 'The income surplus to the expenditure on the madrasa belongs to the descendants of the founder.'<sup>54</sup> Probably Manjak also designated his direct descendants to succeed himself as administrator in the terms of his *waqfiyya*. If he acted similarly with all, or even some of, his other endowments,<sup>55</sup> that might help to explain the continuity and lasting importance of his family. They are easily traceable through biographical dictionaries down to a third Manjak (1007-1080/1598-1669), with whom the family fortunes began to fade.<sup>56</sup> The father of this Manjak is the Muḥammad (d. 1032/1623) referred to above.<sup>57</sup> Of several persons it is expressly stated that they administered the endowments of the family.

During van Berchem's 1914 visit the Manjakiyya functioned as a boys' school. It later served as a private dwelling<sup>58</sup> until it was converted into offices for the Department of Awqāf in 1342/1923, and such it remains until now.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### HARAM FAÇADE (fig. 35.7, plate 35.2)

The façade of the Manjakiyya, set back 0.19m from the face of the supporting portico, extends from the north end of the portico southwards up to and including the bay in front of Bāb al-Nāzīr. A later (Ottoman) structure abuts on its south end. A parapet and cornice moulding over the portico to the south stop about 5m short of the façade. Originally it must have continued northward. It was removed, presumably to provide a firmer footing for the east wall of the Manjakiyya.

A cyma recta moulding defines the top of the façade, rising in two places as a sort of rectangular pediment over the two main features: the prayer hall over the portico at Bāb al-Nāzīr and the double-arched window of the loggia. Apart from the loggia window the fenestration is relatively plain, consisting of a somewhat irregularly spaced series of seven rectangular windows of varying widths and heights. The soffits of the

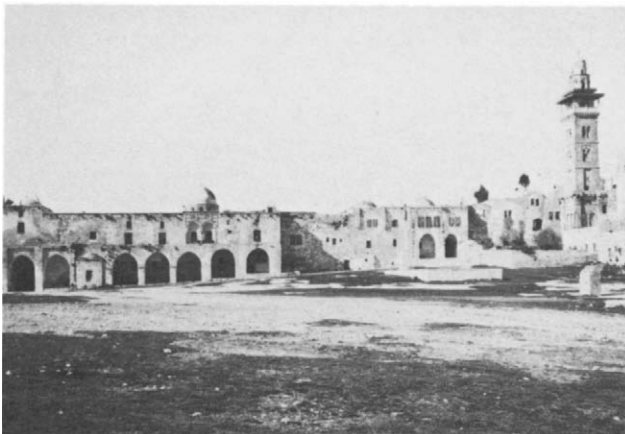


Plate 35.2 Hāram façade in 1920

masonry course above each window are undercut to relieve the load on the lintels. Five of the windows – two on each side of the loggia window and one at the prayer hall – are surmounted by smaller rectangular windows. Five spouts pierce the upper part of the wall, under the cornice moulding, to drain rainwater from the roof. They are logically placed above the blank masonry between the windows.

The windows (and the floor) of the prayer hall are at a higher level than the others since it lies above that bay of the portico in front of Bāb al-Nāzīr which has a dome, supported on a splendid *muqarnas* transition zone (plates 35.3 and 35.4), which rises higher than the cross vaults of the neighbouring bays of the portico.

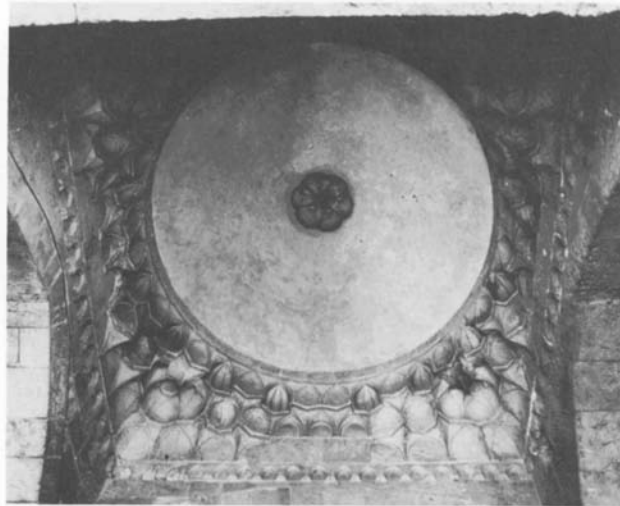


Plate 35.3 Portico dome inside Bāb al-Nāzīr

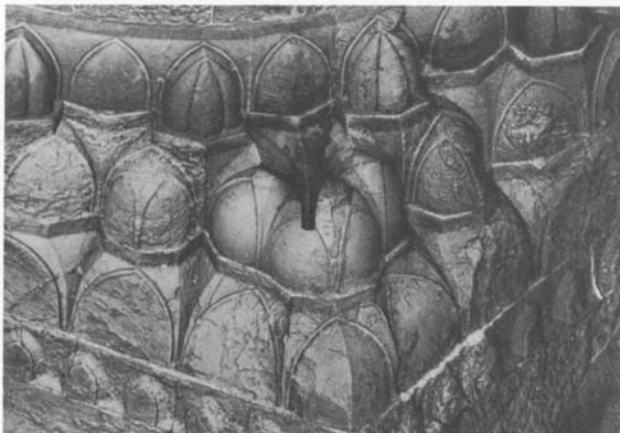


Plate 35.4 Detail of above

The loggia window is composed of twin pointed arches springing from three marble columns with re-used Crusader capitals and bases on the side columns (plate 35.12). The central column has a re-used base but its capital appears to be a Mamlūk copy of the other two (plate 35.13). Each of the columns is decorated with an unusual carved band midway between base and capital. The voussoirs of the arches are of black and yellowish *ablaq*, as are the masonry courses above, which contain two roundels of radial *ablaq* voussoirs. Each roundel encloses a small central oculus (now filled with a disk of some reddish substance but shown only roughly blocked in van Berchem's 1914 photograph<sup>59</sup>). A moulding outlines the *ablaq* decoration above the arches and extends around the two roundels. This moulding is similar in profile to the one framing the lintels on the façade of the Āmalikiyya (see p. 311 above).

##### ENTRANCE AND LOWER FLOORS (plan, fig. 35.4)

The building is now reached through a triple-arched portal on the north side of the outer porch at Bāb al-Nāzīr (see plate

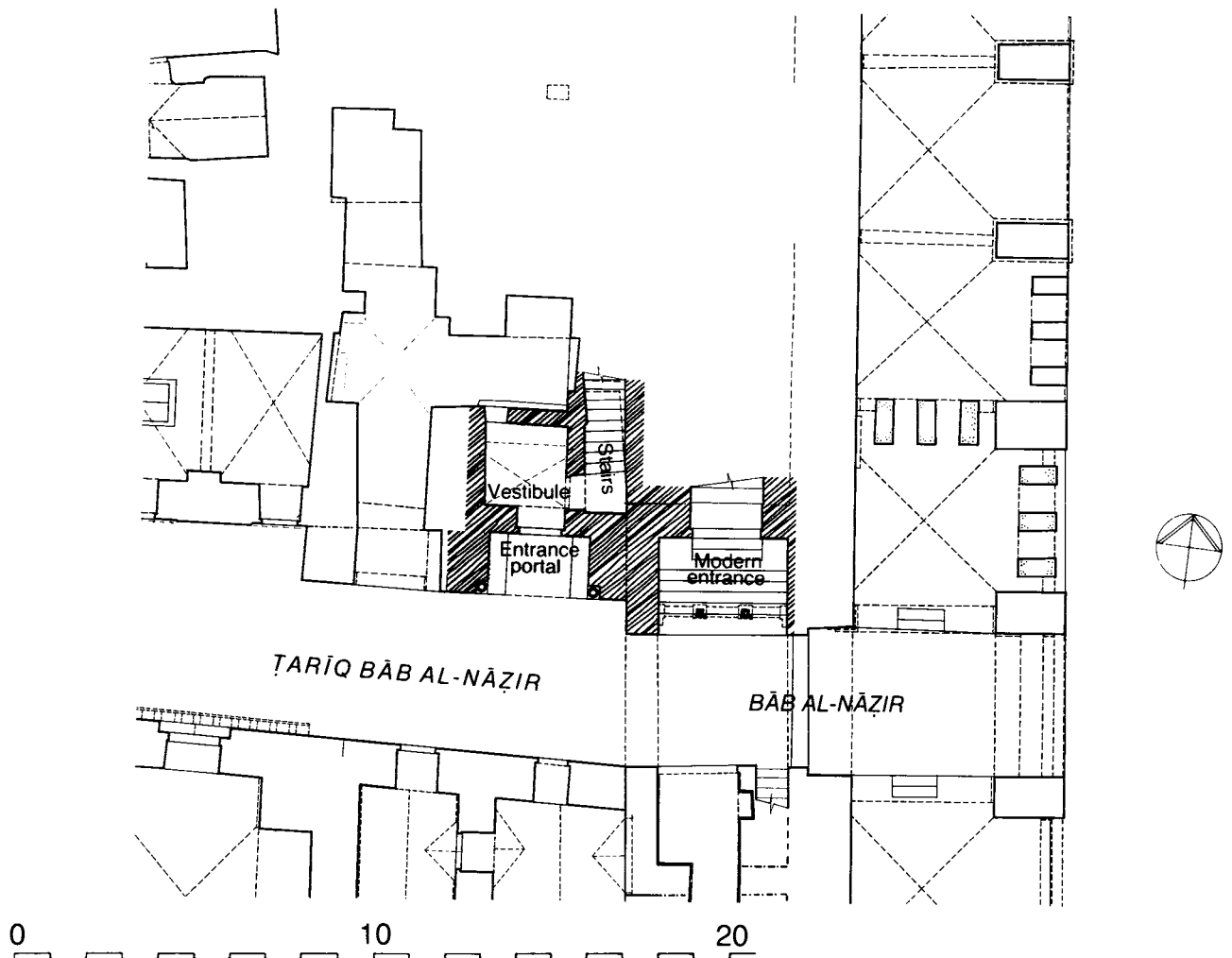


Fig. 35.3 Plan at street level

35.21). This portal was erected at the time of the remodelling in 1340/1921-22, the date given in an inscription on glazed tiles above the arches (*plate* 35.9). It leads into a grand entrance staircase, built at the same time, which rises through some earlier vaults to the upper floor (*plate* 35.11).

An epigraphic Mamlūk portal (*plate* 35.10) to the west of the present entrance is almost certainly the original entrance to the Manjakiyya. The architecture of this portal, notably corner columns with simple *muqarnas* capitals and three-tiered *muqarnas* corbelling supporting a smooth ashlar semidome, suggests a mid-eighth/fourteenth-century date of construction. The only building of that date listed in this vicinity by Mujīr al-Dīn is the Manjakiyya.

The entrance door opens into a vestibule (see plan, *fig.* 35.3), from which a door opens into a flight of thirteen steps rising northward. At the top of this flight of steps a door opens north into a labyrinthine complex of dimly-lit rooms interconnected by a dog-leg passage. The rooms at the western extremity of the complex, which overlook the courtyard of the Ribāṭ of 'Alā' al-Dīn, are mostly if not entirely Ottoman (see above, p. 125), but the remainder must be earlier, for the Manjakiyya stands partly on their vaults. Whether or not any of them belong to the Manjakiyya itself is impossible to tell. None the less, it is worth noting that toward the north end of this floor the passage leads to an open courtyard (divided by modern partitions) with an *iwān* opening on its south side (see *fig.* 35.4). To be sure, the structures on the west side of the courtyard are Ottoman, but they may have been rebuilt. The east wall of the courtyard is the Ḥaram wall, in which open a door and a window. This courtyard and *iwān* are the only part

of the structure that bear any resemblance to a 'conventional' Mamlūk madrasa.

From this level a continuation of the stairway from the vestibule would have led to the upper floor, but it no longer survives. Its position is not known. There are several blocked openings that might have led into such a continuation; perhaps the most likely is one on the east side of a landing at the top of the first flight of steps (see plan, *fig.* 35.4) since it would have had the advantage of leading as directly as possible to the upper floor.

Mujīr al-Dīn lists the Manjakiyya as one of those buildings that could be entered from inside as well as outside the Ḥaram.<sup>60</sup> Access from within the Ḥaram was by way of a stone spiral staircase that led from the back of the portico.<sup>61</sup> This staircase must have risen from the second bay of the portico from the north, where an excision in the vaulting may indicate the position of its entrance, as shown dotted on the plan, *fig.* 35.4. It is now inaccessible.

#### UPPER FLOOR (plan, *fig.* 35.5)

The 1921-22 remodelling meant that 'very little is left of the original building. The inside . . . has been mostly gutted and rebuilt'.<sup>61</sup> It is true that the bulk of the western part of the building seems to have been reconstructed at that time, but much of the eastern part above the portico and the southern part overlooking the street appears to retain its original form. The correlation between the fenestration and the plan of the eastern range of rooms overlooking the Ḥaram (marked 'A-E' on the plan) indicates that they have undergone few alterations.

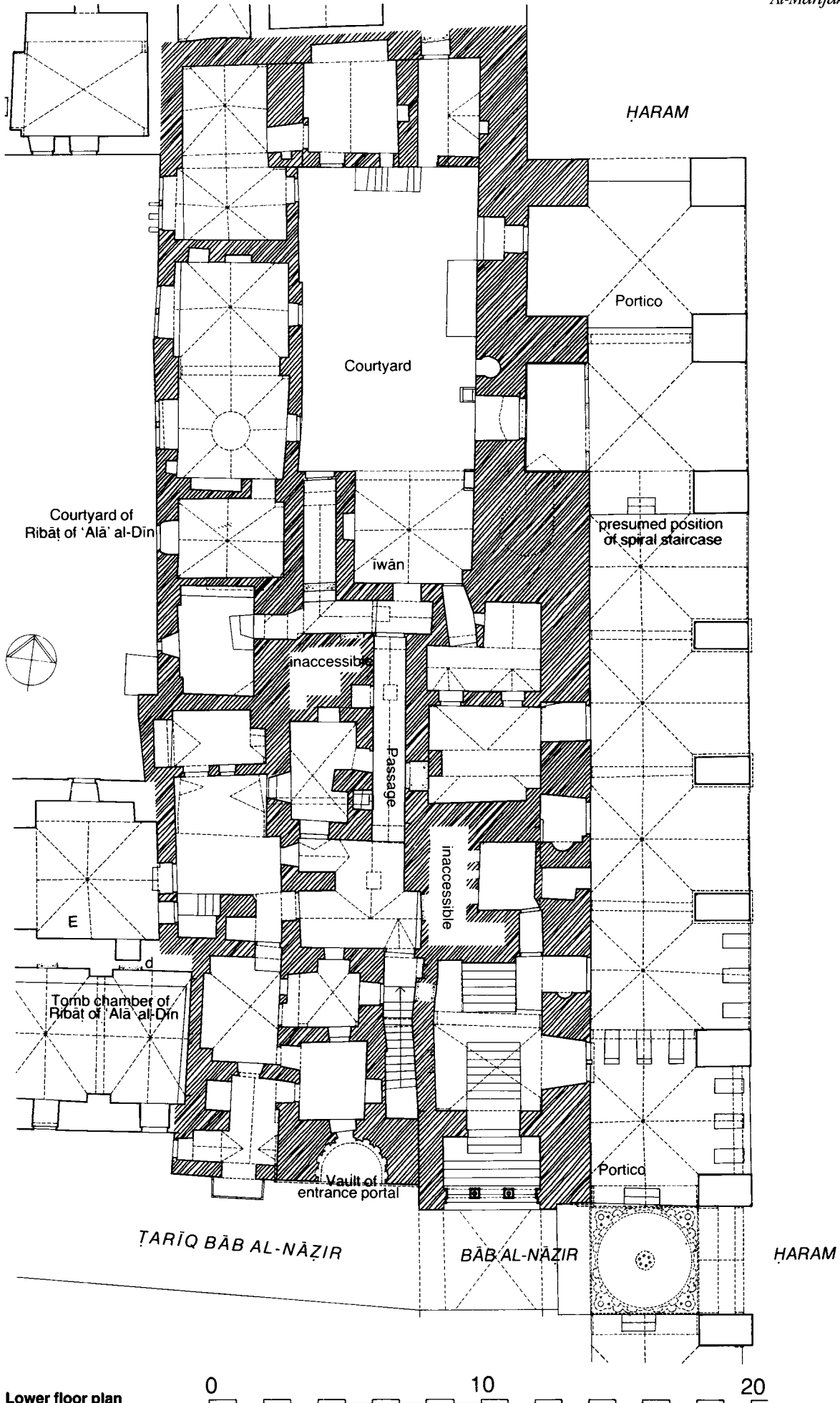


Fig. 35.4 Lower floor plan

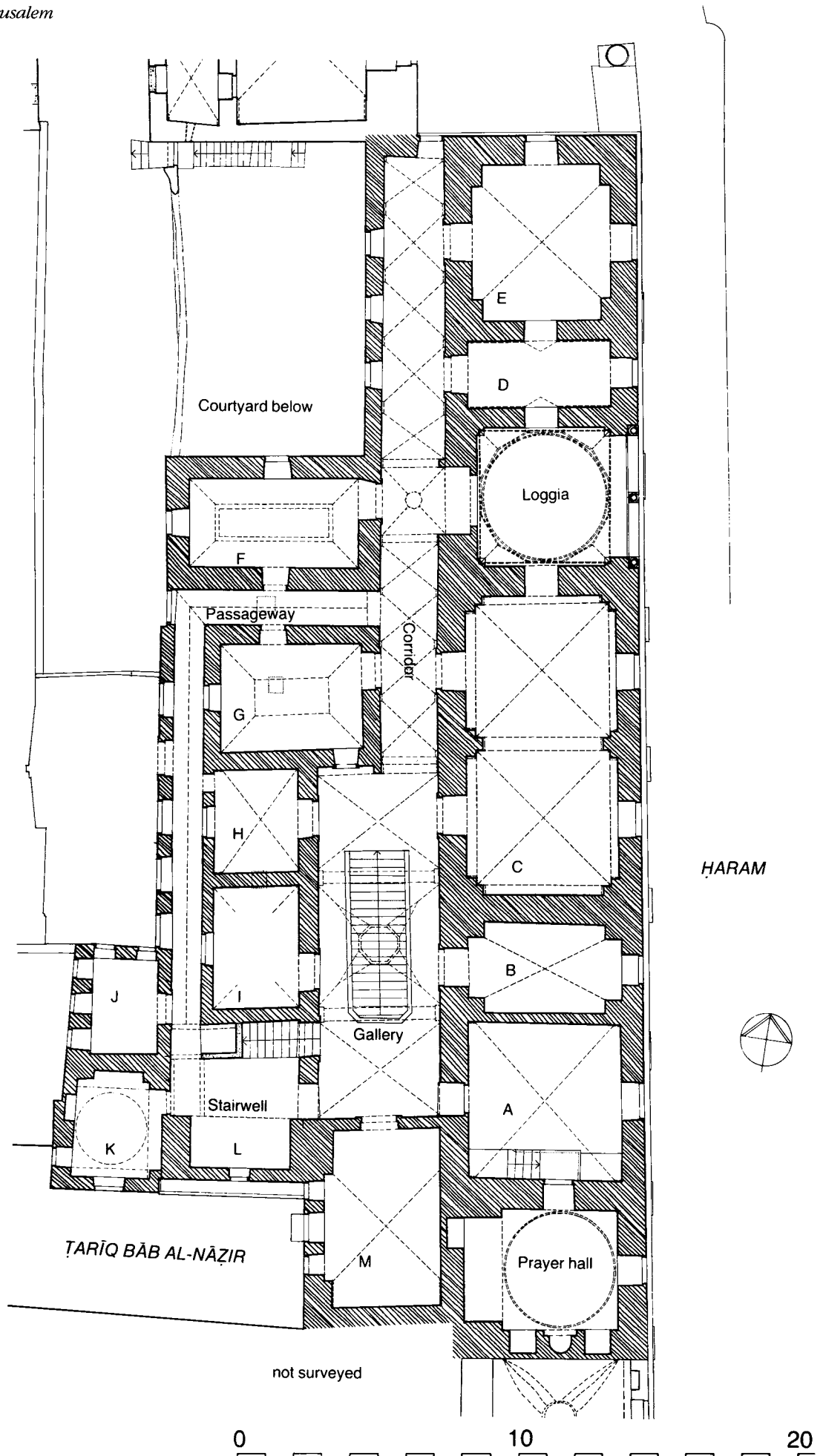


Fig. 35.5 Upper floor plan



Plate 35.5 Manjakiyya from the north-east: photograph by F. Bedford, 6 April 1862



Plate 35.6 Manjakiyya from the north-east in 1977



Plate 35.7 Manjakiyya and west border of Haram from the north c. 1910

The one noteworthy change concerns room 'A', which is now roofed by a cross vault but was, as early photographs such as *plates* 35.5 and 35.7 reveal, originally a yard open to the sky. This may explain the presence of a spout protruding through the Haram façade (see *fig.* 35.7) beside the north-east corner of the room: it was there to drain rainwater from the floor of the yard. Six steps against the south wall of that yard lead up to a door into the prayer hall, which is roofed by a shallow dome on much-replastered and somewhat amorphous pendentives. A pointed-arched recess in the middle of the south wall contains a plain *mihyāb* (*plate* 35.14), which is surmounted by a window.

A door in the west wall of room 'A' opens into a central gallery around the modern entrance staircase. The gallery is roofed by three cross vaults, the middle one rising to a lantern at the crown. The octagonal base of the lantern is set contrary to Mamlūk custom with the sides, not points, coinciding with the arrises of the vault (see *plate* 35.15 and *fig.* 35.5), which suggests that the vaulting is not original. Early photographs confirm that the vaulting belongs to the later remodelling, for they show that the roof of this area was once lower than the roofs of the rooms to the east, not higher as it is now. The raised walls supporting that new roof are pierced by clerestory windows, some of which have been blocked by the subsequent addition of the council chamber. Doors in the east wall of the gallery open into rooms 'B' and 'C', lit by windows overlooking the Haram.

At the north end of the gallery are two archways (*plate* 35.16). The west one is blocked except for two windows, one above the other, admitting light from the gallery to room 'G'. The upper window has a little fluted conch at its head. The east archway leads into a long corridor, roofed by a series of cross vaults, which comes to a dead end at the north wall of the building. On the east side of the corridor a door opens into room 'C' and two others open into 'D' and 'E'. Between the doors into rooms 'C' and 'D' an arched recess opens east into the loggia. In front of that recess the series of cross vaults is interrupted by a wider bay with a small octagonal oculus at the crown, which appears to be part of the remodelling (*plate* 35.17). The spiral staircase from the portico may have emerged hereabouts, but there is no trace of it now.

The loggia enjoys a magnificent view of the Haram through its double window. The dome over the loggia is supported by a twelve-sided drum on double-faceted pendentives which taper down to bevelled points in the corners (*plate* 35.18). Pointed-arched windows open in each side of the drum and, between them, little pendentives outlined by a plaster bead moulding complete the transition to the circular base of the dome (*plate* 35.18). Two doors open north and south from the loggia into the adjoining rooms. Neither has reveals and they seem to be later insertions, though the barrel vault of room 'D' has a small excision above the door into it, which may indicate that that door is original.

Beyond the entrance to the loggia the corridor is lit by three segmental-arched windows in its west wall. These windows appear modern, perhaps replacing earlier windows. At the north end of the corridor another modern window opens on the Haram. Originally there was a staircase at this end of the corridor, which led up to the roof. It was lit by a window in the north wall of the building and had a doorway at its head, both visible in early photographs (see *plates* 35.5 and 35.7), but they no longer exist.

Doors in the west wall of the corridor opposite those into the loggia and room 'C' give access to rooms 'F' and 'G', both of which have modern vaults and appear to belong to the 1920s remodelling. Between these two rooms a barrel-vaulted passageway runs west, with doors opening north and south from it into these rooms, before turning south to run along the west boundary of the building. The passageway is lit by six possibly modern windows in the west boundary wall. Windows in the east wall of the passageway admit borrowed light to rooms 'G–I', all of which appear to be part of the remodelling. Toward the south end of the corridor a door opens west into room 'J', which houses modern latrines.

At its south end the corridor opens into a tall chamber (marked 'stairwell' on the plan), which contains a modern flight of reinforced concrete stairs that give access to the council chamber (*plate* 35.19). The barrel vault of the stairwell appears to be modern. A shallow-domed room (K) to the west of the stairwell is also a later addition, as may be inferred from a vertical joint in the exterior masonry between it and a small *iwān*-like chamber (L) which opens on the south side of the stairwell. This chamber sits above the entrance portal and appears to belong to the original foundation.

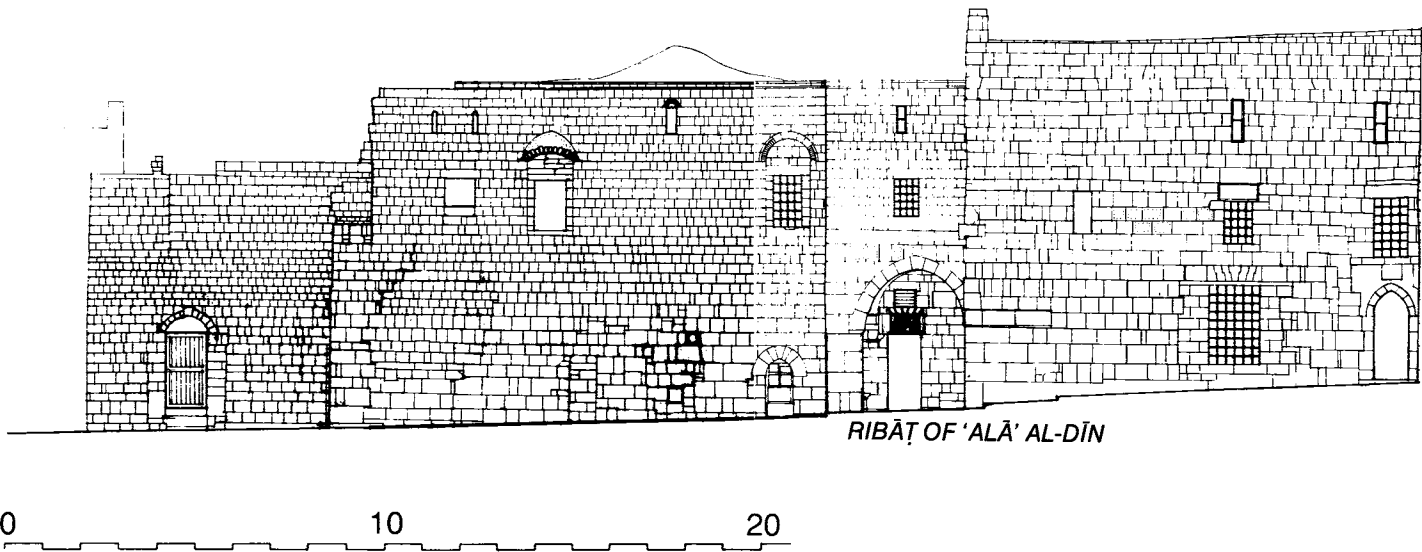


Fig. 35.6 Ṭarīq Bāb al-Nāzir: Elevation of north side of the street

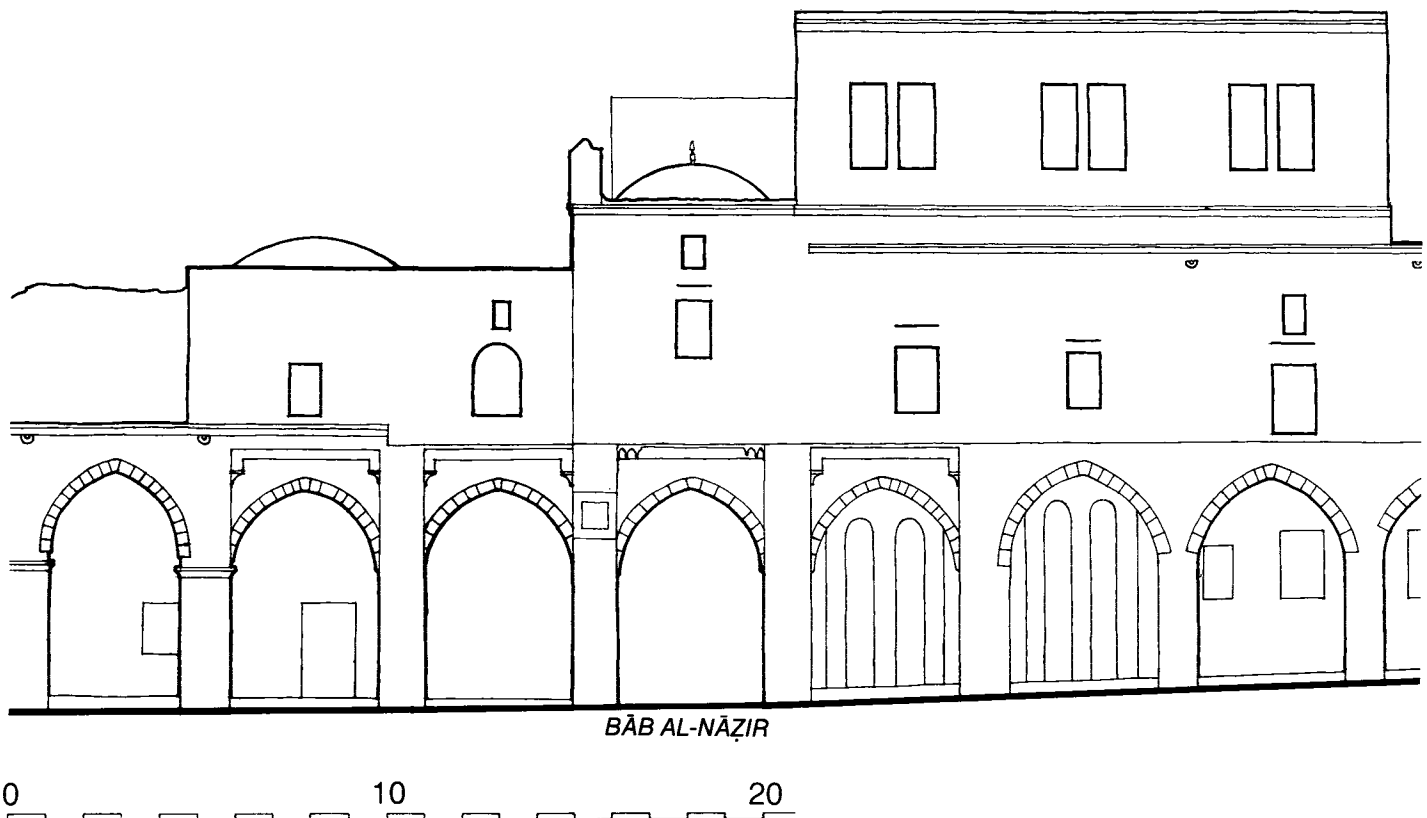


Fig. 35.7 Ḥaram façade



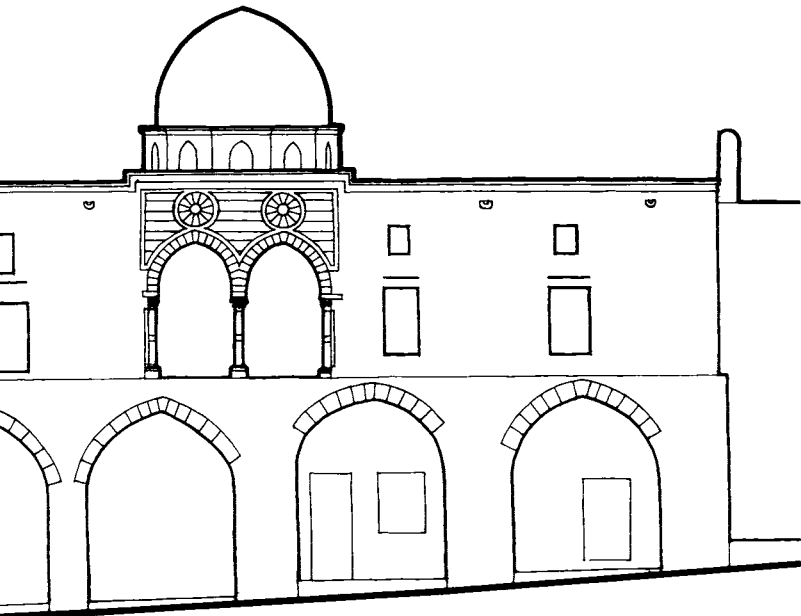
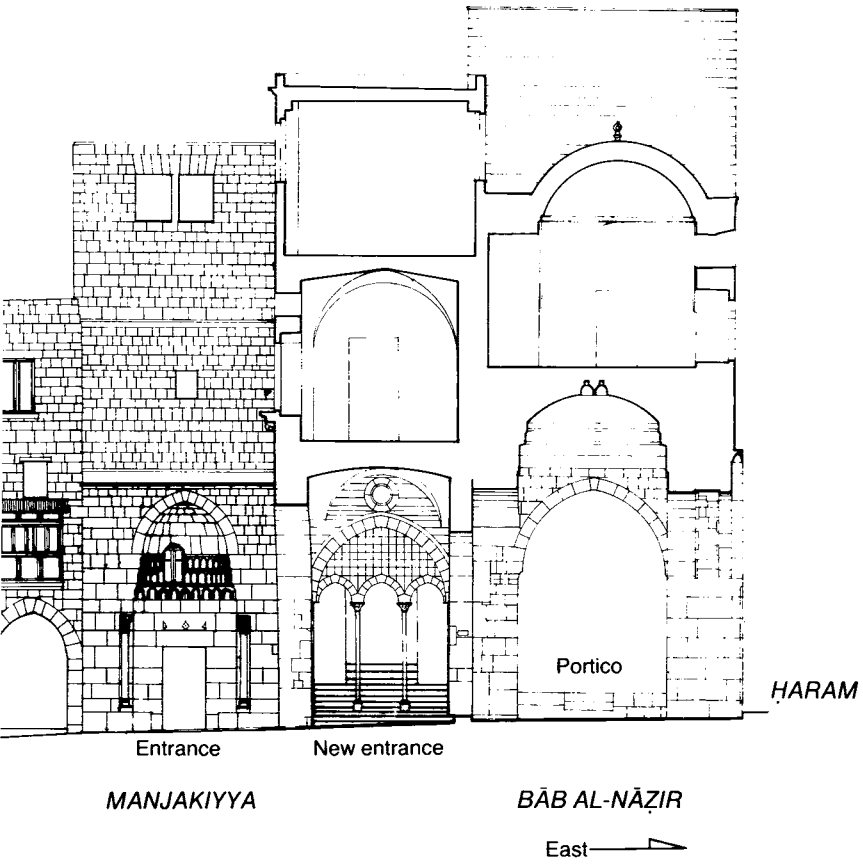




Plate 35.8 Manjakiyya and west border of Ḥaram from Bāb al-Ghawānima Minaret in 1976



Plate 35.9 Inscription dated 1340/1921-22 on glazed tiles above entrance to Department of Awqāf offices



Plate 35.10 Entrance portal



Plate 35.11 Staircase leading to Department of Awqāf offices



Plate 35.12 Double window of loggia



Plate 35.13 Central column of double window



Plate 35.14 South wall of prayer hall



Plate 35.15 Gallery: looking south-west



Plate 35.16 Gallery, looking north



Plate 35.17 Corridor, looking south with entrance to loggia on the left



Plate 35.18 South-west corner of loggia



Plate 35.19 Stairwell, looking west



Plate 35.20 Outer porch at Bāb al-Nāzir

Also part of the original foundation is a cross-vaulted hall (M) which sits on the earlier vault of the outer porch at Bāb al-Nāzir. The date of that porch is not known but its semicircular frontal arch (see *plate* 35.20) would tend to indicate a pre-Crusader construction. The Ayyūbid wall of the Wafā'iyya (no. 44) on the south side of the street abuts against the porch and is clearly posterior. Hall 'M' is entered from the south end of the gallery (see *plate* 35.15). A group of three windows in its west wall gives a splendid view over the city (*plate* 35.22). The larger central window is surmounted by a slit, and has a little stone balcony supported by two roll corbels projecting from its sill (see *plate* 35.23). These windows are arranged to be as nearly as possible in the centre of the west wall of the hall, which means they are not centred on the earlier porch below.

#### INTERPRETATION

Although little can be deduced with confidence from the layout

of the building owing to the major remodelling done in the 1920s, it seems possible that the founder, Manjak al-Yūsufi, intended the building to include residential quarters for his own use during his term as *tarkhān* in Jerusalem. As noted above, there is little in the present layout that is typical of a conventional Mamlūk madrasa, which is the term Mujīr al-Dīn uses to describe it. Not enough is known about the residences of Mamlūk amīrs to say what was typical, in Jerusalem at least, but certain features like the small prayer hall and the domed loggia with its fine view and its associated staircase connecting it with the Ḥaram, seem appropriate to such a residence. The possibility cannot be ruled out that a madrasa was located on the lower floor – where there is an open courtyard and an *iwān* – and that the upper floor initially served as Manjak's temporary residence. The mention of a 'residence on the roof' in a tenth/sixteenth-century Ottoman document (see above, p. 386) might recall that original arrangement.

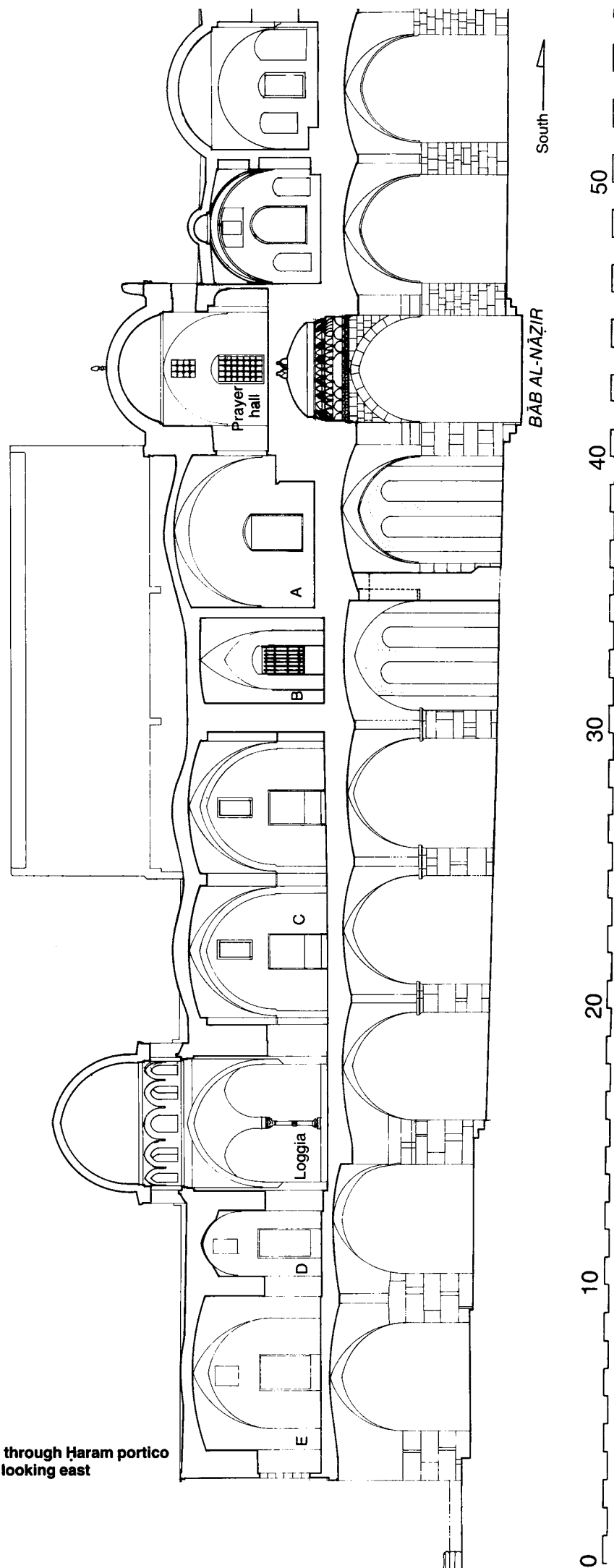


Fig. 35.8 North-south section through Haram portico and upper floor of Manjakiyya looking east

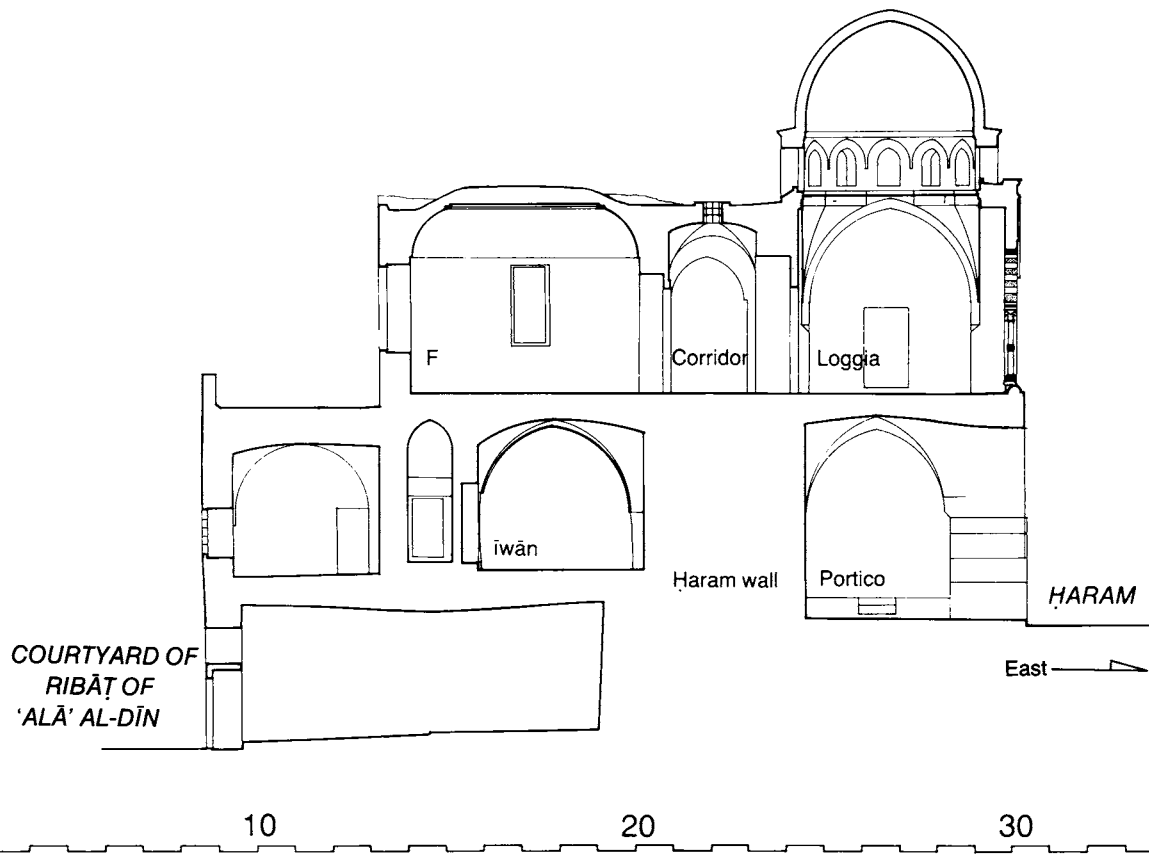


Fig. 35.9 West-east section through loggia looking north

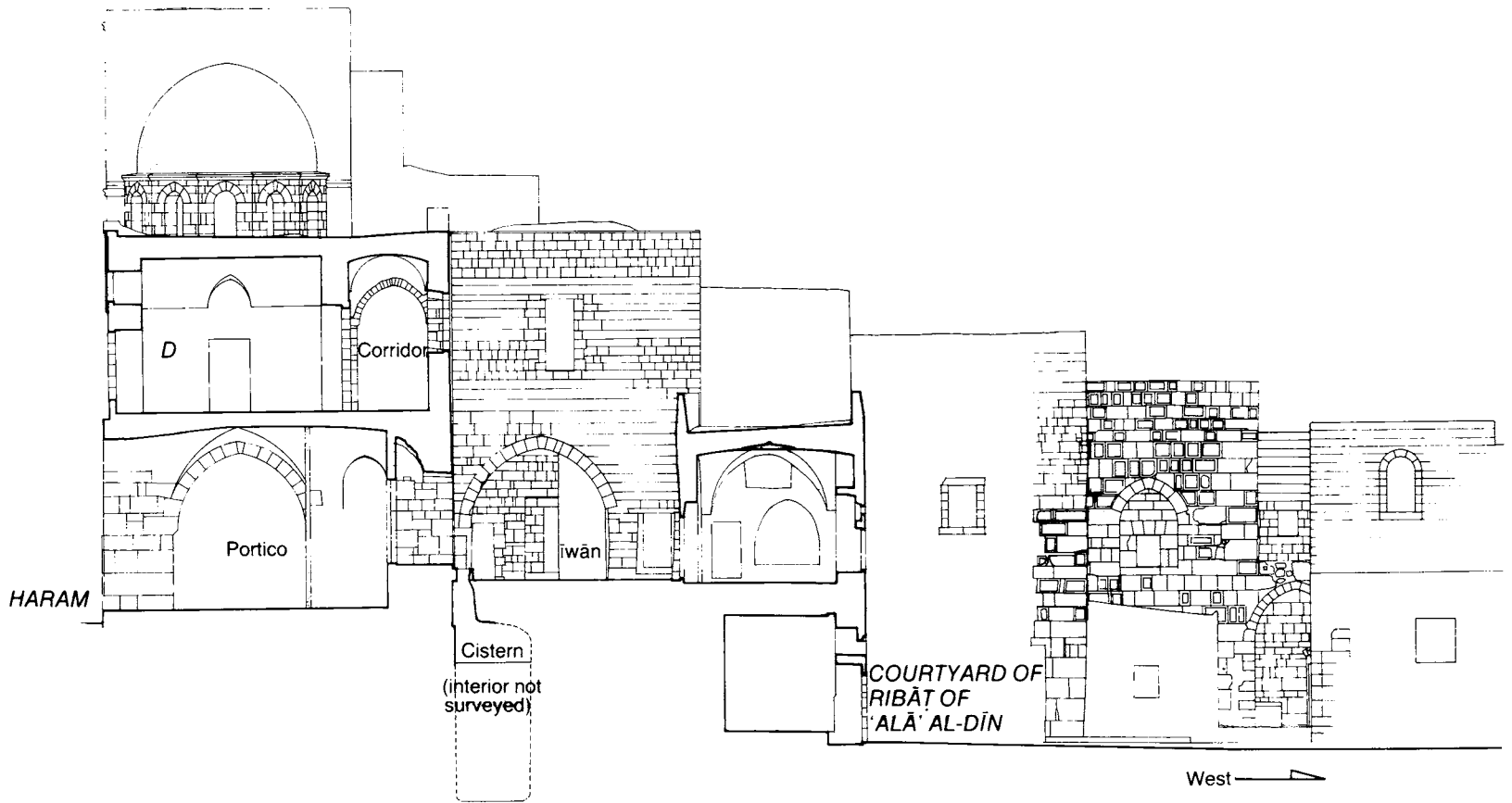


Fig. 35.10 East-west section through portico and room 'D' looking south



Plate 35.21 Outer porch at Bâb al-Nâzîr with modern entrance to Manjakiyya on the left



Plate 35.22 View to west from hall 'M'



Plate 35.23 Windows in west wall of hall 'M'

## Notes

- 1 Mujîr, 375.
- 2 *CIA (Haram)*, 115-16.
- 3 Al-'Umari, *Masâlik*, 160-61.
- 4 Mujîr, ii, 37-8.
- 5 *CIA (Ville)*, 284-5.
- 6 Mujîr, *loc. cit.* Correct the date 741 on page 37. Mss. Pococke 362, fol. 132a, and Marsh 677, fol. 125b, both read 761.
- 7 Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nâsirīyya, iv, fol. 133a.
- 8 Such is the interpretation adopted implicitly by Sauvaire in his translation, *Histoire de Jerusalem*, Paris, 1876, 147.
- 9 Van Berchem is too confident of the sense to be gained from Mujîr al-Dīn's text, see *CIA (Ville)*, 285.
- 10 *Dâris*, i, 601.
- 11 Iṣṣirli, 46. Correct the date 750 [1349-50] in Asali, *Ma'âbid*, 210.
- 12 Defter no. 602, 449 (153).
- 13 Cf. the way Manjak recovered his properties in Cairo after his release in 752/1351 (*Sulūk*, ii, 851).
- 14 For a general biography, see *Durar*, v, 130-1, and *Manbal*, fols. 367a-368a.
- 15 Al-Shujā'ī, i, 269, and *Sulūk*, ii, 662. The latter source gives Manjak a larger role in this episode.
- 16 Al-Shujā'ī, i, 270.
- 17 *Sulūk*, ii, 733.
- 18 *Sulūk*, ii, 738.
- 19 *Sulūk*, ii, 748.
- 20 *Sulūk*, ii, 822 and 842.
- 21 *Sulūk*, ii, 849.
- 22 For an inscription of Baybughā in which he appears as governor of Aleppo, see *CIA (Alep)*, no. 179.
- 23 *Sulūk*, ii, 867-70.
- 24 *Sulūk*, ii, 917; *Khiṭat*, ii, 323.
- 25 *Sulūk*, iii, 7. In 756/1355 the historian Ibn Ḥabīb visited Tripoli and Manjak, who knew of him already, appointed him secretary to the court and the chancery. In 759/1358 Ibn Ḥabīb moved with him to Aleppo, and also on to Damascus as *shāhid* of his administration (*Tadhkirat*, i, 15, introduction).
- 26 *Sulūk*, iii, 40; *Nuj.*, iv, 151.
- 27 *Sulūk*, iii, 43 and 47; *Nuj.*, iv, 152-3.
- 28 *Sulūk*, iii, 53; *Nuj.*, iv, 154.
- 29 *Khiṭat*, ii, 323; *Sulūk*, iii, 67.
- 30 *Sulūk*, iii, 149 (Manjak appointed in Muḥarram 769), but *Nuj.*, v, 208 (Manjak already in post at Tripoli at beginning of the year).
- 31 *Sulūk*, iii, 156-7, gives the date of the move to Damascus as Monday, 2 Jumādā II 769/24 January 1368, but an inscription in Damascus records a royal decree from al-Ashraf Sha'bān dated 1 Muḥarram 769/28 August 1367 and received by Manjak *as governor* on 10 Jumādā I 769/2 January 1368, see Sauvaget, 'Decrets mamlouks de Syrie', *BEO*, ii, 1932, 4-5.
- 32 *Sulūk*, iii, 224-5.
- 33 *Sulūk*, iii, 242 and 247. His daughter, Fāṭima, married Sultan Barqūq in 786/1384 (*Sulūk*, iii, 513).

- 34 *Manbal*, fols. 367a-368b.
- 35 *Sulūk*, ii, 859-860.
- 36 *CIA (Egypte)*, no. 152.
- 37 *Dâris*, i, 600 and 602: 'He endowed his madrasa [in Damascus] with his famous bath, the public oven alongside it and the tenement (*rab'*) above it.'
- 38 Laoust, *Les Gouverneurs etc.*, 13.
- 39 Iṣṣirli, 46: the village of Dawādī or Da'ūdī. Cf. *HGP*, 142: *Ḥawādī*.
- 40 Defter no. 602, 460 (233).
- 41 *CIA (Egypte)*, no. 532. The inscription is undated. Manjak is described as *al-Silābdār al-Malaki al-Muzaffarī*.
- 42 *CIA (Egypte)*, no. 153 (epitaph of Manjak); *Dâris*, i, 601.
- 43 Reading *yū raf bi'l-qala'a* rather than *bi-qurb al-qala'a* (see Iṣṣirli, 46).
- 44 Iṣṣirli, 49.
- 45 Sijill 57, 28 (5), dated 984/1576-7.
- 46 Sijill 2, no. 959. These same shops (*dakākin*) and a house belonging to the Manjak waqf are respectively given as the west and north boundaries of a house and garden belonging to the endowment of the Hospital (Sijill 40, 35 (9), dated 968/1560). For one of the shops, said to be 'his residence now', the lessee owed 12 gold pieces for 14½ months' rent (Sijill 57, 327 (6), dated 985/1577).
- 47 Sijill 1, no. 1056.
- 48 Sijill 30, no. 1194, dated 962/1555.
- 49 Mujîr, ii, 221-2.
- 50 Mujîr, ii, 227.
- 51 Sijill 10, no. 626 (Bayt Safāfa land leased by the *nâzîr*, Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā, for 3,000 aspers for years 943 and 944. Expenses for the period amounted to 3,103, although deficit also said to be 113 (*sic*). Not counted was 3,604 aspers already owed by the waqf to the *nâzîr*). Sijills 12, nos. 2922-3, 17, no. 1901, and 30, no. 1194 contain accounts for the waqf income from the New Bath at Safad and the Bayt Safāfa land.
- 52 Sijill 59, 28 (5) and Sijill 90, 309 (1). His father, who was administrator before him, was known as Ibn al-Muhandis and as *al-Shāfi'ī thumma al-Ḥanaḥafī* (al-Muhibbī, *Kbulāsat*, iii, 220-1).
- 53 Mujîr, ii, 38: *talāshat ahwālubā*. It is unclear whether this refers to the state of the fabric or the more general functioning of the madrasa.
- 54 Iṣṣirli, 46. The same stipulation was made concerning the excess income from Sha'ab, in the district of Acre (*HGP*, 193), a waqf for Manjak's madrasa and his tomb in Cairo (Iṣṣirli, 71). *Sulūk*, iii, 1002 and 1007, s.a. 802/1399-1400, mentions a Faraj b. Manjak.
- 55 A village of 695 feddans in Gharbiyya province was a waqf of Manjak, see Ibn al-Jī'ān, *al-Tuḥfa al-Saniyya*, 75.
- 56 Al-Muhibbī, *Kbulāsat*, iv, 409-423.
- 57 *Op. cit.*, iv, 229-231.
- 58 *Mufassal*, 249.
- 59 *CIA (Planches)*, lxxv.
- 60 Mujîr, 392.
- 61 This is known from a letter dated 7 July 1925 in the files of the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum (File no. 78 'Jerusalem', letter reference number 4474/ATQ/1758).



# 36 AL-ṬĀZIYYA

## الطازية

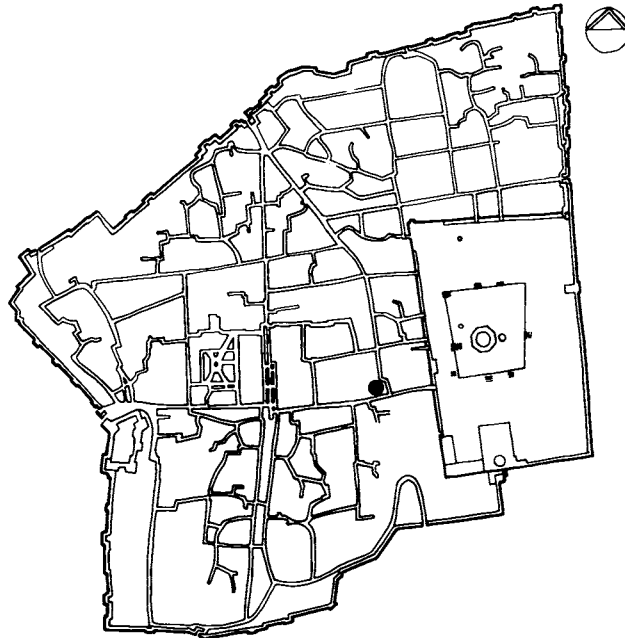


Fig. 36.1 Location plan

c. 762/1361

Memorial madrasa of Sayf al-Dīn Ṭāz

Modern names: Dār al-Ḥidāya/‘Antiquities from Jericho’ shop

### I LOCATION (fig. 36.1)

On the north side of Ṭariq Bāb al-Silsila immediately east of the Kīlāniyya (no. 29).

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 36.2)

The unusual L-shaped plan suggests that earlier structures defined the site boundaries. The street forms the southern boundary, of course, and there the lowest three masonry courses on the façade, deeper than the courses above, may be remains of some earlier construction. The Kīlāniyya forms the western boundary, and a pre-existing structure to the east, of which only a narrow masonry upstand now survives (supporting the east end of the upper floor of the Ṭāziyya), defines the eastern boundary. The full extent of early structures that may once have occupied the site is, however, hard to tell. Several of the interior vaults seem to predate the foundation of the Ṭāziyya. One stone bears a Crusader mason’s mark, indicating that it cannot be earlier than the sixth/twelfth century.

An entrance vestibule, a staircase, and two cross-vaulted chambers, ‘A’ and ‘B’, occupy the southern part of the site. A passageway along the west side of these two chambers leads north from the vestibule to two contiguous vaulted halls, ‘C’ and ‘D’, aligned at right-angles to each other. Both these northern halls appear to belong to some earlier construction. The western (D) extends along the north side of the Kīlāniyya (above, p. 332). The northern boundary of the site appears to coincide with the line of a bridge spanning from west to east across the town’s central valley (see above, p. 184).

Ṭāz added an extensive upper storey which includes an *iwān* (now blocked) leading to a large cross-vaulted main hall overlooking the street to the south. Various living quarters to the north, mostly now rebuilt, include a large domically-vaulted room and a small bath-house.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

The building is thus described by Mujīr al-Dīn:<sup>1</sup>

The Ṭāziyya Madrasa in David Street near the Gate of the Chain is an endowed foundation of the Amīr Ṭāz, who died in the year 763 [1362].

A surviving inscription, published by van Berchem,<sup>2</sup> identifies the ‘mausoleum’ (*turba*). Further evidence will be given to show that teaching activities were associated with the site to justify the appellation ‘madrasa’. The funerary inscription is as follows:

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. This

is the mausoleum of the servant of God Almighty, his most noble Excellency, Sayf al-Dīn Ṭāz. He died (may God have mercy on him) in the year seven hundred and sixty-three [1362].

#### DATE

Soon after Jumādā I 762/March 1361 Ṭāz was allowed to reside in Jerusalem in retirement. Perhaps the construction of the Ṭāziyya was begun in that year. That most evidence points to his having been buried in Damascus may mean that the mausoleum was not finished by his death, but there is no firm evidence for building dates, nor for the date of the endowment (see next section for references).

#### FOUNDER

Ṭāz was a mamlūk of the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, but too young to play a prominent role in that reign. He served in the corps of pages as a cupbearer, which function provided him with his arms (a cup). They appear in two cartouches on the above inscription. In 742/1341-42 he was fortunate not to lose his life after an unsuccessful revolt by a small number of al-Nāṣir’s mamlūks against the Amīr Qawṣūn.<sup>3</sup>

He had reached the top amīral rank by 748/1347-48<sup>4</sup> and took a place in the highest councils of state, as one of the six ruling amīrs in the reign of al-Muzaffar Ḥājji.<sup>5</sup> This leading position continued through the first reign of al-Nāṣir Hasan and the reign of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ, the years 748-755/1348-1354. Towards the end of this period Ṭāz embarked on the construction of a fine residence in Cairo, initially with the Amīr Manjak in charge (see p. 386), which was completed in Jumādā II 754/July 1353.<sup>6</sup>

On Sultan Hasan’s return to the throne he was removed from the centre of power to the post of governor of Aleppo (Shawwāl 755/October 1354).<sup>7</sup> Early in 759/1358 he was arrested and imprisoned in Alexandria, where he was blinded.<sup>8</sup> When Sultan Hasan had been overthrown (Jumādā I 762/March 1361), Ṭāz was released and his request to be allowed to reside in Jerusalem was granted. He was given a *tablkhāna* amirate for his support. Nineteen months later he was dead (22 Dhū’l-Ḥijja 763/10 October 1362).<sup>9</sup> It was in Damascus that he died, since he had been transferred to that city with *tarkhān* status at the end of 762/1361.<sup>10</sup> His remains were not carried to Jerusalem to be laid to rest in his mausoleum. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥusayn al-‘Irāqī, whose father enjoyed a ‘firm friendship’ with Ṭāz, records that the amīr was buried in the Cemetery of the Ṣūfis in Damascus.<sup>11</sup>

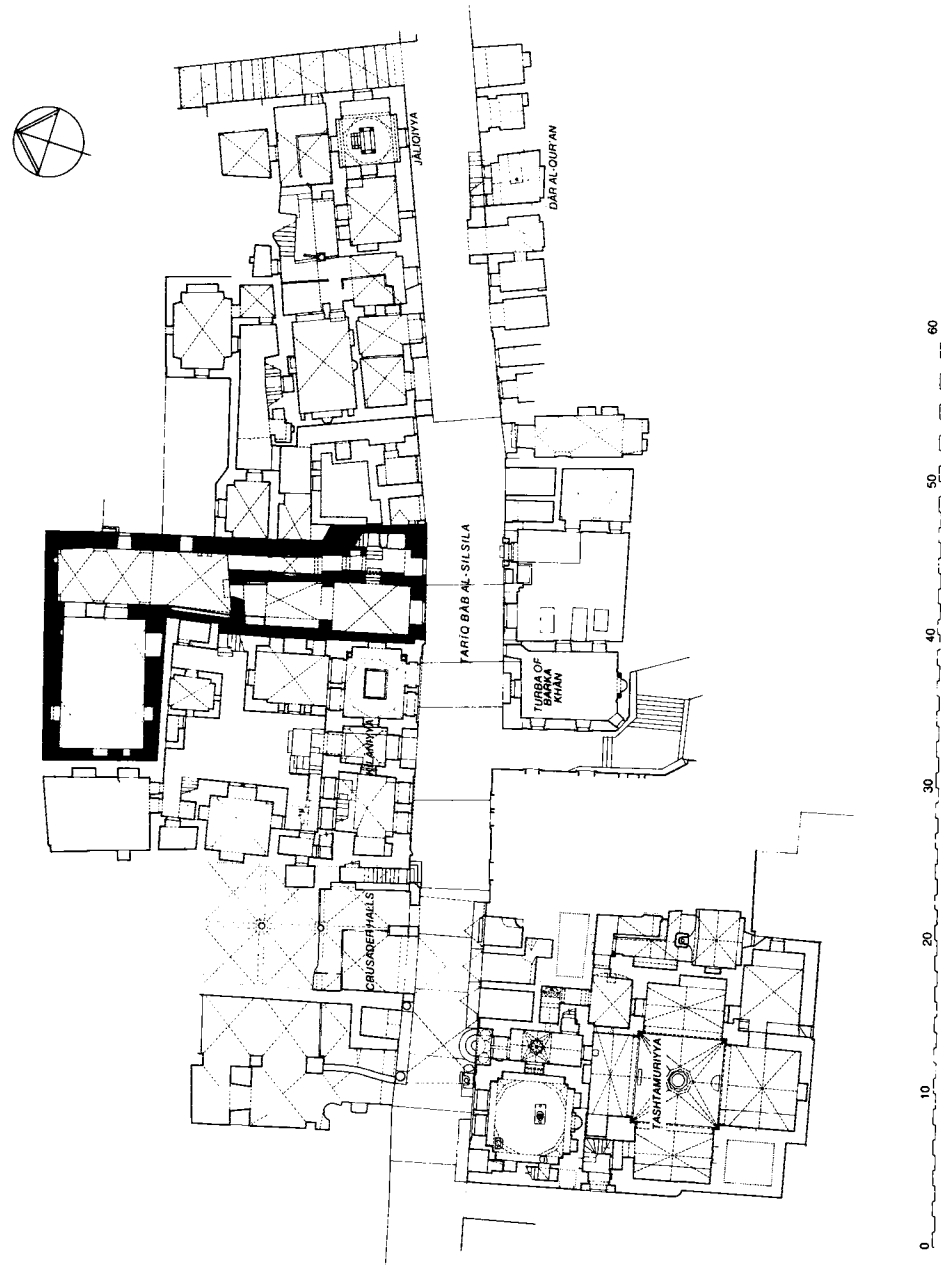


Fig. 36.2 Site plan

Various members of Ṭāz's family are known from the chronicles. His father, Qutghāj, came to Egypt in 752/1351 from 'the lands of the Turks' and became a Muslim. He set out for home to bring the rest of the family but died at Ma'arat al-Nu'mān. His body, and that of a brother of Ṭāz called Jarkas, were eventually brought to Cairo in 754/1353 and buried in a *turba* outside Bāb al-Mahrūq. Ṭāz instituted Koran reciters at the mausoleum and other offices supported by endowments, as he was to do for his own intended last resting-place.<sup>12</sup> A brother, Jāntimur, who had been a great favourite of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ, outlived Ṭāz and was executed as a supporter of Sultan Barqūq's rival, Mintāsh, in 793/1391.<sup>13</sup> A son, Abū Bakr (see below), mentioned as an amīr in 778/1376-77, held six villages in Egypt according to information which goes back to registers of the reign of al-Ashraf Sha'bān.<sup>14</sup> This sultan took as wife a daughter of Ṭāz, who died in 771/1369-70.<sup>15</sup> Ṭāz himself had married two daughters of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The first died in 750/1349-50, and in 752/1351 he married the Lady Zahrā'.<sup>16</sup> It is interesting to note that a freedwoman of Ṭāz settled in Jerusalem and married a cotton merchant.<sup>17</sup>

#### ENDOWMENT

The Amīr Ṭāz concentrated the endowments he provided for his Jerusalem foundation in the village of Miṇya (or Mina), situated on the north-west shore of the Sea of Galilee. We read in the Defter no. 602 as follows:<sup>18</sup>

- The waqf of the Ṭāziyya Madrasa in the Bāb al-Silsila:  
 (i) the village of Miṇya<sup>19</sup> in Ṣafad district – complete. Income . . . [blank].  
 (ii) a shop together with the baker's oven in the said village – complete.  
 (iii) a mill (*tāḥūn*) in the said village – complete.

No date is given for the *waqfiyya*.

#### MAMLŪK PERIOD

The Ḥaram documents contain several pieces which concern the Ṭāziyya, which is in all of them called 'the mausoleum (*turba*) of his late Excellency Sayf al-Dīn Ṭāz', except in one case (see no. 595 discussed below). Six documents contain appointments (phrased like administrative decrees, *marṣūms*) made by the *nāẓir* of the waqf, an Amīr Sayf al-Dīn, whose identity might have remained a mystery, were it not that no. 7 (verso) had a cursive note which we read as 'Written by Abū Bakr b. Ṭāz'.<sup>20</sup> This suggests that Ṭāz according to common practice had nominated his own family to be the overseers of his endowment.

All these appointments, or re-appointments, are of a certain Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Nāṣirī, whose other affairs, both before and after his death, feature prominently in the Ḥaram documents:

On the recto of no. 310 is Burhān al-Dīn's petition for the post, in which he urges that he is 'poor and a family man, a "bearer" of the Book of God and a student of religious learning'. Indeed, he claimed elsewhere<sup>22</sup> that he had been studying Tradition for six years without a stipend. In the petition on the recto of no. 7 he asks to be allowed to keep the appointments he holds (*al-taqārīr*), namely reciting at the founder's catafalque (*al-qirā'a 'alā'l-darīh*), the post of *faqīh* and the reciting of the 'tenth'.

One may readily imagine a similar document being issued to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Hamīd b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī al-Shāfi'i (732-782/1331-1381), who 'held the post of *mudarris* in the Ṭāziyya Madrasa'.<sup>23</sup> A member of the Qalqashandī family, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān (769-820/1368-1418) is another person known to have taught law in the Ṭāziyya.<sup>24</sup> These two cases, plus that of Burhān al-Dīn who was *faqīh* (student of law), are early evidence for that wider role of the Ṭāziyya referred to above. A Ṣūfi of the Bistāmiyya order, Shams al-Dīn 'Īsā al-Shāfi'i (d. 875/1471) 'taught the Koran to children at the Ṭāziyya Madrasa'.<sup>25</sup> Other evidence will confirm that the complex included a Koran school. From the *madhhab* affiliation of these appointees one may assume that Ṭāz made his foundation with the Shāfi'is in mind.

An interesting list of effects left to the Ṭāziyya Madrasa as an endowment is contained in Ḥaram document no. 595, dated mid-Ṣafar 781/2 June 1379. The objects were received by the *bawwāb*, the Shaykh Mūsā b. Sulaymān, after the death of the *wāqif*, a Shaykh 'Abd al-Wāhid. The inventory includes two complete boxed Koran sets, nine bound volumes of religious works, twenty-seven lamps (one gilded, four 'with brass heads', the rest painted), various hangings and curtains, amongst them three tomb coverings, blue, white and black, and eleven carpets.<sup>26</sup>

#### OTTOMAN PERIOD

In what follows details are given from a series of accounts of the application of the waqf income taken from the Jerusalem sijills. It is important to underline the appearance of payments to orphans in the Koran school and for students of law, and also to stress the sums expended or earmarked for repairs both of the Ṭāziyya itself and of its revenue-producing properties. It may be rash to say so, but there is every sign that the waqf was managed efficiently. The surplus for 944/1537-38, see para. (i) below, is marked 'to be allocated to the peasants of Miṇya'. That sum, like the one thousand paras of the 979-80/1571-73 account, see (v), was a loan to the peasants, called *quwwa* (lit: power, support).<sup>27</sup>

(i) A/c for year 944/1537-38 (*nāẓir*: Abū 'l-Wafā' b. Muḥibb al-Dīn b. Abī 'l-Wafā')

Source: Sijill 12, no. 221, dated 9 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 946/16 April 1540

| Document no. | Date                            | Appointment   | Monthly Stipend                  |
|--------------|---------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| 214          | 16 Ṣafar 766/12 November 1364   | reader of 'tenth' of the Koran  | 10 dirhams                       |
| 310          | 15 Ramaḍān 775/28 February 1374 | <i>muqri'</i>   | not specified                    |
| 7            | 10 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 777/1 May 1376   | <i>muqri'</i> and <i>faqīh</i>  | 35 dirhams                       |
| 303          | [778-783/1377-81] <sup>21</sup> | 'one of the <i>qurrā'</i> ', reader of tenth, keeper of the Koran set | not specified                    |
| 5            | 20 Rabī' II 784/3 June 1382     | <i>faqīh</i> , reader of 'tenth', keeper of the Koran set             | 30 dirhams<br>(10 for each post) |
| 14           | 19 Ṣafar 785/24 March 1383      | 'one of the <i>qurrā'</i> '   | 15 dirhams                       |

| Income             |              | Expenditure  |  |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|--|
| 3,000 aspers       | stipends     | 1,764 aspers |  |
|                    | expenses     | 800 aspers   |  |
|                    | 'petty cash' | 32 aspers    |  |
|                    |              | <hr/>        |  |
|                    | surplus      | 2,596 aspers |  |
|                    |              | 404 aspers   |  |
| <hr/>              |              | <hr/>        |  |
| Total 3,000 aspers | Total        | 3,000 aspers |  |

Details of stipends: *nāzir* 360; former *mutawallī* 650; clerk 204; *muqri* 50; former *nāzir* (Muḥammad al-Sayrafī) 450.

Details of expenses: administration and collection costs 400 [= *kbarj hukmī* and *kbarj tariq* 200, document fee (*hujja*) 30, road dues for *nā'ib* of Jerusalem 150, court messenger (*rasūl*) 20]; robes of honour for headmen 200; repair to the waqf shop 200.

(ii) A/c for year 946/1539-40 (*nāzir*: Muḥibb al-Dīn b. Abī 'l-Wafā', Imām of the Aqṣā).

Source: Sijill 12, no. 1950, dated 3 Sha'bān 947/3 December 1540.

The income for the year was 17,000 aspers.

The expenditure, which is detailed, had apparently been made already by the *nāzir* who was recovering it from the waqf now that the income was available.

(iii) A/c for 947/1540-41

Source: Sijill 13, no. 1877

Income: 22,000 aspers – no further details available.

(iv) A/c for year 962/1554-55

Source: Sijill 33, no. 503, dated 28 Ramaḍān 964/23 July 1557

| Income  |                | Expenditure   |                |
|---|----------------|---|----------------|
| Outstanding income from Minya received from Muḥammad Beg b. al-Miṣrī (tenant and <i>amin</i> [trustee] of the waqf in Ṣafad): | 50 gold pieces | Stipend of the <i>mudarris</i> , 'Isā b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Miṣrī for 14 months: | 46 gold pieces |
|   |                | Stipend for reading 2 Koran parts:  | 4 gold pieces  |
| <hr/>   |                | <hr/>   |                |
| Total   | 50 gold pieces | Total   | 50 gold pieces |

(v) A/c for year 979-980/1571-73 (*mudarris* and *mutawallī*: 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Luṭf)

Source: Sijill 56, 10 (1), dated 16 Sha'bān 981/1 December 1573

| Income (in paras)                              |        | Expenditure (in paras)                   |        |
|--|--------|--|--------|
| from land ( <i>mabṣūlāt</i> ) for 979          | 10,530 | stipends                                 | 5,540  |
|  |        | 24 Koran readers                         | 1,680  |
|  |        | 17 law students                          | 900    |
| from real estate ( <i>musaqqafāt</i> ) for 980 | 2,160  | 10 orphans in the Koran school           | 300    |
|  |        | Expenses                                 | 2,367  |
| <hr/>  |        | <hr/>                                    |        |
|  |        | Surplus earmarked for repairs to madrasa | 10,487 |
|  |        |  | 2,203  |
| <hr/>  |        | <hr/>                                    |        |
| Total  | 12,690 | Total                                    | 12,690 |

Details of stipends: *mudarris* 720; *nāzir/mutawallī* 1,620 + 300 (= 6 Syrian *ghirāra* of wheat); shaykh 240; shaykh in madrasa 500, imām 120, clerk 360; muezzin 240; *faqīh* and *shāhid* 360; rent-collector 500, *bawwāb*/servant 240; caretaker (*qayyim*) 160; teacher of orphans 180.

Details of expenses: repair of madrasa 60; allowance for mosque of Jūkandar and lighting of mosque at Ṣafad 120; repairs to shop and oven 140; mīrī tax (*kbarāj*) on mill 50; mīrī tithe (*'usbr*) on oven and shop 144; robes for headmen 200;

*quwwa* loan to peasants 1,000; debt to *mutawallī* 60; petty cash 200; administration 393.

(vi) Repair A/c, dated mid-Muḥarram 983/26 April 1575 (*mudarris* and *mutawallī*, as in (v) )

Source: Sijill 56, 342 (1)

The *mutawallī* spent 2,092½ paras on repairs to the Tāziyya. Daily details of expenditure on labour and materials are given, but no important details of the work done. The sum is less than that earmarked for the purposes in (v) above.

(vii) A/c for years 980 and 981/1572-74 (*mudarris*, etc., as in (v) )

Source: Sijill 57, 62 (3), dated 7 Jumādā I 984/2 August 1576

| Income (in paras)  |        | Expenditure (in paras)              |        |
|--|--------|-------------------------------------|--------|
| From land, for 980   | 10,929 | Stipends                            | 5,070  |
|  |        | 24 Koran readers                    | 1,500  |
| from real estate for 981   | 2,160  | 15 law students                     | 775    |
|  |        | 10 orphans in Koran school          | 250    |
|  |        | Expenses                            | 6,757  |
| <i>quwwa</i> loan repaid by peasants and sum brought forward from 979/1571-2 | 3,023  | Surplus in hand of <i>mutawallī</i> | 14,352 |
| <hr/>  |        | <hr/>                               |        |
| Total  | 16,112 | Total                               | 16,112 |

Details of expenses: Repair of madrasa as detailed in the defter of the Qāḍī of Jerusalem, see (vi) above, 2,092½ (note that this is the actual sum given but the half is ignored in the final arithmetic); allowance for two mosques in Ṣafad 120; repairs to waqf property 2,891; tax on mill 50; tithe on oven and shop 144; building materials 180; robes for headmen 400; robes for 'peasants, who had left the village, on their return according to ancient custom' 160; mats for the Koran school 40; administration and dues 680.

(viii) A/c for 985 and 986/1577-79 (*nāzir* and *mudarris*: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, son of the former)

Source: Sijill 59, 310, dated end of Ramaḍān 988/8 November 1580

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| from the village of Minya for 985:               | 6,618 paras  |
| from real estate for 986:                        | 10,719 paras |
| <hr/>  |              |
| Total income                                     | 17,337 paras |
| Total expenditure on all beneficiaries for 985-6 | 11,850 paras |
| <hr/>  |              |
| Surplus  | 5,487 paras  |

The details of the expenditure have not been recorded, except to note that the Koran school was still operating with its ten pupils.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### STREET FAÇADE (figs. 36.5 and 36.10; plate 36.1)

The façade is bounded by the Kilāniyya to the left (west) and by the narrow upstand of rough stonework, evidently all that remains of some earlier building, to the right. A later shop further to the east abuts on this masonry upstand.

Notwithstanding Tāz's illustriousness, the façade of his foundation is unusually modest. The entrance is a simple undecorated doorway quite different from the grand entrances to the pious foundations erected by his peers. The only elaborate decoration is concentrated around an iron-grilled window which occupies a large part of the lower façade. Enclosed by a quirky ogee frame moulding, the window is constructed in red and cream-coloured *ablaq* masonry. A monolithic lintel bears the dedicatory inscription and flanking blazons. Above the lintel a course of *ablaq* revetment is designed to resemble a flat relieving arch with trefoil joggling to interlock its five pseudo-voussoirs. The masonry coursing of

the window does not coincide with that of the rest of the façade, giving the impression that the window has been inserted into an existing wall.

A cavetto moulding runs across the ground floor façade, separating it from the upper floor. The cavetto has moulded stops at either end; the left-hand stop abuts on the Kīlāniyya and the right-hand stop abuts on the masonry upstand that supports the east end of the upper floor where it oversails the ground floor façade by 0.59m.

Immediately above the lintel of the entrance door and centred a little to the right of it there is a strange opening blocked with a coursed rubble infill. The semicircular head of the opening is not an arch – there are no voussoirs – and it is supported now only by the infill wall; when open there must have been some other means of support, possibly a timber frame. The opening has been pierced through the masonry of the façade presumably in Ottoman times since a stone, apparently in re-use, in its left jamb bears traces of a lightly-carved fretwork pattern typical of Ottoman work. Two blocked sockets, one on each side of the opening, suggest some sort of cantilevered support, possibly for a timber *masbrabiyya* oriel window like those projecting from many neighbouring buildings (plate 29.1). Small cavities cut in the masonry above and on each side of the opening would have helped to secure such a structure, while four small sockets in the second course of masonry above street level might have retained some supporting framework. Traces of plaster around the opening are further signs that this part of the façade was enclosed at one time.

The masonry of the upper façade is quite homogeneous, evidently all Mamlūk work (plate 36.2). The fenestration is symmetrical about the central axis. The main feature is a large pointed-arched opening concealed by a timber oriel window of typical nineteenth-century Ottoman construction. Presumably it replaces an earlier Mamlūk *masbrabiyya* window of which no trace survives. It is flanked by a small gridded window on either side, each with an undercut slit in the stone course above its lintel. Above the arched opening are three plain windows, the central one now blocked. A cavetto moulding with downturned finials at each end runs across the top of the façade; the carving of this moulding is much rougher than that of the lower cavetto, possibly because it is less clearly visible from the street.

#### VESTIBULE (plan, fig. 36.3)

The entrance door opens into a low vestibule from which doors in each side and in front (plate 36.3) lead to the three component parts of the building; two cross-vaulted chambers (A and B) to the west; a passageway to two vaulted halls (C and D) to the north; and a staircase on the east side leading to the upper floor. The present form of the vestibule is not original

and the various alterations to it are discussed below.

#### FRONT CHAMBERS 'A' AND 'B'

The floors of these two chambers are raised 0.93m above the floor of the vestibule, requiring four steps from the vestibule up to the first chamber (A). These steps reduce the clearance under the doorhead to 1.75m – too low for easy passage – and it seems likely that the floor level of the chambers was originally much closer to that of the vestibule (see below, p. 408).

The dedicatory inscription on the window lintel leads one to suppose that chamber 'A' contains the grave of the founder, though there is no other sign of it. The ceiling is and must always have been cross-vaulted, not domed as was usual for Mamlūk tombs.

A pointed-arched opening placed off centre in the north wall of chamber 'A' leads to the second cross-vaulted chamber, 'B'. A pointed wall arch 0.61m deep occupying the full length of the west side of chamber 'B' accounts for the asymmetrical placement of that opening. A rectangular window in the north wall of the chamber opens into the first of the northern halls (C). This window is partly blocked by an arched recess in a later wall built against that end of the chamber; the purpose of the secondary wall is not apparent.

#### NORTHERN HALLS 'C' AND 'D'

From the entrance vestibule a plain door (plate 36.3) opens into an unlit passageway (plate 36.4) which runs alongside chamber 'B', described above, to give access to the two northern halls. A late Ottoman inscription built into the east wall of the passage was first recorded in 1865 by Sandreczki in the Hārat al-Sharaf, about 100m north-west of the Tāziyya.<sup>28</sup> In 1914 van Berchem<sup>29</sup> saw the same inscription in the same place as Sandreczki (near where we subsequently found a Mamlūk epitaph<sup>30</sup>). Its presence now in the Tāziyya testifies to building work there at some time after 1914 when for unknown reasons it was transferred. A blocked opening beside the inscription in the east wall of the passage, under a cross-vaulted bay, may originally have been a window that was put out of commission by the later construction of adjoining buildings. The present occupant, Mr Abdullah Dajānī, says that his wife's grandfather made several alterations to the property about seventy years ago.

At its north end the passage opens into large hall 'C', the floor of which is covered with rubbish. It is cross-vaulted at its southern end and barrel-vaulted to the north where a later vault (plate 36.5) has been inserted to provide an entresol. Access to this later entresol is by means of a staircase from the upper storey cut in the thickness of the eastern boundary wall (fig. 36.4).



Plate 36.1 Street façade



Plate 36.2 Oriel window in street façade



Plate 36.3 Entrance vestibule, looking north

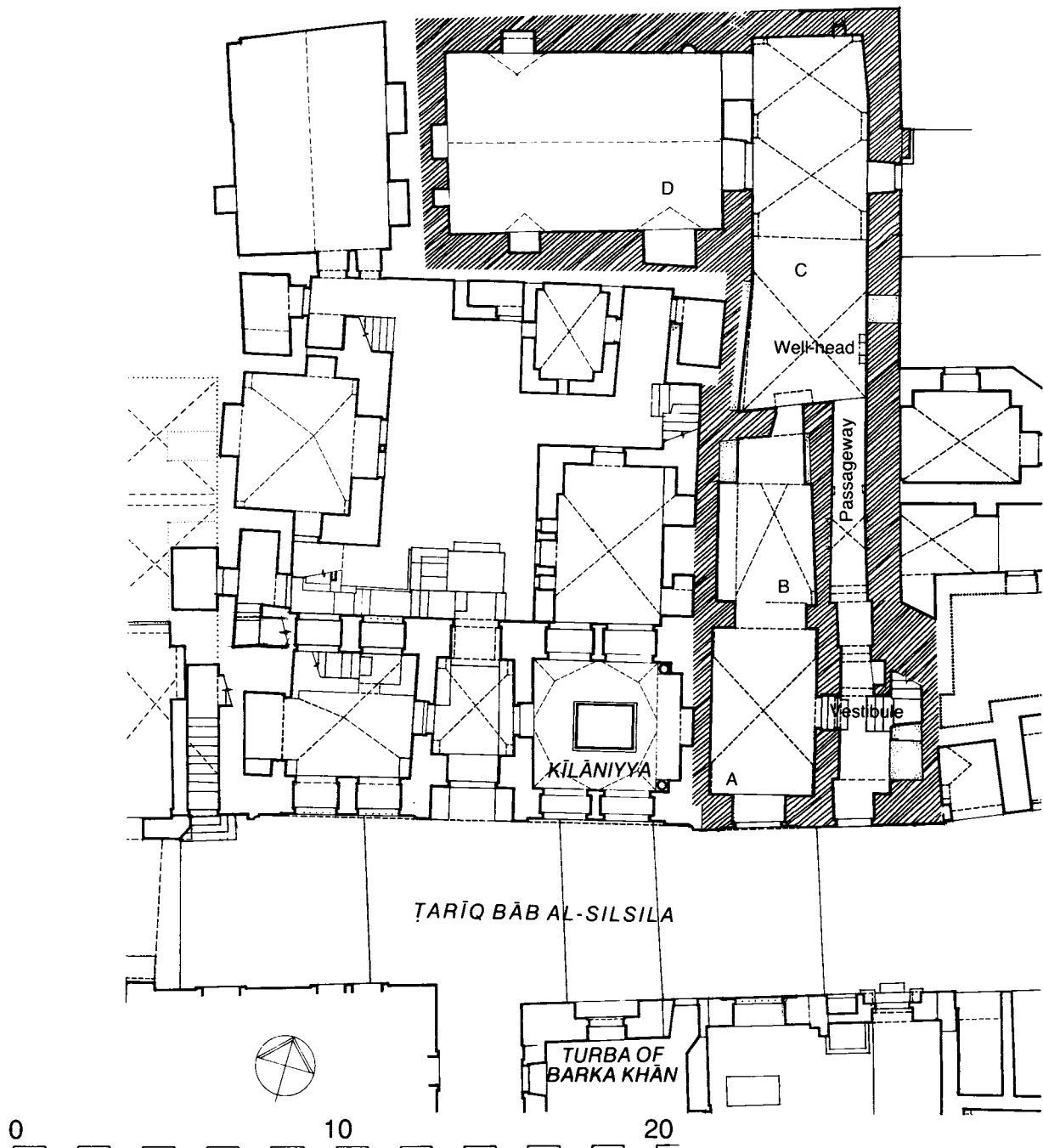


Fig. 36.3 Ground floor plan

Various openings pierce all four walls of hall 'C'. Beside the exit from the passage in the south wall is the window into chamber 'B' described above. A recess above that window serves no obvious purpose. Four openings in the east wall are arranged in pairs, one above the other (*plate 36.6*). The pointed arches in undisturbed masonry of the two southern openings (the lower of which is blocked) suggest that they belong to the original construction. Of the two northern openings, the lower one with its well-built jambs also appears to be original, though its head has been dismantled and replaced by a relieving arch built in the outer face of the wall at some later date (*plate 36.6*). The window above it appears to be a later insertion, possibly to light the entresol. In the north wall a small window opens under the crown of the vault. In the west wall there is a wall arch, now blocked up (*plate 36.7*), and, to the north of it and partly blocked by the entresol, two openings into the western hall. Both openings are formed in well-built ashlar, one of which bears the mason's mark referred to above. The left-hand (southern) opening has a flat lintel, the right-hand one a slightly

pointed arch (*plate 36.8*).

Apart from these two openings, the western hall, 'D', has no other doors or windows, only five arched recesses (two in the south wall, two in the west wall (*plate 36.9*), and one in the north wall). If these recesses once contained openings there is no trace of them now except in the north wall recess where the lintel of a blocked door or window is identifiable; the lower part of all the walls is concealed by an accumulation of rubbish on the floor.

The east and north external walls of halls 'C' and 'D' display at ground floor level a general uniformity of construction. The masonry of the east wall is interrupted by what seem to be secondary structural modifications including two superimposed semicircular arches (*plate 36.6*) apparently introduced to reinforce the wall and, immediately to the north of them, a tall sloping-topped buttress with the same function. The same masonry returns to form the north boundary wall, now largely obscured by accumulated debris.



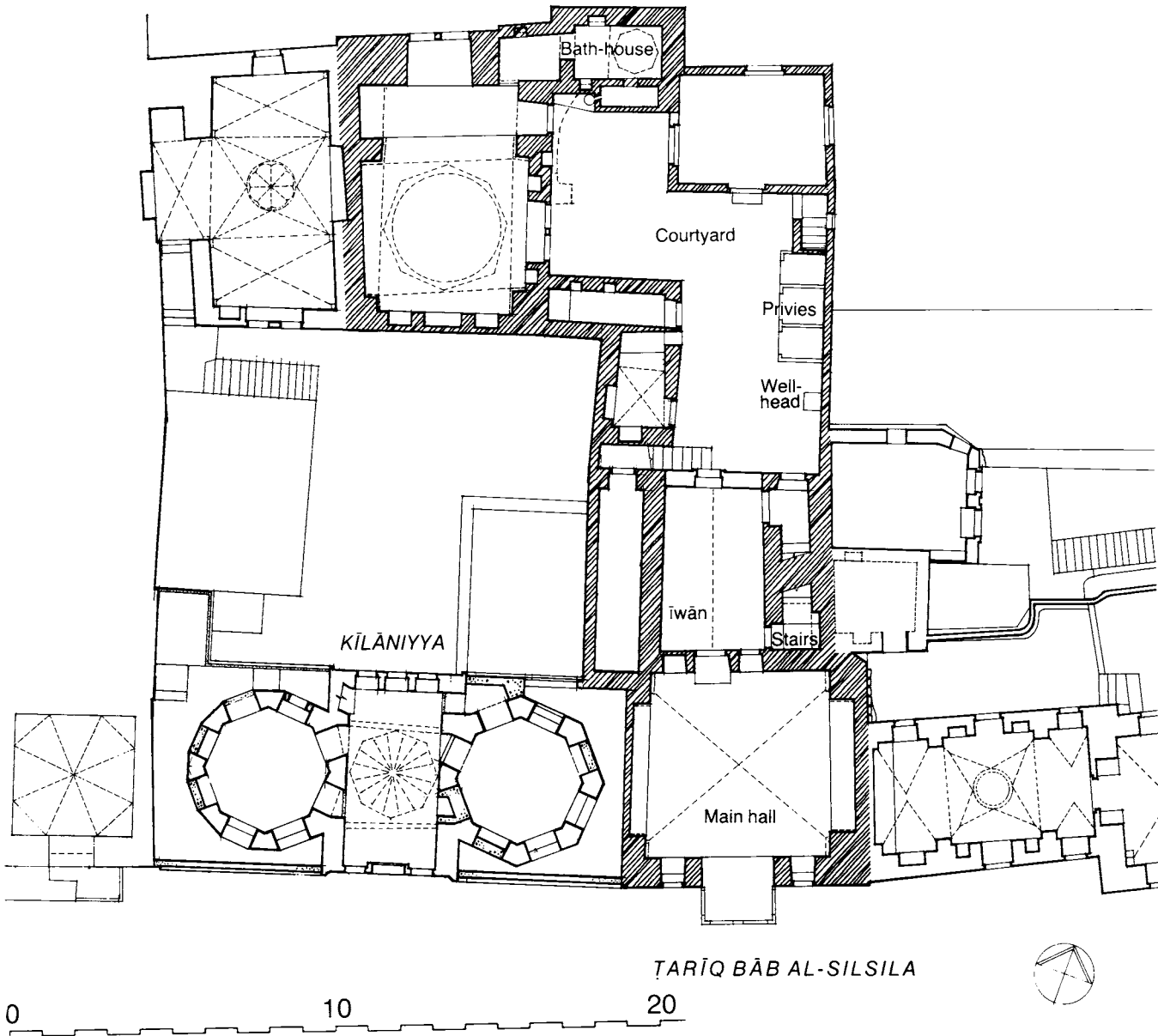


Fig. 36.4 Upper floor plan



Plate 36.4 Passageway from vestibule to northern halls: south end



Plate 36.5 Later vault at north end of hall 'C'



Plate 36.6 Central part of east frontage



Plate 36.7 Blocked arch in west wall of hall 'C'



Plate 36.8 Openings in west wall of hall 'C'



Plate 36.9 West end of hall 'D'

#### UPPER FLOOR (plan, *fig.* 36.4)

In the north-east corner of the entrance vestibule (*plate* 36.3) four steps lead east up to a small landing from which a further six steps rise north to another landing with a door to the south leading over a high step to a small mezzanine chamber over the vestibule (*section*, *fig.* 36.9). This mezzanine appears to be a later intrusion formed by the construction of a new floor spanning across the vestibule (which originally rose unobstructed to the full height of the present mezzanine ceiling). The piercing of the round-headed opening visible in the façade (above, p. 403) must have been done at the same time. An original recess in the east wall of the vestibule was presumably blocked then too; it seems originally to have housed the lower steps of the staircase to the upper floor, replaced by the four steps which now protrude into the vestibule.

From the landing beside the mezzanine the staircase (*plate* 36.10) continues up to a landing where one door opens west into a barrel-vaulted *iwān* and another opens north into a courtyard. All the upper floor rooms are reached from the courtyard.

To the south is the *iwān*, its pointed-arched opening now blocked up save for three new windows (*plate* 36.11). A door in the south-east corner of the *iwān* gives access to a stair that originally led up to the roof; the opening on to the roof is now blocked. A timber floor (see *plate* 36.12) has been inserted across the *iwān* at some time to provide an extra room in the vault space (*section*, *fig.* 36.6). This new room is reached by way of a later external stairway that runs against the wall blocking the *iwān* (*plate* 36.11) before turning into a corridor alongside the *iwān*'s west wall. This corridor occupies the site of a presumed gallery that originally belonged to the Kilāniyya (above, p. 335).

A door flanked by two windows (the west one now blocked) in the rear wall of the *iwān* (*plate* 36.13) opens into a large cross-vaulted hall. The principal feature of this main hall is a tall pointed-arched opening into the timber oriel window that protrudes from the street façade (above, p. 403). Low windows flank the arched opening (*plate* 36.14) and three smaller windows (the central one now blocked) surmount it. Arched recesses fill the west and east walls of the hall; a small window opens under the crown of the eastern recess.



Plate 36.10 Looking down staircase towards mezzanine



Plate 36.11 Upper floor: blocked iwān at south side of courtyard



Plate 36.12 North end of (blocked) iwān showing beams supporting later floor

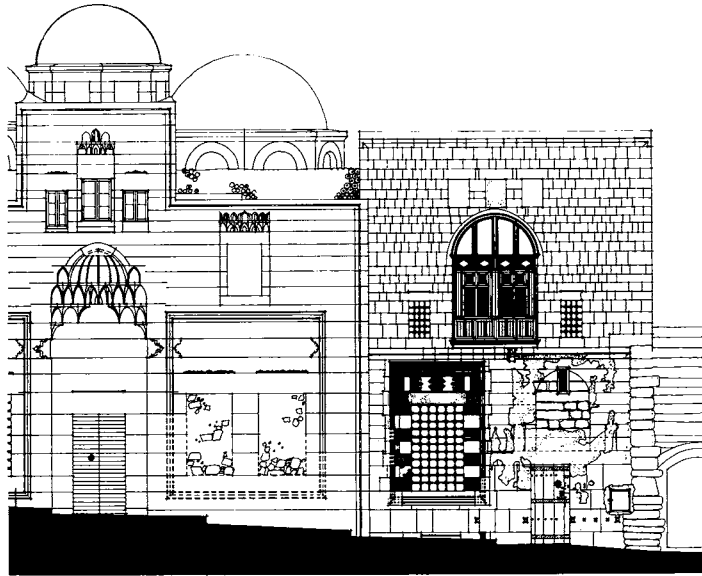


Fig. 36.5 Street façade

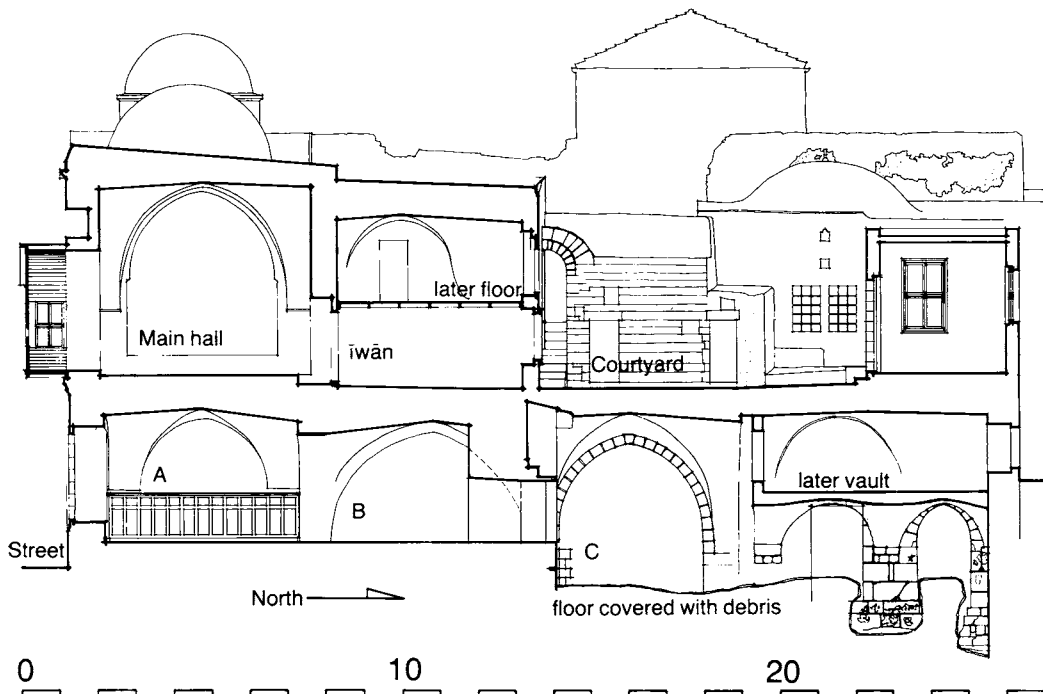


Fig. 36.6 South-north section through halls 'A', 'B' and 'C' looking west

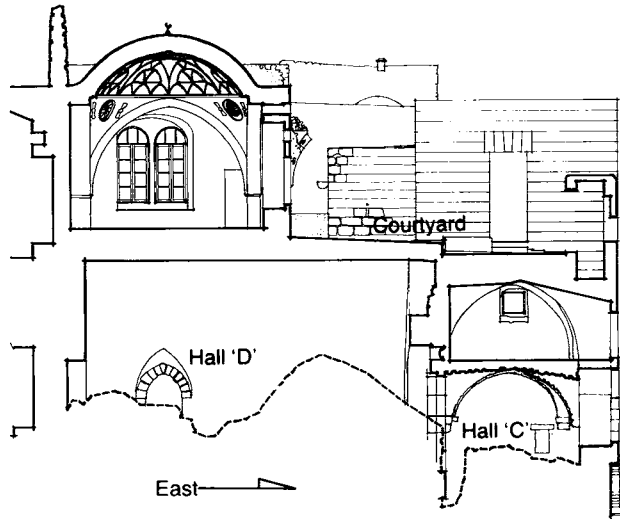


Fig. 36.7 West–east section through halls 'D' and 'C' and upper floor courtyard looking north

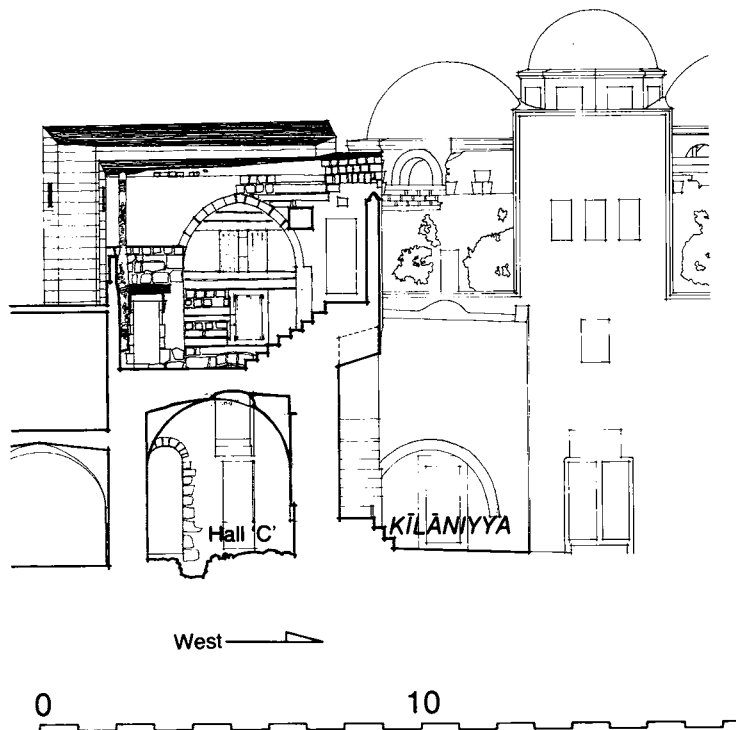


Fig. 36.8 East–west section through courtyard and hall 'C' looking south

The other rooms on the upper floor are arranged round the north, west and east sides of the courtyard. Almost all of them appear to be Ottoman or later. The paving of the courtyard appears, however, to be original though its former extent is not known; the later buildings have given it a Z-shape in plan.

At the south-east corner traces of a springing course in the masonry above the door of the main staircase seem to indicate that there was once some sort of porch there. Nothing else survives of it. A well-head about 2m north of the door would

have been sheltered by such a porch. The present well-head is modern but it probably replaces an earlier one. It connects with a cistern beneath the ground floor by way of a masonry shaft built out from the east wall of hall 'C' on the ground floor.

At the south-west corner the stairs up to the later room in the vault of the *iwān* described above separate the western abutment of the *iwān* from two small chambers (plate 36.15), the southern one cross-vaulted and oriented north–south, the northern one oriented east–west. Both are later additions, as obviously are the three privies on the east side of the courtyard. To the north of the privies is the entrance to the stairs down to the entresol (above, p. 403) and, in the north-east corner of the courtyard, a modern room built during the present tenant's lifetime.

To the west of that modern room stand the remains of a ruined vault (plate 36.16), evidently structurally homogeneous with a large domically-vaulted room beyond, which is entered through a plain doorway under the ruined vault. At the north end of this room a barrel-vaulted recess, spanning the full width of the room, leads up one step to the main domically-vaulted area to the south. The domical vault is supported by pointed wall arches on three sides and the barrel vault of the recess on the north side, a typical Ottoman construction technique. The decoration too is typically Ottoman: paired windows with complex ogee heads surmounted by a central oculus, a very elaborately carved stone sideboard (plate 36.17) opposite the entrance door, and ornamental plasterwork on the dome (plate 36.18) in a style that can be dated to the eighteenth century.<sup>31</sup>

#### BATH-HOUSE

A small door in the north wall of the domically-vaulted room leads into an exquisite private bath-house comprising small interconnected chambers with perforated domes (plates 36.19–36.24) which are very similar in design and execution to the domes of Mamlūk bath-houses. It may be that this private bath is a Mamlūk construction retained during the Ottoman rebuilding, but the possibility that it is Ottoman cannot be ruled out.

#### PURPOSE OF THE BUILDING

The layout of the *Tāziyya* is quite unusual. The inclusion of earlier structures within the complex, and subsequent alterations to it, do not conceal the fact that it has few of the usual features of a tomb or of a madrasa. Even the *iwān* on the upper floor is untypical, serving rather as an antechamber to the main hall. While it is impossible now to assign a specific purpose to each room or group of rooms, the general arrangement is that of a somewhat grand residence. The presence of a small bath-house on the upper floor tends to confirm this impression.

How, then, is the dedicatory inscription on the street façade to be explained? That inscription states that this is the funerary complex (*turba*) of Sayf al-Dīn Ṭāz who died in 763/1362. It must, therefore, have been cut after his death. On the one hand there is some agreement in historical sources that Ṭāz was buried in Damascus and, in any case, if the present building was built to include a tomb for Ṭāz we should expect to find a domed chamber for the tomb. There is none. Yet on the other hand the present tenant claims that there is one grave under the first of the ground floor chambers (A), next to the street, and three under the second (B). The raised floor of these two chambers suggests that some sort of grave markers or cenotaphs might have been left intact under a new floor which was laid at some time when the building was remodelled for commercial or domestic use. The bequeathal of three tomb coverings in 781/1379 (above, p. 401) may also indicate the presence of one or more graves at that time.

However, whether or not burials were made in the building, it seems reasonably clear that it was not designed with that purpose in mind. A likely sequence of events may be listed thus:

- (1) Ṭāz retires to Jerusalem in Jumādā I 762/March 1361 and acquires the site – already partly or wholly occupied by existing structures – for his new residence.
- (2) He endows it as a madrasa with members of his family nominated as overseers of the endowment.
- (3) At the end of 762/1361 he is transferred to Damascus where he dies on 22 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 763/10 October 1362 and is buried in

- the Cemetery of the Ṣūfīs there.
- (4) Memorial window – with a funerary inscription and Ṭāz's blazons carved on the lintel – is inserted in the façade.
- (5) Building functions as a madrasa with a Koran School. Domestic appurtenances retained, presumably for use by the overseers of the endowment, Ṭāz's own descendants.



Plate 36.13 Upper floor: door and windows in rear wall of *iwān*



Plate 36.16 Upper floor: north-west corner of courtyard



Plate 36.14 Upper floor: south end of main hall



Plate 36.17 Upper floor: sideboard in domically-vaulted room



Plate 36.15 Upper floor: south-west corner of courtyard



Plate 36.18 Upper floor: domical vault



Plate 36.19 Upper floor: pierced dome of bath-house



Plate 36.20 Upper floor: bath-house



Plate 36.21 Upper floor: stone stoup in outside wall of bath-house



Plate 36.22 Upper floor: pierced dome of bath-house



Plate 36.23 Upper floor: recess in bath-house



Plate 36.24 Upper floor: drain in floor of bath-house

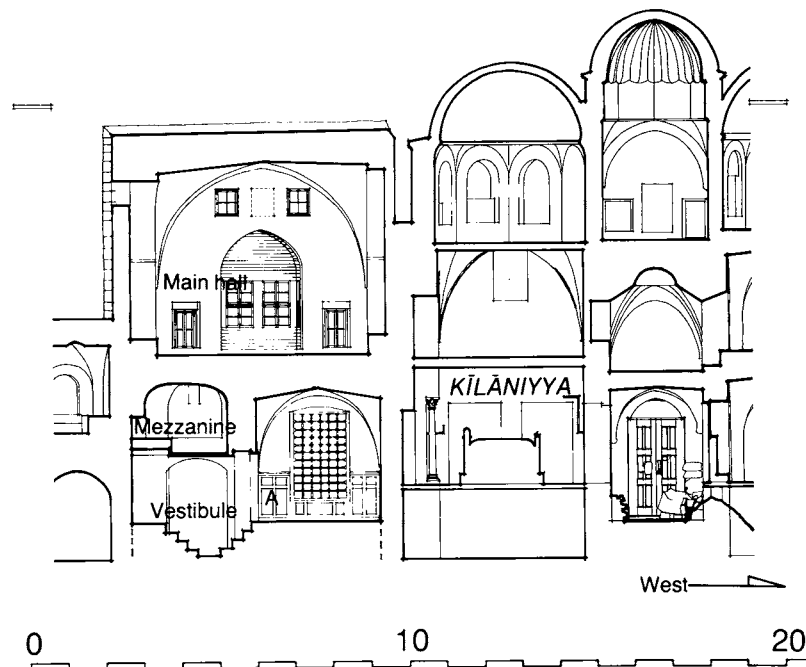


Fig. 36.9 East-west section through main hall and entrance vestibule looking south



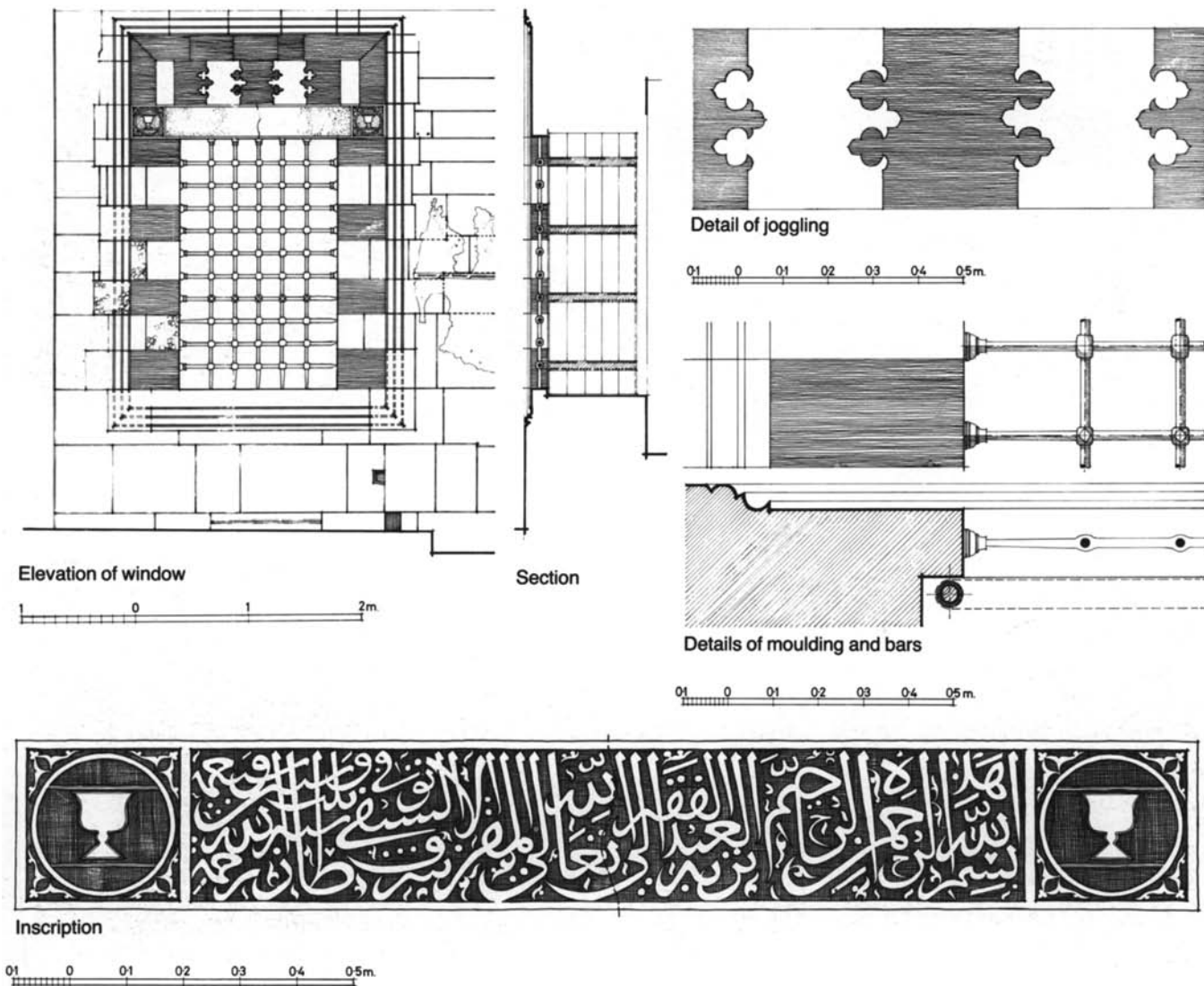


Fig. 36.10 Details of memorial window

## Notes

- 1 Mujīr, ii, 45.
- 2 *CIA (Ville)*, 286.
- 3 Shujā'ī, i, 150.
- 4 *Sulūk*, ii, 731.
- 5 *Sulūk*, ii, 746 and 752.
- 6 *Khiṭāṭ*, ii, 73; *Sulūk*, ii, 859 and 897.
- 7 *Nuj.*, v, 147; *Sulūk*, iii, 3 (Ṭāz first took refuge with his sister's husband, Tuḡṭāy al-Dawādār) and 7 (Ṭāz replaced Arghūn al-Kāmilī, who took his fief in Egypt, Minyat Banī Khaṣīb).
- 8 *Nuj.*, v, 151 (correct the date 758); *Sulūk*, iii, 40.
- 9 *Nuj.*, v, 175 and 183-4; *Sulūk*, iii, 65 and 78.
- 10 *Durar*, ii, 315.
- 11 *Dhayl*, Cairo Ms. *Ta'rikh* 5615, 25 (Ṭāz died in the Ablāq Palace in Damascus), but *Nuj.*, v, 183-4 (Ṭāz died in Jerusalem).
- 12 *Sulūk*, ii, 886-7.
- 13 *Durar*, ii, 75; *Nuj.*, v, 522-538. Note also a group called the Ṭāziyya (i.e. mamlūks of Ṭāz) in revolt at Damascus in 792/1390, *Nuj.*, v, 528.
- 14 *Sulūk*, iii, 277; Ibn al-Jī'an, *al-Tuḡfa al-Saniyya etc.*, Cairo, 1898, 54, 105, 130, 172, 173 and 190.
- 15 *Sulūk*, iii, 184.
- 16 *Sulūk*, ii, 814 and 840.
- 17 Haram document no. 762, dated 798/1395 (certificate of her death).
- 18 428, no. 16.
- 19 *HGP*, 176: correct the 'Madrasa Dāhiriyya' to read Ṭāziyya.
- 20 The involved *'alāma*, the signature of the motto type beginning 'Praise be to God . . .', remains to be deciphered. A curious feature of these documents is that the reference to the ruling Sultan in the title of the *nāzir*, the *al-malaki al-fulāni* element, is usually written *malik al-fulāni*.

- 21 No date in the document. The ruling sultan is al-Manṣūr; therefore the most likely is 'Alī b. al-Ashraf Sha'bān. The Sultan al-Manṣūr Muhammad b. Ḥājīī ruled between 762-64/1360-62. By the second reign of Ḥājīī b. Sha'bān, when he took the title al-Manṣūr (began 791/1389) Burhān al-Dīn Ismā'īl was dead.
- 22 Haram document no. 9, recto. The verso is an order confirming his position as 'reader of Tradition three times on Fridays' in the Aqṣā, with a monthly salary of 20 dirhams. It is dated 763/1362 in the reign of al-Manṣūr (see previous note).
- 23 He also served as qāḍī, and as preacher in the Aqṣā (Mujīr, ii, 126).
- 24 *Daw.*, iv, 184; Mujīr, ii, 139. His nephew, Shams al-Dīn Abū 'l-Khayr Muḥammad, was 'shaykh' of the Ṭāziyya in addition to holding other posts, see Mujīr, ii, 214; *Daw.*, vii, 301. If we may make the same correction as in note 20 above – the Zāhiriyya Zāwiya (*sic*) is a rather obscure institution (Mujīr, ii, 54) – then an uncle, Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā, as Shāfi'ī Qāḍī of Jerusalem, used to hold court in the Ṭāziyya Madrasa in about 815/1412-3, see Mujīr, ii, 129 (note: Ms. Marsh 677, fol. 151b, does read 'al-Ṭāziyya', but Ms. Pococke 362, fol. 160b, has 'al-Ṣalāhiyya!').
- 25 Mujīr, ii, 194.
- 26 Two from Hawrān, one large Anatolian (*rūmī*), four from Shawbak, two from Kerak, one from Aqṣaray, and the last referred to as *maq'ad barir bi-nat* (?).
- 27 For a later period such advances could be free of interest, see A. Latrun, *Vie rurale etc.*, Beirut, 1936, 92-3.
- 28 Ch. Sandreczki, 'Account of a Survey of the City of Jerusalem' in C. Wilson, *Ordinance Survey of Jerusalem*, London, 1865, day II.
- 29 *CIA (Ville)*, 312-16.
- 30 M.H. Burgoyne and A. Abul-Haji, 'Twenty-four Mediaeval Arabic Inscriptions from Jerusalem', *Levant*, xi, 1979, 133-34.
- 31 A similarly decorated domed ceiling, dated towards the end of the eighteenth century, is illustrated by H. Waddington, 'A Note on Four Turkish Renaissance Buildings in Ramleh', *JPOS*, xv, 1935, pl. 12.

# 37 RIBĀT AL-MĀRIDĪNĪ

## رباط المارديني

Before 763/1361-62  
Hospice for pilgrims from Mardin  
Modern name: Dār al-Qabbānī

### I LOCATION (fig. 37.1)

On the west side of Ṭarīq Bāb Ḥiṭṭa, about 15m north of the Awḥadiyya (no. 9), at the corner of that street and Ṭarīq al-Mujāhidīn.

### II SITE AND BUILDING (fig. 37.2)

The site is bounded to the east by Ṭarīq Bāb Ḥiṭṭa, to the north by Ṭarīq al-Mujāhidīn, to the west by a staircase of the Sallāmiyya (no. 25) and an inaccessible structure, and to the south by an earlier construction that is probably Ayyūbid (see above, p. 168).

The building, which incorporates remains of an earlier structure on the site, comprises a recessed entrance portal leading into a vestibule from which two doors open, one west to a staircase to later constructions on upper floors, and one north to two vaulted halls. To the west of these two halls are a further two rooms, now a shop, that may originally have formed part of the ribāt.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

Mujīr al-Dīn records that 'the Ribāt al-Māridīnī faces the Kāmiliyya in Bāb Ḥiṭṭa [Street]. It is in the vicinity of the Awḥadiyya Turba.<sup>1</sup> The Kāmiliyya no longer survives but it is known to have been to the north of the Karīmiyya on the east side of the street. The Awḥadiyya is on the west side of the street, beside the Ḥaram gate (above, p. 167), and a sijill entry of 947/1540 makes the Māridāniyya Madrasa (*sic*) the north boundary of a *qā'a*, the south boundary of which is the Awḥadiyya.<sup>2</sup>

#### FOUNDERS

The founders are said by Mujīr al-Dīn to have been two unnamed freedwomen of the Artuqid ruler of Mardin in the Jazira, al-Šāliḥ b. Ghāzī II (ruled 712-65/1312-63).

#### DATE

Mujīr al-Dīn saw a document dated 763/1361-62 which 'proved' the waqf.<sup>3</sup> He adds that a condition of the waqf was that the institution should serve visitors from Mardin. As it happens, Ḥaram document no. 173, dated 795/1392, records the death of a pilgrim from Mardin, Bulghār bint 'Abdallāh, in what is there called the Māridāniyya Madrasa.

### IV ARCHITECTURE

#### STREET FRONTAGES (plates 37.1–37.3)

The masonry of the street frontages – on Ṭarīq Bāb Ḥiṭṭa to the

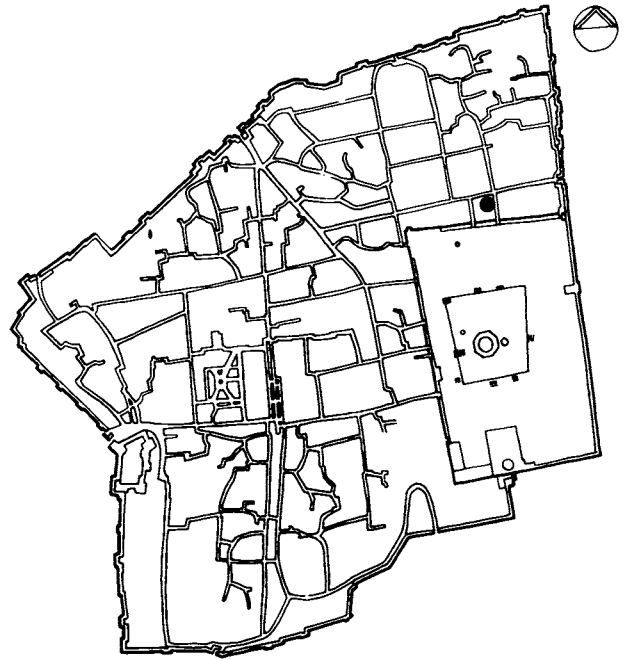


Fig. 37.1 Location plan

east and Ṭarīq al-Mujāhidīn to the north – is not uniform. The lower courses appear to belong to some earlier structure of unknown date, the ruins of which served as the basis for the present building. The upper courses are of smaller stones above that earlier masonry. These incorporate at the east end of the north frontage the springing of an arch that once spanned the street (see plates 4.1 and 4.2). The upper storeys are later, almost certainly Ottoman additions.

The fenestration is quite plain, consisting of one rectangular window in the north frontage and three in the east frontage. The middle window in the east frontage has a typical Mamlūk iron grille; the other two are narrow slits.

The entrance portal (plate 37.1) at the south end of the east frontage is remarkably plain. It consists of a pointed-arched recess containing the entrance door, which has been reduced in width and height at some time. The original lintel, two courses above the present one, is surmounted by a relieving arch of simply-joggled voussoirs with rebated joints. In the tympanum, one course above the relieving arch, is a rectangular recess with a bevelled border, which evidently was intended to accommodate an inscription. The portal lacks the customary stone benches on either side.

#### INTERIOR (plan, fig. 37.3)

Three steps lead up from the street to the entrance door, which opens into a vaulted vestibule. A door in the far (west) wall of the vestibule leads into a cross-vaulted chamber from which a staircase rises west then east to the upper floors.

A doorway in the north wall of the vestibule leads into a passage cut through a massive wall (2.31m thick) that seems to be a remnant of an earlier structure. A deep recess (measuring 2.45m from west to east) opens in the east side of the passage. It appears to have been hollowed out of the core of that massive wall. It is lit from the street by a high-level slit window, and now contains a privy.

The passage leads to a large hall (marked 'A' on the plan, fig. 37.3) lit by the grilled window in the east frontage. This hall is roofed in three bays by barrel vaults at the east and west ends and a taller vault between them. The centre vault may be a later insertion, added when the upper floor was developed, in which case this part of the hall will have been open to the sky.

A door in the middle of the north wall of hall 'A' leads into hall 'B', which is now divided by later partitions that were probably added to support load-bearing walls on the upper floor. The hall is cross-vaulted and lit by a high-level slit

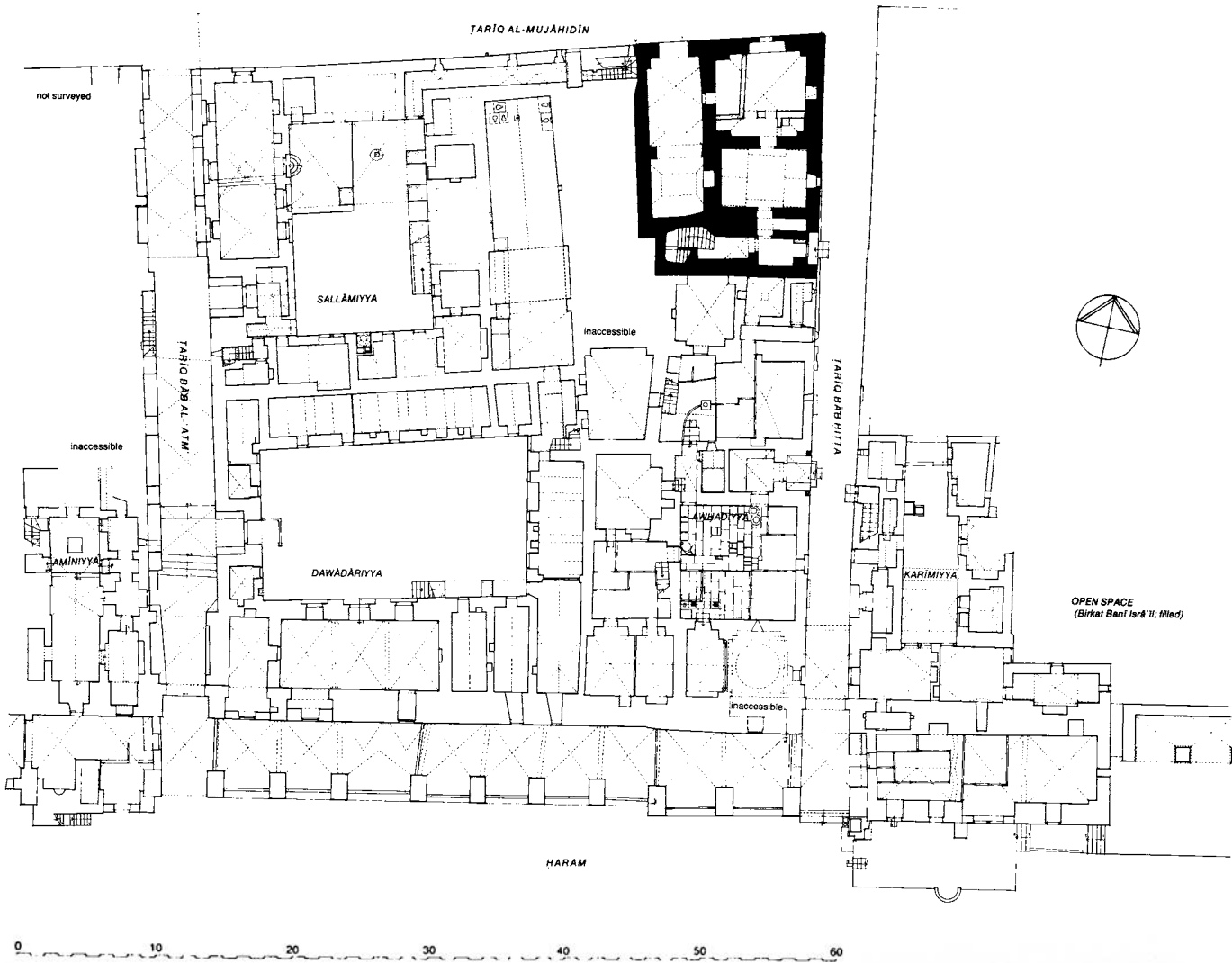


Fig. 37.2 Site plan



Plate 37.1 Entrance portal



Plate 37.2 East end of north frontage



Plate 37.3 General view of north frontage

window in the east wall and a larger window in a recess in the north wall. A well-head in the south-east corner of the hall gives access to a cistern.

In the west wall of hall 'B' a door opens into what is now a shop ('Lions Gate Bazaar'), but which may once have formed

part of the ribāt. The shop comprises two vaulted rooms (C and D), which are connected by a wide opening, presumably modern, in the common wall. The shop's wide doorway on the street is obviously modern (see *plate 37.3*), perhaps replacing an earlier window.

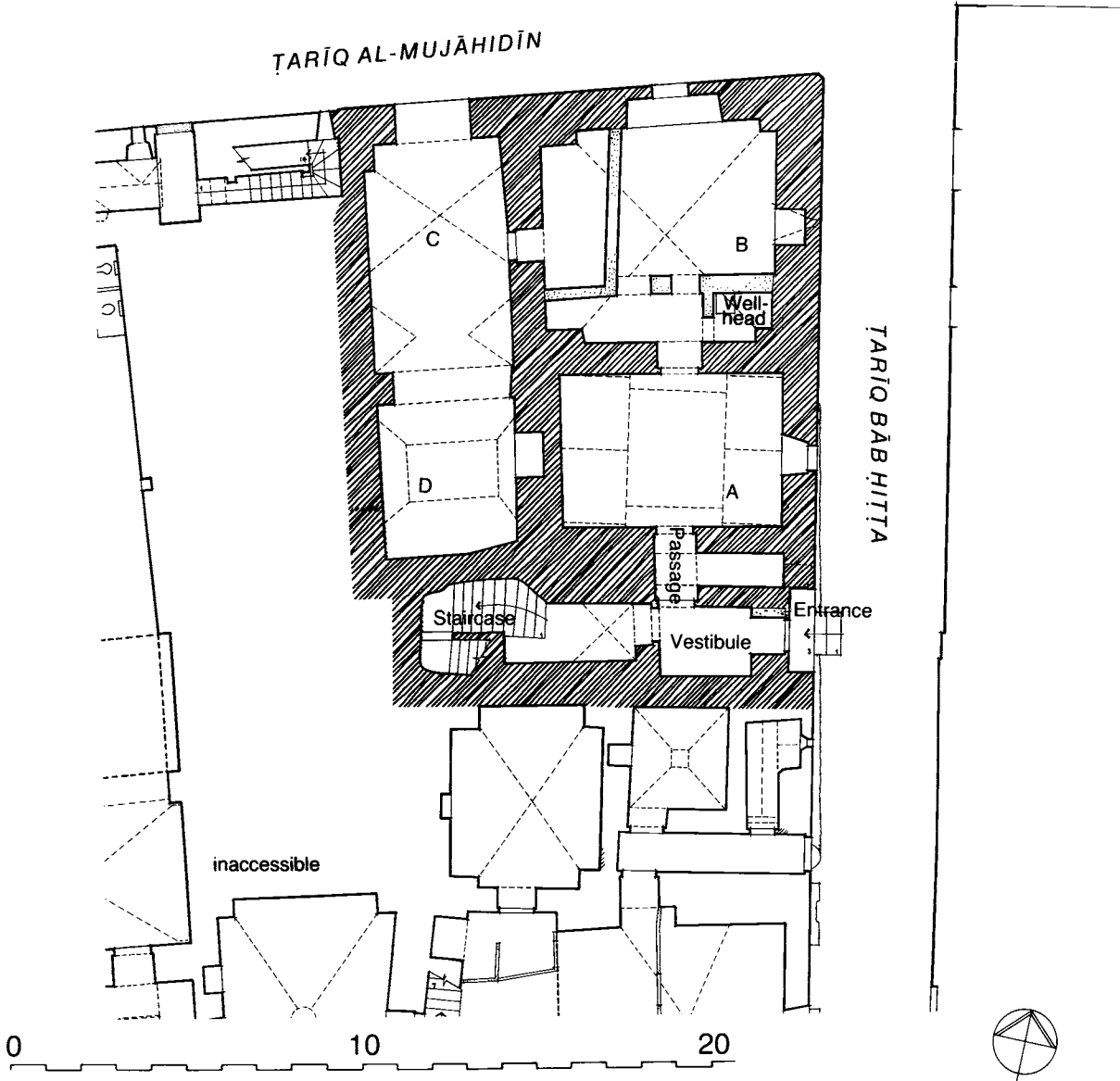


Fig. 37.3 Ground floor plan

Notes

- 1 Mujīr, ii, 42.
- 2 Sijill 12, no. 2574.
- 3 Mujīr, ii, 42.

# 38 BĀB AL-ASBĀṬ MINARET

## مأذنة باب الاسباط

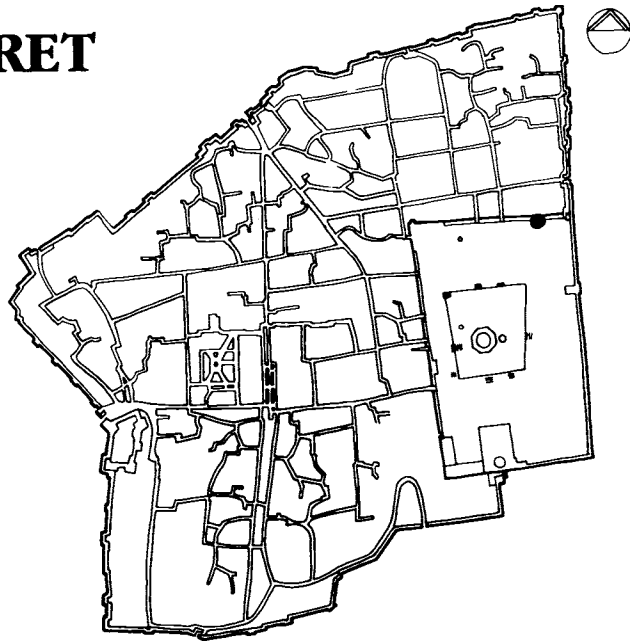


Fig. 38.1 Location plan

769/1367-68

Northern minaret of the Haram

Modern name: Bāb al-Asbāṭ Minaret

### I LOCATION (fig. 38.1)

At the north border of the Haram, in the portico between Bāb al-Asbāṭ and Bāb Ḥiṭṭa.

### II SITE AND BUILDING (plan, fig. 38.2)

The minaret is built against the westernmost pier of an earlier portico that extends westward from Bāb al-Asbāṭ. Around the west and north sides of that pier, masonry was added to form a base for the minaret. Although Mujīr al-Dīn states that this minaret like others around the Haram was probably built on the foundations of an earlier minaret, no trace of that is evident.

A pointed-arched portal in the south face of the masonry base gives access to a staircase leading to the roof of the portico, above which rises the minaret. The cylindrical stone shaft of the minaret, divided into three 'storeys' by moulded string courses, rests on a series of pyramidal buttresses carried on a masonry plinth. A door in the east side of the plinth gives access to a spiral staircase rising within the shaft to a corbelled muezzin's gallery.

There are indications that the shaft of the minaret was reconstructed in the Ottoman period, and it is known that the top of the shaft together with the muezzin's gallery was completely renewed in the 1920s.

### III HISTORY

An inscription – now almost entirely effaced – on the lintel of the entrance door was deciphered by van Berchem. It commemorates the construction of the minaret in the reign of Sultan al-Ashraf Sha'bān during the superintendency of Sayf al-Dīn Quṭlūbughā, Superintendent of the Two Harams, in the year 769/1367-68.<sup>1</sup> This is confirmed by Mujīr al-Dīn, who must have seen the inscription in a more legible condition.<sup>2</sup>

A modern inscription above that foundation inscription states that the minaret was renewed by the Supreme Muslim Council in 1346/1927-28. Early photographs<sup>3</sup> show that this renewal affected only the top of the minaret, which was entirely replaced.

### IV ARCHITECTURE

#### ENTRANCE (plate 38.1; fig. 38.3)

A short flight of five steps rises eastward against the base of the minaret to the threshold of the entrance portal. The portal consists of a tall pointed-arched recess with a door in the rear wall flanked by stone benches. The door lintel, still bearing faint traces of the foundation inscription, is surmounted by a relieving arch of red and cream-coloured *ablaq* joggled voussoirs. Above this arch the stonework has been renewed around the restoration inscription.<sup>4</sup> The tympanum of the

portal is filled with four tiers of *muqarnas* corbelling. The portal arch is slightly recessed in the surrounding masonry and framed by a cyma reversa moulding around the extrados.

The entrance door opens into a small vestibule from which a dog-leg stair rises north, turns east then north again to a landing with a blocked door in its west wall. This door presumably led into a chamber within the base. From the first landing the stair continues to rise northward before turning east against the Haram's north enclosing wall to emerge on the roof of the portico. 4.30m to the south a door in the east side of the masonry plinth (plate 38.2) leads to the spiral staircase within the core of the minaret.

#### SHAFT (elevation, fig. 38.3; section, fig. 38.4; plate 38.1)

The masonry plinth supporting the minaret is rectangular in plan, measuring 4.58m (the same size as the base) from east to west and 4.00m from north to south. The top of the plinth is chamfered on all four sides. The chamfering of the west side is wider and deeper to reduce the top of the plinth to a square in plan. Above the plinth a series of prismatic triangles and pyramidal corner buttresses (see plate 38.2) makes the transition from square to octagon. A roll moulding decorates the top edge of the octagon, above which inverted *muqarnas* niches round off the eight corners (see plate 38.3) to complete the transition from the plinth to the cylindrical shaft.

The plain ashlar masonry of the shaft is relieved by three moulded string courses and two friezes of incised joggling. The lowest of the three 'storeys' is quite featureless except for two slit windows, one facing roughly north and the other roughly south, which light the internal staircase. A roll moulding separates this storey from the next. Half-way up the second storey are two circular windows, one facing roughly south-east, the other north-west. The windows are surrounded by circular panels of incised counterchange joggling which interrupt an incised frieze of similar joggling (see plate 38.4). A cavetto moulding decorated with a repeating *muqarnas* motif separates the second storey from the third. A single north-facing circular window surrounded by incised joggling interrupts an incised frieze similar to that in the second storey. On the west side of the shaft the continuity of this frieze is broken by two stones incised with a more elaborate counterchange motif (fig. 38.5), which surely indicates some later rebuilding.

At a level three courses above the frieze, the top courses of the shaft and the muezzin's gallery were dismantled and



Plate 38.1 View from the Haram



Plate 38.2 Entrance door in masonry plinth



Plate 38.3 Detail of transition from base to shaft



Plate 38.4 Detail of circular window

completely renewed in 1346/1927-28, possibly as a result of damage caused by the earthquake in July 1927. Early photographs such as the one cited in note 3 show that before that renovation there was a south-facing circular window at the same level as the north-facing one in the third storey and that the muezzin's gallery was supported by two tiers of continuous circumferential corbelling (see *plate* 54.9). The present muezzin's gallery is supported by two tiers of *muqarnas* corbelling which, like that used in the nearly contemporaneous renovation of the Fakhriyya Minaret (no. 23), was evidently modelled on corbelling at the Ghawānima Minaret (no. 10).

*DATE*

The base including the entrance portal with the foundation

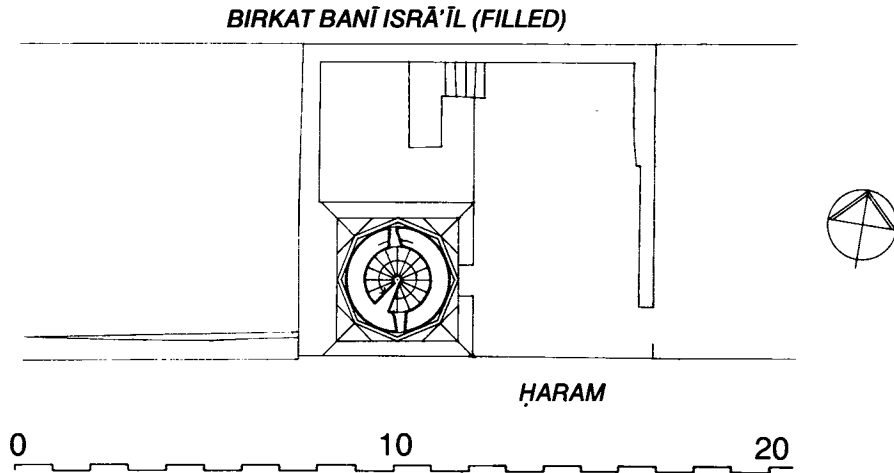
inscription is – apart from the incorporated pier of the earlier Haram portico – obviously Mamlūk. The plinth and zone of transition appear to be integral with the base and so to be Mamlūk also. Similar zones of transition were used in eighth/fourteenth-century minarets in Egypt<sup>5</sup> and Syria.<sup>6</sup> The zone of transition would support either an octagonal or a cylindrical shaft. Octagonal-shafted minarets were common in Syria<sup>7</sup> and Palestine,<sup>8</sup> though none exists in Jerusalem. On the other hand, we know of only two other eighth/fourteenth-century Mamlūk minarets with circular shafts, both in Aleppo<sup>9</sup> and both different in style and execution from the Bāb al-Asbāt Minaret. All other minarets with circular shafts in Jerusalem are Ottoman. One at the Jāmi' al-Mawlawiyya is surprisingly similar to the Bāb al-Asbāt Minaret; it bears an unpublished inscription recording



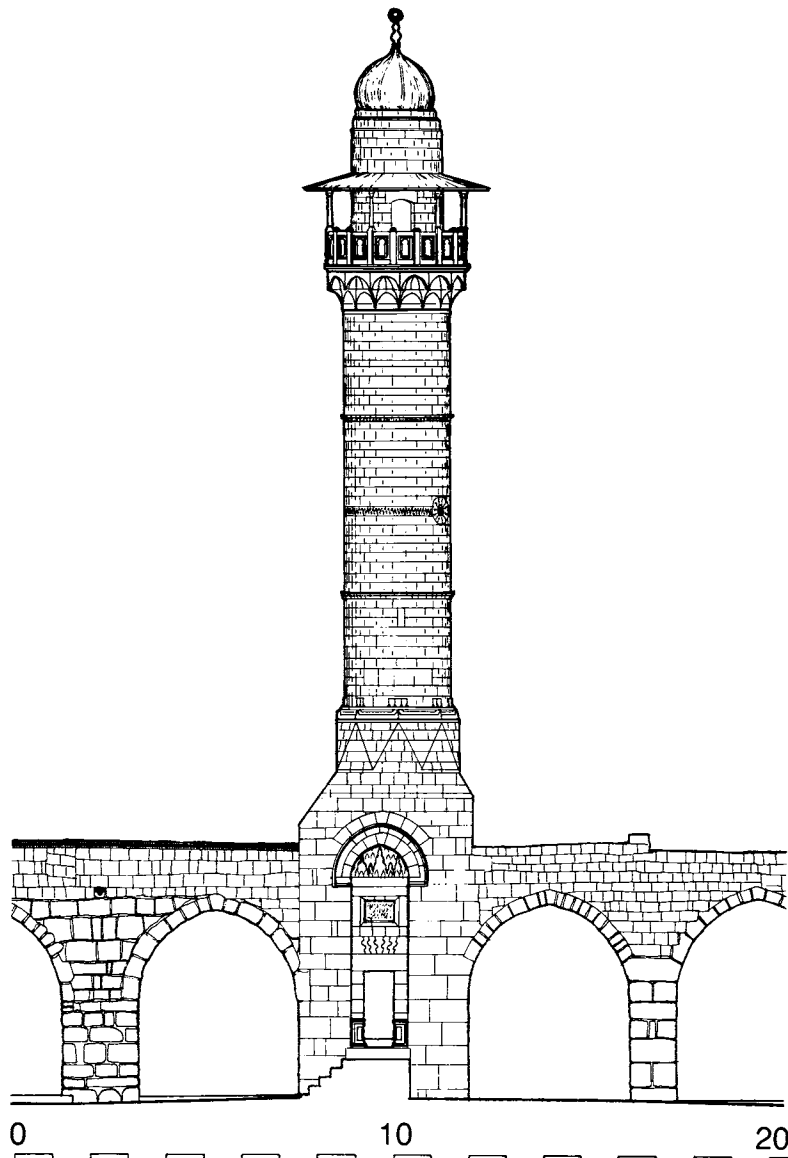
that it was built in 995/1586-87. Friezes of incised counterchange joggling are also a common feature of Ottoman minarets in Jerusalem such as one at the Tomb of David, which is probably part of the conversion of that building into a mosque in 930/1524.<sup>10</sup>

There is some justification, therefore, to suppose that the shaft of the Bāb al-Asbāt Minaret may be an Ottoman

reconstruction. The zone of transition shows, however, that if the present shaft is not Mamlūk then the one it replaces must have been either circular or octagonal. Mujīr al-Dīn, in an apparent allusion to its different shape from the other (square tower) minarets, described it as the most graceful in form and beautiful in appearance of the four minarets around the Ḥaram.<sup>11</sup>



**Fig. 38.2** Plan of shaft



**Fig. 38.3** Elevation on Ḥaram

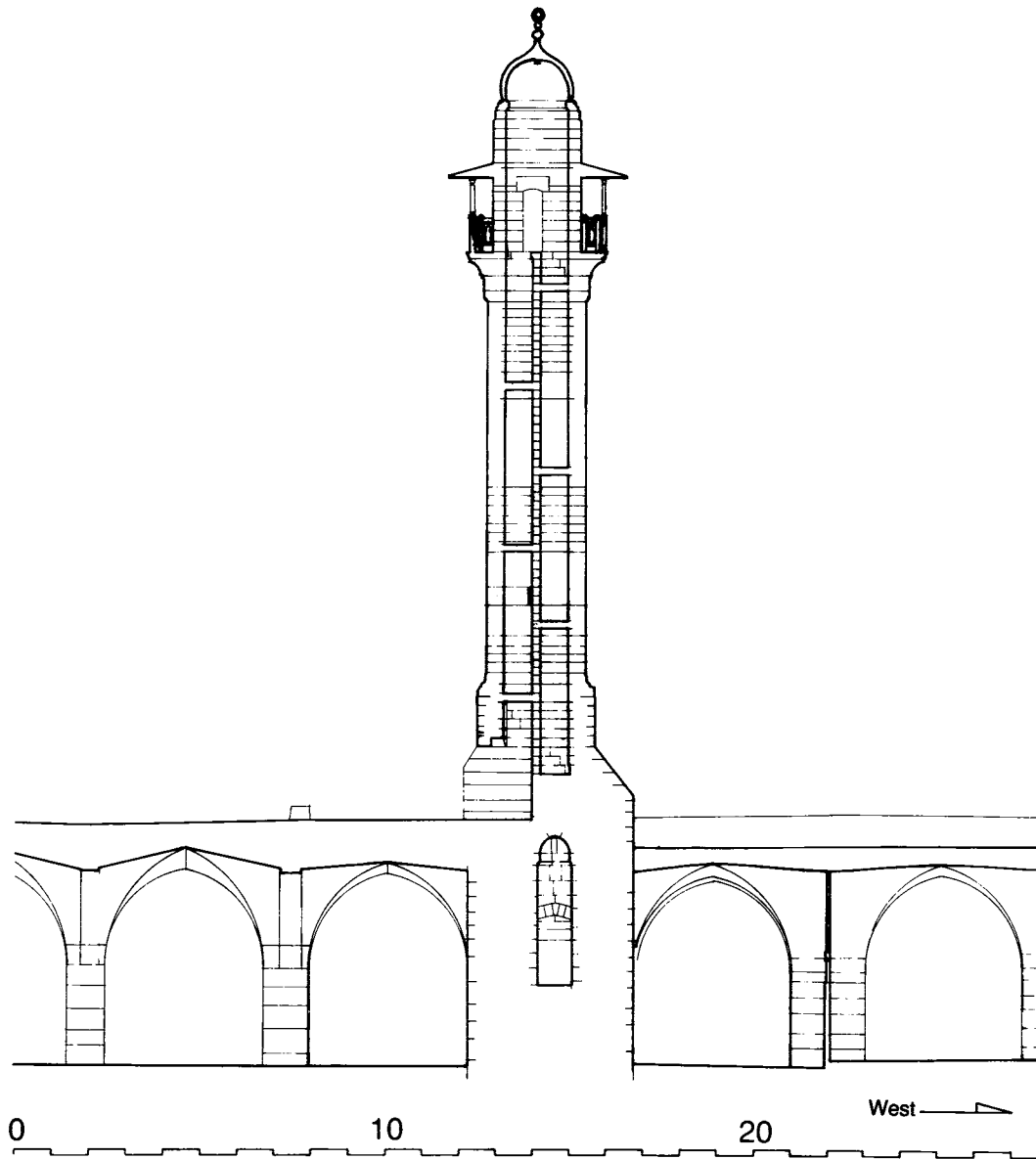


Fig. 38.4 East-west section looking south

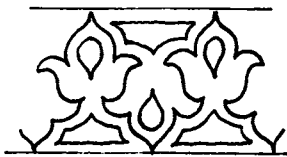


Fig. 38.5 Counterchange motif

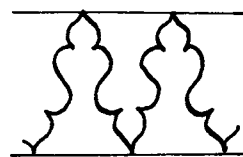


Fig. 38.6 Incised frieze

#### Notes

- 1 *CIA (Haram)*, 133-36.
- 2 Mujīr, 375, 380, 439, 608.
- 3 E.g., *CIA (Planches)*, lxxi.
- 4 The original stonework is shown in *CIA (Planches)*, lxxii.
- 5 Layla 'Alī Ibrāhīm, 'The Transitional Zones of Domes in Cairene Architecture', *K des O*, x, 1975, 15-20.
- 6 *CIA (Alep)*, pl. clvi.
- 7 *Ibid.*, lxxviii, cxxv, cxlviii, cl, cli, clvi, clvii; E. Herzfeld, 'Damascus: Studies in Architecture - III', *AI*, xi-xii, 1946, 7, fig. 5.
- 8 W. Harvey, 'A Saracenic Mosque in Palestine', *The Builder*, xcvi, 1909, fig. 1.
- 9 *CIA (Alep)*, pl. clvi.
- 10 *CIA (Ville)*, 403-11.
- 11 Mujīr, 380.

# 39 AL-BIṢṬĀMIYYA

## البيسطامية

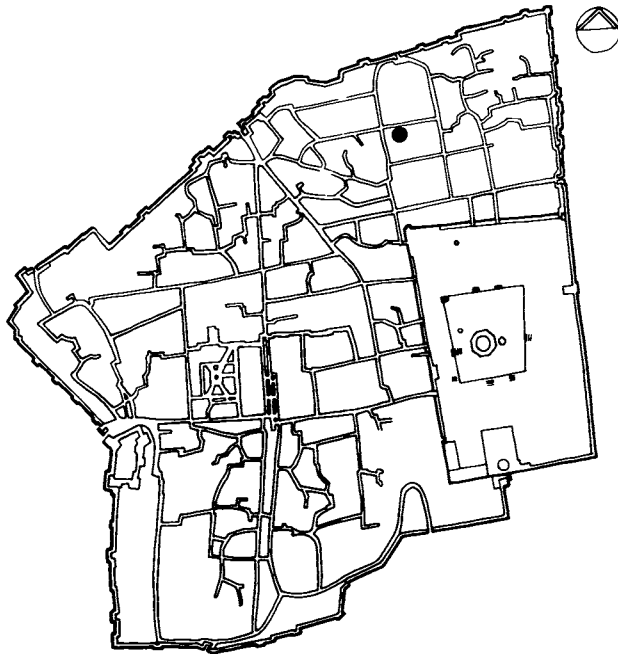


Fig. 39.1 Location plan

Before 770/1369  
Zāwiya of Shaykh 'Abdallāh al-Biṣṭāmī  
Modern name: Dār al-Ḥammār

### I LOCATION (fig. 39.1)

In the northern part of the Old City, remote from the main groups of Mamlūk pious foundations, on the south side of 'Aqabat al-Biṣṭāmī in the medieval Easterners' Quarter.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 39.2)

A modest but distinctive portal leads into a short right-angled corridor forming a bent entrance into an open central courtyard. Two small chambers open off the entrance corridor; the other rooms belonging to the present complex all open off the courtyard except for a deep barrel-vaulted chamber in the south-east corner which houses a cenotaph marking the grave of some unknown person. A second cenotaph occupies a corner of a split-level chamber at the north-west corner of the courtyard. The arrangement of rooms around the courtyard presents an impression of informal, if orderly, development as various contiguous properties were amalgamated to form the zāwiya. A staircase against the east wall of the courtyard leads to the roof, upon which several later constructions stand.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

The Biṣṭāmiyya Zāwiya is located, according to Mujīr al-Dīn,<sup>1</sup> in the Easterners' Quarter, the area to the north of the Haram. There is no extant inscription. Later references in the Ottoman period name its situation differently, either as the Bāb Ḥiṭṭa Quarter, within which the zāwiya gave its name to a street, Khutt al-Biṣṭāmiyya,<sup>2</sup> or as the Quarter (*maḥalla* or *ḥāra*) of the Banī Zayd.<sup>3</sup>

The survey of the streets of Jerusalem carried out in 1865 by Sandreczki recorded a memory of the site of the Biṣṭāmiyya as 'the tomb or mazār of the Sheikh Bostāmy'. The accompanying map located it in the first turning to the west (the first thoroughfare, that is) which one encounters moving north up the main north-south axis connecting the north side of the Haram with Herod's Gate (Bāb al-Sāhira)<sup>4</sup> but the present zāwiya is in the next street to the north.<sup>5</sup>

#### FOUNDER

This foundation is associated with a shaykh named Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abdallāh b. Khalīl b. 'Alī al-Asadābādī, a Ṣūfī of the Biṣṭāmiyya order which is named after the great ninth-century mystic, Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī. Shaykh 'Abdallāh was born in Baghdad, followed a career of scholarship there and became *mu'īd* (lecturer) in the Shāfi'i 'Royal Madrasa', the Nizāmiyya. However, when the Ṣūfī shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī al-Ṣafī came to Baghdad from Khurasan, 'Abdallāh became his disciple, gave up his positions, donated his library for the use of students, and

followed 'Alā' al-Dīn to Jerusalem, accepting a life of 'asceticism and taxing religious exercises after one of comfort and ease'. When 'Alā' al-Dīn died on Thursday, 12 Ṣafar 761/2 January 1360, 'Abdallāh succeeded him as head of the community. He himself died in the zāwiya (or simply 'at Jerusalem') in Muḥarram 794/December 1391, and was buried near his teacher in the enclosure of the Biṣṭāmiyya Ṣūfis in the Māmillā Cemetery.<sup>6</sup> A son, 'Abd al-Ḥādī, had been born after 779/1377-78. 'His father's followers gathered around him and he became their shaykh', but, having settled in Cairo, he died young in 809/1406-7.<sup>7</sup>

#### DATE

There is no suggestion that 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Ṣafī had himself provided the community with a regular zāwiya before his death. Mujīr al-Dīn calls him 'shaykh of the Biṣṭāmiyya ascetics (*fuqarā'*)',<sup>8</sup> and names Shaykh 'Abdallāh as the endower (*wāqif*) and, rather vaguely, as the *ṣāhib* (founder, head?) of the Biṣṭāmiyya Zāwiya.<sup>9</sup> However, it is no surprise to find that the Defter no. 522, when it lists the three main sources of income of the foundation, gives the donations of three individuals in the following years, 774/1372-73, 776/1374-75 and 792/1390,<sup>10</sup> all dates before the death of Shaykh 'Abdallāh. One might expect to find a Ṣūfī shaykh in a position to attract funding, rather than to provide it.

The Haram documents offer evidence that the zāwiya existed before the death of Shaykh 'Abdallāh. Document no. 84 records the effects of a Turkish woman, living in religious retreat (*mujāwira*) – and probably mortally ill – in the Quarter of the Easterners 'near the zāwiya of my lord the Shaykh 'Abdallāh al-Biṣṭāmī (may God make his saintly life benefit all)'. This was written in Dhū'l-Qa'da 793/October 1391, that is, after all the endowments mentioned above and only a little before the Shaykh's death. It cannot tell us in what form the zāwiya existed. However, Mujīr al-Dīn says that it was in existence before 770/1368-69.<sup>11</sup>

#### ENDOWMENT

The three endowments mentioned above are listed in the Defters nos. 522 and 602.<sup>12</sup> They were three plantations outside Jerusalem, in the case of the last two, with the buildings (*buyūt*) erected on them included. One was in the Biqā' land,<sup>13</sup> the endowment of al-Ḥājī 'Umar b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥādī in 774/1372-73, another, the location of which was not specified,<sup>14</sup> was donated to the zāwiya by Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, the Naqīb, in

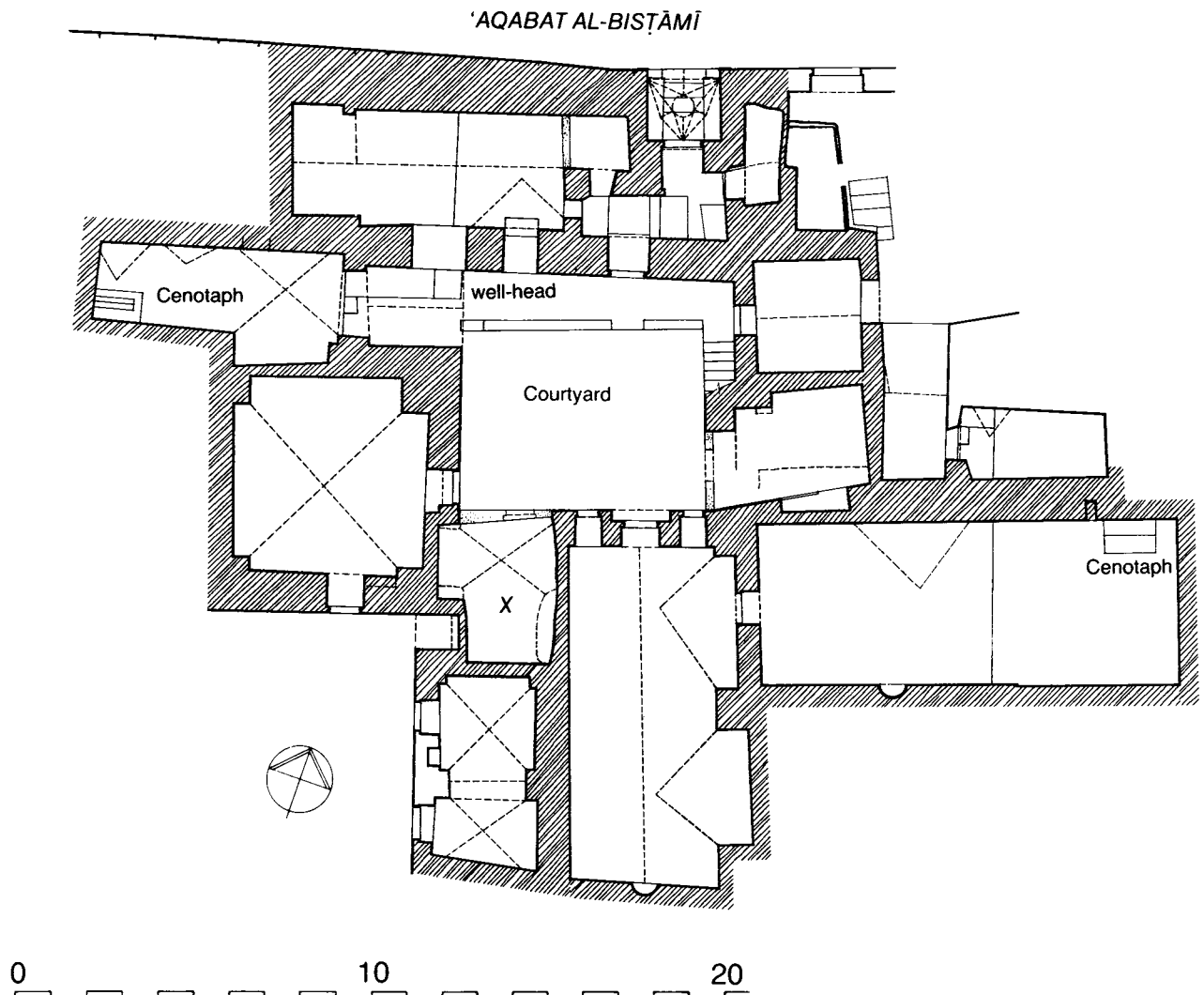


Fig. 39.2 Ground floor plan

776/1374-75, and the third was 'in the Banī Sa'd Quarter' and was the waqf of Muqbil al-Ṭawāshī in 792/1390.<sup>15</sup> This financial support from the two persons of the 'Mamlūk' class, along with, as it appears, one *'ālim* figure, may be compared with the endowment of the Qiramiyya Zāwiya by an amir from Gaza (see p. 476).

It is also recorded, but without any details, that a house in the Zāhiriyya Hill Street in Jerusalem belonged to the waqf of the zāwiya, as did a parcel of land near Ramla. The income from the latter is given as 1,456 aspers.<sup>16</sup>

A Ḥaram document, no. 538, dated 793/1391, records the death of a man 'in a house belonging to the waqf of the Biṣṭāmiyya on the Mawlā Steps (*Darajat al-Mawlā*)'. This house is not mentioned among the assets of the zāwiya in the Defter. A further document, no. 461, speaks of a woman from Ayntab 'residing in the Easterners' Quarter in the house which is the waqf of our late Lord, the Shaykh 'Abdallāh al-Biṣṭāmī.' Note the 'late' – the date of the document is 21 Jumādā II 796/23 April 1394.<sup>17</sup> Does this mean a house endowed *by* or *on* the shaykh? Probably the former, which may to some extent support Mujir al-Dīn's description of 'Abdallāh as the wāqif of the zāwiya, if indeed the zāwiya was the beneficiary.

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

One later shaykh of the zāwiya is mentioned by Mujir al-Dīn, a certain Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Kurdī, who died in 881/1476-77. He was a Shāfi'ī and also held positions in the madrasa and the khānqāh of Saladin.<sup>18</sup>

In 964/1556 the then administrator of the waqf reported

that the roofs of the zāwiya were in need of repair. The estimated cost was 2,000 aspers.<sup>19</sup> Later, in 1018/1609, the inspector of the zāwiya again listed repairs that were required at an estimated cost of 3,300 paras. Features expressly mentioned were 'two rooms (*baytayn*) on the west side', 'an upper chamber (*hujra*)', 'three windows (sing. *tāqa*) in need of wooden shutters (*abwāb*)'.<sup>20</sup>

#### MODERN HISTORY

By 1927 the place had become 'very much neglected' even though the then guardian, Shaykh Mūsā al-Ghusayn, lived with his family above the zāwiya. It is in good order nowadays (*plate 39.7*); apart from the areas around the two graves the building has been adapted for domestic use and is lived in by members of the Ḥammār family.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### STREET FRONTAGE (*plate 39.1*)

The street frontage of the Biṣṭāmiyya consists of a high wall of coursed rubble pierced only by a low semicircular arch, now blocked (*plate 39.2*), at the west end and, at the east end, by the pointed-arched entrance portal of the zāwiya.

##### ENTRANCE (*plate 39.3*)

The entrance portal is built of finely carved ashlar set into the rubble masonry of the street wall. Over the left part runs an unusual cornice carved with a series of protruding *muqarnas* elements; the right-hand part of the cornice is missing (*plate*



Plate 39.1 Street frontage



Plate 39.2 Arch in street façade



Plate 39.3 Entrance portal



Plate 39.4 Vault of entrance portal

39.4). It returns a short distance southwards at the left-hand end. Since this return runs not at right-angles to the rest of the cornice but at an angle of about  $110^\circ$ , it seems likely that the cornice was originally intended for some other building. Indeed, the manner in which the ashlar portal is set into the rubble masonry of the street wall indicates that the whole portal was inserted into that earlier wall. This may have occurred when the shaykh's house was formally established and endowed as a *zāwiya*.

Four steps now lead down to the threshold of the entrance doorway at the back of the portal recess, suggesting that the street level has risen about a metre since the portal was built (see section, *fig.* 39.3). The monolithic lintel over the entrance is supported at each end on small shoulders carved with three tiers of *muqarnas* (*plate* 39.5). Stone benches flank either side of the recess.

The vault over the recess is curious (*plate* 39.4). It springs from three points: the front two springings are tucked in behind the quirked ogee springers of the portal arch and the third springing, decorated with fluting, is in the centre of the rear wall above the doorway. Although much obscured by successive coats of plaster and paint, the triangular vaulting pattern can still be discerned rising to a small hexagonal cupola at the crown (see plan, *fig.* 39.2).

#### INTERIOR (*figs.* 39.2–39.4).

The very irregular arrangement of multifarious rooms varying in size and construction technique gives the impression that the *zāwiya* was established in an existing group of loosely related structures. The architectural detailing and the masonry of the walls is quite heterogeneous, and the floor levels vary considerably (see sections, *figs.* 39.3 and 39.4).

On the assumption that the entrance portal was added at about the time when the *zāwiya* was formally established before 770/1368, as seems likely, it is possible to assign other parts of the building to the same period on the basis of their similar masonries. While the bulk of the visible masonry is rubble, the vestibule, the staircase, the eastern part of the south wall of the courtyard and the splay-face cornice over the whole south wall are built of ashlar dressed in the same manner as those of the portal, as delineated in *fig.* 39.4. The conjunctions between these areas of ashlar and rubble suggest that the rubble walling is earlier than the ashlar, as appears also to be the case on the street frontage (above).

Of the earlier structures two, the northern chamber on the east side and the southern chamber on the west side of the courtyard, belong now to neighbouring houses. Another of the earlier structures, the western chamber on the south side of the courtyard (marked 'X' on the plan), originally opened on it through an arch like a small *iwān* (*fig.* 39.4). At least one of the voussoirs of the arch must have been re-used since it alone has border fillets in the quadrant chamfer moulding around the intrados of the arch. The rubble arch opening into the split-level chamber at the northern end of the west wall of

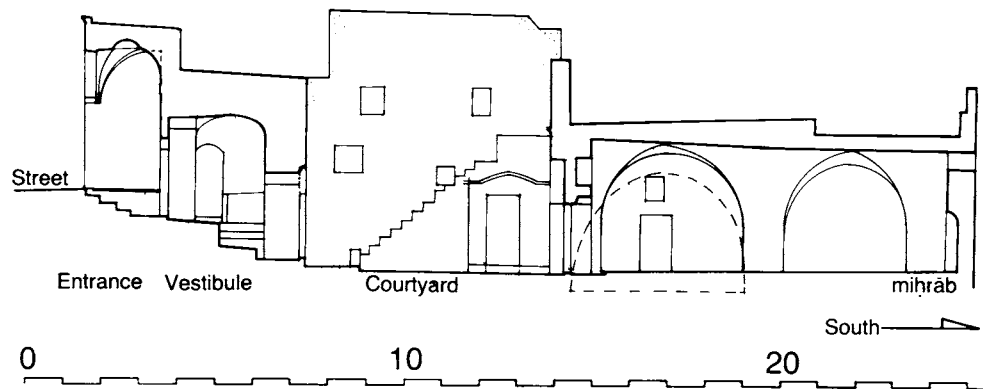


Fig. 39.3 North-south section looking east

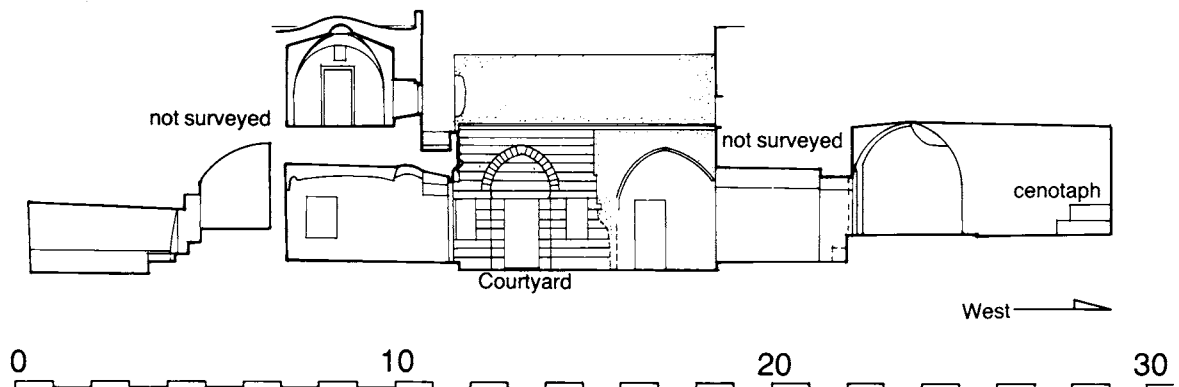


Fig. 39.4 East-west section looking south



Plate 39.5 *Muqarnas* shoulder at left-hand side of entrance door

the courtyard is undecorated. At the back of this chamber is the smaller of the two cenotaphs (plate 39.6).

The later ashlar masonry is more sophisticated. The staircase, built across the front of an earlier room, has an arch under it to maintain access to the room. This arch has an oddly-shaped head (fig. 39.3) decorated with a splay-face moulding in a style strangely reminiscent of Crusader architecture. Nonetheless, the quality of the carving is indifferent, just as one might expect in this comparatively insignificant and impecunious foundation of the eighth/fourteenth century.

A symmetrical arrangement (plate 39.7, fig. 39.4) of two rectangular windows flanking a horseshoe-arched recess contains the doorway leading to two deep chambers at the

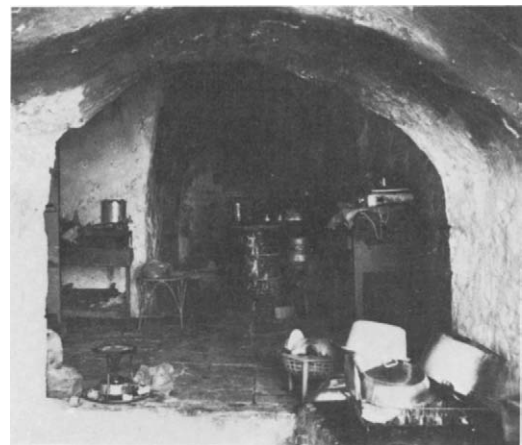


Plate 39.6 Upper level of split-level chamber at north end of west side of courtyard

south-east corner of the complex. Both chambers have a *mibrāb*. The eastern one, divided by a fine timber screen of some antiquity (plate 39.8) houses the larger of the two cenotaphs (plate 39.9). The present inhabitants of the Bistāmiyya claim that it marks the grave of Abū Yazīd al-Bistāmi himself, and that the smaller one in the north-western chamber is his wife's. These attributions are of course apocryphal; Abū Yazīd is buried in Iran. Chances are that the graves belong to later shaykhs of the *zāwiya* buried according to custom in the local home of their order.

Some modern alterations have been made: in the west room on the south side and in the south room on the east side of the courtyard the vaulting has been hacked away, probably to



raise the practical ceiling height; and the *iwān* arch and the arch under the stair have been largely built up to form doorways more appropriate to the bedrooms which their associated chambers have now become.

A well-head (marked on the plan, *fig. 39.2*) over a rainwater cistern is conveniently located beside the present kitchen at the entrance to the vaulted chamber at the north-west corner of the courtyard.



Plate 39.7 Doorway at east end of south side of courtyard



Plate 39.8 Eastern chamber at south-east corner of complex, looking east



Plate 39.9 Cenotaph

## Notes

- 1 Mujīr, ii, 48.
- 2 Sijill 57, 377 (3), and Sijill 58, 317 (3).
- 3 Sijill 90, 294 (1), and Defter 522 (İpsirli, 24).
- 4 Facs. of a survey of the city '... made in order to ascertain the names of streets, etc. ...', by Ch. Sandreczki, under 8th day (6 May 1865), in C.W. Wilson, *Ordinance Survey of Jerusalem*, London, 1865.
- 5 See M.H. Burgoyne, *The Architecture of Islamic Jerusalem*, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Jerusalem, 1976, no. 81.
- 6 For these biographical details, see Mujīr, ii, 162; *Durar*, ii, 364; *Inbā'*, i, 442-3; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, i, 442.
- 7 *Daw.*, v, 51-2. He was a friend of Ibn Ḥajar, see *Inbā'*, *loc. cit.*, and ii, 370.
- 8 Mujīr, ii, 157.
- 9 Mujīr, ii, 162.
- 10 Ipsirli, 24 and 37.
- 11 Mujīr, ii, 48. Mujīr al-Dīn also refers to a Bistāmiyya zāwiya located in the Ḥaram to the east of the Dome of the Rock, which in his time was not in use (Mujīr, ii, 23). In 1083/1672 Evliya Çelebī reported a Bistāmiyya 'monastery' at the Golden Gate ('above the Gate of Mercy') 'where a magnificent *zīkr* is held every Thursday

- night' (tr. of St. H. Stephen, *QDAP*, ix, 1942, 103). Inexplicably, the translator identified the Gate of Mercy here with the Bāb Ḥiṭṭa or the Bāb al-Asbāt.
- 12 Defter 602, 459 and Defter 522 = Ipsirli, 24 and 37, i.e. the three endowments are listed twice. The latter reference gives the fuller details.
- 13 This is not a sure reading. Cf. the various versions in Ipsirli, *loc. cit.*, and Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 358.
- 14 Waqf property of the Bistāmiyya Zāwiya was the north boundary of land in the Sarara land outside the Damascus Gate, see Sijill 30, 146 (2). Which of the three is intended is not clear.
- 15 Defter 602, 459, and Defter 522 = Ipsirli, 24.
- 16 Defter 522 = Ipsirli, 37.
- 17 The wording and the dates of Ḥaram nos. 84 and 461 confirm the death date of Shaykh 'Abdallāh as given by Mujīr al-Dīn, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba and Ibn Ḥajar in the *Inbā'*, and show that the 'Muḥarram 785' in Ibn Ḥajar's *Durar* is an error.
- 18 Mujīr, ii, 197-8.
- 19 Sijill 33, 56 (3).
- 20 Sijill 90, 294 (1).

# 40 AL-LU'LU'IYYA

## اللؤلؤية

Endowed in 775/1373-74  
Madrasa of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' Ghāzī  
Modern name: Dār al-Asmar

### I LOCATION (fig. 40.1)

In the centre of the Old City on the west side of Tārīq al-Qiramī just south of the Ayyūbid Badriyya Madrasa in the medieval quarter called Khuṭṭ Marzubān.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 40.3)

The site comprises two structurally separated complexes, each served by its own entrance from the street. To the right (north) a modest arched portal leads into the four-*iwān* madrasa and its appurtenances; to the left, a second doorway leads into a long series of vaulted chambers, which we believe to be older structures later annexed to the Lu'lu'iyya complex. Their historical connection follows from the upper floor of the madrasa being extended without a break across part of the vaulted chambers. We describe the madrasa proper and its adjuncts on pages 426 to 430, and the vaulted chambers on pages 432 to 433.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

According to Mujīr al-Dīn the Lu'lu'iyya Madrasa is situated in the Marzubān district of Jerusalem 'in the vicinity of the Bath of 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Baṣīr, on the north side'. As the precise location of the Bath is not known, this is not especially useful. However, Mujīr al-Dīn also states that the Badriyya Madrasa is 'close' to the Lu'lu'iyya,<sup>1</sup> and the Badriyya, situated on the west side of the present Qiramī Street, is known from its inscription.<sup>2</sup>

#### DATE

We learn from Mujīr al-Dīn that 'the madrasa was in existence in the year 781 [1379-80].<sup>3</sup> We have no date for the construction of the madrasa, but the Ottoman defters inform us that the endowment document was dated 775/1373-74,<sup>4</sup> so it is likely that the madrasa was built around about that date.

#### FOUNDER

The madrasa was endowed by the Amīr Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' Ghāzī, the freedman of the Sultan al-Ashraf Sha'bān b. Ḥusayn. This sultan came to the throne at the age of ten, and after a reign of just under fourteen years was deposed and executed in 778/1377. Lu'lu' lived on to 787/1385-86.<sup>5</sup> Two Ḥaram documents, dating from the 1390s, mention a tenement (in David Street [quarter], Khuṭṭ Dā'ūd) belonging to a Lu'lu' Ghāzī *al-Tawāshī*.<sup>6</sup> If this is the same man as the founder, the use of that term might suggest that Lu'lu' was a eunuch, as would his personal name. Yet, as will be seen later, the Jerusalem Sijills refer to the descendants of the founder. Biographical details on the life of the founder are wanting. He appears not to have been of

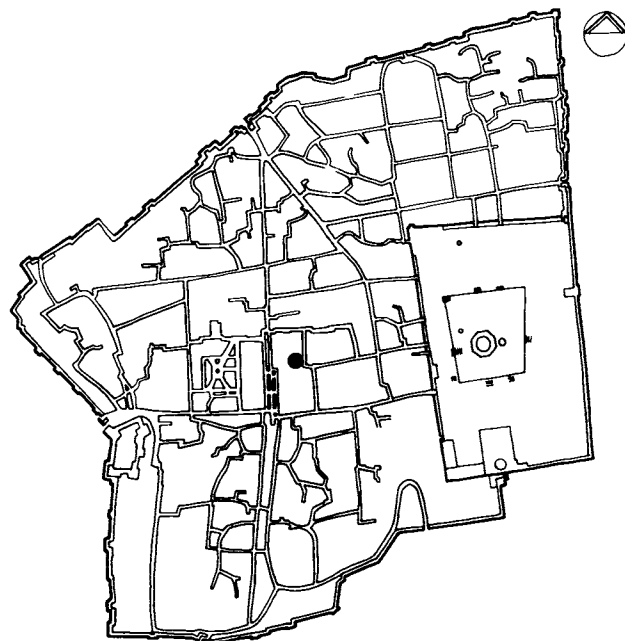


Fig. 40.1 Location plan

sufficient eminence to warrant mention in chronicles or biographical dictionaries.

#### ENDOWMENT

The defters make it clear that the endowment of Lu'lu' Ghāzī was not only for his madrasa, but also supported a *zāwiya* (see p. 434) and a *ribāt*. The main source of income was from the village of Bayt Sāwir, situated between Jerusalem and Hebron, which was wholly given over to the maintenance of the institutions. Defter 522 records the annual rental value of the village as 2,000 aspers, but in Defter 602 it is 1,000 aspers. Other small properties are mentioned. The tenement in Jerusalem has already been mentioned. In 941/1535 the administrator of the waqf leased for two years a plot of land in the Zuqāq al-'Izām (Bones Lane?) in Jerusalem for a down payment of 40 paras.<sup>7</sup> By 1021/1612 we find that the administrators of 'ruined houses' in the Zuqāq al-'Izām, referred to as the waqf of Lu'lu' al-Ghāzī, are settling accounts with the lessees for the sums the latter have spent on repairs.<sup>8</sup> A *ḥākūra* (garden plot) belonging to the waqf of Lu'lu' Ghāzī is mentioned in a sijill entry of 1066/1655-56.<sup>9</sup> These and other properties are referred to summarily in a document of 985/1577 as 'the income of the madrasa's waqf from Bayt Sāwir and the shops and houses (*dūr*), etc.'<sup>10</sup>

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

In a sijill entry dated 985/1577 the *mudarris* of the Lu'lu'iyya is named as Shaykh Abū 'l-'Ināyat b. Abī 'l-Hudā al-Ghazzī.<sup>11</sup> What is interesting is that he is also acting as agent for the two daughters, Sutayta and Laṭīfa, of Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī, who are described as 'the administrators of the waqf of their ancestor (*jadd*),<sup>12</sup> Lu'lu' Ghāzī'. The account presented by him shows that he received from the village of Bayt Sāwir 35 mudds of wheat and 20 of barley, which, when sold, raised 215 paras. Of these, 38 went on administrative expenses connected with the distribution of money to beneficiaries, 40 were spent on repair of the *zāwiya* (see p. 434), and 11 were spent on maintenance of waqf property (*'imārat raqabat al-waqf*), leaving a surplus of 126.

Jerusalem sijill no. 68, dating from between 995-997/1587-1589, contains a schedule of the stipends of the officials and beneficiaries of the religious institutions there.<sup>13</sup> The Lu'lu'iyya *Zāwiya* is not mentioned separately but under the madrasa heading are mentioned just four individuals.<sup>14</sup> Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī is described as the administrator and the rent collector. His appointment dated from 975/1567-68. As we have already

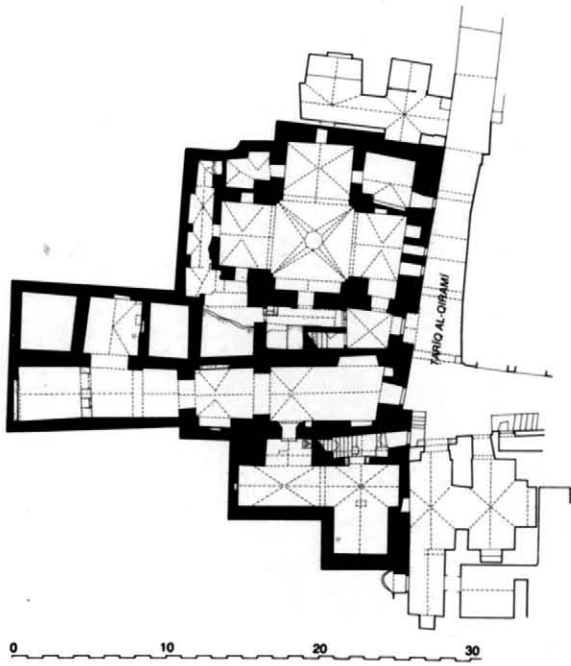


Fig. 40.2 Site plan

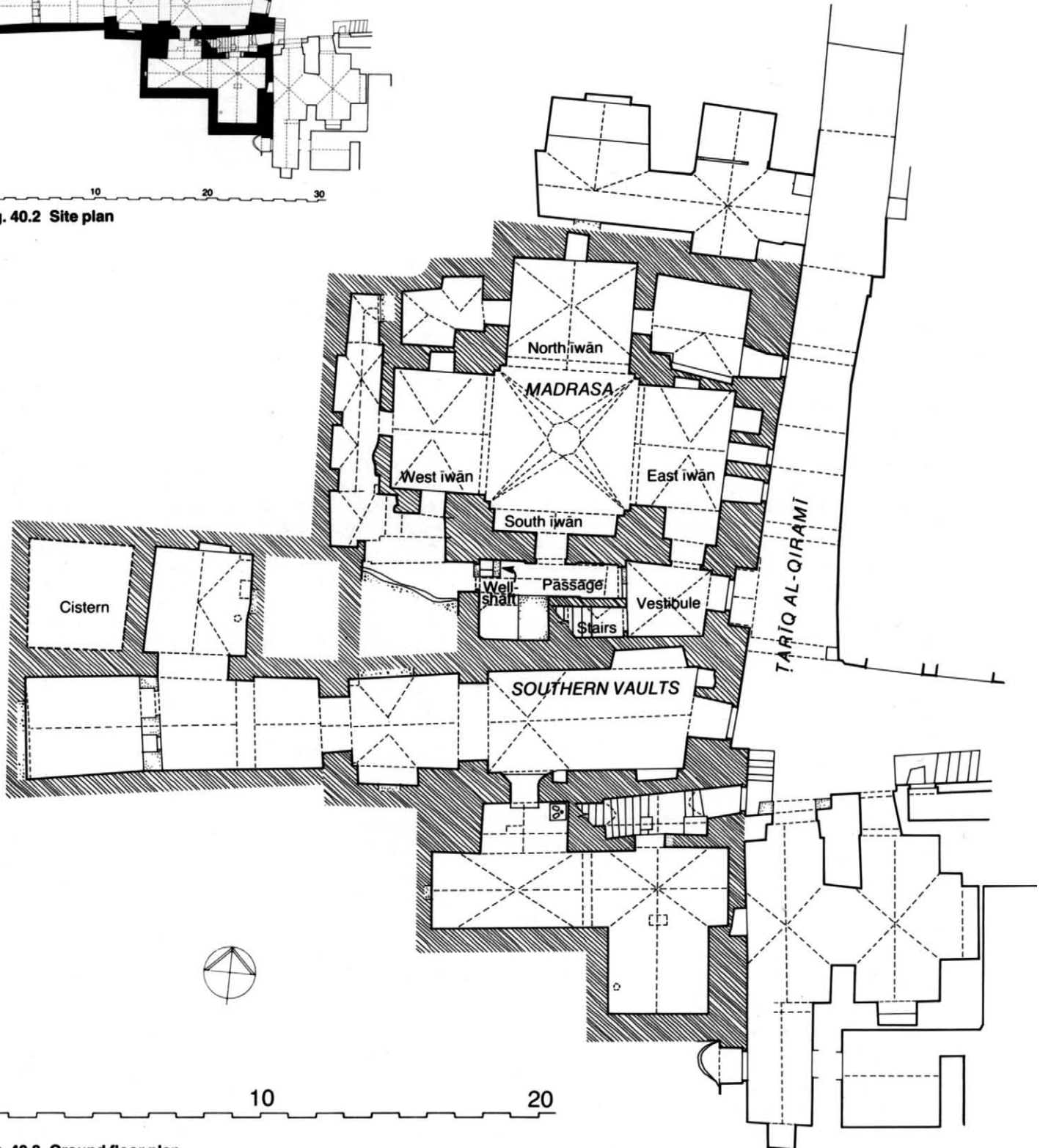


Fig. 40.3 Ground floor plan

seen, according to other information his daughters were already the titular administrators by 985/1577. His daily rate is not given, but two others named received one asper daily and the fourth person, called administrator (*sic*) and *bawwāb*, received two aspers each day.

#### MODERN HISTORY

The modern history of the madrasa is not well documented. In the caption to a photograph taken in 1854 of the façade of the Lu'lu'iyya (*plate* 40.1) Auguste Salzmann called it 'l'Auberge d'Allemagne', without further details.<sup>15</sup> Nowadays the deep vaults to the south of the madrasa are in use as a haberdashery shop and store. The madrasa, when we first surveyed it in the summer of 1982, was littered with piles of debris (see *plate* 40.7) and in the absence of an adequate drainage system a makeshift dam across the west *iwān* retained (more or less) the viscid noisome contents of a cesspool fed by a latrine on the upper floor. Early in 1983 a new drain was installed, the floor of the madrasa cleared, blocked openings re-opened and walls and vaults cement-rendered under the supervision of the Awqāf Administration's Department of Islamic Archaeology. Following this work we were able to extend our survey to include previously inaccessible areas.

The upper floor is now used as a dwelling by members of the Asmar family.

### IV ARCHITECTURE

#### THE MADRASA

##### (i) Masonry and stonework

The first indication that an earlier structure once occupied the site on which the Lu'lu'iyya now stands is to be found in the large, roughly dressed masonry that forms the lowest three courses of the façade (*fig.* 40.6, *plate* 40.2). Although the presence of a different type of masonry in the lowest courses does not necessarily denote the remains of an earlier building (above, p. 439), there is reason to think that it does so here. The east wall which forms the street façade is unusually thick (1.54m) and its thickness seems to have been determined by the previous existence of the three lowest courses; while construction of both the main entrance and the door to the southern vaults has clearly involved breaking through these lowest courses (*plate* 40.3). What that earlier structure might have been is not known, though its eastern boundary appears to coincide with that of the present construction.

Above the earlier masonry the façade is composed of much smaller stones. The dressing of these stones is very distinctive, each one having one or occasionally two panels of picked rustication bordered by a plain marginal draft (*plate* 40.3). Around the window and door openings the masonry is dressed smoothly, which suggests either that the rusticated stones are in secondary use and the masons cut only the more elaborately shaped stones around the openings or, alternatively, that the rusticated stones were dressed by one group of masons and the smooth stones around openings by another. Similarly rusticated masonry found only 100m from the Lu'lu'iyya in the chevet of a partly rebuilt church (*plate* 40.4), possibly the twelfth-century Church of St Julian, confirms that the rusticated masonry may be in secondary use. The same sort of rusticated masonry in the north wall of the nearly contemporaneous Hanbaliyya Madrasa (781/1380) is used above two courses of much larger stones, as at the Lu'lu'iyya.

A few odd pieces of this masonry are found in the interior of the Lu'lu'iyya in places that were originally plastered over. This does not mean to say that there was a surplus of stones available for re-use. Damaged or otherwise unsuitable stones, either newly-cut or re-used, could well have been deemed inappropriate for use on the façade and relegated to the general construction of interior walls and vaults. There are, however, several stones without the distinctive rustication in the upper part of the façade, which suggests that the stones were being re-used and that the supply had been exhausted by that stage.<sup>16</sup>



Plate 40.1 Street façade in 1854, looking south (after Salzmann)

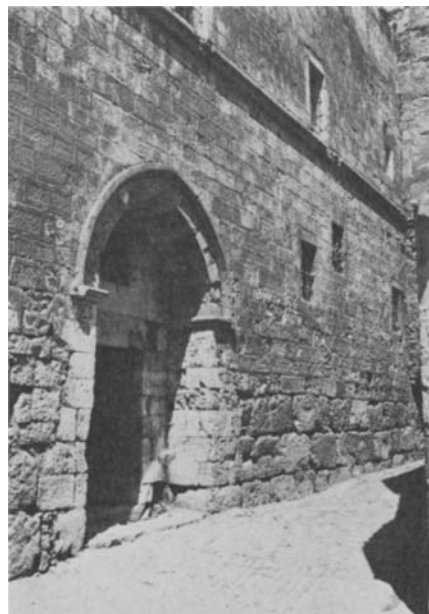


Plate 40.2 Street façade from south-east



Plate 40.3 South end of street façade

In contrast to the exterior, the interior is built largely of poor quality masonry. This generally consists of roughly squared stones laid in regular courses, originally all covered with a coat of plaster. Openings are spanned by simple arches of crude workmanship or by thin lintels, most of which have cracked. Yet in places where the stonework was not plastered it is of a high quality. The quoins and frontal arches of the four *iwāns* are of well-cut ashlars as are two doorways in the passage behind the south *iwān* (below, p. 428). These doorways have flat, undercut relieving arches over their lintels similar to those over the windows in the façade.

(ii) *Composition of the Façade* (fig. 40.6, plates 40.2, 40.3 and 40.5).

The tall and extensive street façade is imposing despite the simplicity of its decoration and its partial obstruction by strainer arches built in 1976 to resist an alarming outward lean that the façade had developed, possibly as a result of the 1927 earthquake. A continuous quirked ogee moulding separates the ground floor from the upper floor. This moulding provides a clue to the extent of the complex. At the north (right-hand) end of the façade it returns (plate 40.6) to include a small room spanning the street (marked 'A' on the upper floor plan, fig. 40.5). At the south end it runs across the entrance to the vaults south of the madrasa and continues half-way across a buttress-like tower built into the re-entrant angle of the street corner. A simpler cavetto moulding forms a cornice over the upper storey. This too extends half-way across the tower at the south



Plate 40.4 Masonry in chevet of Church of St Julian

end but is now missing from the north end of the façade.

The composition of the façade is asymmetrical. At the left (south) end, adjacent to the corner tower, a doorway surmounted by a window opens into the southern vaults. This doorway has been altered relatively recently; its original form may be seen in a photograph taken by Creswell in 1920 (plate 40.3). Next is the main feature of the façade: the entrance portal. It is a simple pointed-arched recess decorated with re-used marble impostes (see above, p. 95) and a splay-face moulding around the extrados of the red and cream-coloured *ablaq* voussoirs. At the rear of the recess the doorway, also built in *ablaq* masonry, is surmounted in the tympanum of the arch by a rectangular grilled window lighting a vestibule. Beyond the portal are two windows at different levels opening into the east *iwān* of the madrasa; the higher of these is now obstructed by one of the modern arches. There is a third window, which opens into a room in the north-east corner of the site.

Above the quirked ogee moulding the fenestration (plate 40.5) reflects the disposition and importance of the first floor rooms. Above the portal and the door to the left are two pairs of rectangular mullioned windows each surmounted by a circular oculus and, above that, a slit window (one of which is now blocked); these all light an important reception hall that once enjoyed a fine view to the east (plate 40.19). To the right are two single rectangular windows of diminishing size lighting rooms 'B' and 'C' (fig. 40.5).

(iii) *Ground floor*

The modest pointed-arched entrance leads into a cross-vaulted vestibule. On the right (north) side of this there is a plain door leading into the east *iwān* of the madrasa, which comprised a central courtyard roofed by a folded cross-vault with an octagonal oculus at the crown. The west, north and east sides of the courtyard are confronted by deep *iwāns*, but on the south side there is only a shallow recess, with no *mibrāb* but a doorway in the centre (plate 40.7). This door, as will appear from its description given below, was evidently the main entrance to the madrasa, rather than the door entering the east *iwān* from the vestibule. Irregularly-shaped chambers fill the north-east and north-west corners between the other *iwāns*.

To enter a madrasa through the *qibla* wall, dispensing with a *mibrāb*, was quite out of the ordinary, and is hard to explain except by exigencies of the site and the necessity of adapting the accommodation to pre-existing structures. The *qibla iwān*, usually the deepest but here used simply for an entrance, was too shallow for assembly for tuition or prayers. Teaching must have been conducted in one or more of the other three *iwāns*.



Plate 40.5 Street façade



Plate 40.6 Moulding returning across street at north end of façade



Plate 40.7 Courtyard of madrasa, looking south



This can never have been very satisfactory since the whole madrasa was lit and ventilated only by the roof light over the central courtyard and windows in the eastern *iwān*. That *iwān* was lit, before 1976, by two windows set at different levels in the east wall, the higher central, the lower toward the right (*plate 40.8*). To the left, where for symmetry a third window might have been expected, there is only a deep niche. If that was once a window no trace of it remains in the outer face of the wall.

Returning now to the vestibule we may explore the structures which, on the south and west sides, restricted the area available to the planners of the madrasa.

Facing the outer portal, the west wall of the vestibule has been radically altered in modern times. The present doorway on the west side (*plate 40.9*) gives access through a short passage into a staircase leading up to the first floor. The doorway is not original. The original doorway was in the right half of the wall, and its lintel is still in position. Except for a small window-like aperture, that has now been blocked up. It gave access to a barrel-vaulted passage along the south wall of the madrasa. Half-way along the passage, on the right side, is the well-built doorway (*plate 40.10*) which leads into the south *iwān* of the madrasa. The carefully dressed and jointed jambs and lintel of this doorway (surmounted by a joggled keystone between two cantilever stones relieving the lintel) and the cavetto mouldings on either side show that it belongs to the original construction and was in fact the main entrance to the madrasa.



Plate 40.8 East wall of east *iwān*



Plate 40.9 Vestibule



Plate 40.10 Entrance door to south *iwān* in north wall of passage

The far end of the passage is partly obstructed by an obtrusive rubble shaft (*plate 40.11*) which connects an underlying cistern to a well-head in the upper floor. The shaft is obviously a later insertion, possibly replacing an original well-head at this level. Beyond it a doorway, (*plate 40.11, fig. 40.7*) constructed of ashlar masonry with a flat relieving arch over the lintel like the main entrance to the madrasa, leads into a vaulted chamber (now largely filled with debris) and on to an irregular arrangement of vaults and arches (*plate 40.12*). These appear to belong to an earlier structure. They extend along the west side of the madrasa past an undecorated doorway into the west *iwān* and on to a blocked opening which apparently led to a second staircase at the north-west corner of the site, giving access to the upper floor. Subsequent alterations made in adapting the building to domestic use (see below) have obliterated all remains of the staircase, except that the vaulting of the passage rises eastwards towards the blocked opening as if to roof such a staircase (*plate 40.13*) and the vaulting of the north-west corner room has been kept low as if to carry it. A staircase in this position would have supplemented the main staircase from the vestibule, permitting direct access from the madrasa to the upper floor through the doorway in the west *iwān*. In this way students could come and go between the school and their lodgings on the upper floor, while the founder reached his private apartments by the main staircase. (*iv Mezzanine (fig. 40.4)*)

That main staircase serving the upper floor was formerly entered by an opening (which no longer exists) close to the near (east) end of the passage, where its position is indicated by a small transverse excision in the barrel vault over the bottom stair. It lay conveniently close to the main doorway into the madrasa.

The staircase led up to a large landing now roofed with steel beams and concrete – a late-nineteenth or twentieth-century technique.<sup>17</sup> Presumably it was originally vaulted, though the floor-to-floor height between the landing and the courtyard above is only about 2.5m – a very shallow space in which to construct a traditional vault to span the 2.93 x 2.91m landing.

A simple doorway leads off the landing into a cross-vaulted chamber to the west. This chamber is said by local inhabitants to contain a tomb, but when the debris that filled it was cleared out in May 1983 no trace of a tomb was found.

To the east of the landing a very low and narrow L-shaped room sits over the passageway below (shown in section, *fig. 40.7*). The entrance to this room was presumably off the



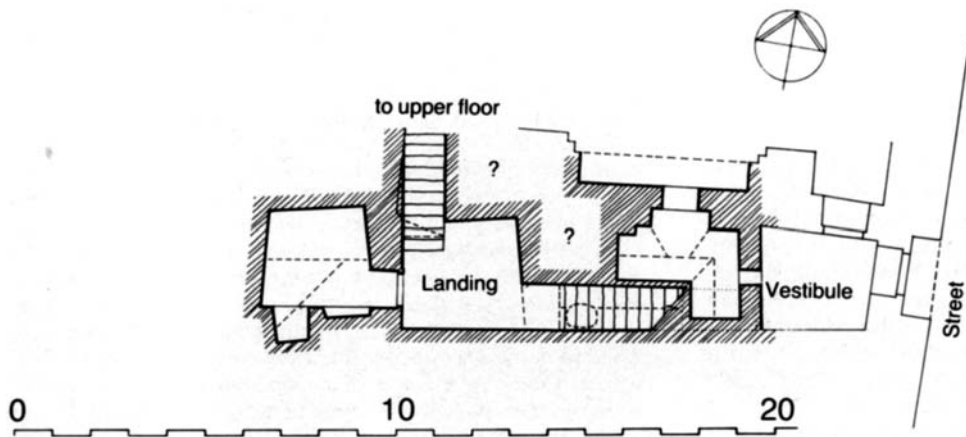


Fig. 40.4 Mezzanine floor plan

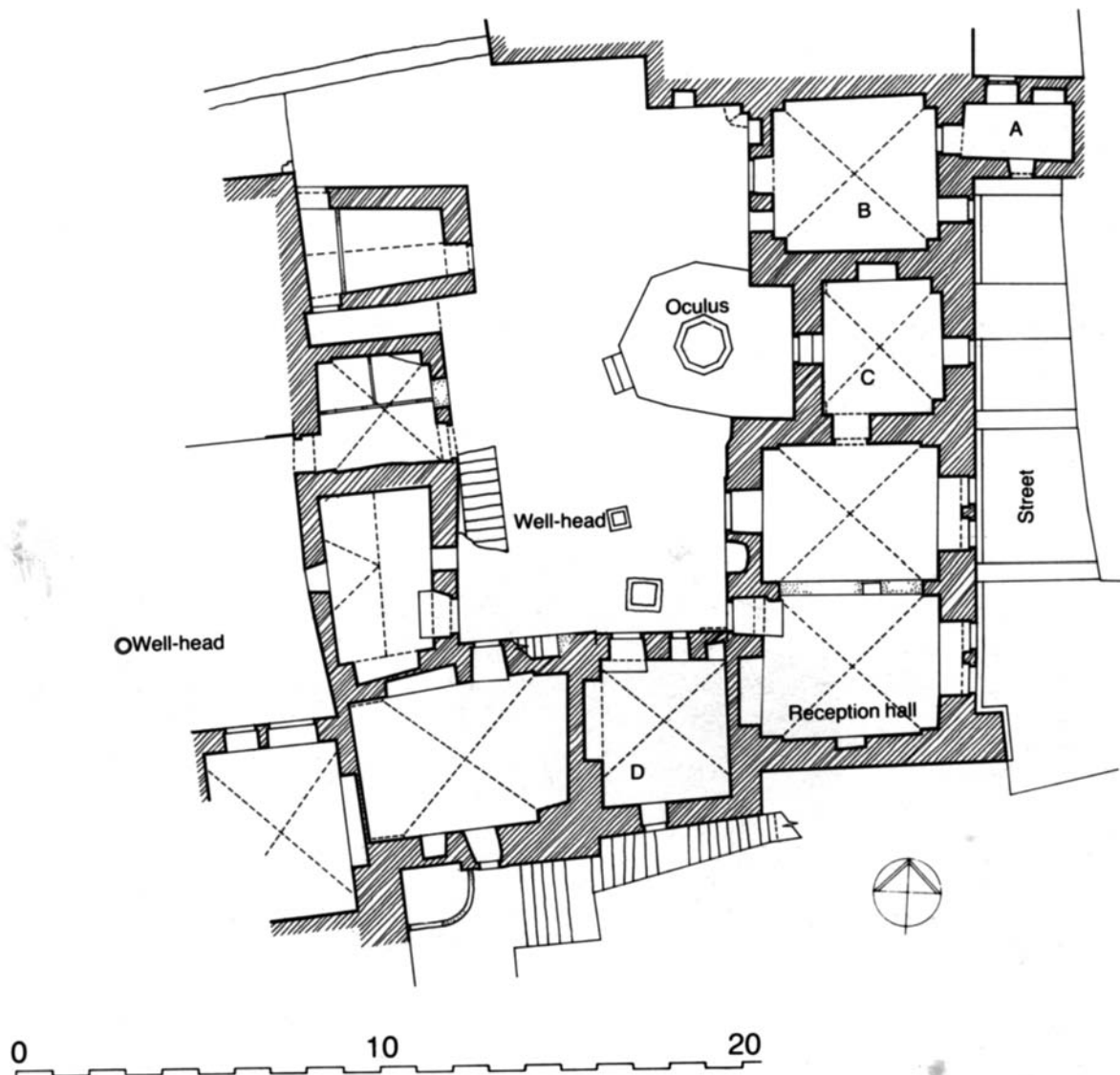


Fig. 40.5 Upper floor plan

landing although there is no sign of a doorway there. Until it was blocked in 1983 that room could be entered through a high-level opening in the rear wall of the *qibla iwān* (see *plate* 40.7). There was also a tiny window opening just under the vault of the vestibule (*plate* 40.9).

(v) *Upper floor* (*fig.* 40.5)

From the mezzanine landing a flight of eleven steps leads northwards to the main upper floor. Of the original accommodation on this level only the eastern range overlooking the street survives intact. The rooms on the north, west and south sides all appear to have been rebuilt, though their arrangement around an open courtyard probably follows the original layout. The octagonal oculus of the madrasa opens in an irregular masonry plinth (see *figs.* 40.5, 40.7 and 40.8) on the east side of the courtyard, which is now filled with a jumble of concrete-block walls and shacks (*plate* 40.14).

At the north side of the courtyard there is nothing but the remains of the springing of a vault in the north-east corner to establish the former existence of structures there.

Of the rooms on the west side only the two southern ones appear possibly to be more or less original; the others have been largely rebuilt. The entrance to the southernmost room is situated, like that of the western room of the south range, over the staircase landing. The staircase itself arrives at the upper courtyard beside the doorway of the central room on the west side. This room is now divided to form latrines and a corridor leading to a western courtyard surrounded by a further group of rooms, not included in the survey. The western courtyard and its associated rooms lie beyond the west boundary of the madrasa on the ground floor but it is possible that they once served as ancillary accommodation for the madrasa. They can be reached now only by way of the main staircase. The architectural style of these buildings is Ottoman but here too there are signs of considerable rebuilding. In this western courtyard there is another well-head, formed from a hollowed-out column base (*plate* 40.15), over a second cistern located just north of the deepest of the 'southern vaults'.

On the south side of the principal courtyard there are two cross-vaulted chambers. The eastern one originally opened on the courtyard as an *iwān*. The springer and two voussoirs of the frontal arch survive, along with traces of a splay-face moulding around its extrados at the south-east corner of the courtyard (*plate* 40.16). At some time the arch collapsed and was replaced by a new wall, the upper part of which is formed in concrete.

The room immediately to the west of that former *iwān* has a narrow flight of steps cut into its north wall to give access to the roof. The lowest steps are missing, as are others higher up where a new window has been opened (*plate* 40.17).

The east range consists of three handsome rooms and the small chamber (A) spanning the street. Whatever the original purpose of this small chamber over the street was, it now serves as a bathroom. Windows with low sills in both north and south walls (seen in section, *fig.* 40.6) allow full advantage to be taken of the lively views up and down the street, perhaps originally from behind *masbrabiyya* screens. Access to it is from the north room of the east range. Built into the north wall of this room there is a re-used stone decorated with a scallop shell motif (*plate* 40.18) reminiscent of the tiny squinches often used in Ayyūbid dome construction but here carved on a flat surface with a 'broken arch' frame of the type often found in the rear walls of water fountains. Its original purpose is unknown.

The central room of the east range, entered from the oculus plinth, is set back from the line of the other rooms to allow clearance for the folded cross-vault of the madrasa, which rises higher than the other vaults. Its floor is at the same level as the others in the east range, requiring three steps down to it from the plinth. There is a door in the south-west corner, placed so as to open on the centre of the adjoining room to the south. This latter room comprised two cross-vaulted bays each lit by a double window with central mullion. It was entered from the courtyard by a door on the axis of the northern bay; and the door (mentioned above) in the centre of the north wall gave access to the adjoining room. A modern partition now divides the two halves of the room and has necessitated the opening of a new doorway to connect the southern half to the courtyard.

By analogy with other roughly contemporaneous Mamlūk foundations like the Manjakiyya (above, pp. 384-398) and the Ṭashtamuriyya (below, pp. 460-474) it seems likely that this east range of rooms served as the residence of the founder, the Amīr Lu'lu' Ghāzī. The double-bayed room with its anteroom to the north and its fine view of the Dome of the Rock (*plate* 40.19) would have been an appropriate place for him to receive his guests. As for the rest of the upper floor, it is now too much altered for it to be possible to deduce how it might have been used originally, whether for accommodating students and teachers attached to the madrasa or as part of the founder's residence or as a combination of both.



Plate 40.11 Passage leading west past well-shaft



Plate 40.12 Earlier structures in south-west corner



Plate 40.13 Rising vault at north end of passage

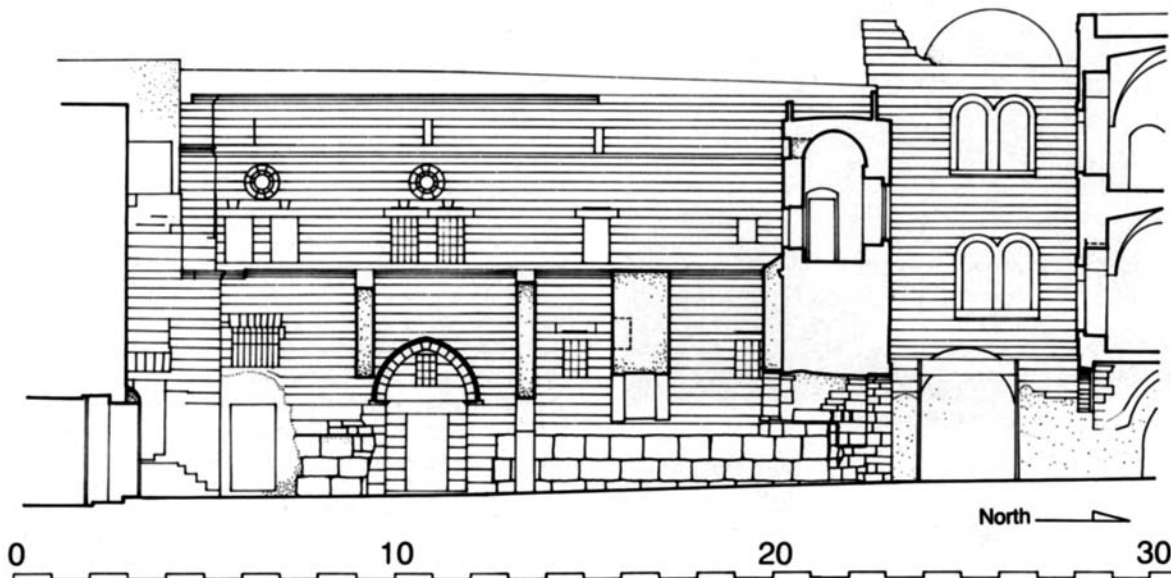


Fig. 40.6 Street façade

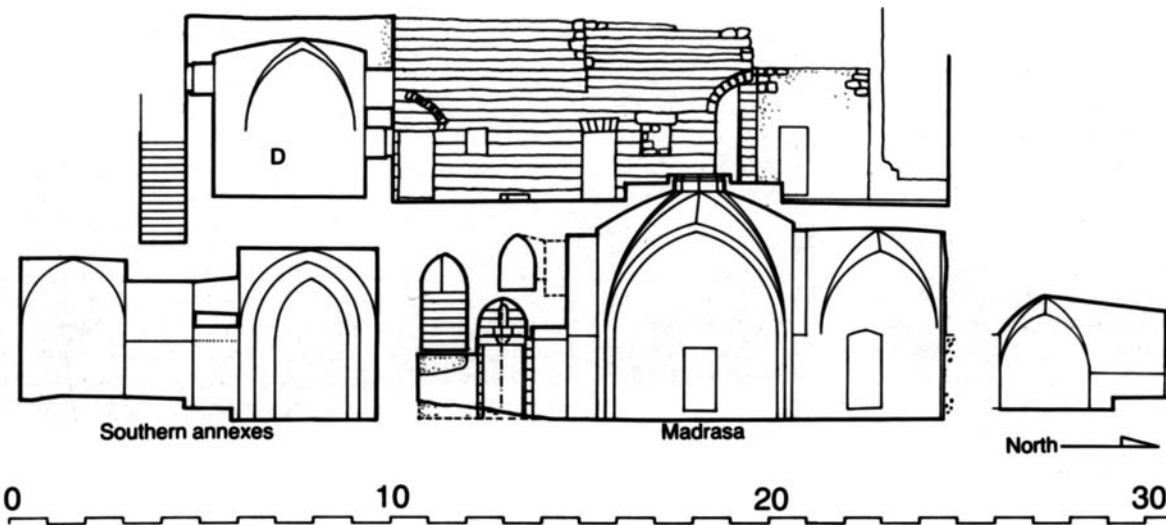


Fig. 40.7 South-north section looking west

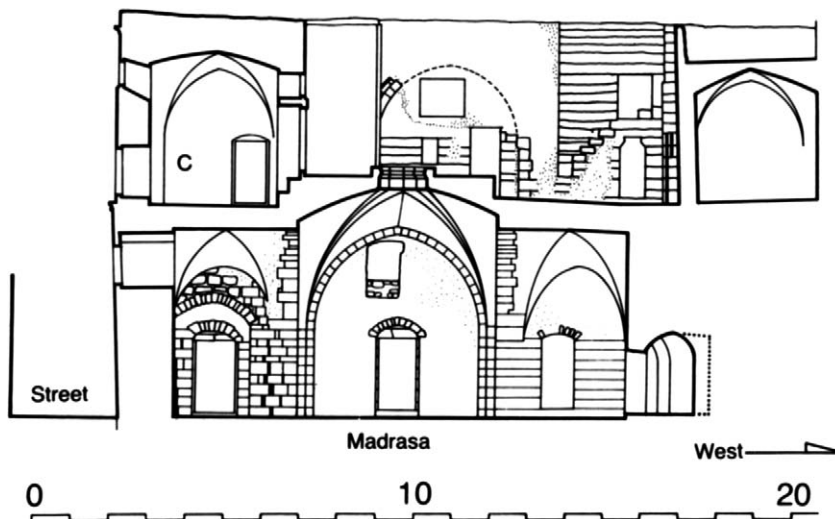


Fig. 40.8 East-west section looking south



Plate 40.14 Upper floor: general view to east

*SOUTHERN VAULTS (fig. 40.3)*

*(i) Street vaults*

The main series of vaults to the south of the madrasa extends 25.5m westwards exactly on the alignment of the present street which leads eastwards from them to join the valley street, *Ṭarīq al-Wād*, opposite the west entrance to the *Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn* (see location plan, *fig. 40.1*). At the west end of the last vault there is what appears to be an arched opening, now blocked (*plate 40.20*). If this series of vaults were to continue for a further 26m westwards it would open into the *Sūq al-Khāwājāt*, one of the parallel triple markets.<sup>18</sup> It is conceivable therefore that these vaults are built on the line of some much earlier street whose existence can be detected only in their alignment. Nothing can be deduced from their construction since all are plastered.

*(ii) Vaulted chambers to the south*

A further two vaulted chambers to the south are entered from



Plate 40.15 Upper floor: well-head in western courtyard



Plate 40.16 Upper floor: remains of arch at east end of south wall



Plate 40.17 Upper floor: steps at west end of south wall

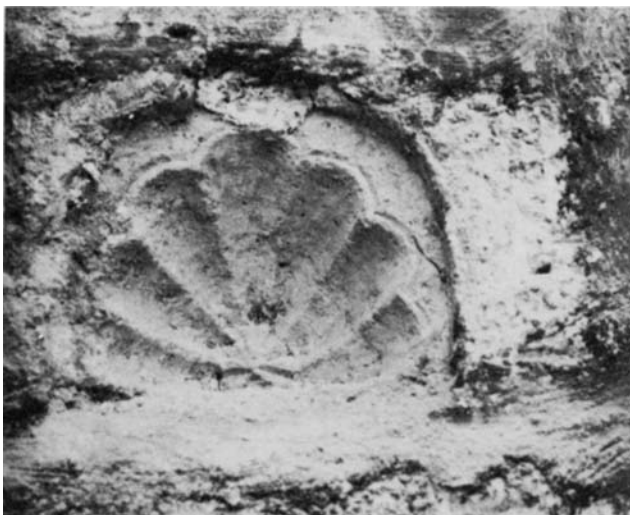


Plate 40.18 Re-used fragment in north room of upper floor

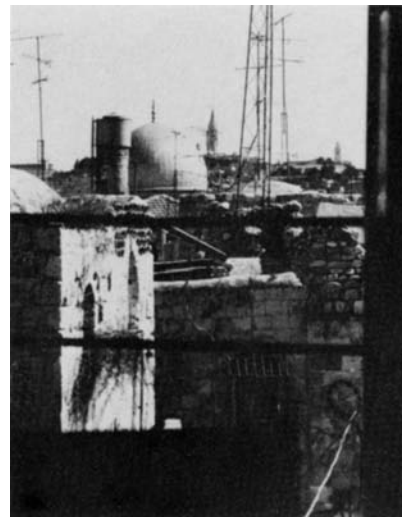


Plate 40.19 Upper floor: view from east range towards Dome of the Rock

the first of the street vaults (*plate 40.21*). Both are solidly built with squared masonry walls and rubble cross vaults; an ashlar transverse arch separates the two vaults. Cutting across the north end of the more easterly of these chambers is a staircase leading up from the street to various dwellings to the south and west of the Lu'lu'iyya, built partly over the 'street vaults'. This staircase was obviously built after the vault it cuts through. It was probably built after the Lu'lu'iyya also, for at the upper level it runs against the wall of the room (D) in the upper floor of the madrasa (*plan, fig. 40.5*).

The part these southern vaults played in the running of the



Plate 40.20 West end of 'street vaults'



Plate 40.21 Southern vaults, looking west, with entrance from street vaults on right

## Notes

- 1 Mujir, ii, 46-7.
- 2 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 42.
- 3 Mujir, ii, 47.
- 4 Defter 522 = Ipsirli, 36; Defter 602, 457.
- 5 Mujir, *loc. cit.*
- 6 Haram no. 162, dated Ramaḍān 795/July 1393, contains the testimony of a woman from 'Ajlūn taken in the *rab'* of Lu'lu', and Haram no. 747, dated Dhū'l-Ḥijja 796/October 1394, has the testimony of a woman from Ḥamā.
- 7 Sijill 4, no. 4326.
- 8 Sijill 92, 350 (1).
- 9 Sijill 151, 368.
- 10 Sijill 57, 349 (2).
- 11 Sijill 57, 464 (8).
- 12 To be precise, the phrase 'their ancestor' appears only in the authorisation to act as agent (*taawkil*), see note 10 above, where it may possibly be an error. In Sijill 57, 464 (8) the two women are called 'the administrators of the aforementioned madrasa and of the waqfs of Lu'lu' Ghāzi'.
- 13 Sijill 68, 17-65.
- 14 Sijill 68, 46.

- 15 A. Salzmann, *Jérusalem. Etude et reproduction photographique de la Ville Sainte depuis l'époque Judaique jusqu' à nos jours*, Paris, 1856, ii, fortieth plate.
- 16 Analogous rusticated masonry was used in Ayyūbid buildings of the early seventh/thirteenth century in Damascus (J. Sauvaget, *Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, ii, Paris, 1940, 89, pl. xxii.4; *idem*, 'La citadelle de Damas', *Syria*, xi, 1930, 78, fig. 15) and Aleppo (J. Sauvaget, 'Deux sanctuaires chiites d'Alep', *Syria*, ix, 1928, 277). But this is no guide to the antiquity of our stones. The Fātimid city walls of Cairo (480/1087) include similarly rusticated masonry (*MAE*, i, pl. 124c) as do those parts of the walls of Aleppo that were repaired by the Mamlūk Sultan Qanṣūh al-Ghūrī in the early tenth/sixteenth century (*CIA (Alep)*, pl. xxib).
- 17 C. Schick, 'Notes of Changes in Jerusalem Buildings, etc.', *PEFQS*, 1894, 20: 'Since it has become the custom to use iron beams or rafters for covering rooms, there is no need of such strong walls and foundations as when every room was vaulted with stones'.
- 18 The keeper of the haberdashery shop claims that this blocked arch formerly opened into a 'big room' leading to the triple markets.
- 19 The keeper of the haberdashery shop informed us that up until 1967 there were forty (!) families living in these Southern Vaults.

# 41 AL-ZĀWIYA AL-LU'LU'IYYA

## الزاوية اللؤلؤية

Endowed in 775/1373-74  
Zāwiya of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' Ghāzī  
Modern name: Masjid al-Shaykh Lu'lu'

### I LOCATION (fig. 41.1)

About 10m south-east of Damascus Gate (Bāb al-'Amūd), on the east side of the street leading south from that gate.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 41.2)

The site is largely enclosed by unrecorded buildings. Only an entrance portal on the street remains unencumbered (plate 41.1).



Plate 41.1 General view from Damascus Gate

The buildings are arranged around an irregular open courtyard with a mosque and latrines (both apparently later modifications) to the east, a modern office and library in the south-west corner, and a vaulted chamber beside the entrance in the north-west corner.

These buildings were surveyed by the Islamic Archaeology Department of the Awqāf Administration, which kindly provided us with fig. 41.2.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

The Lu'lu'iyya Zāwiya according to Mujīr al-Dīn<sup>1</sup> was located 'at the Damascus Gate (Bāb al-'Amūd), one of the gates of the city'.

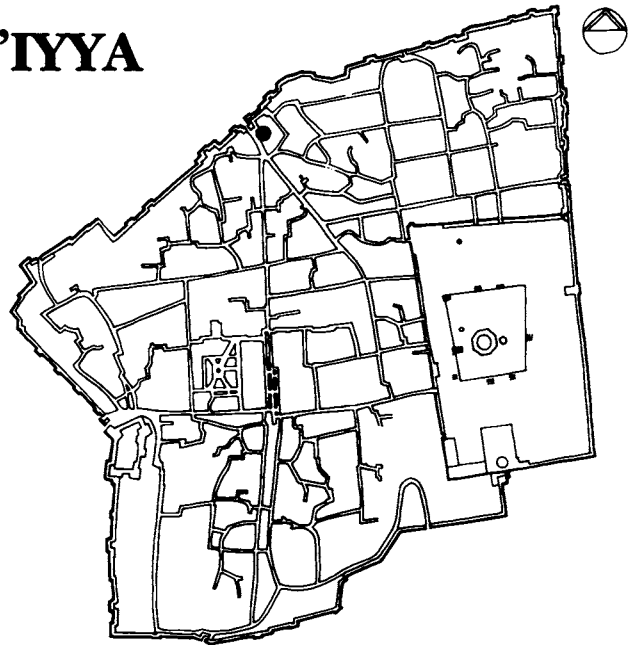


Fig. 41.1 Location plan

In a sijill entry of 963/1555 the boundaries of a house at the top of the Damascus Gate steps are recorded in the following fashion: to the south a waqf property of the Lu'lu'iyya Zāwiya, to the east the zāwiya itself, to the north the tomb chamber (*turba*) of the Lu'lu'iyya and to the west the road.<sup>2</sup> The tomb clearly remained an important element. In 1865 Sandreczki identified the building as a shrine, the inmate having been converted in typical fashion into a holy man: 'Turning around southward in to the Damascus Gate street we passed by the Mazār of Sheikh Lulu'.<sup>3</sup>

#### DATE

The endowment for the Lu'lu'iyya Madrasa, which was dated 775/1373-74, also provided for 'his zāwiya and his ribāt', so both these were no doubt built around about that date. The ribāt itself is something of a mystery. It seems to have been a separate institution, if we accept the evidence of a sijill entry of 1050/1640, in which the east boundary of a house in Zuqāq al-'Izam in the David Street quarter is given as the Lu'lu'iyya Ribāt.<sup>4</sup>

#### FOUNDER

Mujīr al-Dīn expressly identified the founder of the Lu'lu'iyya Zāwiya with the founder of the madrasa of that same name<sup>5</sup> (see p. 424).

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

As we have seen, the original endowment supported both the zāwiya and the madrasa. The waqf property in the vicinity of the Damascus Gate, mentioned above, may have been exclusively for the zāwiya. It is not mentioned with the property that was held in common. It could of course have been a later endowment.

The income from the village of Bayt Sāwir, or some part of the income, for the year 950/1543-44 was applied wholly to the zāwiya.<sup>6</sup> The total was 2,440 aspers. The only expenditure specified was as follows: 100 for the administrator, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī, whose two daughters we have met as his successors in the administration of the madrasa, 60 for Shaykh Aḥmad b. Jamā'a al-Manūfī, 180 for the rent collector (quite possibly the same man as the administrator), and 80 for the clerk. In addition, 300 were spent on repairs to the zāwiya (for a builder and labourers for 90 days), and 144 met the demands of the *'usbr* (the tithe) for the timār-holder.

Apart from the reference to the spending of some of the income of the madrasa on repairs to the zāwiya in 985/1577,<sup>7</sup> no



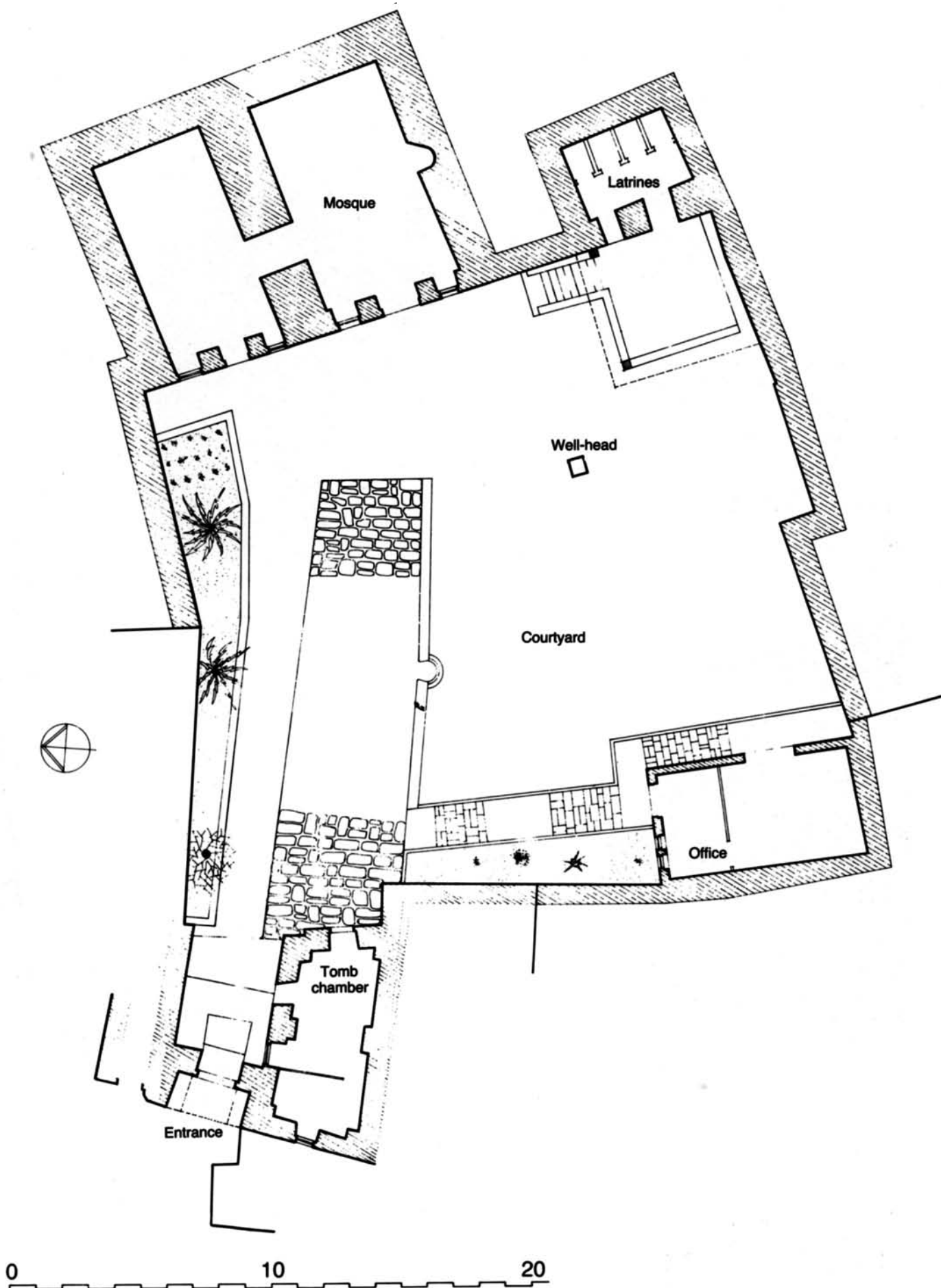


Fig. 41.2 Ground floor plan

other mention of this *zāwiya* has been met with in the *sijills*. Asali records the appointment of a Muṣṭafā b. Walī al-Rūmī as imām and shaykh in 1061/1651.<sup>8</sup> The *sijills* almost certainly contain more information of this nature, as the *zāwiya* continues in existence down to the present day, known as the Mosque of Shaykh Lu'lu'.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### *ENTRANCE PORTAL* (plate 41.2)

The entrance door is set in a pointed-arched recess 1.40m deep. The voussoirs of the arch are gadrooned on the outer face and soffit. The right-hand (south) side of the portal is largely obscured by a later building. Stone benches on either side of the recess flank the entrance door, which has a plain monolithic lintel. The tympanum of the arch appears to have been rebuilt at some time; it contains a modern inscription announcing the 'Mosque of Shaykh Lu'lu'.

##### *INTERIOR* (plan, fig. 41.2)

Five steps lead up from the entrance to the spacious courtyard planted with trees. In the east side of the courtyard two doors open into two barrel-vaulted rooms now connected by an opening in the common wall. These rooms now house a mosque, which has a *mibrāb* in the south wall of the southern room. At the south end of the east wall of the courtyard is a small chamber containing modern latrines. All these rooms, or at least their façades on the courtyard, appear to be Ottoman. In the south-west corner of the courtyard is a modern office and library. A well-head in the middle of the courtyard gives access to a cistern below.

At the north-west corner of the courtyard a door leads into

the tomb chamber beside the entrance. It is roofed by two cross vaults and has two windows opening north and one west (now largely blocked) that must originally have opened on the street (fig. 41.2). A cenotaph in the north-west corner of the chamber marks the grave of some unknown person.



Plate 41.2 Entrance portal

#### Notes

- 1 Mujir, ii, 47.
- 2 Sijill 31, 95.
- 3 'Facsimile of a survey of the city etc.', under the 8th day (6 May 1865), in C.W. Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, 1864-5*, London, 1865.
- 4 Sijill 29, 173 (1).
- 5 Mujir, ii, 47-8.
- 6 Sijill 17, no. 994.
- 7 40 paras, see Sijill 57, 464 (8), and p. 424 above.
- 8 Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 359 (quoting Sijill 145, 217).

## 42 AL-ḤANBALIYYA

### الحنبلية

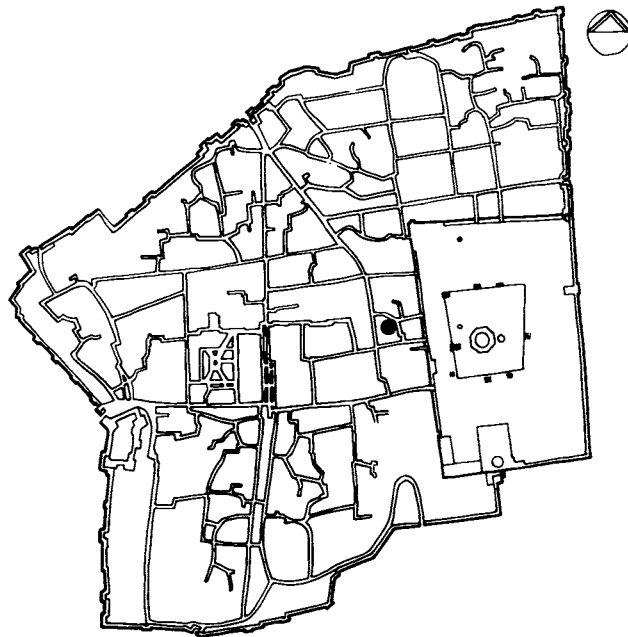


Fig. 42.1 Location plan

781/1380

Madrasa of Baydamur al-Khwārizmī

Modern name: Dār al-Surūrī

### I LOCATION (fig. 42.1)

At the west corner of the junction between Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd and the lane leading to Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn (no. 24).

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 42.2)

The site is bounded to the east by the lane leading to Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn; to the north by Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd (which runs roughly due north-west at this point); to the west by open ground; and to the south by an indeterminate and inaccessible structure.

At the junction between the lane and the street a recessed entrance portal leads into a vestibule from where a door opens west into an open courtyard. The courtyard is surrounded by cells on the east, west and north sides, and opens to a tall *iwān* on the south side. The rear, *qibla* wall of the *iwān* contains a fine *mībrāb*. Various chambers open on the east and west sides of the *iwān*. One of these, on the east side, is linked to the entrance vestibule by a long corridor within the eastern boundary of the building.

At the south-west corner of the courtyard, a porch leads to a west annex comprising a small yard with three rooms opening off it and a staircase up to an upper floor room with a window opening east under the vault of the *iwān*.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

The only literary evidence known to us is the brief note in Mujīr al-Dīn, in which he places the Ḥanbaliyya Madrasa in the Bāb al-Ḥadīd [district].<sup>1</sup> A few sijill entries of the mid-sixteenth century concern the leasing of the apartment (*tabaqa*) built on the roof of the Ḥanbaliyya, 'near the Bāb al-Ḥadīd', and other roof space, which is described as the 'roof of the passage (*ma'bar*)', 'the roof of the corridor (*diblīz*) of the place's privies', and 'the roof of the cell (*khalwa*) to the left of the entrance'. The narrow strip – it is given as 1½ 'carpenters' cubits' east to west and 10 north to south<sup>2</sup> – was bounded by the roof of the privies to the south, the lane (*darb*) leading to the Cotton-Merchants' Market to the east and partly on the north side as well, by property belonging to the lessee on the rest of the north side and to the west by an open court of the place and also by the unbuilt-on roofs of the northern cells.<sup>3</sup>

#### DATE

Building began in the last days of Jumādā II [781]/3-12 October 1379, and was completed at the end of Shawwāl 781/7 February 1380, according to Mujīr al-Dīn.<sup>4</sup> It is recorded by one historian that Baydamur, the founder, was freed from prison in Alexandria on 5 Jumādā I 781/19 August 1379 and went to live

in Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> He was quite soon restored to favour and re-appointed governor of Syria in Muḥarram 782/April 1380.<sup>6</sup> However, this report does connect Baydamur in person with Jerusalem at the start of the building.

#### FOUNDER

The Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Baydamur al-Khwārizmī was a personage of some note in the chronicles of the second half of the fourteenth century,<sup>7</sup> but no other foundation attributed to him is known other than the Ḥanbaliyya Madrasa, for which he is named as the founder by Mujīr al-Dīn.

He was born in 712/1312-13. First he was in the service of the Amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Qarāsunqur, and then of the Amīr Shaykhū, and rose steadily in rank, holding a series of offices, such as that of district governor of the Jordan Valley (al-Aghwār), chief chamberlain of Damascus, governor of Aleppo, then of Damascus. This last post he first acquired in 761/1360. In the confused politics of the period and in the difficult years during which Barqūq rose to the sultanate, Baydamur's career was interrupted by many imprisonments. He was on six separate occasions appointed to the governorate of Damascus.<sup>8</sup> He is said to have been of the party of Barka al-Jubānī, Barqūq's main rival. Ibn Taghrībirdī suggests that Baydamur, like another senior amīr of the time, was submissive to the wielders of power (*aṣḥāb al-shawka*) because of his fondness for office.<sup>9</sup> However, it was as a result of suspicion that he had been implicated in a plot against the life of Barqūq by the Royal Mamlūks that Baydamur was arrested in Ramaḍān 788/September 1386.<sup>10</sup>

His fate after that is for some chroniclers obscure, but one account maintains that he became ill while imprisoned in the citadel of Damascus, died in Ṣafar 789/February-March 1387, and was buried in his mausoleum near the mosque of Karīm al-Dīn.<sup>11</sup>

The historian, Ibn Ḥajar, states that his true name was Zakariyā b. 'Abdallāh b. Ayyūb, but offers no explanation for this statement.<sup>12</sup> His interest in books – every Ramaḍān he would have readings from the *Traditions* of Bukhārī in the governor's residence in Damascus – and his good administration are remarked upon.

His family kept up a hostility to Barqūq. His son, Muḥammad Shāh, after a brief flirtation with the Sultan, followed the rebel Mintāsh and was executed in 793/1391, as was another relative, Jibrīl al-Khwārizmī.<sup>13</sup> In 796/1394 the bones of Muḥammad Shāh were restored to the family and buried with his father's remains. The Sultan Barqūq also

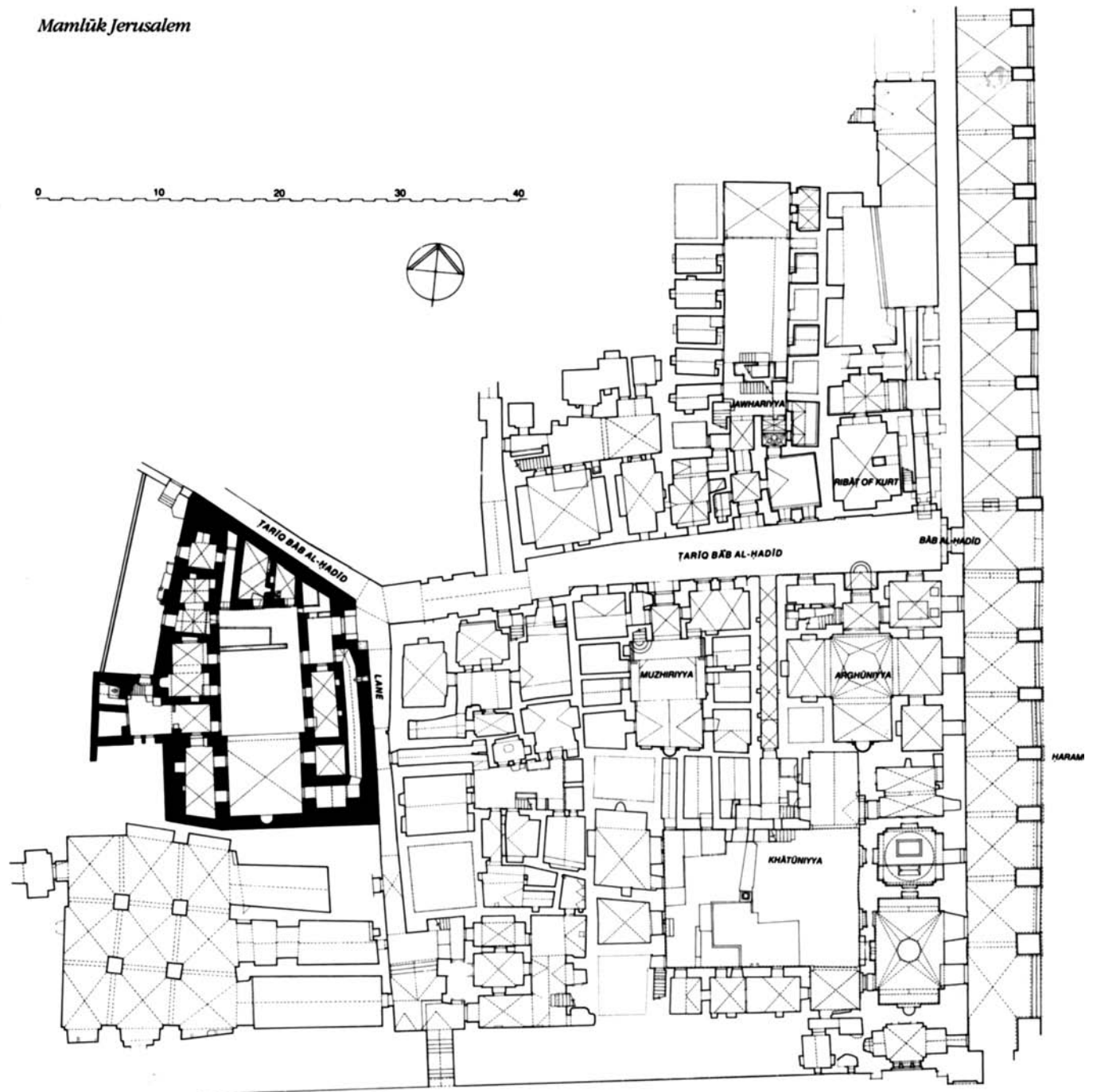


Fig. 42.2 Site plan

returned all, or some at least, of his properties to the family.<sup>14</sup> Muḥammad Shāh's daughter had married Nāsir al-Dīn Muḥammad, a grandson of Manjak, with whom Baydamur's own career had been linked.<sup>15</sup>

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

Only one *mudarris* of the Hanbaliyya is known by name for the Mamlūk period. The Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. Abī 'l-Wafā' al-Is'ardī al-Shāfi'ī (b. 805 or 6/1402-3, d. 887/1492-93), after he had come to settle in Jerusalem, was appointed to that post by the Sultan Jaqmaq.<sup>16</sup> One other name from the late Ottoman period was found by Asali in a sijill entry for the year 1242/1826-27, although this appointment was most likely purely a formal one.<sup>17</sup>

In the sixteenth-century sijills previously referred to,<sup>18</sup> the Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥusayn al-Khalwatī, described as a settler in Jerusalem, rented from 'the administrators of the place known as the Hanbaliyya Madrasa', or alternatively from the Qāḍī of Jerusalem, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Uthmānī al-Ḥanafī,

the property mentioned in the first section of this entry for a period of 100 years (in 50 separate contracts) for 600 aspers. Expert evidence testified that most of this property was in a dilapidated state, 'full of rubbish from the previous inhabitants and with plants growing on the roof and the walls', and that there was no waqf to maintain it from the rents. A year after the lease, there is confirmation in the sijill record that the lessee had restored the accommodation over the Ḥanbaliyya.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### STREET FRONTAGES

The Ḥanbaliyya has two street frontages, one facing north-east on Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd, the other facing east on the lane leading to Sūq al-Qattānīn. At the corner where the two frontages meet the east wall is set back 0.97m to accommodate the entrance portal, which faces east down the street towards the Ḥaram gate (see plan, fig. 42.3).

The masonry of the frontage on Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd is

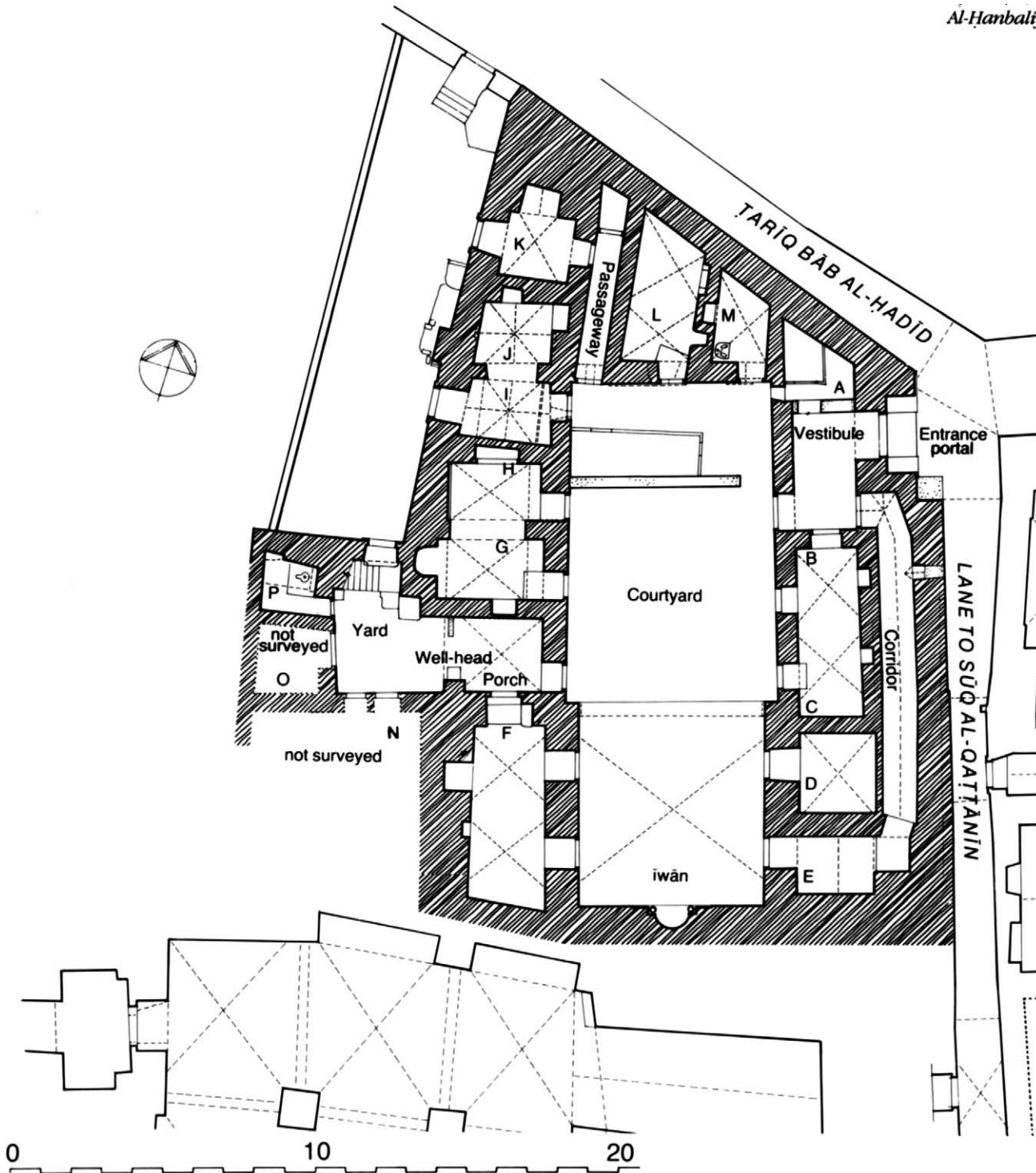


Fig. 42.3 Ground floor plan

particularly interesting. The two lowest courses at the west end are of large roughly-dressed stones (*plate 42.1*). At first glance these might seem to be remains of some older structure, but this is unlikely for they appear to be old stones re-used to underpin an awkward corner where two walls meet at an acute angle on sloping ground (see *fig. 42.3*). The upper courses of masonry are more or less regular in height and contain several stones with one or occasionally two panels of picked rustication like those in the façade of the Lu'lu'iyya (above, p. 426). The masonry of the east frontage is unremarkable apart from a few similarly rusticated stones. There are no windows except for a slit in the east frontage some 2.20m south of the portal.

*ENTRANCE PORTAL* (*plate 42.2*)

The pointed-arched recess of the portal is constructed in large

finely dressed limestone ashlar enclosed by a quirked ogee frame moulding. The left-hand (south) jamb of the recess is now largely concealed by a masonry infill supporting later vaults that span the street, though the frame moulding can still be discerned through a gap between the jamb and the infill. The later vaults conceal the upper part of the moulding.

The doorway is flanked by the customary stone benches. The frame moulding extends across the base of the jambs of the recess and continues around the top and bottom of the benches. The chalky monolithic door lintel is now badly eroded and appears to be on the brink of collapse. The load on it is relieved somewhat by a flat relieving arch of elaborately joggled red and black *ablaq* voussoirs.

*INTERIOR* (plan, *fig. 42.3*)

The entrance doorway leads into a cross-vaulted vestibule. In

the diagonally opposite corner of the vestibule a door opens into the central courtyard. The vestibule is thus arranged to form a bent entrance whereby the courtyard is practically invisible from the street.

A barrel-vaulted recess (A), 0.36m wider than the vestibule, opens north from it. Its arched opening is now partly blocked by a later wall (see *plate 42.3*). This recess, like other chambers in the northern part of the madrasa, has an angled back wall following the alignment of the street. Beside the entrance doorway, a door in the east wall of the vestibule (*plate 42.4*), leads into a long corridor that runs south within the east boundary wall of the madrasa. It was (poorly) lit by a slit window (now blocked) in that east wall. In the south wall of the vestibule a door opens into a cell (B) on the east side of the courtyard.

The courtyard, now cluttered with shanties (*plate 42.11*), is enclosed on the east, west and north sides by a series of cross-vaulted cells and by a cross-vaulted *iwān* opening on the south side. The two cells (B and C) on the east side, each lit by a high-level slit window, have been conjoined by the removal of the common wall. In the process, the door of 'B' has been converted into a window. On the west side of the courtyard four doors and four high-level slit windows open into three cells (G–I) and a porch leading to the west annex (see below). Here also two cells (G and H) have been combined and the redundant door (of H) converted into a window. At the north end of the courtyard are three doors surmounted by slit windows. The two eastern doors open into two cells (L and M), and the western one leads into a passageway giving access to two cells to the west (J and K) and a tiny cubicle to the north. The south wall of cell 'J' has been breached at some time to link that cell with the adjoining cell (I) to the south.

The upper part of the courtyard walls has been rebuilt on all sides, where later structures have been added on the roofs of the cells. The only unencumbered roof is on the west side above the porch and cell 'G'. Here the masonry is intact and includes a simple splay-face cornice which must originally have continued round the east, west and north sides.

The *iwān* at the south end of the courtyard rises about two metres higher than the cells on either side. Its pointed frontal arch springs from *muqarnas* impostes, carved slightly differently on either side (*plates 42.5 and 42.6*). The top of the arch has been rebuilt with new voussoirs, but the lower part survives on both sides, where a bold quirked ogee moulding frames the extrados (see *plate 42.7*).

The handsome *mibrāb* (*plate 42.8*) in the middle of the rear, *qibla* wall has been clumsily repaired and the fine details are obscured by several coats of paint. Nonetheless the original form remains discernible (*fig. 42.4*). A quirked ogee moulding frames a rectangular panel of red and cream-coloured *ablaq* masonry containing the pointed-arched niche, which is flanked by nook-shafts with re-used Crusader bases and capitals. The arch is built of *ablaq* voussoirs which extend inwards and downwards to an arch-shaped hub at the centre of the conch. Much of this stonework is now missing, and several voussoirs in the arch have been replaced. The second course of stones above the *mibrāb* is slightly recessed between elaborately modelled terminals as if to receive an inscription that was never carved. The upper part of the wall, above the frame moulding, has been hewn away to provide a ledge where pigeons nest.

In the east wall of the *iwān* two doors open into two small cells, one (E) barrel-vaulted and one (D) cross-vaulted like the others. A recess in the east wall of 'E' opens into the corridor from the entrance vestibule. There are various irregularities in the masonry at this end of the corridor which, though difficult to see clearly for piles of debris and old newspapers (containing nests of rats), do suggest that this opening is a later breach. A change in the vaulting of the corridor (see plan, *fig. 42.3*) seems to indicate that it originally extended only as far as cell 'D' where a door (now otherwise not identifiable) opened in the east wall of that cell. Why the builders should have provided such an independent access to cell 'D' is not known: it is a very unusual feature.<sup>19</sup>

Opposite the two doors in the east wall of the *iwān* a door and a window open into a room (F) on the west side, which is roofed by two cross vaults. Above this room is an upper-floor chamber with a window opening under the vault of the *iwān* (see *plate 42.9*). This upper room, inaccessible to us, was reached from the west annex.

The cross-vaulted porch at the south-west corner of the courtyard is entered by a plain door indistinguishable from those of the cells. Inside, there is a door in its south wall to room 'F'. At the west end the porch opens through a wide archway to a small yard around which the components of the west annex are disposed. To the south a door and a window open into a chamber (N) that we were unable to enter. To the west two doors open into two small rooms (O and P). The first of these (O) was also inaccessible to us. The other (P) now contains a privy. These two small rooms are situated under an open stairway which rises against the north and west sides of



Plate 42.1 Street frontage on Tariq Bāb al-Ḥadīd



Plate 42.2 Entrance portal

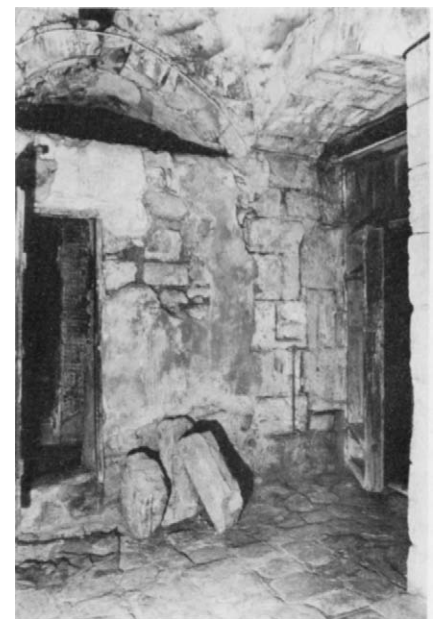


Plate 42.3 North-east corner of vestibule

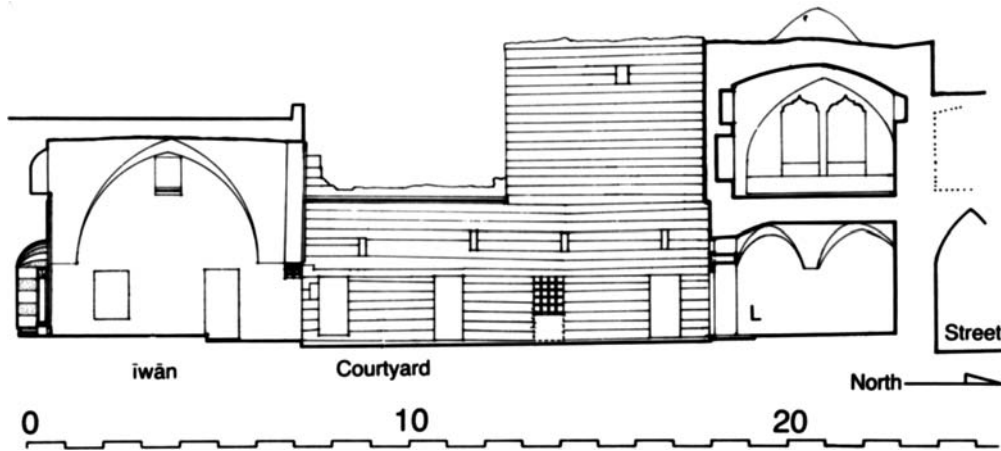


the yard to give access to the roof of the madrasa and the upper floor room on the west side of the *iwān*.

A modern doorway has been pierced in the yard's north boundary wall, at the bottom of the stairway. This doorway leads into a larger yard, presumably a modern creation, enclosed by the west wall of the madrasa and by two free-standing walls to the north and west. It is reached from the street by a modern door in the north wall. Another two modern doorways, with slightly projecting stone frames similar in detail to the doorway at the foot of the stairs, have been made in the

west wall of the madrasa to give independent access to cells 'I' and 'K'. These doorways will have been built relatively recently when the building was converted into three separate dwellings.

Two little marble basins beside the west wall of the main courtyard of the madrasa (*plate 42.10*), both apparently part of the original Mamlūk fabric, may have drained water from the surface of the courtyard into a cistern, from which water could be drawn at a well-head at the base of the southern abutment of the archway from the porch to the west annex. The present well-head is modern but it probably replaces an earlier one.



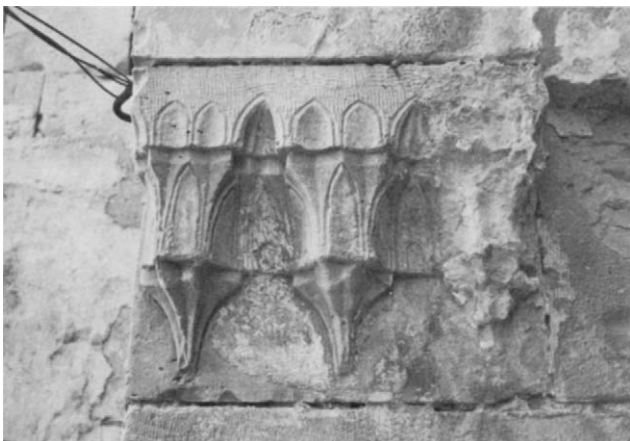
**Fig. 42.4** South–north section looking west



**Plate 42.4** Entrance to corridor



**Plate 42.6** West impost



**Plate 42.5** East impost



**Plate 42.7** West abutment of *iwān* arch

Mamlūk Jerusalem



Plate 42.8 *Mihrāb*

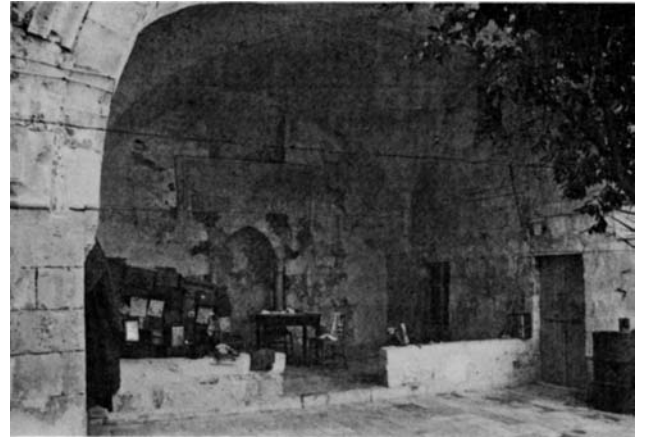


Plate 42.9 *Īwān*

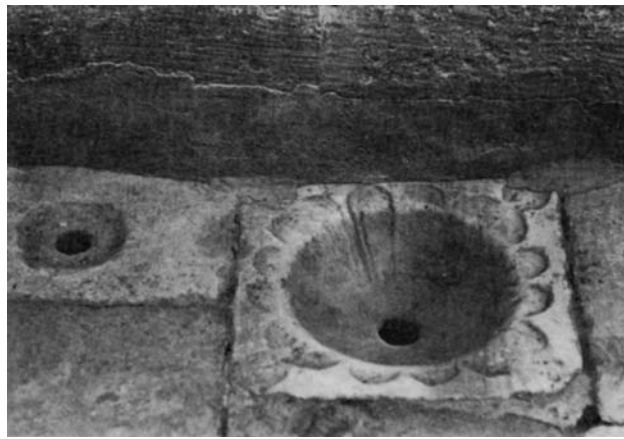


Plate 42.10 Marble basins in courtyard pavement



Plate 42.11 Courtyard from the *īwān*

Notes

- 1 Mujīr, ii, 44.
- 2 One such cubit (*dbirā' najjārī*) = 77.5cms, see Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, 60. One carpenters' cubit is one and a half normal ones (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Beirut ed., xi, 457, s.a. 575/1179).
- 3 Sijills 30, 330-1, and 31, 48 and 386 (1).
- 4 See note 1.
- 5 *Sulūk*, iii, 360.
- 6 *Sulūk*, iii, 373 and 377.
- 7 For his career, see *Durar*, ii, 46-7; Ibn al-Furāt, ix, 4; *Sulūk*, iii, see index; *Nuj.*, v, see index; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, i, 226-7.
- 8 Two inscriptions survive which may be attributed to Baydamur, when governor of Damascus, one with certainty and one less so. The first is dated 788/1386 and concerns the restoration of the caravanserai known as al-Wakāla (no. 47) in Jerusalem, see *CIA (Ville)*, no. 91, and the second is a decree on economic matters, dated 795/1393, see *CIA (Haram)*, no. 236.
- 9 *Nuj.*, v, 324, 360 and 382.
- 10 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, i, 188.

11 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, i, 227.

12 *Imbā'*, i, 339.

13 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, i, 409; Ibn al-Furat, ix, 292.

14 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, i, 512 (quoting Ibn Hijjī).

15 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, i, 552.

16 Mujīr, ii, 202.

17 Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 201.

18 See note 3.

19 It is tempting to suppose that it was designed for some obscure Ḥanbalī custom or ritual, but it is not even clear that the Ḥanbaliyya was intended for adherents of the Ḥanbalī rite. The only known teacher in the madrasa in the Mamlūk period was in fact a Shāfi'ī (see above, p. 438). Indeed, Mujīr al-Dīn, himself a Ḥanbalī, observes wistfully that there were no Ḥanbalīs in Jerusalem for many years until a new Ḥanbalī imām was appointed in 890/1485 (Mujīr, 384). However, he subsequently lists several notable representatives of Hanbalism in Jerusalem in the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries (Mujīr, 592-602).

# 43 AL-BALADIYYA

## البلدية

c.782/1380

Funerary madrasa of Manklibughā al-Aḥmadī

Modern name: not known

### I LOCATION (fig. 43.1)

At the west border of the Ḥaram immediately north of Bāb al-Sakīna.

### II SITE AND BUILDING (fig. 43.2)

The site is bounded by the Ḥaram wall to the east, by the 'Uthmāniyya (no. 57) and part of the Siqāya of al-'Ādil (589/1193) to the north, by an open space to the west and by the Ribāt of Tankiz (above, p. 240) and the outer porch of the Bāb al-Silsila/Bāb al-Sakīna to the south. There is no street façade as such and only the west frontage (plate 43.1) is unencumbered by adjoining structures.



Plate 43.1 West wall of Baladiyya

Access to the building is gained from the south by a small door (marked 'a' on the plan, fig. 43.3) under the outer porch at Bāb al-Sakīna,<sup>1</sup> which leads through a small vestibule and a dark corridor into a large open courtyard. All the major components of the building were originally accessible only from the courtyard. These comprise three *iwāns* and probably originally a fourth arranged axially to open in the middle of each side of the courtyard, and various other rooms of widely differing sizes, some at mezzanine level, that occupy the corners between the *iwāns*. The south-east corner room seems to have been intended to house the grave of the founder; we shall refer to it as the tomb chamber. (The south-west corner of the building is now sealed off and inaccessible.) A *mīhrāb* occupies the centre of the *qibla* wall of the south *iwān*.

The masonry of the walls is far from homogeneous. Towards the tops of walls and elsewhere small and roughly dressed stones betoken later rebuilding, quite extensive in places. In certain areas the lowest courses of masonry are very

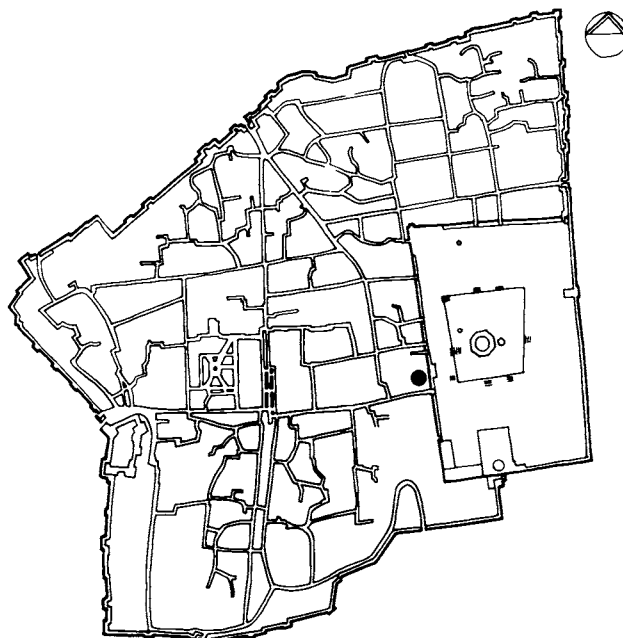


Fig. 43.1 Location plan

large, which suggests that parts of the building were erected on the remains of some earlier structure.

The site is set back from the street, *Tarīq Bāb al-Silsila*, separated from it by earlier buildings, and lies to the north of the great arch ('Wilson's Arch') that supports the east end of that street. The ground level here is many metres below the level of the street. Therefore a very substantial substructure is necessary to support the floors of the Baladiyya, which are at street level. The expense of constructing such a substructure together with the absence of opportunity to erect a decorative street façade might well have militated against the development of the site until Mamlūk times when tombs at the Ḥaram borders had become sought-after, and towards the end of the eighth/fourteenth century when more easily developed sites had already been taken. Thus the Baladiyya is quite likely to have been built on a previously undeveloped site. For confirmation of this hypothesis it would be necessary to inspect the substructure. This has not been possible, though excavation – or more correctly, clearance – of the substructure was recently completed under the auspices of Israel's Ministry for Religious Affairs. No plans of the cleared substructures to the north of Wilson's Arch have been published. The only clue to their form is a brief description published in 1983:

A little to the north of Wilson's Arch, close by the [Ḥaram's west] wall, the Crusaders planned a large structure in the shape of a cross. It is possible that their intention was to erect a large church on the entrance to the Temple Mount and on the Western Wall. They sunk very solid foundations between which a large free area was left. This area was used for a huge water cistern. The foundation walls were plastered with water-resistant plaster and the cistern which was created was also in the shape of a cross. Above the cistern at today's street level, the church, or whatever the building was meant to be, was to be built. However, it was never built.<sup>2</sup>

Now the plan of the Baladiyya is cross-shaped (fig. 43.3), following the fashionable four-*iwān* plan of the period, and it seems to be more than a coincidence that that substructure is also cross-shaped. The association of the substructure with a Crusader church is, so far as one can tell, based on its cross shape, which was, however, not a common form for Crusader churches. It remains to be established whether or not the walls of the cruciform substructure do coincide with the walls of the Baladiyya, but if they do we should have reason to suppose that

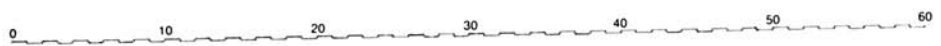
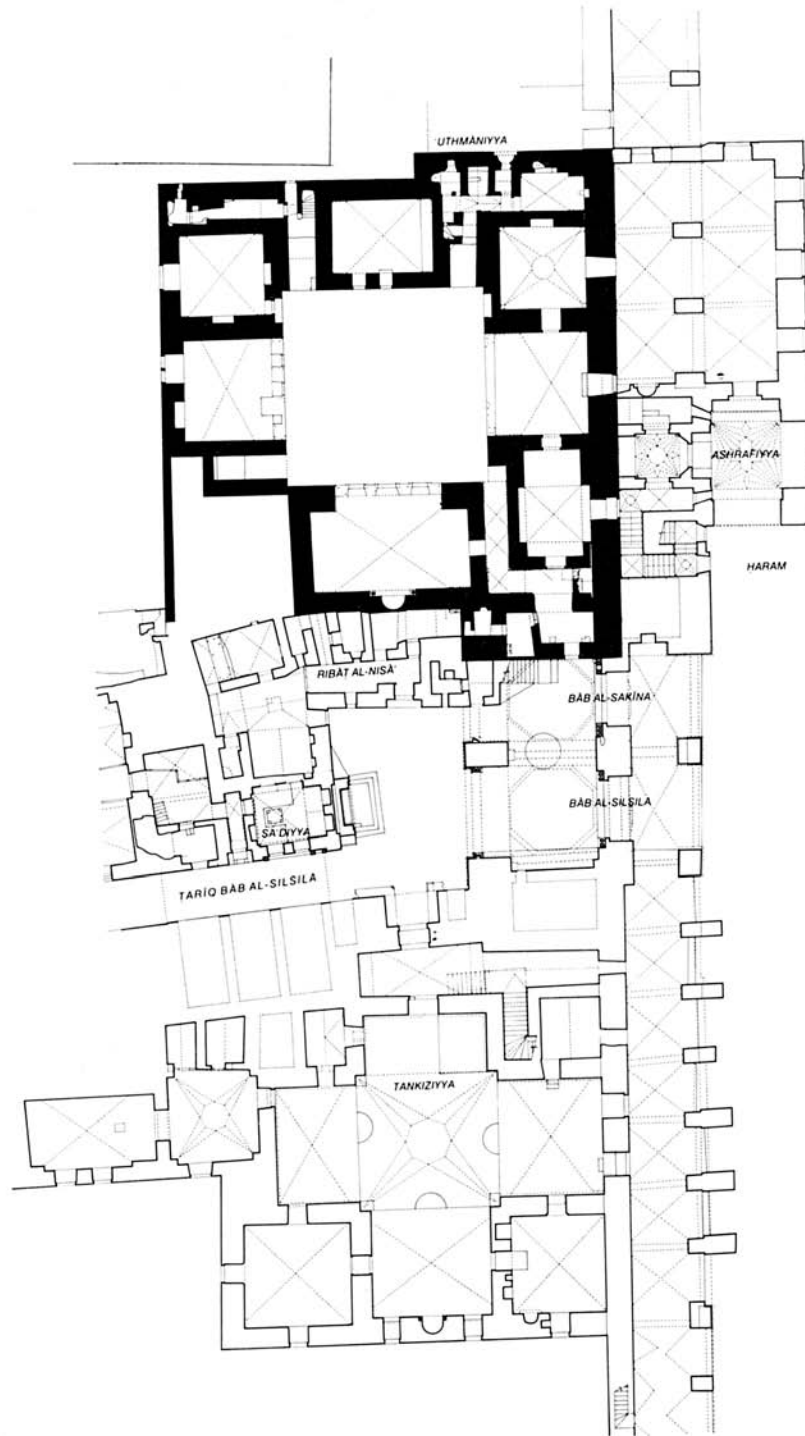


Fig. 43.2 Site plan

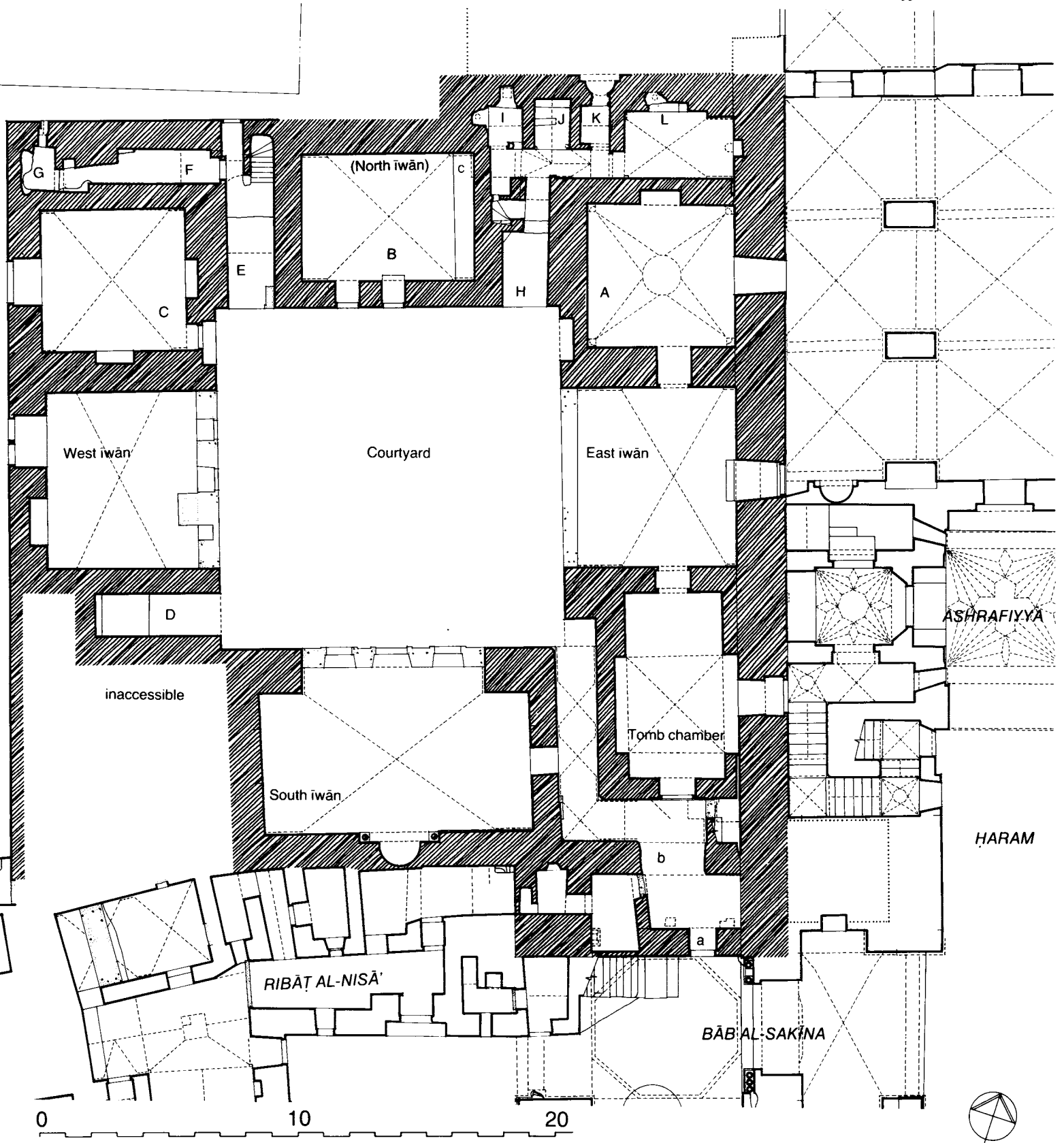


Fig. 43.3 Ground floor plan

the substructure was built specifically to support this Mamlūk madrasa.

An alternative hypothesis, as suggested in the quotation above, is that the cross-shaped foundations belonged to some earlier building and were simply taken over by the builders of the Baladiyya, who adapted their plan to suit these foundations. This hypothesis, if correct, would explain the existence in places, particularly along the south and west boundary walls, of

the very large stones in the lowest masonry courses, and might also explain the unusually large area occupied by the building, with a courtyard that was too large (13.20 x 12.95m) to be spanned in the customary fashion by a folded cross vault, making this the only four-*iwān* madrasa in Jerusalem with an open courtyard.<sup>3</sup>

In any case, it appears that the original entrance to the building was 3.23m to the north of the present entrance at the

point marked 'b' on the plan (fig. 43.3), where the wall has been roughly breached (plate 43.6). That wall, running westward from the west wall of the Haram, seems to pre-date the construction of the Baladiyya. It may be associated with the construction of the Ayyūbid outer porch at Bāb al-Silsila/Bāb al-Sakīna or perhaps some earlier development; it appears to follow the line of the north end of Wilson's Arch.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

In a short notice Mujīr al-Dīn places the Baladiyya Madrasa 'at the Bāb al-Sakīna near the Bāb al-Silsila (the Chain Gate)',<sup>4</sup> and al-Suyūṭī has the following passing mention:

... the Bāb al-Sakīna, which is the gate adjacent to the door of the madrasa known as the Baladiyya, the latter now having the Ashrafiyya Madrasa as its northern (*sic*) neighbour.<sup>5</sup>

An inscription which is sited over a small doorway near the Bāb al-Sakīna gives positive identification. This inscription refers only to a mausoleum (*turba*), but the ample remains of the cruciform complex with a large open courtyard more than explain the frequent appellation 'madrasa'.

In a sijill entry dated 953/1547 the Baladiyya mausoleum appears as the north boundary of the residence over the twin gates of the Haram, and access to the house was said to be 'via the Baladiyya Madrasa (*sic*)'.<sup>6</sup>

#### DATE

No literary or archival source known to us preserves either the date of the construction or the date of the endowment. The text of the funerary inscription is as follows:<sup>7</sup>

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is the mausoleum of his late Excellency, Sayf al-Dīn Manklībughā al-Aḥmadī, Governor of the Province of Aleppo (may God Almighty encompass him with His mercy). He died there in Jumādā II of the year seven hundred and eighty-two [September 1380].

This tells us little, especially as there seems to be some doubt about where he was actually buried. The inscription could have been added to a building built well before his death or added to one only completed after his death. One may speculate that he embarked upon the Baladiyya when for a short while in late 780/early 1379 he found himself in Damascus with *baṭṭāl* status.<sup>8</sup>

#### FOUNDER

Manklībughā was born in the early 740s/c.1340.<sup>9</sup> His initial mamlūk career was passed in Cairo. Ibn Taghrībirdī writes of 'several positions in Egypt', but only that of intendant of the Buttery is expressly mentioned, which he lost in 774/1372 when he was advanced to the highest rank of amīr.<sup>10</sup> During the following years his career kept him in the Syrian provinces. There are discrepancies in the recorded dating and course of his frequent changes of governorship. He held posts in Kerak, Hamā, Šafad, twice – possibly three times – in Tripoli, and twice in Aleppo. Another Manklībughā, a mamlūk of al-Nāšir Ḥasan, who served as governor in Aleppo and Damascus, built a mosque in the former and died in 774/1372, has been confused with the founder of the Baladiyya, but he was called al-Shamsī.<sup>11</sup> Our Manklībughā in the extant inscription is called al-Aḥmadī. No explanation for this *nisba* is given anywhere. The literary sources as often as not call him al-Baladī, from which derives the name of his foundation. Since some importation of mamlūks in the mid-fourteenth century was associated with merchants from Mosul, could it be that the *nisba* al-Baladī records his own or his importer's connection with Balad in the Mosul area?

Ibn Taghrībirdī speaks of him as 'one of the grand amīrs, whose days were long in prosperity', but, even though many of

his changes of office and his one or two periods of imprisonment were a reflection of the shifting patterns of power and influence in the capital, connected with the fall of al-Ashraf Sha'bān and the rise to power of Barqūq, he seems to have been a compliant member of the hierarchy. Ibn Taghrībirdī suggests that he was above all interested in maintaining his own position. However, he does quote a saying of Manklībughā's, that no amīr is a true amīr unless the expense of his common table is half his fief income, and that after having described him as 'generous and perfect in chivalry'.<sup>12</sup>

A month or so after returning for the second time to the post of governor in Aleppo he died (Jumādā II 782/September 1380).<sup>13</sup> There is broad agreement in the sources concerning this. Ibn Taghrībirdī, with some precision as regards location, adds that he was buried there too.<sup>14</sup> Van Berchem complicates the matter quite unnecessarily by understanding that Mujīr al-Dīn was referring to the mausoleum in Jerusalem, when he wrote that Manklībughā 'died, and was buried in it.' If in the text of the inscription, 'He died there (lit. in it)', the pronoun can refer to 'the province of Aleppo (*al-mamlaka al-Ḥalabiyya*)', why is it any more difficult for the pronoun in Mujīr al-Dīn's text to refer to Aleppo (Ḥalab)? Mujīr al-Dīn would then be quite happily in conformity with the inscription and the extra information in Ibn Taghrībirdī. What is more, the historian Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāširiyya, who as a youngster had seen Manklībughā in Aleppo, also witnessed his funeral cortège there, and adds, 'He was buried in a small tomb chamber (*turba*) of his outside the Bāb al-Maqām, near the Jawharī. After a good many years I heard that he was disinterred and taken to Damascus (God Almighty have mercy on him)'.<sup>15</sup> All van Berchem's difficulties stemmed from his belief, for which he produced no evidence, that Manklībughā was actually buried in Jerusalem. In the light of the literary evidence, one must doubt whether the anepigraphic cenotaph in a room of the Baladiyya marks the grave of Manklībughā.<sup>16</sup> What one should be noting is the setting-up of an inscription on a building, proclaiming it the mausoleum of a person who seems to have been buried elsewhere.

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

In a chamber on the east side of the Baladiyya, which would have originally looked out on to the Haram before the construction of the Ashrafiyya, are buried three members of one family, the Amīr Qunūqbāy al-Aḥmadī and two daughters. The surviving inscriptions date their deaths to Dhū'l-Ḥijja 797/October 1395.<sup>17</sup> One wonders in passing whether it is purely fortuitous that this amīr has the same *nisba* as Manklībughā.

Mujīr al-Dīn mentions a mysterious incident, quite without sufficient explanation, in which a Ḥanafī Qādī of Jerusalem at the very end of the fourteenth century died along with another person, after they had been given poisoned drinks in the Baladiyya Madrasa.<sup>18</sup>

There is nothing but a fleeting mention of the Baladiyya in Deftar no. 522.<sup>19</sup> Possibly this is owing to the fact that the waqf lands were located in Egypt, as Asali discovered from a later sijill entry, where according to him land in the village of Kawm al-Tujjār and the whole village of Harasta are named as endowments of the Baladiyya.<sup>20</sup>

For the years 946-47/1539-41 the waqfs of the madrasa produced 3,800 aspers. Nearly two-thirds went on administrative expenses and the salaries of officials. Only 30 aspers were earmarked for repairs to the fabric.<sup>21</sup>

In another account for the years 983-85/1574-77 the inspector of the waqf, 'Alī Çelebī b. Muḥyī al-Dīn Khalīfa, paid outstanding sums from his own resources with permission to reimburse himself from waqf funds later. Official salaries amounted to 3,260 paras, that is, for the *mudarris*, Nūr Allāh b. Jamā'a, 320, for the inspector 1,080, for the clerk (the inspector wearing another hat) 1,080, and for the *bawwāb* 120, while 660 were for repairs. Ten 'readers of the Koran parts' received 422 altogether, and other administrative expenses amounted to 367 paras, including two items for 'taking rubbish from the



madrasa' and 'clearing the madrasa of rubbish and earth'. The grand total was 4,047 paras, 86 short of the total according to the sijill.<sup>22</sup>

The Shaykh Muḥammad al-Khalilī came to Jerusalem at the end of the seventeenth century, in 1104/1692-93, and took up residence in the Baladiyya Madrasa.<sup>23</sup> There is no clear statement that he taught in the madrasa, but his *waqfiyya* specified that his very extensive library 'should remain under the control of the waqf beneficiaries [essentially his male descendants] in the Baladiyya Madrasa, for such time as they themselves remain in it. If they move from it, the books should remain under the control of the inspector in his house, wherever that might be'.<sup>24</sup> Amongst the real estate that formed al-Khalilī's waqf was a 'free space (*kbulūw*) in the the Baladiyya Madrasa', which produced in rent 1,261 piastres and 22 Egyptian paras. Excluded from the waqf were two *tabaqaqas* (living accommodation) over the madrasa, one of which was already completed and given to his son Muḥammad al-Šālih as his own property, and the other yet to be built and given to his other son, Yūsuf.<sup>25</sup> It is interesting that the Shaykh stipulated that 'any of the benefactor's daughters or the daughters of any of the beneficiaries of the waqf, who may be widowed and in need of accommodation, may reside in the madrasa in the "free space".<sup>26</sup> He himself was buried in the madrasa in 1147/1734.<sup>27</sup>

It is easy to understand that the madrasa passed into the private ownership of al-Khalilī's family, and then into the hands of the Tarjumān family, descendants of al-Khalilī on the female side. It was sold to the Awqāf Administration, and now a part of it has been incorporated with part of the Ashrafiyya to house the Aqṣā Library. The rest of the madrasa provides homes for several families.<sup>28</sup>

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

GROUND FLOOR (plan, fig. 43.3)

##### (i) Entrance

The present entrance is by way of a small pointed-arched doorway (a) in the north wall of the porch at Bāb al-Sakīna (plate 43.2). That wall seems to have been built not earlier than the construction of the initial Ashrafiyya (see below, p. 591), for above the doorway there are three windows surmounted by an inscription (possibly not *in situ*) belonging to that construction, dated 875/1470. The wall blocks a tall arched recess in the Bāb al-Sakīna porch. The masonry of doorway 'a' does not course through with the adjoining masonry (see plate

43.3), suggesting that the doorway is in secondary use. The plaque bearing the funerary inscription directly over the door (above, p. 446) also does not course through, and it too appears not to be in its proper place. Two slit windows on either side of the inscription admit light to a vestibule within the doorway.

A plain door in the west wall of the vestibule leads into two small, dark chambers (once lit by a window to the south, now blocked, visible in plate 43.2) in which the northern pier of the Bāb al-Sakīna porch is discernible (see plan, fig. 43.3).

North of the vestibule is the breach 'b' in the earlier wall where the original doorway, possibly surmounted by the funerary inscription might have been (see above, p. 446). Immediately beyond the breach there is a cramped space with openings in each side. On the right-hand (east) side a narrow winding staircase (plate 43.4) rises against the west wall of the Ḥaram to give access to the south-west corner mezzanine (see below) and to the roof where the Ashrafiyya (no. 63) now stands. On the north side is a window (formerly grilled) into the tomb chamber. Persons entering and leaving the madrasa must pass this window. It is set in a panel of red and cream-coloured *ablaq* masonry enclosed by a quirked-ogee frame moulding (plate 43.5). The sill has at some time been lowered, the lintel replaced by a lop-sided segmental arch, and the right-hand jamb rebuilt in plain stonework to form a doorway into the tomb chamber. To the left of the window a cross-vaulted corridor runs a few metres westward before turning north towards the tomb chamber and the south *iwān* to lead into the south-east corner of the courtyard (plates 43.6-43.7).

##### (ii) Courtyard

The courtyard is now cluttered with a variety of outhouses, some built of stone and some modern ones built of concrete (plate 43.8). Fig. 43.6 shows that the floor of the east *iwān* is lower than the west *iwān* and the courtyard. This is because the east *iwān* retains its original floor while that of the west *iwān* and the pavement of the courtyard have been raised at some time. The floor of the south *iwān* has also been re-paved. All the pointed-arched openings into the *iwāns* have been blocked up to provide domestic accommodation. Otherwise the *iwāns* remain largely intact except for the northern one, of which only a vaulting springer remains.

##### (iii) South *iwān* (plate 43.12)

The south, *qibla iwān* is the largest. Its frontal arch (7.02m wide) does not open for the full width of the *iwān* (10.38m), evidently in order to present a frontage to the courtyard that was more or less symmetrical with the other three. The arches



Plate 43.2 Entrance from porch at Bāb al-Sakīna (photo: 1984)



Plate 43.3 Entrance showing stonework (photo: 1977)



Plate 43.4 Blocked staircase to south-east mezzanine and roof with breach 'b' to right



Plate 43.5 Window in south wall of tomb chamber seen from vestibule. (Lop-sided segmental arch, lowered sill and step are later alterations)



Plate 43.6 South end of entrance corridor



Plate 43.7 North end of entrance corridor



Plate 43.8 General view of Baladiyya from Bāb al-Silsila Minaret



Plate 43.9 East wall of south iwān



Plate 43.10 West wall of south iwān



Plate 43.11 *Mihrāb*

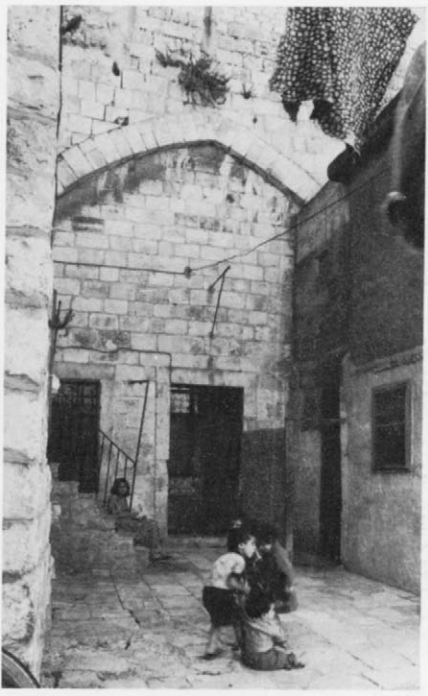


Plate 43.12 South *iwān*, from courtyard

of the east and west *iwāns* are respectively 6.88m and 6.80m wide.

The lowest masonry courses of the east and west side walls of this *iwān* (plates 43.9 and 43.10) and of the responds carrying the frontal arch are mostly of very large stones, conceivably remnants of some earlier structure (see above, p. 446). An apparent opening in that large masonry in the east wall (plate 43.9) has been partly blocked up to leave a doorway into the entrance corridor. A similar opening in the west wall, directly opposite the one in the east wall, is completely blocked (plate 43.10). On the left side of that opening in the west wall a wide crack, visible in plate 43.10, indicates major subsidence, perhaps provoked by an earthquake.

An unusually large *mihṛāb*, 4.60m high, occupies the middle of the *qibla* wall of the south *iwān* (plate 43.11). It is flanked by a limestone column on either side, each resting on a moulded base supported by a plain plinth. The capitals are so badly eroded that it is no longer possible to determine their original form. The columns are set in recesses 0.35m deep and carry an outer arch around the inner arch of the recess (plate 43.11). The two lowest voussoirs of the inner arch have irregular cavities roughly cut into them just above the springers, apparently for the purpose of anchoring a beam from which a lamp might have been hung. About 1.50m above the *mihṛāb* is a small blocked opening, presumably a window, under the crown of the vault.

(iv) *East iwān and adjoining rooms*

The east *iwān*, now accessible only from the *majma'* of the Ashrafiyya (see below, p. 593), has a window (now a door) in its rear wall, which is the west wall of the Ḥaram, and a door in each of its side walls. The door in its north side leads into a square chamber (A) roofed by a folded cross vault and lit by a grilled window in the east (Ḥaram) wall. In the centre of the chamber a gabled timber frame draped with green baize (plate 43.13) covers three cenotaphs, two of which have tombstones marking the graves of the Amīr Qunuqbāy al-Aḥmadī and his daughters, Ṣafar and Zahra, who died in 797/1395.<sup>29</sup> The circumstances leading to the burial of Qunuqbāy and his two daughters in the Baladiyya are unknown. Since the chamber is vaulted, not domed, it seems unlikely that it was originally intended for a tomb chamber.<sup>30</sup>

On the other hand, the chamber to the south of the east *iwān* is likely to have been intended to house the grave of the



Plate 43.13 Cenotaph in chamber 'A'

founder. It is rectangular in plan but recesses in all four sides reduce the central area to a square, presumably in order to support a dome. No dome survives, however – it may have been dismantled to clear space on the roof for the construction of the Ashrafiyya – and this part of the chamber is now cross-vaulted. This chamber is in a good location for a tomb: close to one of the most important Ḥaram gates, with a window opening south towards the Bāb al-Sakīna, and another opening east which, before the construction of the Ashrafiyya staircase, looked out on the Ḥaram. The latter window is placed off centre in the east wall, suggesting that some earlier opening may have existed here when the Baladiyya was built. The present window is, however, Mamlūk. It is grilled, has *ablaq* facings (plate 63.8) and has recesses on each side of the embrasure to allow shutters to fold away flush. The openings in the other walls, including a blind one (now blocked up) in the west wall, are all placed centrally. Though the tomb chamber never housed the grave of the founder, it does contain a low, gable-ended, plastered cenotaph that must mark the grave of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Khalīlī who was buried 'in the Baladiyya' in 1147/1734 (above, p. 447). The pointed-arched recesses in each side of the chamber rise almost the full height of the vault. The deepest one, on the north side, has had a secondary vault inserted into it to support a later entresol (not shown on the plan of the original mezzanines, fig. 43.4) which is reached from the courtyard by a modern staircase.

(v) *West iwān*

The west *iwān* is cross-vaulted like the others. It has undergone various changes including the rebuilding of much of the right-hand side of its frontal arch with a double row of voussoirs (plate 43.14), partly supported by the wall that now blocks the arch. The double window in the rear (west) wall appears to be a later insertion. A shaft attached to the wall blocking the arch allows water to be drawn from the cistern underneath to a relatively modern well-head on the roof.

(vi) *North iwān*

Of the presumed north *iwān* little survives except for a vaulting springer (c) at the north-east corner of the chamber 'B' which now stands in its place. No trace of a frontal arch exists, and the vault has been completely rebuilt, so it is only the vestige of an earlier vault at 'c', the presence of a cruciform substructure, and the likelihood of a symmetrical four-*iwān* layout (as was fashionable at the time of construction) that indicate that there

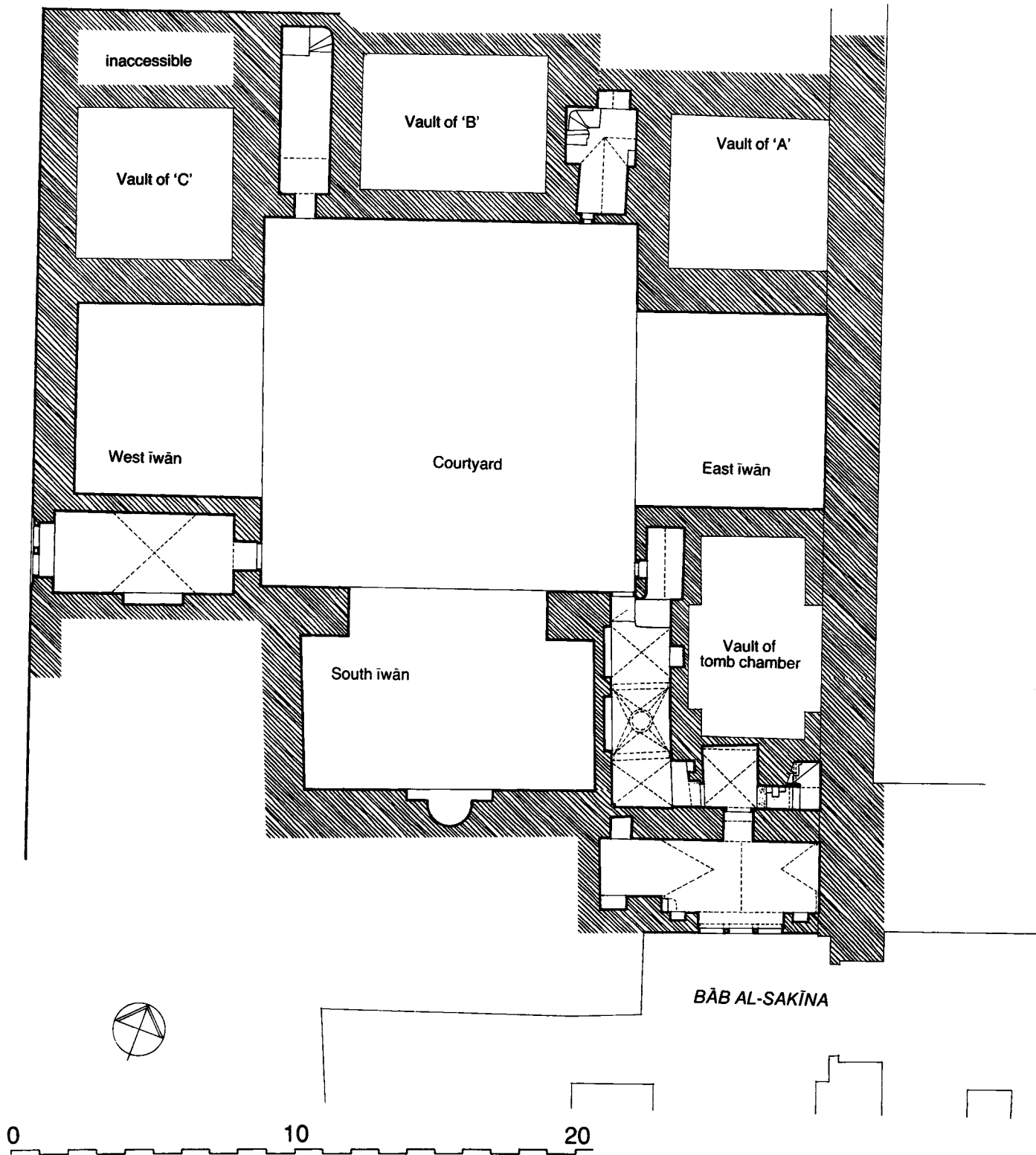


Fig. 43.4 Mezzanine plan

originally was an *iwān* on the north side of the courtyard.

(vii) *Corner chambers*

In the corners of the building between the *iwāns* there are various chambers. The two on each side of the east *iwān* have been described in (iv) above. To the north of the west *iwān* is a large, cross-vaulted room (C). A similar room may occupy the south-west corner of the building, west of the south *iwān*, but this area was inaccessible to us.<sup>31</sup> A short barrel-vaulted passage (D) between this area and the west *iwān* may once have provided access to that room.

Besides these larger rooms there are smaller ones in the

north-west and north-east corners of the building. At the north-west corner a passage (E) leads north to a staircase up to a mezzanine floor and, alongside the staircase, a window overlooking the Siqāya of al-ʿĀdil to the north, where are now the main public latrines. Next to that window a second passage (F) extends westward past a blocked door (which appears to have opened south into room 'C') to a tiny chamber, 'G', which has a window in its north wall and traces of a terracotta pipe against its west wall. This pipe might have drained water from the roof to the cistern below.

At the north-east corner of the courtyard another passage

(H) leads to a staircase to a mezzanine above (see below) and, beyond that, a series of very small rooms (I–L). The floors of these rooms are covered by an accumulation of debris (plates 43.15 and 43.16). Since none of them has any provision for natural lighting or ventilation they are quite uncomfortable. It is hard to imagine what their original purpose might have been. Traces of terracotta pipes in the western (I) and eastern (L) chambers indicate further drainage into the cistern from the roof, and a square opening in the ceiling of a recess in the north wall of room 'I' might once have provided some form of ventilation. What lay to the north before the 'Uthmāniyya (no. 57) was built is not known. A recent breach in the north wall of room 'K' (plate 43.17) opens through the back of a *mīhrāb* constructed of black and cream-coloured *ablaq* masonry in the lower mosque of the 'Uthmāniyya (see below, p. 550). It is possible to stand upright in the *mīhrāb* itself but not to enter the mosque since a new reinforced concrete wall has completely blocked off the *mīhrāb* from that side. The lower mosque of the 'Uthmāniyya is now quite inaccessible and this is the only evidence we have of its *mīhrāb*.



Plate 43.15 Room 'L' looking west

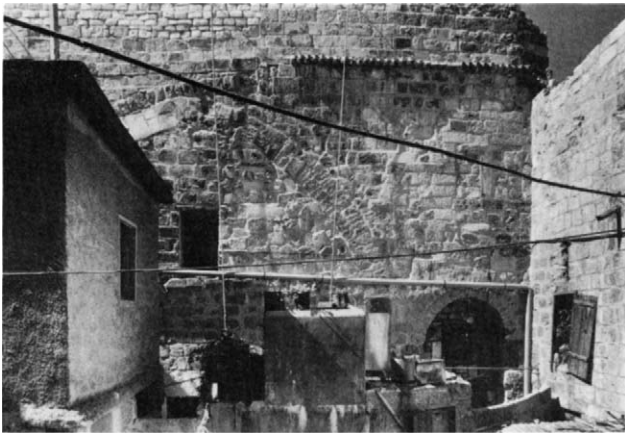


Plate 43.14 West wall of courtyard

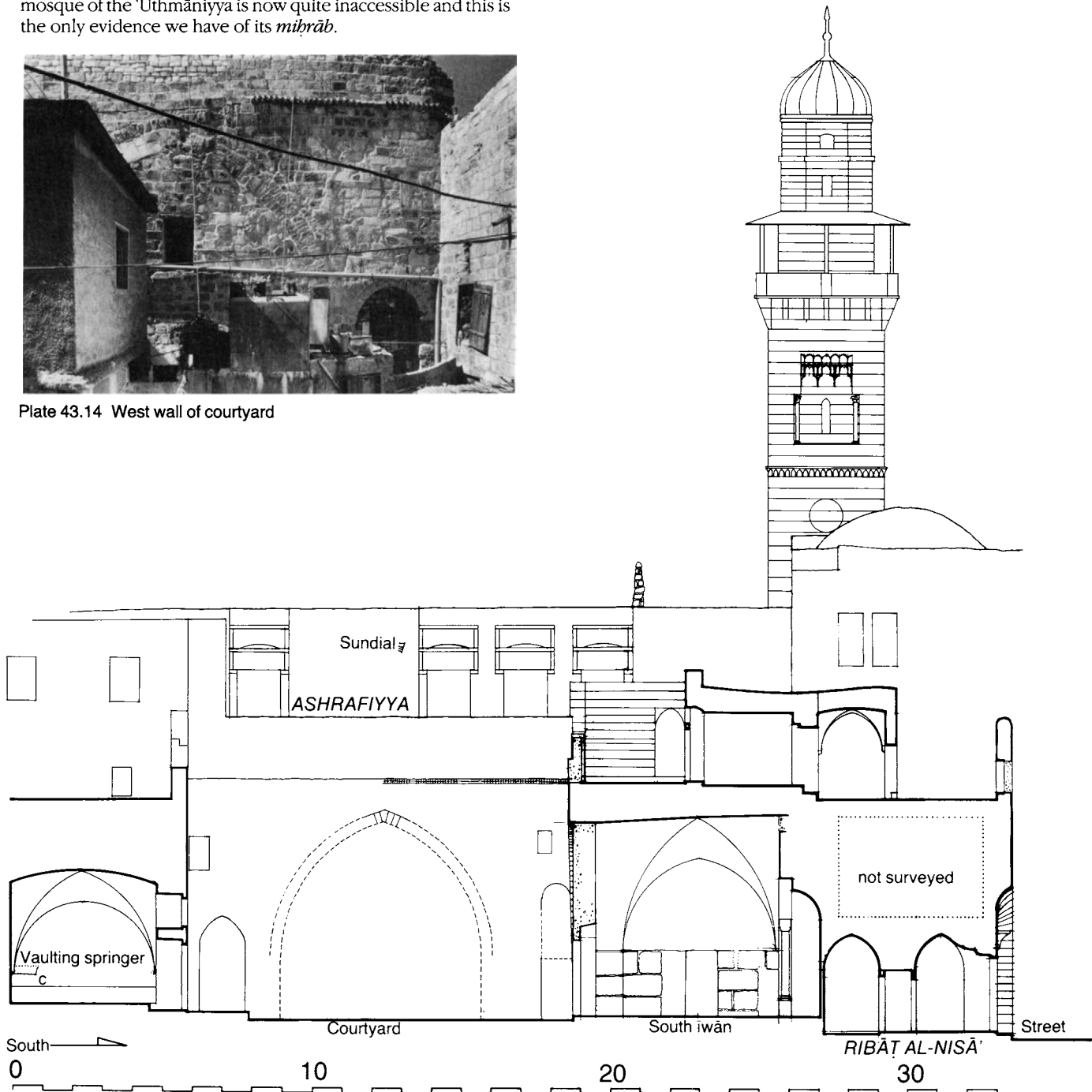


Fig. 43.5 North–south section through courtyard looking east

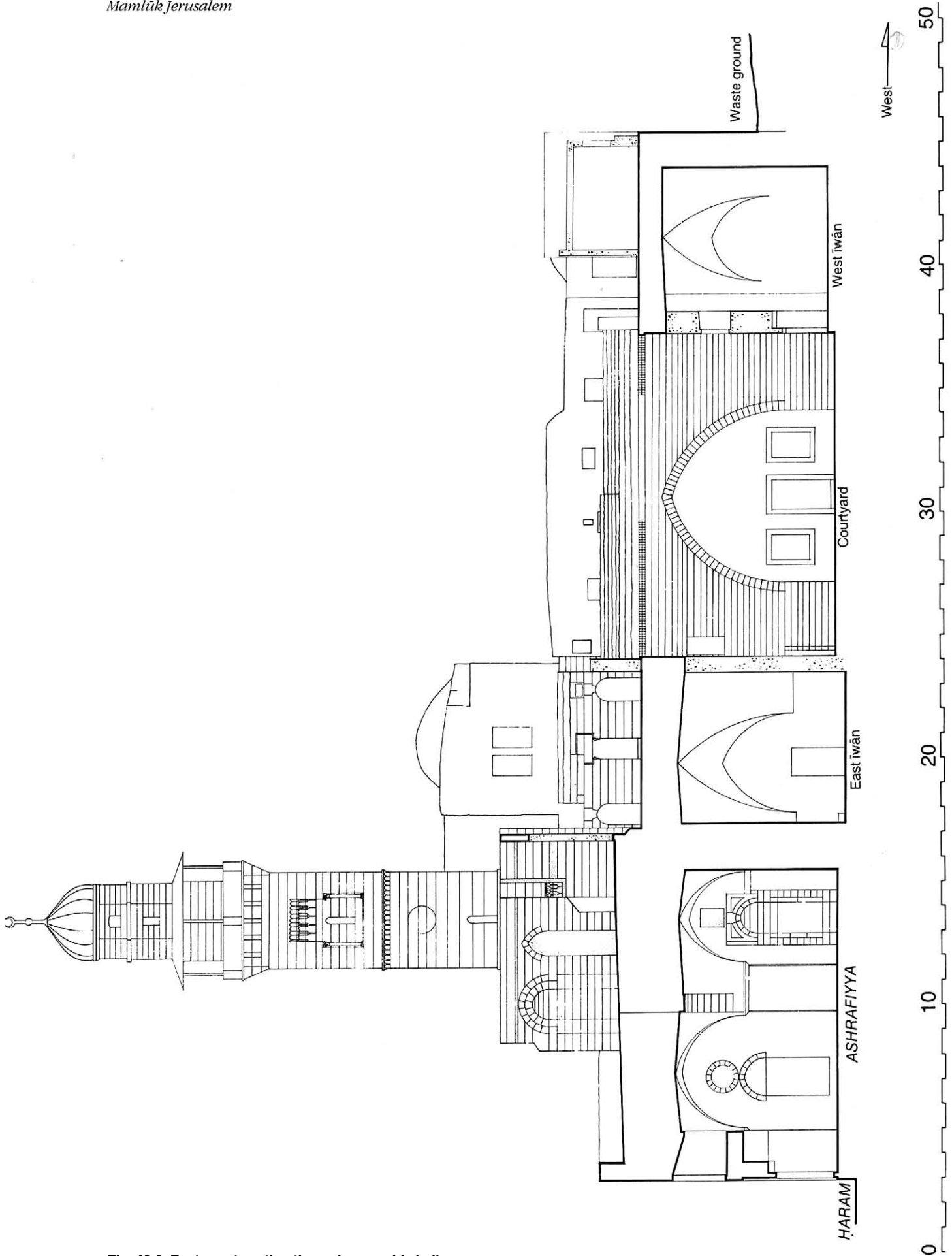


Fig. 43.6 East-west section through assembly hall of Ashrafiyya and courtyard of Baladiyya looking south





Plate 43.16 Room 'L' looking east towards east (Haram) wall



Plate 43.17 Breach in north wall of room 'K' into *mihrāb* of lower mosque of 'Uthmāniyya



Plate 43.18 Blind recess at north end of east wall of courtyard



Plate 43.19 South-east corner of courtyard looking south-east towards the Bāb al-Silsila Minaret with arch of south *īwān* on the right



Plate 43.20 Modern entrance to south-west mezzanine

As with the *īwāns*, the entrance to these groups of corner rooms are arranged more or less symmetrically in plan. The ones in the north and west sides are, except for later modifications, quite symmetrical, and a blind recess at the north end of the east wall (*plate* 43.18) echoes the recess at the north end of the west wall (*plate* 43.14), which is the entrance to room 'C'. It is possible that these entrances were originally arranged symmetrically also in elevation but there are too many later obstructions and alterations to be sure. Most of the alterations are to the north end of the building, which seems to have suffered considerable damage at some time, perhaps during the same earthquake that destroyed much of the Ashrafiyya. An incomplete billet cornice around the walls of the courtyard (see *plates* 43.14 and 43.19) is probably a later

embellishment added perhaps when these alterations were made.<sup>32</sup>

#### MEZZANINES (plan, *fig.* 43.4)

There are mezzanines in all four corners of the building. The one in the north-west corner sits directly over passage 'E' and is reached by a staircase from that passage. It has a rectangular window surmounted by a ventilation slit in its south wall (see *plate* 43.14). The vault supporting the mezzanine floor has collapsed in several places and has been replaced by a reinforced concrete slab, said by the present tenant of the adjoining room to have been laid in about 1970.

The south-west corner mezzanine is now reached by a modern external stairway that rises across the blocked opening

of the west *iwān*. There is no trace of an earlier stair; presumably one once led up to the mezzanine from the passage (D) below. The present door into the mezzanine (*plate 43.20*) is obviously modern, as is a double window in its west wall.

The north-east mezzanine survives largely intact. It is reached by way of a stair from the passage (H) below (see *plate 43.21*) and has a small window<sup>33</sup> in its south wall (*plate 43.22*) which originally overlooked the courtyard.

The largest mezzanine is in the south-east corner, over the entrance corridor. It is now reached from the courtyard by the same stair that serves the modern entresol in the north recess of the tomb chamber (above, p. 449) but was originally reached by means of the winding staircase next to the entrance (above, p. 447). That original staircase led first into a small cross-vaulted anteroom and from there west through a doorway (with a door reveal in its north jamb only, not in its south jamb which is in the pre-existing wall described above, p. 446) into the main room. This long narrow room is roofed in three bays by a central folded cross vault and two simple cross vaults (*plate 43.23*). A barrel-vaulted ancillary chamber is reached through a crude opening in the north wall of the main room (*plate 43.24*). The floor level of that ancillary chamber is approximately 0.50m higher than that of the main room. A small window in its west wall overlooks the courtyard. The present entrance door to the main room, which is alongside the entrance to the ancillary chamber, probably replaces an earlier window; there is no other window.

The anteroom at the head of the staircase now gives access to a room over the vestibule within the main entrance; this room (*plate 43.25*) appears to have been added not earlier than 875/1470 (above, p. 447).



Plate 43.21 North-east corner mezzanine looking north, showing staircase from passage 'H' on the left



Plate 43.22 North-east mezzanine looking south



Plate 43.23 South-east mezzanine: main room looking south



Plate 43.24 South-east mezzanine: ancillary chamber to north



Plate 43.25 South-east mezzanine: later room over vestibule looking south towards windows overlooking the Bāb al-Silsila/Bāb al-Sakīna porch

## Notes

1 The porch at Bāb al-Sakīna was filled with 'modern' buildings until their removal in 1871 (C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874*, i, London, 1899, 129-31). Included among these buildings was a *sabil* built for Sultan Qāytbāy (Mujīr, 661). An engraving by Finden published in 1835 shows these buildings from the south-east, and Tipping's engraving (1851) shows them more clearly from the west – see *Jerusalem in Old Engravings and Illustrations*, ed. E. Schiller, Jerusalem, 1977, 30, 96.

2 Meir Ben-Dov, Mordechai Naor, Zeev Aner, *The Western Wall*, Jerusalem, 1983, 57. It was near Bāb al-Silsila that the Crusaders built a large church, St Giles, from where the re-used sculpture in the Bāb al-Silsila may originate: J. Folda, 'Painting and Sculpture in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099-1291' *apud A History of the Crusades*, general ed. K.M. Setton, iv, *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. H.W. Hazard, Madison and London, 1977, 273. Folda suggests that this cruciform substructure may belong to the church of St Giles.

3 The largest cross-vaulted courtyard in Jerusalem is that of the Tankiziyya (no. 18), which measures 8.98 x 8.56m.

4 Mujīr, ii, 35.

5 *Ittibāf al-Akhiṣṣā'*, quoted by Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 156 and note 182. However, Ms. Dār al-Kutub (Cairo), *Ta'rikh* 407, fols. 55 a-b, has a different text: 'The Bāb al-Sakīna is adjacent to the door of the madrasa known as the Baladiyya. It [i.e. the gate (*buwa*)] is near the southern (*qibliyya* [*sic*]) minaret and the madrasa of the Sultan Qāytbāy to the north.'

6 Sijill 18, no. 2560.

7 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 87.

8 *Sulūk*, iii, 340.

9 *Durar*, v, 137.

10 *Nuj.*, v, 346, and *Sulūk*, iii, 204.

11 *Durar*, v, 137; *CIA (Alepp)*, nos. 190 and 191, and the biographical note from Sobernheim, *op. cit.*, 345.

12 *Nuj.*, v, 346.

13 *Sulūk*, iii, 389 and 406.

14 *Nuj.*, v, 346, 'behind the *turba* of Quṭlūbughā al-Aḥmadī, between al-Jawharī and al-Jamaliyya.'

15 Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya, iv, fol. 34b. See also Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, i, 54-5.

16 M.H. Burgoyne and A. Abul-Hajj, 'Twenty-four Mediaeval Arabic Inscriptions from Jerusalem', *Levant*, xi, 1979, 131.

17 *Op. cit.*, 130-132.

18 Mujīr, ii, 219. The other person could be read as the Amīr Baklamish, who died when *baṭṭāl* in Jerusalem in 801/1398, see *Daw.*, iii, 17. However, Mujīr al-Dīn claimed to have seen documents signed by the Qāḍī involved, Ilyās b. Sa'īd b. 'Alī, dated 802/1399-1400.

19 Ipsirli, 38.

20 Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 156, quoting Sijill 135, 111 (1054/1644-5). Possibly Kawm al-Tujjār should be read as Kawm al-Najjār, located in Gharbiyya province, according to Ibn al-Jī'ān, *Tuhfa*, 88. The other village has not been located.

21 Sijill, 13, no. 540.

22 Sijill, 57, 495 (1).

23 *Watbiqa Ta'rikhiyya*, 8, quoting Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Ḥusaynī (d. 1124/1712), *A'yān al-Quds etc.*

24 *Watbiqa Ta'rikhiyya*, 34.

25 *Op. cit.*, 40.

26 *Op. cit.*, 43. For *Kbūhiw*, see p. 000 above.

27 *Op. cit.*, 11.

28 Asali, *op. cit.*, 155.

29 See note 17 above.

30 A recess in the north wall of the chamber contained a beautiful multi-coloured robe that is now on display in the Islamic Museum on the Haram.

31 When we first visited the site in 1979 a double window in the west wall of this part of the building was open but iron bars and accumulations of debris prevented access. By 1984 this window had been blocked up.

32 The earliest directly dated Mamlūk examples of billet mouldings in Jerusalem are not earlier than the second quarter of the ninth/fifteenth century. This type of moulding became popular with Ottoman builders.

33 It was through this window that access to rooms 'I-L' was gained; the original access to them from passage 'H' is blocked. The window was subsequently blocked up in January 1980.

## 44 AL-WAFĀ'ĪYYA

### الوفائية

Founded after 782/1380-81  
Zāwiya of the Abū'l-Wafā' family  
Modern name: Dār al-Budayrī

#### I LOCATION (fig. 44.1)

On the south side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Nāzir, beside that gate.

#### II SITE AND BUILDING (fig. 44.2)

The site is bounded to the east by the Ḥaram, to the north by Ṭarīq Bāb al-Nāzir, to the west by Ribāṭ al-Manṣūrī (no. 5), and to the south by a vaulted chamber to the north of the Ribāṭ of Kurt (no. 7).

The building consists of a complex of vaulted chambers including one that contains a cenotaph marking a grave. Much of the structure appears to be pre-Mamlūk, possibly Ayyūbid. A house on the upper floor, associated with the zāwiya, has not been surveyed.

#### III HISTORY

##### IDENTIFICATION

Our guide, as so often, is Mujīr al-Dīn, who wrote, 'The Wafā'iyya Zāwiya is in the Bāb al-Nāzir [Street] opposite the Manjakiyya Madrasa.<sup>1</sup> One should also remember that he is here dealing with institutions directly adjoining the Ḥaram to the west.

##### FOUNDER

There is no clear indication of the identity of the founder of the zāwiya. What is known is that towards the end of the fourteenth century a member of the Abū'l-Wafā' family settled in Jerusalem and bought property there. Earlier, under Badr al-Dīn b. Muḥammad (d. 650/1252-53), the family had been centred in a zāwiya at Wādī al-Nusūr (Valley of the Eagles), west of Jerusalem,<sup>2</sup> and then a branch had moved to the village of Shurafāt, led by his great-grandson, Dā'ūd (d. 701/1301-2).<sup>3</sup> It was in turn his great-grandson, Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad, who settled in Jerusalem in 782/1380-81.<sup>4</sup> Two of his cousins were the immediate beneficiaries of the Amīr Manjak's endowing the family zāwiya with the village of Shurafāt.<sup>5</sup>

Mujīr al-Dīn wrote, 'Above it [the Wafā'iyya Zāwiya] is a residence (*dār*), which belongs to it, which was known as the house of the Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn b. al-Hā'im, then came to be known as the house of the Abū'l-Wafā' family, because it was where they lived. Formerly it had been called Mu'āwiya's house.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps this is the house that Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad bought in 782/1380-81, and this is the date after which one may place the founding of the zāwiya.

There was another zāwiya in Jerusalem during the Mamlūk period, which was associated with the Wafā'iyya Ṣūfī order, namely, the Red Zāwiya (*al-Zāwiya al-Ḥamrā'*) near the Ṣalāhiyya Khānqāh. Mujīr al-Dīn gives no details concerning the founder or the date of the foundation,<sup>7</sup> and there is nothing

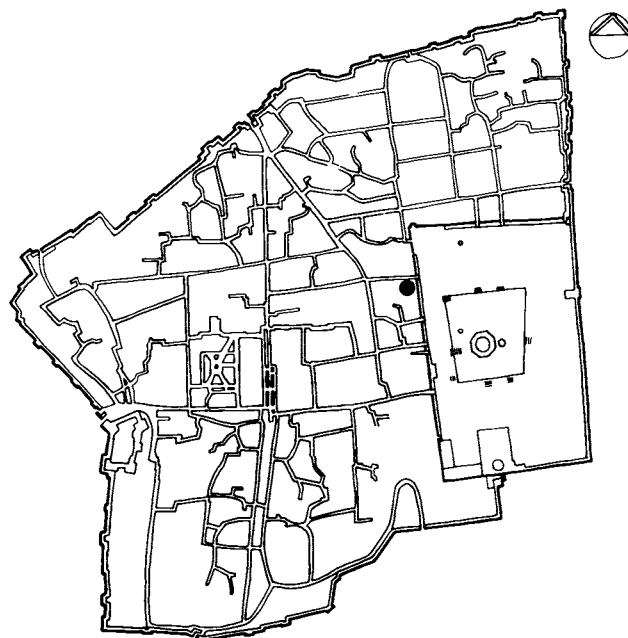


Fig. 44.1 Location plan

to connect it with the Wafā'iyya in the Bāb al-Nāzir street. However, this points to a problem which faces one in dealing with the latter foundation – when one meets with 'al-Wafā'iyya' in any source, does it refer to the zāwiya of that name or more generally to the Ṣūfī order and its members present in Jerusalem?

##### DATE

See the above section. Perhaps one will not be far wrong if the date of foundation is placed in the penultimate decade of the fourteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

##### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

A son and two grandsons of Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad are recorded as shaykhs of the Wafā'iyya in Jerusalem (with the possible ambiguity referred to above). They were Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr (799-859/1397-1455),<sup>9</sup> and Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (d. 891/1486)<sup>10</sup> and Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī (d. 874/1469-70).<sup>11</sup> In the case of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, one source explicitly refers to him as 'shaykh of the Wafā'iyya Zāwiya'.<sup>12</sup> He was also shaykh of the Hasaniyya Madrasa on the other side of the street. He followed his father, Abū Bakr, in both positions. There was a Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Amīn, who does not seem to have belonged to the same family. He is described as 'a Wafā'i Ṣūfī and a merchant', but in his case there is none of the ambiguity referred to above, since he is clearly said to have been 'shaykh of the Wafā'iyya community (*tā'ifa*)'. He died in the year 896/1490.<sup>13</sup>

The zāwiya was purchased by a leading Khalwatī Ṣūfī, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, in the eighteenth century, and then passed into the ownership of the Shaykh Muḥammad b. Budayr. The latter, in the year 1205/1790-91, made a waqf of 'all the house (*dār*), my present residence, which adjoins the Ḥaram to the west', and particularly specified that the lower chamber (*khalwa*), which was to be a mosque (*masjid*), should also contain his library, which he likewise constituted as a waqf.<sup>14</sup> The remains of this library were recently transferred to the Library of the Aqṣā Mosque, which is housed in the lower hall of the Ashrafiyya.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### ḤARAM FRONTAGE (fig. 44.3)

About 7m south of Bāb al-Nāzir, in that part of the Ḥaram wall which later formed the east boundary of the Wafā'iyya, al-'Umārī noted the window of a hall that was a waqf of the Ḥaram

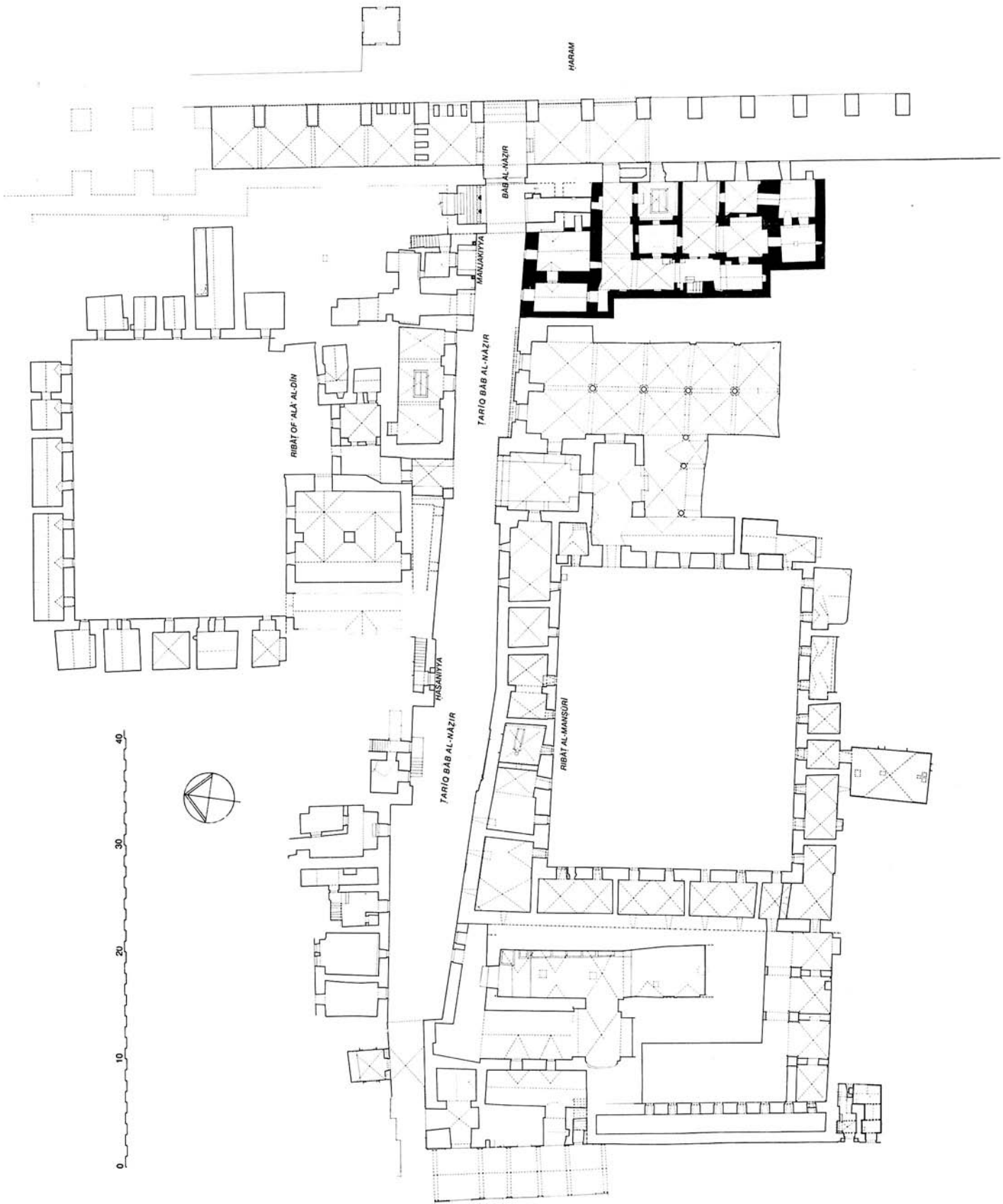


Fig. 44.2 Site plan

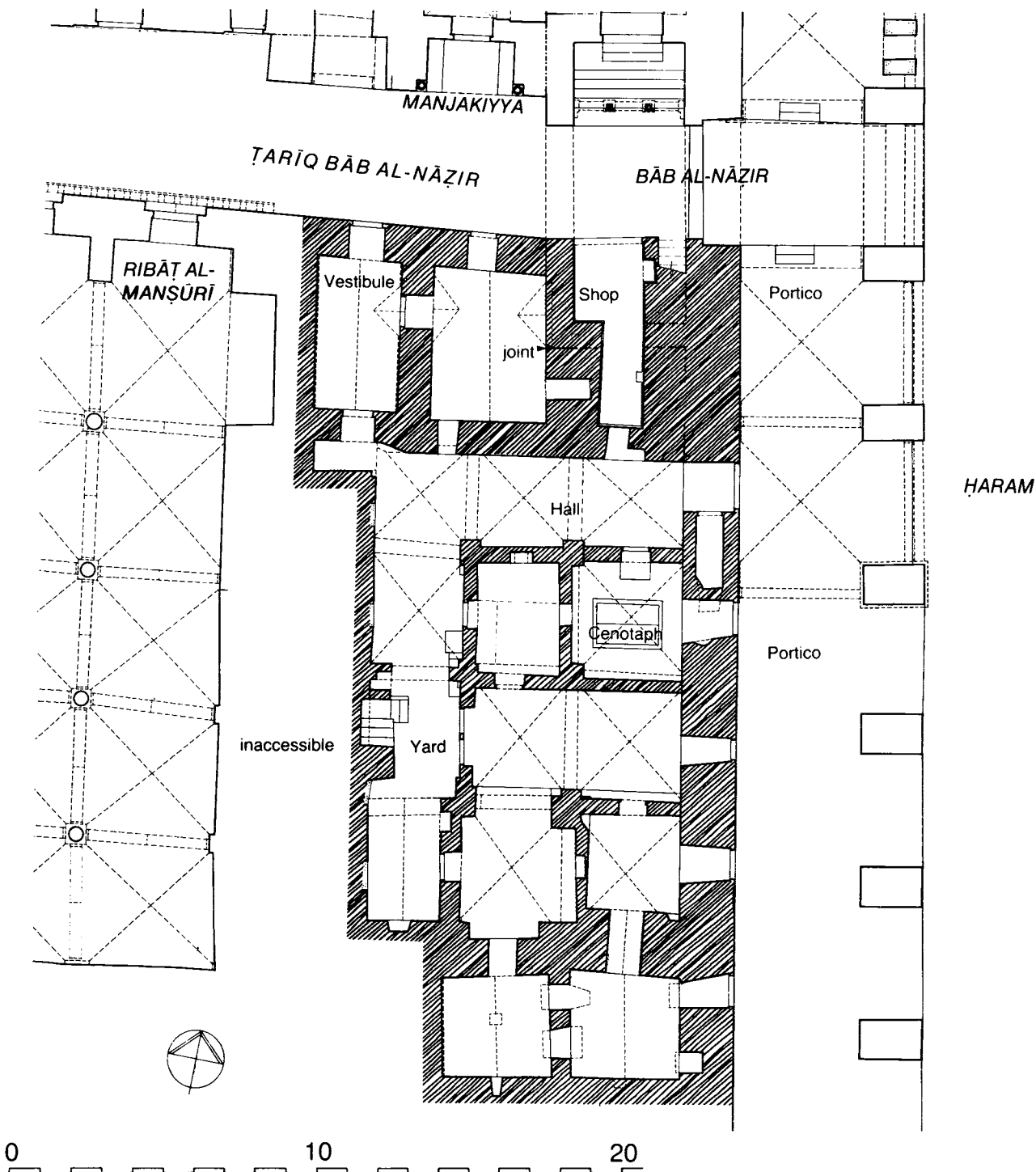


Fig.44.3 Ground floor plan

and at that time (c.745/1345) served as lodgings for the superintendent of the Ḥaram *awqāf*.<sup>15</sup> This window still exists, the northernmost of five plain windows opening on the Ḥaram from the Wafā'īyya. The southern four windows did not exist in al-'Umarī's time.

*STREET FRONTAGE* (plate 44.1)

The street frontage is three storeys high. The two lower storeys belong to the Wafā'īyya and the house associated with it; the top storey is a later Ottoman addition (see plate 44.2). The conjunction between the frontage of the Wafā'īyya and that of Ribāt al-Manšūrī to the west shows that the ribāt is posterior. The masonry of the Wafā'īyya frontage is not homogeneous and includes some stones with distinctive Crusader tooling and a mason's mark which appear to be in secondary use, indicating

that the construction is probably post-Crusader, perhaps Ayyūbid. In the upper part of the wall four re-used stones bear fragments of two Arabic inscriptions dating from the fourth/tenth or fifth/eleventh century.<sup>16</sup>

There are few openings in this frontage: two windows fitted with *masbrabiyya* screens in the upper storey (the left-hand one surmounted by a slit window) and a rectangular gridded window and a pointed-arched door with a slit window above it in the lower storey.

*INTERIOR* (plan, fig. 44.3)

That door leads into a barrel-vaulted chamber which serves as a vestibule from which two doors open, one east and one south. The door to the east opens into another barrel-vaulted chamber, lit by the gridded window in the street frontage. From



the south door a short passage to the east admits to the north-west corner of a long hall extending eastwards in three vaulted bays up to the Haram wall, where it is lit by the window observed by al-'Umarī. In the south side of the embrasure to that window a deep recess in the thickness of the wall might once have contained a staircase to the upper floor.

The western bay of the long hall opens southwards through a cross-vaulted extension into a small open courtyard, where a staircase against the west wall now serves the upper floor. On the southern side of the yard an archway opens into a barrel-vaulted room at the south-west corner of the zāwiya. The area to the west of these compartments is inaccessible since four openings into it are blocked. To the east, between these compartments forming the western and northern sides of the zāwiya and the Haram, the remainder of the ground floor consists of six rooms in two parallel ranges. These rooms against the Haram wall are lit by windows which were not seen by al-'Umarī, suggesting that the rooms were constructed at some time after 745/1345. The northernmost of these rooms contains a large anonymous cenotaph. From the southernmost pair of rooms two short passages lead south to two interconnected barrel-vaulted chambers between these rooms and the northern chamber of the Ribāṭ of Kurt (see above, p. 148). The eastern of these barrel-vaulted chambers is lit by a window in the Haram wall, not observed by al-'Umarī.

#### BĀB AL-NĀZIR OUTER PORCH<sup>17</sup> (plate 44.3)

As the plan (fig. 44.3) shows, Bāb al-Nāzīr, as approached from the street, is preceded by a square, cross-vaulted porch flanked on the north and south sides by broad *iwān*-like recesses. The northern recess now contains the lower part of the modern staircase to the Manjakiyya (above, p. 387); the southern one is partly obstructed by a narrow stair built against the east wall to serve the Ottoman buildings on the top floor of the Wafā'iyya. The original extent of this southern *iwān* (dotted on the plan) is shown by a straight joint visible in the east wall of the eastern room confronting the street. A deep recess has been cut through the rear wall of the *iwān*, evidently to help light the long hall of the zāwiya.

The date of construction of the porch is not known, though its semicircular frontal arch suggests that it is early. Conjunctions in the masonry of the street frontage show that it certainly predates all parts of the Wafā'iyya, and there are indications that the gate itself is Umayyad for, though its arched opening was rebuilt in about 600/1204<sup>18</sup> and an inner porch added in 707/1307-8, traces remain of the springings of an earlier semicircular arch that matches other Haram gates for which an Umayyad date of construction has been postulated (above, p. 45). The wooden doors were renewed in about 600/1204, as an inscription on the door leaves records.<sup>19</sup>



Plate 44.1 Street frontage



Plate 44.2 General view of upper floor, looking south



Plate 44.3 Outer porch at Bāb al-Nāzīr, looking east

#### Notes

- 1 Mujīr, ii, 37.
- 2 Mujīr, ii, 146-7.
- 3 Mujīr, ii, 147-8.
- 4 Mujīr, ii, 149.
- 5 Mujīr, *loc. cit.* Defter 522 (see Ipşirli, 35) gives details of this waqf made by Manjak (d. 757/1356), in which he gave the whole of the village for the support of the shaykh of the zāwiya. The first recipient was 'Alī [b.] Aḥmad al-Badrī, to be followed by his male progeny, or the Ṣūfīs living in the zāwiya. The date given for the *waqfiyya*, 894/1489, must be that of a later affirmation of the waqf.
- 6 Mujīr, ii, 37. Note that Mujīr al-Dīn mentioned a tomb, said to be that of the Lady Fāṭima, daughter of Mu'āwiya, opposite the Ḥasaniyya Madrasa, and therefore presumably to the west of the Wafā'iyya, see Mujīr, ii, 43.
- 7 Mujīr, ii, 47.
- 8 Asālī at one time places the foundation in the eighth century A.H., and at another in the ninth, see *Ma'ābid*, 346 and 311.
- 9 Mujīr, ii, 185-6; *Daw*, xi, 84-5. Defter 602, 457 contains a brief note of a waqf

- by a Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Wafā'ī, but with no date and no specified purpose. The property involved was a third of a plantation at Ramla and a quarter of a vineyard (location unspecified).
- 10 Mujīr, ii, 204; *Daw*, vii, 196.
- 11 Mujīr, ii, 193-4 and 287.
- 12 Al-Sakhāwī, see note 10.
- 13 Mujīr, ii, 211-2.
- 14 This information derives from Sijill 272, 147, quoted by Asālī, *Ma'ābid*, 346 and note 121.
- 15 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 161.
- 16 *CIA (Ville)*, 68-70.
- 17 For the inner (that is, east) porch see above, p. 387.
- 18 Mujīr al-Dīn (Mujīr, 383) says that this gate is ancient, formerly called Bāb Mikā'īl, and was reconstructed in the reign of al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Iṣā.
- 19 *CIA (Haram)*, 56-59.

# 45 AL-ṬASHTAMURIYYA

## الطشتمرية

This article is contributed by Dr Christel Kessler.\*

784/1382-83

The foundation inscription<sup>1</sup> reads:

The construction of this blessed place (*makān*) was ordered by his Excellency Sayf al-Dīn Ṭashtamur al-'Alā'ī in the year 784.

### I LOCATION (fig. 45.1)

This building of Amīr Ṭashtamur al-'Alā'ī, which the Chronicler of Jerusalem calls a *turba* or mausoleum,<sup>2</sup> and which the inscription across the mausoleum façade calls simply a *makān*, place or establishment, is situated at the south side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila, between the junctions of the Maydān Lane (*ḥāra*) to the west and Abū Madyan Stairway (*ʿaqaba*) a short distance to the east.

### II SITE AND GENERAL LAYOUT (fig. 45.2)

Buildings sited along Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila necessarily participated in a particularly lively religious and social ambiance in Mamlūk times. The twin gate Bāb al-Silsila/Bāb al-Sakīna where it ends was long since the principal entrance to the Ḥaram, the *'umdat abwāb al-masjid*, as Mujīr al-Dīn formulates; and he observes that it was the one used most by the people coming and going, because it leads to the city's highroad (*al-shāri' al-a'zam*) and to most of the markets and other streets of the town.<sup>3</sup> Topographically it is part of the ancient east-west artery of Jerusalem, the only direct connection between the citadel in the walls of the Upper City and the holy precinct (see fig. 1), crossing the Valley to the Ḥaram on a massive ancient causeway. By the time of Ṭashtamur's arrival, late in the eighth/fourteenth century, the section nearest to the Ḥaram had gained a certain architectural distinction: at least eight monumental buildings had been set up there; with the exception of the first, all within the past eight decades, the most distinguished being the madrasa/khānqāh complex of Tankiz built adjacent to that gate (see fold-out plan, fig. 14, at back of book). However, what will have been especially important for Ṭashtamur's choice of site was the fact that the majority of these buildings either were mausoleums (nos. 2, 28) or included mausoleums in a larger funerary complex (nos. 11, 13, 29, 36). There were six, which is a greater number than the scattered few built previously at or near the northern and western borders of the Ḥaram (for probable reason see below, p. 469); Ṭashtamur's *makān* comprising his *turba* was the seventh in Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila.

It was probably for reasons of space that he chose a site that was further from the Ḥaram than the others (fold-out plan, fig. 14). Indeed, nearer to the Bāb al-Silsila, where the road runs on top of the ancient causeway bridge, sites with a certain depth (generally restricted to the northern border) had already been largely occupied by the earlier funerary buildings. Ṭashtamur's site chosen at this particular distance and at the south side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila had the possibility of expansion onto the edge or lower reaches of the Upper City; and, moreover, rooms

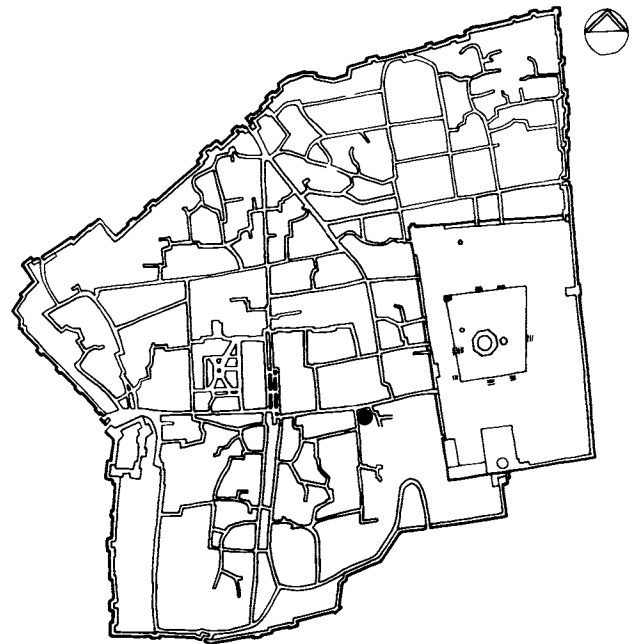


Fig. 45.1 Location plan

in the exposed rear part of the building had the advantage of overlooking the south of the Ḥaram precinct with the Aqṣā Mosque and its many holy places,<sup>4</sup> and when seen from the Valley, part of the building would stand out as an identifiable piece of property (hence, apparently, one of its rooms there had its window decoratively emphasized externally, cf. below, p. 471).

Two conditions of the site particularly affected the overall configuration of Ṭashtamur's building: the sloping contour of the terrain and its being crowded with remains of ancient buildings – both conditions typical for Jerusalem sites and vividly depicted in Mujīr al-Dīn's account of what made the Jerusalem architecture of his time so distinctive.<sup>5</sup> Since many of the irregularities in the fabric and levels of this eighth/fourteenth-century development are due to either of these conditions, reference to them will occur throughout the descriptive parts of this chapter.

### GENERAL LAYOUT OF GROUND FLOOR (plan, fig. 45.3)

The northern part of the complex, adjacent to Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila, is divided into two wings of equal width by siting the axis of the vestibule 'x1' exactly on the centre-line. In the façade elevation these wings are, however, of rather unequal appearance according to the different functions they were (originally) built for (fig. 45.7, plates 45.1, 45.2, 45.4). The left (east) wing is built as a vaulted market unit with independently accessible *rubū'* rooms above, very similar to the Sūq al-Qattānīn, and apparently built before Ṭashtamur and acquired by him. Only three bays with a shop and a *rubū'* room above are comprised in the Ṭashtamuriyya (perhaps there had been more), the shops probably continuing in use here with their original functions as an income bearing commercial unit,<sup>6</sup> while the rooms above were made part of the second floor development linked to the rear of this wing (cf. below, p. 471). The vault is extended west across the principal entrance which is sited between the two wings.<sup>7</sup> The right (west) wing accommodates mainly the domed tomb chamber or mausoleum 'a'; but it has at the corner of the façade a recess 'c1', which is here considered as having originally been a *sabīl* or place for the free distribution of drinking water (cf. below, p. 470), and a small room 'c2' directly above, half projected on cantilevered corbels (plan, fig. 45.4), may well have been a *kuttāb* (*maktab al-aytām*) or place for the teaching and care of orphans (cf. below, p. 470).

In the rear, behind the higher western wing and

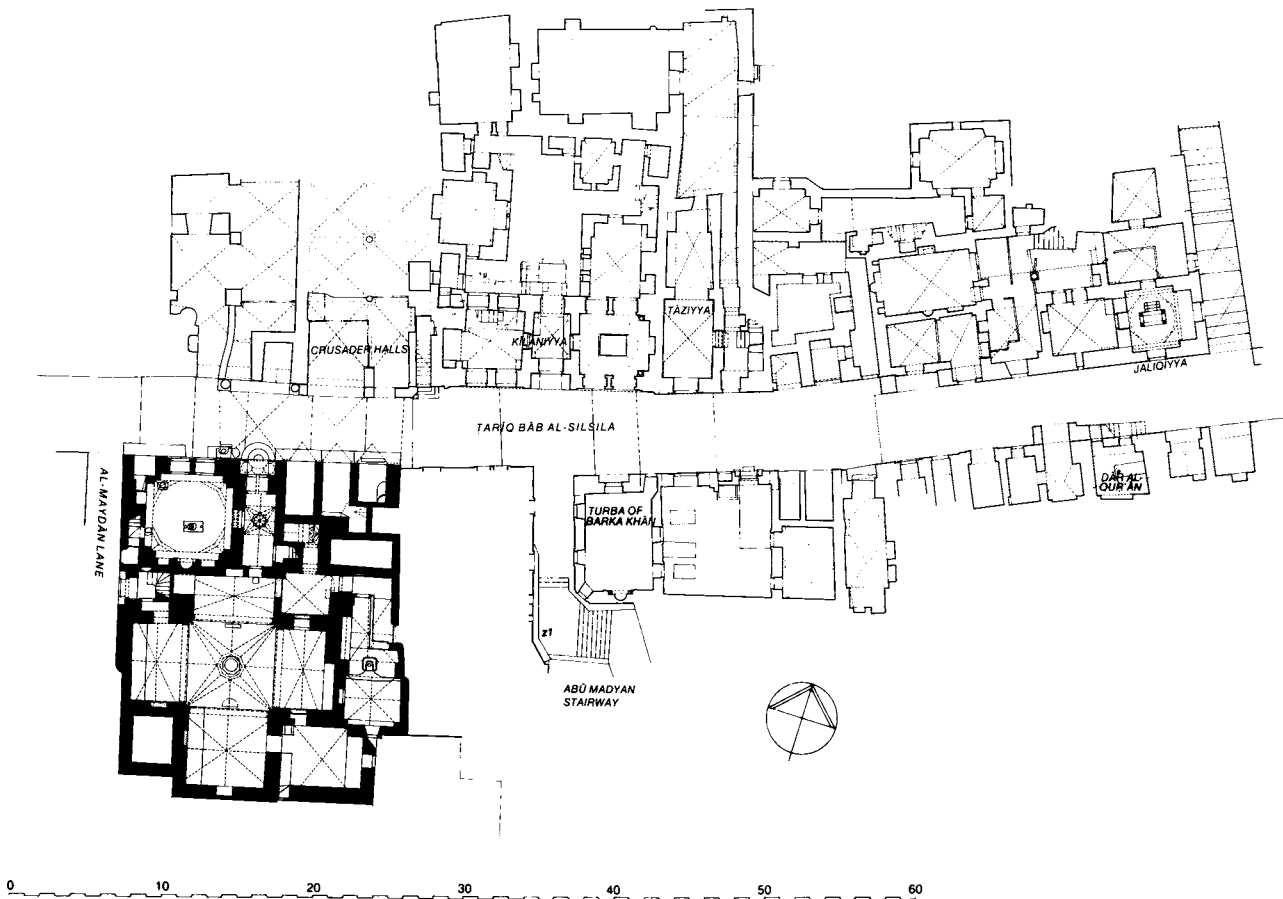


Fig. 45.2 Site plan

encroaching upon the area behind the lower eastern wing, is the madrasa with a vaulted four-*iwān* hall 'b' as its monumental core (plan, fig. 45.3). It is accessible from the principal entrance, at *Tarīq Bāb al-Silsila*, through the vestibule 'x1' (which also leads to the mausoleum). Another way of access is from the west entrance 'y' in the *Maydān Lane*, through vestibule 'y1' which is accommodated between the north and west *iwāns*. The other corner between the north and east *iwāns*, 'sunk' to the level of the eastern wing, provides communication to the latrine 'L' and room 'e1' which has a well and is partitioned off internally to serve as an ablution place (*midā'*) for the madrasa. This well-room is at the lowest level of a three-storeyed development in the rear of the lower east wing (section, fig. 45.9) here called annex, because of architectural evidence that 'e1' existed before the *Ṭashtamuriyya* and was simply incorporated or annexed and built upon (cf. below, p. 471).

Literary and architectural evidence together suggest that *Ṭashtamur* came to live in Jerusalem and not only built his turba, duly endowed with pious and charitable foundations, but also established his residence at this very site in the middle and upper floors which are considered here as the domestic quarters and the reception area respectively.

#### MIDDLE FLOOR (plan, fig. 45.4)

The middle floor in the eastern part of the complex, here considered as the residential quarters of the *Amīr's* household, are still in domestic use and probably have always been, and changes in structural make-up and ways of communication are bound to have occurred in the six centuries of its existence, but one aspect will not have changed substantially, namely, that it extended on the one hand, from the middle floor 'e2' of the annex into the upper corner rooms 'e2<sup>a</sup>' and 'e2<sup>b</sup>' of the four-*iwān* hall, which are not (or not properly) accessible from inside the madrasa, and on the other hand, into the *rubū'*

rooms 'd2' above the shops. In other words there will have been a large area of loosely connected rooms and spaces with recesses and landings on two slightly different levels – four to five steps apart (section, fig. 45.9) – that would stretch from the *rubū'* rooms overlooking *Tarīq Bāb al-Silsila* in the north to the largest room of this level in the south, which is also the one with the view onto the *Ḥaram* (plan, fig. 45.4).

It is in connection with this development in the eastern part of the site that the remains of a tall portal 'z1' in the upper reaches of *Abū Madyan Stairway* are here tentatively considered as remains of the east entrance of *Ṭashtamur's makān* (fig. 45.2; and plate 45.6, where twelve courses of a left portal jamb are visible, with its moulding turning right in the twelfth course).<sup>8</sup> There is a walled-up door 'z' in the now largely concealed eastern boundary wall (plan, fig. 45.3), which could well have once been connected by a passage to that portal. Access to the middle floor would have been via stairs accommodated, in all probability, in the room behind the walled-up door 'z2' (whether or not this now inaccessible room was at the same time provided with a connection to the main street – through the angled extension in the central shop seen in fig. 45.3 – remains to be investigated). In fact, considering the domesticity assumed for this part of the complex, it is hardly conceivable that the access from the great principal portal was used – i.e. via the vestibule and stairs beginning at a door adjacent to the entrance of the madrasa (plan, fig. 45.3). These stairs continue to the middle floor (plan, fig. 45.4) and lead to the reception hall or *qā'a* on the roof court (plan, fig. 45.5).

#### UPPER FLOOR (plan, fig. 45.5)

The upper floor, developed around a roof court between the dome of the mausoleum and the skylight of the madrasa hall, with rooms and shallow *iwāns*, is here considered as the *Amīr's* reception area. It identifies itself as such by the presence

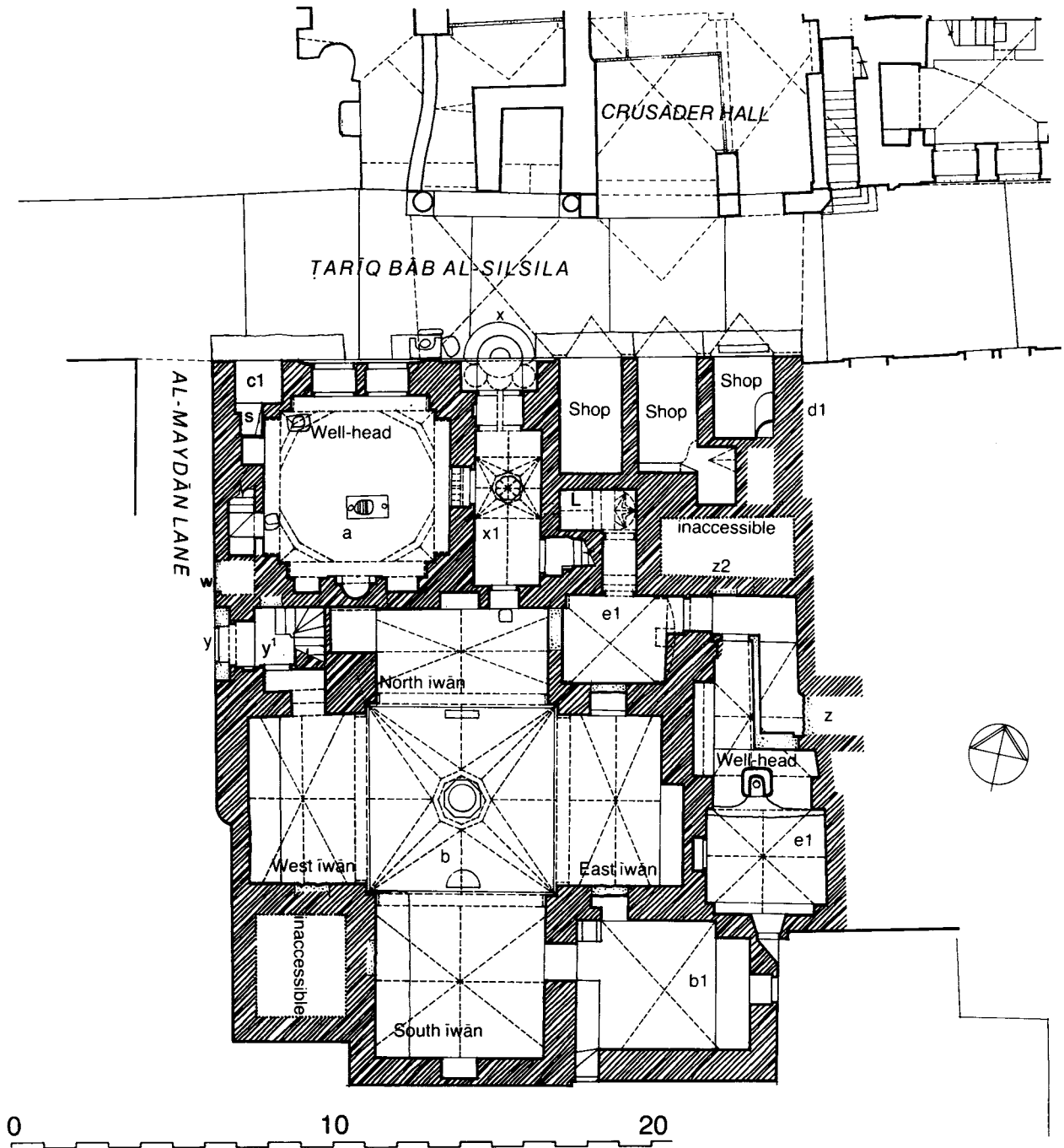


Fig. 45.3 Ground floor plan

of the *qā'a*-type hall (described below, p. 473) which, on a grander scale, was the core of any great amir's palace in the capital, including his own.<sup>9</sup> Perched as it is above the street-vault of *Tariq Bāb al-Silsila* this *qā'a* would, however, not have attained a suitably large extent had the vault above the shops not been extended across the great portal (section, fig. 45.7, and below, p. 471).

There is a separate direct access to the roof court from the west entrance 'y' in the *Maydān Lane* (elevation, fig. 45.11; plans, figs. 45.3, 45.4 and 45.5), via stairs that do not pass by any domestic quarters, unlike the stairs in the eastern part.

Thus much on the scope and composite nature of *Ṭashtamur's* establishment.

### III HISTORY

#### FOUNDER

The historians and chroniclers of the Mamlūk period tend to

refer to *Ṭashtamur al-'Alā'i* as the *dawādār*, since it was as First Secretary of State or Great *Dawādār* of Sultan *Sha'bān* that he had come to exercise considerable influence on government affairs. It was for the first time under that sultan, al-Maqrīzī states, that *dawādārs* were given power almost equal to viceroys, issuing royal orders without consultation, and he refers expressly to *Ṭashtamur*,<sup>10</sup> who held that position for the last six years of *Sha'bān's* rule (Jumādā I 772 to Dhū'l-Qa'da 778/November-December 1370 to March 1377).<sup>11</sup> He was about two decades senior to Sultan *Sha'bān*,<sup>12</sup> and his authority is perhaps best reflected in the angry remark reported of the Sultan when, on the road to Mecca, he was advised by *Ṭashtamur* to take action in view of the revolt that was on the verge of breaking out: 'You order me about (*taḥkum 'alāiya*) in Cairo, and now here too!'<sup>13</sup> However, *Ṭashtamur* did not always have strained relations with the Sultan, for we read that some years earlier (in 775/1373) *Sha'bān* took his ailing mother to the garden mansion (*manzara*) of *Ṭashtamur* on *Rawḍa Island*, staying

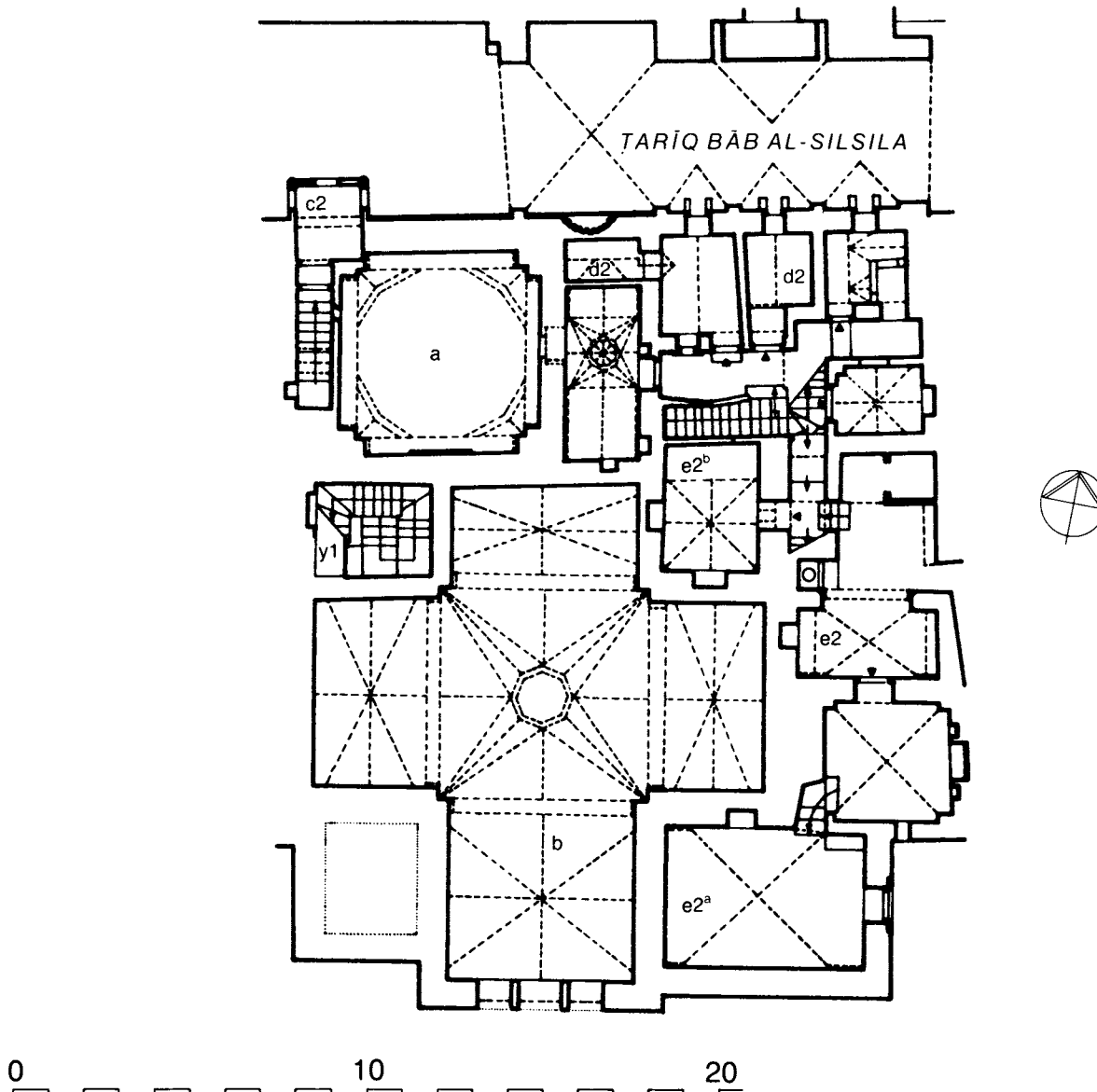


Fig. 45.4 Middle floor plan

there two days in company with all the amīrs,<sup>14</sup> among them certainly the Grand Amīr who was her husband. After the revolt that led to Sultan Sha'bān's assassination, Ṭashtamur took command, and cancelling the pilgrimage he led the return to Cairo. Attacked and defeated by the rival party he was briefly imprisoned and then removed to Syria but nonetheless given a high position as governor of the province.<sup>15</sup> There he quickly became leader of the amīrs discontented with the new situation, and their pressure contributed to a change in power structure at court. Within half a year Ṭashtamur was called back to the capital, made Commander General of the Egyptian Army (*atābak al-'asākir*),<sup>16</sup> and assigned residence in the palace of Qawṣūn,<sup>17</sup> one of the grandest palaces in Mamlūk Cairo where the highest-placed amīrs tended to reside. He did not last long in that privileged position, for under the nominal rule of a minor son of Sha'bān the real power was in the hands of the amīrs Barqūq and Baraka, as Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba asserts. Thus, for example, his request for the appointment of the learned jurist Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī as Chief Qāḍī was overruled (the previous holder of that post having resigned in disgust over the amīr's making light of religious affairs).<sup>19</sup> Apparently, Ṭashtamur had long-standing good relations with al-Bulqīnī since the time he was *dawādār* to Sha'bān, for we read that he had him conduct a scholarly disputation at his house in 776/1375.<sup>20</sup> It will have been his systematic way of handling things

that irritated Barqūq, Ibn Taghrībirdī judges,<sup>21</sup> which thus brought about his downfall. In the eyes of this historian Ṭashtamur was the ideal administrator whose good offices, absence of greed and excellent handling of state affairs had brought stability and prosperity to people's affairs, until he was arrested and Barqūq and Baraka took over, doing things which lastingly undermined the order of the Mamlūk state.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, Barqūq, having married Ṭashtamur's daughter, contrived intrigues that led to the arrest of Ṭashtamur in Dhū'l-Ḥijja 779/April 1378.<sup>23</sup>

Appointed Commander General instead of his father-in-law, Barqūq embarked on a ruthless policy of favouring mamlūks of his own Circassian race, and saw to it that Ṭashtamur was given no chance of regaining influence on state affairs. He had him first sent to prison in Alexandria, then into confinement without office (*battāl*) in Damietta, with a local fief assigned as subsidy for himself and his family.<sup>24</sup> Called back into government service about two and a half years later, Ṭashtamur was made governor of Ṣafad,<sup>25</sup> far from any centre of power. In that function he was ordered to join with his army contingent in a military expedition against the Turcomans which Barqūq and Baraka had planned some years before.<sup>26</sup> Eventually he resigned, not only from what must have been for him a humiliating position, but from participation in power politics altogether. He did so in Ramaḍān 784/November-



Plate 45.1 Façade (western half) at Tariq Bāb al-Silsila, with the twin windows of the mausoleum surmounted by the decoratively framed foundation inscription



Plate 45.2 Façade (eastern half) with commercial unit of 3 shops and independent lodgings, *rab'*, above

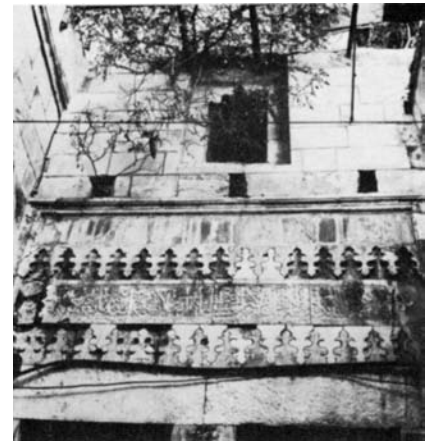


Plate 45.3 Façade: foundation inscription above mausoleum windows

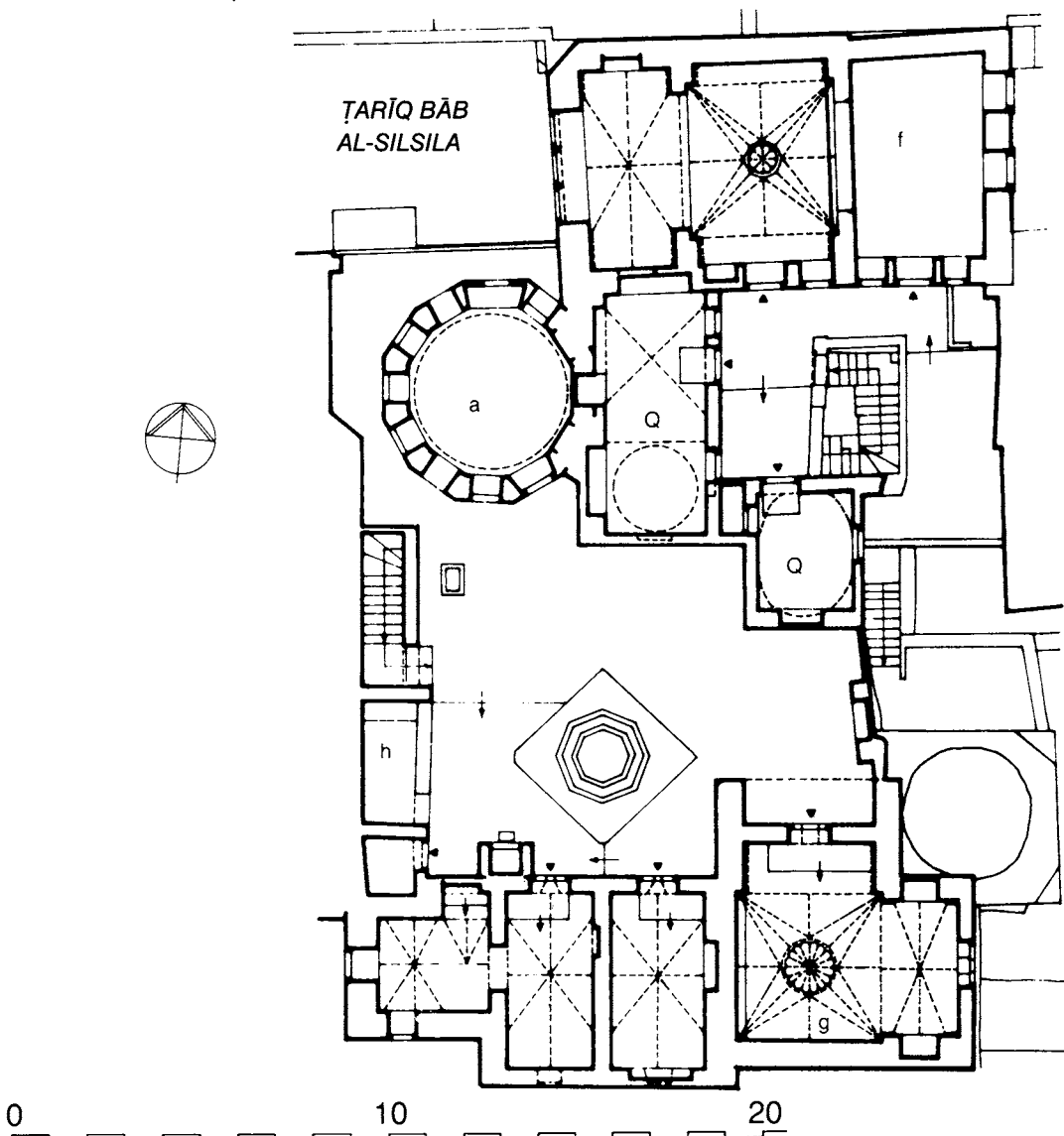


Fig. 45.5 Upper floor plan



December 1382, requesting permission to reside in Jerusalem without office.<sup>27</sup> Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba implies that it was an illness that had dictated such a move;<sup>28</sup> however, this can only have been a secondary reason: more important certainly was that by retreating to Jerusalem Ṭashtamur would be relieved from an active allegiance to the new Sultan – Barqūq – who ascended the throne on the 19th of that month/26 November 1382 (having deposed the (minor) son of Sha'bān, as previously he had rid himself of Baraka, his *kbushdāsh* or comrade in servitude and manumission with whom he had shared his rise to power for so long).

If Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, the only chronicler to speak of the earlier years of Ṭashtamur, is right in stating that he had initially been a mamlūk and *dawādār* of Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī, the first Atabek and regent-amir of Sultan Sha'bān<sup>29</sup> – and this seems to be indirectly corroborated by others<sup>30</sup> – then our amīr's rather passive attitude towards Barqūq appears in a new light: both had originally been purchased, trained and manumitted by the same patron, with Barqūq being the somewhat younger of the two *kbushdāshs*. Generally this common experience in their youth – in a country whose religion they had agreed to adopt, but whose language they did not speak – generated in the mamlūks a feeling of comradeship that lasted throughout life.<sup>31</sup> It will have been this loyalty that motivated Ṭashtamur, once become Great Dawādār of the Sultan after Yalbughā's revolt and violent death, to make efforts gradually to bring back his exiled mamlūks to Cairo,<sup>32</sup> among them Barqūq.<sup>33</sup>

His request being granted, Ṭashtamur lived in Jerusalem for about two years without regaining his health (*mutamarriḍ*), as Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba maintains, before he died in Sha'bān 786/September 1384,<sup>34</sup> just over fifty years of age.<sup>35</sup> The obituary notes in the chronicles lay stress on his quest for understanding the religious sciences, his seeking the company of specialists in Islamic law, '*ulamā'* and *fuqahā'*, whom he used to interrogate (*yujālisubum wa-yusā'ihubum*) and his association with men of letters.<sup>36</sup> Ibn Taghribirdī adds a somewhat lighter touch to the picture of his personality in mentioning also an inclination to learn poetry and listen to music.<sup>37</sup>

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

The body of the founder was laid to rest in his domed tomb chamber, but although the central cenotaph still survives, it bears the inscription relevant to Ṭashtamur's son, who was made a *ṭablkānā* amīr in 791/1389.<sup>38</sup>

... This is the tomb of the servant needful of God Almighty, the late Ibrāhīm, son of the late Ṭashtamur al-'Alā'ī. He died [and passed] to the mercy of God Almighty on Friday, 2 Sha'bān in the year 795 [13 June 1393].<sup>39</sup>

His tomb is possibly the one in a corner of the chamber. The tomb-stone was at some time transferred to the main tomb which had lost its own inscription.

One or two entries in the Jerusalem sijills which refer to the Ṭashtamuriyya in fact call it a madrasa. In 1020/1611 a Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. Qāḍī al-Ṣalt converted several fruit plantations around Jerusalem into waqf property to provide, among other purposes, a sum of money from which the joint *nāzir* and *mutawallī* of the Ṭashtamuriyya Madrasa would pay 90 paras a year to a person for supplying the fountain at the door of the madrasa with clean water throughout the nine months of the three seasons of spring, summer and autumn, and 45 paras for lighting each night a lamp in the vault over the street to the west of the Ṭashtamuriyya. The *nāzir* was to spend 45 paras annually on the provision of oil for the lamp.<sup>40</sup> The arrangements for the supply of water suggest that the waqf of the Ṭashtamuriyya was no longer fulfilling one part of the founder's plan.

In the year 1093/1682 a group of men, described as the *mutawallīs* of the madrasa, requested permission to carry out repairs which were estimated to cost 159 piastres. The details of the work required by the dilapidated state of the building are confusing, but concern the following features: the east wall of

the madrasa overlooking the public way leading to the Moroccans' Quarter, the lower great chamber (*bayt*) next to the east wall, the upper kitchen of the madrasa and the adjoining room and latrine, the western wall of the madrasa, which separates it from a house in private hands, the 'upper small *iwān* of the madrasa', and the portico over the street. In general, most of the rooms and the walls needed repair, as did 'the rooms attached to the madrasa'.<sup>41</sup>

A survey, dating from the end of the sixteenth century, of offices and positions in the various institutions of Jerusalem, together with the remuneration for each, mentions for the Ṭashtamuriyya the combined post of shaykh and *nāzir*, which two persons held, one receiving 1 asper daily and the other ½ asper. Two men shared the *farrāsh* position, which merited 1½ aspers daily, and three Koran readers shared 28 aspers each month.<sup>42</sup> Asali has noted the appointment of the four sons of Muḥammad b. Qāḍī al-Ṣalt to succeed him as '*mudarris*' in 1046/1636-7.<sup>43</sup> One of them was called Yahyā, presumably the same person that made the waqf in 1020/1611 (see above).

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

There is no mention of Ṭashtamur's building in Jerusalem, except by Mujīr al-Dīn: in listing the Turba Ṭashtamuriyya as an endowment (*waqf*) of the Amīr,<sup>44</sup> he obviously refers not merely to the tomb chamber or mausoleum proper, but to its setting surrounded by pious and charitable services, since the largest part of the perpetual funding would naturally be designed for the people engaged for the administration, performance and running of these services, from the teacher or shaykh to the mat servant or cleaner – and there would invariably have been one or more Koran readers.<sup>45</sup>

As neither the original waqf deed, nor a later copy of it has come down to us, there is only the architectural evidence to tell the scope of this *turba* or funerary complex, namely, that apart from the domed tomb chamber at least a *sabīl*, a *kuttāb* and a madrasa<sup>46</sup> were included. The waqf documents would also have specified the particular use of the various rooms to the east of the turba and on its roof, together with the original ways of communication, of which much has necessarily been altered in the six centuries since Ṭashtamur's death.

The structural fabric of the building and its decoration tell of various compromises due to the limitations of either space or finance, and one might add the pressure of time. For this is what the combined literary and epigraphical evidence suggests: if it was some time in Ramaḍān 784 that Ṭashtamur had asked to be excused from his office and allowed to reside in Jerusalem (possibly after Barqūq's accession on the 19th), and if the year 784 given in the inscription refers, as usual, to the date of completion at least of the bulk of the structure, then there could have been only three full months for its construction. Apart from architectural evidence this time factor is taken here as an additional argument for considering the eastern parts of the complex (at the frontage and the rear) as largely pre-existing. In other words, upon arrival in Jerusalem Ṭashtamur would have acquired a building or two along this prominent road, and will have only demolished and rebuilt as much as was needed for the planned mausoleum-madrasa unit and an appropriate entrance, making use also of existing boundary walls; the other (eastern) parts were simply taken over and made into a coherent residential area. Considering that from the demolition much of the building material was readily available on site, and considering the long tradition of the local masons in building with stones of all sizes and historical periods, there is every reason to accept that within the three months Ṭashtamur's *makān* was largely completed, including his reception hall or *qā'a* on the vault across the street.

There is, moreover, additional architectural evidence to the effect that the monumental portal unit was installed prefabricated, which would naturally have contributed likewise to the speeding up of construction works. This evidence may be considered first.

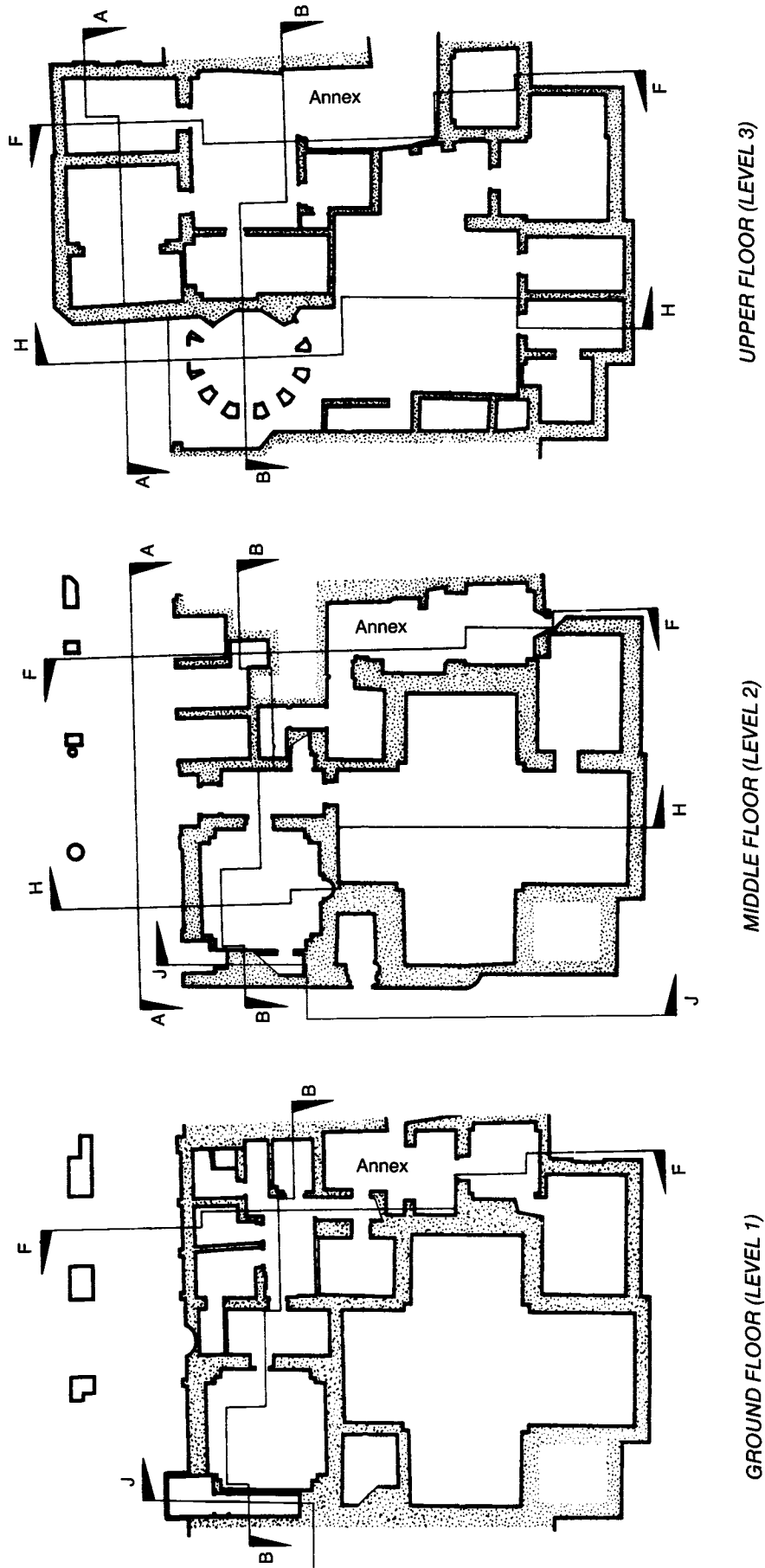


Fig. 45.6 Plans showing position of sections

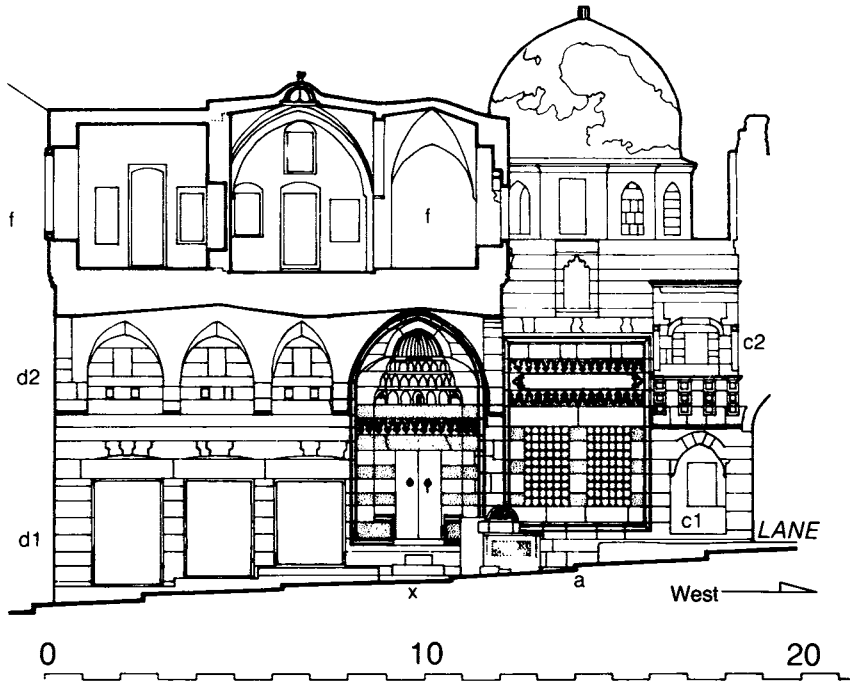


Fig. 45.7 Street elevation (section A)

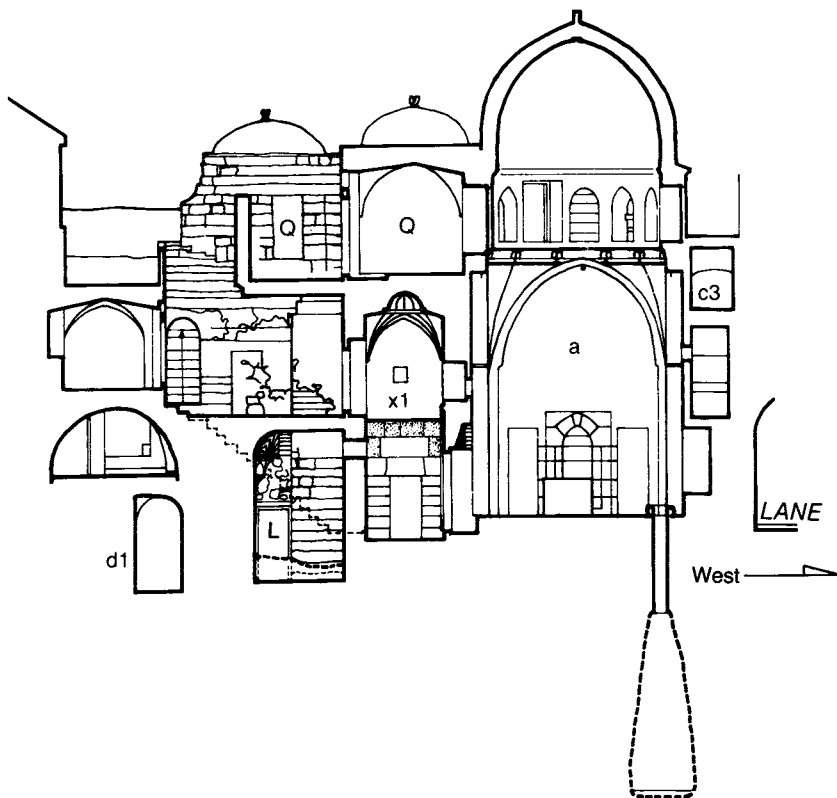


Fig. 45.8 Mausoleum looking south (section B)

PORTAL

It can be seen that the *muqarnas* portal was designed independently of the rest of the layout, since it necessitated various adjustments in the plan and elevation of the surrounding structure. Had it been sited on the exact centre-line of the frontage, like the axis of the vestibule (plan, *fig. 45.3*), its frame moulding would have impinged on the width of the adjacent shop recess (elevation, *fig. 45.7*, left). The portal itself could not, of course, be made narrower, since its width was linked to the geometry of the *muqarnas* (as shown in A.G. Walls' analysis, *fig. 45.12D*) and to the width of the cantilevered ashlar stones from which that was carved (*fig. 45.12A*). The whole had therefore to be shifted in the other direction (westwards) (plan, *fig. 45.3*), making the right jamb of the door, at the centre of the recess, come flush with the vestibule wall inside. Any further shift would have made the door too narrow and would have impinged on the springing of the terminal arch of the street vault (*fig. 45.12A*).

Even so further adjustments were necessary on the left side of the portal (elevation, *fig. 45.7*) where the springer of the street vault had to be moved to the left, thus reducing the bay over the westernmost shop recess and causing the window of the room above to be re-centred. It is also worth noticing that the frontal stones of the two upper tiers of the *muqarnas* hood have been smoothed into a curve producing a trefoil outline together with the frontal arch of the semidome above. One may wonder why this decorative effect was left without the usual emphasis of a moulding. This, together with the excessive width of the portal, or its hood, not anticipated in the layout plan, raises the question whether this portal may not originally have been made for another building, whether or not actually

installed there. In other words, had it been dismantled from some other site or had it been acquired ready-made from a builder's yard? Considering Ṭashtamur's eagerness to complete the building with its foundation inscription before the end of his year of arrival, either possibility would have speeded up the work. The slight off-centredness of this principal entrance is, however, of no consequence visually, since there is no overall decorative scheme for the façade, still less a symmetrical one as in the Turba Kīlāniyya obliquely across the road.

MAUSOLEUM

The mausoleum, the most important building unit of the whole, was of course placed on the best part of the frontage, in the higher west wing, which is also at the juncture of two urban thoroughfares. The size of the tomb chamber is somewhat larger than any other built on this street or elsewhere in Jerusalem in Mamlūk times. Made as large as possible in the space available, it takes up almost the whole width of that wing, except for a narrow strip bordering the Maydān Lane (plan, *fig. 45.3*). It is approximately square and is expanded on each side into a high pointed-arched recess. The transition to the dome is effected by means of two-faced pendentives spaced out to support a twelve-sided string course and drum (*plate 45.8* and section, *fig. 45.8*); these show the remains of pairs of shallow *muqarnas* elements applied to the obtuse corners of that dodecagonal course.<sup>47</sup> The dome rising from the drum has its base marked by a rounded-off string course; it is in profile slightly stilted and thus distinguished from the domes of purely local tradition which are generally more squat.

There is a *mikrāb*, soberly cut in large ashlar blocks in the



Plate 45.4 Principal entrance, between the mausoleum (right) and the commercial unit (left)



Plate 45.5 Eastern boundary wall: exposed southern end facing the Haram area, showing re-used earlier constructions



Plate 45.6 Remains, at Abū Madyan Stairway, of a bichrome (*ablaq*) jamb of a portal, possibly leading to the Ṭashtamuriyya some 8m distant

south (*qibla*) wall (*plate 45.7*), to stress, as customary, that although a memorial to a person, it was above all a place for the worship of God – for orthodox Islam has always denounced such commemoration as concealed idolatry. It is set between two recesses of which the left (eastern) one was originally a window opening to the madrasa, and so providing a physical link with those pious studies of religious sciences of which the founder, in establishing and endowing his tomb, has assured the perpetual performance. Such architectural openings, generally found in tomb chambers of the time, are an indication of the ardent medieval belief in, and aspiration for, that 'baraka' or beneficent divine influence, spiritual but felt also as substantial, which emanated from acts of piety. And since that was derived also from the blessings invoked by passers-by on the tomb, those who, like Tashtamur, could afford it would buy sites on prominent streets, where the stream of passers-by was dense and continuous. Hence the great popularity of this section of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila as a site for funerary monuments, even more so than sites along the borders of the Ḥaram, which was closed at night; and hence the invariable practice of providing a tomb chamber with at least one, preferably (as in Tashtamur's), with two large grilled windows opening on the street.

The sills of these windows are flush with the floor inside

and as broad as the dome-bearing wall they were set in. Here generally took place the supreme and most obvious of the acts of piety from which 'baraka' was derived – readings by professional readers of the Koran. It was certainly to honour their worshipful task of spreading the word of God (for the benefit of both those buried within and those passing outside) that these window sills were especially enhanced with decoration: here a patterned pavement of marble mosaic (in black, two shades of brown, and white). The place is marked off from the rest of the room by its own raised sill, composed of two pieces of white marble with a reddish piece of marble dovetailed in (note the trefoil shape of the joints in *plate 45.12*).

The tomb chamber is that part of the complex on which most of the decorative effort was spent, within the means at Tashtamur's disposal. Thus its entrance was especially embellished outside and inside: in the vestibule, the door jambs were constructed in bichrome courses, the flat relieving arch above the lintel given a curvilinear joggled inlay (now painted over), and the whole was surrounded by a rectangular frame moulding which ends on both sides in a curl (*plate 45.9*). There is a bronze door knocker (*plate 45.10*). This entrance to the mausoleum in the west wall of the vestibule was further emphasized by a folded cross vault in the tunnel vault of the vestibule (*plan, fig. 45.3*). Within, the arched recess of the door



Plate 45.7 Mausoleum: *mihrāb*



Plate 45.9 Vestibule: end of moulded frame at mausoleum entrance



Plate 45.8 Mausoleum: pendentives



Plate 45.10 Vestibule: bronze door knocker of mausoleum door

is capped by a radiating motive carved from stucco rather than stone (*plate* 45.11).

Externally, in the principal façade (elevation, *fig.* 45.7), the twin mausoleum windows are spanned by massive monolith lintels, and their jambs are of course constructed in that ubiquitous *ablaq* device for emphasizing and attracting attention. The whole is set in a tall moulded frame which contains the foundation inscription with its own eye-catching borders of joggled crenellated motifs in strongly contrasting *ablaq* effect – there was no space to make a complete frame (*plate* 45.3, note how the particular disposition of the white marble components, pointing up and down, seems, however, to frame the inscription).

The text of the inscription was kept to the bare essential and, what is quite extraordinary, the *basmallāb* was omitted. To judge from Max van Berchem's epigraphic survey, there is no other case of such an omission in the foundation inscriptions of Jerusalem. Here the reason must have been the lack of space, for it had obviously been Ṭashtamur's wish to endow his turba with both the popular charities of a *sabīl* providing water and a *kuttāb* for the care of orphans, and room had to be found for both of them customarily at the frontage of the building. A glance at the elevation drawing (*fig.* 45.7) will show that it was particularly the accommodation of the alcove on brackets – which is here called a *kuttāb* – that has restricted the decorative frame around the mausoleum windows and hence the extent of the inscription band within.

One may wonder what has prevented the calligrapher from condensing the *thuluth*-type lettering further for the inclusion of the four words of the *basmallāb*. But then, he had already condensed it notably by superimposing letters by three and in one place by four; going any further would probably have been against the rules he was working to in a one-line inscription, which is quite adequate and well balanced as it is. Whether or not the omission of the *basmallāb* was in the end a compromise due to calligraphic aesthetics, the limitation of the façade decoration of the mausoleum was above all an architectural compromise, and one that actually also concealed the spaciousness of the mausoleum interior.

#### SABĪL-KUTTĀB

The interpretation of the rather curious architectural arrangement at the north-western corner of the mausoleum suggests itself by a comparison with what was built in Cairo at the time. It happened precisely during the years when Ṭashtamur was Grand Dawādār there that a combination of a *sabīl* room with a *kuttāb* directly above was first built, and that in such a particular siting, namely at the corner of the mosque-madrassa-mausoleum complex of the Grand Amīr Yljāy al-Yūsufī who had married the Sultan's mother.<sup>48</sup> It was an improvement on the allocation of separate places to them, as in

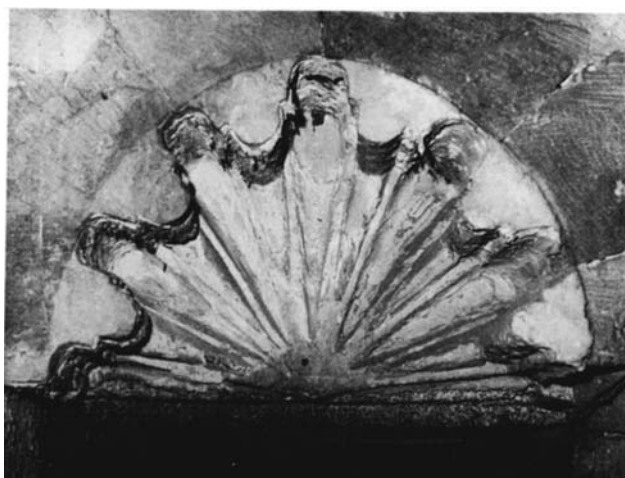


Plate 45.11 Mausoleum interior: stucco decoration of tympanum entrance

the madrasa-mausoleum complex which Sha'bān had built for his mother a few years earlier.<sup>49</sup> This novel arrangement, which hereafter became the standard formula for *sabīl-kuttābs* in Mamlūk Cairo, will surely have been a matter of discussion among the amīrs, and favouring it Ṭashtamur will have explained it to the local builders of his Jerusalem *makān*. They did their best to comply, displaying considerable inventiveness in producing space for each of them at the north-west corner of the mausoleum (which alone in the complex was directly exposed to two thoroughfares) taking advantage of the massive walls meeting there (plans, *figs.* 45.3 and 45.4; section, *fig.* 45.11).

As for the working of the *sabīl*, there is a well-head in the corner of the tomb chamber, above a cistern from where the water was drawn (plan, *fig.* 45.3; section, *fig.* 45.8); and there is a raised niche 's' beside it in the wall adjacent to the recess 'c1' outside, which has its own raised niche in the rear. The two niches are separated only by a very thin wall and water will have been poured down from the higher one (s) into the lower one (c1) for dispensing in the street.

As for the accommodation of the *kuttāb* 'c2' (plan, *fig.* 45.4) it is likewise effected largely within the thickness of the corner walls, but it is also half-projected from the façade on attractively carved cantilevered corbels (*plate* 45.1), whereby the room inside becomes c.2m square. There is an extension to it in the upper rear ('c3', *fig.* 45.11) reached by a ladder; although not high enough for an adult to stand in, it was perhaps used for storage of books, and probably also as a retreat for the teacher. Access to the *kuttāb* is via stairs within the western boundary wall of the mausoleum, now entered only from the side of the tomb chamber; however, originally there will also have been the usual access for the children from outside, through a now walled-up door (to 'c2') in the Maydān Lane (*fig.* 45.11).

#### MADRASA

Adjacent to the mausoleum in the rear of the site is the large four-*iwān* hall 'b' that represents the core of the madrasa. Its principal axis, on which lies the deeper *qibla iwān* in the south, is sited roughly central between its eastern and western boundary walls, each of which contain parts of older structures (cf., e.g., the unnecessarily massive eastern boundary wall in which recesses are hollowed out from both sides: plan, *fig.* 45.3 and section, *fig.* 45.10 where remains of an older arch are seen).

There is a certain decorative emphasis given to the *qibla iwān* in that a triple-arched window<sup>50</sup> was installed under its vault (*plate* 45.13) above the place of the *mīhrāb*, which van Berchem has seen, but of which no traces remain. However, as usual in this fashionable *iwān*-scheme for creating a monumental interior (largely independent of boundary walls), all decorative means are gathered around the central rectangle

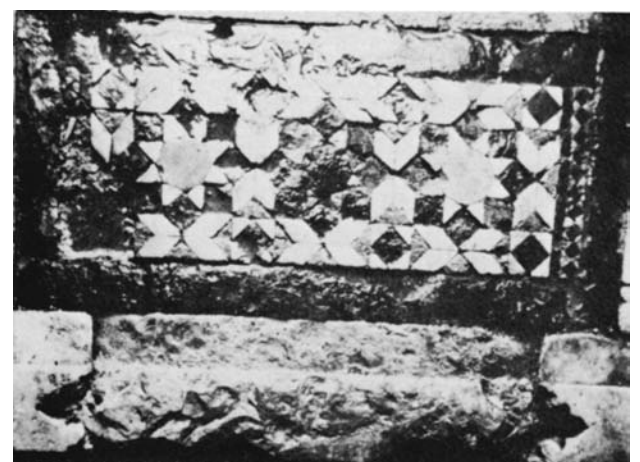


Plate 45.12 Mausoleum: marble mosaic pavement of window sills



– here a perfect square – between the four frontal arches of the *iwāns*. Apart from a subtle ornament applied to both the springers of the arch of the *qibla iwān* no directional emphasis is given, except towards the centre, where the volume of the room is increased by sinking the court and raising the vaulting system in relation to the level and vaults of the *iwāns*. At the borders of the sunk court the kerb stones are decoratively joggled in two contrasting colours, and a shallow octagonal basin of marble is placed centrally under the octagonal skylight (section, *fig.* 45.10) forming the centre of a patterned pavement.

The four-*iwān* hall is the largest interior space in this complex and much levelling has been done in the sloping conditions of the site. It is interesting to note, though, that only one of the four corner spaces of this hall shares its level, i.e., that in the south-east (both those in the west are higher,<sup>51</sup> like the ascending Maydān Lane outside, and that in the north-east is notably lower). One may wonder what was the reference point for the level adopted for this hall, since it had obviously not been easy to establish even for that of the south-east corner room 'b1', because of the fabric of the ancient wall on which this room was built (cf. elevation, *fig.* 45.9 and *plate* 45.5). As the survey drawings have made the levels readily appreciable, this otherwise hidden effort of the builders may be briefly noted in a separate paragraph.

#### LEVELS

The general level of the madrasa *iwāns* is found to correspond exactly to that adopted for the sill under the *muqarnas* hood of the principal entrance (part section, *fig.* 45.12B). This important portal sill, in its turn, seems to have been positioned with reference to the highest point in the street-level at the



Plate 45.13 Madrasa: south *iwān*



Plate 45.14 Latrine: stucco decoration at east end

façade, which is at the north-west corner (elevation, *fig.* 45.7); hence it came to be placed rather high in the middle of the façade, requiring four steps, of which three were set in front of the building in the street (elevation, *fig.* 45.7; in greater detail: *fig.* 45.12 A, B and C where the semicircular shape of the successively narrowing steps is shown).

There remained, however, a slight practical problem as regards the access to the mausoleum, for the floor of the tomb chamber, raised above the burial vault, was considerably higher than the level of both the portal and the madrasa (for the madrasa-mausoleum relationship, see section, *fig.* 45.10). It was cleverly solved by building up the vestibule by one step for its entire length. Two further steps were needed; one was made the doorstep of the mausoleum entrance and the other – a final high step up – was placed at the inner face of that door, as seen in the east-west section, *fig.* 45.8.

Communication between the new turba unit and the simply appropriated older parts in the east was limited in the ground-floor to the 'sunk' corner room between the north and east *iwāns*. Here internal stairs (of four to five steps) will once have given access to both the ablution place in the well-room 'e1' and the latrine 'L' (plan, *fig.* 45.3, the short passage leading to the latter is seen slightly obstructed in *plate* 45.15 by the substructure of the stairs to the middle floor; for its stucco half-dome, see *plate* 45.14).

In thus relating the level of the madrasa hall to that of the principal portal a certain median level was established for communication between the mausoleum, in the highest part of the frontage, and the dependencies of the madrasa, of which the ablution place 'e1' in the east is level with that of the lowest shop in the frontage (section, *fig.* 45.9); this room (e1), though, does not necessarily date from the same time. Whatever its earlier date, the fact that its centrally placed window in the south wall was half obstructed when the adjacent corner of the madrasa was built (for the oblique opening thus formed, see plan, *fig.* 45.3 and elevation, *fig.* 45.9) is sufficient to show that it was an older structure annexed by Ṭashtamur's builders.

#### RESIDENTIAL QUARTERS

Some living accommodation was already available in the market unit with its three *rubū'* rooms. No longer used in their original function as commercial letting, these rooms have lost their separate access as well as their uniform size (cf. the layout of the *rubū'* rooms in the Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn, *fig.* 24.3). At least one important modification surely dates from Ṭashtamur's time: the extension of the westernmost room on this level into the masonry behind the apex of the *muqarnas* hood (plan, *fig.* 45.4); the floor level of that extension corresponding neatly with the top of the upper *muqarnas* course was apparently built simultaneously with the installation of that portal decoration (section, *fig.* 45.12B). Another modification was that the usual open-air landing at the *rubū'* level was partially covered by the stairs leading up to the *qā'a* or reception hall on the roof court (*fig.* 45.9), with a small cross-vaulted room added at the middle floor landing of these stairs (section, *fig.* 45.8; plan, *fig.* 45.4).

Two further, larger, rooms (e2<sup>a</sup> and e2<sup>b</sup>) were gained for living accommodation on this middle floor when the tall eastern corner rooms of the *iwān* hall were subdivided by a new floor (plan, *fig.* 45.4). Both were made accessible from outside the madrasa, using the existing long well-room 'e1' as a kind of stepping stone, as seen in *fig.* 45.9 for the north-eastern room 'e2<sup>b</sup>'.

In the other upper corner room in the south-east, 'e2<sup>a</sup>', where contact with the well-room below was less direct, four steps were accommodated within a bent passage cut through the thickness of an abutting wall (plan, *fig.* 45.4), a fifth attractively decorated with a row of *muqarnas* elements being set in front of it (section, *fig.* 45.9). The room 'e2' was built as a kind of ante-chamber from where one ascends to 'e2<sup>a</sup>' which was in all probability the Amīr's personal abode, being not only the largest room on this level, but also the only one there

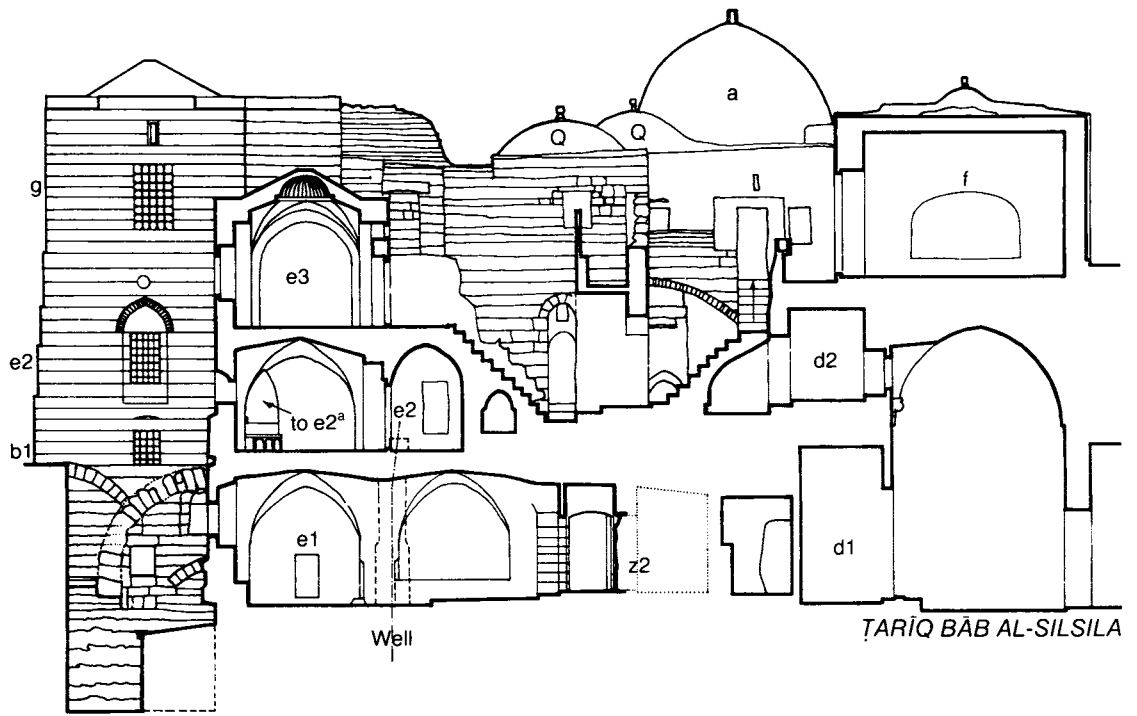


Fig. 45.9 Annex looking west (section F)

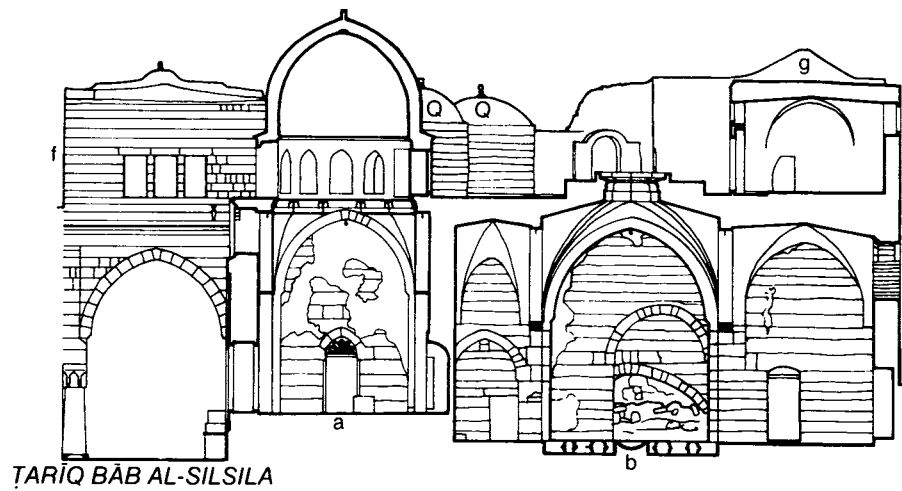


Fig. 45.10 Mausoleum and four-īwān hall looking west (section H)

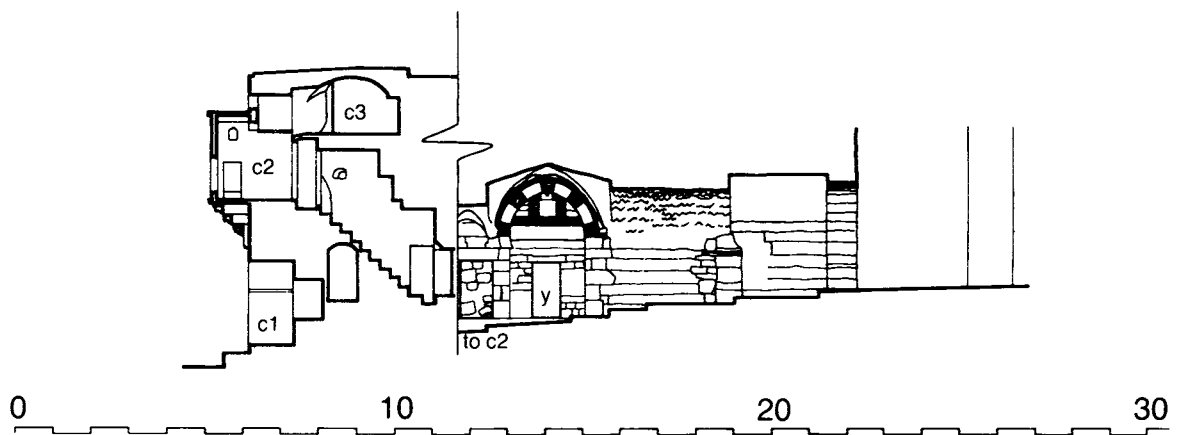


Fig. 45.11 Balcony and western entrance (part section J)

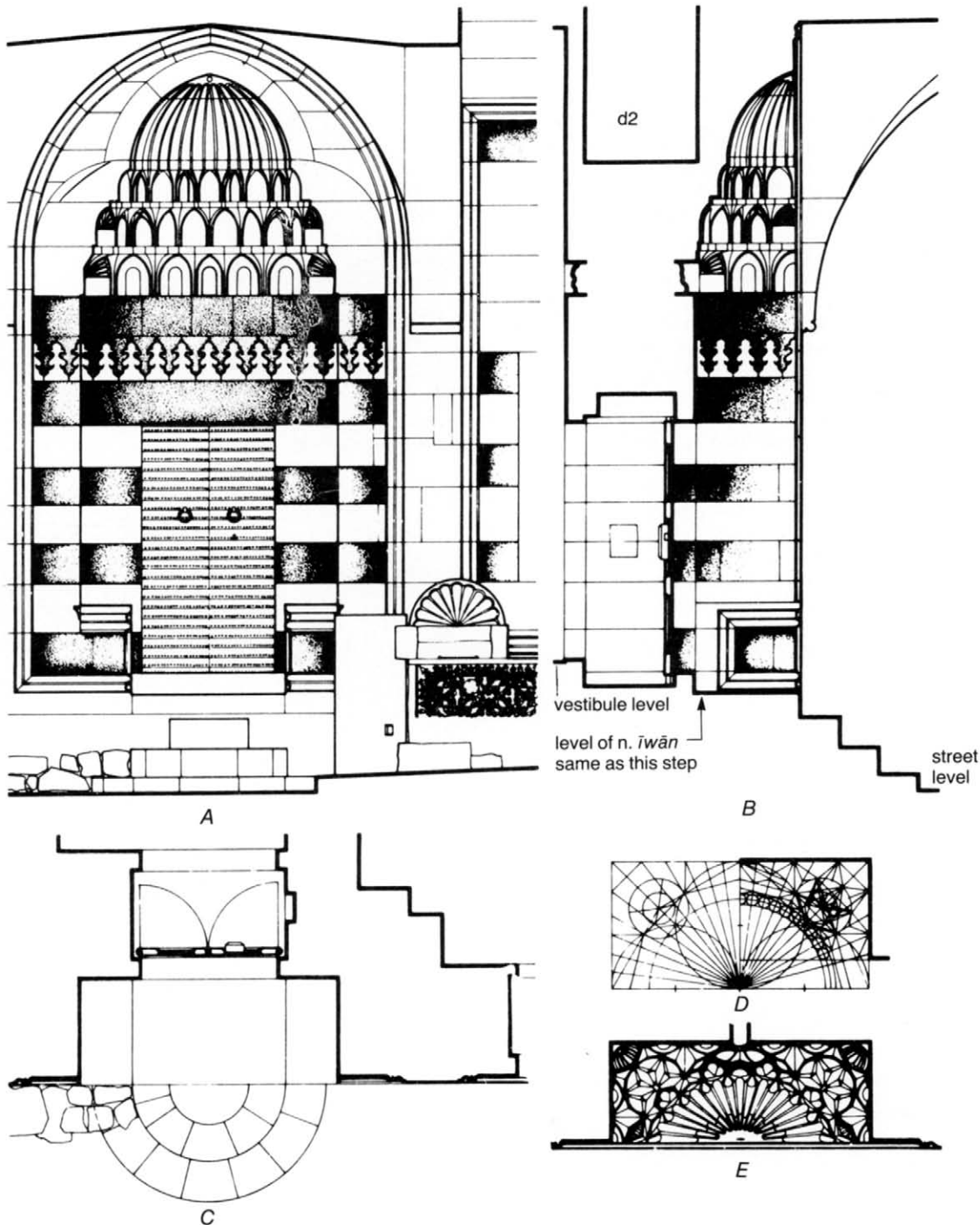


Fig. 45.12 Entrance portal

enjoying an unobstructed view onto the Ḥaram; moreover, its window is the only one on this side to be decoratively emphasized from outside, as seen in *plate 45.5*. Considering Ṭashtamur's reputation as seeking to learn and understand the laws of the religion he adopted, it is not improbable that he had asked his builders to provide a direct access from this place to the madrasa room below (cf. the beginning of a small stairway within the thickness of the south wall in room 'b1', (*fig. 45.3*); no traces of its issue are now seen above).

There is a single room 'e3' above the ante-chamber which belongs to this residential setting and has the benefit of an additional window in the east wall towards the Ḥaram (see *Levant*, xi, *fig. 9*); it is also embellished internally by a large fluted cap in the apex of its vaulting (section, *fig. 45.9*) and may

well have been built for Ṭashtamur's son Ibrāhīm, who died nine years after his father and was buried in his turba, according to the only funerary inscription that exists there.<sup>52</sup> The northern part of this residential middle floor may, in contrast, have been more specifically for the women of the Amīr's household, which would explain the installation of pairs of massive consoles under the *rubū*'-type windows at the street (not found in the Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn *rubū*') for carrying *masbrabīyyas*.

A Mamlūk amīr's residence would not be complete without a *qā'a* or reception hall of some architectural distinction, and that it was sited here on the vault across the prominent Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila made it duly important. Its extent was, of course, limited there by the domed tomb

chamber in the western wing, but the maximum was achieved, as can be seen in the elevation *fig. 45.7*. Internally the fashionable four-*iwān* scheme was applied to give it a focal point; of course, only two *iwāns* could be developed to a certain depth, the other two being reduced to shallow arched recesses not even marked like the others by a slight elevation in their level (section, *fig. 45.7*). The usual folded vaulting system, terminating in a shallow fluted cap, was adopted to enhance the central square, but it was here made only slightly higher than the cross vaults of the *iwāns*.

On the opposite (south) side of the large roof court (the rooms marked 'Q' in the drawings which subdivide it now are modern), a shallow external *iwān*, facing north (*plate 45.16*), gives access to the only other decoratively vaulted room on this level – naturally the one in the south-east with the view onto the Ḥaram (g) (plan, *fig. 45.5*). The vaulting system over its square part (section, *fig. 45.9*) is basically the same as in the *qā'a*, or in any other area of consequence apart from the mausoleum, i.e. the madrasa hall, the entrance to the mausoleum and the third floor room 'e3' of the annex. This room 'g' was in fact built encroaching on the roof of the annex room 'e3' (plan, *fig. 45.5*). A repaired earthquake rift in the south wall (see *Levant*, xi, pl. xxxva) indicates that much of this room, including its vaulting system may be a reconstruction. Perhaps it was in connection with such a rebuilding that its only window came to be placed off-centred, both inside (plan, *fig. 45.5*) and outside in relation to the other windows below (*plate 45.5*).

There is a small arched doorway, now walled up, in the east wall of the courtyard in front of this room (*plate 45.16*), whose external frame is seen in elevation in *fig. 45.9*. It was originally reached from the landing in front of the third floor annex room 'e3' – probably by wooden stairs. Thus all three residential rooms of the south-east corner (e2<sup>2</sup>, e3 and g) with a view onto the Ḥaram were put into communication. This together with their more pronounced decoration, either inside or outside, is architectural evidence suggesting that the *qā'a* may here have been a mere traditional requisite of an amiral residence, whereas the real focal point of Ṭashtamur's life in his Jerusalem *makān* was in sight of the holy precinct.



Plate 45.15 North-east corner room of madrasa: entrance to latrine



Plate 45.16 Roof court: south-east corner

## Notes

\* This assessment of the building, first published in 1979 and 1980 (*Levant*, xi, pp. 138-61, and xii, p. 163) is largely based on the extensive survey material established between 1971 and 1973 by A.G. Walls. His drawings – 8 horizontal and 14 vertical sections – were reduced in number for that publication and recomposed. This was done in 1978 by R. Kent who redrew and in a few instances revised the material (without, however, taking into account the structural changes effected in 1976 in connection with the redevelopment of the Old Jewish Quarter). Some of these drawings are published here. I have rewritten that article and adapted it to the subheadings devised for this book. Several people have advised me on the wording of the text; special thanks are due to Dr Terence Walz and, above all, to Robert Hamilton who, in addition, has recast and condensed the sections on the portal and the mausoleum. The paragraphs on the 'Subsequent History' are due to D.S. Richards.

1 *CIA (Ville)*, 293-96; *CIA (Planches)*, pl. lxxiii.

2 *Mujir*, 396; *Mujir*, ii, 45.

3 *Op. cit.*, 383; ii, 31.

4 *Op. cit.*, 365-70; ii, 11-16.

5 *Op. cit.*, 400; ii, 50.

6 For a similar case of incorporation of shops in a Mamlūk amir's residence cum mosque see, e.g., that of Amīr Beshtāk in Cairo (735-40/1334-39); plan in J. Revault and B. Maury, *Palais et Maisons du Caire du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ii, 1977, fig. 2.

7 On the reason for this extension see above, p. 462.

8 The profile of this moulding has been compared with those of other door surrounds at the Ṭashtamuriyya, see *Levant*, xi, fig. 16, where it appears closest to that of the main entrance.

9 Likewise called a *makān* in an inscription, cf. *RCEA*, xvii, 1982, no. 778009; completion date: Rajab 778/November-December 1376 according to another inscription, no. 778009; for the best plan (by A. Patricolo) and bibliography see A. Lézine, 'Les salles nobles des palais mamelouks', *Annales Islamologiques*, x, 1972, 108-12, fig. 19.

10 *Khiṭat*, ii, 222.

11 *Sulūk*, iii, 190; Ibn Qādī Shuhba, *Ta'riḥ*, ed. A. Darwich, Inst. Français de Damas, 1977, i, 144; *Nuj.*, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 1950, xi, 55.

12 See note 35.

13 *Sulūk*, iii, 279.

14 *Nuj.*, xi, 58.

15 In Dhū'l-Qa'da 778/March 1377 (*Sulūk*, iii, 286, 288; *Nuj.*, xi, 149).

16 In Jumādā I 779/September 1377 (*Sulūk*, iii, 316-17; *Nuj.*, xi, 160-61).

17 *Nuj.*, xi, 160: *nazzala ilā bayt Shaykhūn bi'l-Rumayla wa sakana bibi*; on the 'house of Shaykhūn' being identical with the palace of Qawṣūn, see Muḥammad Ramzy's comment in *Nuj.*, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 1929, ff., x, 304, n. 4.

18 *Op. cit.*, 144.

19 *Sulūk*, iii, 319.

20 *Sulūk*, iii, 240.

21 *Nuj.*, xi, 162; Popper ed., v, 308.

22 *Manbal*, Ms. Paris, Bibl. Nat. ar. 2070, fol. 185 b, where he also praises his sharp mind and prudence with many pertinent adjectives. Cf. Ayalon on Taghrībirdī's idealizing views of the Bahrī Mamlūk period *JAOS*, 69/3, 1949, 140, and *EL*<sup>2</sup>, ii, 24.

23 *Sulūk*, iii, 322-23; Ibn Qādī Shuhba, *loc. cit.*; *Nuj.*, xi, 162-63.

24 Prison: *Sulūk*, iii, 323; Ibn Qādī Shuhba, *loc. cit.*, gives date of release and transfer to Dumyāt as Jumādā II 780/September 1378; Dumyāt without date: *Manbal*, *loc. cit.* – however, in his later work Ibn Taghrībirdī does not mention his stay in Dumyāt, but has him sent directly to Jerusalem as *batūl* (*Nuj.*, xi, 304) and from there to Ṣafad (208). He seems to be also the only historian who has Ṭashtamur transferred from Ṣafad to the governorship of Ḥamā in 784 (212, repeated in obituary: 304). For his fief in Dumyāt: Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zubūr*, ed. M. Mustafa, Bibliotheca Islamica, 5c, 1960, 229.

25 Rajab 782/October 1380: Ibn Qādī Shuhba, *loc. cit.*; *Manbal*, *loc. cit.*, without date.

26 In Rabī' I 783/June 1381: *Sulūk*, iii, 442-43.

27 *Sulūk*, iii, 474; Ibn Qādī Shuhba, *loc. cit.*

28 *Loc. cit.*: *wa-ḥaṣala labu marad fa-ista'fā min al-niyāba*.

29 *Op. cit.*, 143.

30 *Sulūk*, iii, 137 and *Nuj.*, xi, 40 where in Rabi' II 768 a certain Amīr [?] Ṭash Tamur/Ṭashtamur, *dawādār* of Yalbughā, is mentioned as taking care of an appropriate burial of the mutilated body of Amīr Yalbughā [al-'Umarī al-Khāṣṣakī].

31 Cf. David Ayalon, 'L'esclavage du Mamelouk', *Oriental Notes and Studies*, Jerusalem, 1951, 29-31.

32 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *op. cit.*, 144.

33 In all probability it will have been through Ṭashtamur that Barqūq had then got a position at court in the service of the Sultan's son (*Sulūk*, iii, 943).

34 *Sulūk*, iii, 528; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *loc. cit.*; *Manbal*, *loc. cit.*; *Nuj.*, xi, 304; Mujīr, 396 and ii, 45.

35 Ibn Habīb, *Durrat al-aslāk*, ed. Weijers, *Orientalia*, ii, 1846, 459.

36 *Sulūk*, iii, 528.

37 *Manbal*, iii, *loc. cit.*, also *Nuj.*, xi, 304.

38 *Nuj.*, v, 403.

39 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 89.

40 *Sijill* 92, 87-8.

41 *Sijill* 185, 268 (1).

42 *Sijill* 68, 45.

43 Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 140.

44 Mujīr, 396; ii, 45.

45 Cf. D.S. Richards' paragraphs on the 'Subsequent History' for the positions still

held and provided for at the end of the sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries.

46 Mentioned in the Jerusalem sijills of the seventeenth century, cf. D.S. Richards (previous note).

47 Now partially obstructed by the introduction of a wooden floor for a new room under the dome, entered through a window of the drum at roof level.

48 Rajab 774/January 1373 (no. 131 of the *Index to the Mohammedan Monuments Appearing on the Special 1:5000 Scale Maps of Cairo*, Survey of Egypt, 1958). K.A.C. Creswell, 'A Brief Chronology of the Muḥammadan Monuments of Egypt to A.D. 1517', *BIFAO*, xvi, 1919, 113. Plan by A. Patricolo published in L. Hautecoeur and G. Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, 1932, fig. 18 (plan).

49 770/1368-69, (no. 125 of the *Index*); Creswell, *op. cit.*, 112; plan by A. Patricolo in Hautecoeur and Wiet, *op. cit.*, pl. 142. See also: Sophie Ebeid, *Early Sabils in Cairo and Their Standardisation*, unpublished MA thesis, Center for Arabic Studies, American University in Cairo, 1976.

50 The stones of the arch may have been a spoil (taken from the demolished part?), as its convex chamfering is not a Mamlūk decoration practice, cf. close-up in *Levant*, xi, pl. xxxiii.

51 The south-west room was not accessible at the time of the survey, but its raised sill is visible (see *Levant*, fig. 9).

52 See n. 39 and p. 465.

# 46 AL-QIRAMIYYA

## القرمية

Before 788/1386  
Zāwiya of Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Qiramī  
Modern name: Masjid Muḥammad al-Qiramī

### I LOCATION (fig. 46.1)

In the centre of the Old City on the east side of Tarīq al-Qiramī, about 30m north of the Lu'lu'iyya Madrasa (no. 40).

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 46.2)

The site is bounded to the west by the street, and by various unrecorded structures on the other three sides. Some of these unrecorded structures may belong to the original foundation, as may parts of the upper floor, also not recorded.

The principal components of the building are a vaulted main hall, reached from the street by way of a recessed entrance portal, and a vaulted tomb chamber to the north of the main hall.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

This zāwiya is situated in the quarter of Jerusalem known in the past as Marzubān, 'near the Bath of 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Baṣīr' and 'near the Badriyya Madrasa and the Lu'lu'iyya'.<sup>1</sup> This corresponds to the area east of the central markets at the top of the rise of the Khālidiyya Street. The building stands in what is now known as al-Qiramī Street.<sup>2</sup> There is no inscription.

#### DATE AND FOUNDER

The noted Sūfi shaykh Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān b. 'Umar al-Turkamānī al-Qiramī al-Shāfi'ī was born on 17 Dhū'l-Hijja 720/18 January 1321.<sup>3</sup> He grew up in Damascus and moved to Jerusalem where he became known as an outstanding ascetic. He visited the capital, Cairo.<sup>4</sup> He was in contact with Shaykh 'Abdallāh al-Biṣṭāmī (see p. 419) at the end of his life.

An amīr of Gaza, resident in Jerusalem, whose name was Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alā' al-Dīn Shāh b. Muḥammad al-Jilī, was one of the shaykh's disciples. Among the many waqfs and foundations credited to the amīr is this zāwiya. His endowments in favour of the shaykh and his descendants amounted to a third of his resources. He died during the lifetime of the shaykh.<sup>5</sup> The latter died in 788/1386, and was buried in the zāwiya.<sup>6</sup> His son, Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir, who was also a noted shaykh, was buried near his father in 843/1439-40.<sup>7</sup> Other members of the family are mentioned for the second half of the fifteenth century, by which time they seem to have joined the regular religious hierarchy of the city. A second Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Qiramī who was a lawyer (*faqīh*) in the Ṣalāḥiyya Madrasa and Imām in the Aqṣā Mosque (d. Rabī' I 867/December 1462), and his son, Zayn al-Dīn 'Umar, also attached to the Ṣalāḥiyya and a notary (*'adl*), who died in 880/1475-76, were both buried 'with their ancestors in the zāwiya'.<sup>8</sup>

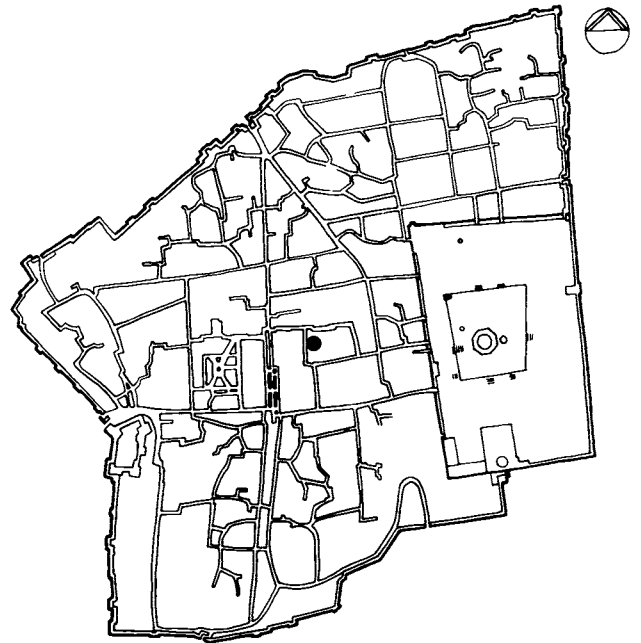


Fig. 46.1 Location plan

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

The zāwiya of al-Qiramī, which in a sijill reference of 937/1531 is described as the *maqām*<sup>9</sup>, that is, the saintly tomb, of the shaykh, had within it a 'house' (*dār*), half of which was leased for a period of ten years by Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qiramī.<sup>10</sup> Does this indicate that ordinary residential use had taken over in the zāwiya, as one might also infer from the listing of the worldly goods of a woman resident in the zāwiya in Sha'bān 947/March 1541?<sup>11</sup>

In Dhū'l-Qa'da 1066/August 1656 Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Ḥamīd, the inspector and administrator of 'the waqf of his ancestor on his mother's side [the Shaykh Muḥammad al-Qiramī]', reported before the Qādī the dilapidated state of the tomb chamber and other parts of the building and, since there was not sufficient ready money, requested permission to borrow against 'the agricultural income and the rest of the property and shops' to meet the estimated cost of repairs, 251 piastres (*gbursb asadī*). The details of the necessary repairs speak of 'the western wall near the door', 'the stairway near the entrance along with the two rooms above', 'the mosque (*jāmi'*) within the zāwiya', 'the six upper rooms . . . the lower *iwān* which is in the garden (*ḥakūra*)', and specifies the raising of the garden wall by a cubit for greater privacy and security.<sup>12</sup>

In recent years the administration of the Awqāf has repaired and refurbished the tomb chamber and now it functions as a mosque.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### STREET FRONTAGE (fig. 46.2)

The frontage is two storeys high. The variety of masonry types and course heights indicates that the lower part of the wall has been rebuilt in places, possibly more than once. The masonry of the upper part of the wall is more or less uniform except at the right-hand (southern) end where it has been rebuilt in recent years. Modern strainer arches span the street to buttress the frontage.

The fenestration comprises three small rectangular windows at the upper level and two gridded windows opening on the tomb chamber at the lower level. The iron grille of the right-hand lower window is typically Mamlūk with spherical bosses at the intersections but it was obviously intended for a taller opening (see *plate* 46.1), perhaps an earlier window replaced by the present one. The grille of the left-hand window is altogether cruder and both it and its window must be later insertions.



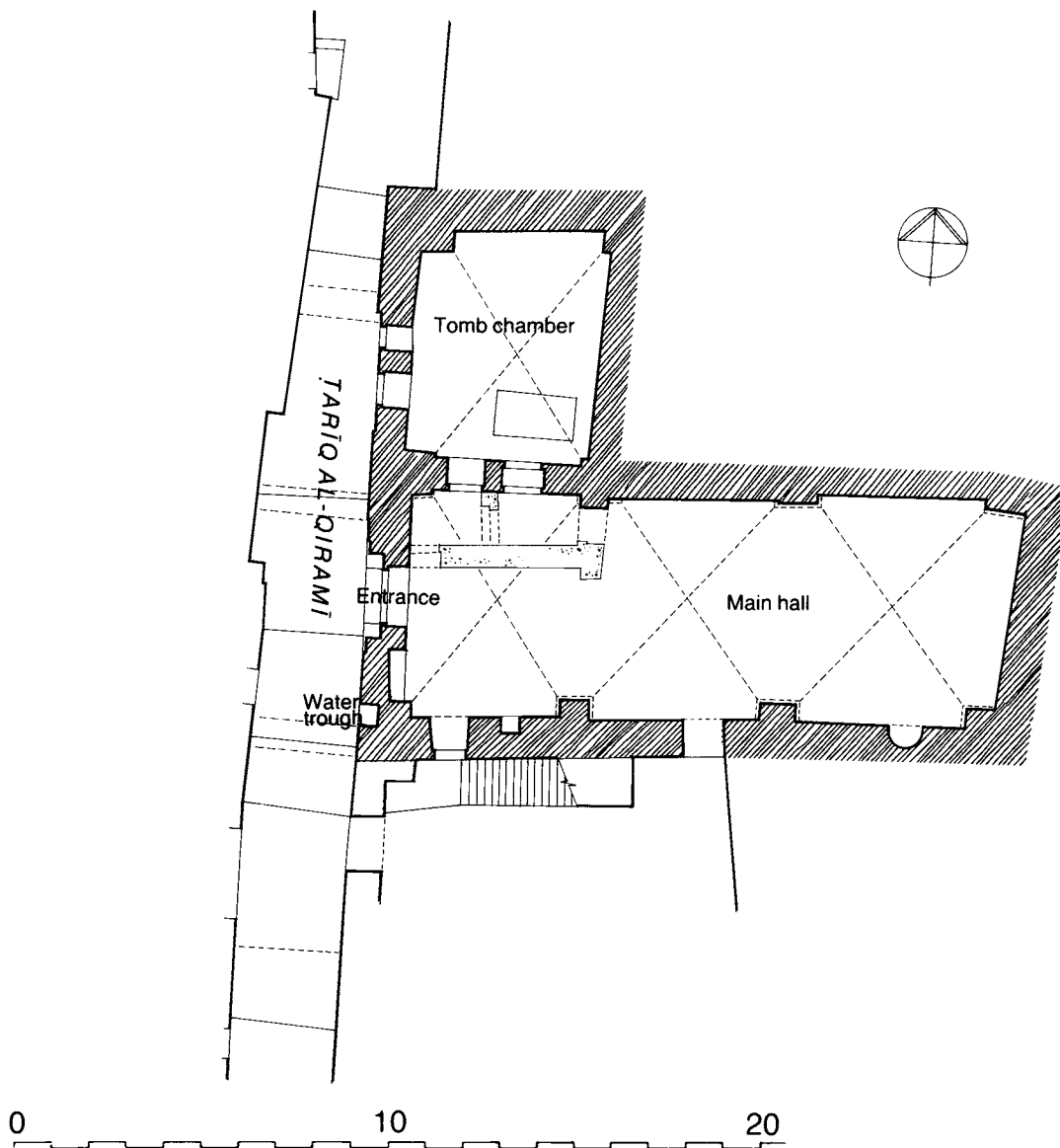


Fig. 46.2 Ground floor plan

The main feature of the frontage is a recessed entrance portal (*plate 46.2*) to the right of these windows. The ashlar masonry of the portal is quite different from that of the rest of the frontage and it looks as if the portal was made elsewhere and then inserted into an existing wall. The same phenomenon occurs at another *zāwiya*, the *Biṣṭāmiyya* (above, p. 421), and we speculate that the portal might have been added to the Shaykh's house when it was formally established and endowed as a *zāwiya*.

The shallow (0.40m deep) portal recess is spanned by a pointed horseshoe arch, the keystone of which is undercut to give a very tentative ogee profile to the arch. A splay-face moulding frames the portal, rising vertically on either side and continuing horizontally across the top. Directly above the keystone of the arch the moulding bends upwards to form a miniature ogee arch. At the bottom of the vertical runs of the moulding two curious stone bosses sprout inwards from it. Both the ogee arch form and these sprouting bosses are extremely unusual.

The entrance door is flanked by low stone benches, and has jambs of red and cream-coloured *ablaq*. The lintel is badly weathered and cracked but traces of a carved border decoration are still recognizable (*plate 46.2*). Above the lintel is a course of simply joggled voussoirs with a more elaborate one in the middle. The voussoirs appear to be laid upside-down, emphasizing the non-structural nature of the decoration and also suggesting that the portal was erected by relatively

unskilled or inexperienced workmen. A small rectangular window pierces the tympanum of the arch.

To the right (south) of the portal a water trough is built into the street frontage (see *plate 46.3*).

#### INTERIOR (plan, *fig. 46.2*)

The entrance opens directly into the long main hall, which is roofed in three bays by cross vaults springing from responds in the side walls. In the south wall of the eastern bay is a plain *mīhrāb*. A door in the south wall of the western bay opens at the foot of an open stairway which rises against the outer face of the south wall to the upper floor. This will be the 'stairway near the entrance' mentioned in the report of 1066/1656 cited above. A door in the south wall of the central bay of the hall opens under this stairway; it has no reveals and appears to be a later insertion.

In the north wall of the western bay, behind a modern partition wall, a door and a window open to the cross-vaulted tomb chamber. A modern gabled timber cenotaph draped with baize marks a grave in the south-east corner of the chamber. Mr Yusuf Natsheh, Director of the Islamic Archaeology Department of the Awqāf Administration, kindly informs us that a stone trapdoor in the floor under the cenotaph opens to a short flight of steps down to a burial vault closed by double stone doors. This vault presumably contains the remains of Shaykh Muḥammad and his descendants (see above).



Plate 46.1 Street frontage from north showing tomb chamber windows



Plate 46.2 Entrance portal



Plate 46.3 Entrance portal with water trough (recently refurbished) in foreground

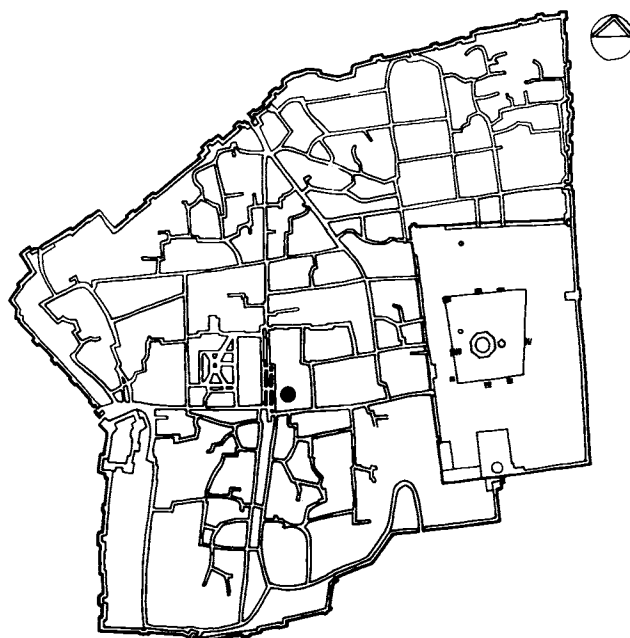
## Notes

- 1 Mujīr, ii, 161 and 47.
- 2 For the vocalisation, see *CIA (Ville)*, 126, note 8.
- 3 Mujīr, ii, 160-1; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, i, 203; *Durar*, iii, 425-6. There is another tradition which places his birth in Dhū'l-Ḥijja 726/November 1326 (see *Sulūk*, iii, 557; Ibn Iyās, i, 382).
- 4 He should not be confused with a Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Qiramī al-Hanafī, who became 'judge of the army' (*qāḍī al-askar*) and died 27 Rabi' II 789/17 May 1387 (*Sulūk*, iii, 502, 566, 572). However, Ibn Taghribirdī seems to have been guilty of this confusion (*Nuj.*, v, 438).
- 5 Mujīr, ii, 161.

- 6 On Sunday 9 Šafar/11 March according to Mujīr, *loc. cit.*; *Sulūk*, iii, 557; Ibn Iyās, *loc. cit.* Otherwise, on 9 Ramaḍān/4 October (*Durar*, iii, 425-6), or 29 Ramaḍān/24 October (*Šadhbārūt*, iii, 305).
- 7 Mujīr, ii, 172. Note that Ḥaram no. 157, dated 795/1393, records the death of a man, called Rajab b. . . . al-Qiramī, in his residence 'near the Qiramīya Zāwiya'.
- 8 Mujīr, ii, 188.
- 9 Sijill 1, no. 944.
- 10 Sijill 2, no. 1069, dated 939/1533.
- 11 Sijill 11, no. 144.
- 12 Sijill 151, 423.

# 47 AL-WAKĀLA

## الوكالة



**Fig. 47.1** Location plan

Barqūq . . . during the governorship of . . . Baydamur, governor of the province of Damascus. It was constructed under the supervision of al-Sayfī Aṣḡughā b. Balāt, Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams, in 788 (1386-87).<sup>1</sup>

It would appear that the building called *qayṣariyya* in the inscription is the same as the one which Mujīr al-Dīn calls *wakāla*, 'a vast *khān* constituted waqf for the Ḥaram',<sup>2</sup> and which is now known as Khān al-Sulṭān.

### BUILDERS

Sultan Barqūq, first of the Circassian Mamlūk sultans, reigned from 784/1382 to 791/1389 and again from 792/1390 to 801/1399. The governor, Baydamur al-Khwārizmī, was the founder of the Ḥanbaliyya Madrasa (no. 42). The superintendent, Sayf al-Dīn Aṣḡughā b. Balāt, appears to have held office in Jerusalem on two occasions, the first at the time of the renewal commemorated in the above inscription, and the second in 804/1401-2.<sup>3</sup>

### REVENUE

According to Mujīr al-Dīn all sorts of merchandise were sold in the *wakāla*, and it produced an income of 400 dinars a year for the upkeep of the Ḥaram.<sup>4</sup>

### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

The place remained a waqf of the Ḥaram in the Ottoman period. Three sijills, dated 941/1534, 943/1536-37 and 945/1538-39, give details of certain officials associated with what is there referred to as Khān al-Wakāla and Dār al-Wakāla.<sup>5</sup>

It is not known when the name Khān al-Sulṭān was first adopted.

### IV ARCHITECTURE

#### GROUND FLOOR (plan, fig. 47.2)

The shops on Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila and Sūq al-Khawājāt form no part of the *wakāla*.

The remainder of the buildings shown on fig. 47.2 can best be considered in three sections: (i) Market Street (ii) Market Hall and Stable and (iii) Courtyard.

#### (i) Market Street

Although the Market Street is outside the main entrance to the *wakāla*, it is related to it by the inscription cited above commemorating the renewal of a *qayṣariyya*. Van Berchem found this inscription on the west face of the archway that leads from the Market Street to the Entrance Passage of the *wakāla*. If

Renewed 788/1386-87  
Caravanserai of Sultan Barqūq  
Modern name: Khān al-Sulṭān

### I LOCATION (fig. 47.1)

In the heart of the central market area of the city, at the corner where Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila meets the so-called Sūq al-Khawājāt (Merchants' Market), and reached by a short entrance passage on the east side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 47.2)

The site is enclosed on all sides save the entrance from Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila. To the south are shops giving on Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsila and in addition a little market street of seven vaulted bays (marked 'Market Street' on the plan, fig. 47.2) on the west side of the Entrance Passage. To the west are shops giving on Sūq al-Khawājāt, and to the north and east are various unrecorded structures.

The Entrance Passage leads to a wide pointed-arched doorway into a vaulted Market Hall with two tiers of chambers on either side. A passageway on the west side of the Market Hall leads to a great barrel-vaulted chamber (marked 'Stable' on fig. 47.2) which until recently was used for stabling donkeys. Corbelled galleries on either side of the Market Hall give access to the upper chambers. At the north end of the Market Hall a tall archway opens to a large courtyard with two tiers of cells on the east and west sides and more extensive chambers at the north end. Galleries around the courtyard give access to the upper floor chambers. These galleries and those in the Market Hall are reached by stairways at the south-west and south-east corners of the courtyard.

The building has not been surveyed by us and we are greatly indebted to the Department of Islamic Archaeology of the Awqāf Administration for generously furnishing us with copies of drawings based on a survey made in 1981.

Although further investigation is needed to clarify the exact sequence of construction, it appears that the shops and Market Street to the south and west of the site were built or rebuilt in the Crusader period, as were the Market Hall and Stable. The major Mamlūk component is the courtyard and its two tiers of surrounding chambers.

Modifications and additions, particularly to the north end of the courtyard, have altered the appearance of the building. It now accommodates various small industrial workshops.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

An inscription (now lost) was recorded by van Berchem over an archway at the east end of the Market Street. It read:

. . . this blessed *qayṣariyya*, a waqf of the Ḥaram of Jerusalem, was renewed (*juddida/jaddada*) by . . . Sultan



**Fig. 47.2** Ground floor plan

it was in its original place when van Berchem found it then it must have announced a building entered from that archway. This building can only be the wakāla of Mujīr al-Dīn, the present Khān al-Sultān. The archways at either end of the Market Street are now largely built up to form doorways but originally this street must have been the primary route to the wakāla.

*(ii) Market Hall*

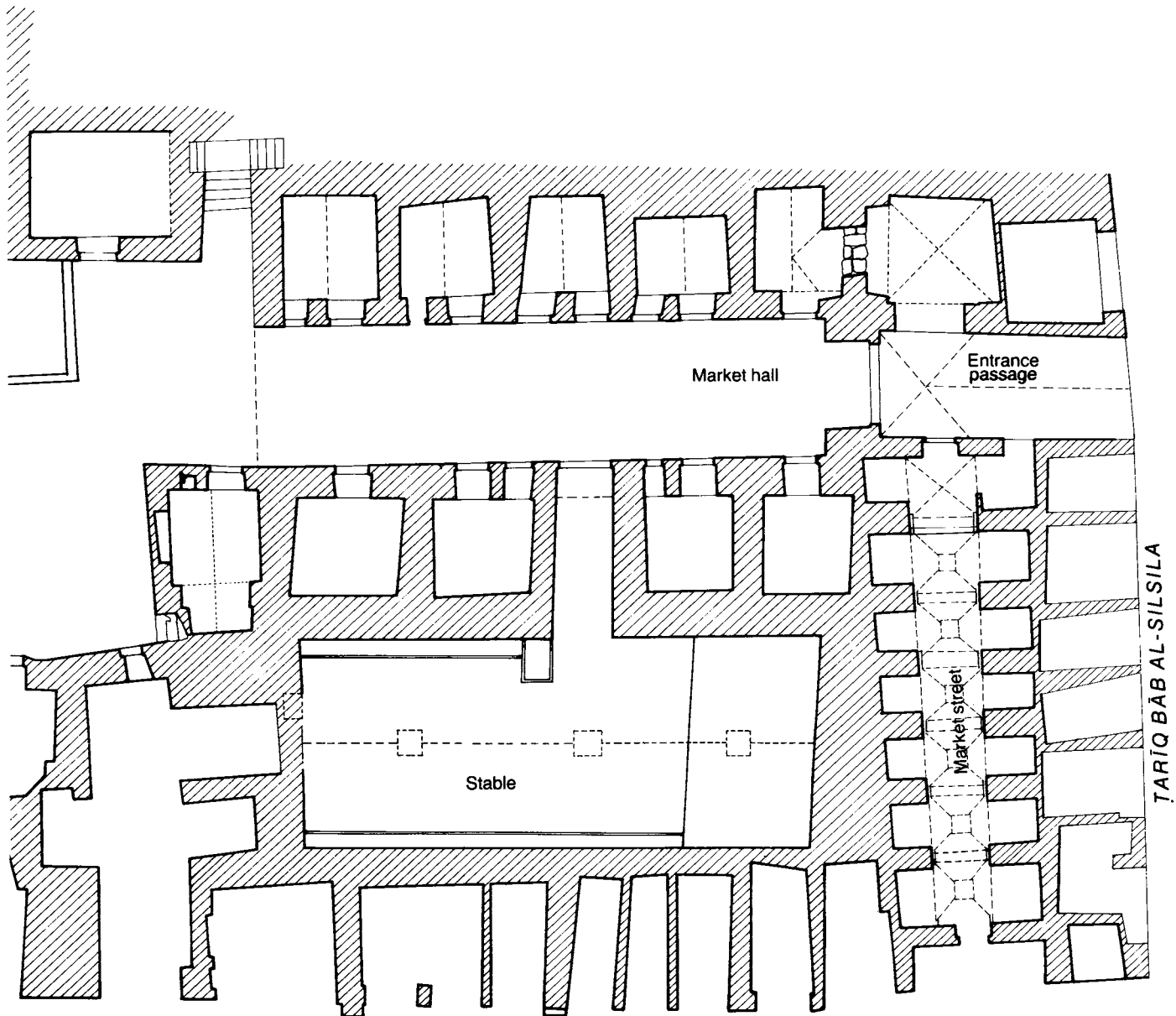
The Market Hall (*plate 47.1*) bears a striking resemblance in its plan to the Sūq al-Qattānīn, which was initially referred to as a *qaysariyya* (see above, p. 277). It may be surmised, therefore, that the Market Hall is the *qaysariyya* that was renewed by Barqūq. Little of the Hall itself seems to have been renewed, however. The design of the corbels supporting the galleries on either side (*plate 47.2*) is typically Crusader,<sup>6</sup> and at least one of the stone slabs supported by the corbels bears a Crusader mason's mark. It appears that the whole Hall is actually a

Crusader construction. Indeed, Enlart describes it as a 'nearly intact example of a type of building much used by the Crusaders for pilgrims and merchants, but which were nearly all reconstructed in modern times'.<sup>7</sup> Barqūq's renewal of this part of the building can have involved no more than some refurbishing.

The Stable, reached by an integral passageway in the west wall of the Market Hall, is also Crusader. Clermont-Ganneau recorded many masons' marks in its walls.<sup>8</sup>

*(iii) Courtyard*

Barqūq's chief contribution will have been the construction of the courtyard and its surrounding cells. The barrel-vaulted cells in the middle of the west side and in the northern part of the east side (*plate 47.3*) appear to belong to that construction. The rooms in the south-west, south-east and north-west corners appear to be later additions or modifications, as do the structures at the north end of the courtyard. In the present wall



at that end of the courtyard (see *plate 47.4*) is an Ottoman inscription commemorating the construction in 1177/1763-64 of a fountain (*sabil*); the wall appears to belong to the same period as the inscription. The fountain does not survive. A modern well-head gives access to a cistern at this end of the courtyard.

#### UPPER FLOOR (plan, *fig. 47.3*)

Access to the upper floor is by means of two staircases in the south-west and south-east corners of the courtyard and a third on the west side of the courtyard. The last is a later addition, but the other two appear to be more or less original. The one in the south-east corner rises against the north wall of the Market Hall to a landing from which a further two flights rise in opposite directions. One goes north to the gallery on the east side of the courtyard, and the other goes south to a passageway behind the northernmost chamber on the upper floor of the Market Hall,

then west alongside that chamber to the gallery giving access to the upper floor chambers on the east side of the Hall. The present staircase in the south-west corner rises against the west wall of the courtyard to a long passageway (now blocked) behind the upper floor chambers on this side of the Hall. A passage between the two northern chambers leads to the gallery giving access to the chambers on this side of the Market Hall. This staircase presumably originally gave access to the gallery on the west side of the courtyard.

Only four of the original cells remain at this level on the west side of the courtyard, toward the south end, and on the east side seven remain. At the north end the present structures appear like those on the ground floor to be later, Ottoman additions.

#### FORM AND FUNCTION

By thinking away the later additions and alterations we can

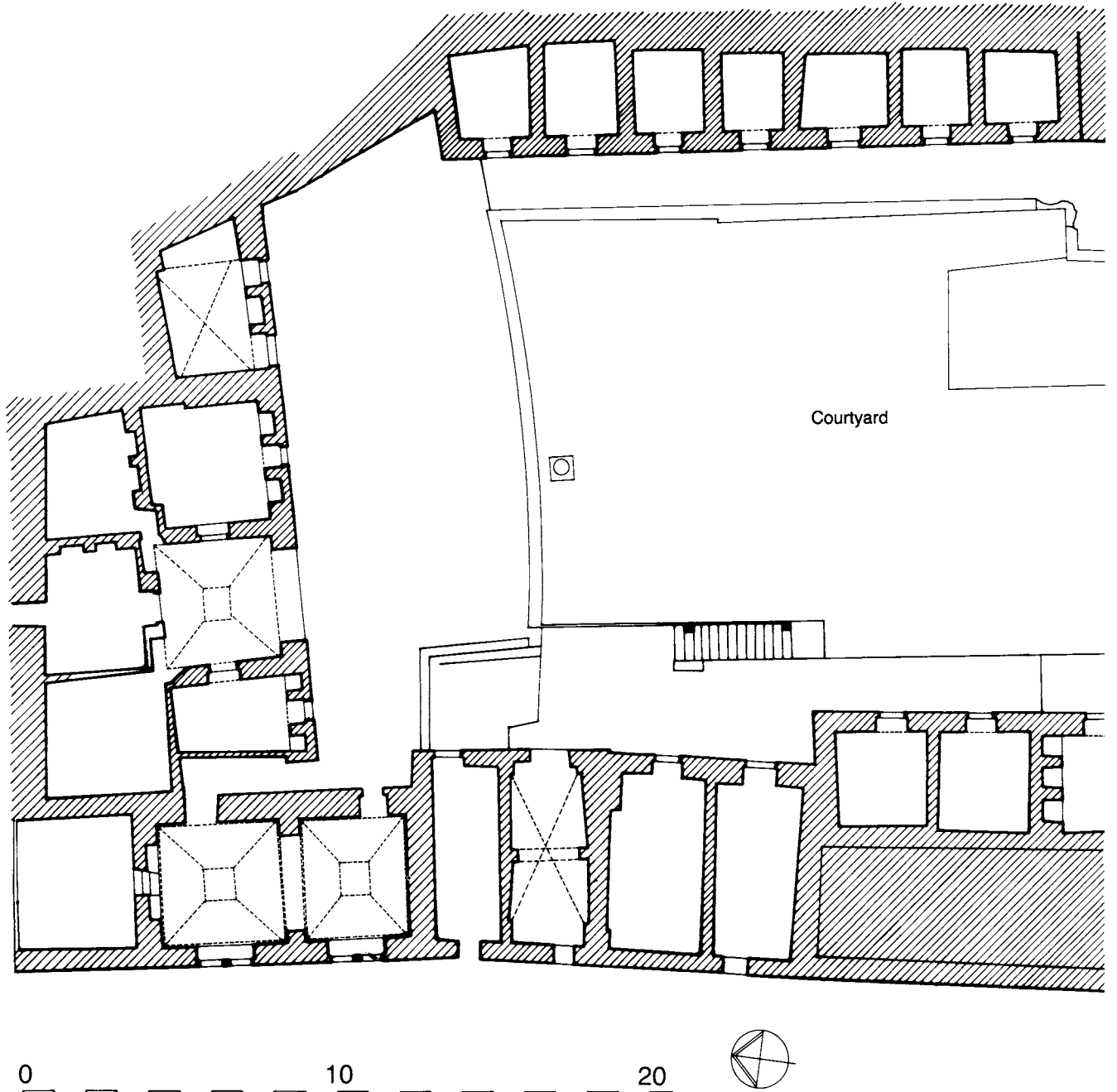


Fig. 47.3 Upper floor plan



Plate 47.1 The 'Market Hall' looking south



Plate 47.2 Details of corbelling



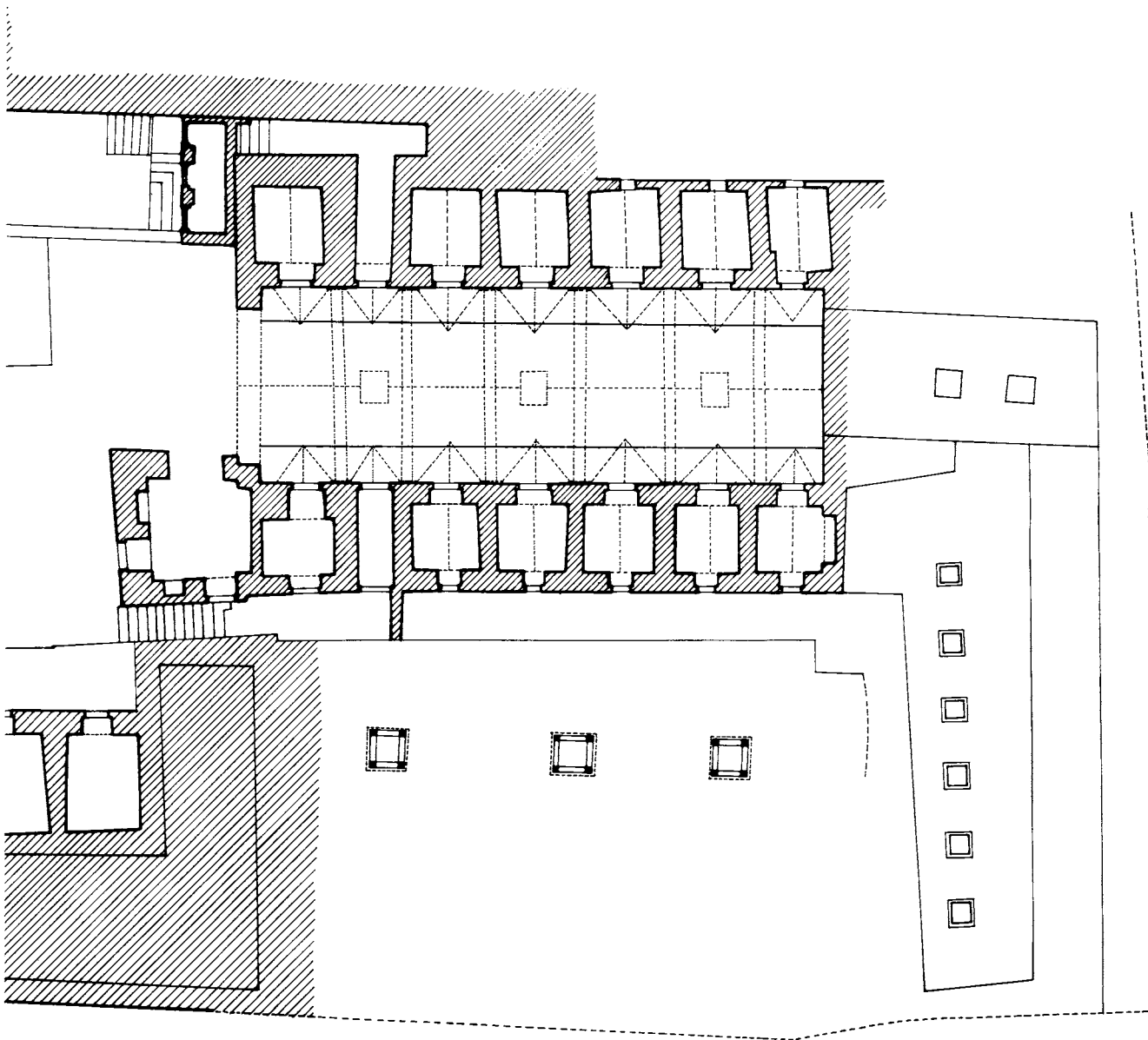


Plate 47.3 North-east corner of courtyard



Plate 47.4 North end of courtyard

picture the original form of the building. Thus on the west and east sides of the Market Hall and courtyard were two tiers of cells, the upper ones reached by galleries. A presumably similar arrangement of two tiers of cells or larger rooms existed at the north end of the courtyard.

This plan is typical of medieval urban caravanserais in Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo, where merchants brought goods for storage and distribution to local retailers. The ground floor cells would have been used for storage and distribution, the merchants lodging in the cells on the upper floor and their animals stabled in the courtyard or the Stable.

The designation *qaysariyya* in the inscription shows that the building was originally intended for valuable goods (see above, p. 298 n. 20). As a *wakāla* it would have served also as a bonded warehouse where state taxes were collected. The *Wakālat Bāb al-Juwayniyya* in Cairo, for example, was, according to al-Maqrīzī, built in 794/1391 as a *funduq* with lodgings (*rubū'*) above it. Sultan Barqūq acquired it and ordered that it should become a *dār wakāla* and that all goods arriving from the countryside should be brought there first, together with those arriving by sea from Syria.<sup>9</sup>

## Notes

1 *CIA (Ville)*, 299-304

2 Mujīr, 403.

3 Mujīr, 609.

4 Mujīr, 403.

5 *Sijill* 4, p. 221; 6, p. 583; and 8, p. 142, cited by 'Asali, *Min āthārinā fī Bayt al-Maqdis*, Amman, 1982, 48.

6 C. Enlart, *Les monuments des Croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem:*

*architecture religieuse et civile*, ii, Paris, 1928, 265-66.

7 C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874*, i, London, 1899, 234.

8 *CIA (Ville)*, 303-4.

9 *Khitat*, ii, 94. See also: T. Yukawa, *The Role of the Merchant Class under the Early Circassian Sultans*, unpublished MA thesis, American University in Cairo, 1972, 26; and A. Raymond and G. Wiet, *Les marchés du Caire*, Cairo, 1979.

# 48 DĀR AL-SITT ṬUNSHUQ

## دار الست طنشق

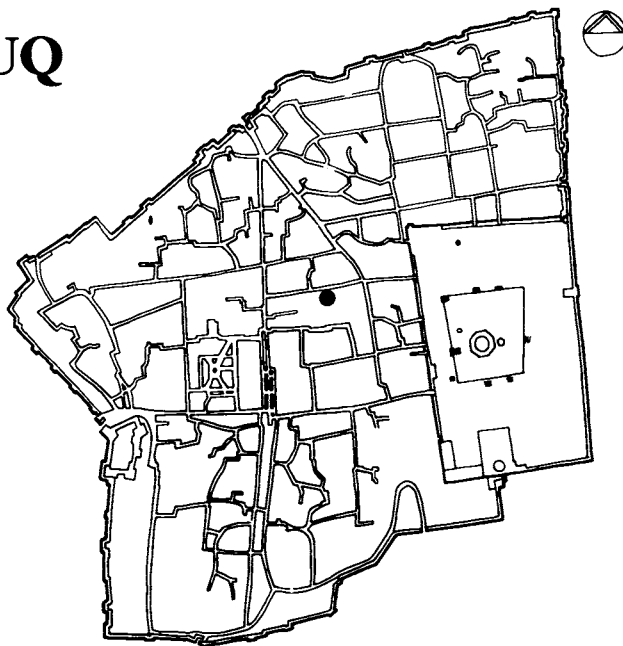


Fig. 48.1 Location plan

c. 790/1388

Palace of the Lady Ṭunshuq al-Muzaffariyya

Modern name: Dār al-Aytām al-Islāmiyya al-Šinā'iyya ('Industrial Moslem Orphanage')

### I LOCATION (figs. 48.1 and 48.13)

On south side of street now called 'Aqabat al-Takiyya (Khāṣṣaki Sulṭān), about 160m west of the Ḥaram, sufficiently high on western slope of town's central valley (al-Wād) to have enjoyed a clear view of the Dome of the Rock.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 48.2)

The building comprises a large palace complex on two floors with a small mezzanine in the north-west corner. Three impressive entrance portals on 'Aqabat al-Takiyya formerly gave access to the three main components of the building. An eastern entrance (now blocked) opened into a vestibule leading to a large open yard on the east side of the site; a central entrance opens directly into a spacious vaulted main hall with ancillary chambers to the east and west and another yard to the south; and a western entrance (now blocked) opened into a domed vestibule from which two staircases led to the upper floor and perhaps a third led down to the main hall.

The upper storey housed a great reception hall and various living quarters, a *piano nobile* as it were, taking advantage of the view across the valley.

The yards to the east and south, possibly once connected, are now enclosed by later Ottoman constructions. In addition, there have been repairs and alterations, mostly undocumented, that make it difficult now to establish with precision the initial layout of the palace.

A western annex comprising three storerooms entered from the street was, as its architectural detailing reveals, built at the same time as the palace. A house above the storerooms appears to be of later construction, almost certainly replacing some earlier structure there.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

The street rising westwards from the valley opposite the Bāb al-Nāzir street was said by Mujir al-Dīn to be 'the Market Hill ('Aqabat al-Sūq), now known as the Lady's Hill ('Aqabat al-Sitt), so called because of the grand edifice (*imāra 'azīma*) constructed there by the Lady Ṭunshuq al-Muzaffariyya.<sup>1</sup> In another passage the chronicler adds that this personage built a tomb chamber opposite her residence in the same street, that is to say, on the north side of it.<sup>2</sup> Although neither building has a foundation inscription – the 'palace' façade is, however, decorated with some Koranic texts<sup>3</sup> – there can be no doubt about their identity.

#### DATE

The Lady Ṭunshuq was living in Jerusalem by the year 794/1391-

92. Mujir al-Dīn records that fact, and that she favoured a Shaykh Ibrāhīm of the Qalandāriyya Order, whose zāwiya was in the middle of the Mamilla cemetery, and built a dome over the tomb of her brother, Bahādūr, which was at the zāwiya. She also constructed a precinct around the zāwiya, the building of this in particular being assigned to the same year as above, 794/1391-92.<sup>4</sup> Her building in the city was carried out around about that time or probably some while before. Already by 795/1393 a Ḥaram document<sup>5</sup> names 'the Lady's Hill', which means that her presence and her 'grand edifice' had already made their mark on the city by then.

It has been claimed that the *waqfiyya* for Ṭunshuq's buildings in the city exist in the Sharī'a Court archives of the city of Damascus, in the form of a series of five documents dated between Sha'bān 781/December 1379 and Jumādā I 784/1382.<sup>6</sup> If what was intended by this is the *four* documents, dated within exactly the same limits as above, to which we have had access in the form of modern copies,<sup>7</sup> then they do not in fact preserve Ṭunshuq's *waqfiyya* for these foundations. For their actual content, see below. They do, however, show, if indeed one may identify the lady named within them with our founder, that Ṭunshuq was, in the words of the first document, 'living in Jerusalem as a *mujāwira*' as early as 781/1379, twelve years before the date given by Mujir al-Dīn.

#### FOUNDER

Who was this lady? There is no sure answer to this question. Her full name, Ṭunshuq, daughter of 'Abdallāh, certainly suggests that she may have been at some time a Turkish slave. The further appellation, al-Muzaffariyya, points to her having been in the service (or the wife?) of a Muzaffar al-Dīn or, more exaltedly, of a prince with the title al-Malik al-Muzaffar. The honorific *laqab* 'Muzaffar al-Dīn' is not especially common. One might note the existence of the Amīr Mūsā, a grandson of Sultan Qalāwūn, who did bear it. There was a plot to put him on the throne in 710/1310-11, and it was rumoured that he died in exile at Qūs in the year 718/1318-19.<sup>8</sup> These dates seem too early to connect Ṭunshuq with him. Van Berchem has discussed various other possibilities, including the Sultan al-Muzaffar Ḥājī (reigned 747-48/1346-47). However, while remaining in the realms of pure speculation van Berchem dismissed this identification and preferred that Ṭunshuq should be connected with the Muzaffarid dynasty of West Persia, which was overthrown by Tamerlane around about 789/1387.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, as far as can be seen, there is no convenient



**Fig. 48.2** Site plan

individual in that family at that period who bore the title al-Muzaffar or was called Muzaffar al-Dīn.

There is no certainty even about her name. The name of the founder of the palace and the tomb chamber as found in the manuscripts of Mujīr al-Dīn's work is spelt with an 's' or an 'sh'. Sauvaire transcribed it as 'Tonsoq', while van Berchem did not back his preference for 'Ṭunshuq' with any argument. The lady in the Damascus documents is referred to as the lady Tunsuq (there are no vowels given), daughter of 'Abdallāh, al-Muzaffariyya. The spelling fluctuates between 's' and 'sh' and the initial letter is at times written with a 't' rather than a 'ṭ'. It is possibly hazardous to rely on what appears to be generally inaccurate copying, but not once is a 'sh' explicitly marked. This could point to the likelihood that the name should be read as Tansuq, a Turkish word meaning 'wonderful, precious'.<sup>10</sup>

There is nothing in the Damascus documents to make her origins plain or to point to the sense of the 'Muzaffariyya' epithet. Nevertheless, the temptation to make the identification is strong. The four documents show her purchasing through her authorised agents, an amīr and a qāḍī, a third and then a quarter of the village of Bayt Safāfa near Jerusalem for a total of

100,100 dirhams. That property she then passed to the ownership of an Amīr Bahā' al-Dīn b. 'Abdallāh, the majordomo of Sayf al-Dīn Manjak, by deed of gift (*tamlīk*). Then in the final document that same amīr made the property a waqf in favour of Tunsuq for the duration of her life, then for the benefit of her freedmen and his own, and then for his children, followed by the residual category, 'the poor of Jerusalem, etc.' There is no mention of any relationship between Tunsuq and the Amīr Bahā' al-Dīn.

Whatever the correct spelling of her name, and whether or not the identity of the two ladies is the same, Mujīr al-Dīn recorded that the founder he named died in Dhū'l-Qa'da 800/ July-August 1398 and was duly buried in her mausoleum.<sup>11</sup>

#### *SUBSEQUENT HISTORY*

The palace of the Lady Ṭunshuq (to continue with the familiar form of the name) was incorporated into the large complex built and endowed by Khāṣṣakī Sulṭān, the wife of Sulaymān the Magnificent, in 959/1552. By the year 963/1555-56 a dilapidated house is being described as 'near the edifice of the late Lady Ṭunshuq al-Muzaffariyya, and now the edifice (*imāra*) of the

Mistress of Alms and Benefactions . . . , etc.’,<sup>12</sup> namely Khāṣṣakī Sulṭān, who died in 996/1558. Another entry in the sijills, dated 985/1578, describes the east boundary of two houses as ‘formerly the palace (*dār*) of “the Lady”, and now *al-‘imāra al-‘āmira*’.<sup>13</sup> This expression, which is found in an Ottoman repair inscription (*plate 48.26*) on the south wall of the upper yard, is the normal term in the sijills for Khāṣṣakī Sulṭān’s foundation. Literally it means ‘the flourishing edifice’, or, rather better, ‘the Imperial Charitable Foundation’, that is, the range of Ṣūfī convent, ‘soup kitchen’, caravanserai and stables, which continued to function until modern times, although some part of the complex at the end of the nineteenth century served as a residence for the Ottoman governor of Jerusalem.<sup>14</sup> The buildings are now used as an orphanage with dependent workshops.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### STREET FAÇADE (*fig. 48.6; plate 48.5*)

The façade is dominated by the three entrance portals and a large circular window. (The left-hand [easternmost] portal, with a trefoil head, shown in *fig. 48.6*, belongs to the *‘imāra* of Khāṣṣakī Sulṭān, built next to the palace in the middle of the tenth/sixteenth century; see above.) The east and west entrances are blocked, the masonry of the east portal has deteriorated quite badly in places, and an extra storey has been built in modern times over the right-hand (western) part of the façade, but this detracts little from its original impressiveness.

Of the three, the east portal is the most elaborate. Its deep (2.06m) recess, built of red and cream-coloured *ablaq* masonry, has a border of red stones enclosed by parallel quirked ogee mouldings (*plate 48.1*). A string course of *ablaq* joggling runs around the recess above the door lintel. This joggling is of natural limestone inlaid with black stone that has weathered to a grey colour here and elsewhere on the façade. Four tiers of *muqarnas* ‘stalactites’ support a slightly pointed arch of red, black and cream-coloured voussoirs and a semidome decorated with four drop-shaped inserts of black stone weathered to grey. In the rear wall of the recess a circular oculus, now blocked, is framed by a panel of limestone elaborately carved to take an inlay of black stone, red glass paste, green glass and possibly turquoise faïence.<sup>15</sup> Almost all of the inlay is now missing. Ambiguous dovelike terminals in the four corners (*plate 48.2*) have drilled ‘eyes’ and carved ‘beaks’ to heighten their (presumably adventitious) avian form.

The central portal (*plate 48.3*) is the smallest and least imposing of the three, though it encloses the widest doorway. It comprises a shallow (1.01m deep) recess spanned by an unusual cinquefoil arch, the top lobe of which is in the form of a tiny cloister vault (*plate 48.3*). The arch and the upper part of the rear wall of the recess are built of red, black and cream-coloured *ablaq*, but the joggled voussoirs of an oculus and string course above the door are of black stone and plain limestone painted red to simulate *ablaq*. More traces of red paint survive on alternate courses of the jambs. Moulded corbels support each end of the lintel so as to reduce the span over this doorway, which at 2.22m is the widest of the three. It is the principal entrance to the main hall and is designed to permit easy access: the usual stone benches on either side of the recess are absent, and the corners of both the recess and the doorway are chamfered to reduce abrasion.

The west portal (*plate 48.4*), 1.56m deep, is somewhat less imposing than the east one but is also finely decorated and impressively tall. Its red and cream-coloured *ablaq* stonework is enclosed within a quirked ogee frame moulding which extends in a double profile around the extrados of the pointed horseshoe arch over the recess. The two mouldings are linked directly at the springing level and indirectly by a single loop above the keystone. Four steps flanked by stone benches lead up to the door. Immediately above the lintel a string course of joggled *ablaq* identical with that of the east portal runs around the recess. At a higher level above the door there is a rectangular window with an inlaid star-pattern border. The inlay, where it survives intact, consists of pieces of reddish stone, grey-black stone and turquoise faïence. An inscription, extending across the full width of the portal, rises up around the window to frame it and its decorative border. The inscription contains no historical information, only the *basmala* and verses 46-55 of *sūra xv* of the Koran.<sup>16</sup>

The large circular window (diameter of opening: 1.31m) between the central and west doorways lights the main hall. It is surrounded by a double quirked ogee moulding enclosing four concentric rings of low-relief chevrons, two carved on the outer wall face of the voussoirs and two on the splayed intrados (*plate 48.6*).

The fenestration of the upper floor rooms and the staircases is unremarkable: rectangular windows with, above the three in the middle of the façade (see *fig. 48.6*), undercut relieving blocks and slit windows (two of which are now blocked). The four rectangular and two round-headed



Plate 48.1 East Portal



Plate 48.2 Terminals in corners of decorated panel in east portal



Plate 48.3 Central portal



Plate 48.4 West portal



Plate 48.5 Street façade from west

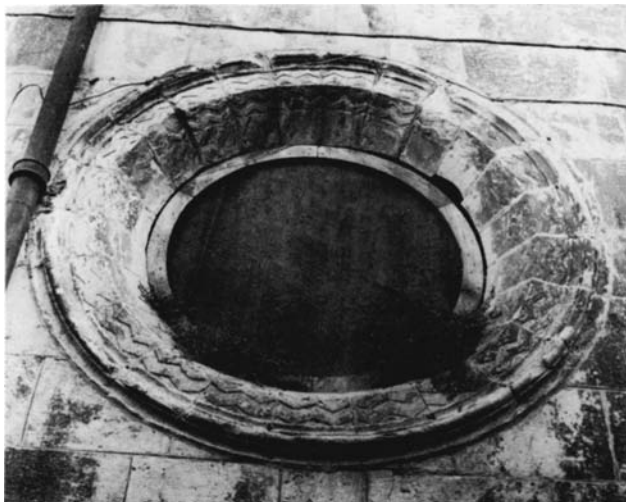


Plate 48.6 Circular window in street façade

windows at second-storey level over the right-hand part of the façade belong to the later additions mentioned above.

The storerooms in the western annex to the right of the west portal appear to have been built at the same time as the palace for the following reasons: (1) the masonry, though it does not course through with that of the palace, is similar to it in colour and texture; (2) the design of the flat relieving arches over the door and window lintels – two cantilevered stones with a simply joggled keystone between – is similar to that found in several parts of the palace, such as above the service stair window on the façade and above the doorway into the roof staircase; (3) the design of the chamfered corners at either end of the annex's street frontage, with a pyramidal base and a *muqarnas* head (see *plate 48.7*), is typically Mamlūk; (4) there is no opening in the west wall of the west vestibule of the palace, suggesting that the storerooms were expected to abut on that wall; (5) if the annex was not built at the same time as the palace then the west end of the palace's façade would have been delimited by the west portal's frame moulding, an exceedingly awkward and unlikely procedure for Mamlūk builders whose normal practice was to extend the masonry some distance beyond the frame moulding before turning the corner, as happens at the east portal.

The stonework of the annex's upper façade is smaller and less finely dressed than that of the lower storey and appears to be later work. It is contained between two towers of earlier masonry, part of the same construction as the lower storey, which rise almost to the full height of both storeys at either end of the façade. The decorated chamfers (mentioned at (3) above) are carved into this earlier masonry. Thus some structure, contemporaneous with the storerooms below, must once have extended between these corners. Later, possibly during an earthquake, the structure, except for the more resistant corners, collapsed and was replaced by the present house.

#### GROUND FLOOR (*plan, fig. 48.3*)

Entered through the central doorway, the main hall (36m long and 11.5m wide) occupies the major part of the ground floor (*plate 48.8*). It is roofed by a series of ten cross vaults supported on a central row of four square pillars, with two barrel-vaulted bays at the south end. Transverse arches span between the vaults, each springing from similar impost blocks carved with a pair of *muqarnas* elements (*fig. 48.18*).

As the natural contours of the site rise towards the south-west, so the floor level of the hall rises in the same direction (sections, *figs. 48.9* and *48.12*). At the south-west corner of the hall the bedrock has been cut away to extend the uniform floor surface; the line of the rock is clearly visible protruding above the floor here (*plate 48.9*). Above the bedrock in the south-western bay a platform, 1.32m high, leads to a second arched opening in the south wall.

The alignment of the south wall is quite different from that of any other in the vicinity; it corresponds only to the natural rock contours. Just as the principal north-south axis of the hall runs not at right-angles to the street frontage but at an angle of 83° to it (*plan, fig. 48.3*), so the south wall was built on its present alignment presumably for the same reason: to minimize tedious levelling of rock outcrops in the south-western part of the site. A later portico (*plate 48.10*), almost certainly part of the caravanserai built by Khāṣṣakī Sulṭān in the middle of the tenth/sixteenth century (above, p. 486), abuts on the outer face of the south wall.

Several chambers open to west and east off the main hall. Of the three on the west side, only the central one is now accessible (*plan, fig. 48.3*). The doorways into the other two are blocked and only a general impression of their size can be gained by peering through a high-level window in the east wall of the southern chamber or down a well-shaft into the northern chamber, which has been converted into a cistern (section, *fig. 48.7*). This latter chamber is said by Orphanage officials to contain a *mibrāb*. The central chamber is long and narrow,



running more or less parallel to the street rather than at right-angles to the hall, apparently here too in an effort to skirt the rising rock surface. A recessed well-head in the south wall opens into a cistern cut in the bedrock.

A window and four doors open in the east wall of the hall. The wide, pointed-arched window at the north end of the wall opens into the east entrance vestibule. Its sill is at the level of the floor of the hall, which is 0.86m higher than that of the vestibule. To the right of that window two rectangular doorways give access to two cross-vaulted rooms, the first of which is aligned like the vestibule at right angles to the façade and the second is aligned more or less parallel with the hall. These doorways may be later insertions for they are not well made and in each of them a short flight of steps leading down from the hall looks like an afterthought. The blocked doorway between the two rooms is equally crude and may also be a later insertion. Doorways in the east walls, now blocked, are probably the original means of access. A doorway in the south wall of the second chamber, possibly in its original place though much modified in recent years, has steps leading up to a high *iwān*-like vault. In the west wall of this *iwān* a pointed-arched doorway into the main hall, similar in construction to the vestibule window at the north end of this wall, is obviously original. The *iwān* opens south on a small courtyard. (An

opening in the west wall of the courtyard, connecting it with the main hall, is plainly a later insertion.) A tunnel-vaulted passage immediately east of the *iwān* connected the courtyard with the eastern yard (p. 485) which is now enclosed by later buildings belonging to Khāṣṣakī Sulṭān's *imāra* (above, p. 487). From the south side of the courtyard a window, apparently replacing an earlier door, opens into a series of three vaults which now house the Orphanage kitchens. The southernmost of these vaults (plan, *fig.* 48.3; section, *fig.* 48.12) is clearly a later addition but the others may originally have existed alongside the palace even though no clearcut structural connection exists between them and the rest of the palace. In any case considerable alterations have been made here and it is impossible to be sure what does and what does not belong to the original construction.

From the street, the west entrance leads into an entrance vestibule aligned at right angles to the façade. Square in plan with pointed-arched recesses in its west and south sides, it is roofed by a shallow saucer dome supported on triple-faceted pendentives (*plate* 48.11); a more conventional high dome would have intruded into the room above (section, *fig.* 48.7). In the east wall there are two doorways (see section, *fig.* 48.7). The larger, on the right, opens on a small landing at the foot of a wide staircase (1.36m) leading up to the first floor of the building. This is the only main access to that floor. The east-facing archivolt of that doorway is decorated in an unusual manner: its voussoirs are extended downwards at an angle of 10° to the vertical to form a tympanum, the underside of which is the intrados of the segmental rear vault of the doorway (*plate* 48.12). The smaller left-hand doorway opens into an irregular chamber which once housed a staircase. The staircase has now



Plate 48.7 Entrance in west frontage of western annex

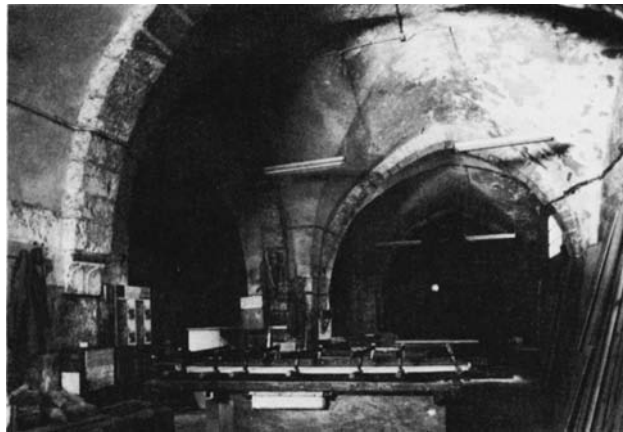


Plate 48.8 Main hall, looking north



Plate 48.9 South-west corner of main hall



Plate 48.10 Eastern bays of later portico against south wall of main hall

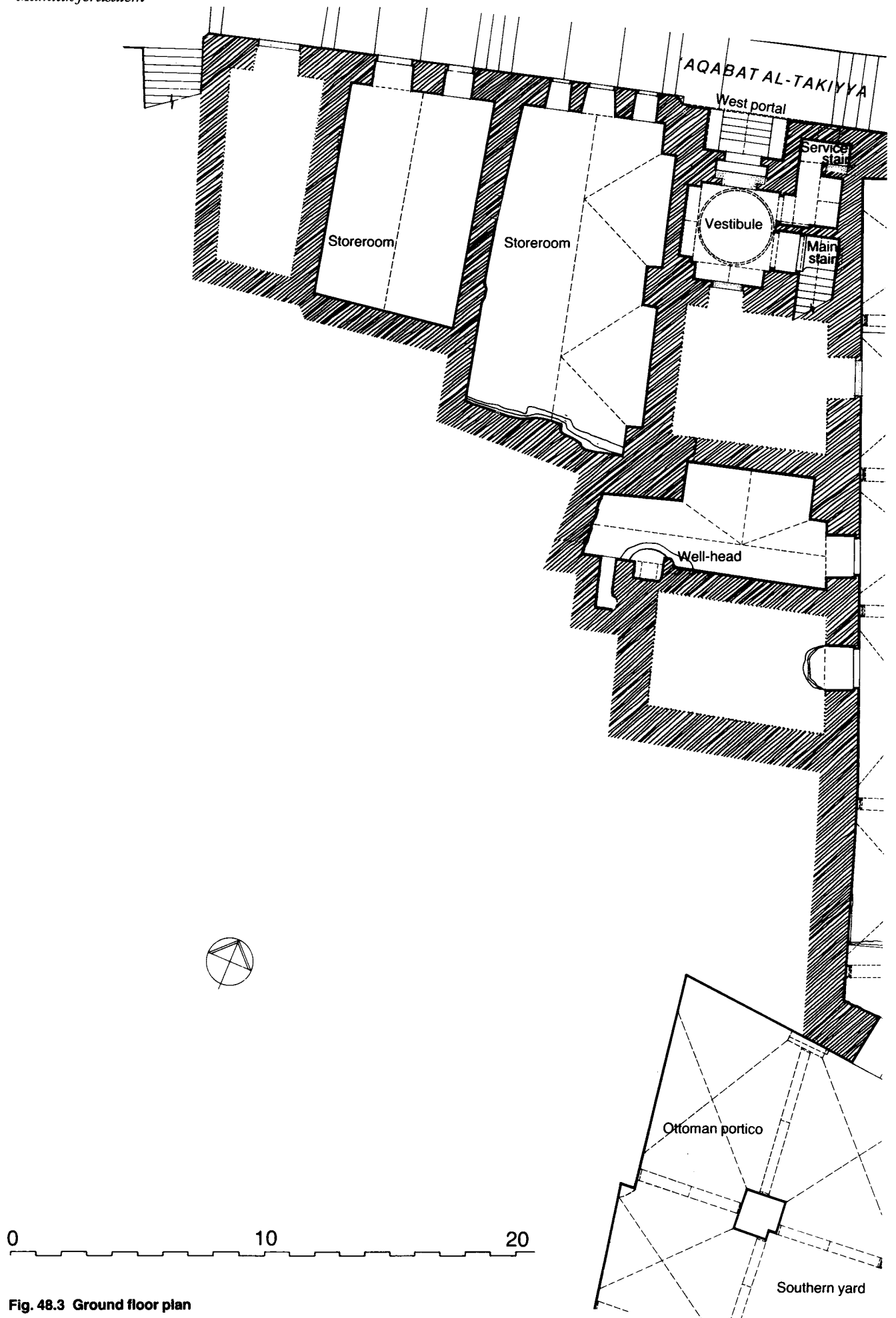


Fig. 48.3 Ground floor plan

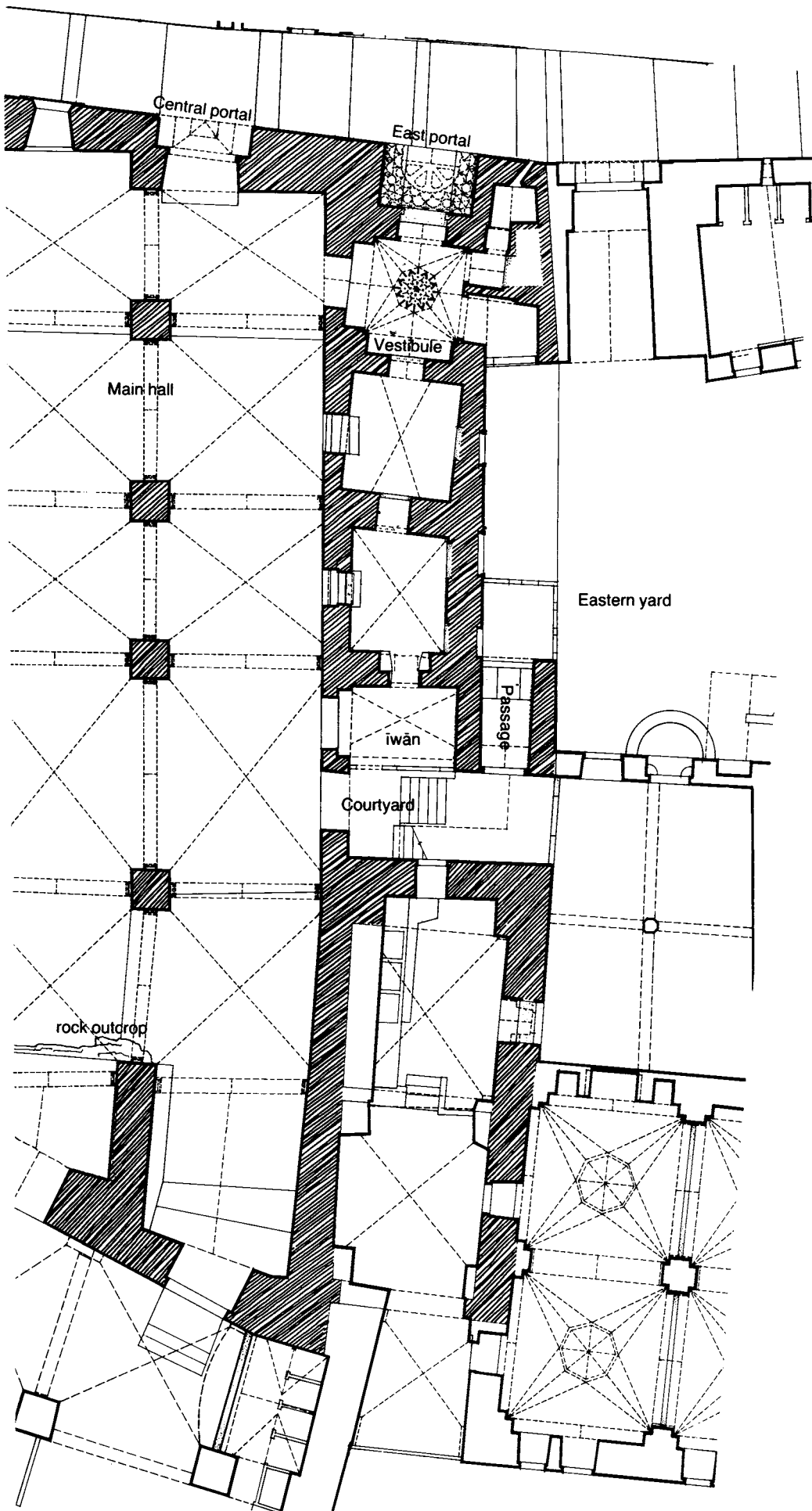




Plate 48.11 South-west corner of western vestibule



Plate 48.12 East side of doorway from west vestibule to main staircase

entirely disappeared except for a high level window, which lit it from the street, and a blocked opening in the wall opposite, where it ascended southwards to the upper floor (*fig. 48.3*). The sill of that opening is at the precise level (2.85m) above the present floor which the stair, as reconstructed in *fig. 48.17*, would have reached at that point. There are further traces of this stair, which we shall call the 'service stair', at upper floor level (p. 493). In the south wall of the vestibule there is a blocked opening<sup>17</sup> into the chamber,<sup>18</sup> now a cistern, to the west of the main hall, described above, p. 488. Although the bottom of the opening is hidden behind an accumulation of rubble on the floor of the vestibule, it may have been a door into a staircase down to the floor of the adjoining chamber, which is two metres lower than the vestibule. That chamber and the vestibule with the stairs between them could provide the only direct link between the main hall and the upper floor.

The east entrance, the grandest of the three, leads directly into a small vestibule, square in plan, with a beautifully constructed ashlar folded cross vault. At the crown the vault culminates in an octagonal cupola filled with an intricate

*muqarnas* composition carved in stone (*plate 48.13*). There are openings in all four walls of the vestibule. Besides the entrance from the street and the window into the main hall, mentioned above, there are two rectangular doorways to the east and a doorway, apparently converted from an original window, to the south. The right-hand doorway in the east wall, the larger of the two, turns through 90° to open into the yard to the east of the palace complex. This seems to have been the way those entering by the east portal were expected to proceed. The yard, now enclosed by the buildings of the Ottoman *'imāra*, descends to a water fountain (*plate 48.19*), apparently part of the *'imāra*. The left-hand doorway in the east wall of the vestibule leads into a narrow, irregularly-shaped chamber reminiscent of the one beside the west entrance. It has a slit window (*plate 48.14*) in the middle of its north wall skewed so as to open on the façade beyond the frame moulding of the portal (*fig. 48.6*). Abutting on the internal lintel of the window is a half arch intended to support a staircase. The blocked entrance (1.02m wide) to this staircase faces the doorway into the chamber.

#### MEZZANINE (*fig. 48.4*)

The staircase from the east vestibule led up to a mezzanine consisting of a landing and three rooms directly over the ground floor vestibule and the series of rooms to the south of it. This staircase may still exist but it is wholly inaccessible; in the very limited space available it can only rise in the manner shown in *fig. 48.16* with about seventeen steps including three winders on each of three right-angled turns up to a landing alongside a door into the northernmost of the mezzanine's three folded-cross-vaulted rooms. The bulk of the staircase was built into a pointed-arched recess, the upper voussoirs of which project above the landing (*plate 48.15*).

Beyond the landing a balcony (*plate 48.16*) to the south overlooks the east yard. (A blocked doorway on the east side of the balcony is a later addition intended to connect the balcony with a room over the entrance to the *'imāra* of Khāṣṣakī Sultān.) It is possible that some sort of verandah, perhaps constructed of timber, once extended between the balcony and the roof of the tunnel-vaulted passage 9.5m directly to the south (see ground floor plan, *fig. 48.3*). A raised pavement in the east yard follows exactly this line. Otherwise no trace of a verandah survives except for a ledge between 0.05m and 0.11m wide along the east wall of the palace, which might just have carried the ends of floor joists, and a curious blind arcade above (*plate 48.17*) which might have supported a lean-to roof. Such a verandah could have provided the central and southern rooms of the mezzanine with individual access through the doors in their east walls, though breaks in the masonry coursing at the bottom of the jambs of these doors may indicate that originally they were windows with higher sills.

The three rooms of the mezzanine are now interconnected by doors in the common walls. The central and southern rooms have tall windows opening to the west that help to light the main hall. The northern room, over the east entrance vestibule, has a circular oculus, now blocked, which opened in the centre of the decorated panel in the rear wall of the east entrance portal.

The southern room of the mezzanine backs on the rear wall of the *iwān* mentioned on p. 489 above, the vault of which (seen in section on *fig. 48.10*) rises nearly to the full height of the mezzanine rooms. Since the original staircase is blocked, the mezzanine is now reached by way of a modern stair leading up to a cantilevered reinforced concrete walkway (*plate 48.17*) to the southern room.

#### UPPER FLOOR (plan, *fig. 48.5*)

There is no sign of the mezzanine's staircase having continued to the upper floor. The main staircase to the upper floor was from the west entrance vestibule, described above. This staircase emerges under a round-headed arched recess at the west end of a rectangular courtyard, which provided the main

access to all the first floor apartments and to their roof. The shape of the arch over the recess suggests that it has been rebuilt but we may presume that it replaces a similar recess which originally sheltered the head of the main staircase.

The service stair from the west entrance to the upper floor, which may have been intended to allow a guard to move freely between the floors without resorting to the main staircase, emerged in an alcove (*plate 48.18*) in the room at the north-west corner of the courtyard (*fig. 48.5*). This may have been a guardroom. It has a large window in its north wall opening under the arch of the west portal, and a short passage leading east through a plain door into the courtyard.

Beside that door an ornamental pointed-arched recess (*plate 48.20*) at the west end of the north wall of the courtyard distinguishes the entrance to the original staircase to the roof. The entrance opens into a short passage leading up by four steps to a landing – now accommodating a latrine – from where a further flight of steps (now blocked and plastered over) led off westwards before turning south to continue over the vault of the service stair and on to the roof. This flight of steps was originally lit from the street by a small window directly above that of the service stair (shown in elevation, *fig. 48.6*). The window now lights a second latrine, built on the line of the former staircase, and reached by a later stairway at the west end of the courtyard. That later stairway partly blocks the arched recess at the head of the main staircase. It rises to a half-landing where it turns west through a round-headed doorway before

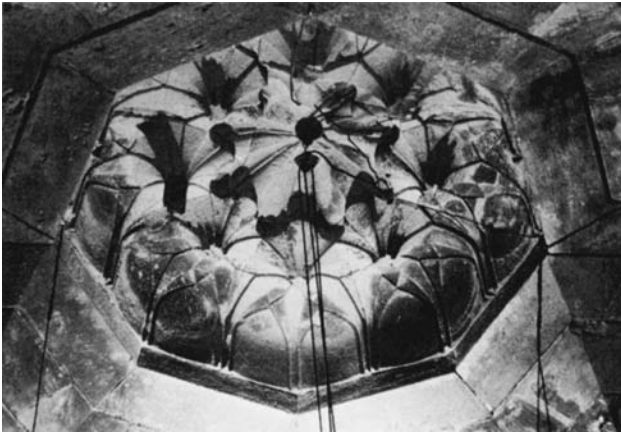
turning south to an opening on the roof, now blocked by the later addition of an extra storey. A modern reinforced concrete extension has been made to the stairway to serve that extra storey.

Irregular masonry in the upper walls reveals that some alterations have been made on at least three sides of the courtyard.<sup>19</sup> Only the east wall retains a moulded cornice – now surmounted by a later parapet (*plate 48.21*) – which probably continued round all four sides. But since the courtyard paving appears to be largely undamaged except at the west end (*plate 48.21*), it may be assumed that the alterations were generally of a relatively minor nature: repairs rather than renovation.

Passages lead off from all four corners of the courtyard. The one at the north-west corner leads to the guardroom, described above. The one at the south-west corner runs past a door (now blocked) into a barrel-vaulted room to the south and on behind the west wall of that room to a small recess containing what appears to be a shaft to allow water to be drawn up from the well-head in the room below. (The passage is now used as a store and is so filled with multifarious objects that a complete inspection was not possible.) At the east end of the courtyard there are another two passages. The northern one gives access to the easternmost of the rooms ranged along the north side of the courtyard and continues southwards to open on the roof of the mezzanine staircase. The southern one has a door in its south wall opening into a room in the south-eastern corner of the courtyard. A modern doorway has been opened in the west wall of this room to connect it to a cross-vaulted room, now fitted with ten shower baths, which was originally entered from the courtyard.

The solitary room at the east end of the courtyard, now used as a laundry, is well sited – with flanking passages to permit a healthy flow of air on all sides – originally to have housed the latrines. The nearby room in the south-eastern corner of the courtyard still contains four stone basins (*plate 48.22*) which may well have belonged to the original bath-house. A drain uncovered beside the east entrance portal (*plate 48.25, fig. 48.6*) in 1982 when a new sewer was being laid under the street is in an appropriate place to have served both latrines and bath-house in such a location.

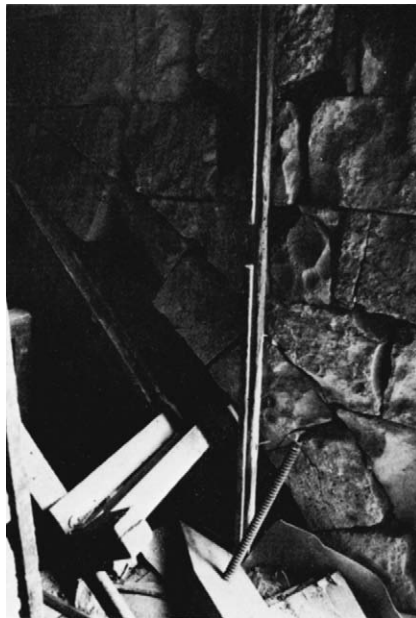
In the centre of the courtyard's south wall another passage leads to the salient feature of the palace, the great reception hall consisting of a central sunken court with axial *iwāns* opening for almost its entire width to east and west (*plate 48.23*). Folded cross-vaults over the west *iwān* and the central court rise to octagonal oculi, the one over the court being splendidly



**Plate 48.13** *Muqarnas* cupola at crown of east vestibule's vault



**Plate 48.14** North end of chamber to east of eastern portal



**Plate 48.15** Right-hand side of arch over staircase to mezzanine



**Plate 48.16** North-west corner of east yard, with east frontage of the palace on the left

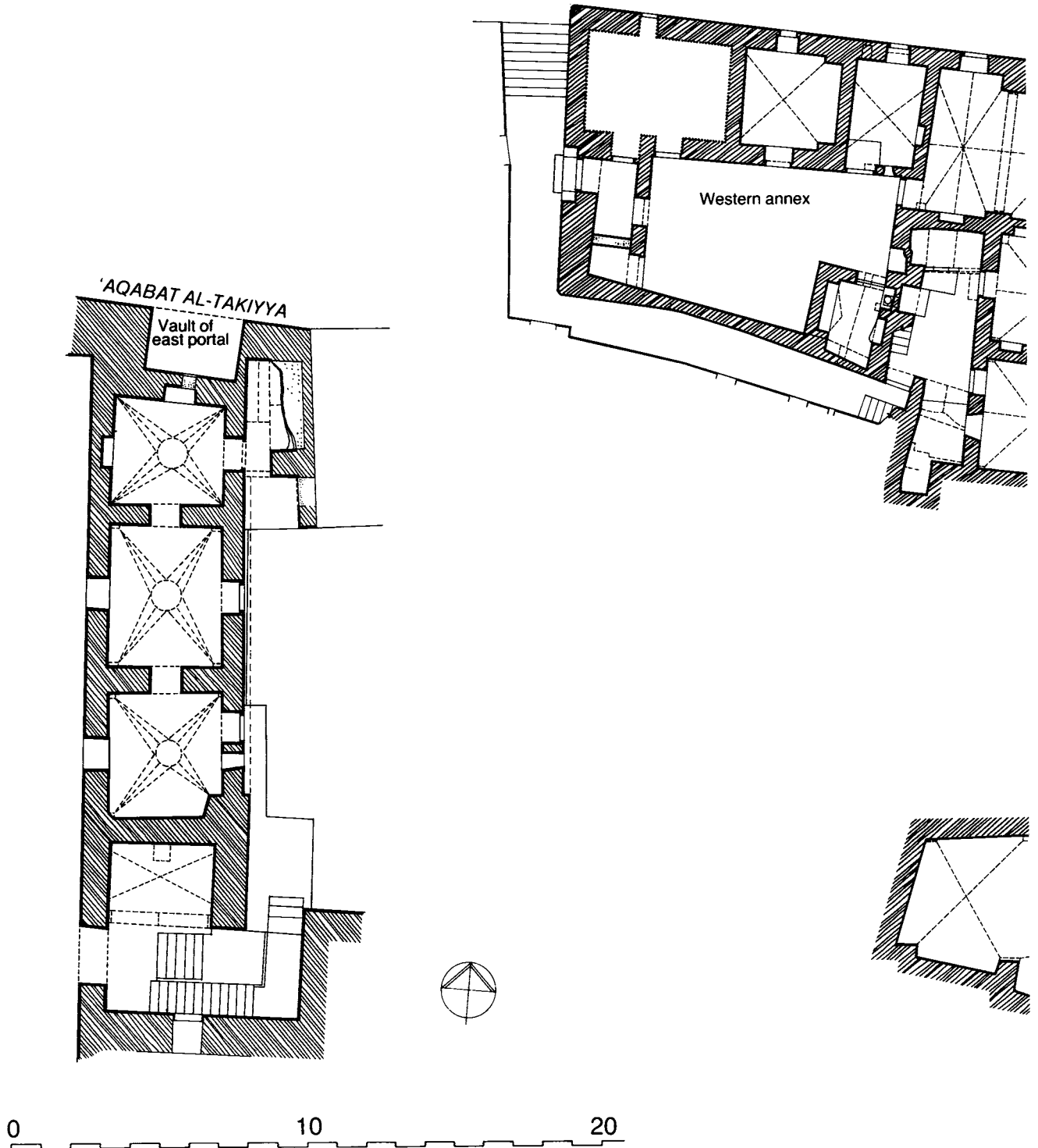


Fig. 48.4 Mezzanine plan



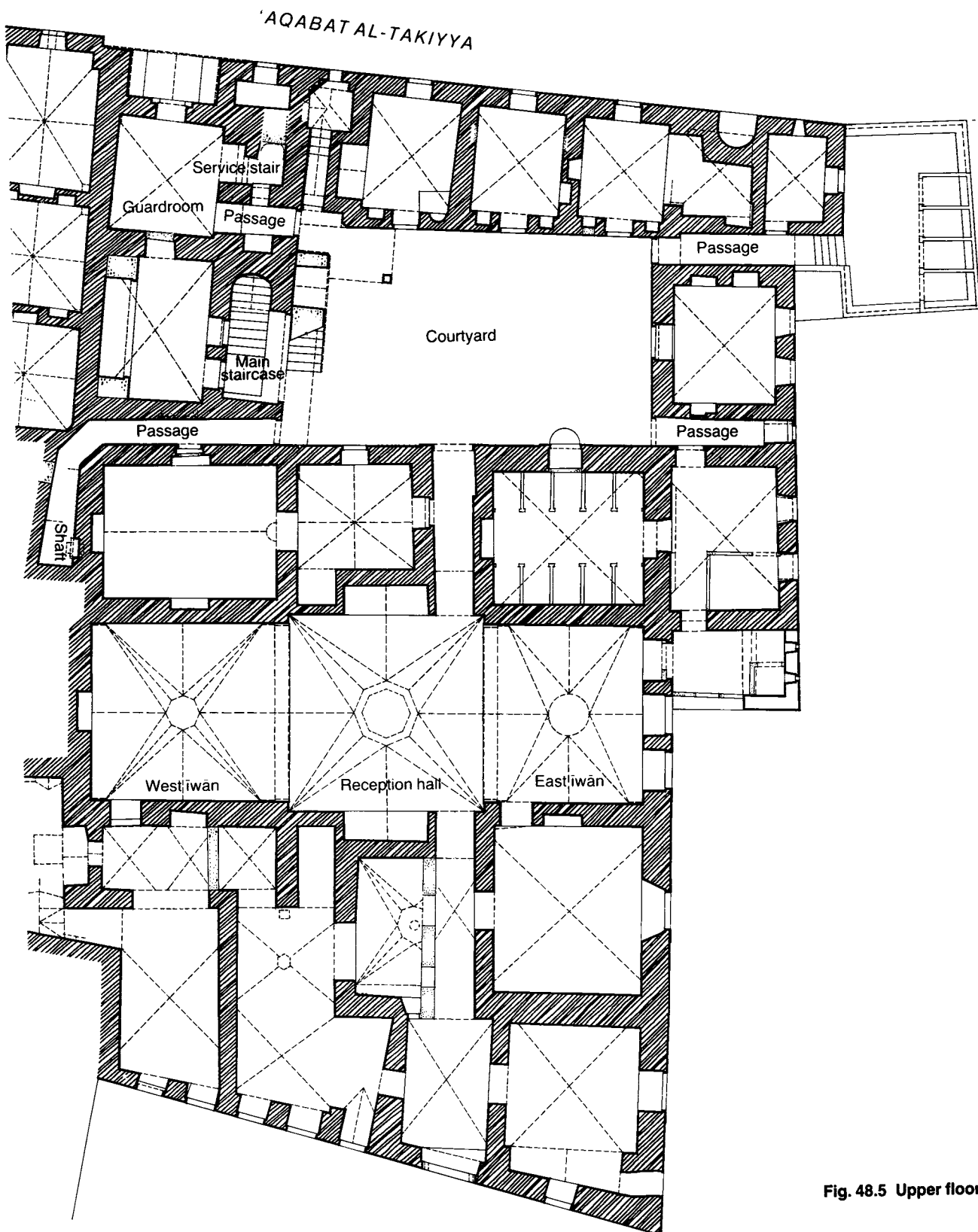


Fig. 48.5 Upper floor plan

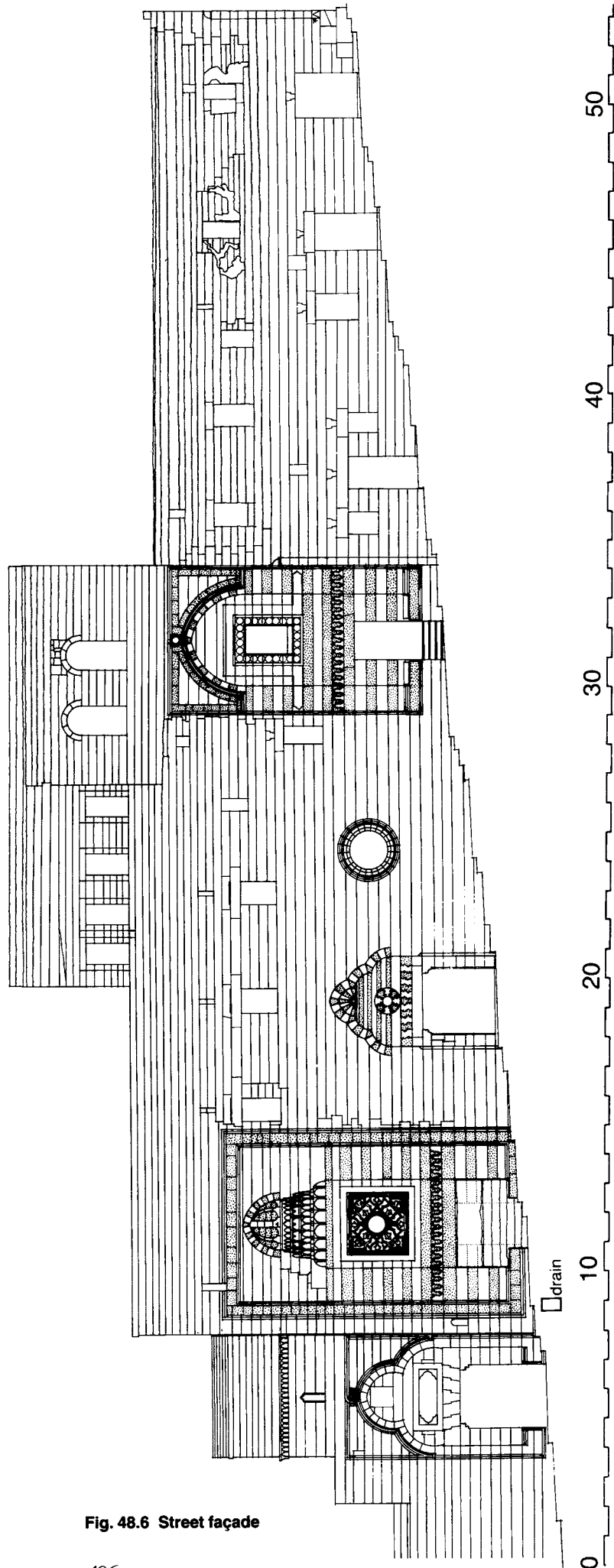


Fig. 48.6 Street façade

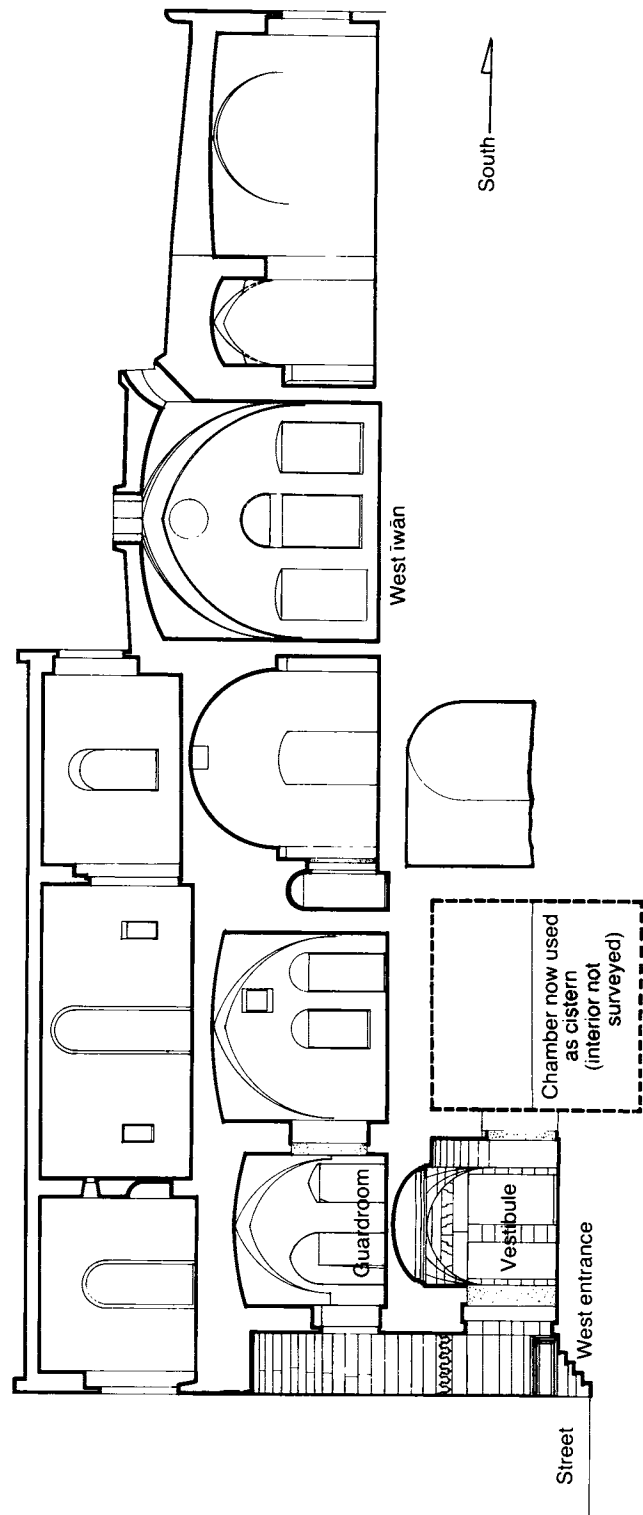


Fig. 48.7 North-south section looking east

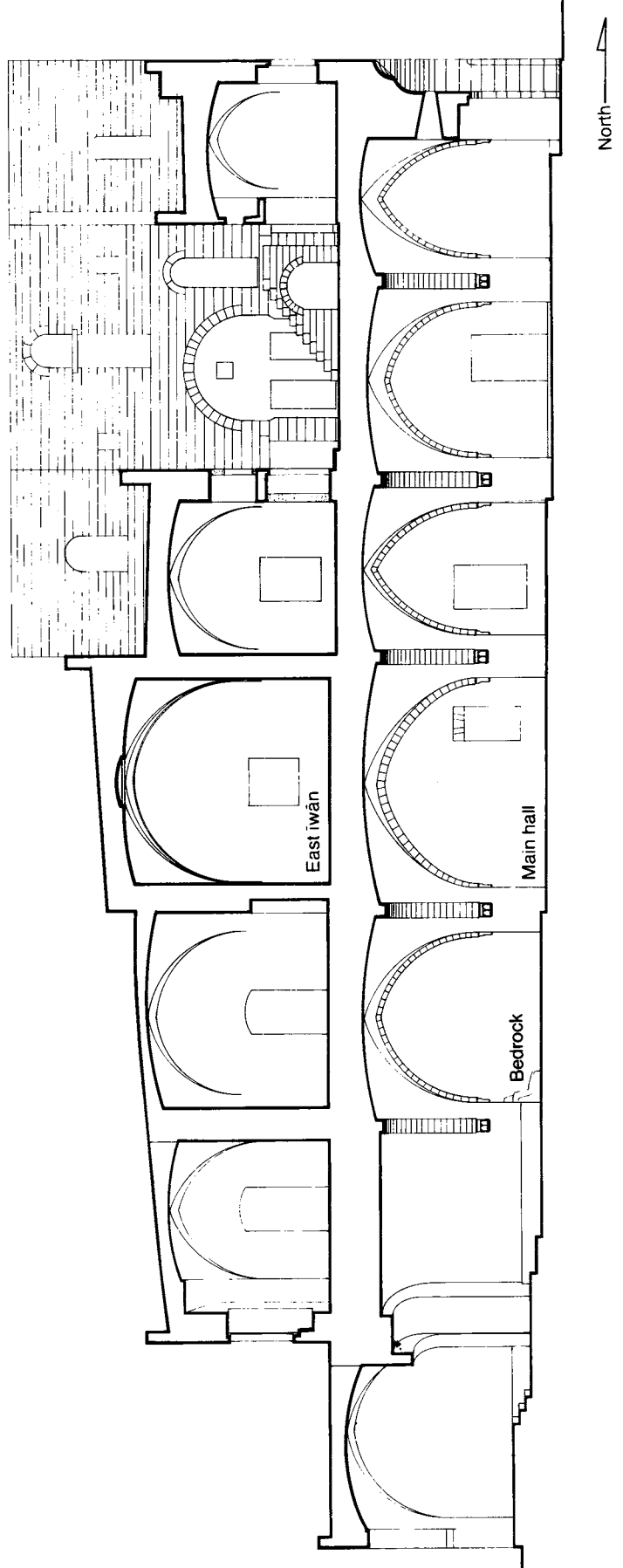
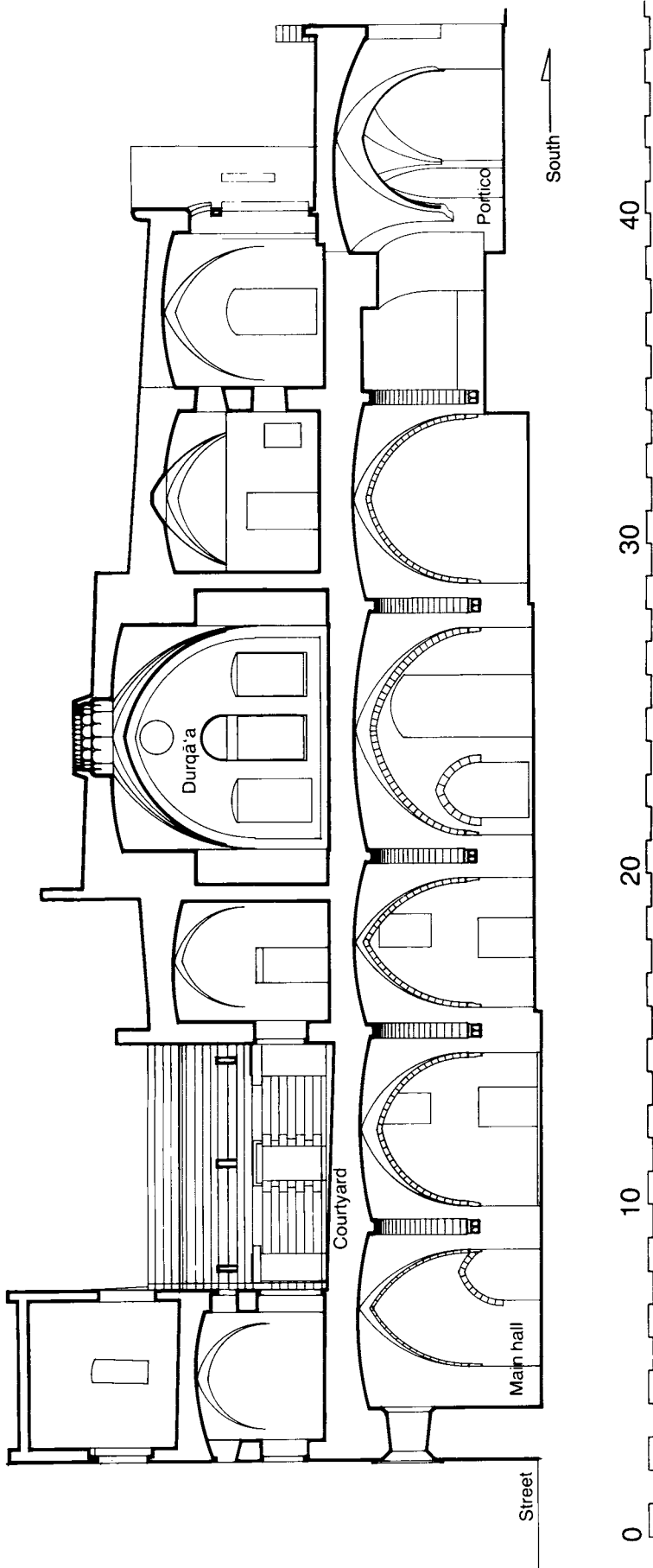


Fig. 48.8 North-south section looking east

Fig. 48.9 South-north section looking west



Plate 48.17 East frontage



Plate 48.18 Upper floor: east wall of room at north-west corner of courtyard



Plate 48.19 Water fountain in east yard

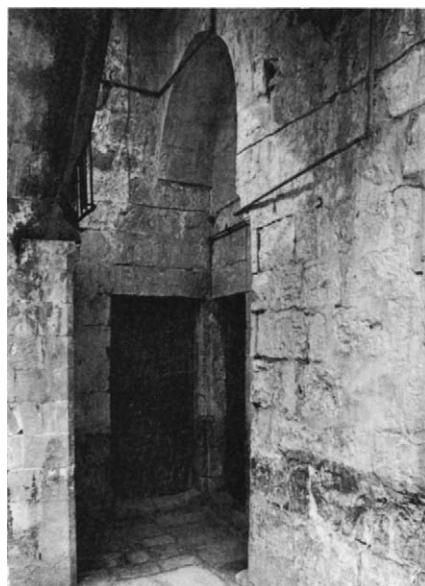


Plate 48.20 Upper floor: doorways in north-west corner of courtyard

decorated with three tiers of stone *muqarnas* (plate 48.24). Originally both were probably sheltered by raised lantern domes to admit light and fresh air but exclude the wind, rain and snow of a severe Jerusalem winter. The folded cross-vault over the east *iwān* has no oculus but a shallow circular depression at the crown, which appears to be the result of later replastering. In this *iwān*, however, which is well lit by three large rectangular windows in the east wall, the original vault may never have had an oculus. Of the three windows, the central one has a semicircular light above its lintel and a circular oculus above that (fig. 48.8). These windows look out on a glorious view over the valley to the Dome of the Rock.

To the south of the reception hall is a group of eight ancillary rooms, of which the four that are contiguous with the hall appear to be original. Those further to the south extend beyond the south wall of the ground floor and are partly supported by the Ottoman portico (p. 488, plate 48.10). They must therefore be later additions. Since the alignment of the present south wall at this level coincides with that of the Ottoman portico it is probable that the two are contemporaneous. All internal walls have a thick coating of plaster concealing what evidence there may be in the stonework of the line of the original southern boundary, which seems not to have coincided with the immensely thick wall at the south end of the main hall on the ground floor. A suggestion for the original layout is shown in fig. 48.14.

*WESTERN ANNEX* (plans, figs. 48.3 and 48.5).

Only the two easternmost storerooms on the ground floor of the annex were accessible to us. Both are entered from the street. They are barrel-vaulted and extend southward evidently as far as was possible without resorting to extensive excavation of the bedrock. Since the bedrock rises in a south-westerly direction, the eastern storeroom extends the further back of the two.

At the west end of the annex, at the corner of a blind alley leading off to the south, the lowest courses of masonry<sup>20</sup> appear to be vestiges of an earlier building which previously occupied this corner (plate 48.7). Considerably more of the same masonry forms the corner at the other side of the alley, suggesting that the alley itself was already there in earlier times. The main street, 'Aqabat al-Takiyya, runs east towards Bāb al-Nāzir, one of the Ḥaram gates, on the line of a street that almost certainly dates back to Roman times.

The present house on top of the storerooms is a later construction (see p. 488). It has a modest entrance portal (plate 48.7) opening in the lane mentioned above. Its construction and decoration is analogous to that of others belonging to the late-sixteenth or seventeenth century.

The western annex may have provided additional storage space and lodgings for staff attached to the palace. Alternatively it might have been rented out to produce extra funds for the running of the palace or for the upkeep of the charitable foundation connected to the princess's tomb (see no. 49).

#### INTERPRETATION

In its heyday the palace of Sitt Ṭunshuq must have been a sumptuous residence, the only one of its kind in Jerusalem. In addition to the main hall occupying most of the ground floor and the reception hall and courtyard on the upper floor, it comprised no less than twenty-five rooms and four staircases.

Without access to the endowment deeds mentioned above (p. 485) any attempt to assess the original purpose and use of the various components of the building must rely on interpretation of the architectural fabric, a process complicated by various repairs and alterations.

The principal components are nonetheless clearly identifiable. The main hall on the ground floor is the nucleus of an *iṣṭabl*, a standard feature of palace architecture where horses were stabled and groomed.<sup>21</sup> The various chambers around the hall would have accommodated the stable's appurtenances: smithies, stores for harness and saddles, hay lofts (possibly

located in the mezzanine) and so on. The open yards to the east and south were presumably paddocks where the horses could be exercised. A plentiful supply of water was an essential requirement and though the present fountain in the east yard appears to be Ottoman, it may replace an earlier source of water at this spot. Otherwise the only alternative water supply was the rock-cut cistern in the central chamber on the west side of the main hall.

The great reception hall on the upper floor is a *qā'a* consisting of a central sunken court (*durqā'a*) with axial *iwāns* opening to east and west off it. A *qā'a* is a typical feature of Mamlūk palace architecture and several other examples survive in Cairo.<sup>22</sup> But whereas the *qā'as* in Cairo usually had timber roofs, the *durqā'a* and *iwāns* here have folded cross vaults.

The only access to the whole complex seems to have been from the street by way of the three entrance portals. The varying sizes and degrees of ornamentation of these portals appear not to reflect the hierarchy of functions they serve.

The central portal presents no particular problems of interpretation: it is designed to allow the easy movement of

animals and supplies to and from the stables. On the other hand, the west portal which is the main entrance to the *piano nobile* is somewhat suprisingly not the most elaborately decorated. That distinction belongs to the east portal which, in terms of its function, seems to be the least important for it gives access merely to the mezzanine and the east yard. There are, however, two factors that may explain its special emphasis: it is the first of the entrances to be reached by people coming from the Haram, and it is directly opposite the tomb of the founder, which has a similar panel of inlaid strapwork over its entrance (*plate 49.1*) as if visually to associate the two foundations. The west portal, the main entrance to the palace proper on the upper floor, boasts the only inscription, part of the Koranic *sūra 'Al-Hijra'*, somehow appropriate for the palace of a refugee from Timūr's onslaught:

... We shall strip away all rancour that is in their breasts; as brothers they shall be upon couches set face to face; no fatigue there shall strike them, neither shall they ever be driven forth from there. ...



Plate 48.21 Upper floor courtyard, looking east



Plate 48.23 Upper floor: *durqā'a* and west *iwān*



Plate 48.22 Upper floor: north wall of room in south-east corner of courtyard with re-used basins

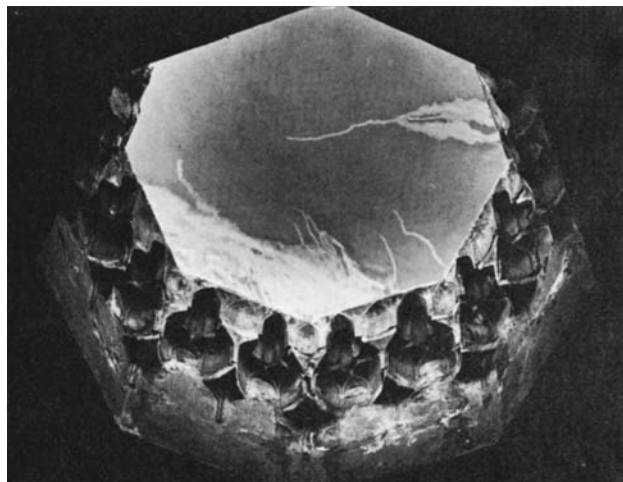


Plate 48.24 Upper floor: octagonal opening at crown of *durqā'a* vault

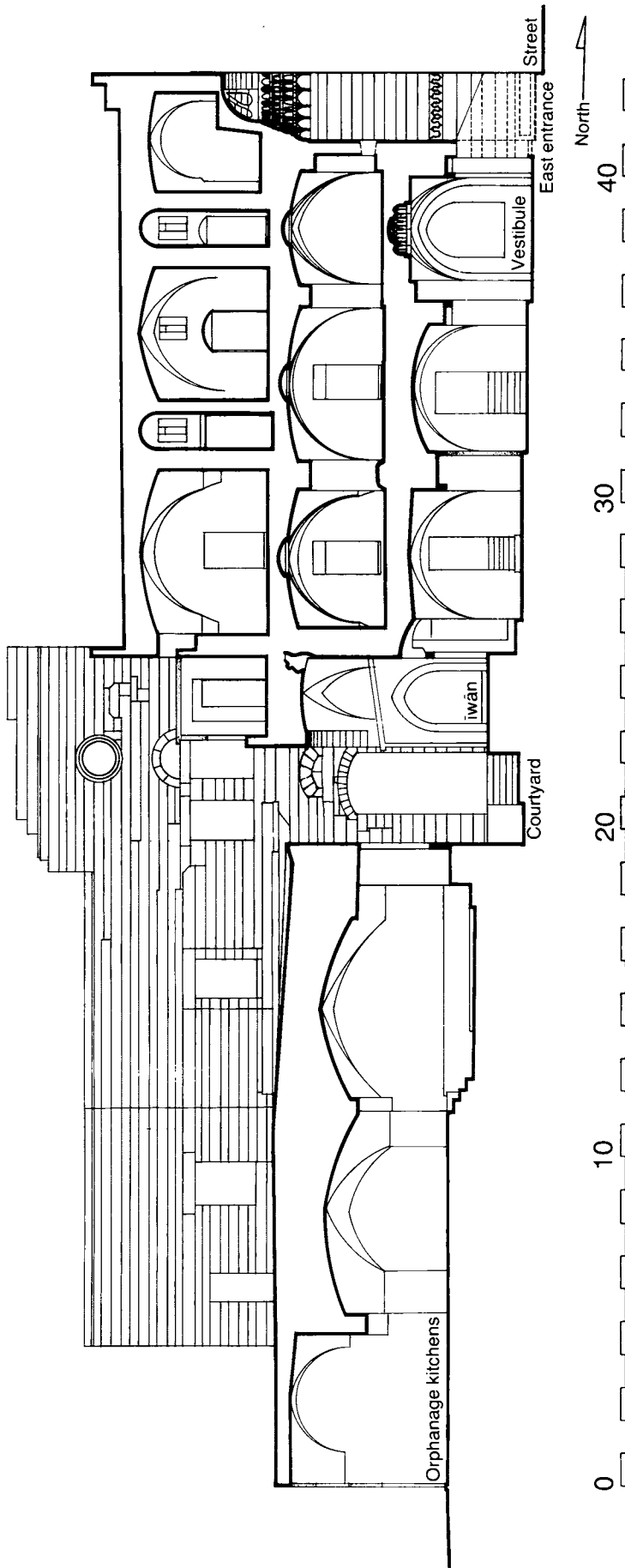


Fig. 48.10 South-north section looking east

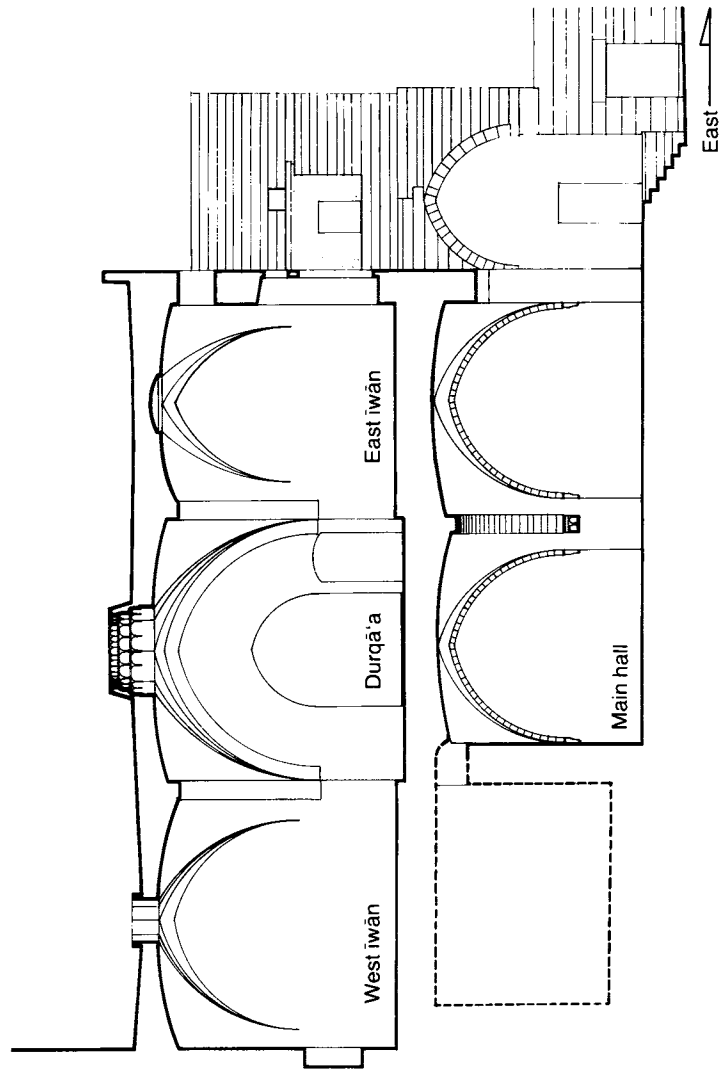


Fig. 48.11 West-east section looking north



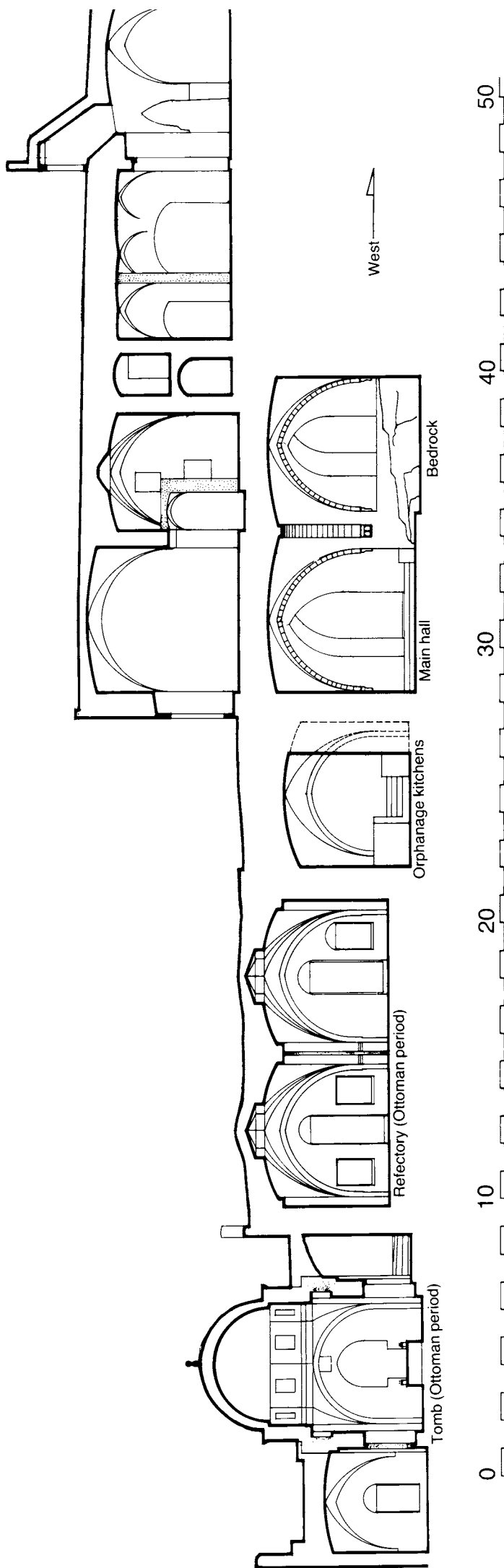


Fig. 48.12 East-west section looking south

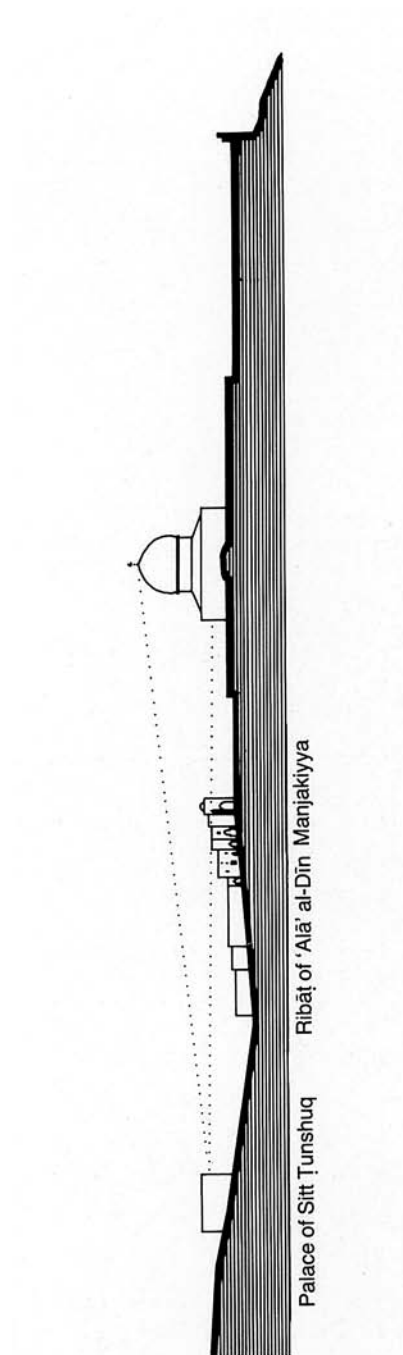
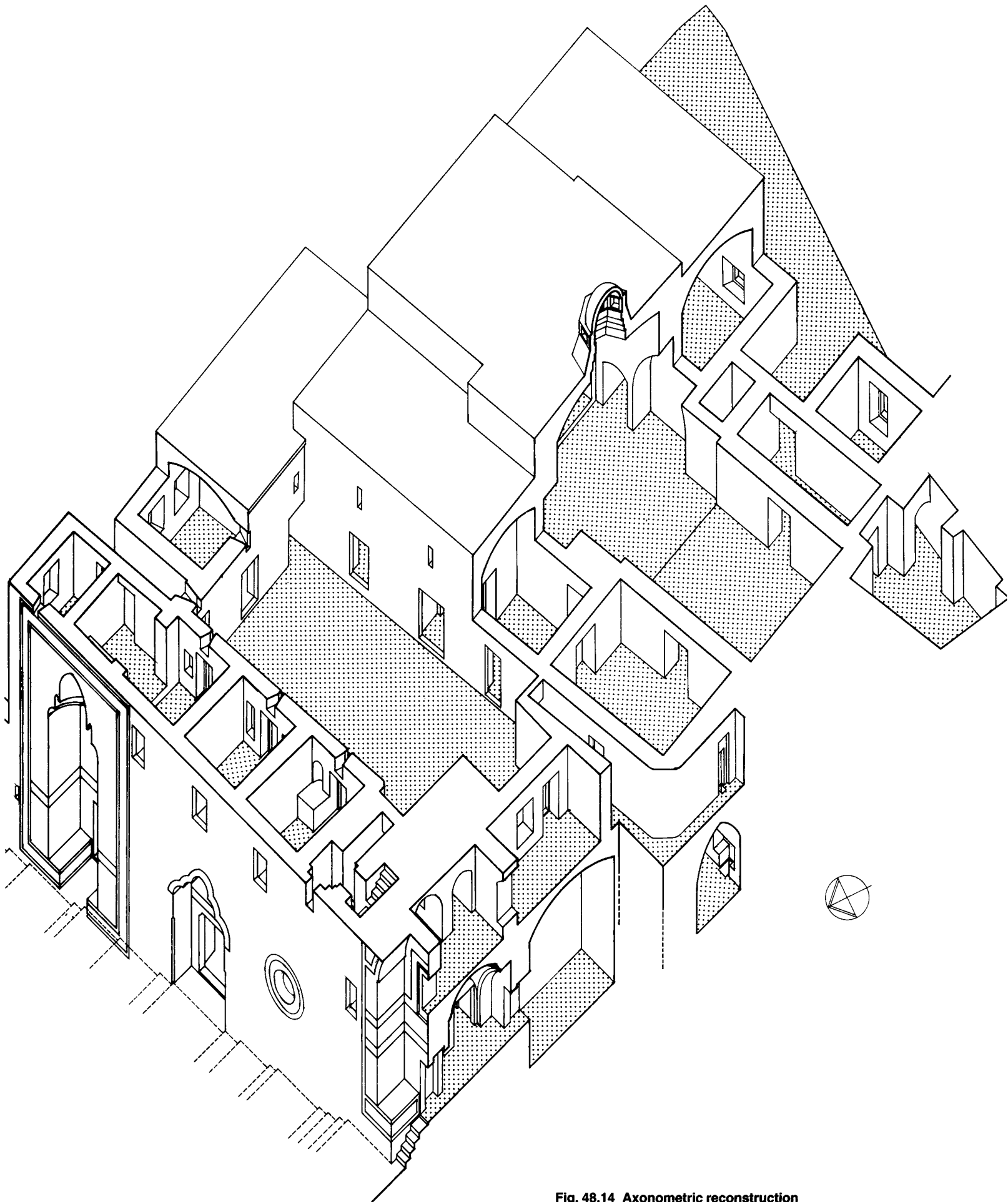
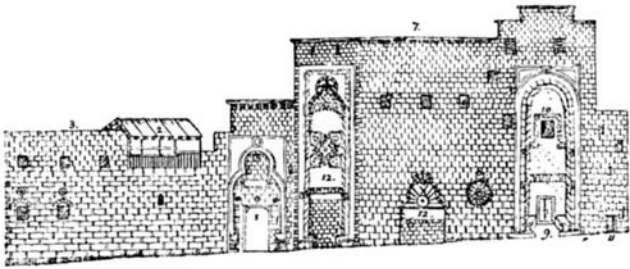


Fig. 48.13 Explanatory section showing view of the Dome of the Rock



**Fig. 48.14 Axonometric reconstruction**



'A building of the 14th century called "Hospital of St. Helena"'

Fig. 48.15 The street façade in the eighteenth century, after Elzear Horn, *Ichographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae* (1724-1744), edited and translated by E. Hoade, Jerusalem, 1962

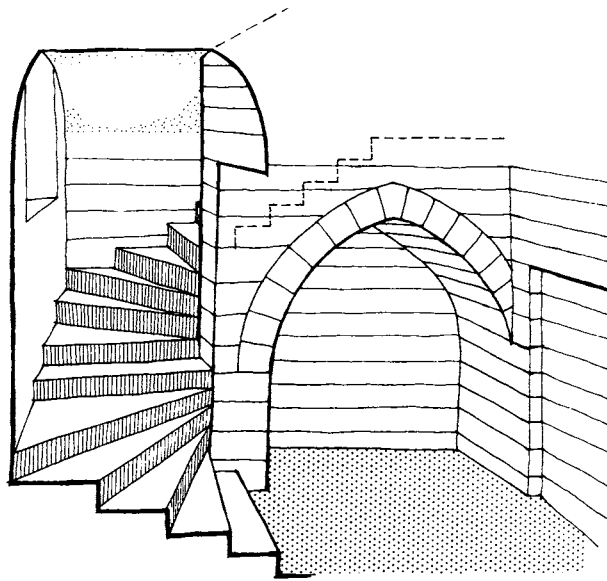


Fig. 48.17 Sketch reconstruction of service staircase from west vestibule to upper floor, looking east

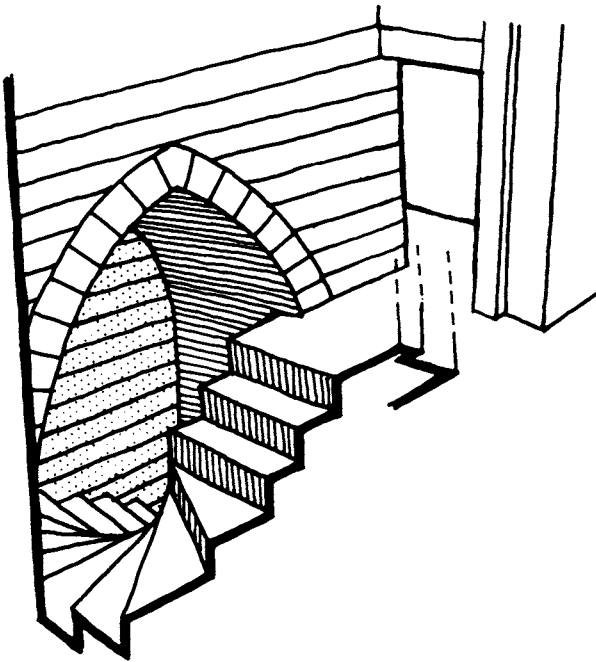


Fig. 48.16 Sketch reconstruction of staircase leading from east vestibule to mezzanine, looking south-east

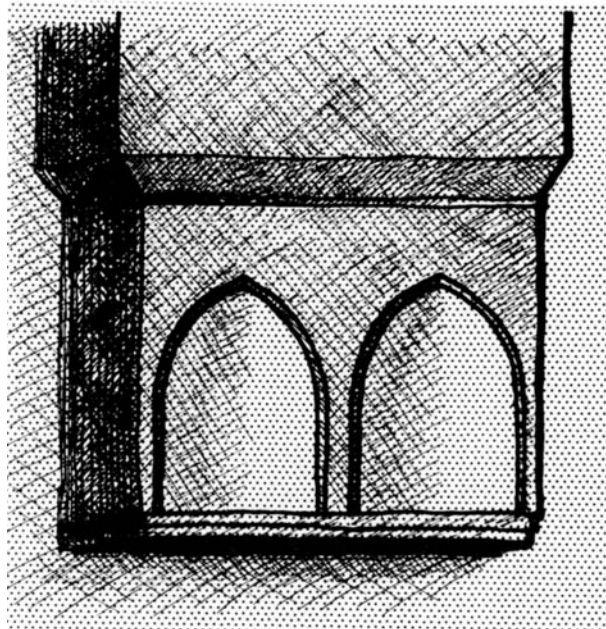


Fig. 48.18 *Muqarnaş* impost block



Plate 48.25 Drain under eastern portal



Plate 48.26 Upper floor: Ottoman inscription re-used in south side of courtyard

Notes

- 1 Mujīr, ii, 54.
- 2 Mujīr, ii, 65.
- 3 See *CIA (Ville)*, nos. 94 and 94 bis.
- 4 Mujīr, ii, 64-5.
- 5 Haram no. 246.
- 6 St. H. Stephan, 'An endowment deed of Khaseki Sultan etc.', *QDAP*, x, 1944, 173 n. 3.
- 7 The copy of the first document is dated 24 Sha'bān 1333/7 July 1915 and is certified by the Qādi of Damascus, Muḥammad Khurshīd, to be 'in accordance with the original' (*tibq al-aṣl*), presumably the copy found in the Ottoman Sijills for the Damascus court, rather than the actual fourteenth-century documents themselves.
- 8 *Sulūk*, ii, 91-2 and 189.
- 9 *CIA (Ville)*, 310-2.
- 10 See G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*, Oxford, 1972, 525-6.
- 11 Mujīr, ii, 65.
- 12 Sijill, 32, 341.
- 13 Sijill, 58, 600 (1).
- 14 See *CIA (Ville)*, *op. cit. supra*.
- 15 J. Bourgoïn, *Les Arts Arabes*, Paris, 1876, pl. 51, shows in a coloured drawing of this panel what may have been turquoise faïence (the ornamental frame round the window in the west portal of the palace has turquoise inlay). Other drawings of the panel were published by W. Harvey, 'Jerusalem Doorways', *The*

*Architectural Review*, xxxii, April 1912, 205, and M. Burgoyne, 'Some Mameluke Doorways in the Old City of Jerusalem', *Levant*, iii, 1971, fig. 7. We are indebted to Dr Elizabeth Ettinghausen for drawing our attention to the avian forms.

16 *CIA (Ville)*, 307-12.

17 A terra cotta pipe in the rubble blocking this doorway was apparently intended to drain surplus water from the cistern directly into the vestibule and from there out on to the street. Therefore the installation of the cistern probably coincided with the closure of the west entrance. The west entrance is shown as the only open one in Horn's early eighteenth-century drawing (our fig. 48.15), made before the alterations and renovations mentioned in the inscription of 1167/1753-54.

18 The depth of this chamber was measured from the well-head on the upper floor.

19 These alterations must have been made after 1167/1753 since an inscription bearing that date has been re-used in the masonry of the upper part of the south wall. We are indebted to Professor Heinz Gaube for his help in deciphering this inscription.

20 One of these stones bears an 1865 Ordnance Survey benchmark, 2456.0 feet above sea-level.

21 F. Viré, 'Iṣṭabl', *EF<sup>2</sup>*.

22 A list of surviving *qā'as* is given in *MAE*, ii, 208, and further details are to be found in J. Revault and B. Maury, *Palais et Maisons du Caire du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, i-iii, Cairo, 1975, 1977, 1979; E. Pauty, *Les Palais et les Maisons d'époque musulmane au Caire*, Cairo, 1932; and M. Zakarya, *Deux Palais du Caire médiéval*, Paris, 1983.

# 49 TURBA OF SITT ṬUNSHUQ

## تربة الست طنشق

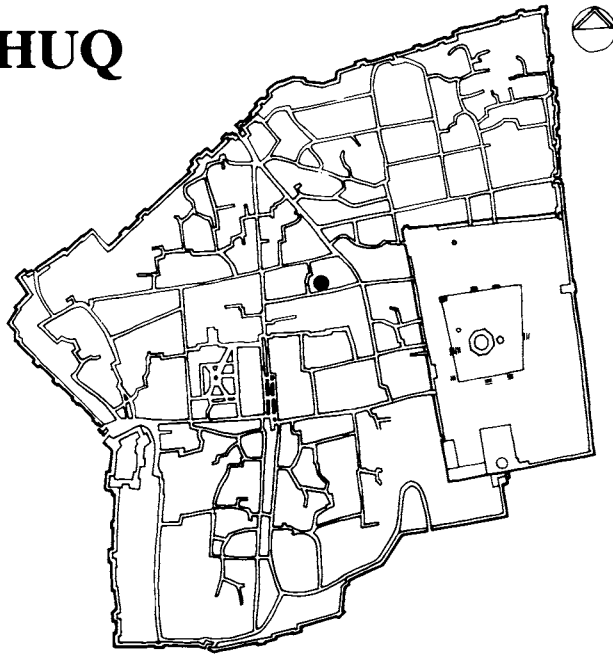


Fig. 49.1 Location plan

Before 800/1398  
Tomb of Sitt Ṭunshuq al-Muzaffariyya  
Modern name: Khāṣṣakī Sulṭān

### I LOCATION (fig. 49.1)

On the north side of the street now called 'Aqabat al-Takiyya (Khāṣṣakī Sulṭān), directly opposite the palace of Sitt Ṭunshuq.

### II SITE AND BUILDING (figs. 49.2 and 49.3)

The building consists of two structurally integrated components: (1) a domed tomb chamber with an antechamber to the north and (2) a western dependency comprising various chambers arranged on two storeys round an open courtyard. An arched portal opens into a small vestibule which now leads to the tomb chamber but originally led into an *iwān* on the south side of the courtyard. It was the only entrance to the complex; the present doorway to the west of the portal is a later insertion.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

Mujīr al-Dīn records that Sitt Ṭunshuq died in Jerusalem in Dhū'l-Qa'da 800/July-August 1398 and was buried in her tomb which she had built opposite her great palace.

FOUNDER  
See no. 48.

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

Elzear Horn's drawing (fig. 49.6) made in the first half of the eighteenth century shows the building in its original state. At some later time but before Creswell's photograph (plate 49.1) were taken in January 1920 the building was modified for domestic use and the new doorway (plate 49.2) inserted to the west of the entrance portal. Some repairs to the stonework of the left-hand side of the entrance portal recess are visible in Creswell's photograph. In 1935 more substantial repairs and alterations were made and many stones in the façade were replaced, including part of a strapwork decoration in the spandrels of the entrance portal. At this time remains of the original plasterwork inside the tomb chamber were removed.



Plate 49.1 Entrance portal



Plate 49.2 Street façade



Plate 49.3 Slit window at west end of street façade

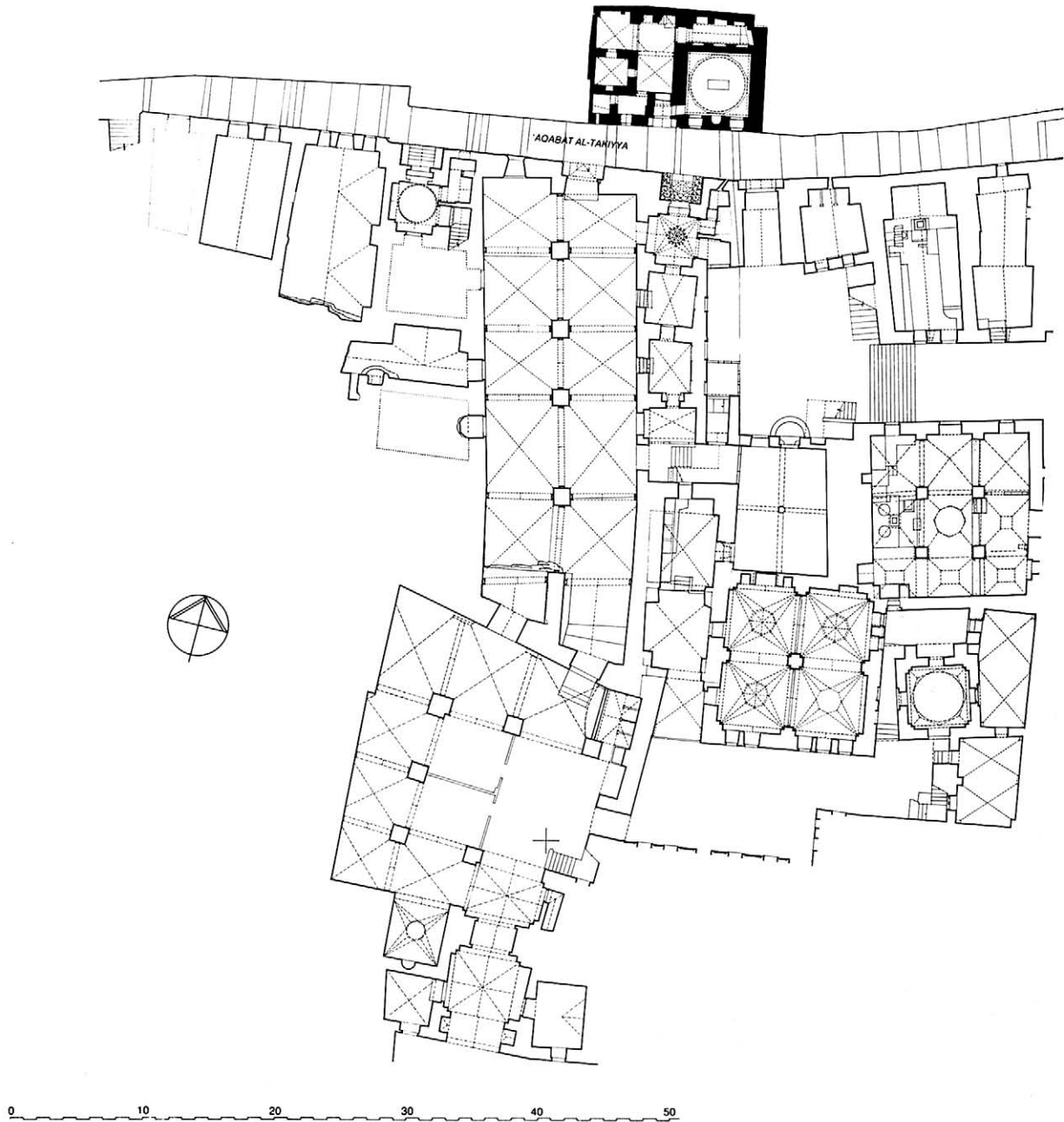


Fig. 49.2 Site plan

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### STREET FAÇADE (fig. 49.5)

The decoration of the street façade reflects the two purposes the building was designed to serve. Elaborately ornamental stonework emphasizes the domed tomb chamber on the east side of the entrance portal while to the west of the portal, the façade of the subsidiary chambers is more modestly decorated. Clearly the main purpose of the building was to provide an impressive tomb for the founder. The subsidiary chambers appear to have accommodated some associated pious foundation, perhaps a small madrasa or a khānqāh for the Qalandariyya Šūfis whom Sitt Ṭunshuq is known to have patronized.

The ornamental façade of the tomb chamber is symmetrical about its central axis, with two grilled windows opening in red, black and cream-coloured *ablaq* masonry bordered by a quirked ogee frame moulding (fig. 49.5). The window lintels are marble, part of a double string course of greyish marble. Above that string course (see fig. 49.12) there

are relieving arches over the windows, each with a flamboyantly joggled keystone and, mid-way between them, a no less flamboyantly joggled inlay of marble. Above the relieving arches a recessed panel of marble with cusped finials extends for the full width between the frame moulding; this panel appears to have been intended for an inscription that was never carved. Above that panel a string course of red, black and cream-coloured *ablaq* joggling completes the special decoration of the tomb chamber's façade.

The pointed-arched entrance portal (plate 49.1), built of red, black and cream-coloured *ablaq*, is framed by a quirked ogee moulding which rises to the same height as the identical moulding on the tomb chamber's façade. This moulding returns around the stone benches flanking the doorway. The monolithic lintel over the door is surmounted by a joggled string course which is undercut to form a flat arch relieving the load on the lintel. Above that string course the tympanum contains a panel of intaglied strapwork analogous to the one over the east entrance to the palace across the street (above, p. 487). No trace of inlay survives, though the panel was obviously



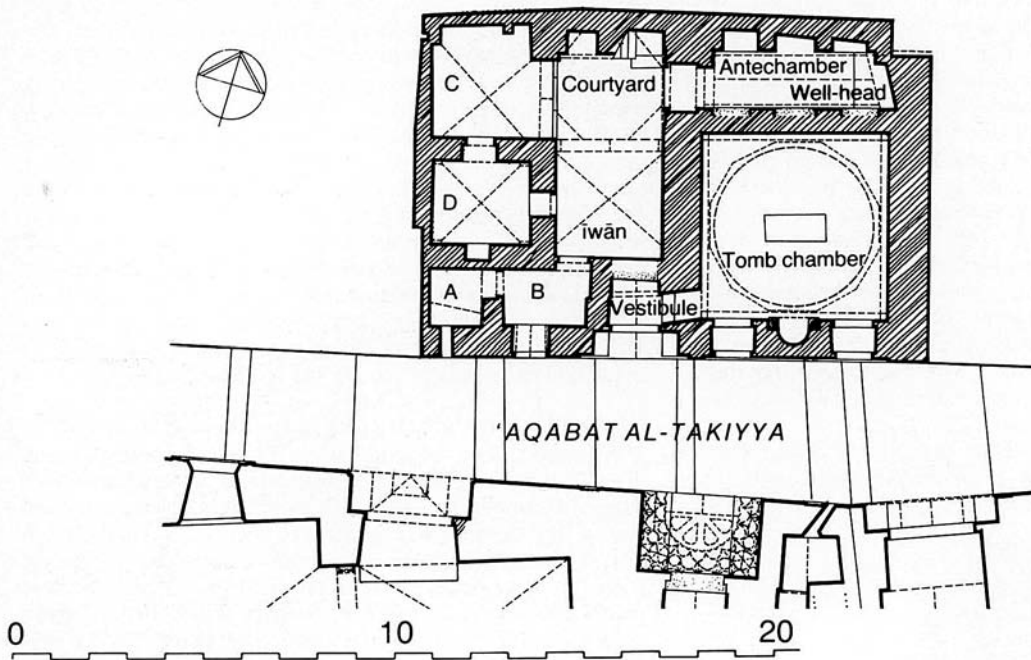


Fig. 49.3 Ground floor plan

intended to receive one. The little aperture in the centre of the panel serves no useful purpose; it penetrates only a few centimetres into the masonry. The spandrels of the portal arch are filled with a rectilinear strapwork revetment (fig. 49.9) of a type generally associated with north Syria (above, p. 97).

The façade of the subsidiary chambers to the left (west) of the portal has undergone various alterations. Most obvious of these is the new doorway, inserted some time before 1920, presumably when the building was converted to domestic use. Horn's drawing (fig. 49.6) shows that there was once a small drinking fountain (marked 'Aquarium') in this part of the façade. At a slightly higher level two slit windows with *muqarnas*-decorated heads (plate 49.3) were arranged symmetrically on either side of the fountain. The lower part of the right-hand window has been blocked up during the construction of the new door.

In the upper part of the façade three windows light the upper floor rooms and, to the east of them, a fourth lights the tomb chamber. Only the left-hand window is shown in Horn's drawing but the tomb chamber window is certainly original since it is matched by similar high-level windows in its east (plate 49.4) and north walls and a blind window in its west wall. Of the two windows over the entrance, the western one is modern (it is missing in Creswell's photograph) and the eastern one is probably a later insertion to judge by the interruptions in the masonry coursing visible in 1920 but later repaired.

The whole façade is crowned by a cornice decorated with a repeating *muqarnas* motif, which returns over the east wall of the tomb chamber where, about a metre and a half from the corner, the *muqarnas* motif is abandoned and the cornice continues as a simple cavetto moulding. A foliated cresting runs around the south, east and north sides of the tomb chamber (plate 49.5). The dome is slightly bulbous, supported by a tall, twelve-sided drum with a cyma reversa cornice. The drum contains twelve pointed-arched windows, one in each side. Nowadays all but three are blocked, but originally all must have been open except the western window; it is the only one blocked with ashlar, evidently part of the original construction since one of the upper storey rooms abuts against it (fig. 49.8).

#### TOMB CHAMBER (plan, fig. 49.3)

The main entrance opens into a tiny vestibule from which a short passage constructed in 1935 leads east into the tomb

chamber. Originally the vestibule opened north into the *iwān* on the south side of the courtyard. The east wall of the courtyard contains a wide doorway in *ablaq* masonry enclosed by a quirked ogee frame moulding (plate 49.6, fig. 49.7). The door lintel bears a small squared kufic inscription which is hard to decipher but may read 'Muhammad' or possibly 'Muhammad al-bannā' (Muhammad the builder) repeated four times. This is the only example of squared kufic from the Mamlūk period in Jerusalem (fig. 49.11). Why this doorway received special decorative emphasis was that it led to the founder's tomb, approached through a narrow antechamber along the north side of the tomb chamber. From there a door flanked by two windows led into the chamber itself; these are all now blocked.

The lofty tomb chamber (fig. 49.8) is about 4.85m square and unusually tall in proportion for it measures 6.25m to the cornice above the transition zone and 11.94m to the apex of the dome. Shallow (0.20m) wall arches on all four sides spring from corbels decorated with two tiers of *muqarnas*. Between these arches 'folded' pendentives make the transition from square base to dodecagonal drum (plate 49.7). Originally the arches and pendentives and at least the upper part of the walls were coated with plaster, as a pre-restoration photograph shows (plate 49.8). In the tympanums a fine moulding of two interlacing bands of plaster followed the profile of the arches and framed the clerestory windows under the crown of each arch. (As noted above, three of these windows were open and one, on the north side, was blind.) All this plaster was removed in 1935. The windows in the drum are outlined by a delicate fillet moulding carved in the stone (plate 49.9). The dome is stilted in internal profile (fig. 49.8) and plastered.

Under the dome a plain cenotaph sits in the centre of the chamber. The tomb itself is said to be in a vault under the floor, entered from a rebated stone trap door next to the east wall.

#### MIHRĀB (plate 49.10)

The *mihṛāb* occupies the middle of the south *qibla* wall of the tomb chamber. Much of its original decoration has been lost, but it is possible to reconstruct the design from the surviving features with the aid of old photographs. A semicircular niche is flanked by two marble columns fitted with matching 'thick leaf' capitals but different bases. They are undoubtedly of Crusader workmanship and, as the partly unfinished surface of the columns indicates, they were meant to be fitted into corner angles, just as they have been re-used in this *mihṛāb*. The left-

hand capital has a broken-off leaf into which an iron peg has been driven, presumably to act as a support for a repair in stucco. The bases rest on small plinths faced with red and grey stone. A lining of marble strips around the niche, traces of which are visible in pre-restoration photographs, survives now only at the base where their convex curvature shows that they were cut from columns. Three round-headed arched panels are inset into the marble lining at this level. The pointed arch of the *mīhrāb* is composed of thin (1-2cm) joggled voussoirs of various marbles including rare red and green ones. The spandrels of the arch are now undecorated but a pre-restoration photograph reveals traces of marble strapwork similar in design to the spandrels of the entrance portal. Remains of copper ties located by marble plugs in the masonry around the *mīhrāb* and its flanking windows suggest that the lower part of the south wall was once entirely lined with marble panelling.

The conch of the *mīhrāb* (plate 49.11) is decorated with carved stucco, the only one in Jerusalem so treated. A symmetrical arrangement of interlacing foliate tendrils and

trefoils around a central vase is enclosed by an epigraphic border which has four loops, each containing a trefoil. The inscription is the *basmala* followed by the first part of Koran *xlvi*, 27. A hole in the centre of the loop at the top of the conch, together with a series of seven overlaps in the stucco, show how the decoration was applied. First the marble lining, including that of the *mīhrāb*, was set in plaster and retained by copper ties. A timber bead was then fixed to separate the marble lining from the conch, and the conch coated with stucco. While the stucco was still wet a curved template (fig. 49.10) was swept in (eight) short arcs over the surface to give a reasonably smooth finish. Only then was the design marked out, presumably from a pattern, and carved. The varying depth of the carving seems to indicate that the sweeps of the template produced a somewhat uneven surface upon which the stucco carver worked.

*WESTERN DEPENDENCIES* (plans, figs. 49.3 and 49.4).

The main entrance vestibule formerly opened directly into the *īwān*. Beside that entrance (now blocked) in the south wall of the *īwān* there is a second doorway, which leads into two small rooms, one (A) reached through the other (B). It is in the south wall of room 'B' that the present entrance has been opened, and room 'A' now houses a latrine. One or possibly both of these rooms may originally have contained the facilities necessary to supply water to the drinking fountain (above, p. 507). The only cistern seen by us in the building is, however, inconveniently



Plate 49.4 Windows in east wall of tomb chamber



Plate 49.5 General view from north-east



Plate 49.6 View north from *īwān* to courtyard



Plate 49.7 North-west corner of tomb chamber following removal of plaster



Plate 49.8 North-west corner of tomb chamber before removal of plaster

remote from these rooms for its mouth is at the east end of the tomb antechamber. A wide pointed-arched opening (now largely blocked by a thin partition wall) on the west side of the courtyard leads into a cross-vaulted room (C) from which a second room (D) to the south is reached. Room 'D' has a window in its east wall opening into the *iwān*.

A narrow staircase (*plate 49.6*) rises against the north wall of the courtyard to the upper floor where it emerges on a small open yard. The upper corners of the ground floor courtyard are spanned by stone slabs (*plate 49.12*) giving an octagonal shape in plan (similar to the courtyard of the Amīniyya: see above p. 253). The primary reason for this seems to have been to give access, by a short passage, to space above the tomb antechamber, enabling that to be used for a long narrow room at first floor level. The other corners were built up solid, apparently to give visual regularity. Two small windows in the east and south sides of the octagon (serving to this extent as a light well) gave light respectively to the room over the tomb antechamber and to a double-cross-vaulted room over the ground floor *iwān*, which is entered from the yard. This room is additionally lit by two windows overlooking the street. The room over the antechamber has windows also in its north and east outside walls, and another, now blocked, which once looked into the tomb chamber. A pair of slit windows, now blocked, opened in the outside northern wall of the octagon (*plate 49.12*) and, since that is open to the sky, these seem to be simply ornamental.

The remaining rooms arranged round the yard (plan, *fig. 49.4*) appear to have served as living quarters, presumably for a functionary attached to the tomb and its associated pious foundation. They include in the north-west corner a small latrine and/or bath-house with a perforated domical vault. A staircase in an arched recess (*plate 49.13*) against the west wall of the yard gives access to the roof.

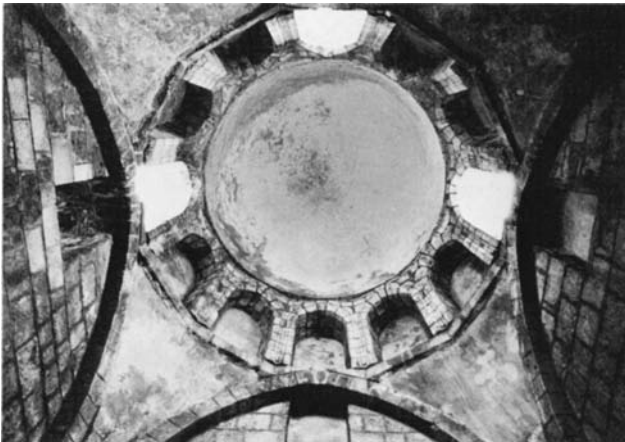


Plate 49.9 Dome over tomb chamber

Plate 49.10 *Mihrāb*Plate 49.11 Conch of *mihrāb*

Plate 49.12 Upper walls of courtyard (north side)

#### IRANIAN INFLUENCE IN THE DECORATION

While the concept and construction of Sitt Tunshuq's palace and tomb is typically Mamlūk (see above, p. 499), three features of the decoration show signs of Iranian influence: the band of star pattern inlay bordering the window in the west entrance to the palace, the stucco conch of the *mihrāb*, and the squared kufic inscription at the entrance to the tomb antechamber. Iranian influences are otherwise virtually unknown in the Mamlūk architecture of Jerusalem and there must be some reason for it here. Further research is needed to establish Sitt Tunshuq's origins, but if she were, as van Berchem has suggested, a Muzaffarid princess who fled from Tīmūr's onslaught into southern Iran, then it would be natural for her to have some souvenir of her own country incorporated into her new buildings in Jerusalem. The actual work was probably done by local craftsmen, however. The squared kufic inscription, for instance – the only one from the Mamlūk period in Jerusalem – is cut in a very strange fashion, as if the mason were unsure of the correct procedure. Moreover, the stucco conch of the *mihrāb* is carved rather flat with no punching and very little drilling such as characterized eighth/fourteenth century Iranian stucco work. (The star pattern inlay at the west entrance to the palace would have presented no particular problems to those responsible for the meticulous carving of the typically Damascene panel over the east entrance.)

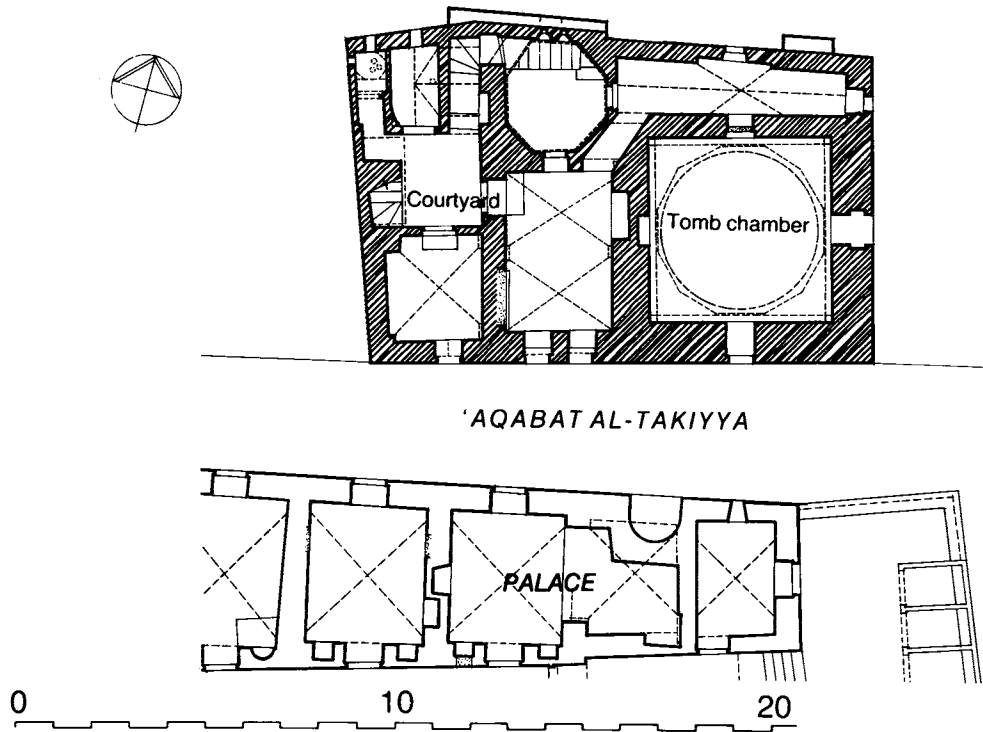


Fig. 49.4 Upper floor plan

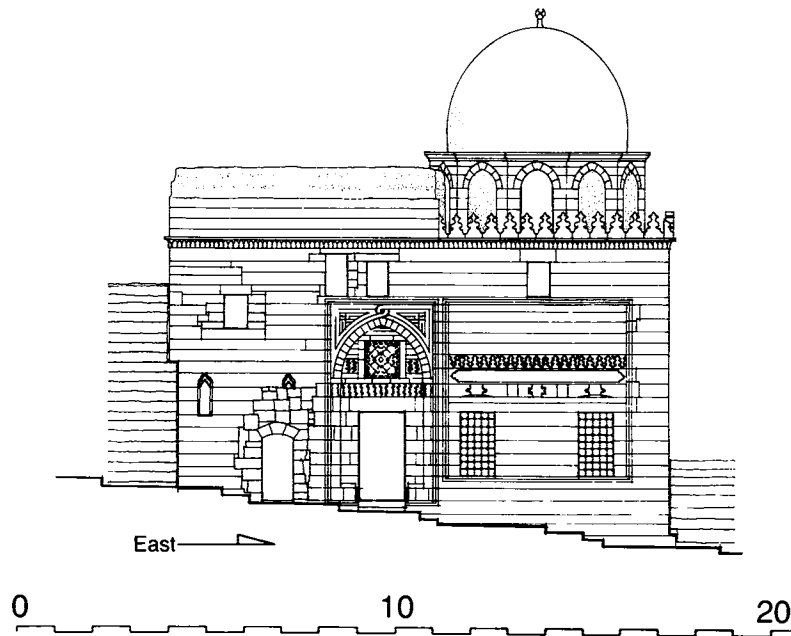


Fig. 49.5 Street façade

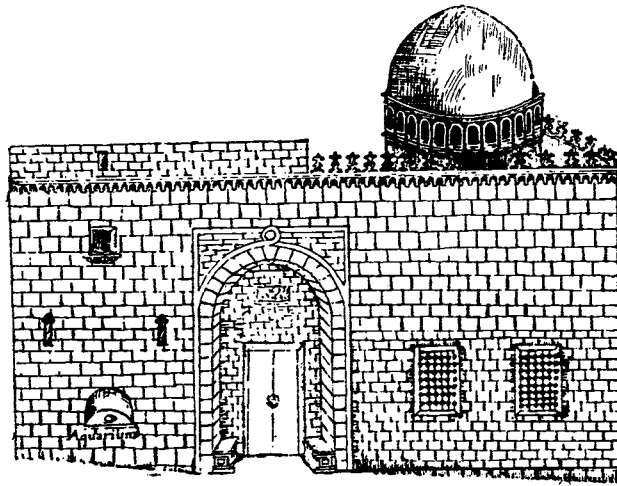


Fig. 49.6 Street façade in the eighteenth century (after Elzear Horn)

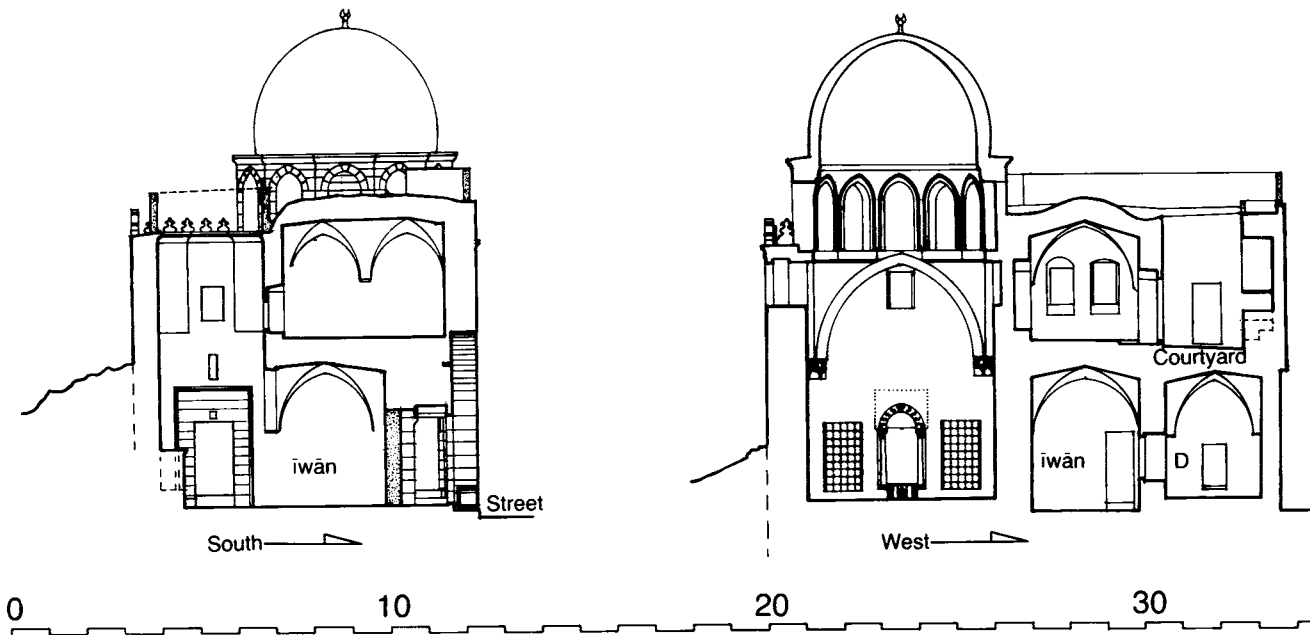


Fig. 49.7 North-south section through courtyard looking east

Fig. 49.8 East-west section through tomb chamber looking south

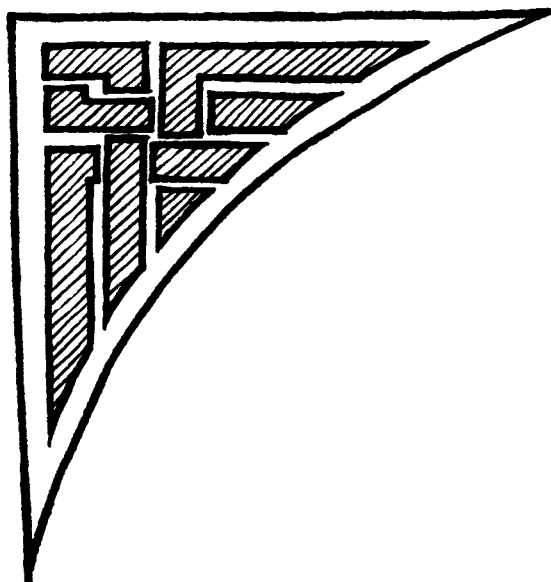


Fig. 49.9 Strapwork revetment of portal spandrel

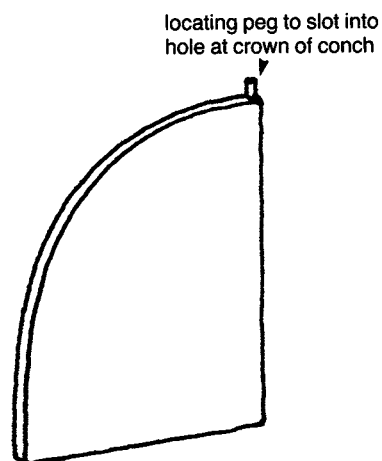


Fig. 49.10 Sketch of suggested template used for smoothing stucco coating in *mihrāb* conch



Plate 49.13 Upper floor: staircase in west side of courtyard

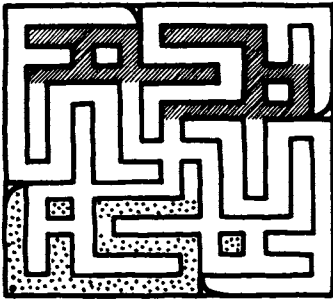


Fig. 49.11 Inscription on lintel of door to tomb antechamber

extra incised decoration in second and sixth voussours from either end

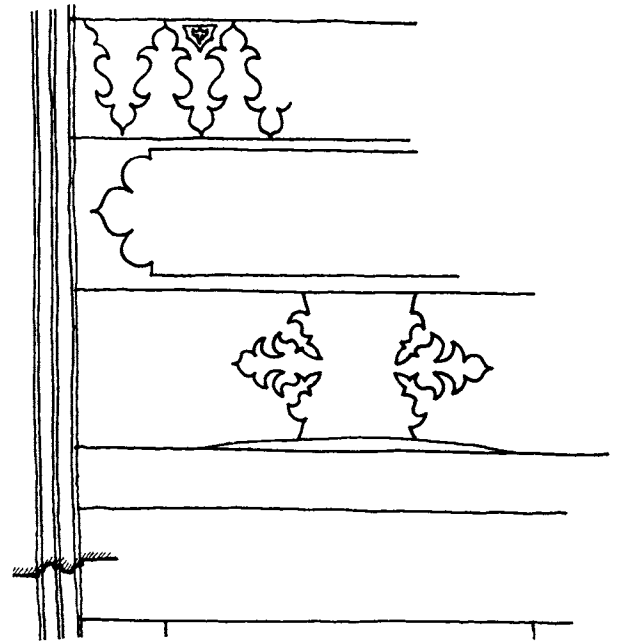


Fig. 49.12 Sketch of decoration over left-hand window of tomb chamber (not to scale)



# 50 MINARET IN ḤĀRAT AL-YAHŪD

## مأذنة بحارة اليهود

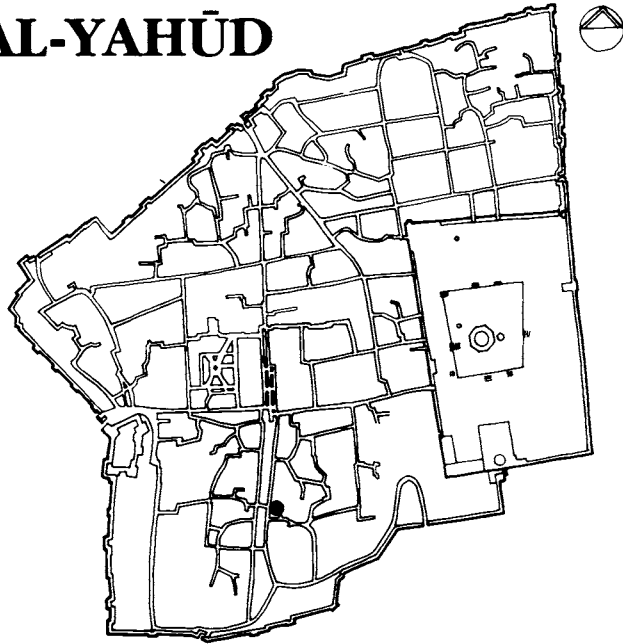


Fig. 50.1 Location plan

Renewed after 800/1397

Minaret of an unnamed mosque in the Jewish Quarter

Modern name: Minaret of 'Jami' Sīdī 'Umar'

### I LOCATION (fig. 50.1)

On the east side of the street called Ḥārat al-Yahūd in the old Jewish Quarter.

### II SITE AND BUILDING (plate 50.1)

The mosque to which the minaret is attached has been associated with the Crusader Church of St Martin on the basis of some columns found inside it.<sup>1</sup> These columns are obviously in secondary use, however, and this tenuous link between the mosque and the church cannot be maintained.

The minaret stands to the north of the mosque. It is of the usual 'Syrian tower' type, square in plan, with an octagonal muezzin's gallery and an octagonal domed lantern.

### III HISTORY

According to Mujīr al-Dīn the minaret stood above a mosque (*masjid*) adjoining the south side of the synagogue<sup>2</sup> of the Jews; it was renewed (*mustajadda*) after 800/1397 when charitable individuals got together and collected money to build it and to establish endowments for it.<sup>3</sup>

A partial collapse of the adjacent synagogue after a heavy rainstorm in 879/1474 gave rise to a prolonged dispute that led to the demolition of the synagogue. The dispute was resolved and the synagogue restored only on the intervention of Sultan Qāyrbāy. The mosque and presumably also the minaret existed at that time.

The superstructure of the minaret (see plate 50.1) was damaged by sniper fire in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and was subsequently repaired in 1974.

### IV ARCHITECTURE

The minaret rests on a solid masonry base, about 2m high. Steps against the south side of the base rise to a plain door in the south side of the shaft, which opens on an internal stair to the muezzin's gallery. The shaft is divided into two 'storeys' by a billet moulding. Two slit windows arranged one above the other in each side of the lower storey light the stair.

The masonry of the upper storey is different from that of the lower storey (see plate 50.1), suggesting that it may be later,

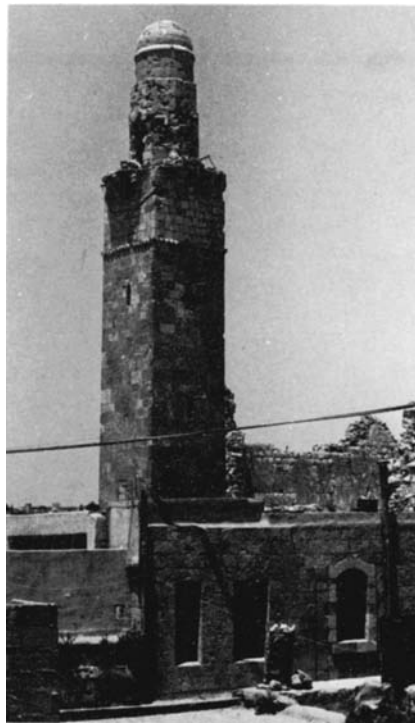


Plate 50.1 General view from south-west

perhaps the 'renewal' mentioned by Mujīr al-Dīn (see above). The billet moulding, the arrangement of three corbels on each side carrying the octagonal muezzin's gallery, and the lantern surmounted by a circular drum and ashlar dome are all typical of ninth/fifteenth-century minarets in Jerusalem (see nos. 52 and 59).

### Notes

1 'Letter from Rev. J.E. Hanauer', 'Letters from Herr Baurath von Schick', and J.E. Hanauer, 'The Churches of St. Martin and St. John the Evangelist', *PEFQS*, 1893, 141-43, 283-86, 301-3.

2 Presumably the synagogue known as Ramban, so named after the famous pilgrim from Spain, Nachmanides (the Ramban), who came to Jerusalem in 1267.

A description of the rebuilt synagogue in 1523 refers to it as the only Jewish place of worship in Jerusalem. See S. Ben-Eliezer, *Destruction and Renewal: the Synagogues of the Jewish Quarter*, Jerusalem, 1973, 11-13.

3 Mujīr, 400.

# 51 AL-ŞUBAYBIYYA

## الصبيية

Before 809/1406

Madrassa and tomb of 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Nāşir al-Dīn Muḥammad

Modern name: not known

### I LOCATION (fig. 51.1)

Above the rock scarp at the west end of the north border of the Ḥaram, between the Is'ardiyya (no. 33) to the east and the Jāwiliyya (no. 14) to the west.

### II SITE AND BUILDING

The remains of the Şubaybiyya above the rock where once stood the Herodian Tower Antonia are nowadays inaccessible. A school was erected on top of them in 1923-24. To east and west are the Is'ardiyya and the Jāwiliyya, but how far the building extended between these limits is not known. To the south there was a portico, built at the same time as the Şubaybiyya, in front of the rock scarp. It no longer survives. An entrance to the building (now blocked) was reached from the roof of that portico. A ruinous blocked doorway in the street, Ṭarīq Sarāy al-Qadīm, might belong to the Şubaybiyya, in which case it may be assumed that the street formed the northern boundary of the site.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

In his description of the north portico of the Ḥaram and the institutions built there, Mujīr al-Dīn deals with the Şubaybiyya Madrasa between the Jāwiliyya and the Is'ardiyya.<sup>1</sup> Van Berchem has identified as part of the Şubaybiyya a surviving façade with a door and two windows, which is situated above the rock escarpment, immediately to the west of the Is'ardiyya.<sup>2</sup>

#### FOUNDER

The founder is named by Mujīr al-Dīn as the Amīr 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Nāşir al-Dīn Muḥammad, who followed his father as governor (*wālī*) of the fortress of Şubayba. On more than one occasion he served as chamberlain (*ḥājib*) of Damascus and also as governor of Jerusalem. He died in Muḥarram 809/June-July 1406 and was first buried in the suburb of Qubaybāt in Damascus, but was later exhumed and transferred to a resting-place in his madrasa at Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> References to this amīr in earlier chronicles and biographical dictionaries are practically non-existent. He is possibly the same as the 'Alā' al-Dīn, mentioned by one chronicler<sup>4</sup> as having been removed in 797/1395 from the post of commissioner for the relay-stations of the postal service (*shādd al-marākiz*). The year before, according to the same source, a new governor of Jerusalem, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Barīdī, was appointed to replace 'the son of the governor of Şubayba (*ibn nā'ib al-Şubayba*)', who had held that post for only a few days.<sup>5</sup> Whether he held the governorship on another occasion for a longer period, as one might infer from Mujīr al-Dīn, cannot be known. It was presumably owing to the fact that

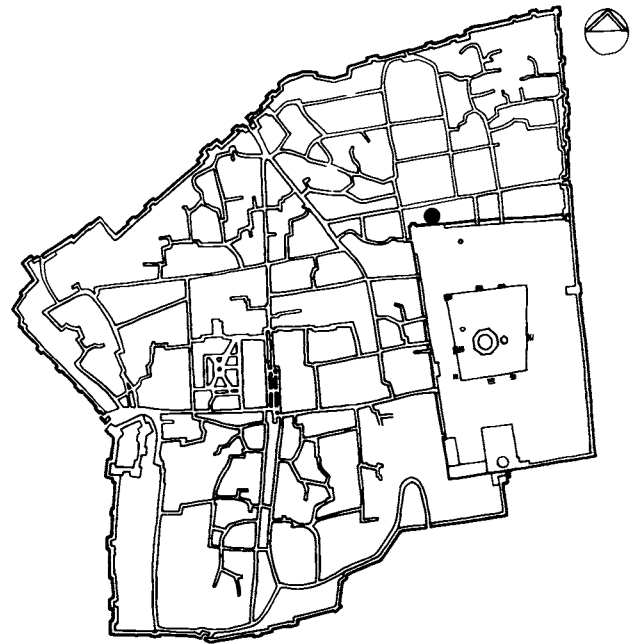


Fig. 51.1 Location plan

'Alā' al-Dīn was commonly identified as above and owing to his own period of office in the fortress of Şubayba that the foundation in Jerusalem took the name it did. Şubayba still stands today, commonly known as the castle of Nimrod, dominating Baniyās, the town of northern Galilee (the ancient Paneas).<sup>6</sup> It is worth mentioning that a late seventeenth-century sijill entry (in error, one supposes) attributes the endowment of the madrasa to 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad (*sic*), the governor of the fortress of Şubayba'.<sup>7</sup>

#### DATE

It is difficult to associate the construction of the madrasa with the only date which may connect 'Alā' al-Dīn with Jerusalem, his period as governor in 796/1394, because it only lasted 'a few days'. One can only say that the foundation dates from before his death in 809/1406, but on account of the report of the later transference of his body to his tomb within the madrasa, it is possible that the building may have been completed *after* that date.

#### ENDOWMENT

The only evidence known for the endowment comes from the same late sijill entry referred to above, which identifies part of the original endowment of the Şubaybiyya as two orchards in Nablus, one of them of uncertain name (Dub?) and the other called the Gardens of the Christians (*bustān jimān al-naşārā*), and as half of each of five gardens in Nablus (called the Spring, al-Khasāfa, the Waqf's, the Eastern Lamps and Ibn Suwayd's).

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

There is no evidence that the madrasa functioned for any length of time. We learn that towards the end of the fifteenth century the Şubaybiyya was the residence of the Shaykh of the Qādiriyya order of Şūfis, Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Sāmit al-Ḥanafī (d. 898/1492), who used to hold impressive *dhikr* sessions there every Friday eve.<sup>8</sup> What happened to the madrasa is not known, but the immediate vicinity retained a connection with his descendants. A house sold in 963/1566, was described as being 'in the district (*kbuṭṭ*) of the Governor's House opposite (*tujāba*) the Şubaybiyya Madrasa, the residence of the Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm [b.] al-Sāmit'.<sup>9</sup> Similarly in 984/1577, in another document of sale, it is called 'the residence of the Banī al-Sāmit', and its location now given as 'in the Bāb Ḥiṭṭa district (*ḥāra*)'.<sup>10</sup>

A dispute arose over the property which was settled

amicably in 1093/1682. A certain Jābir Jurayjī had taken it over, claiming that it had been made a waqf by an ancestor, called Badr al-Dīn b. al-Shāmiyya, although he had no documentary evidence. Another 'Abd al-Karīm b. al-Sāmit, referred to as 'one of the administrators of, and those responsible (*mutakallimīn*) for, the madrasa', claimed eight years rent, from which we may assume that the above property transfers had been subject to a rent payable to the madrasa waqf. These arrears Jābir agreed to pay and also that the family waqf, whose existence he claimed, would pay in future 150 paras annually for the repair and general benefit (*maslaha*) of the madrasa.<sup>11</sup>

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### HARAM FAÇADE

The Haram façade comprises a doorway flanked by two rectangular windows (all blocked) and formerly surmounted by a third window (see *plate* 51.1). Access to the doorway, the threshold of which is about 7.50m above the surface of the Haram, was by way of a portico below the façade which extended west from the Is'ardiyya. Mujir al-Dīn states that this portico was built at the same time as the Şubaybiyya.<sup>12</sup> Only the right-hand (east) abutment of the portico survives against the last pier of the portico under the Is'ardiyya (see *plate* 51.1). Part of the Ottoman barracks was built above the Haram façade in the nineteenth century. When the barracks was demolished in 1923-24 to make way for a new school (see above, p. 207) the window over the door was dismantled.

The masonry of the façade is pink and cream-coloured *ablaq*. The lintels of the left-hand window and of the door are of mottled red granite. The lintel of the right-hand window (now missing) was presumably of the same material. At either end of the door lintel are two blocks of limestone into which have been carved similar composite blazons enclosed by lobed medallions (*plate* 51.2). The left-hand medallion has twenty-four lobes, the right-hand one has forty. The blazon consists of a three-fielded shield: upper field blank; on the middle field a cup charged with a napkin displayed on the middle field of a three-fielded shield; on the lower field a cup.<sup>13</sup>

##### STREET PORTAL

About 40m to the north of the Haram façade stand the remains of a monumental entrance portal on the south side of the street, Ṭariq al-Sarāy al-Qadīm (*plate* 51.3). A line drawn through the middle of the door in the Haram façade drawn perpendicular to that façade would, if produced northwards, pass almost exactly through the middle of the portal in the street. The two doorways appear to be at roughly the same level. This suggests that the street portal belongs to the Şubaybiyya. Since both doors are blocked and the interior quite inaccessible there is no way of confirming the suggestion, but in this context it is worth recalling that Mujir al-Dīn includes the Şubaybiyya in his list of buildings that could be entered from inside and outside the Haram.<sup>14</sup>

Only the right-hand (west) side and the base of the east side of the street portal survive. Certain features of the decoration – pink and cream-coloured *ablaq*, a joggled string course, the disposition of a quirked ogee moulding which forms a rectangular frame for the portal as well as extending round the extrados of its pointed arch (see reconstruction *fig.* 51.2) – are characteristically Mamlūk in style. These features were rarely used together before the end of the eighth/fourteenth century (the closest parallel is the west door of the palace of Sitt Ṭunshuq, see above, p. 487), which tends to confirm that this portal may have belonged to the Şubaybiyya.

One stone in the right-hand jamb of the portal is incised with two curious marks (*plate* 51.4) the significance of which remains to be established.



Plate 51.1 Haram façade c.1910 with Is'ardiyya on the right



Plate 51.2 Blocked door in Haram façade, showing blazons on either side of lintel

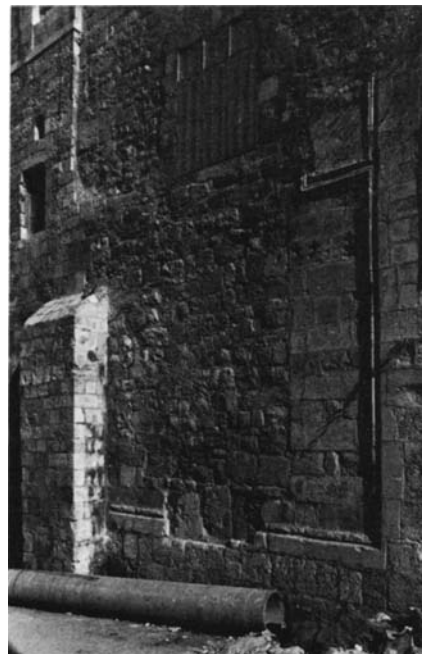


Plate 51.3 Ruinous portal on south side of Ṭariq al-Sarāy al-Qadīm

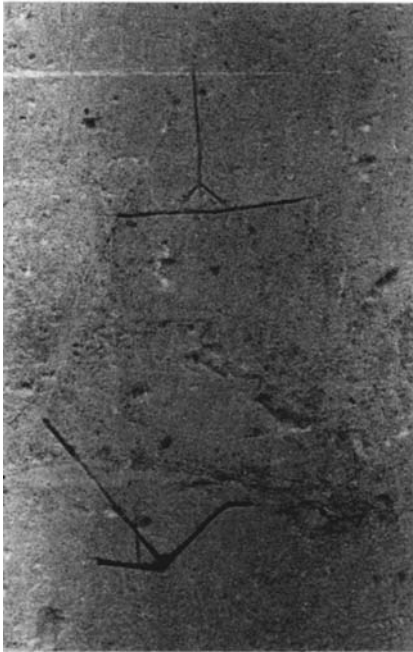


Plate 51.4 Marks in right-hand jamb of portal

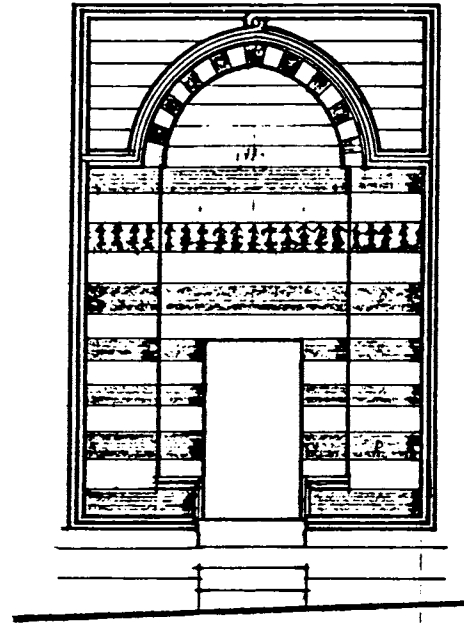


Fig. 51.2 Conjectural restoration of doorway on south side of Ṭarīq al-Sarāy al-Qadīm

#### Notes

- 1 Mujīr, ii, 38.
- 2 *CIA (Ville)*, 229-30 and figs. 37, 38.
- 3 Mujīr, ii, 38 and 274.
- 4 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, i, 543.
- 5 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, i, 513.
- 6 See *Et*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Baniyās; M. van Berchem, 'Le Chateau de Bañiyās et ses Inscriptions', *JA*, 1888, 440 ff.
- 7 Sijill 185, 243 (1).

- 8 Mujīr, ii, 243.
- 9 Sijill 31, 176 (1).
- 10 Sijill 57, 210 (2).
- 11 Sijill 185, 243 (1).
- 12 Mujīr, 376.
- 13 L.A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford, 1933, 33, 56.
- 14 Mujīr, 392-93.

# 52 ŞALĀHIYYA MINARET

## مأذنة الصلاحية

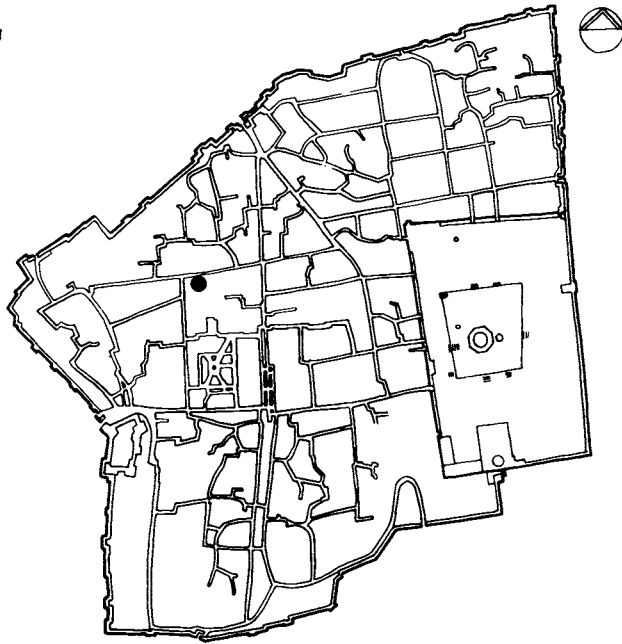


Fig. 52.1 Location plan

Before 820/1417-18  
Minaret of the Şalāhiyya Khānqāh  
Modern name: Şalāhiyya Minaret

### I LOCATION (fig. 52.1)

In the centre of town, beside the entrance to the Şalāhiyya Khānqāh on the south side of 'Aqabat al-Khānqāh.

### II SITE AND BUILDING

The Şalāhiyya Khānqāh was established in 585/1189 by Saladin in the former Latin Patriarch's residence, which had been built in the second decade of the twelfth century at the north-west corner of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>1</sup> Mujīr al-Dīn<sup>2</sup> reports that the entrance portal<sup>3</sup> to the khānqāh and various parts of the interior were restored or rebuilt (*amara*) at the same time as the minaret.

The minaret is erected on the solid masonry of the left-hand (eastern) jamb of the portal. It is of the usual 'Syrian tower' type, square in plan. The shaft is divided into four 'storeys' by moulded string courses. The muezzin's gallery is octagonal in plan, surmounted by an octagonal lantern.

### III HISTORY

According to Mujīr al-Dīn, the minaret of the Şalāhiyya Khānqāh was constructed by the late Burhān al-Dīn b. Ghānim, Shaykh of the Khānqāh, before 820/1417-18.<sup>4</sup> Mujīr al-Dīn was told that when Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn proposed to build the minaret the Christians of Jerusalem were very upset because it was to be above the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. A group of them offered the Shaykh a lot of money to stop its construction, but he rejected their offer, rebuked them severely, and built the minaret.

Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. al-Shaykh Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ghānim al-Anṣārī was born in 780/1378-79 and became Shaykh of the Khānqāh in 797/1394-95. He died in Jerusalem in 839/1436.<sup>5</sup>

### IV ARCHITECTURE

The minaret rises directly from the left-hand (east) side of the entrance to the Khānqāh. Column drums built into the bottom course of the base strengthen the footing.

The shaft (see *plate* 52.1) is quite symmetrical, being decorated similarly on all four faces. The base storey is plain. A cyma recta moulding separates it from the second storey, which has a slit window surmounted by a roundel in each face. The roundels are composed of six skew-faceted voussoirs carved with a zigzag – a distinctive feature found also at the Jāmi' 'Umar Minaret (no. 50) and at the Jawhariyya (no. 58) – and surrounded by a billet moulding. A piece of broken glazed pottery has been used to fill the roundels on the north, south and east sides (see *plate* 52.2). These potsherds, different in each roundel, would repay further investigation.

The second storey is divided from the third by a cavetto moulding with a repeating *muqarnas* motif (*plate* 52.2). The third storey is pierced by paired slit windows each with a little arched head cut in the common lintel, which is supported by a central column. A billet moulding divides the third storey from the fourth, which is quite plain save for three corbels on each side carrying the muezzin's gallery. The gallery surrounds an eight-sided chamber and is sheltered by a modern corrugated iron canopy. The lantern above is capped by a circular drum and plain ashlar dome. Recesses flanked by engaged columns and spanned by pointed arches of gadrooned voussoirs open in all eight sides of the lantern. A continuous splay-face moulding frames the extrados of the arches. The recesses on the cardinal axes contain openings: small windows in the north, west and south sides, and a larger window or door in the east side (see *plate* 52.3).



Plate 52.1 Şalāhiyya Minaret, west face



Plate 52.2 Roundel in east face



Plate 52.3 General view from the east  
(from an early photograph in the collection  
of the BSAJ)

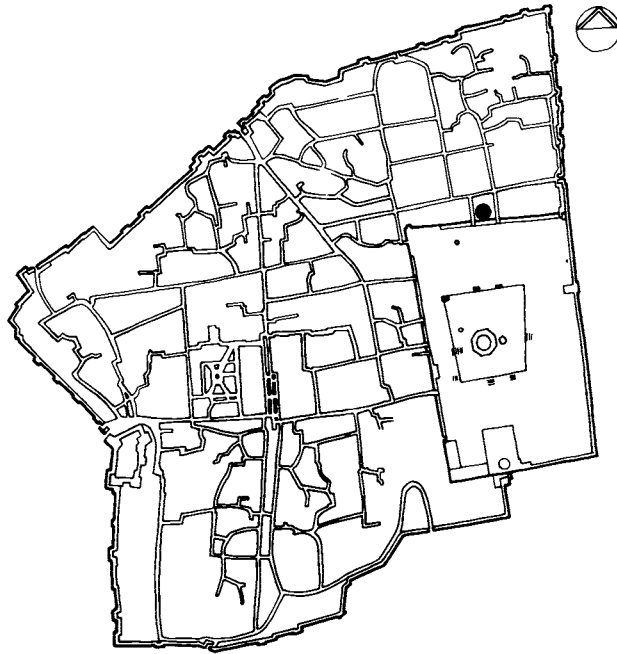
### Notes

- 1 See *CIA (Ville)*, 87-88 and references cited there.
- 2 Mujir, 512.
- 3 The portal appears to belong to Saladin's conversion of the building in 585/1189 – *MAE*, ii, 162 n. 1; M.H. Burgoyne, 'The Development of the Trefoil Arch', *Proceedings of the Symposium on the Art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia* held in August-September 1982 (in press).
- 4 Mujir, 400.
- 5 Mujir, 512.



# 53 AL-BĀSIṬIYYA

## الباسطية



Endowed in 834/1431  
Madrasa or Khānqāh of 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ  
Modern name: part of Madrasa al-Bakriyya

### I LOCATION (fig. 53.1)

At the north border of the Ḥaram, above the north portico in front of the Dawādāriyya (no. 8).

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 53.2)

According to Mujīr al-Dīn the Bāsiṭiyya stands 'partly over' the Dawādāriyya.<sup>1</sup> The main part of the building, with a decorated façade on the Ḥaram, occupies the roof of the Ḥaram portico in front of the Dawādāriyya. There are many other adjacent structures on the roofs of the Dawādāriyya and on the vaults spanning the steet, Ṭarīq Bāb al-'Atm, but it is impossible to tell whether any of these belong to the Bāsiṭiyya.

The main entrance was by way of a staircase (now missing) from the Ḥaram up to a doorway (now blocked) at upper floor level. That doorway appears originally to have led into a vestibule and from there through another room into an open yard on the roof of the assembly hall of the Dawādāriyya. From the yard a door opened south in the upper part of the Ḥaram wall to give access to the three principal rooms of the foundation all of which overlook the Ḥaram.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

The present building has no identifying inscription. According to Mujīr al-Dīn<sup>2</sup> it is situated 'at the Duwaydariyya Gate, one of the gates of the Ḥaram'.<sup>3</sup> He means, of course, the gate on the north side of the Ḥaram, perhaps more often called in the past the Dawādāriyya Gate, nowadays the Bāb al-'Atm.

In a court document of 947/1540<sup>4</sup> the Bāsiṭiyya together with Mawṣiliyya (or Sallāmiyya) form the west boundary of the *qā'a*, made a waqf by the Ayyūbid al-Mu'azzam, which is situated on the west side of the Bāb Ḥiṭṭa Street. It is noteworthy that the Bāsiṭiyya and Mawṣiliyya are said to meet, as it were, around the Dawādāriyya. In the record of a survey carried out in Muḥarram 1067/November 1656<sup>5</sup> the Mawṣiliyya and the Awhādiyya are mentioned as properties contiguous with the Bāsiṭiyya although there seem to be errors in the copying of the document, since the north wall is said to be both 'overlooking' the Mawṣiliyya and 'built over' (*rākiba 'alā*) the Awhādiyya. The latter building is also placed to the east, and even the south, of the Bāsiṭiyya! There is no mention of the Dawādāriyya.

#### DATE

What came to be known as the Bāsiṭiyya was begun by an immigrant from Herat. As Mujīr al-Dīn has it: 'The person who first drew up the ground plan and intended to build it was the Shaykh of Islam Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Harawī, the Shaykh of the Ṣalāhiyya and the Superintendent of the Two

Fig. 53.1 Location plan

Ḥarams, but fate overtook him before he could build it.<sup>6</sup> The chequered career of this man, Muḥammad b. 'Atā' Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Harawī, who was twice Shāfi'ī Qāḍī in Cairo and for a short while the Privy Secretary, in addition to the two positions in Jerusalem mentioned by Mujīr al-Dīn, was ended by his death in Dhū 'l-Hijja 829/October 1426.<sup>7</sup>

How far the building had progressed by al-Harawī's death one cannot tell. Construction had certainly begun.<sup>8</sup> The date of the endowment made by 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, who took over the building, was the month of Jumādā I 834/mid-January to February 1431.<sup>9</sup> If we assume that the building was finished by then, that gives a period of about four and a quarter years for its completion. It is known that 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ paid a short visit to Jerusalem in Dhū 'l-Hijja 833/September 1430.<sup>10</sup> Is it possible that this visit was in connection with the completion of the building?

#### FOUNDER

During his final illness 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ told a friend that he was born 'in the year 790 [1388] or in the year before'.<sup>11</sup> His mother was a Circassian and his father had received, from the sultan, a village in the Ghuta of Damascus, in which town 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ was born, and acquired his first administrative experience. He attached himself to the service of the future Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, when the latter was governor. He followed Shaykh to Cairo and his career prospered. Under Sultan Ṭatār he rose to be Inspector of the Army, but the reign of Barsbāy saw a decline in his influence. As Ibn Taghrībirdī says, he had a succession of strong rivals, Jānībak the Dawādār, Badr al-Dīn b. Muzhir and Ṣafī al-Dīn Jawhar. In the first year of Jaqmaq's reign he was arrested and his property seized (Dhū 'l-Hijja 842/June 1439). In a little over three months he was allowed to depart, not without honour and pomp, for the Hijāz. Through the good offices of Ibrāhīm, a great-grandson of the Amir Manjak, he was permitted to move with his family to Jerusalem, where he arrived early in 844/June 1440 'to reside there as he had been commanded. He lived in his madrasa which he had built overlooking the Ḥaram. His fears were stilled, for he had been full of anxiety when in Mecca'. He lived for ten more years, making visits to Damascus and performing the last of several pilgrimages in 853/1449.<sup>12</sup> For some years at the end of his life he had returned to live in Cairo. On his death (Tuesday, 4 Shawwāl 854/Tuesday, 10 November 1450) he was buried in the tomb chamber he had built outside Cairo. He himself left two sons, Abū Bakr and 'Uthmān, and two daughters, of whom

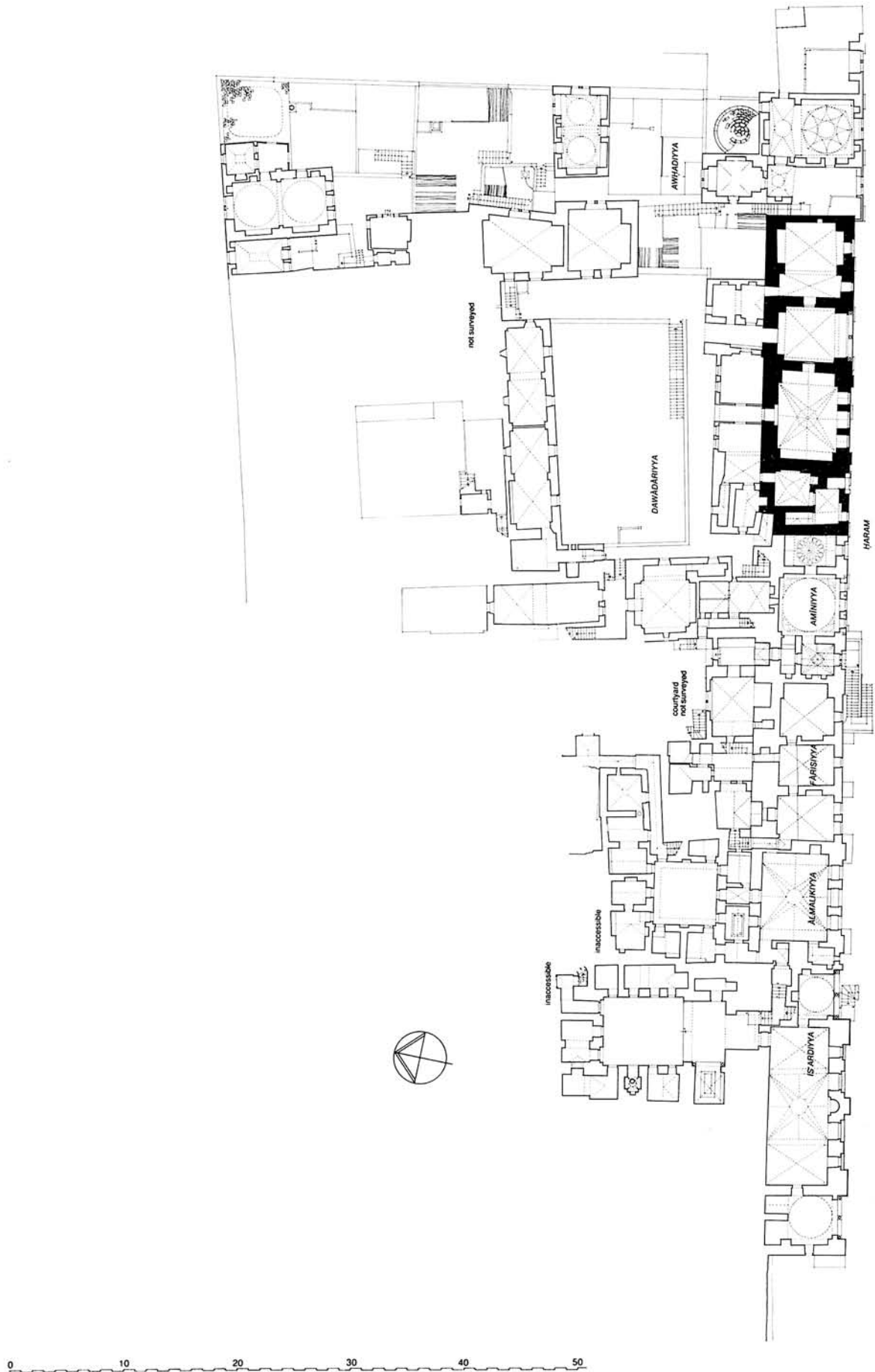


Fig. 53.2 Site plan

one was the wife of the great-grandson of the Amīr Manjak mentioned above, and the other married Sultan Jaqmaq.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to his tomb chamber he built several other fine buildings. After having rented for a number of years a house in Cairo belonging to Ibn Taghribirdī's family in 821/1417 he purchased and restored the residence of Tankiz in the Khuṭṭ al-Kāfūrī district.<sup>14</sup> Opposite he raised a mosque, sometimes called a madrasa, which was finished in late 823/late 1420.<sup>15</sup>

Inside the Zuwayla Gate there was a covered market (*qayṣariyya*) which bore his name. According to al-Sakhāwī it had been begun as a madrasa by Fayrūz the Ṭawāshī, but Maqrizī gives a different and more complicated history for its site, with no mention of Fayrūz. Previous shops which had belonged to several waqfs, most recently to the endowment of the tomb of Sultan Barqūq, had been taken by 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, converted into his *qayṣariyya*, and made an endowment of his 'madrasa and mosque' (*sic*).<sup>16</sup> 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ was the author of other significant public works in Mecca and Medina. In Gaza he built a madrasa, and two in Damascus, one of them in the suburb of Ṣālihiyya.<sup>17</sup>

#### ENDOWMENT

An extract of the endowment document is to be found in the Defter no. 522.<sup>18</sup>

The waqf of the late 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, the Bāsiṭiyya Khānqāh in Jerusalem. He made provision for ten Muslim orphans, each one of whom is to receive each month fifteen silver dirhams or the equivalent in other coins. Their tutor is to receive each month fifty dirhams or the equivalent in other coins. His duty is to teach the aforesaid orphans the noble Koran and the Arabic script in the said khānqāh. Each year on the feast at the end of the Ramaḍān each one of the said [orphans] is to be issued with thirty of the dirhams described above for their clothing. Any surplus after that is to be spent on the maintenance (*maṣālih*) of the said khānqāh, and on the pay of the water-carrier and his equipment,<sup>19</sup> sufficient to satisfy him, and on the poor and indigent Muslims, those needy and impoverished. The date of the copy (*sic*) of the endowment instrument is the year 834. The village of Ṣūr Bāhir in the district of Jerusalem; the share of the said waqf is 18 qīrāts [¾],<sup>20</sup> the income 4,320 [aspers].

The other Defter, no. 603, has the following brief note:<sup>21</sup>

The waqf of al-Zaynī 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ – the date of the copy of the *waqfiyya* is the year 834. The village of Ṣūr Bāhir, in Jerusalem district; 18 qīrāts, 3,375 [aspers].

These details in themselves suggest no more than a simple Koran School, certainly as far as the main call on the income is concerned. This cannot be the whole story, however one is inclined to explain the restricted content of the extract above. The existence of a Sūfi community in the establishment from its inception was firmly implied by Mujir al-Dīn, when he wrote, "Abd al-Bāsiṭ stipulated in his waqf that the Sūfis should recite the *Fātiḥa* [the opening sūra of the Koran] when their assembly was completed and that the merit deriving from this be offered to al-Harawī [to be written] in his book",<sup>22</sup> that is for the heavenly credit of the Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Harawī (see above).

Although there is no conclusive evidence, the *madbbab* of the founder and of nearly all the personnel met with in the next two sections, suggest that the Bāsiṭiyya was an institution in favour of the Shāfi'is.

#### MAMLŪK PERIOD

The names of the first three shaykhs of the Bāsiṭiyya are recorded. It seems likely that the link with 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, clearly stated in one case, in fact held good for all three, and that we see patronage in action. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Khidr b. al-Miṣrī (768-841/1367-1438) served for some time in the Chancery in Cairo before his move to Jerusalem. He was a

Hadīth specialist and devoted the last years of his life to the study of Ḥadīth in the Bāsiṭiyya.<sup>23</sup> After his death, 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ replaced him by the man who had followed him in the Chancery, Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. al-ʿAṭṭār al-Ḥamawī (787-853/1385-1450).<sup>24</sup> After an initial military career, Sharaf al-Dīn had entered the Chancery, acting as secretary for 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ. He went to Jerusalem to take up the position of shaykh in Ramaḍān 841/March 1438, but resigned after a while and requested 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ to appoint Taqī al-Dīn 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Qalqashandī (783-867/1380-1463), which he did. Taqī al-Dīn used to receive a robe of honour annually from Sultan Barsbāy through the good offices of 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, and al-Sakhāwī, who met him and was kindly treated by him in Jerusalem, remarks that his position declined after the death of 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ.<sup>25</sup>

There is a further suggestion of very personal 'charity' at 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ's institutions since we find in Sakhāwī's biographical dictionary the following brief entry: 'Shāhīn, resident in the Bāsiṭiyya – I believe him to have been a mamlūk of the founder . . . He died in Ramaḍān 895 or 896'.<sup>26</sup> The Bāsiṭiyya in question was almost certainly the Cairo foundation.

#### OTTOMAN PERIOD

An account for the year 947/1540-41<sup>27</sup> reveals that the Bāsiṭiyya received quantities of cereals from the waqf lands at Ṣūr Bāhir and that these were then converted into cash. The account is in large deficit for the year. It is also possible to form an idea of the personnel.

| Income                      |                | Expenditure     |              |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 220 Egyptian mudds of wheat |                | Salaries        | 1,860 aspers |
| 220 " " " barley            |                | Expenses        | 554 aspers   |
|                             | = 1,640 aspers | Unpaid salaries | 400 aspers   |
| Excess of expenditure       | 1,174 aspers   |                 |              |
| Total                       | 2,814 aspers   | Total           | 2,814 aspers |

The salaries were as follows: inspector 640; shaykh 650; clerk 180; rent collector/water carrier 390. The sums still not expended were for *bawwāb* 50; imām 20; recitation of Ḥadīth 20; caretaker and distributor of Koran sections 40; twelve readers of the Koran 270 (11 x 12 and 1 x 50). The *mubāshir* (agent?) received no salary. The expenses included 144 for oil for lighting, 300 for storage of grain. The rest was expended on administration and collection of produce, but it is just possible that 60 of the remainder went to the orphans<sup>28</sup> stipulated by the founder.

In the following year, 948/1541-42, an unspecified part of the lands of Ṣūr Bāhir was leased to an inhabitant of the village of Ibn Abī 'Ubayd (?) for a period of twenty years at an annual rent of 65 Aleppo [silver coins].<sup>29</sup> That a lease for that period was contrary to the provisions of the waqf is indicated by the complaint brought forward by the inspector, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Luṭf al-Shāfi'ī,<sup>30</sup> in Sha'bān 961/July 1554. He produced an authenticated waqf document of the Bāsiṭiyya Khānqāh to support his claim that no part of the lands should be leased for more than one year and that there should be no stringing together of nominally separate contracts. Nevertheless, a lease of some land for twenty years at an annual rent of 200 paras beginning from 1 Muḥarram 968/22 September 1560, was confirmed by the inspector and administrator, Zayn al-Dīn Luqmān b. Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. Abī 'l-Luṭf al-Ḥanafī (*sic*) in favour of the lessor, an inhabitant of Ṣūr Bāhir.<sup>31</sup>

By 1069/1658-9 some confusion between the Mawṣiliyya and the Bāsiṭiyya, at least in the functioning of their officials, seems to have arisen. Shaykh Ṣāliḥ b. 'Umar b. Abī 'l-Luṭf, the administrator of the Bāsiṭiyya and 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Haqq b. Abī 'l-Luṭf, the administrator and shaykh of the Mawṣiliyya, acknowledged one another's undisputed right to the posts.

Şālih had received money for the half post of administrator of the Mawşiliyya and had spent it on that institution, whereas 'Alī having received money from Şūr Bāhir, the waqf of the Bāsiṭiyya, had handed it to Şālih, who himself spent it on the Bāsiṭiyya. Thus the accounts were acknowledged to be correct. The situation suggests the family dominance of the two institutions, the inheriting of shares in the controlling offices and the rationalising of the divisions of responsibility (and remuneration?) to avoid disputes.<sup>32</sup>

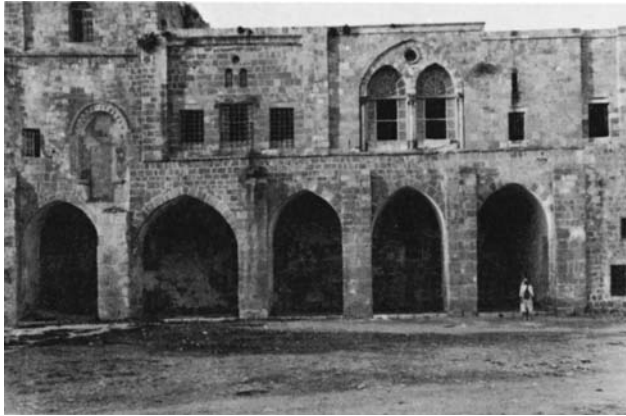


Plate 53.1 Haram façade in 1920

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### HARAM FAÇADE (fig. 53.4, plate 53.1)

The façade above the Haram portico extends from the Amīniyya (no. 24) eastwards as far as the portico in front of the Awḥadiyya (no. 9). The reasons for associating this façade with the Bāsiṭiyya and not the Dawādāriyya (as van Berchem thought<sup>33</sup>) are given on p. 156.

The design of the façade is notably lacking in cohesion. It may be considered in four sections. The first, at the west end next to the Amīniyya, includes a plain window and the decorated entrance portal; the second, to the east of the first, includes a group of three rectangular grilled windows; the third, a double pointed-arched window; and the fourth, two rectangular windows.

A billet moulding runs across the top of the first of these sections. A similar billet moulding runs below most of the other three sections to the east. The correlation between the two mouldings may reflect the two stages in the sequence of construction. In other words, the first section of façade, containing the entrance portal, was the work of Shams al-Dīn al-Harawī, and the remainder, including the billet mouldings, was subsequently completed by 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ (see above).

The entrance portal looks very odd nowadays for there is no apparent means of approaching it (see plate 53.2). The top of a buttress of the Haram portico has been removed to accommodate it. The original staircase rose from beside Bāb al-'Atm eastward across the face of the portico: it is shown on the 1865 Ordnance Survey plan.<sup>34</sup> The doorway is now blocked. It is set in a pointed-arched recess with stone benches on either side. The arch appears to have been made from re-used material. The hoodmould follows a somewhat erratic profile, as if it were made from pieces intended for a larger arch, and its curlicue label stops are quite dissimilar in size. The voussoirs of the arch, carved with *muqarnas* elements<sup>35</sup> in a fashion reminiscent of Anatolian Saljūq practice, appear also to be in secondary use. This is particularly apparent in the keystone, which is simply cut from a voussoir and so its *muqarnas* decoration is not integrated with that of the adjoining voussoirs (plate 53.3). The source of this re-used material is not known.

To the right (east) of the portal is the group of three grilled windows. The central window is larger than the other two, and is surmounted by a blind triple window composed of a pair of small horseshoe-arched openings with a circular oculus placed



Plate 53.2 Left-hand part of Haram façade (in 1977)



Plate 53.3 Portal arch

centrally above them (plate 53.4). The stone mullion between the arched openings of the triple window is decorated with two little corner columns with anvil-shaped capitals and bases (plate 53.4). The two smaller grilled windows have undercut relieving arches above their lintels. This section of the façade is bounded to left and right by masonry 'buttresses' that rise to the full height of the façade above the billet moulding. A deep cyma recta moulding with discontinuous down-turns at either end connects the buttresses across the top of the façade (see plate 53.1). The single course of stones which forms a parapet above the moulding probably belongs to later changes made in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

Most significant of these changes was the removal of a dome above the room lit by the double-arched window. Early photographs<sup>36</sup> show the dome still in place. Fig. 53.5 shows the relationship between the dome and the double window, which follows a pattern set first in Jerusalem at the Is'ardiyya (no. 33) and followed at the Manjakiyya (no. 35) and the 'Uthmāniyya (no. 57). The arches are composed of red and white *ablaq* voussoirs and rest on three re-used marble columns with unmatching Crusader capitals and bases (plate 53.5). A circular oculus in the spandrel between the arches appears to be a later insertion, as does the wide arch above the windows and the cornice at the top of the façade (which may have been taken from the top of the east wall of the Dawādāriyya's courtyard: see above, p. 162). These alterations were made presumably at the time of the dome's removal.



Plate 53.4 Blind triple window in façade

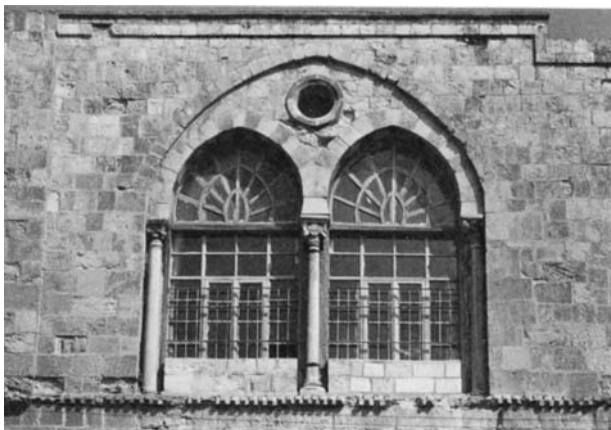


Plate 53.5 Double window

The first window to the right of the double window has an undercut relieving arch above its lintel and, above that, a plain slit window. The easternmost window, with red and cream-coloured *ablaq* jambs set in a shallow recess, also has an undercut relieving arch above its lintel. The projecting string-course cornice across this part of the façade is typically nineteenth-century; it presumably belongs to the same alterations that affected the rest of the façade.

#### INTERIOR (plan, fig. 53.3)

The original extent of the Bāsiṭiyya is difficult to determine. There are buildings at upper floor level on all four sides of the Dawādāriyya's central courtyard. The bulk of them appear by dint of their segmental or semicircular window and door arches to be Ottoman. Only the construction on the roof of the Ḥaram portico can be definitely ascribed to the Bāsiṭiyya. The implication contained in the Ottoman documents cited above that the Bāsiṭiyya was contiguous with the Sallāmiyya (no. 25) to the north of the Dawādāriyya might be due to some confusion at that time between the Dawādāriyya and the Bāsiṭiyya. At any rate, since Mujīr al-Dīn<sup>37</sup> lists the Bāsiṭiyya as one of those buildings that could be entered from inside or outside the Ḥaram, it may be assumed that its occupants had access to the street by way of the staircase at the north-east corner of the Dawādāriyya's courtyard. (The staircase against the south wall

of that courtyard appears to be a later – possibly nineteenth-century – addition.)

The entrance from the Ḥaram was, as described above, reached by way of a flight of steps built against the Ḥaram portico. The threshold of that entrance is 1.70m below the present floor level of the vestibule that it must have given access to. This difference in levels would need about seven steps to accommodate it. The passage from the entrance to the vestibule is now completely blocked. A break 1.13m wide in the masonry of the east wall of the vestibule shows where it may have emerged, as shown dotted on the plan, fig. 53.3. If it did so, and if the present floor level of the vestibule is the same as the original level, then the restricted space means that the steps must have been fitted with a single or even a double door unless the steps continued into the vestibule itself. A possible alternative route for the entrance passage – through a recess 0.69m wide and 1.74m high in the south wall of the room marked 'A' on the plan – seems unlikely for it does not align with the entrance, it is too narrow, and it takes no account of the break in the masonry of the east wall of the vestibule.

The vestibule has a low window opening in an arched recess in its south wall and a much deeper barrel-vaulted recess in its north wall. A doorway alongside the latter recess opens north into room 'A', which is roofed by a folded cross vault that rises from little *muqarnas* springers (see plate 53.6). The



Plate 53.6 Looking south from room 'A' into vestibule

recess in the south wall of this room is alluded to above. Opposite it, a door in the north wall (which is the upper part of the Ḥaram wall) opens into sundry structures to the north. These structures, including a stairway leading to a group of later rooms above the vestibule and room 'A', appear to be later accretions. Originally the door must have led from room 'A' into an open yard on the roof of the assembly hall and other rooms on the south side of the Dawādāriyya's courtyard.

A doorway in the south wall of the yard opens through a pointed-arched recess into room 'B'. The arch of the recess (plate 53.7) is distinctively decorated with a quadrant chamfer around the intrados and a hoodmould around the extrados with short lateral extensions at the level of the springers. A metal ring fitted to the keystone would allow a lamp to be suspended in the doorway. Room 'B' overlooks the Ḥaram through the group of three windows described above. A pointed-arched recess above the central window may indicate

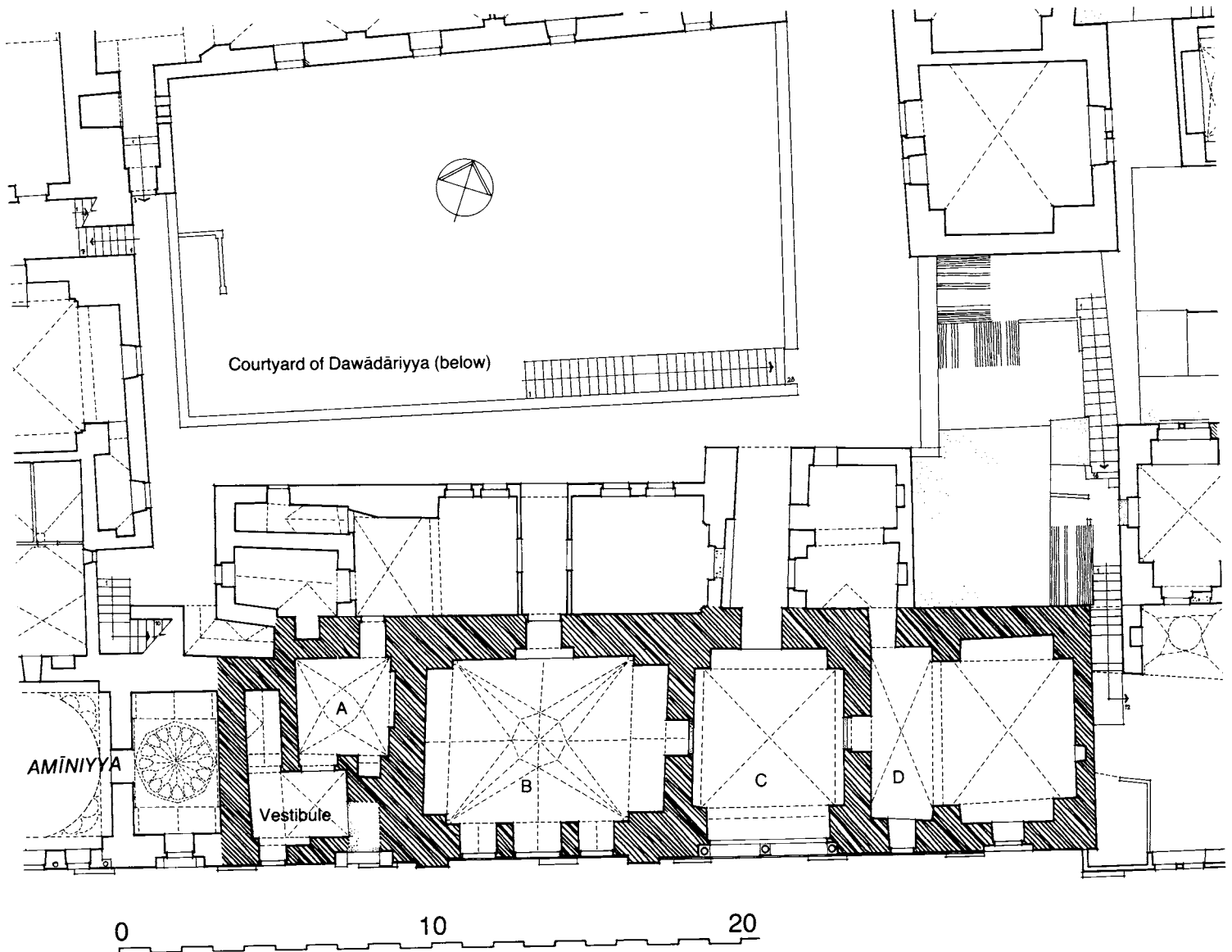


Fig. 53.3 Main floor plan

that the little triple window in the façade was once open. The room is roofed by a folded cross vault rising from *muqarnas* springers, similar to those in room 'A', to an octagonal cupola at the crown. There are pointed-arched recesses in the east and west walls. A door (now blocked) in the east wall led into the adjoining room 'C', which enjoys a fine view of the Dome of the Rock through the doubled-arched window in its south wall. Tall pointed-arched recesses in all four walls reduce the central area of the room to a nearly perfect square in plan. This area was originally covered by a dome as described above; it is now cross-vaulted. A door placed off centre in the north wall of the room has no reveals and seems likely to be a later insertion. In that case access to room 'C' would have been through room 'B'. A door (now blocked) in the east wall of 'C' leads into room 'D', which is roofed by two cross vaults separated by a transverse arch. The west vault is both narrower and higher than the east vault. In the middle of the walls at the south end of each vault are windows surmounted by slit windows (the eastern of which is now blocked) opening on the Ḥaram. High-level windows in the east and west walls of the room are blocked. A door in the north wall has no reveals, suggesting that it is a later insertion, in which case access to room 'D' must have been only by way of rooms 'B' and 'C'.



Plate 53.7 Doorway in north wall of room 'B'



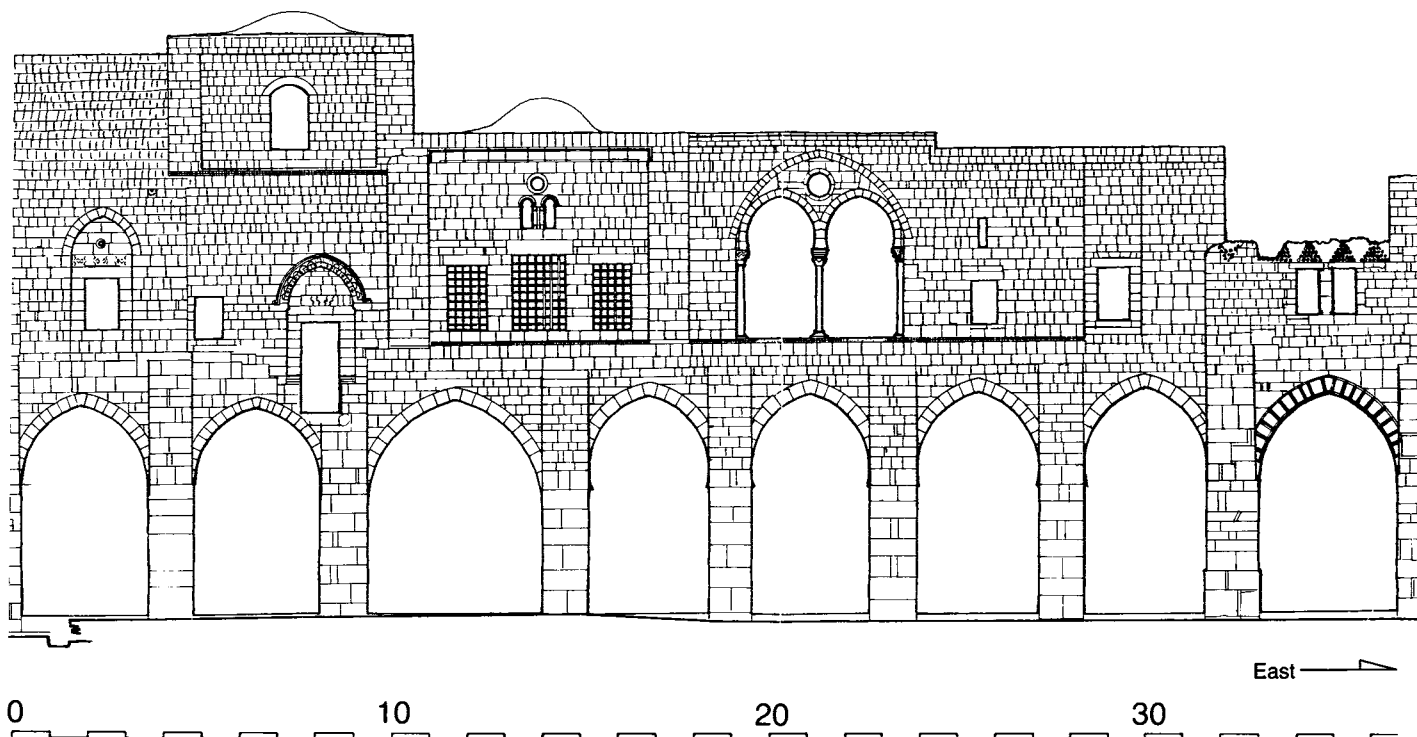


Fig. 53.4 Haram façade

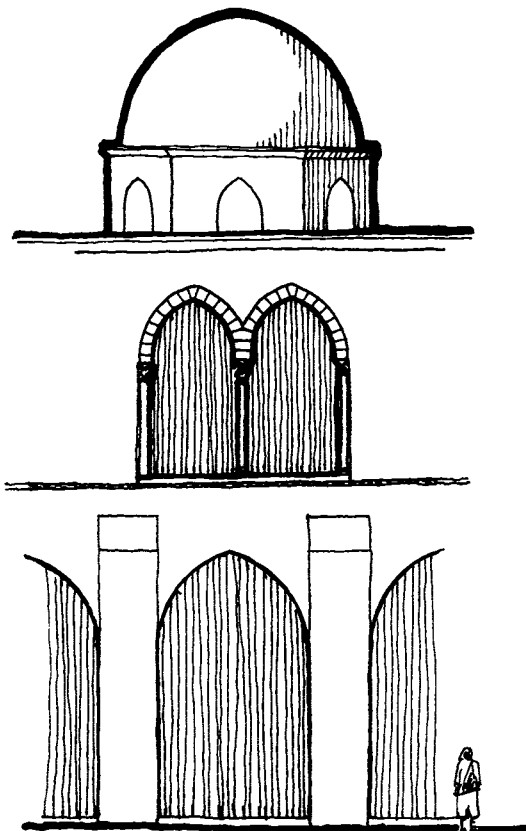


Fig. 53.5 Sketch to show the relationship between the dome and the double window

## Notes

- 1 Mujir, ii, 39.
- 2 Mujir, ii, 112.
- 3 Mujir, ii, 39.
- 4 Sijill 12, no. 2574.
- 5 Sijill 151, 481 (1).
- 6 Mujir, ii, 39.
- 7 *Daw*, viii, 151-5; *Sulūk*, iv, 732; *Nuj.*, vi, 793.
- 8 See Mujir, ii, 112.
- 9 Mujir, ii, 39.
- 10 *Sulūk*, iv, 835; *Nuj.*, vi, 662.
- 11 For biographical information, see *Manbal*, Vienna Ms., fol. 32a; *Nayl al-Amal*, fol. 79a. *Daw*, iv, 24, gives, as does the *Nayl al-Amal*, a birth date in 784/1382-3 but also reports the 790 date.
- 12 Including two pilgrimages in the reign of Barsbāy, see Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣiriyya, ii, fol. 135a.
- 13 *Dāris*, ii, 142.
- 14 *Khitat*, ii, 54.
- 15 *Khitat*, loc. cit.; *Nuj.*, vii, 347-350; *Daw*, ix, 24.
- 16 *Daw*, loc. cit.: *Khitat*, ii, 91.
- 17 *Daw*, iv, 26; *Dāris*, ii, 141-3.
- 18 Iṣṣirli, 38 and 178. The text needs some correction, as does that in Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 249.
- 19 Reading *wa-ālāt al-istiqā'*.
- 20 In Rabī' II 954/May 1547 the other quarter of the village benefited the Sanctuary at Hebron/Khalil (Sijill 19, no. 355).
- 21 Defter no. 602, 459 (227).
- 22 Mujir, ii, 112 (cf. ii, 39).
- 23 *Nuj.*, vi, 850; *Sulūk*, iv, 1061-2; Mujir, ii, 172.
- 24 *Daw*, x, 217-8; Mujir, ii, 189.
- 25 *Daw*, xi, 69-70; Mujir, ii, 188-190.
- 26 *Daw*, iii, 295.
- 27 Sijill 13, no. 1736.
- 28 Reading *aytām* and not *iḥbāt*.
- 29 Sijill 13, no. 1956.
- 30 Sijill 28, no. 1624. He was also inspector in 954/1547, see Sijill 19, no. 355.
- 31 Sijill 58, 564 (1).
- 32 Sijill 160, 152 (1), dated 1071/1661.
- 33 *CIA (Ville)*, 213.
- 34 C.W. Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem*, London, 1865, 1:500 plan of the Haram.
- 35 A similar arch is to be found at the well recess in the courtyard of the 'Uthmāniyya (no. 57), see *plate* 57.10.
- 36 See, for example, Robertson and Beato, *Jérusalem: Album photographique de Robertson & Beato*, Constantinople, 1864, pl. 1 (distant view from the north taken in 1857); C.W. Wilson, *op. cit.*, pl. 3a (distant view from the south) and pl. 41 (distant view from the east).
- 37 Mujir, 393.

# 54 AL-GHĀDIRIYYA

## الغادرية

836/1432  
 Madrasa of Muḥammad b. Dhulghādir  
*Modern name:* not known (used as storeroom)

### I LOCATION (fig. 54.1)

At the north border of the Ḥaram between the Karīmiyya (no 15) and the Bāb al-Asbāṭ Minaret (no. 38).

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 54.2)

In al-'Umarī's day (c.745/1345) there was an open space at the north border of the Ḥaram between the Karīmiyya and the site subsequently occupied by the Bāb al-Asbāṭ Minaret. In that space, he says, 'it was intended to build porticoes, but up till now they have not been completed'.<sup>1</sup> Before the Ghādiriyya was constructed, the minaret was erected in 769/1367-68 and, to the west of it, a portico of three bays was added. It is the site to the west of that portico, extending as far as the Karīmiyya, that the Ghādiriyya occupies. Its present north boundary is the Ḥaram wall but originally various structures forming part of the Ghādiriyya were cantilevered out over the pool to the north, Birkat Banī Isrā'īl, which is now filled in.

The original building was on two floors. Of the structures on the upper floor and those to the north of the Ḥaram wall, virtually nothing remains. At ground floor level the building comprises two main components: a cross-vaulted chamber and a portico of four bays to the west and, to the east of that and projecting further into the Ḥaram, a group of three rooms and a passageway which are reached through a vestibule entered from a portal in the Ḥaram façade.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

A Qāḍī's report (*maḥḍar*), dating from 879/1474, described the Ghādiriyya Madrasa as being 'on the north side of the Masjid al-Aqṣā [i.e. the Ḥaram] near Bāb Ḥiṭṭa' (see below). It is one of the institutions on the north side of the Ḥaram according to Mujīr al-Dīn, who in his systematic progress around the perimeter of the Ḥaram deals with the Ghādiriyya between the Karīmiyya and the Tūlūniyya. Moreover, a vandalised inscription over the door, which van Berchem re-established on the basis of Sauvairé's notes and the information from Mujīr al-Dīn, fixes the position of the madrasa.

#### FOUNDER

The Ghādiriyya Madrasa within the Ḥaram was endowed by the Amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Dhulghādir after his wife, Miṣr Khātūn, had built it from his resources. No waqf document for the building survived, so a report testifying to the waqf was produced, which was authenticated in our own time, in the year 897 [1491-92]. The madrasa was built during the reign of al-Malik al-

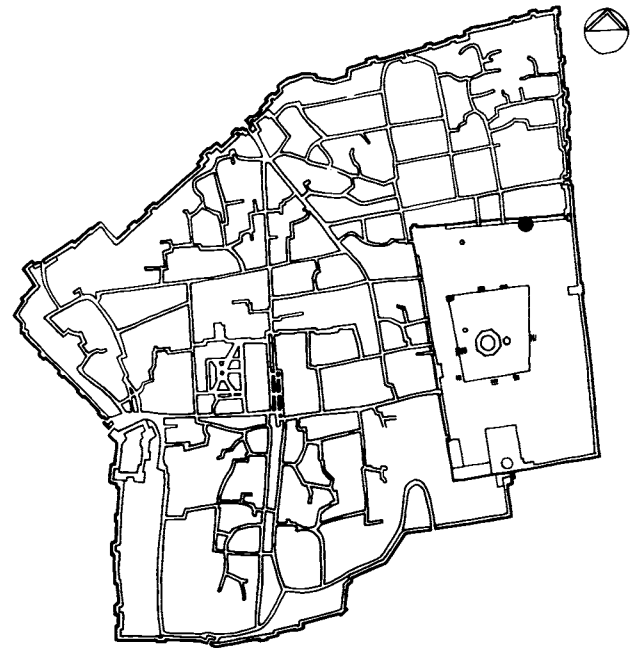


Fig. 54.1 Location plan

Ashraf Barsbāy in the month of Rabī' II in the year 836 [November-December 1432].

This is what Mujīr al-Dīn tells us.<sup>2</sup>

The Amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn, a prince of the Turcoman dynasty of the Dhulghādirids,<sup>3</sup> is a well-known figure. His full name was Muḥammad b. Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl b. Zayn al-Dīn Qaraja b. Dhulghādir. Qaraja, a leader of Turcoman nomads, made his appearance in 735/1335 and gained recognition by the Mamlūk state as nā'ib of Elbistan (or Abulistayn) in 738/1337. The dynasty, thus begun, lasted for two centuries, existing precariously between the major powers, the Mamlūks and the Ottomans, and its immediate rivals, the other Turcoman principalities of Asia Minor. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad himself was set up in Elbistan by the Ottoman Bayezid I in 801/1399. Ibn Taghrībirdī characterises him as 'very troublesome and rebellious'.<sup>4</sup> Having conspired often with amīrs in revolt against Cairo, towards the end of his life he made his peace with the Sultan Jaqmaq and paid an honoured visit to Cairo, during which he married a daughter to the Sultan.<sup>5</sup> He died in Jumādā II 846/October 1442.<sup>6</sup>

The sources mention a wife of Nāṣir al-Dīn, called Khadija Khātūn, who went to Cairo in 819/1417 and again in 838/1435 to plead for the release of sons,<sup>7</sup> but, in spite of the speculations of van Berchem and others, there is no evidence to link her with Miṣr Khātūn mentioned by Mujīr al-Dīn, nor any direct information about this later wife.

#### DATE

The foundation inscription, or rather the remnant of it seen by van Berchem and minimally surviving today, imparts only the title of the reigning sultan, al-Ashraf, and the month of the year, Rabī' II. As mentioned above, if, as was done by van Berchem,<sup>8</sup> this remnant is brought together with the text of Mujīr al-Dīn and the copy, although incomplete, which Sauvairé made of the inscription, the date of the construction may be confidently placed in Rabī' II 836/November-December 1432.

Nāṣir al-Dīn came to Cairo in Shawwāl 843/March-April 1440 and left either on 25 April or 2 May.<sup>9</sup> On his return home he visited Jerusalem. We know this from a document copied into the Jerusalem Court records,<sup>10</sup> which tells a complicated story. The document consists of the authentication by the Mālikī Qāḍī (dated 17 Rabī' II 889/14 May 1484) of an earlier document attested by the Hanafī Qāḍī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dayrī (dated 27 Jumādā II 879/8 November

1474) and a whole series of later authentications down to 986/1578. The content confirms what Mujīr al-Dīn had to say and amplifies it. The Amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn arrived in Jerusalem on 7 Dhū'l-Hijja 843/10 May 1440 and inspected what his wife Miṣr Khātūn had had built as his legally constituted agent (*wakīla*), he himself being described as the *wāqif*. The initial waqf document was shown to him but he found the provisions made in it to be inadequate. The changes he made will be found in the following section.

#### ENDOWMENT

The endowment document drawn up by Miṣr Khātūn on behalf of her husband, Nāṣir al-Dīn, was extant in 843/1440, but to accommodate the information of Mujīr al-Dīn, one may assume that both it and any record of the additions made by Nāṣir al-Dīn had been lost by 879/1474 when the Qāḍī al-Dayrī accepted evidence of the testimony of Nāṣir al-Dīn concerning the waqf. It is more than tempting to consider this report the one referred to by Mujīr al-Dīn. A mistake in the date, 897 for 879, would be very easily made in fully written-out Arabic numerals.<sup>11</sup> This is a translation of the important section of the *mahḍar*:

He accepted as authentic . . . the testimony of his Excellency . . . Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Beg b. . . Khalīl b. Dhulghādir, the endower of the said Ghādiriyya Madrasa situated in Jerusalem on the north side of the Masjid al-Aqṣā near Bāb Ḥiṭṭa, one of the gates of the Noble Masjid al-Aqṣā, [that] when he came to Jerusalem on 7 Dhū'l-Hijja in the year 843 [10 May 1440] and saw what had been done by his agent, the virtuous Lady Miṣr Khātūn, his wife, who built the said madrasa when he made her his legal agent in that [task], and was shown the instrument of endowment in which it was stated that she had established the posts of shaykh, *mudarris*, imām, factor (*āmīl*), rent collector, *bawwāb*, servant and other office holders and fourteen Sūfis, with small stipends from the waqf made for them in the district of Jerusalem, namely the estate (*mazra'a*) called al-Hasaniyya, and its outlying part (?) (*kbārīja*) known as the Ḥikr Land, a market (*kbān*) in Jerusalem, and a covered market (*qaysariyya*) with the ground rents in the city of Ramla, he considered the sources of income for the waqf and the stipends insufficient, and provided the waqf specified above in the city of Aleppo, namely the complete Date Market (*Kbān al-Balah*) and the complete 'Alī's Bath, both situated within the Victory Gate, one of the gates of Aleppo, and half the Bath of . . . (?) and half the Bath of . . . (?) and the ruined area which is between the two baths outside the Gate of the Gardens.<sup>12</sup>

He made this a waqf for the said madrasa and its beneficiaries, and increased their stipends. He instituted a comptroller of the waqf to keep the accounts and a commissary (*mutasaffir*) to fetch the income from Aleppo, while maintaining the office of rent-collector. He assigned to the *mudarris* six dirhams daily, to the shaykh of the Koran recitation<sup>13</sup> two dirhams daily, to the imām two dirhams daily, to the factor, who is the clerk, two dirhams daily, to the water-carrier a dirham a day, to the attendance clerk a dirham a day, to the deputy overseer two dirhams daily and to each of the Sūfis one dirham a day.

He made certain stipulations, one being that the office of overseer of this waqf and of the said madrasa should go to his daughter, the great Lady . . . [wife]<sup>14</sup> of his late Majesty the Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Jaqmaq . . . , then to each successive sultan of Egypt, who was empowered to entrust the administration to a person of his choice to deputise for him. The person charged with deputising was to receive ten dirhams daily. He also provided for a further deputy for *this* person, to act on his behalf, and he assigned to him two (Syrian)<sup>15</sup> dirhams daily.

A further stipulation was that the office of *bawwāb* in the said madrasa should belong to . . . the Shaykh Shams al-Dīn

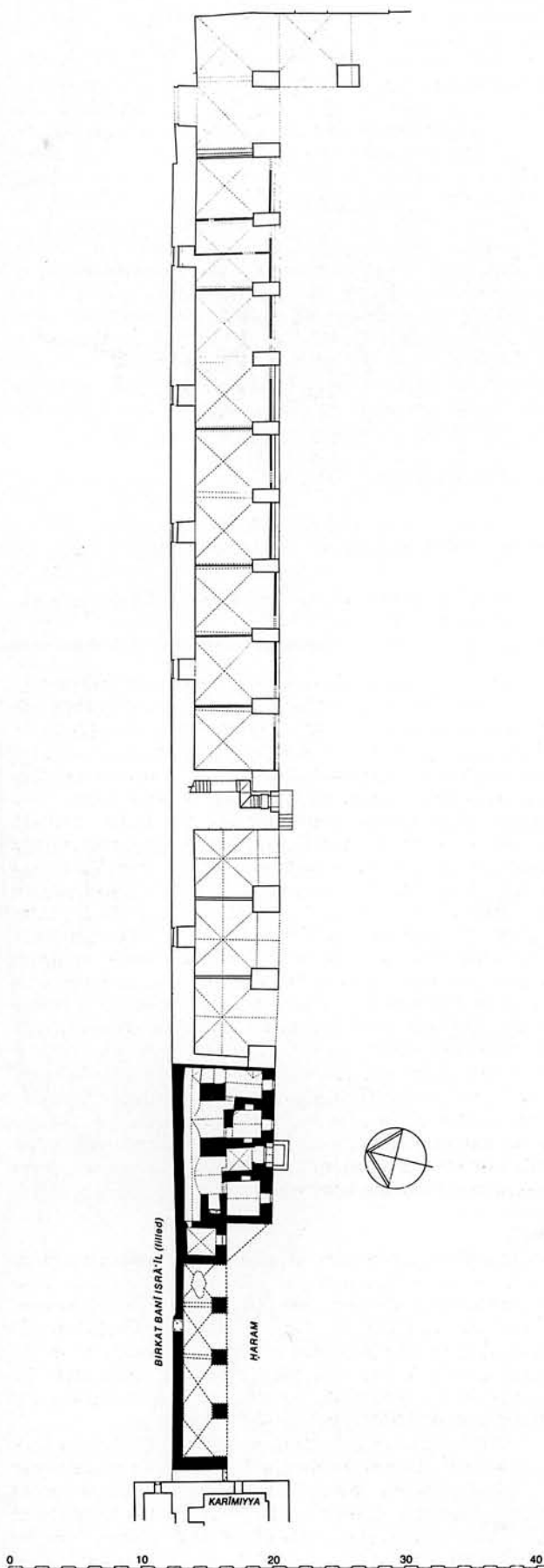


Fig. 54.2 Site plan

Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. al-Muhandis al-Ḥanafī during his lifetime, and after him to the most upright and God-fearing of his sons and grandsons, because he is by descent a Turk, who alone qualify. He assigned to him daily, including the addition made, three dirhams.

He assigned to the comptroller two dirhams a day, to the commissary to fetch the money from Aleppo two dirhams daily, to the servant a dirham daily, and to the rent-collector a dirham daily.

He provided the aforementioned house<sup>16</sup> for . . . Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, the *bawwāb* referred to above, to use for his own residence or to let. It is his duty to watch over the place assiduously day and night, either personally or through some assistant employed for this purpose. If his descendants die out, the house belongs to whoever is the *bawwāb* of the madrasa . . .

#### OTTOMAN PERIOD

The titular overseers seem to have been the descendants of the Amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn. In the years 963-64/1555-56 'Alī Beg b. Shāh Rukh is mentioned and described as *amīr liwā'* of Çemigesek.<sup>17</sup> Nearly twenty years later the overseer is Shāh Rukh b. Muḥammad Khān, another member of the Dhulghādir dynasty.<sup>18</sup> The practical job was done by the *mudarris*. A dispute over the headship of the madrasa in 1092/1682 produced further evidence of the stipulations of the founder, namely that the madrasa as a whole was restricted to immigrant Turks from Anatolia (*al-Turk al-afāqiya min al-Arwām*), or from elsewhere, living in Jerusalem, and that residence in the madrasa was laid down for the *mudarris* and [acting-] overseer.<sup>19</sup> These conditions are not mentioned in the text translated above, but they are implied or paralleled in the conditions concerning the *bawwāb*. Although it is nowhere expressly stated, it seems natural to assume that the madrasa was intended for Ḥanafis. The affiliation of the known personnel would also strengthen this assumption.<sup>20</sup>

From amongst the waqfs made initially by Miṣr Khātūn on her husband's behalf, to my knowledge only the market in Jerusalem<sup>21</sup> receives any mention in the Jerusalem Court records. In addition to the Aleppo properties, with which Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad endowed the madrasa, income also came

from a village in the district of Mar'ash and another in that of Qal'at al-Rūm. This must have been a yet further endowment after Nāṣir al-Dīn's. For sample accounts during the period 962-983/1554-1576, see the separate table (below).

In Sha'bān 964/June 1557 a contract for repairs to the madrasa was made. The cost to the waqf was 10 gold pieces. The following elements of the madrasa are mentioned: the assembly hall, the balustrade (*sitāra*) opposite the minaret, two upper chambers and also an upper house (*bayt*), the kitchen and the *bawwāb's* house (*dār*). There is also mention of 'fitting the lead of the column' (*tarkīb rusās al-'amūd*) and 'building a small balustrade for the pool (*birka*), two courses high'.<sup>22</sup>

Later, in 984/1576, the *mudarris* complained that the madrasa was in a ruined state and that the former *mudarris* had not performed his duties and did not deserve the 32½ gold pieces which were being held for him from the year 981/1573-74. The *amīr liwā'* and the Qādī ordered the sum to be deposited in the Citadel with the Ketkhūdā for future expenditure on the madrasa.<sup>23</sup> Yet at the end of the eleventh/seventeenth century the traveller 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, who visited the madrasa, speaks of it as flourishing.<sup>24</sup>

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### ḤARAM FAÇADE (fig. 54.5, plate 54.1)

Like the rest of the building, the Ḥaram façade has undergone several changes. The ground floor façade survives largely intact, but most of the upper floor façade has gone.

Over the years the ground level of the Ḥaram has risen, concealing the bottom of the façade. A pit was dug against the façade in 1979 to reveal a stone pavement in front of the building, 0.70m below the present ground level (plate 54.2).

From Muḥir al-Dīn's description (above, p. 105) we know that the Ghādiriyya extended eastward from the Karīmiyya. Immediately to the east of the Karīmiyya is a curious half arch, now blocked, followed by a small portico of four bays. To the east of the easternmost bay of the portico there is a plain door into the chamber marked 'A' on the plan (fig. 54.3).

Next to that chamber the right-hand part of the façade projects 3.43m further into the Ḥaram to align with the face of the earlier portico to the east. An arch spans from the eastern

| A/C YEAR                                   | 962/1554-55                              | 963/1555-56                                | 967/1559-60                                     | 981/1573-74 <sup>1</sup>                     | 983/1575-76 <sup>1</sup>                     |
|--|--|--|---|--|--|
| SOURCE                                     | Sijill 31, 498<br>(dated<br>21 Ram. 963) | Sijill 33, 401 (5)<br>(dated<br>Rajab 964) | Sijill 40, 315 (3)<br>(dated<br>27 Sha'bān 968) | Sijill 56, 602 (1)<br>(dated<br>Sha'bān 983) | Sijill 56, 599 (1)<br>(dated<br>Ramaḍān 983) |
| INCOME                                     | gold<br>pieces                           | gold<br>pieces                             | gold<br>pieces                                  | gold<br>pieces                               | gold<br>pieces                               |
| EXCESS OF EXPENDITURE<br>OVER INCOME       | paras                                    | paras                                      | paras   | paras  | paras  |
| Brought forward                            | —  | 2  | —   | —  | —  |
| The 2 villages <sup>2</sup>                | 135                                      | 0  | 23 <sup>3</sup>                                 | —  | —  |
| Aleppo real estate                         | 21                                       | 0  | 98  | 150  | 150  |
| Jerusalem khān                             | 4 <sup>4</sup>                           | —  | —   | —  | —  |
| TOTAL                                      | 160                                      | 187  | 121   | 150  | 153  |
| EXPENDITURE                                | paras                                    | paras                                      | paras   | paras  | paras  |
| Official stipends                          | 96                                       | 114  | 40  | 43   | 82   |
| Stipends of<br>Koran reciters <sup>5</sup> | 52                                       | 65   | 20  | 53   | 51   |
| Expenses <sup>6</sup>                      | 9  | 6  | [9  | 53   | 18   |
| SUB-TOTAL                                  | 158                                      | 186  | 71  | 150  | 153  |
| EXCESS OF INCOME OVER<br>EXPENDITURE       | 2  | 1  | 50  | —  | —  |
| ( earmarked for repairs)                   |  |  | (held by builder)                               |  |  |
| TOTAL                                      | 160                                      | 187  | 121   | 150  | 153  |

Table showing sample accounts between 962/1554-55 and 983/1575-76

<sup>1</sup> A/cs given in paras only. Converted at rate 40:1.

<sup>2</sup> Qāra Aghāj (?) in district of Mar'ash and Ardīl or Arṣīl, district of Qala'at al-Rūm.

<sup>3</sup> From Qāra Aghāj only.

<sup>4</sup> See n. 21 p. 533.

<sup>5</sup> Note this change from the '14 Šūfis' of the waqf *maḥdar* (p. 527). The number of reciters varies between 15 and 17 (although in some cases a stipend is shared by two persons, often brothers).

<sup>6</sup> For administration and collection of revenue.



Plate 54.1 General view of façade



Plate 54.2 Entrance portal with excavated pavement in foreground



Plate 54.3 Haram façade, east part

abutment of the east bay of the Ghādirīyya portico to the salient corner of that right-hand part of the façade (plate 54.3), which contains the entrance portal flanked by one rectangular window on the left (west) and two on the right. Each of the windows is surmounted by a pseudo-relieving arch with rebated joints around the voussoirs, above which are pointed slit windows (the upper part of the left-hand one is missing and the lower part blocked). Between the two right-hand ones is a

somewhat larger window with an unusual trilobed head. A diaperwork moulding extends across the façade above these windows to abut on the haunch of the earlier portico to the east. The western part of this moulding is missing. It can be assumed to have run across the full width of the salient part of the façade. Traces of a simpler cavetto moulding run at a lower level across the façade of the portico to the west.

Above the diaperwork moulding the lower part of the eastern end of the upper floor façade survives. At a point roughly above the trilobed window a vertical break in the masonry may indicate the position of a jamb of a window in that façade, though the masonry to the left of the break is very similar to that on the right and the whole upper façade is too incomplete to allow any firm conclusion to be drawn about its original appearance. Elsewhere the masonry of the upper floor façade (including a re-used volute finial, see plate 54.3) is clearly a later rebuilding except at its west end where some of the original masonry survives. In that surviving masonry a shallow recess with a sloping sill is spanned by three tiers of *muqarnas* corbelling (plate 54.4). This recess contains a window, now blocked.

The entrance portal is set back 0.06m in the salient façade. It is built of a red and cream-coloured *ablaq* enclosed by quirked ogee frame moulding that accommodates the set-back. The entrance door is in the rear of a slightly pointed horseshoe-arched recess. Several voussoirs and the keystone of the arch are composite; that is, composed of two stones. The coursing of the *ablaq* masonry in the spandrels is adjusted to align with individual voussoirs at the extrados of the arch, a technique observed previously at the Khātūniyya (no. 31) and the Arghūniyya (no. 32). On either side of the doorway are the customary stone benches. Traces of the defaced foundation inscription are barely discernible on the door lintel, which carries a pseudo-relieving arch composed of rebated voussoirs like those over the windows. A rectangular window opens in the tympanum of the arch.

#### GROUND FLOOR (plan, fig. 54.3)

The blocked half-arch at the west end of the building opened into a passage that led north to the area beyond the Haram wall. The four bays of the portico are roofed by cross vaults separated by transverse arches. A door (now blocked) in the north wall of the portico once led to structures that no longer survive beyond the Haram wall (see below). The door at the east end of the portico gives access to the small cross-vaulted chamber, 'A'.

The main ground floor rooms occupy the wider, eastern part of the building. Here the plan is dominated by three substantial masonry piers, the south faces of which are on the same alignment as the façade of the portico to the west. To the south of the piers stand three barrel-vaulted rooms (B–D) and a cross-vaulted vestibule. To the north of the piers a barrel-vaulted passageway (plate 54.5) runs along the northern boundary wall. The reasons for this extraordinary layout are not apparent; presumably the piers and their interconnecting arches were intended to support some structure on the upper floor, which no longer survives (see below).

Because of the rise in the level of the Haram surface, three steps now lead down to the threshold of the entrance doorway, which leads directly into the vestibule. The splayed embrasure of the window above the doorway is skewed so as to open externally in the centre of the tympanum of the portal and internally more or less in the centre of the vestibule's south wall (plate 54.6). The vestibule opens north under the arch spanning between the middle and west piers. A doorway (plate 54.8) beside the west pier opens south into room 'B', lit by a window in the Haram façade. There is a cupboard-like recess in its east wall. From the space between the east and middle piers two doors give access to the two eastern rooms (C and D), lit by windows in the Haram façade. Room 'C' has cupboards in its east and west walls. The door into room 'D' turns through 90° to open in the west wall of the room. An unusual feature of

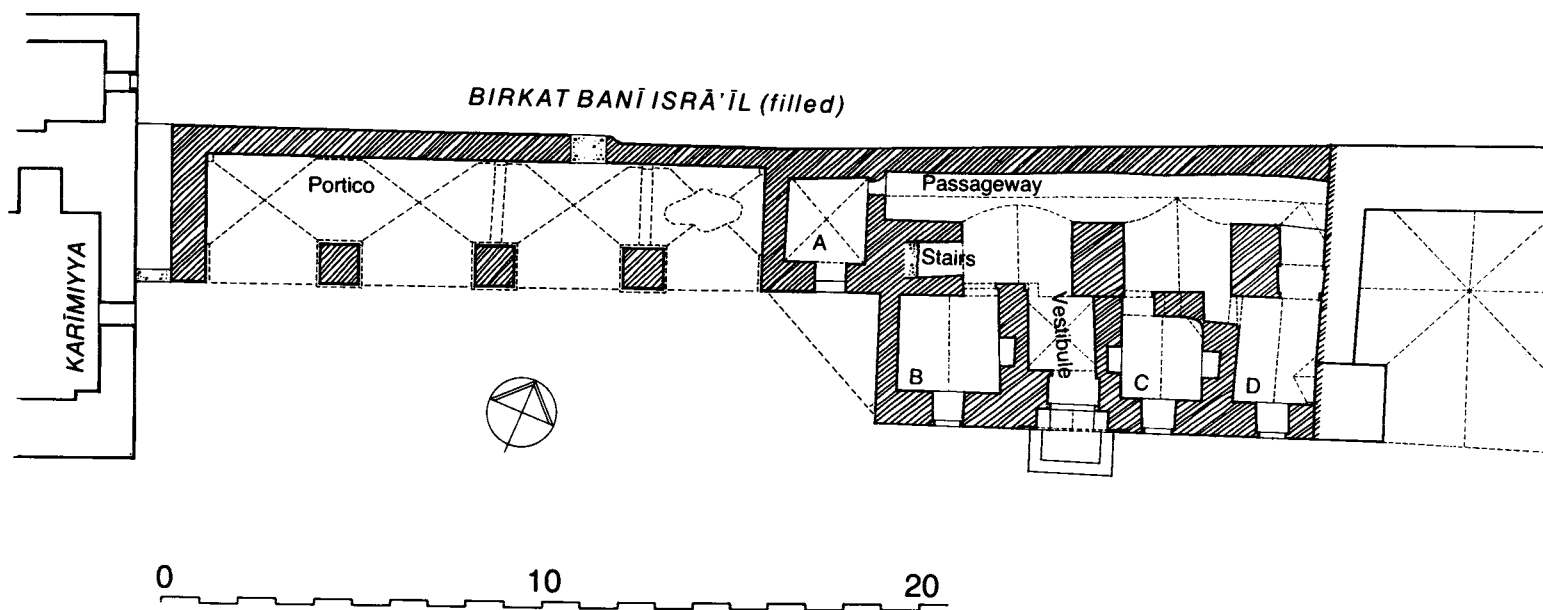


Fig. 54.3 Ground floor plan

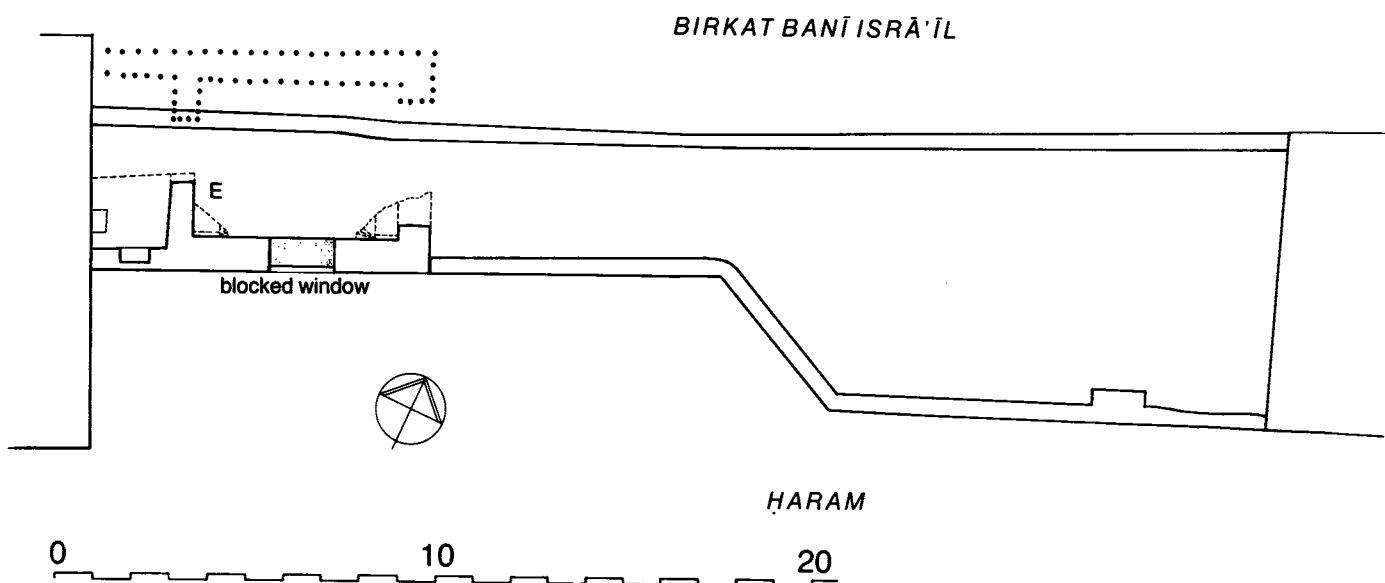


Fig. 54.4 Upper floor plan

these doorways into rooms 'B', 'C' and 'D' is their arches, which are semicircular and not pointed as was usual in the Mamlük period. A second, wider door leads into room 'D' from the north at the east end of the passageway. At the west end of the passageway a hole roughly 0.60m in diameter has recently been opened into chamber 'A' but there is no sign of an earlier opening. Chamber 'A' must have been reached only by way of the door in the Haram façade.

The lighting of the passageway is complicated. There are no windows in the north wall. Some light is borrowed from room 'C' through a high-level window in its north wall (plate 54.7) and additional light percolates in from the trilobed window in the façade through a long tunnel that runs through the upper part of the wall between rooms 'C' and 'D' (see section, fig. 54.6).

UPPER FLOOR (plan, fig. 54.4)

A staircase in the west pier (plate 54.8) leading to the upper

floor is now blocked. It obviously led west to the upper floor where, evidently, the major part of the Ghādiriyya stood. Today only the blocked window at the west end of the façade and remains of a folded cross vault beside that window bear witness to the earlier structure (see plate 54.10). Since folded cross vaults are almost invariably square in plan, we can reconstruct the original shape of the room (marked 'E' on the plan) roofed by that vault as shown dotted on fig. 54.4. The reconstruction shows that the room extended about 1.50m further north than the present north boundary wall. That this was indeed the case is confirmed by early photographs (such as plate 54.9). These photographs, taken before the Birkat Banī Isrā'īl was filled in, reveal that the lower part of the Haram's north wall is much thicker than the upper part and that a series of arches were built on top of the lower part of the wall to support an extension of the western wing of the Ghādiriyya out over the pool. The exact layout of that extension is not entirely clear, but the photographs show that to the east of room 'E' a second staircase



led down to various structures to the north of the portico. It must have been to these structures that the door in the north wall of the portico gave access. None of them survives. Nor do any of the upper floor structures such as those mentioned in the contract dated 964/1557 (see above). At the east end of the

upper floor a parapet wall separates the Ghādiriyya from the roof of the adjoining portico where the Ṭūlūniyya Madrasa (built before 800/1398) once stood. That madrasa, as Mujīr al-Dīn records, was reached from the stairs of the Bāb al-Asbāt Minaret.<sup>25</sup>



Plate 54.4 Blocked window at west end of upper floor façade

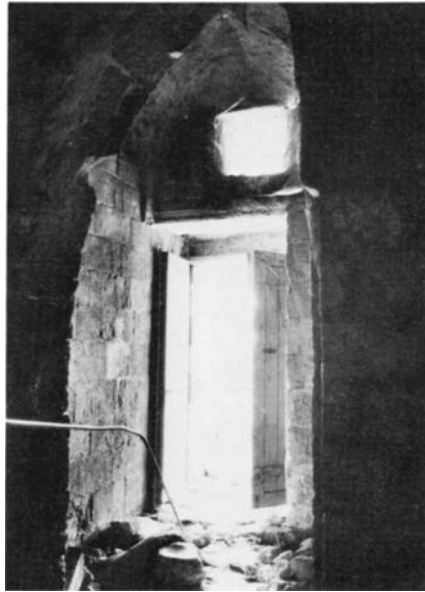


Plate 54.6 Entrance vestibule, from north

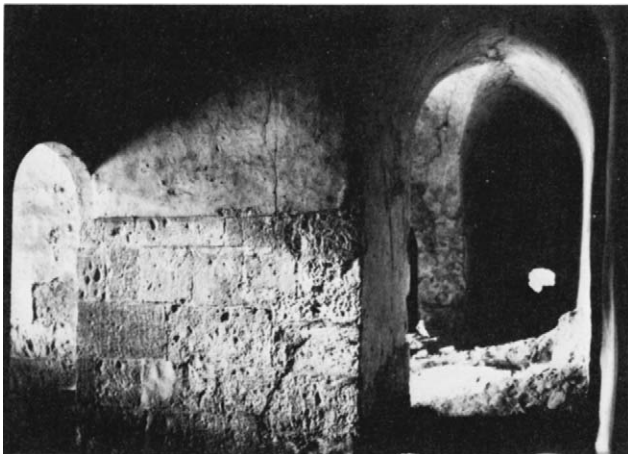


Plate 54.5 Door into room 'C' beside middle pier, with passageway on right



Plate 54.7 High-level windows lighting passageway



Plate 54.8 Door into room 'B' and entrance to staircase



Plate 54.10 Roof of Ghādiriyya, from the west



Plate 54.9 General view of Haram north wall, looking south-west after a photograph taken in 1875

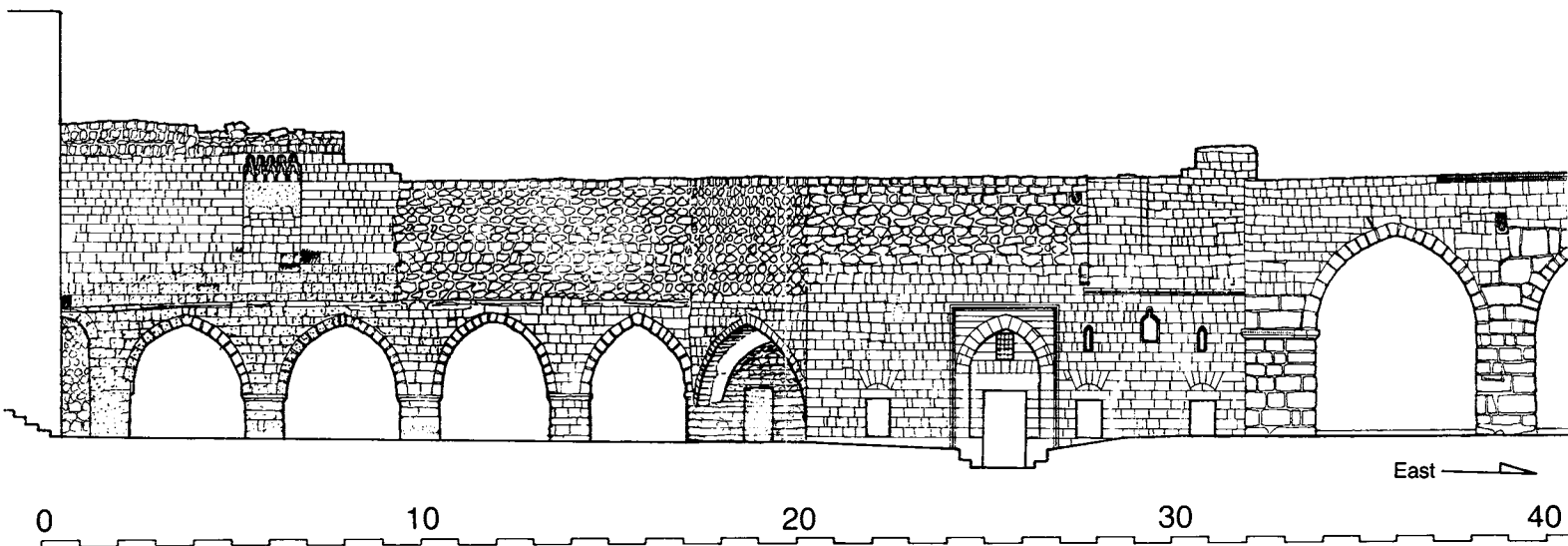


Fig. 54.5 Haram façade

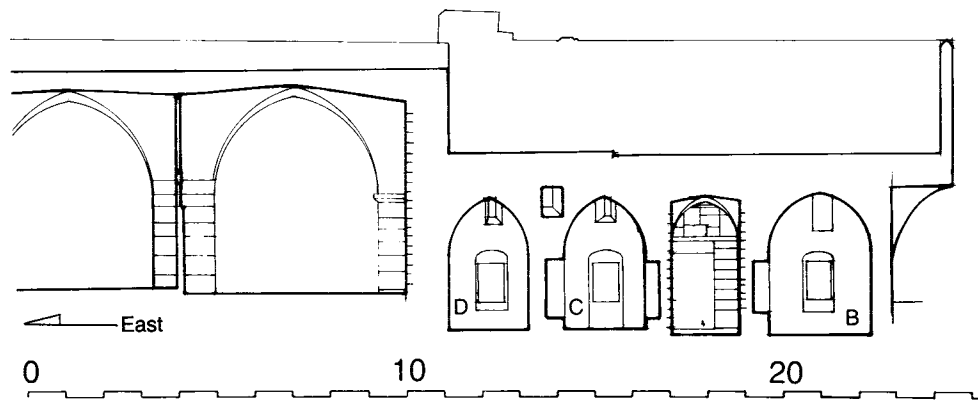


Fig. 54.6 East–west section looking south

## Notes

- 1 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 157.
- 2 Mujīr, ii, 40. Ms. Pococke 362, fol. 132b, supports the correction van Berchem made to the published text in connection with the phrase *min mālibi* ('from his resources'), see *CIA (Ville)*, 319, note 3. Ms. Marsh 677, fol. 126a omits the phrase.
- 3 See EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dhū'l-Ḳadr, and references there cited. The madrasa takes its name from the dynasty. Occasionally one finds it called al-Qādiriyya.
- 4 *Nuj.*, vii, 288.
- 5 *Sulūk*, iv, 1185-7.
- 6 *Nuj.*, vii, 288.
- 7 *Sulūk*, iv, 374 and 946.
- 8 *CIA (Ville)*, 317-9.
- 9 *Nuj.*, vii, 111; *Sulūk*, iv, 1189.
- 10 Sijill, 58, 555-6.
- 11 In fact, Ms. Pococke 362, fol. 132b, reads 877.
- 12 The names of the baths are not clear. Ibn Shaddād listed the baths known to him in 657/1259, when already most of them were little more than names. The first one in the text could be the Bath of Tūmā (Thomas). Ibn Shaddād gave a bath of Tūmān, an amīr of Nūr al-Dīn, see *al-A'lāq al-Khaṭira*, ed. D. Sourdel, Damascus, 1953, 134. The other in our text is remotely like the 'Bath of Hamdān', see *op. cit.*, 131.
- 13 lit. *shaykh al-juz'*.
- 14 The name, if given, is cut off at the bottom of the page.
- 15 This is a doubtful reading.

- 16 In the text as preserved there is in fact no previous mention of the house.
- 17 Sijill 33, 401 (5).
- 18 Sijill 56, 599 (1).
- 19 Sijill 184, 266. The Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf al-Rūmī al-Ḥanafī died in the madrasa in Ṣafar 869/October 1464 (Mujīr, ii, 229), and the Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn al-Anṭākī left all the books in his house in the madrasa as a waqf for students (Sijill 10, no. 1942, anno 945/1539).
- 20 See the material gathered by Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 261-4.
- 21 The market was known as Khān al-Ghādiriyya and was situated in the Marzubān district, sometimes referred to as Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn district. The complex contained six shops, two levels of storerooms and a house built over the Khān. In 938/1531-32 it was let for the year for 700 aspers and in 947/1540-41 for 600 (Sijill 2, no. 200 and Sijill 12, no. 408). In 968/1561 comprehensive repairs to the Khān were undertaken at the cost of 100 gold pieces (Sijill 40, 220 (1)). By 1020/1611 the Khān was functioning as a coffee house and was generally in a ruined state (Sijill 92, 174 (4) and Sijill 100, 120 and 141 – rented for five years for 300 piastres to effect repairs). See also Asali, *Min Ḥabārinā*, 61-3.
- 22 Sijill 33, 415 (5). It is not clear whether the pool is the large Birkat Bānī Isrā'īl north of the madrasa, or a smaller cistern within it.
- 23 Sijill 57, 20 (4).
- 24 In *al-Ḥadra al-Unsiyya*, quoted by Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 261.
- 25 Mujīr, 391-2.

# 55 AL-ḤASANIYYA

## الحسنية

837/1434  
Madrassa of Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan  
Modern name: Dār Nūr al-Dīn

### I LOCATION (fig. 55.1)

On the north side of Ṭariq Bāb al-Nāzir, above the south-eastern part of the Ribāṭ 'Alā' al-Dīn (no. 3).

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 55.2)

The building is situated above the vaulted halls and entrance of the Ribāṭ of 'Alā' al-Dīn. The site is bounded by the street, Ṭariq Bāb al-Nāzir, to the south, by the tomb chamber of the ribāṭ to the east, by the courtyard of the ribāṭ to the north, and by some unrecorded structures to the west.

An entrance door leads from the street into a staircase to the upper floor. From a landing at the top of the stairs a passage gives access (a) west to a group of ruined chambers, perhaps originally living quarters, and (b) east to an open courtyard enclosed by cells on the west and north sides and a modern structure replacing cells on the east side. A short corridor at the south-east corner of the courtyard leads to two small rooms over the entrance to the ribāṭ. An assembly hall on the south side of the courtyard contains a beautiful marble dado and *mihrab*.

### HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

On the north side of the Bāb al-Nāzir Street to the east of the Ribāṭ of 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Bāṣir may be found a remnant of an inscription over a doorway, as follows:

... Ḥasan al-Nāṣiri al-Ḥanafī (may God forgive his sins) on the date, Dhū'l-Qa[da]...<sup>1</sup>

This may well survive from the Ḥasaniyya Madrasa, which Mujīr al-Dīn said was situated 'in the Bāb al-Nāzir [Street] over the Ribāṭ of 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Bāṣir'.

#### DATE

According to Mujīr al-Dīn, the madrasa was built in 837/1433-34 and the date of the waqf was 1 Rajab 838/31 January 1435.<sup>2</sup> Al-Sakhāwī wrote that the madrasa was built after [8]35/1431-32, but says that it was in the Ḥaram (*al-Masjid al-Aqṣā*).<sup>3</sup> Did he confuse this foundation with the earlier Ḥasaniyya Madrasa, built by Shāhīn al-Ḥasanī *al-Tawāshī* over the Bāb al-Asbāt in the reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, that is, early in the second half of the fourteenth century?<sup>4</sup>

#### FOUNDER

His full name is given as the Amīr Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abdallāh al-Kashkīlī al-Ḥanafī, who served as Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams and as governor of

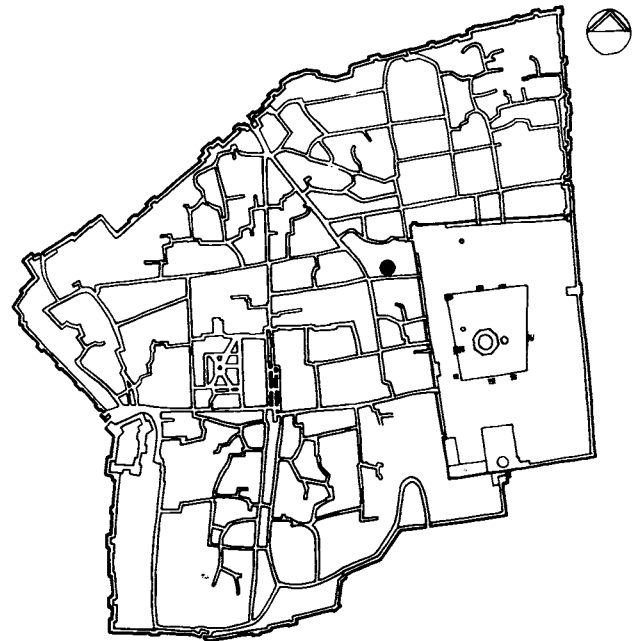


Fig. 55.1 Location plan

Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> A person called Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥasan, whom we may identify with the founder, having already been governor of Gaza, was appointed governor of Kerak in 810/1407.<sup>6</sup> In 822/1419 we find him, during his tenure of the governorate of Jerusalem, arriving in Cairo with many citizens of Jerusalem and Hebron to complain of the speculations of the Qādī al-Ḥarawī.<sup>7</sup> He was dismissed from his Jerusalem post and replaced by the Amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-'Aṭṭār al-Ḥamawī in 827/1424.<sup>8</sup> If that was his last official position, then he built his madrasa in retirement. When reporting his death, Maqrīzī writes, 'He came [to Cairo] from Jerusalem [and held], in the reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj and subsequently, several governorships, in Gaza, Jerusalem and elsewhere.'<sup>9</sup> Al-Sakhāwī quotes the information in Maqrīzī's chronicle and adds, 'I think he was Superintendent in Jerusalem and the founder of the madrasa there which is mentioned by Ibn Ruslan.'<sup>10</sup> The author and the work referred to here are unknown to us.

Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan died in the year 842, either, as Mujīr al-Dīn tells us,<sup>11</sup> on 15 Dhū'l-Hijja (29 May 1439) or, as Maqrīzī maintains,<sup>12</sup> on Sunday, 23rd of that month (7 June 1439). According to the latter, he died in Cairo, but Mujīr al-Dīn says that he died in Jerusalem, and was buried in the Māmillā Cemetery near the Shaykh Abū 'Abdallāh al-Qurashī.

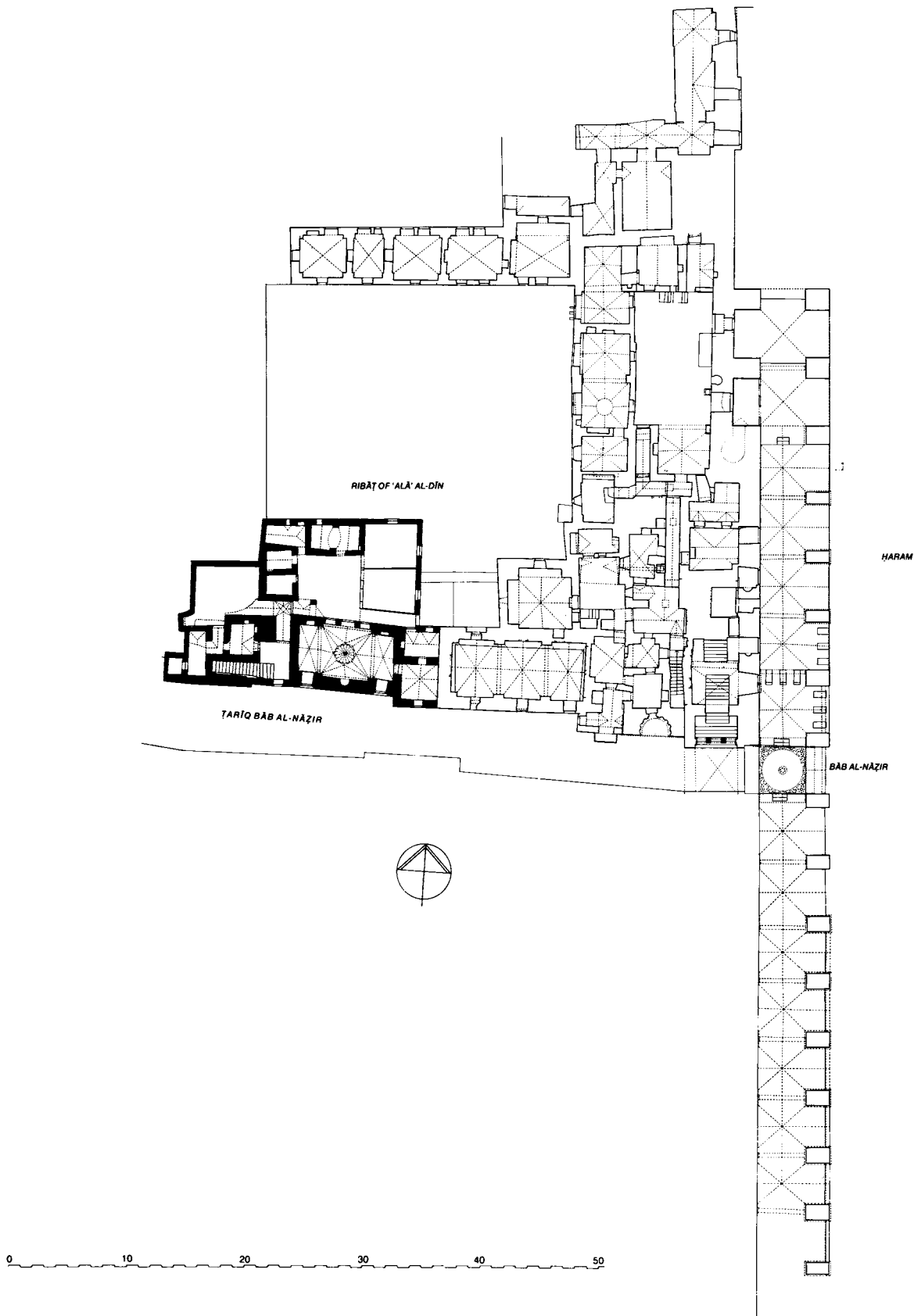
#### WAQF

The date for the *waqfiyya* given by Mujīr al-Dīn, 1 Rajab 838/31 January 1435, is confirmed by the Defer no. 602,<sup>13</sup> at least as far as the year is concerned. Defer no. 522 has the date 938/1531-32, but this is surely an error.<sup>14</sup>

Both defters list the Palestinian properties which supplied the madrasa with its endowment income. In the case of Defer no. 602 alone an annual income figure is given for each one:

| Name <sup>15</sup> | <i>qirāṭs</i> | district  | revenue       |
|--------------------|---------------|-----------|---------------|
| Umm Ṭubā           | 8             | Jerusalem | 1,148 aspers. |
| 'Inab              | 12            | "         | 2,160         |
| Māliḥat al-Kubrā   | complete      | "         | 2,000         |
| Tayyibat al-Ism    | 6             | "         | 2,940         |
| Dayr Dabwān        | 12            | "         | 2,400         |
| 'Asīr al-Shām      | 12            | Nablus    | 2,003         |

Defer no. 522 contains a précis of the provisions of the *waqfiyya*.<sup>16</sup> The personnel was intended to be as follows, and it will be noted that although the *waqfiyya* précis refers to a



**Fig. 55.2** Site plan

'madrasa', as do all other sources, there is no provision for students of law and one might well have expected the foundation to be called a khānqāh or zāwiya.

(a) the Shaykh, who was to exercise the leadership in prayer (*imāma*) of the madrasa and, although the text is not clear at this point, to give instruction in the Koran. It was his duty to attend the Ṣūfī office of prayer (*wazīfa*) after regular evening prayer with the rest of the inmates. For allowances he received 1 Jerusalem rotl of bread daily and 1½ rotls of olive oil monthly. *Ex officio* he served as administrator (*nāzīr*) in cooperation with the Shaykh of the Ṣalāḥiyya, and received 100 dirhams monthly.

(b) There were 10 foreign, 'wandering' dervishes (*fuqarā' aḥqābiyya*), each of whom was to receive ¼ rotl of bread and ⅓ dirham daily. Later in the précis, however, an extra oke of bread daily and 15 dirhams monthly is specified for each one. The salary of the *muṣaddir*, their shaykh, was reduced from 30 to 15 dirhams each month.

(c) Of the 10 Ṣūfīs (*ṣūfiyya*) on the establishment, each of whom was to receive ½ rotl of bread daily, one was to serve as servant (*farrāsh*) for 30 dirhams monthly, another as *bawwāb* and a third as teacher of the orphans (*faqīh*), both for the same monthly emolument.

(d) There were to be 10 Muslim orphans learning to recite the Koran 'in the domed chamber (*qubba*) on the south wall'. Each was allowed ½ rotl of bread daily and 7½ dirhams monthly.

(e) The control of the waqf finances and the keeping of the accounts was to be in the hands of a factor (*ʿāmil*), and his allowance was ½ rotl of bread each day and 30 dirhams each month.

(f) The staff included a water-carrier (*saqqā'*) to supply the needs of the madrasa.

The founder stipulated that the Shaykh and all the inmates and the staff should assemble every Friday morning in the madrasa to recite four sūras of the Koran, no. 18 (the Cave), no. 36 (Yāsīn), no. 56 (the Protection), and no. 67 (the Sovereignty), and then finish with the normal petitioning prayers (*du ʿā'*). The merit of all this was to be dedicated to the founder. Another stipulation was that every day after sunset prayer there should be four persons to recite from the Koran (*huffāz*) in the Ḥaram arcade at the Bāb al-Nāzīr. The chief of these should receive 9 dirhams monthly and the other three 7 each. The readings should be to the merit of the founder, his wives and his brother.

As was normal practice, an order of priority for the disbursement of the income was established, if not all the charitable purposes could be met. On the other hand, any excess of income was to be spent on the distribution in the madrasa of sweetmeats in the months of Rajab and Sha'bān, and of meats and foodstuffs for the feasts at the end of Ramaḍān and at the culmination of the pilgrimage. The residual beneficiaries of the waqf were to be the poor and indigent of Jerusalem at the discretion of the administrator.

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

After the completion of the building, the founder appointed as the shaykh of the madrasa Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Dā'ūd b. Abī 'l-Wafā' (b. 793/1391, d. 859/1455), who proceeded to take it as his place of residence.<sup>17</sup> His son, Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 841/1437-38, d. 891/1486) succeeded him in the post of shaykh (see p. 456).<sup>18</sup>

In 945/1539 the revenues of the lands the waqf held in the villages of Inab and Umm Tūbā were farmed to Muṣṭafā b. 'Alī, the Janissary (*al-inkishārī*), who was a resident of the Jerusalem Citadel. He paid 700 aspers as a down payment and undertook to pay the rest, 1,000 aspers, at the end of the year. He was also responsible for the payment of the tithe and what was due to the sultan (*al-khāss*).<sup>19</sup> Another sijill entry, dated 968/1560, records an agreement between the *nāzīr* of the Ḥasaniyya, Ḥusām al-Dīn Ya'qūb (who was the *nāzīr* also in 945/1539), and a Yūsuf b. 'Abdallāh, acting as agent for the Ketkhudā of

Jerusalem, that the latter owes 41 dinars for the revenue from half the village of Dayr Dabwān.<sup>20</sup>

It is probably correct to assume a continuing connection with the madrasa on the part of the family which supplied the first two shaykhs, named above. The *mutawallī* of the waqf was the Shaykh Aḥmad al-Wafā' in 981/1573, at the time when the *sipābi* of the village of Inab, appearing before a commissioner of the Governor of Jerusalem, complained that the villagers had sold the olive crop without his knowledge. His *tīmār* was one third of the village, plus two thirds of the tithe (*'usbr*). The rest was still waqf for the Ḥasaniyya.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, Asali quotes two sijill entries, in one of which 'Abd al-Qādir b. Mūsā al-Wafā' (*sic*) replaces his two brothers as holder of one quarter of the 'teaching position' (*wazīfat al-dars*) in 1168/1754-5, and in the other a Badr b. Mūsā al-Wafā' succeeds to the same post in 1200/1785-6.<sup>22</sup>

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### STREET FRONTAGE (fig. 55.5)

The street frontage is two storeys high, crowned by a cavetto cornice. It extends 19.46m west from the entrance portal of the Ribāt of 'Alā' al-Dīn (which projects 0.82m further into the street). At a point 13.11m from the ribāt's portal a salient containing the entrance to the Ḥasaniyya projects 0.35m from the rest of the frontage. This salient has undergone major repairs at some time, but otherwise the frontage remains largely intact.

The lower courses of masonry in the lower storey are different from the upper courses, which are similar to those of the upper storey (see *plate* 55.1). The masonry of the repairs at the west end is, of course, different from the rest. Its date of construction is not known. All that can be said is that it was built after the ribāt, since it blocks the east archway of its portal, and before – perhaps immediately before – the construction of the Ḥasaniyya. At the east end a pointed-arched doorway (now blocked) once gave access to the space between the street frontage and the south wall of the vaulted halls of the ribāt. This space is now inaccessible.

The main façade is on the upper storey, set back 0.02m from the frontage of the lower storey and extending eastward over the portal of the ribāt where it projects south to follow the alignment of the portal. It is arranged more or less symmetrically about a central slit window which opens in the assembly hall above the *mihṛāb*. The lintel of that window is

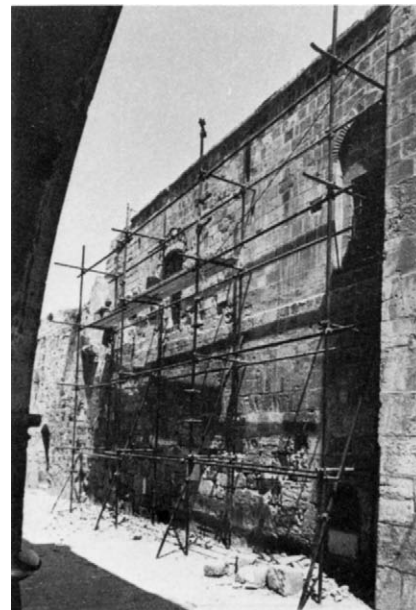


Plate 55.1 Façade being repointed in 1980



decorated with an arch of miniature gadroon voussoirs on the outer face and a moulding on the soffit (*plate 55.2*). On either side of this window two large rectangular windows are set in pointed-arched recesses. The arch of the left-hand (west) recess has been replaced with a crude segmental arch. Though several stones in the right-hand arch have also been replaced, enough of it survives to show that it (and presumably the left-hand one) were decorated with gadroon voussoirs (*plate 55.3*). The right-hand window retains its original grille. To west and east of these windows are a further two, both surmounted by slits. The east one is directly above the entrance portal of the ribāt.

At the west end of the frontage the entrance salient, including a short upper-storey extension supported on two damaged roll corbels (*plate 55.4*), is about 2m lower. Much of this appears to have been rebuilt.

#### ENTRANCE (*plate 55.5*)

The entrance has lost its original form in the rebuilding and now consists of a plain segmental-arched doorway. The lowest courses of masonry survive, however, and two clear breaks in the masonry on either side of the doorway reveal that the original door was set in a recess and flanked by stone benches. The lintel of the present door, bearing the foundation inscription (*plate 55.6*), appears to be in its original position. The rebuilding of the doorway has masked much of the text of the inscription but enough is legible to show that it belongs to the Hasaniyya.

The doorway opens into a landing at the foot of a flight of stairs rising eastward to the upper floor. A blocked window in the north wall of that landing may belong to the Qashimuriya Madrasa which, according to Mujir al-Dīn,<sup>23</sup> was near the Hasaniyya; it was endowed in 759/1358. The south-east corner of the wall containing that window can be seen as a break in the masonry some 2.37m to the east (see *fig. 55.4*).

#### UPPER FLOOR (*plan, fig. 55.3*)

The stairs lead up to a wide top landing from which one door opens west into a small room (A) perhaps intended for the *bawwāb*, and a second leads into a barrel-vaulted passage that runs north then west. At the west end the vault of the passage has collapsed. It leads into a group of mostly ruined structures that might well originally have provided living quarters for personnel on the establishment (see above).

At the corner where the passage changes direction it is

roofed by a folded cross vault. A door in the east wall under this vault leads under a small porch into the open courtyard of the madrasa. A cavetto cornice similar to that on the façade runs around three sides of the courtyard (see *plate 55.7*); the east side has been replaced (see below). Two cells (B and C) on the west side of the courtyard, one of which (B) was locked and inaccessible to us, are lit by high-level windows on the courtyard. On the north side are three cells (D–F) with windows overlooking the courtyard of the ribāt to the north. The common wall of cells ‘E’ and ‘F’ has been removed and the door from the courtyard into ‘E’ blocked. Both cells are now entered through the door of ‘F’ (which has a rebuilt head – see *plate 55.7*). In all probability a fourth cell occupied the north-east corner of the building, but it and the original structures on the east side of the courtyard have been replaced by a modern construction. The cells on the east side of the courtyard were probably similar to those on the west side. At the south end of the east side a corridor runs east to give access to two rooms (G and H) situated above the entrance portal of the ribāt. Room ‘G’ has a window in its north wall overlooking the courtyard of the ribāt, and room ‘H’ is lit by the windows above the ribāt’s portal.

On the south side of the courtyard a plain door flanked by two rectangular windows opens into the assembly hall. Above the door is a small triple window comprising two arched lights surmounted by a circular oculus (see *plate 55.8*) of a distinctive type observed earlier at the Sallāmiyya (no. 25) and the Bāsiyya (no. 53).

The assembly hall is roofed in three bays by a folded cross vault with narrower cross vaults to east and west. The bays are separated by two transverse arches rising from double-*muqarnas* springers reminiscent of ones in the Palace of Sitt Tunshuq (see *fig. 48.18*). The folded cross vault has single *muqarnas* springings and a fluted cupola at the crown (see *plate 55.9*). Besides the windows on the courtyard, the hall is lit by windows overlooking the street (described above). Two cupboards open in the north wall and a third (now blocked) opened at the south end of the west wall. Opposite that third cupboard a door (also blocked) opened east into room ‘H’.

#### MARBLE PANNELLING

The outstanding feature of the assembly hall – indeed, of the whole building – is an unusually well preserved marble dado incorporating a *mihṛāb*. This dado originally ran around all four walls but some sections of it, particularly on the north wall, are missing. It is composed of vertical panels of fine red marble



Plate 55.2 Window in façade above *mihṛāb*



Plate 55.3 Window showing original grille



Plate 55.4 Roll corbels supporting extension of entrance salient

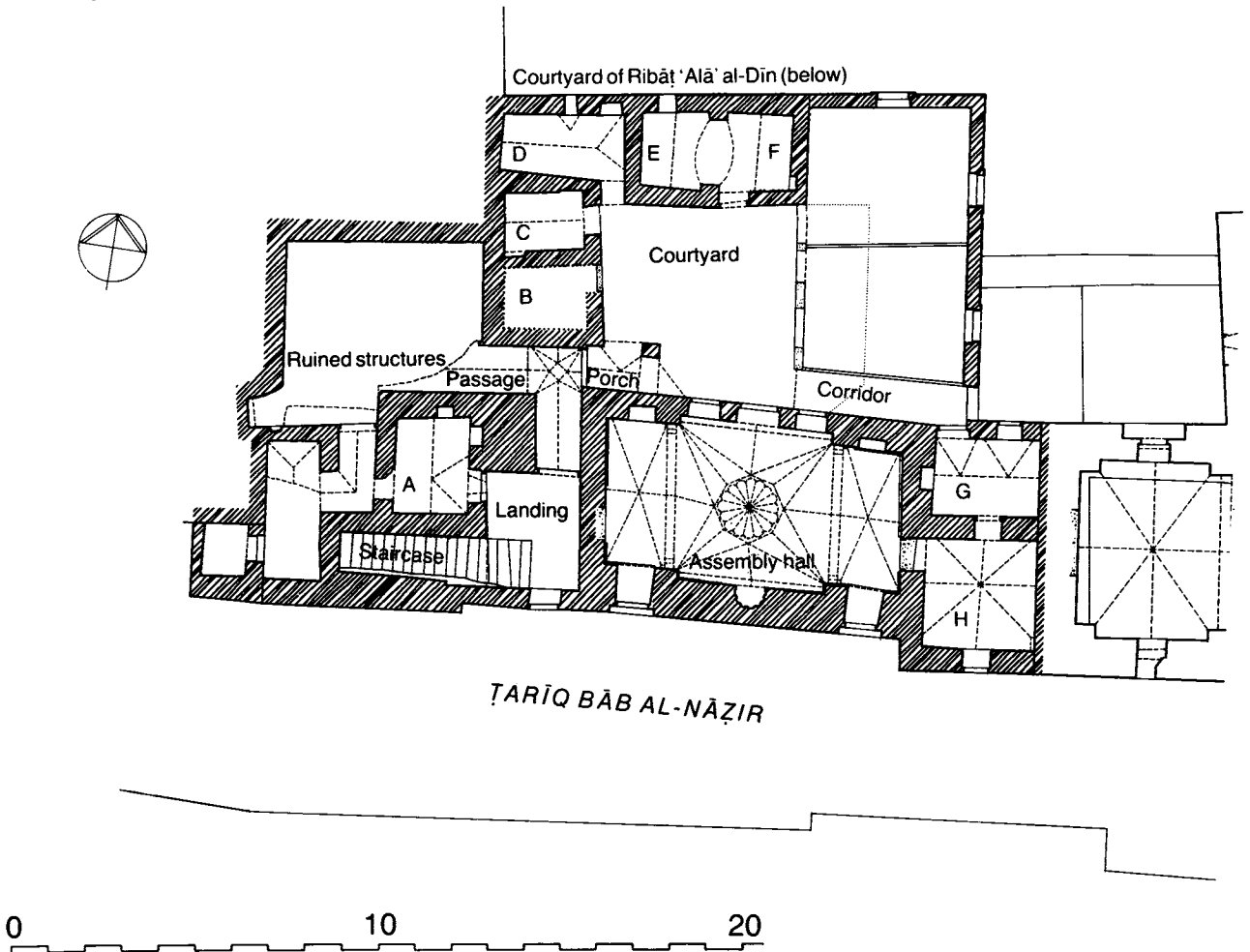


Fig. 55.3 Main floor plan

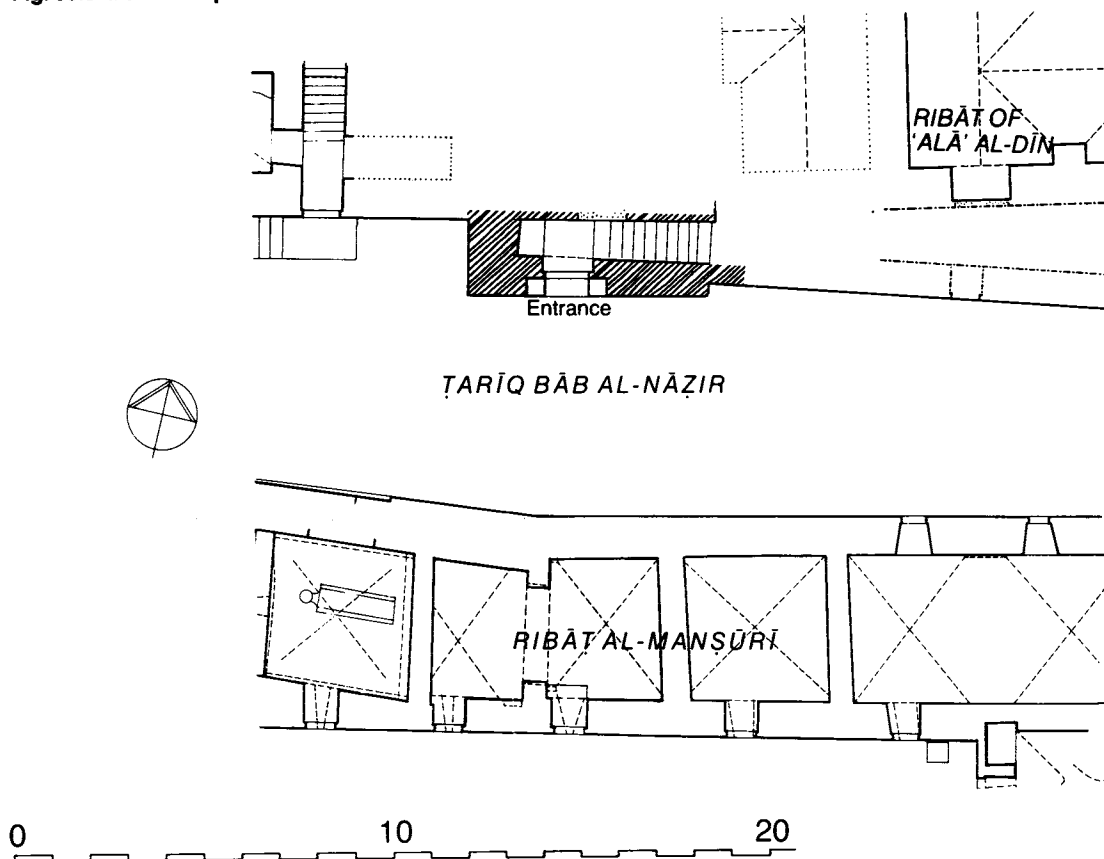


Fig. 55.4 Plan of entrance at street level

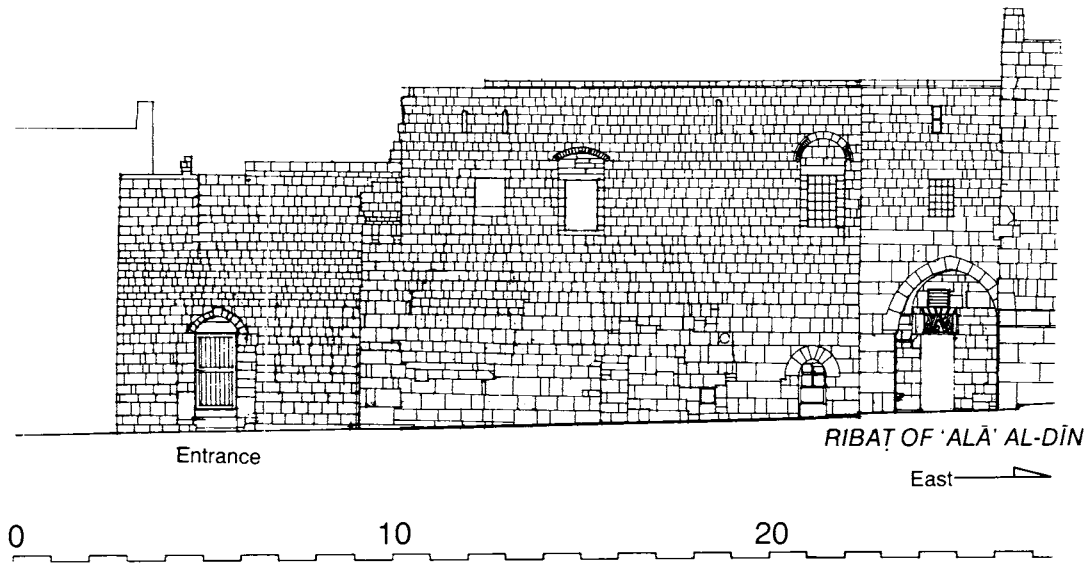


Fig. 55.5 Street frontage

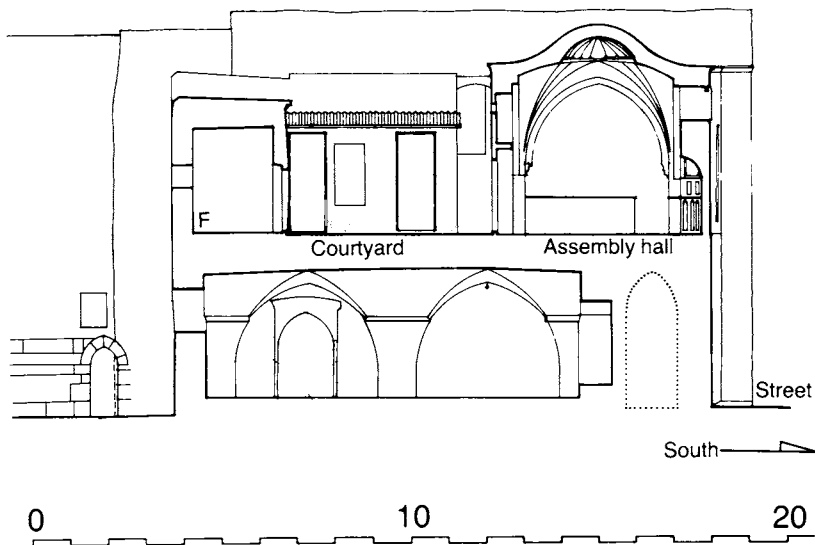


Fig. 55.6 North-south section through courtyard and assembly hall looking east



Plate 55.5 Entrance



Plate 55.6 Inscription on entrance door lintel

and black bituminous limestone framed by narrower strips of greyish marble. In two places, about one metre to either side of the *mīhrāb* in the south wall, the marble frame is in the form of an arch with a circular loop at the apex. The spandrels of the arched frames are filled with white and black marble and the tympanums with red marble. Below the tympanums each frame contains a panel of rare black-and-white speckled marble. The marble will have come from old columns sliced along their lengths – a customary Mamlūk (and earlier) practice. The panels are bedded on white plaster, and discrepancies such as rough chipping of the edges are filled with plaster which has been coloured appropriately red, black or grey to match. The whole dado is capped by a timber bead, which separates the panelling from the plastered wall surface above.

*MIHRĀB* (plate 55.10)

This beautiful *mīhrāb*, one of the finest in Jerusalem, is lined and faced with a veneer of marble with a mosaic revetment in the conch. A quirked ogee moulding frames the upper part where it projects above the dado. The lining is arranged in two tiers. The lower tier is the same height as the dado and consists of a grey marble frame containing seven slightly countersunk panels of alternately red marble and black limestone with trilobed heads. At the apex of each of the seven panels is a little circular depression in which the remains of a turquoise faïence stud can still be seen.

A timber bead separates this tier from the upper tier and

extends onto the wall face on either side to meet the frame moulding. At this level the grey marble lining contains seven panels of mosaic, five in the recess and one on each side on the wall face. This mosaic is composed variously of strips of mother-of-pearl and chips of turquoise faïence as well as red, black and yellow stone. The lining has come away in places to reveal wooden battens reinforcing a plaster bed.

Another timber bead separates this tier from the conch and the marble facing around it. An arch-shaped stone at the base of the conch has the word 'Allāh' incised in it to receive a paste filling that no longer survives. The mosaic pattern of six-pointed stars and hexagons is composed of rhombs and triangles of red, black, yellow and brownish stone and tiny pieces of turquoise faïence.

The veneer of grey marble around the conch is made up of three large slabs complemented by three smaller pieces at the top. The flamboyant decoration of this veneer – representing an arch of very elaborately joggled voussoirs within a frame of ovals and trefoils enclosing swags with trefoil finials in the spandrels – is actually an intaglio filled with red paste and bitumen. In this way a striking effect is achieved without the enormous difficulty of using real marble for the inlays. This technique developed in Cairo in the late eighth/fourteenth century, perhaps as a result of a shortage of marble.<sup>24</sup> This is the only instance in Jerusalem. Discontinuities in the design where adjoining marble slabs meet suggest that the patterns were carved before the slabs were raised in place. A groove chased round the extrados of the arch forms a loop at the apex, runs along horizontally and then descends, thus forming a rectangular frame around the spandrels. The groove is encrusted with gold leaf. The circular loop at the apex is hollowed out as if to receive some kind of filling, of which no trace survives. Four similar circular sockets at the corners of the outer frame above the dado and two in the loops above the arched panels of the dado are likewise empty. Since the rest of the panelling survives largely unplundered except for the broken-off faïence studs in the lower lining of the *mīhrāb* it is perhaps likely that these sockets once contained faïence bosses.



Plate 55.7 North-west corner of courtyard



Plate 55.8 Entrance to assembly hall

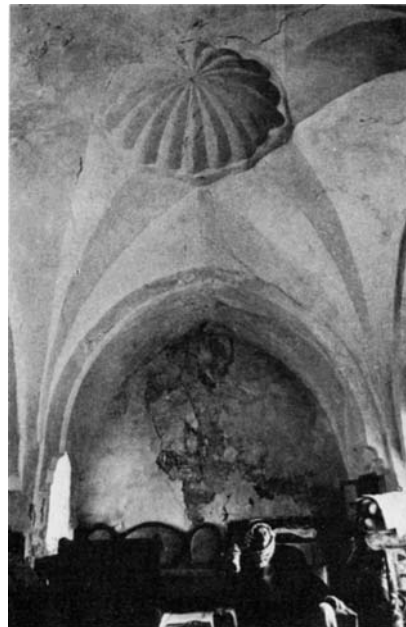


Plate 55.9 Assembly hall, looking west



Plate 55.10 *Mīhrāb*

**Notes**

- 1 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 140.
- 2 Mujir, ii, 43 and 275.
- 3 *Daw*, xi, 85.
- 4 Mujir, ii, 40.
- 5 See note 2.
- 6 *Suluk*, iv, 62.
- 7 *Suluk*, iv, 483.
- 8 *Suluk*, iv, 662.
- 9 *Suluk*, iv, 1153.
- 10 *Daw*, iii, 133.
- 11 Mujir, ii, 275.
- 12 *Suluk*, iv, 1153.
- 13 Defter no. 602, 452.
- 14 See Ipsirli, 29-30, and Asali, *Ma'abid*, 215-6. It is necessary to correct the text in some particulars from the facsimile, see Ipsirli, 171.
- 15 For these villages in the order here given, see *HGP*, 117, 119 (as al-Ayn?), 118 (Māliḥat al-Sughrā!), 116, 120 (as Dayr Dabbān), and the last one is unidentified. There is an 'Asira in Nablus district, see *HGP*, 128.
- 16 Ipsirli, 29-30.
- 17 *Daw*, xi, 85.
- 18 *Daw*, vii, 196.
- 19 Sijill 10, no. 1179.
- 20 Sijill 40, 17 (1)
- 21 Sijill 56, 6 (1).
- 22 Asali, *Ma'abid*, 214 quoting Sijills 239, 60 and 268, 125.
- 23 Mujir, 395.
- 24 M. Rogers, 'The Stones of Barquq: Building materials and architectural decoration in late fourteenth-century Cairo', *Apollo*, clxx, April 1976, 307-13.

# 56 WELL OF IBRĀHĪM AL-RŪMĪ

## بئر ابراهيم الرومي

839/1435-36

Well-house for distributing water to the poor

Modern name: Sabīl 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Baṣīrī

### I LOCATION (fig. 56.1)

Within the Ḥaram, about 10m north-east of Bāb al-Nāzīr.

### II SITE AND BUILDING

The well-house is a simple structure comprising a single room, square in plan and roofed by a shallow dome, built around the mouth of a large rock-cut cistern numbered 22 in the Ordnance Survey list.<sup>1</sup> A door in the east wall gives access to the interior, from where water will have been distributed through windows in the other three walls. The well has fallen into disuse.

### III HISTORY

An inscription on two marble plaques on the exterior of the south wall gives the date and the intended purpose of the building:

This well (*bi'r*) was renewed (*juddida*) in the reign of . . . Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbāy. That [was done] during the superintendency of . . . Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥasan Qujā, state governor and Superintendent of the the Two Ḥarams . . . The *bājj* Ibrāhīm al-Rūmī dedicated his diligent care to its construction [at his expense] . . . and he has stipulated that water may not be drawn from it except for the poor and needy (*al-fuqarā' wa'l-masākīn*) and that it is not permitted for any one [employed to draw water there] to supply other than them. Dated Jumādā II 839 (December 1435-January 1436).<sup>2</sup>

The word *juddida* in the inscription is ambiguous. It is normally taken to mean 'was renewed' but could mean 'was built anew' (see above, p. 278). The only discernible indication that the present well-house may replace an earlier installation are four large blocks of stone, one at each corner, which form footings for the walls (see *plate* 56.1). However, al-'Umarī (c.745/1345) makes no mention of any building here and the present well-house appears to be a single uniform construction. The cistern below will of course be much older.

### IV ARCHITECTURE

#### EXTERIOR (*plates* 56.1 and 56.2)

Each of the four external walls incorporates a pointed arch, blocked up except for a plain entrance door in the east side and rectangular windows in the other three sides. A billet moulding forms a continuous cornice round all four sides. The stone-faced dome rises directly from the roof and culminates in a stone crescent finial.

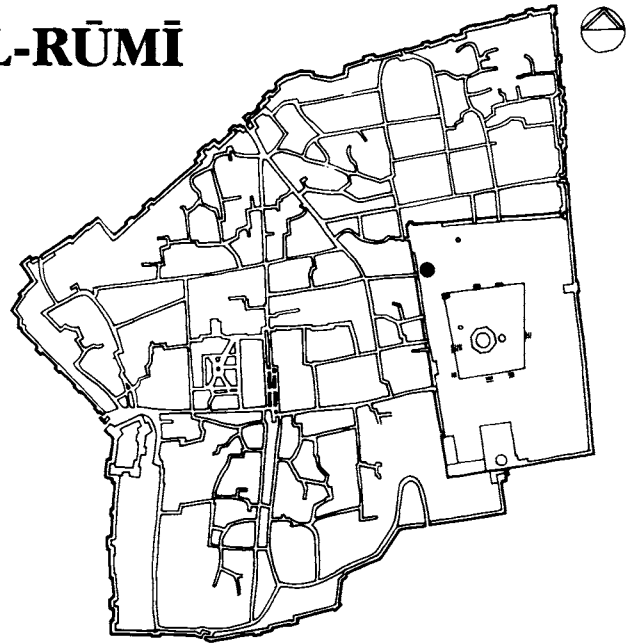


Fig. 56.1 Location plan



Plate 56.1 General view from south-east



Plate 56.2 General view from north



**INTERIOR**

Two crude steps lead up to the entrance door. Within, the dome rises directly from the walls, oversailing the corners without a transitional zone; presumably it is carried on stone beams across the corners but since the interior is coated with plaster the structure is concealed. Plastered basins in the window sills must have held water drawn from the cistern. Cupfuls of water could then have been passed through the windows.

**Notes**

- 1 C. Warren and C. Conder, *The Survey of Western Palestine: Jerusalem*, London, 1884, 222.
- 2 *CIA (Haram)*, 138-40.

# 57 AL-'UTHMĀNIYYA

## العثمانية

840/1437

Madrassa and tomb of Isfahān Shāh Khātūn

Modern name: Dār al-Fityānī

### I LOCATION (fig. 57.1)

On south side of Zuqāq Bāb al-Maṭhara, beside that gate, and partly above the west portico of the Ḥaram.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (figs. 57.2 and 57.3)

The site is bounded by the Ḥaram to the east, by the lane, Zuqāq Bāb al-Maṭhara, to the north, by the Ablutions Place to the west, and by the Baladiyya (no. 43) and the Ashrafiyya (no. 63) to the south.

The site and its environs were described by al-'Umarī before the construction of the 'Uthmāniyya:

... At the Gate of the Ablutions Place (*al-tabāra*), which contains two lavatories, one for women and one for men, ... four steps lead from the ground level of the Ḥaram to Bāb al-Maṭhara ... after which there are seven steps leading to a longish lane by which one reaches the lavatory for men [on the south side of the lane] and the flight of steps to the upper floor of the lavatory for women [on the north side] ... Adjacent to Bāb al-Maṭhara is [part of the Ḥaram's west] portico ... spanning nine piers. Here in the thickness of the [Ḥaram] wall are two doors leading to two cells, one of them for a guardian and the other for a Ṣūfī.<sup>1</sup>

Thus al-'Umarī has nothing to say of the area later to be occupied by the 'Uthmāniyya, except perhaps that it contained two cells. The Ablutions Place lay to the west of the site, which sloped down towards it.

The building consists of four main components: a domed tomb chamber against the Ḥaram wall, a madrasa complex and a western annex on the ground floor; and a range of imposing rooms at upper floor level on the roof of the Ḥaram portico.

The madrasa complex in particular has undergone substantial alterations which have obscured its original form. Essentially it comprised a grand entrance portal on the street, which opens into a vestibule giving access to the tomb chamber to the east and a corridor to the west which leads south into a central courtyard. The east wall of the courtyard is the Ḥaram wall. An archway (now blocked) in the south wall of the courtyard opened into a hall with a *mibrāb*, which is called the 'lower mosque'. The structures on the west side of the courtyard appear to be largely modern. A staircase led from the entrance corridor past a small mezzanine above the vestibule to the rooms on the upper floor, which include a loggia overlooking the Ḥaram through a beautiful double window and an assembly hall with a *mibrāb* in its south wall.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

Our main guide, Mujīr al-Dīn, locates this madrasa at the Gate

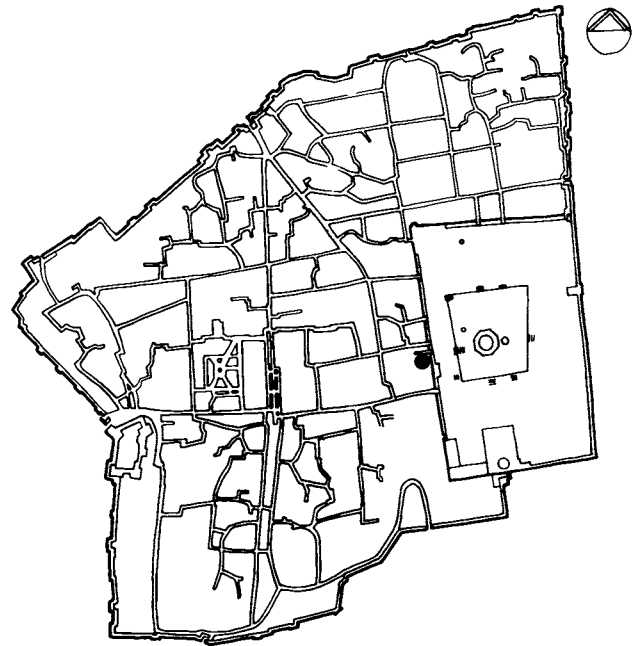


Fig. 57.1 Location plan

of the Ablutions Place.<sup>2</sup> The building immediately to the left as one leaves the Ḥaram through that gate identifies itself as the 'Uthmāniyya by an inscription over the portal.

#### DATE

The inscription, which was published by van Berchem, is very problematical. A translation is given based on van Berchem's understanding of its text,<sup>3</sup> although it is right to point out that his own footnotes present various other possibilities:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. The construction of this blessed madrasa was ordered by the noble and honourable Lady Isfahān Shāh Khātūn, daughter of the late Amīr Maḥmūd, of the family of 'Uthmān, known as the Khānum (may God show her His benevolence). She passed away in the year eight hundred and forty [1436-37]. Its construction was completed at the close of the aforementioned year through the efforts of the Khwāja Jamī', son of Ṣāṭī, from Asia Minor (*al-Rūmī*) ... [?]

#### FOUNDER

Mujīr al-Dīn makes it quite clear that he had taken note of the inscription. What he says in the continuation of his entry on the 'Uthmāniyya is as follows:

It was endowed by a woman from a great family in Asia Minor (*Rūm*), whose name was Isfahān Shāh Khātūn, called Khānum. It possesses endowments in Asia Minor apart from those in this land. Its date is above the door, namely the year 840 [1436-37]. The benefactress was buried in the tomb chamber adjacent to the wall of the noble Masjid al-Aqṣā [i.e. the Ḥaram], may God Almighty have mercy on her.

Who this lady was is still not sure. The Turkish titles, the connection with Asiatic Turkey and the epithet in the inscription, 'Uthmāniyya', may suggest that she belonged to the Ottoman family. Van Berchem argued that the vagueness of Mujīr al-Dīn's wording points in the same direction, assuming that the historian felt such circumspection necessary in the period of Mamlūk-Ottoman rivalries and hostilities in which he was writing. However, there is no known Ottoman family member who may easily be recognized as her father. The only one called Maḥmūd, a son of Mehmed I, was born about 816/1413, was blinded by his brother Murad II, who acceded in 824/1421, and died of plague in Bursa in 832/1429, when he would

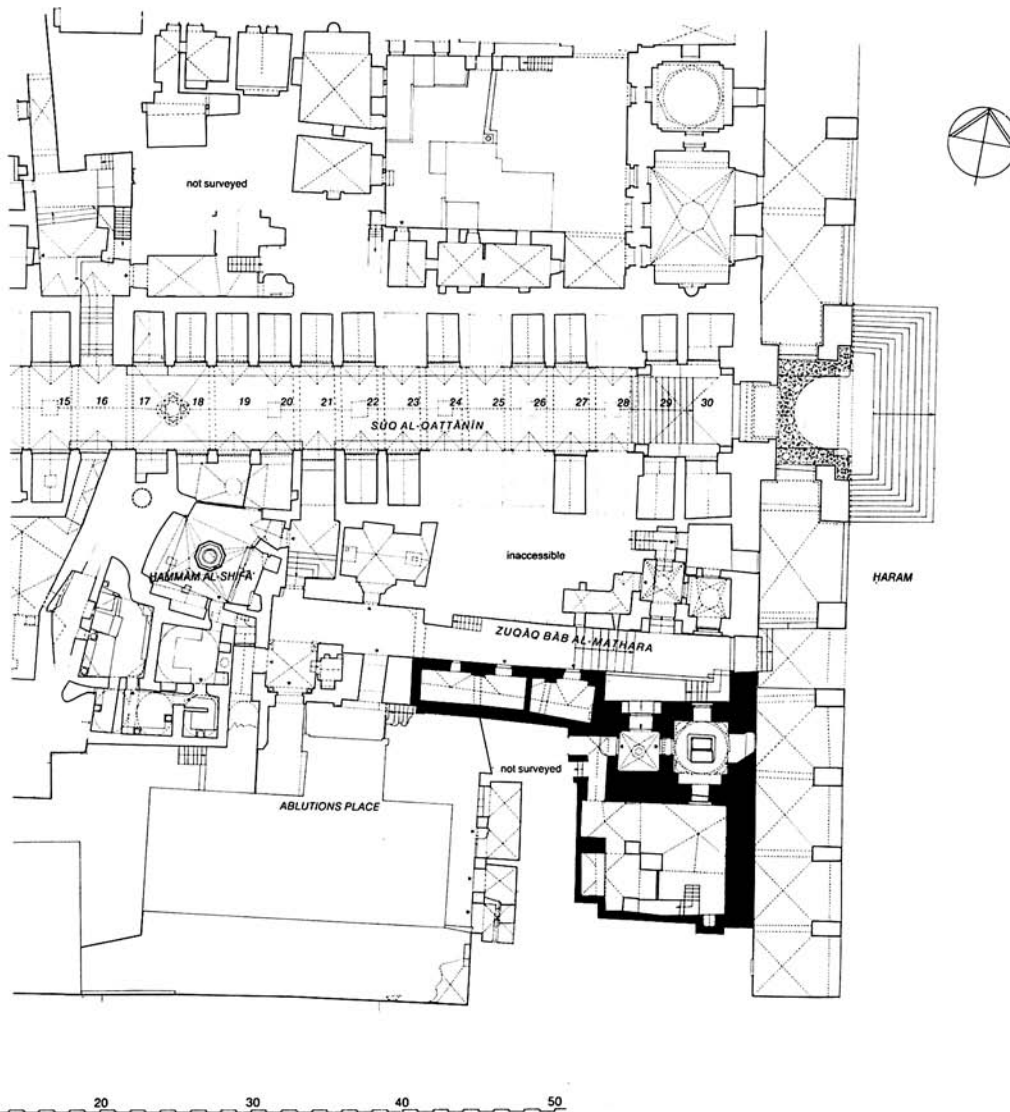


Fig. 57.2 Site plan

have been sixteen.<sup>4</sup> The explanation of the *nisba* 'Uthmāniyya is a problem, but perhaps to be an 'Ottoman' was not the same as being a member of the ruling family itself. The Ottoman land register no. 602<sup>5</sup> does not give the lady the *nisba* al-'Uthmāniyya – although the name of the madrasa remains the same, of course.

When did the benefactress die? Was it in 840/1436-37? There are decided difficulties in the reading of the inscription.<sup>6</sup> It is clear that the building was completed 'at the close of the aforementioned year', but it is puzzling that Mujīr al-Dīn, if the inscription is supposed to be recording the date of Iṣfahān Shāh Khātūn's demise, did not repeat that information when mentioning her burial in the tomb chamber. He refers to the actual occurrence of the date 840 in the inscription in his phrase, 'its date is above the door', without saying 'of its endowment' or 'of its construction' (although van Berchem *translates*<sup>7</sup> as 'Au-dessus de sa porte est inscrite la date de sa construction'). Could it be that Mujīr al-Dīn was also none too sure about the meaning of the first occurrence of the date in the inscription? Ipşirli's edition of the Ottoman Defter no. 522 has no entry for the 'Uthmāniyya, but Defter no. 602<sup>8</sup> gives the date of the *waqfiyya* as 844/1440-41.<sup>9</sup> Only relevant biographical information and a reliable identification would solve this problem. The tomb chamber contains two cenotaphs, only one of which bears an inscription.<sup>10</sup> This has neither the same name nor title as the founder of the 'Uthmāniyya. Indeed, the date is – somewhat disconcertingly – 23 Shawwāl 804/26 May 1402. If,

after all, the occupant could be identified as Iṣfahān Shāh, van Berchem was prepared to consider the possibility of a mistake by the carver, who may have written '4' in place of '40'. Would such a mistake have been left uncorrected? In any case, it does not explain the 844 date. Could the '40' have been left off?

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

The names of several persons who held the post of *mudarris* in the 'Uthmāniyya during the seventeenth century have been collected by Asali.<sup>11</sup> They were mostly Hanafīs. The first *mudarris* may well have been Sirāj al-Dīn Sirāj b. Musāfir al-Rūmī, who settled in Jerusalem in 828/1424-25. Mujīr al-Dīn repeats the story<sup>12</sup> that Sirāj al-Dīn resigned when he read the waqf condition 'that the shaykh should be the best scholar of the age' – with no mention of any restriction to Hanafīs. In 990/1582 a shaykh of the madrasa surrendered his position to be divided between two persons,<sup>13</sup> one of whom was a member of the Ibn Jamā'a family, normally Shāfi'ī – as indeed was the Muhyī al-Dīn b. Jamā'a, who was assigned a Koran reader post there in 937/1531.<sup>14</sup>

The *mudarris* seems to have functioned as the administrator (*mutawallī*) of the madrasa too. One of the sources of waqf income he administered is named in two Court registers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as the village of Kafar Qarā.<sup>15</sup> The Defter no. 610,<sup>16</sup> which was written soon after 1540, mentioned Kafar Qarā (written without diacritical points) as the only Palestinian endowment of the

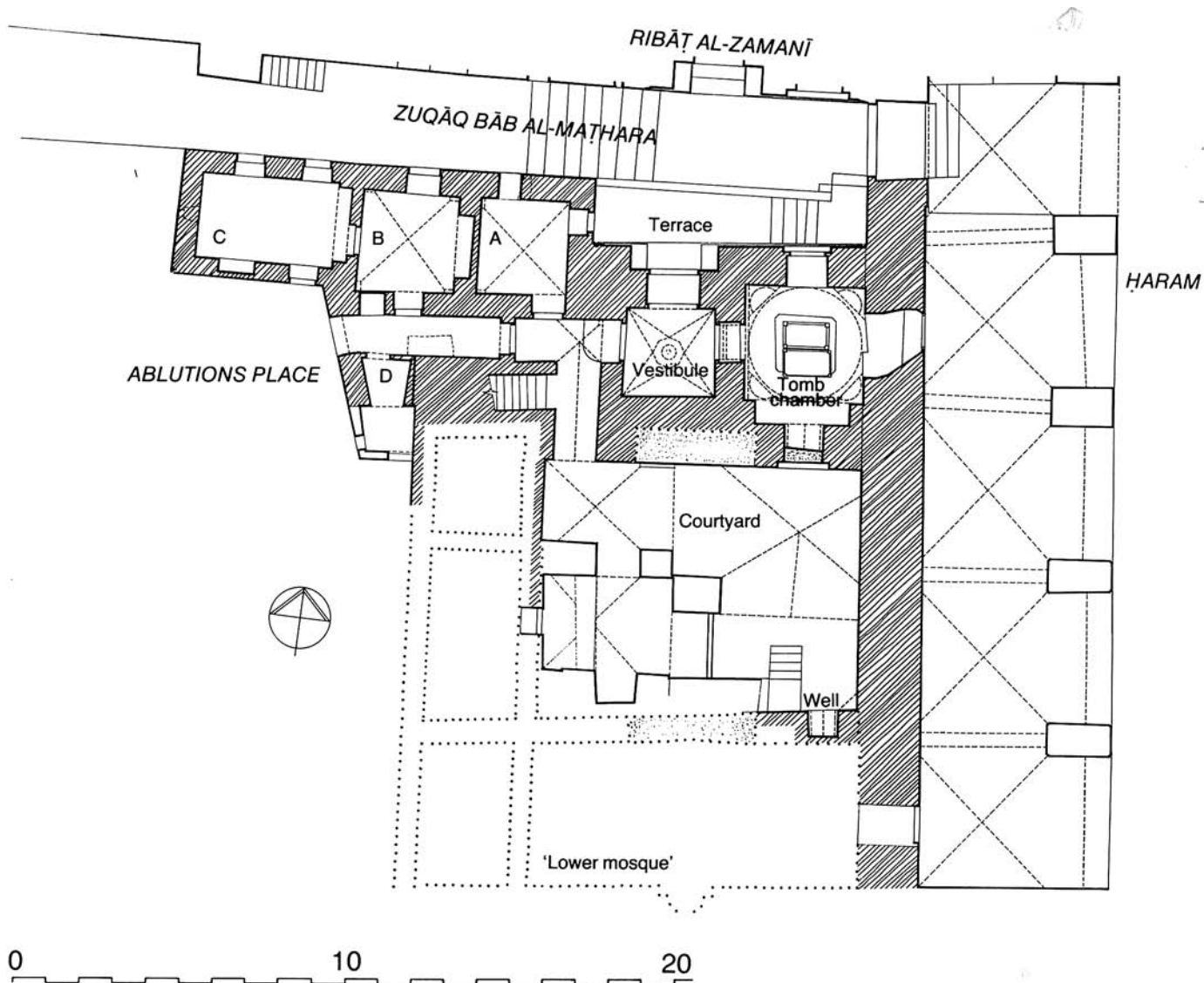


Fig. 57.3 Ground floor plan

madrasa. It was situated in the Nablus area and belonged completely to the madrasa, producing 3,400 aspers annually. It must have been restored to the madrasa shortly before then, since an earlier entry of 938/1532<sup>17</sup> reports that this village had been incorporated into the *Dīwān* of the Circassian [Mamlūk] sultanate after it had been seized by 'the Shaykhs of the mountain of Nablus'. Before that it had maintained among other things 'the bucket [spelt *ṣatl*] suspended in the *tārīma* of the 'Uthmāniyya Madrasa', presumably a system of water supply. The last register entry referred to was concerned to prevent the titular administration of 'the bucket', whose endowed income had ceased, from receiving money from the separately endowed 'basin' (*tāsa*), supplied by a certain Maḥmūd Çelebī with waqf funds from Asia Minor.

At the same time another dispute arose. In May 1532 a new person had been confirmed by the *mudarris* in a Koran-reader post left vacant by the decease of the previous holder.<sup>18</sup> Within six days, however, the brother of the deceased had established that the latter had only held the position as his deputy, and that Sultan Sulaymān had confirmed all appointments in force from the settlement made at the time of Selim's conquest. Some weight was given by the court to the fact that the *mudarris* had acted on the principle that the former holder, in this case the deceased, could nominate his replacement, but the replacement could offer no evidence to answer the case set out above.<sup>19</sup>

Two sijills from the early seventeenth century<sup>20</sup> show that sums of money from the Egyptian treasury, charitable expenditure of the sultanate, were sent yearly to Jerusalem. From these sums, as well as others from individuals, the permanent officials and a long list of other beneficiaries of the madrasa, such as the various 'readers', benefited. One should note that 'nine students' (*ṭalaba*) are mentioned without separate identification.

In 1066/1656 the *mudarris/mutawallī* 'Alī Effendi al-Luṭfī requested an official inspection of the building and permission to borrow against future income for necessary repairs. The amount estimated officially was 525 Asadī piastres, and the features of the madrasa mentioned, in most cases to be demolished and rebuilt, are as follows:<sup>21</sup>

The west wall which supports the upper house (*bayt*) and the passage, the south façade of the upper house and the doorway, the east façade and the door of the kitchen, along with its cooking ranges (*awjāq*), the south cross vault running eastwards, the balustrade/curtain-wall (*sitāra*) partly above the kitchen and partly above the passage, the north wall of the upper house built over the lower mosque (*jāmi'*) and an *iwān* to the west, the north house (*bayt*) of upper *ma'zal* (a term not fully understood) next to stairs giving access to the assembly hall (*majma'*) and upper mosque, the upper vault of the wall (*sitāra*) dividing the upper from the lower *ma'zal*, the north and west walls of the upper house built over the shops, the

tomb chamber with its dome, the upper facilities (*murtafaqāt*), and the *iwāns* of the ablutions place. There was also provision in the report for the blocking of a door of the upper mosque and the opening of a new one, to alter the old door of the assembly hall opposite the mosque into a window (*tāqa*) and to open the old cupboard (*kbizāna*) as a door to lighten the arch (*ʿaqd*) (meaning?).

The reference to a lower mosque and to an upper mosque along with an assembly hall, all of which is reminiscent of the description of the Tankiziyya, strongly suggests that the ʿUthmāniyya too was founded for both the study of law (*fiqh*) and for Šūfī devotions.

Asālī is inclined to believe that the ʿUthmāniyya maintained an active teaching role ‘for four centuries at least’.<sup>22</sup> Any decision on that depends on one’s general view of the nature of the numerous appointments recorded for this and other institutions (see pp. 73-74). One should nevertheless remember the mention of nine students early in the seventeenth century. Asālī accepts the likelihood that the madrasa became a private dwelling during the eighteenth century, and such it has remained until the present day.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### ḤARAM FAÇADE (fig. 57.6, plate 57.1)

The Ḥaram portico that supports the upper floor of the ʿUthmāniyya was erected in 737/1336-37.<sup>23</sup> In the Ḥaram wall under the portico are two rectangular grilled windows belonging to the ʿUthmāniyya, one for the tomb chamber and one for the lower mosque.

The façade above the portico extends from the Ashrafiyya (no. 63) northwards to within 3.10m of the upper part of Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn.<sup>24</sup> A billet moulding forms a cornice along the full length of the façade. Early photographs show that a northward continuation of the façade formerly encompassed the upper part of Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn (see plate 31.1), and this may have belonged to the ʿUthmāniyya. It was demolished in the 1920s. Beyond Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn it contained a window that was decorated very like the present window at the south end of the façade, which has *ablaq* jambs and is set in a recess spanned by four tiers of *muqarnas* corbelling supporting a shallow fluted conch (see plate 57.2).

To the right (north) of this southern window are paired rectangular windows surmounted by a small *muqarnas*-headed slit window above their central mullion. Further to the right is a single window, decorated like the paired ones with a joggled red and cream-coloured *ablaq* pseudo-relieving arch over the lintel and surmounted by another high-level *muqarnas*-headed slit window. Between the two slit windows, a curious feature in the form of a *muqarnas* capital from a hexagonal column (fig. 57.9) projects from the façade.

The most striking feature of the façade is a large double window, the pointed arches of which are supported by three re-used marble columns. Above the window a panel of red and cream-coloured *ablaq* contains two roundels each composed of interlocking radial voussoirs. A continuous diaperwork moulding runs around the extrados of both arches and encircles the roundels. At the top, above the roundels, a course of *ablaq* joggling extends across the panel, which is framed by downward vertical extensions of the billet cornice moulding. These descend to the level of the springings of the arches, where the moulding ends at each side in an unusual angular return (see plate 57.3). Indistinct traces visible in van Berchem’s photograph<sup>25</sup> taken in 1893 suggest that the billet moulding originally continued across the top of the panel.

To the right of the double window is a recess spanned by four tiers of *muqarnas* corbelling supporting a shallow, fluted conch. This recess contains a grilled window with *ablaq* jambs and two *ablaq* pseudo-relieving arches above its monolithic lintel. To the right of that window is a smaller plain rectangular window. All the rectangular windows in this façade retain their original iron grilles.

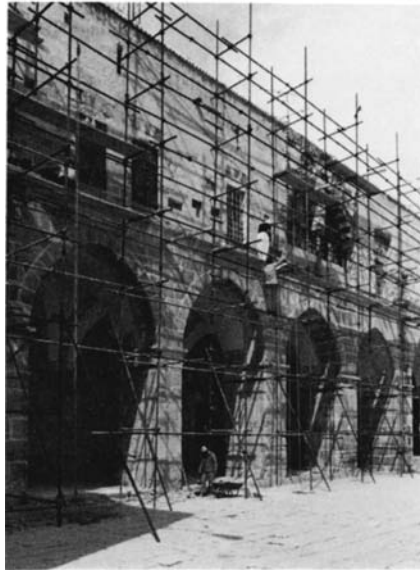


Plate 57.1 Ḥaram façade under repair in 1977

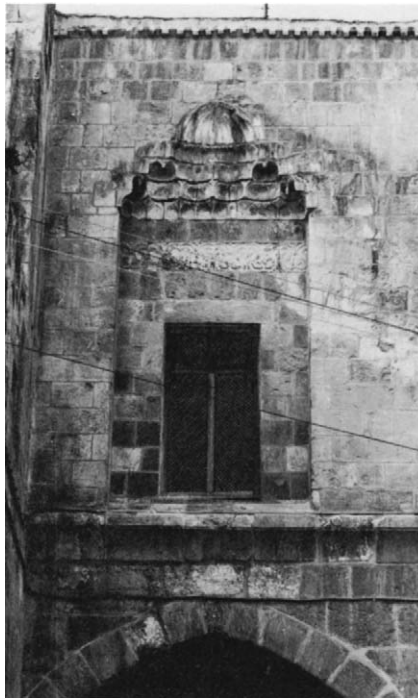


Plate 57.2 Window at south end of Ḥaram façade

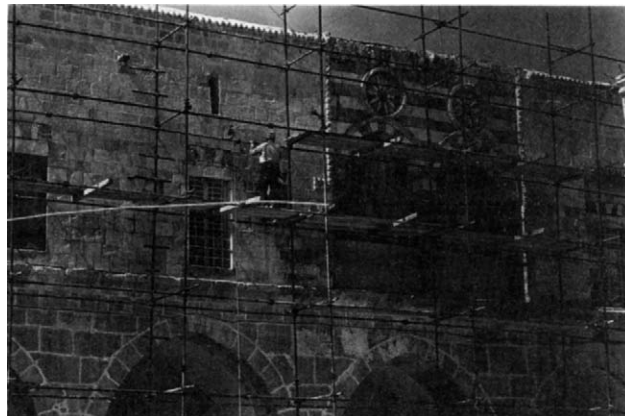


Plate 57.3 Ḥaram façade, including loggia window

A pointed dome supported on an eight-sided drum with gadroon-arched windows in each side rises above the paired rectangular windows and is clearly visible from the Dome of the Rock terrace. A similar but somewhat larger dome originally rose above the double-arched window: it was demolished some time between 1893 and 1914.<sup>26</sup>

*STREET FAÇADE (plates 57.4 and 57.5)*

The north, street frontage of the 'Uthmāniyya has two distinct components: (1) a decorated façade to the left (east) containing two superimposed windows of the tomb chamber and a flight of steps rising to a terrace before a grand entrance portal (*plate 57.4*); and (2) the plain façade of the western annex to the right (*plate 57.5*). The latter projects 1.96m beyond the frontage of the portal, continuing the outer line of the terrace.

The annex extends westward from beside the entrance portal as far as the present entrance to the eastern wing of the Ablutions Place, which now serves as a ladies' lavatory. It is three storeys high. A distinct change of masonry at top floor level shows that the top storey is a later construction, perhaps part of the repairs proposed in 1066/1656 (see above, p. 546). Of the two lower floors, the upper is at the same level as the ground floor of the madrasa, while the lower forms a basement underneath. A flight of eight steps in the street – one more than in al-'Umari's time, due no doubt to later resurfacing of the street – leads down to the basement level. At this lower level the annex has two doors opening from the street into two vaulted rooms that must once have been the shops referred to in the document cited above. The left-hand (eastern) door has obviously been rebuilt in recent years; originally it was probably pointed-arched like the right-hand one. Both doors have small windows above them. A window at the west end of the basement façade lights the western room. Above the basement four rectangular windows light three rooms at ground floor level, described below.

As mentioned above, the decorated façade of the tomb chamber and the entrance portal (*plate 57.4*)<sup>27</sup> is separated from the street by a little terrace reached by a flight of seven steps ascending from the street beside Bāb al-Maṭhara (see plan, *fig. 57.3*). The principal features of this façade are framed by a quirked ogee moulding which extends across the base, up round stone benches flanking the entrance, back across the façade one course above the base before rising beside the Ḥaram wall (which is the eastern extremity of the façade), returning right to pass above the lower window of the tomb chamber and then stepping up over the entrance portal and down next to the annex (which is the western extremity of this part of the façade). Within this stepped frame moulding the stonework is red and cream-coloured *ablaq*.

The grilled lower window of the tomb chamber opens in a shallow recess with a sloping sill and four tiers of *muqarnas* corbelling at the head. A joggled string course runs across the façade above the level of the window lintel. Above the lintel the string course incorporates a decorative relieving lintel with an undercut soffit. A specially elaborate piece of joggling is inlaid in the face of that relieving lintel. A pointed-arched window vertically above the grilled window also lights the tomb chamber. It opens in the plain masonry of the upper left-hand corner of the façade, which is not enclosed by the frame moulding. The dome of the tomb chamber rises above this masonry, but not high enough to be visible from the confines of the narrow street.

The tall, pointed-arched portal recess contains the entrance door and a high-level window. The lintel over the door is slightly recessed behind the surrounding masonry. A course of distinctively-shaped voussoirs above it has a queer arcuated soffit as if to represent a relieving arch. Above that course runs the joggled string course, here composed of specially elaborate voussoirs like the one over the tomb chamber window. Two courses above that is the inscription, carved on a sunken panel with bow-shaped ansae at either end. The window in the upper part of the recess has a *muqarnas*

head and fluted conch which, though damaged by the later insertion of a timber window frame, bears a strong resemblance to two of the windows in the Ḥaram façade.

*WEST FRONTAGE (plate 57.6)*

The west frontage is composed of a hotchpotch of walls, most of which appear to belong to later rebuildings.

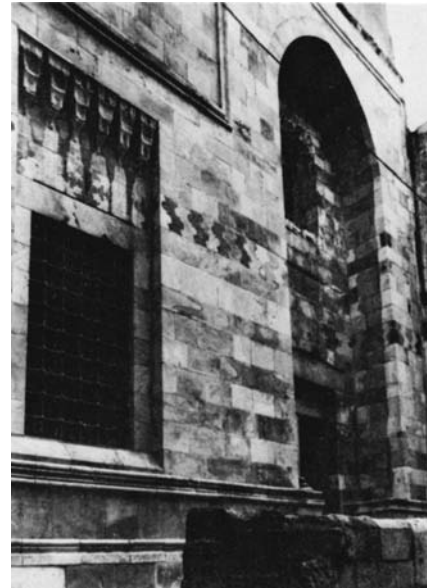


Plate 57.4 Street façade

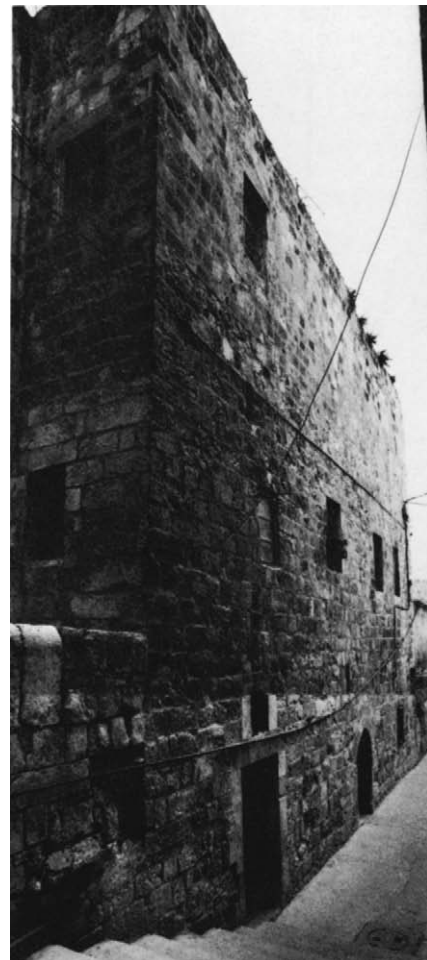


Plate 57.5 Street frontage of the western annex





Plate 57.6 West frontage

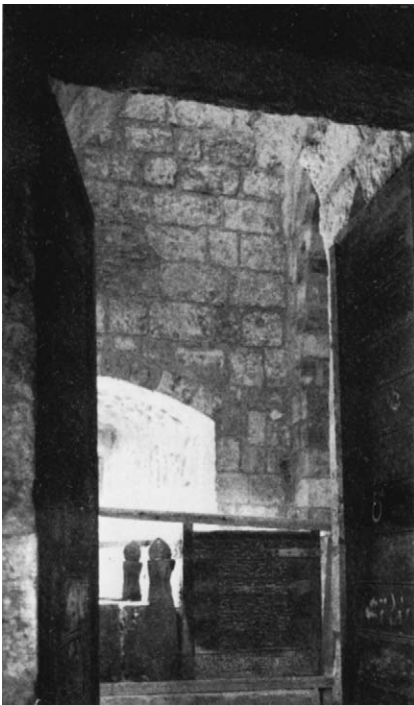


Plate 57.7 Entrance to the tomb chamber



Plate 57.8 Tomb chamber dome

*GROUND FLOOR* (plan, *fig. 57.3*)

The entrance door opens into a square vestibule roofed by a folded cross vault, which has a little octagonal recess decorated with *muqarnas* at the crown.

A double door on the left (*plate 57.7*) opens into the lofty tomb chamber (10.92m high), which has windows in three sides: two on the street; one on the Ḥaram; and one (now blocked) in a pointed-arched recess which opened south on the courtyard of the madrasa. The window in the east side, overlooking the Ḥaram, may have belonged originally to one of the cells mentioned by al-'Umarī (see above) which predated the present construction, for its embrasure is splayed asymmetrically as if an earlier opening in the Ḥaram wall had been adjusted so as to open in the middle of the east side of the tomb chamber.

At a higher level, directly under the dome's zone of transition, a splay-face moulding in the west wall of the chamber reduces the plan to a perfect square (see *plate 57.8* and *fig. 57.7*). The transition from this square base to the circular dome is effected by squinches in the four corners. Between the squinches are four arched windows, blind ones in the east and west sides, one now blocked in the south side, and one in the north side which remains open.

On the floor of the chamber are two cenotaphs, one of pinkish stone and the other of wood (*plate 57.9*). These stand on a low stone plinth. Four stone posts decorate the corners of the stone cenotaph. Each of the posts has eight concave sides with lanceolate excisions in the corners and bulbous domical caps carved with the usual 'drooping petal' pattern. The adjacent wooden cenotaph stands against the south side of the stone one. Since it partly oversails the stone plinth, it would appear that it was placed there some time after the erection of the stone cenotaph (which presumably marks the grave of the founder, Iṣfahān Shāh). It is the only one in Jerusalem made of wood. Its west end (see *plate 57.7*) is inscribed with the epitaph of a lady, Khawand-gān, who died on 23 Shawwāl 804/26 May 1402, about thirty-five years before the construction of the 'Uthmāniyya. Koranic inscriptions are carved in the top and bottom of the four sides, and ornamental roundels are carved in the middle of the south, east and north sides (see *plate 57.9*).

A door in the west wall of the vestibule, opposite the entrance to the tomb chamber, opens into a corridor which runs south past a staircase to the upper floor (see below) to emerge at the north-west corner of the courtyard. At the north end of the corridor there is a short westward extension giving access to the western annex. A door in the north side of this extension opens into a cross-vaulted room (marked 'A' on the plan, *fig. 57.3*) which has a window in its east wall overlooking the terrace in front of the main entrance and a later window in its north wall. A doorway in the west side of the corridor opens into a passage leading west to the roof of the eastern part of the Ablutions Place. From this passage room 'B' of the western annex is entered, and room 'C' is reached through room 'B'. A door in the south wall of the passage opens into a small, irregular room (D) with a door opening south to the roof of the Ablutions Place (see *plate 57.6*).

The courtyard of the madrasa is now cluttered with an assortment of piers and abutments which support cross vaults carrying later structures. Originally the courtyard was completely open to the sky. Its east wall is the Ḥaram wall, at the base of which the top of an arch protrudes above the level of the pavement (*plate 57.10*); its purpose is not known though it may be connected with a gate passage, now a cistern, located by Warren under the courtyard.<sup>28</sup> A well-recess at the east end of the south wall of the courtyard (*plate 57.10*) allowed water to be drawn from the cistern. The lower part of the recess is now blocked up. The arch spanning the recess is distinctively decorated with *muqarnas* elements carved on the voussoirs in a manner reminiscent of the entrance to the Bāsiṭiyya (no. 53). A billet moulding adorns the extrados of the arch.

In the middle of the south wall a pointed-arched opening into the 'lower mosque' is blocked up (*plate 57.11*). A modern

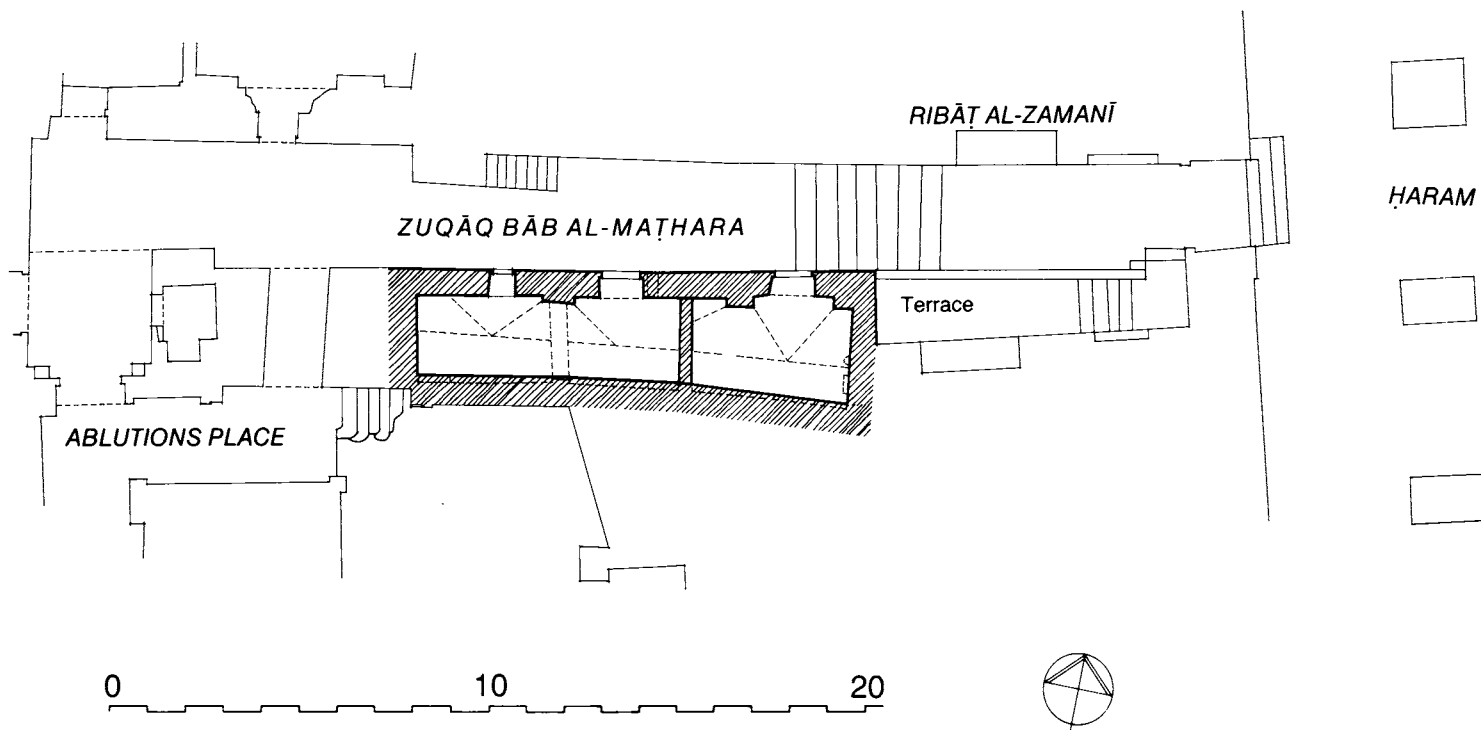


Fig. 57.4 Western annex: Lower floor plan

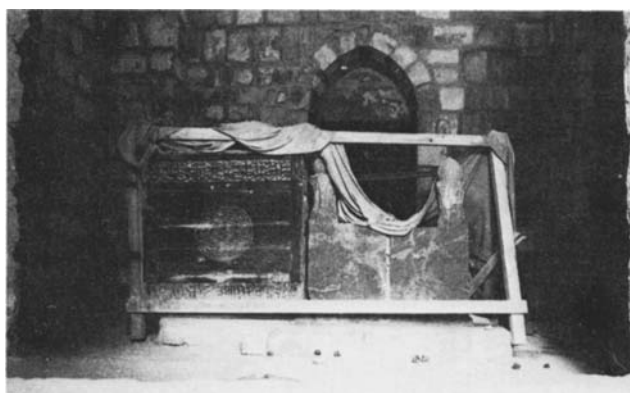


Plate 57.9 Cenotaphs viewed from the east



Plate 57.10 Well-recess in south wall of courtyard

staircase now rises across that blocked opening. The mosque itself is inaccessible as a result, but a black and white *ablaq mihrāb* in its south wall was seen from the adjoining Baladiyya Madrasa (above, p. 451).

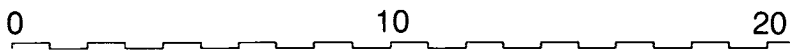
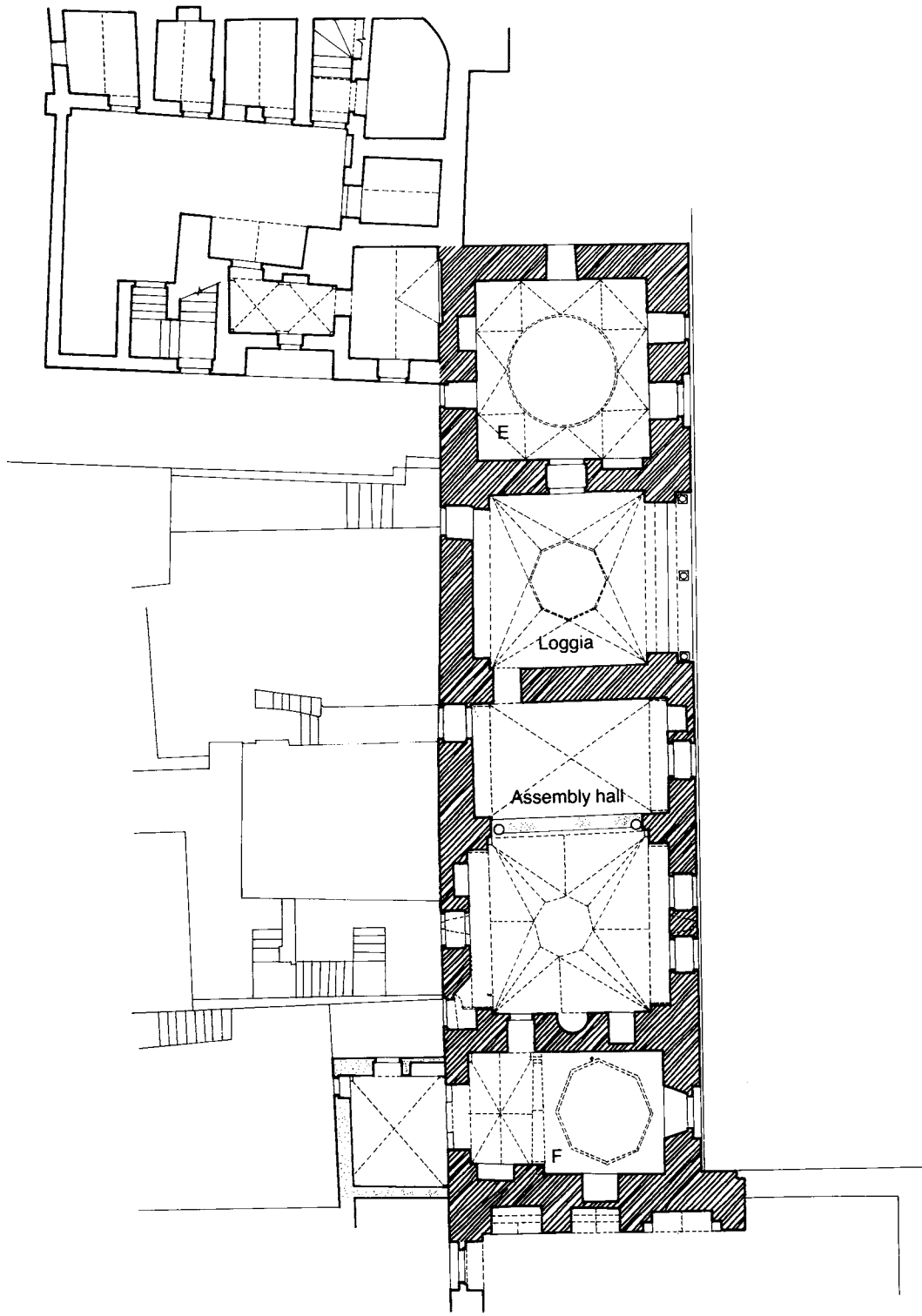
Directly opposite the blocked archway in the south wall, two vertical breaks in the masonry of the north wall of the courtyard indicate that there was once an opening there. Traces of a *muqarnas* springer at the western break (plate 57.12) show that the opening must have been arched. It was presumably an arched recess like a shallow *iwān* echoing the archway in the south wall (as indicated by dotted lines on the plan, fig. 57.3). Fig. 57.10 is a sketch of how the north side of the courtyard might originally have looked. On the right-hand (east) side of the arched recess a rectangular recess contains the blocked window of the tomb chamber, which is partly concealed by a later vault over this end of the courtyard.

The west wall of the courtyard is too much rebuilt and encumbered with later structures for any clear impression of its original form to emerge. It was here, presumably, that several of the items listed in the 1066/1656 document, such as the kitchen and cooking ranges, were situated. It is impossible to tell whether or not these formed part of the original foundation.

UPPER FLOOR (fig. 57.5)

The original staircase to the upper floor must be the one entered from the corridor between the entrance vestibule and the courtyard. A locked door at the bottom of the stairs prevented us from surveying this area. All we can say is that after rising towards the west the stairs must have turned east and emerged in a corridor passing eastward above the southern side of the tomb chamber. On the way, the stairs will have given access to upper rooms and roofs on the west and south sides of the courtyard and to the mezzanine room above the entrance vestibule, which was lit by the high window visible in the entrance portal.<sup>29</sup>

The corridor led to a door opening into the north-west



**Fig. 57.5 Upper floor plan**

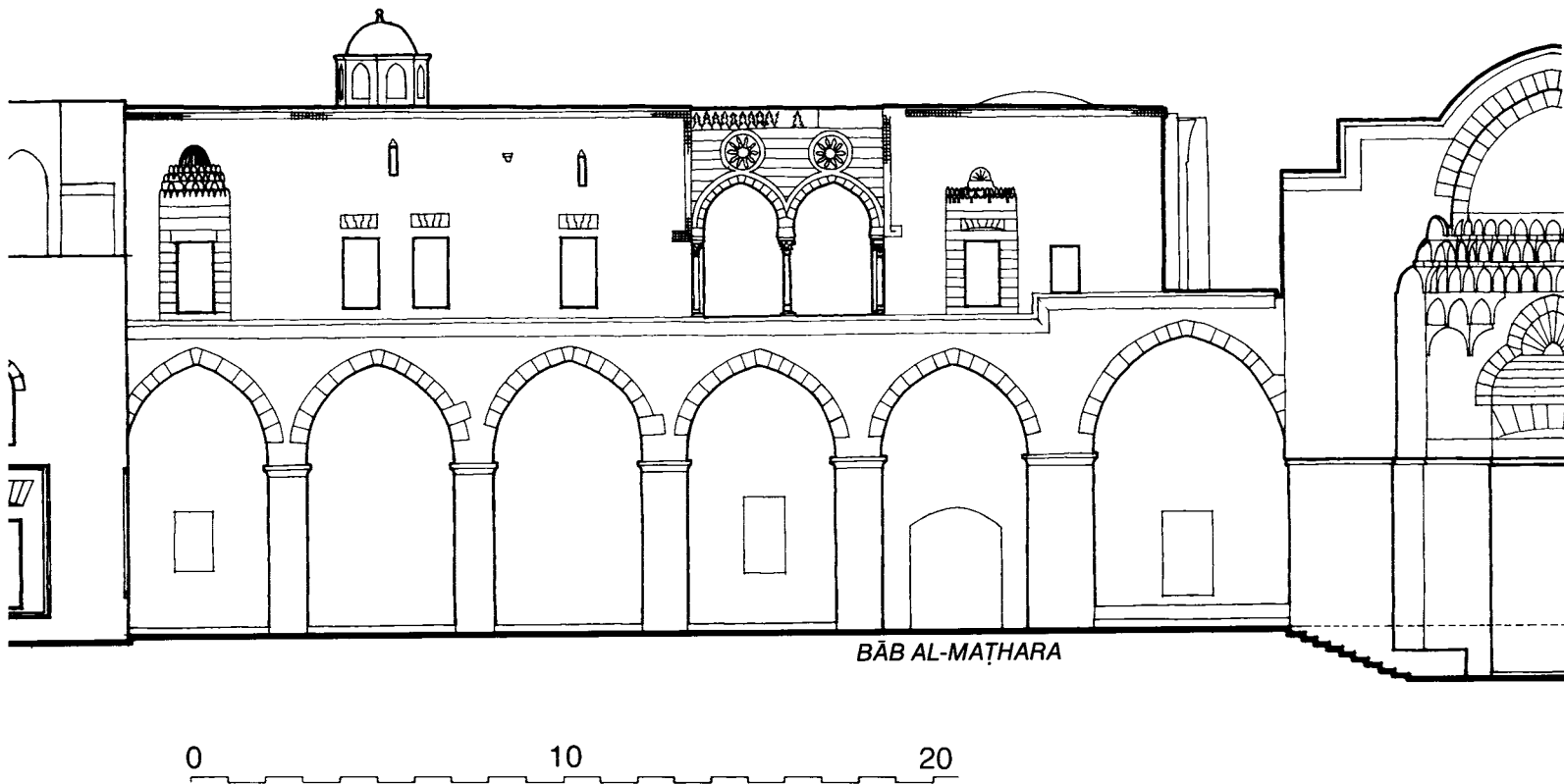


Fig. 57.6 Haram façade

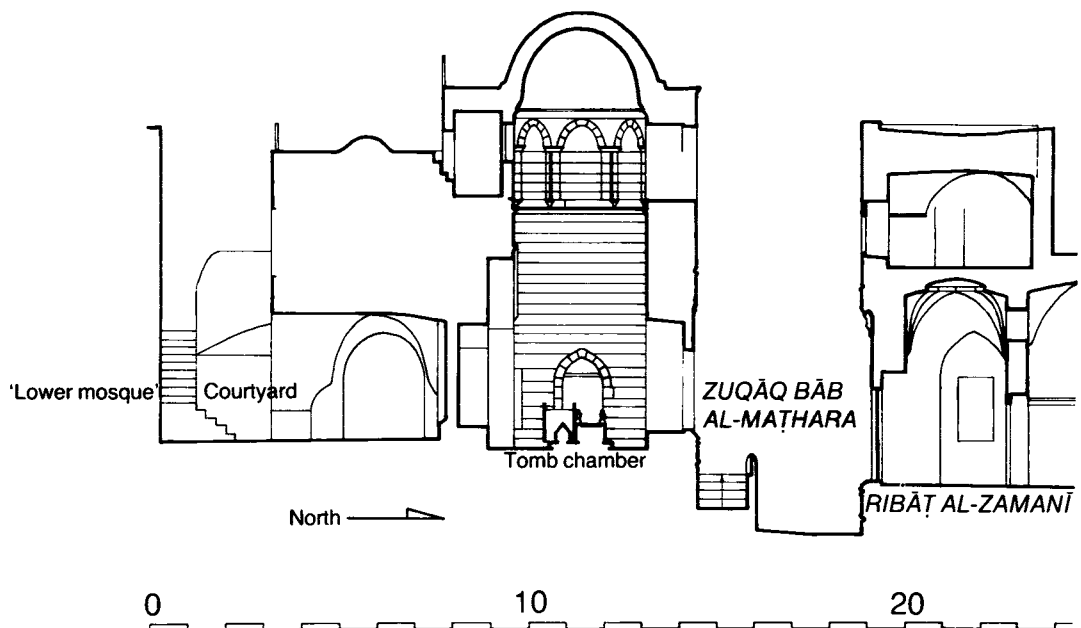


Fig. 57.7 South–north section through courtyard and tomb chamber looking west

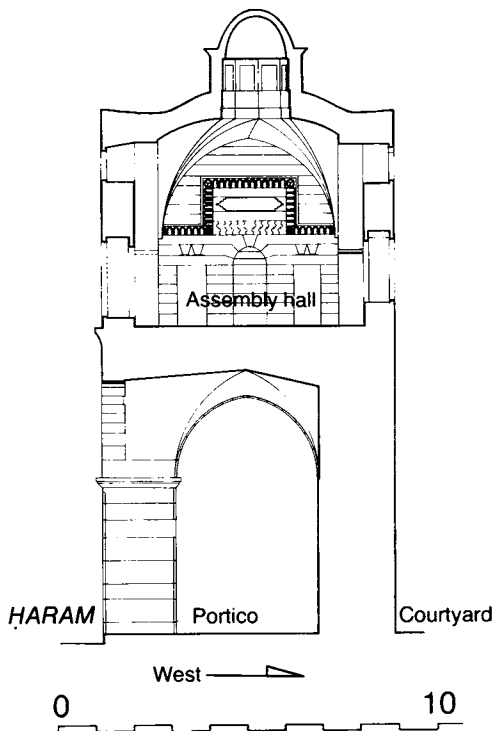


Fig. 57.8 East-west section through assembly hall

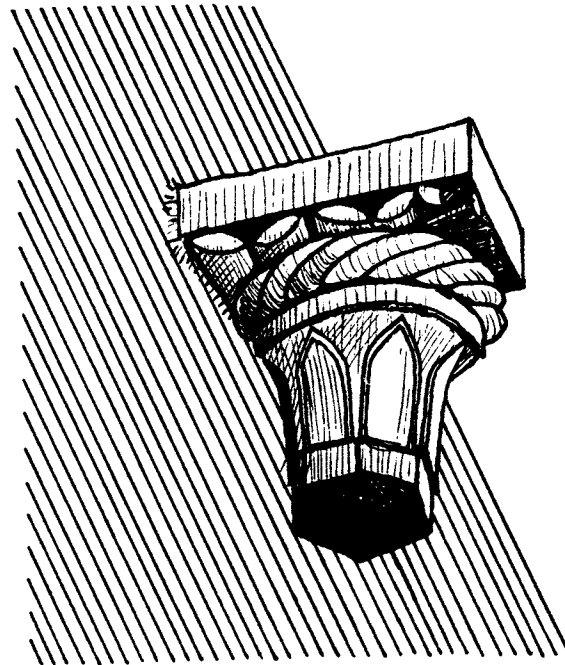


Fig. 57.9 Capital projecting from Haram façade

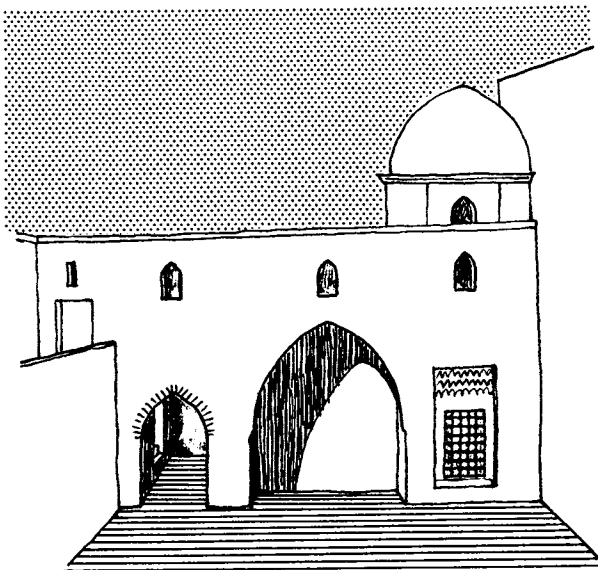


Fig. 57.10 Sketch reconstruction of north side of courtyard

corner of the assembly hall. The assembly hall is effectively divided by a modern partition wall into two parts, northern and southern. The northern part and the 'loggia' and another room to the north of it were all inaccessible to us, and our description of them is based on an unpublished survey made in 1979 by the Department of Islamic Archaeology, which that department kindly made available to us. We were able to reach the southern part by way of an archway in the west wall of room 'F'.

All rooms at this level appear to have been reached only by way of the assembly hall. A door in its north wall, beside the entrance from the staircase, opens into a square room roofed by a folded cross vault. Originally there was a dome resting on an eight-sided drum at the apex of the vault (see above, p. 548). This room we call a loggia for it enjoys a wonderful view of the Haram through the splendid double-arched window in its east

wall. A small window at the north end of its west wall overlooks the street. In the middle of its north wall is a door into room 'E', the distinctive vaulting of which appears to have been rebuilt, possibly in the Ottoman period. This room has two windows in its east wall overlooking the Haram, one in its west wall overlooking the street, and one in its north wall onto the roof of the Haram portico. If the original foundation extended northwards, as it may have done (see above, p. 547), then there would have been a door in this north wall.

The northern part of the assembly hall is roofed by a cross vault and lit by a high-level slit window above the entrance door in its west wall. The assembly hall was divided into two bays by a wide arch resting on two re-used marble columns with Crusader bases and thick-leaf capitals. The archway is now blocked. Beyond it lies the southern part of the assembly hall, roofed by a folded cross vault rising to a dome on an eight-sided drum with windows in each side (see above). It is lit also by two rectangular windows surmounted by a central slit in the east wall, overlooking the Haram, and by a rectangular window surmounted by a slit in the middle of its west wall. At the south end of the west wall a new door has been opened in the corner of the hall. The south, *qibla* wall contains a simple *mibrāb* beside which is a cupboard on the left and a door on the right (plate 57.13). These openings have curious double pseudo-relieving arches that contrive to give the impression of concentrating load on the lintels at mid-span (see fig. 57.8). One course above these pseudo-relieving arches a frieze of *muqarnas* niches extends across the wall, rising as a rectangular frame above the *mibrāb*. The wall is built of red and cream-coloured *ablaq*, now painted with whitewash. Between the vertical sides of the *muqarnas* frieze a course of joggling extends above the keystone of the *mibrāb* arch and, above that, a sunken panel with decoratively cusped ends is inscribed with the first words of Koran ix, 18: 'Only he shall inhabit God's places of worship who believes in God and the Last Day'.

The door to the right of the *mibrāb* leads into room 'F', which is roofed by a cross vault at the west end and by an octagonal domical vault at the east end; a transverse arch spans the room between the two vaults. A window in the east wall overlooks the Haram, while one in a recess in the south wall is presumably a later insertion since it opens onto the north *iwān*

of the adjoining Ashrafiyya Madrasa. An archway in the west wall (now partly blocked) opens into a modern room to the west. This archway may once have opened into some earlier structure on the roof of the lower mosque from where water drawn from the cistern (see above) could have been distributed.



Plate 57.11 Blocked archway in the south wall of the courtyard



Plate 57.12 *Muqarnaş* springer in north wall of courtyard



Plate 57.13 South wall of the assembly hall

## Notes

- 1 Al-'Umari, *Masālik*, 162-63.
- 2 Mujir, ii, 36.
- 3 *CIA (Ville)* no. 97.
- 4 See A.D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty*, O.U.P., 1956, 22, 27, 30 and Table XXV, and G. Oransay, *Osmanlı Devletinde Kim Kimdir?*, Ankara, 1969, 52 and 206. The name Işfahān Shāh is unrecorded for the female members of the Ottoman family.
- 5 Defter 602, 427 (3).
- 6 Chiefly, in transferring the *alif* from its connection with *waqf* to place it before the *li-ntiqāl*. The blessing formula is normally used of persons still living. Finally, the phrase *waḥāqa 'alaybā al-intiqāl*, in the sense given it by van Berchem ('le trépas l'atteignit'), seems extremely awkward (see *CIA (Ville)*, 323, note 3).
- 7 *CIA (Ville)*, 324.
- 8 *loc. cit.*
- 9 Asali accepts the death date 840/1436-37 and the *waqfiyya* date 844/1440-41 without comment (*Ma'ābid*, 177). It is, of course, possible that her executor made the waqf on her behalf after her death.
- 10 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 98.
- 11 *Ma'ābid*, 179-181.
- 12 Mujir, ii, 228-9.
- 13 Quoted from Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 139.
- 14 Sijill 1, no. 1177.
- 15 *Ma'ābid*, 181.

- 16 *loc. cit.*
- 17 Sijill, 2, no. 559.
- 18 Sijill, 2, no. 553.
- 19 Sijill, 2, no. 579.
- 20 Sijill, 100, 425-7, and 101, 427.
- 21 Sijill, 151, 342.
- 22 *Ma'ābid*, 181.
- 23 Mujir, 375.
- 24 This façade was refurbished in 1977.
- 25 *CIA (Planches)*, lxxxvii.
- 26 Compare *CIA (Planches)*, lxxxvii and lxxxviii.
- 27 This façade, except for the rear wall of the portal recess, was rebuilt some time in the 1920s. A report dated 29 January 1921 describes it as a 'dangerous ruin' that was shored up with metal piping. (File 78, 'Jerusalem' in the archives of the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum). The façade was repointed in 1980.
- 28 Warren Report No. XLI 'Bab el-Mathara', *PEFQS*, ii, 1869, 107.
- 29 The document cited on p. 546 above makes it clear that by 1066/1656 there were buildings at this level on both the west and south sides of the courtyard. Whether or not they belonged to the original construction is not known, but there must originally have been something on the roof at the south end of the courtyard for the well recess described above has a chimney-like shaft above it that was intended to permit water to be drawn from the cistern to that upper level.



# 58 AL-JAWHARIYYA

## الجوهريّة

844/1440

Madrasa and ribāt and/or khānqāh of Jawhar al-Qunuqbāyī

Modern names: (i) Dār al-Khaṭīb

(ii) Dā'irat al-āthār al-islāmiyya/Department of Islamic Archaeology

### I LOCATION (fig. 58.1)

On the north side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd to the west of and partly over the Ribāt of Kurt al-Manṣūrī (no. 7) with further buildings (no longer extant) above the west portico of the Haram.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (figs. 58.2–58.4)

The site is bounded to the south by the street, Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd; to the east by the Ribāt of Kurt; to the north by some indeterminate structures; and to the west by a building complex of uncertain date (see below).

A recessed entrance portal leads from the street into a vestibule with a domed main hall to the east, overlooking the street, and various chambers to the west. From the vestibule a vault leads north to a long open courtyard flanked by two tiers of cells on either side. A large *iwān* opens at the north end of the courtyard. In the south-east corner of the courtyard an elaborately vaulted porch leads south to the main hall. In the south-west corner of the courtyard a vaulted staircase leads past a mezzanine room to the upper floor.

On the upper floor two galleries give access to the upper tiers of cells on either side of the courtyard. At the south end of the courtyard there is an open terrace separated from the street by the dome of the main hall, the mezzanine and another room. At the east end of the terrace a second staircase leads up to where a loggia and assembly hall (with a *mihrab*) formerly stood on the roof of the Haram portico. Alongside that staircase a short passage runs east to an inner court enclosed by a 'middle *iwān*' and various other chambers on the roof of the antechamber and main hall and of the Ribāt of Kurt. One of these chambers, above the south-west corner of the courtyard of the ribāt, may originally have contained a staircase down to a group of largely ruined buildings at the south end of that courtyard. These buildings may have formed part of the Jawhariyya. We know that the builders of the Jawhariyya had access to the ribāt for they erected a buttress in the middle of its main hall to support the south wall of the inner court on the floor above.

The street façade of the Jawhariyya follows roughly the alignment of the adjoining façade of the Ribāt of Kurt. The main axis of the Jawhariyya courtyard is, however, more or less parallel with the Haram wall, and the discrepancy in the alignments has had to be compensated for in the plan, notably by making the north wall of the main hall taper from west to east (see plan).

The plain façade of the building to the west of the Jawhariyya affords no useful clues as to its date. It is conceivably to be associated with an institution called the 'Ribāt of the

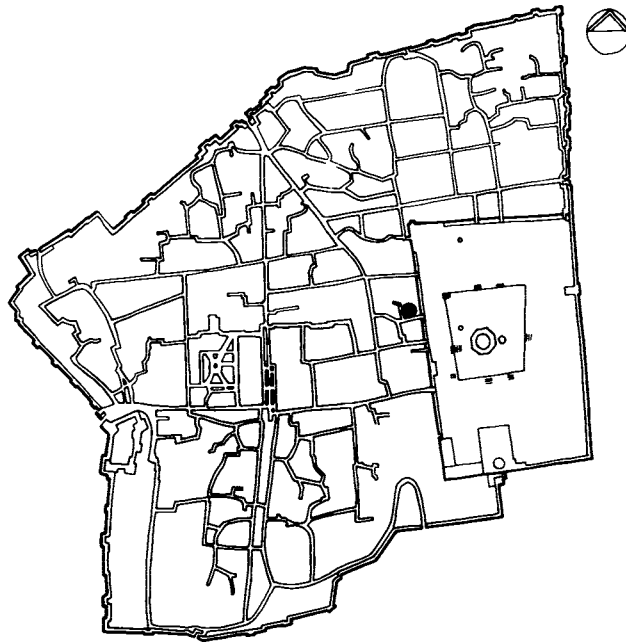


Fig. 58.1 Location plan

Sultan' which, according to an Ottoman summary of the Jawhariyya *waqf* (see below), was adjacent to the Jawhariyya.

In addition to many later accretions, the building has been refurbished twice in recent years. Most of the eastern rooms were braced with an unsightly reinforced concrete wainscoting following subsidence in 1971 when a tunnel was driven along the west wall of the Haram. The street façade and parts of the interior were rebuilt and repaired in 1982-83.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

Mujir al-Dīn is brief and to the point: 'The Jawhariyya Madrasa is in the Bāb al-Ḥadīd street and partly built over the Ribāt of Kurt. It was endowed by al-Ṣafawī Jawhar, the Steward of the Royal Harem, in the year 844 [1440-41].'<sup>1</sup> The building is on the north side of the street and at one time was fully identified by a foundation inscription over the entrance. The original text was edited by van Berchem (see below), but sadly it was destroyed in the interval between his visits to Jerusalem in 1893 and 1914.

#### DATE

A translation of the lost inscription<sup>2</sup> is all that is required:

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. [Koran xxx, 49 as far as *mautibā*, 'its death']. The order to construct this blessed madrasa and the ribāt, from the bounty bestowed by God Almighty, was given by the servant needful of God Almighty, Jawhar al-Qunuqbāyī, the Treasurer and the Steward of the Royal Harem, the servant of al-Malik al-Zāhir, and the Chief Shaykh of the Servitors of the Noble Sanctuary of the Prophet, in his desire for the gracious countenance of God. The construction was completed on the first day of Rajab the Unique in the year eight hundred and forty-four [26 November 1440].

#### FOUNDER

Jawhar<sup>3</sup> was an Abyssinian eunuch, part of a gift from a ruler of Abyssinia to Sultan Barqūq, who presented him to the Amīr Qunuqbāy al-Iljā'ī, the *lālā* (tutor) of the Sultan's son, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. In this amīr's service Jawhar was freed, and he had a number of other masters<sup>4</sup> before he attached himself to the Privy Secretary, 'Alam al-Dīn Dā'ūd b. al-Kuwayz, in whose

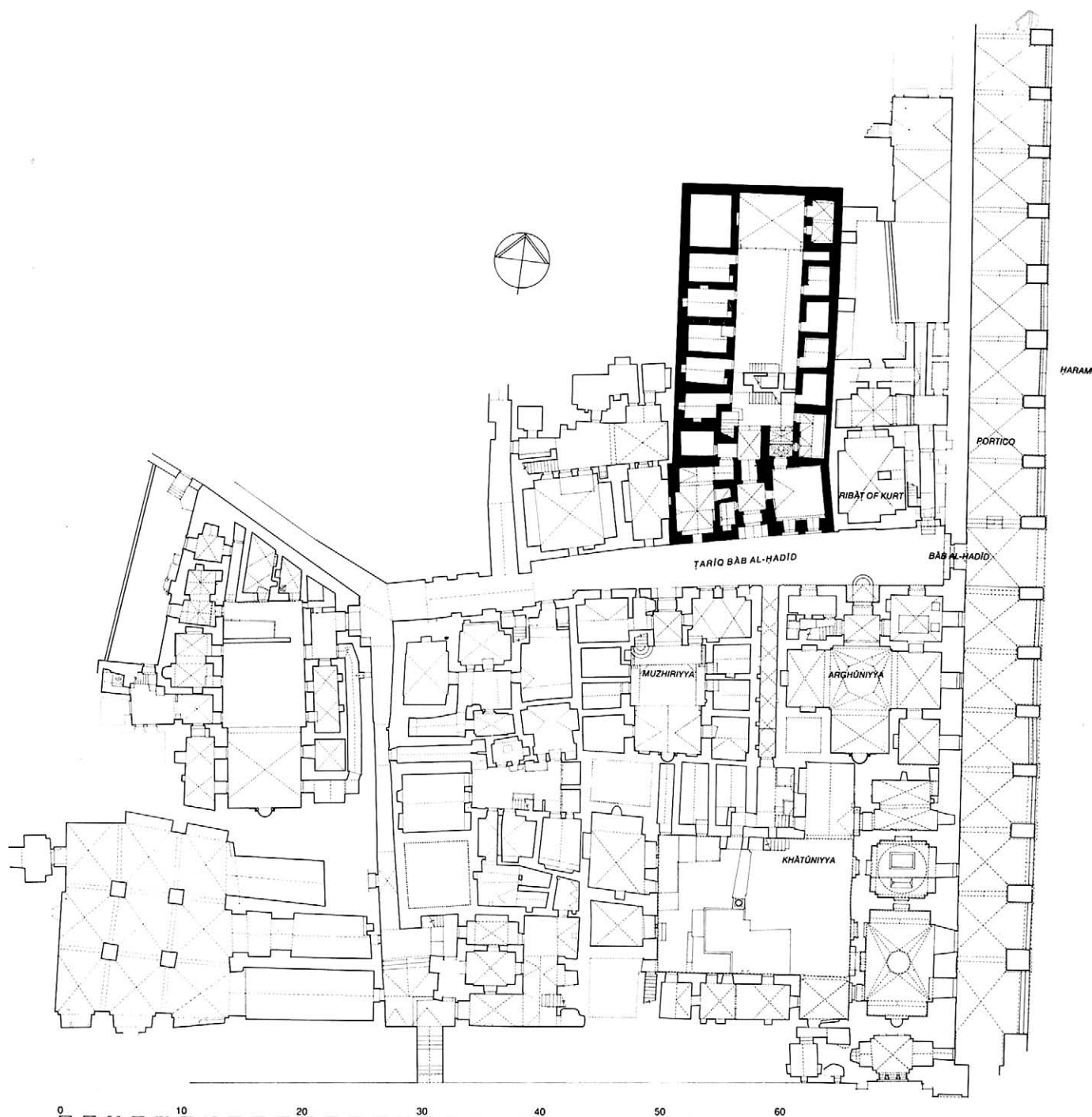


Fig. 58.2 Site plan

service he prospered till 'Alam al-Dīn's death in 826/1423.<sup>5</sup>

After a period of unemployment Jawhar sprang with one bound into high office, to serve as al-Ashraf Barsbāy's Treasurer, in Dhū'l-Hijja 831/September 1428,<sup>6</sup> on the recommendation of a namesake, Jawhar the Tutor.<sup>7</sup> In this post Jawhar al-Qunuqbāyī became very influential and successfully abetted the sultan in his policy of squeezing the merchant class. Judgements upon him are mixed, tending towards the critical. At worst he is accused of far-reaching financial corruption. By the end of his life he had amassed about fifty sources of income, fiefs, rents and pensions.<sup>8</sup>

He continued in this office beyond the death of Barsbāy and into the reign of al-Zāhir Jaqmaq – hence the 'servant of al-Malik al-Zāhir' in the inscription – by whom he was made Steward of the Harem (26 Shawwāl 842/11 April 1439).<sup>9</sup> By Rajab 844/November-December 1440 Jawhar was seriously ill,

and he died on the eve of Monday, 1 Sha'bān of that year/26 December, one month after the completion of his madrasa in Jerusalem. He was about seventy years of age. Jaqmaq seized the extensive properties of Jawhar, perhaps even some of the waqfs,<sup>10</sup> since the historian al-'Aynī writes that 'his madrasa remained devoid of shaykh and students', although the madrasa to which al-'Aynī refers is the one built by Jawhar in Cairo adjacent to the Azhar.<sup>11</sup> This was where Jawhar was buried, although the madrasa was not quite finished at his death.

#### ENDOWMENT

Although Mujīr al-Dīn said that the endowment was made in 844/1440-41, the Defer no. 522,<sup>12</sup> in its entry for what it calls the Khānqāh of Jawhar, gives the date of the *waqfiyya* as 843/1439-40. The properties given in endowment were as follows:

| village <sup>13</sup> | district  | amount    | income (aspers) |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|
| Taqū'                 | Jerusalem | 9 qīrāts  | 4,123           |
| Bayt Zaytūn           | Gaza      | complete  | 2,380           |
| Kūfiya                | Gaza      | 10 qīrāts | 4,029           |
| Tulkarm               | Qāqūn     | 12 qīrāts | 5,390           |

Thus in the second half of the sixteenth century the total income was 15,922 aspers. Defter no. 602,<sup>14</sup> dated 990/1572, gives the income of the properties, in the order above, as 3,996, 2,500, 4,035, 5,570, that is, in total, 16,101 aspers.

An entry in the Jerusalem Court sijills<sup>15</sup> provides a copy of a central *mufassal* register, dated after 1000/1591, and most probably the 1005/1596-97 register.<sup>16</sup> The date of the *waqfiyya* is confirmed but most interestingly a summary of the original waqf instrument is given, the main provisions made by Jawhar for what is again referred to as his khānqāh. The details of the financial arrangements were as follows:

| Position, etc.  | Monthly figure (in dirhams) | Daily bread allowance (in Jerusalem rotls) |
|---|-----------------------------|--|
| Inspector ( <i>nāzīr</i> )                            | 50 <sup>21</sup>            | –  |
| Shaykh of the Šūfis                                   | 150                         | 1  |
| 25 Šūfis (10 dirhams each)                            | 250                         | 12 [0.48 each]                             |
| Prayer reader   | –                           | 1/6 <sup>22</sup>                          |
| <i>Hāfīz/mulaqqīn</i>                                 | 30                          | 1  |
| 10 orphans  |                             |  |
| (7½ dirhams each)                                     | 75                          | 3½ (½ rotl each)                           |
| Teacher ( <i>mu'addib</i> )                           | 30                          | ½  |
| <i>Bawwāb</i>   | 30                          | ½  |
| Servant ( <i>farrāsh</i> )                            | 20                          | ½  |
| Revenue collector                                     | 40                          | ½  |
| ( <i>sbādd 'alā' l-waqf mustakbrij al-gbillāt</i> )   |                             |  |
| 2 clerks (1 <i>sbābid</i> , 1 <i>āmil</i> ) (30 each) | 60                          | 1 (½ rotl each)                            |
| Attendance clerk ( <i>kātib al-gbayba</i> )           | –                           | 1/3 <sup>23</sup>                          |
| Oil for lighting (N.B. 60 dirhams extra in Ramaḍān)   | 60                          | –  |
| Widows in Ribāt of the Sultan                         | –                           | 10   |
| Total   | 795                         | 31½  |

The post of inspector (*nāzīr*) he reserved for himself during his lifetime. His freed men were to succeed him in order of maturity and competence (*al-arshad fa' l-arshad*), and the last one was to appoint the person of his own choice in consultation with the Šāfi'ī Qāḍī of Jerusalem. There was to be a shaykh<sup>17</sup> in charge of 25 Šūfis (*min abl al-kbayr*, pious persons), who were to gather daily to perform the Šūfi office (*wazīfat al-tasawwuf*), recite passages from the Koran and pray. There was also provision for a 'shaykh of the orphans', to act as teacher for ten orphans, who were to attend the khānqāh daily to study the Koran.<sup>18</sup> Another member of the staff was to be a *hāfīz*, i.e. one who knew the Koran by heart, to teach (*mulaqqīn*) in the khānqāh. This was presumably at a higher level than the teaching of the orphans, and perhaps the first holder of the post was Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khalīl b. Abī Bakr al-Qabāqabī al-Šāfi'ī (777-849/1375-1445), who was 'to give instruction in the textual variants of the Koran in the Jawhariyya Madrasa (*sic*)'. He was followed by his son, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, who was still alive when Mujīr al-Dīn was writing.<sup>19</sup>

In addition to the normal complement of administrative

personnel and the special provision for oil for lighting and a general one for the purchase of mats, other furnishings and lamps, as and when needed, a small daily allowance of bread was made for 'the widows in retreat (*al-mujāwirāt*) in the Ribāt of the Sultan adjacent to the Khānqāh'. The occurrence of the term 'ribāt' in the foundation inscription does not explain this provision. There, the term seems to mean 'establishment for Šūfis', which fits well with the details of the *waqfiyya* copy and the description of the building as a khānqāh. The mention of widows suggests a hospice. Jawhar probably did not intend that this part of his endowment be distributed in the nearby royal hospice, the Ribāt al-Manšūrī. There was a hospice for women in the Bāb al-Ḥadīd district. Sijill 30, no. 1302 contains the list of effects of a woman who died there in 962/1555. This may well have been the same as 'the Sultan's Hospice', which was distinct from the Hospice of al-Manšūr (see pp. 129 and 145).

The final thing to note is that any excess income was to be distributed among the founder's freedmen (*'utaqā'*) and their descendants.<sup>20</sup>

The annual bill would thus be 9,540 dirhams, and if we add in the extra for Ramaḍān lighting, 9,600. For 360 days the total of bread distributed would come to 11,220 Jerusalem rotls.

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

The Jawhariyya was likely to be used to house important visitors to Jerusalem judging from two occasions, first when the *wakīl al-sultān*, the trading agent of the sultan, came in Ramaḍān 875/March 1471,<sup>24</sup> and secondly when one of the two qāḍīs, sent from Cairo in 880/1475-76 to look into the dispute over a demolished synagogue, received a delegation of Jews in the Jawhariyya where he was staying.<sup>25</sup>

The highly respected Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn b. Abī Sharīf was commissioned by royal decree towards the end of 900/autumn 1495 to exercise responsibility for the Jawhariyya, as also in the Šalāhiyya Madrasa. Quite clearly, from the context of our source, it was intended that he should carry out reforms.<sup>26</sup> It is possible that by this time the line of waqf overseers from amongst the first generation freedmen of the founder had come to an end. Certainly, by the middle of the tenth/sixteenth century, and still in 988/1580, the post of overseer was in the hands of three generations of the Ibn al-Muhandis family.<sup>27</sup>

At times there were difficulties in obtaining the revenues. In Ramaḍān 962/November 1554 Sa'd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Muhandis complained to the court that for the three previous years he had received no payments of revenue from the people of Taqū'.<sup>28</sup> He and other members of the family appear to have operated the Jawhariyya on surprising deficits. A comprehensive account of expenditure for the years 975-81/1567-73,<sup>29</sup> shows that 7,156 paras were spent on the stipends of officials (including 4,700 for the overseer). Twenty-three Koran readers (*qurrā'*)<sup>30</sup> – these are the twenty-five Šūfis of the *waqfiyya* metamorphosed<sup>31</sup> – received in all 2,201 paras. General expenses amounted to the large sum of 17,688 paras,<sup>32</sup> and there was a sum of 120 paras owed by the *nāzīr* of Ribāt Kurt for ground rent. The total expenditure was 27,165 paras, an excess of 9,800 over income. A continuation of the account makes plain the extent of the indebtedness of the waqf. In the period 954-81/1547-74 the Ibn al-Muhandis overseers had provided from their own resources (including the 9,800 mentioned above) 35,258½ paras. The repayments from the waqf in that period totalled only 12,080, which meant that the debt to the family was 23,178½ paras, or a little over eight times the average income for the six previous years.<sup>33</sup> Nearly half of the debt was accounted for by 10,000 paras provided by the overseer in 954/1547 to repair the damage caused to the Khānqāh (*sic*) by the major earthquake of 952-3/1546.

These are some arrangements made for lands of the waqfs. The first is an *ijāra*, and the others *muqāta'a* contracts.

| Tax year                            | Property                            | Period | Rent            | Lessee(s)   |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------|-----------------|---|
| 967/1559-60<br>(Sijill 40, 272 (1)) | all the waqf lands                  | 1 year | 200 gold pieces | Qādī Mu'in al-Dīn<br>b. Muḥammad al-Dayrī   |
| 984/1576-77<br>(Sijill 58, 121 (7)) | ½ Bayt Zaytūn<br>the Kūfiya lands   | 1 year | 90 gold pieces  | al-Hājj Ḥasan b. 'Alī<br>from Bayt Zaytūn   |
| 984/1576-77<br>(Sijill 58, 187 (3)) | the Tulkarm lands                   | 1 year | 130 gold pieces | Muḥammad Beg, sipāhī<br>of Jerusalem <i>luwā'</i>                                   |
| 985/1577-78<br>(Sijill 58, 440 (6)) | ½ Bayt Zaytūn<br>½ the Kūfiya lands | 1 year | 50 gold pieces  | Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir<br>b. Abī 'l-Wafā al-Ḥusaynī                              |
| 986/1578-79<br>(Sijill 59, 51 (1))  | the Kūfiya lands                    | 1 year | 110 gold pieces | i. Muḥammad Çelebī b. Walī<br>(clerk of the Haram waqfs)<br>ii. Karīm al-Dīn Khalīl |

In 1093/1681 the *mutawallī* was again reporting<sup>34</sup> that the 'madrasa' was in a ruined state. The cost of the needful repairs were estimated at 361 piastres and 5 paras. A 'screen' (*sitāra*) was proposed for the 'lower *iwān*', which is described as 'the place for the reading of the Tradition of the Prophet', to prevent unauthorised access. Other features of the building mentioned are the mosque (*jāmi'*), the loggia (*qamārī*), with a view of the Ḥaram, a central (*wastānī*) *iwān*, kitchen, a small room overlooking the Ribāt Kurt, and the passage connecting with the upper parts and the madrasa's *jāmi'* via a stone staircase.

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### STREET FAÇADE (fig. 58.7)

The street façade is on two levels: the main façade to the left (west) of the Ribāt of Kurt; and an upper storey façade above the Ribāt (plate 58.1). The continuity of masonry where the two parts of the façade overlap shows that they belong to the same construction. The structure above the upper storey is a later, Ottoman addition.

The upper storey façade contains three windows. The easternmost is plain. The other two are decorated both differently and in an unusual manner. The right-hand one (plate 58.2) is set in a shallow recess with a sloping sill and three tiers of *muqarnaş* corbelling at the head. It retains its original iron grille. The lower part of the stone above the lintel is incised to a depth of about 0.02m with a curious fretwork design. Above that, a circle of reddish stones surrounds a roundel made up of six skew-faceted voussoirs (one of which is now missing) carved with a chevron moulding.<sup>35</sup> The left-hand window (plate 58.3) has a sort of hoodmould that runs vertically up on either side and continues horizontally over the lintel. This moulding is embellished with an incised diaperwork pattern of intersecting triangles: a feature observed earlier on mouldings at the Ghādiriyya (no. 54) and the 'Uthmāniyya (no. 57). Above the middle of the horizontal run of the hoodmould a circular boss links it with a similarly embellished moulding encircling a chevron roundel identical to the one over the right-hand window.

The main ground-floor façade was restored in 1982-83. Our description deals with the façade as it was before the restoration, when it retained more of the original masonry.

The centrepiece of this façade is a recessed entrance portal (plate 58.4). To the left of the portal is a high-level pointed-arched window surmounted by a small rectangular window, which appears to be a later insertion. To the right of the portal is a group of three windows, of which the lower two were originally a matching pair. The third window, placed above the lower pair, is obviously a later intrusion. The left-hand lower window retains its original configuration of red and cream-coloured *ablaq* jambs and lintel set in a shallow recess spanned by three tiers of rectilinear *muqarnaş* corbelling. The adjacent

window must have been identical, but its corbelling was plundered to decorate the improvised window above and replaced by a crude arch.

The horseshoe-arched recess of the entrance portal is constructed of red and cream-coloured *ablaq* masonry enclosed by a quirked ogee frame moulding. Stone benches, framed by an extension of the same moulding, flank the doorway. The red monolithic lintel is slightly recessed within a quadrant chamfer border. One course above the lintel is the effaced inscription panel, also slightly recessed, which is decorated with trilobed ends. Above that panel a small double-arched window, supported in the centre by a marble shaft, pierces the tympanum of the portal arch.

A billet moulding forms a cornice over this façade. (A similar moulding that may once have crowned the upper storey façade now graces the Ottoman structure above it.) A rubble wall and half-arch above the lower façade are modern.

During restoration work done in 1982 the inscription panel, composed of four separate marble slabs, was dismantled. It was then discovered that the back of one of the slabs bore an earlier inscription containing a royal cartouche in the name of Sultan Faraj ibn Barqūq. It commemorates the renewal (*jaddada/juddida*) of an otherwise unknown water trough (*hawā*) some time in the first decade of the ninth/fifteenth century (the date is not quite clear).



Plate 58.1 Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd, from above the gate

**GROUND FLOOR** (plan, *fig. 58.3*)

The double entrance doors open into a cross-vaulted vestibule, from which further doors open in the west, east and north sides. The west one leads into a small, unlit barrel-vaulted chamber (A) with a stone bench against its east wall, perhaps intended for the *bawwāb*. The door in the east side opens in a shallow recess with a cavetto moulding across the top: a special emphasis because it serves the main hall of the madrasa. To the north a doorway leads from the vestibule through a short passage into an *iwān*-like vault (R) which opens for its full width on the courtyard (*plate 58.5*). In the west wall of this vault a segmental-arched doorway gives access by way of a small lobby to a windowless cell (C) to the west, and a large vaulted hall (B) to the south, which is lit by high-level windows in its south and west walls.

Beside vault 'R' a staircase in the south-west corner of the courtyard leads to the upper floors (see below). On the other side of the vault 'R' a similar *iwān*-like vault (Q) formed a porch (now blocked) in front of the principal entrance to the main hall. A door in its east wall leads into a cell (P), now filled with rubble. Some indication of the particular importance of the main hall is given by the elaborate vaulting of this porch (see plan, *fig. 58.3*, and *plate 58.6*), and by the decoration of the door into the hall, which is framed by a quirked ogee moulding and has a lintel with a convex top surface (reminiscent of that of the entrance to the 'Uthmāniyya) surmounted by a relieving arch of simply joggled *ablaq* voussoirs (see *plate 58.6*).

The main hall has undergone various transformations, including the insertion of an extra window in the south wall (see above), the addition of a reinforced concrete wainscoting and, most notably, the introduction of a later vault separating the hall from its original dome (see section, *fig. 58.8*).

The open courtyard of the madrasa is unusually long, though this is no longer apparent since a modern double staircase now divides it. Pointed-arched doors (some of which have been given flat lintels in recent times) in the east and west sides of the courtyard open into ten barrel-vaulted cells, five on each side (D–H and L–P). (Two of the cells on the east side are now inaccessible.) The northernmost door on the east side is blocked; a former tenant of the building described it as a passage (K) leading to the adjoining building (i.e. the courtyard of the Ribāṭ of Kurt).

At the north end of the courtyard is a cross-vaulted *iwān*, now partitioned off (see *plate 58.7*). A door and window in the east wall of the *iwān* open to a small room (J), roofed by twin

cross vaults. A room (I) to the west of the *iwān* is now quite inaccessible – the former tenant told us that it contains a well-head.

**UPPER FLOOR** (plan, *fig. 58.4*)

The staircase at the south-west corner of the courtyard (*plate 58.8*) rises under a corbelled barrel vault up to a landing lit from the north by a high-level window (*plate 58.9*). A short passage leads south from this landing to the door into a vaulted mezzanine room (A<sup>2</sup>), which is lit by the double-arched window (*plate 58.10*) in the tympanum of the entrance portal. Opposite that window a chimney-like recess (now blocked) in the north wall seems to be designed to provide cross-ventilation.

From the first landing three steps rise east to a second landing, from where a further four steps lead north up to an open top landing. On the west side of the top landing a barrel-vaulted chamber (D<sup>2</sup>) opens like a diminutive *iwān* (see *plate 58.11*). A door in the south wall of this chamber leads into a tiny room (C<sup>2</sup>), which now houses a privy.

North from the top landing three steps descend to a gallery along the west side of the courtyard. The parapet wall of this gallery appears to be modern, as do all parapet and screen walls at this level. The gallery gives access to a range of five cells (E<sup>2</sup>–I<sup>2</sup>). The common wall of two of the cells (G<sup>2</sup> and H<sup>2</sup>) has been removed, the vault renewed, and a double window inserted in place of the door of 'H<sup>2</sup>'. At the north end of the gallery a staircase leads up to the roofs of the cells and of the north *iwān*, which now supports a modern dwelling house. Beyond the staircase a short passage alongside the vault of the *iwān* leads to two small rooms (J<sup>2</sup> and K<sup>2</sup>). A strange object beside the entrance to 'K<sup>2</sup>' (see plan, *fig. 58.4*) looks as if it might be a hollow column base through which water could have been drawn from the well said to be in the blocked room (I) below.

From the landing at the head of the main stairs, three steps lead east up to an irregular terrace at the south end of the courtyard. In the south-west corner of this terrace a door leads down two steps into a low, vaulted room (B<sup>2</sup>) lit by a (later) window opening on the street and another opening to the west. On the south side of the terrace a door opens into a queer stone 'igloo' that is actually the interior of the dome over the main hall, now separated from it by a later floor. The interior of the dome is plastered. The plain exterior is paved like the rest of the roofs (see roof plan, *fig. 58.6*).

Opposite the door into the dome there will once have



Plate 58.2 Left-hand window in upper storey façade



Plate 58.3 Right-hand window in upper storey façade



Plate 58.4 Entrance portal

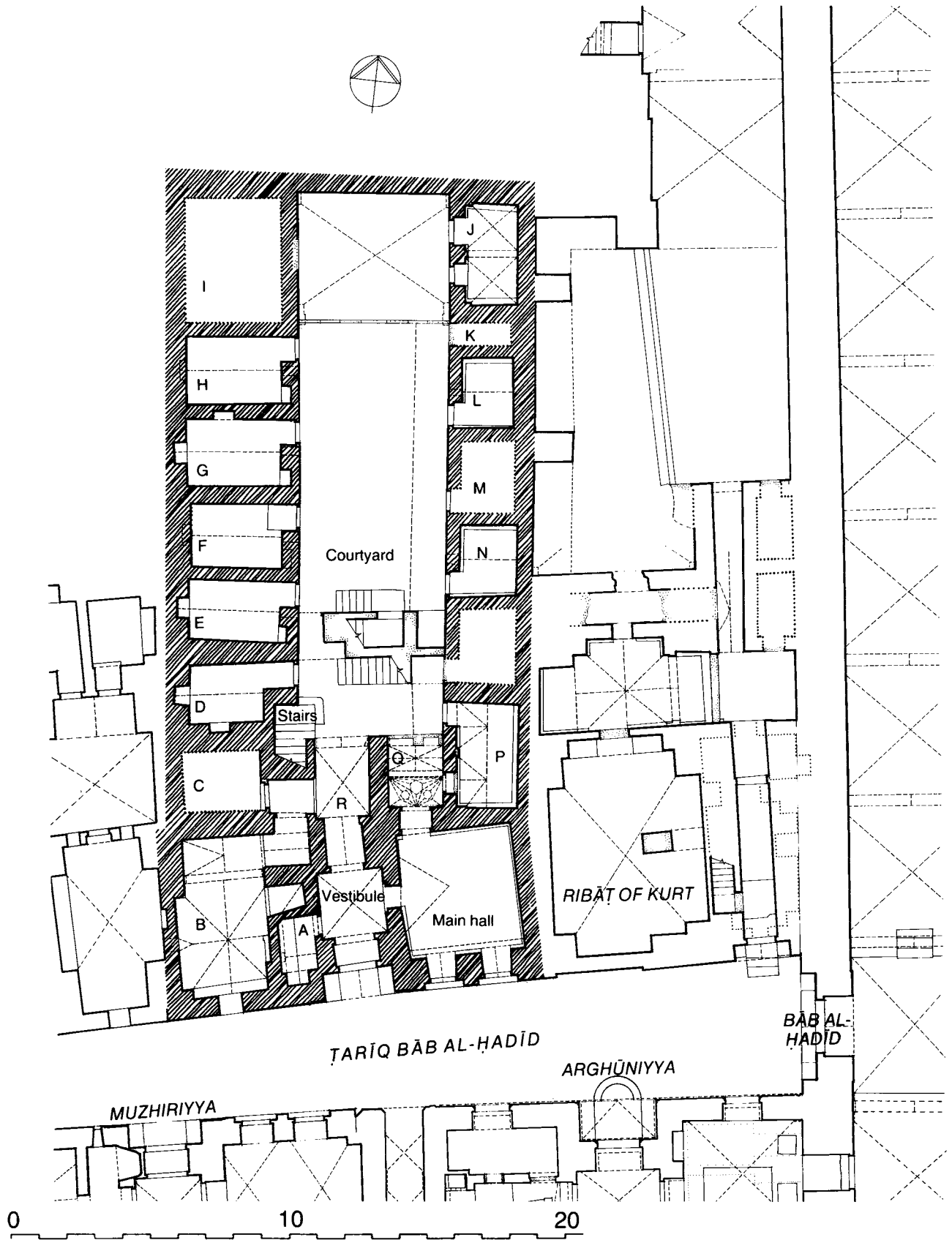


Fig. 58.3 Ground floor plan



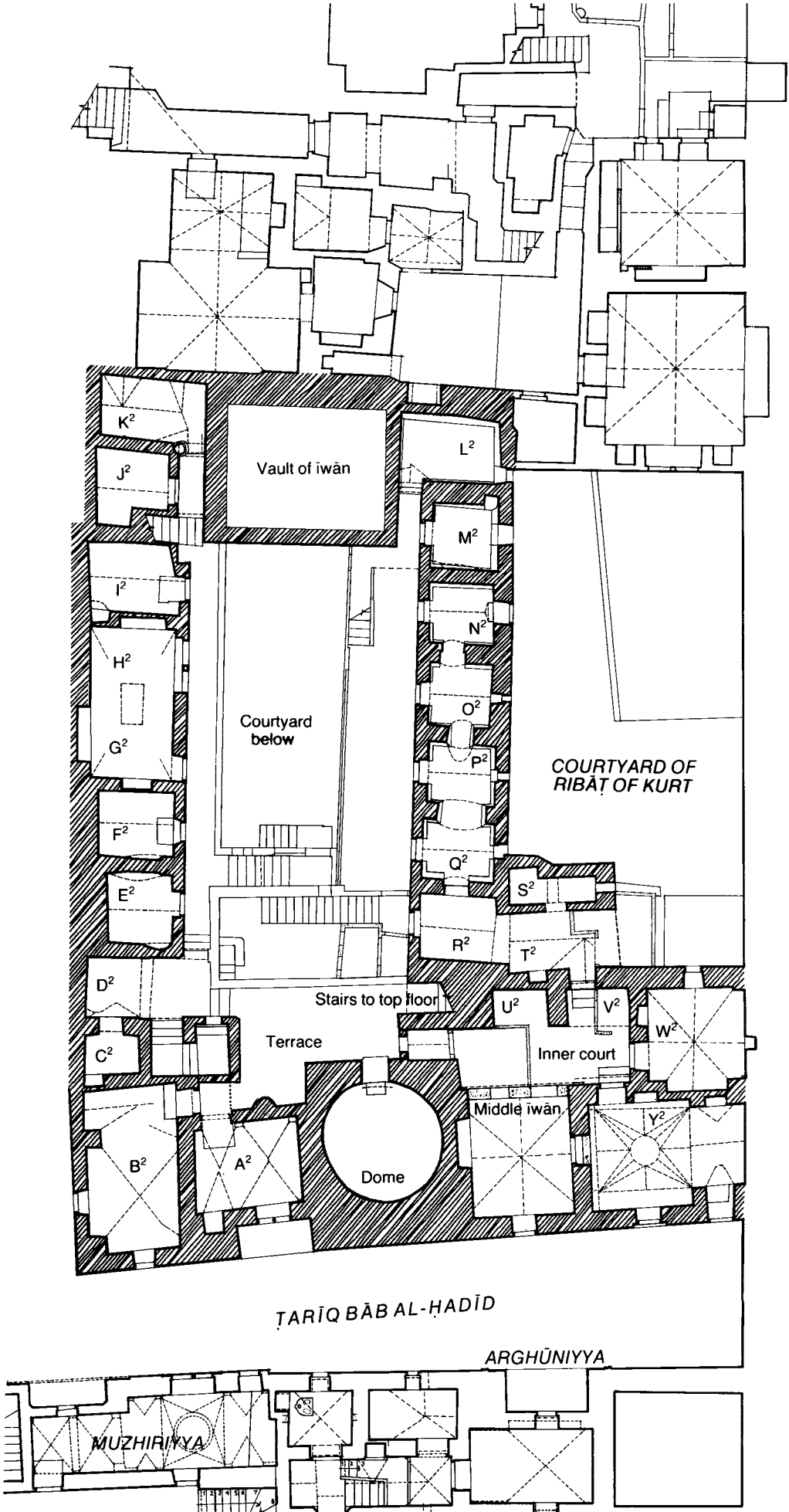


Fig. 58.4 Upper floor plan

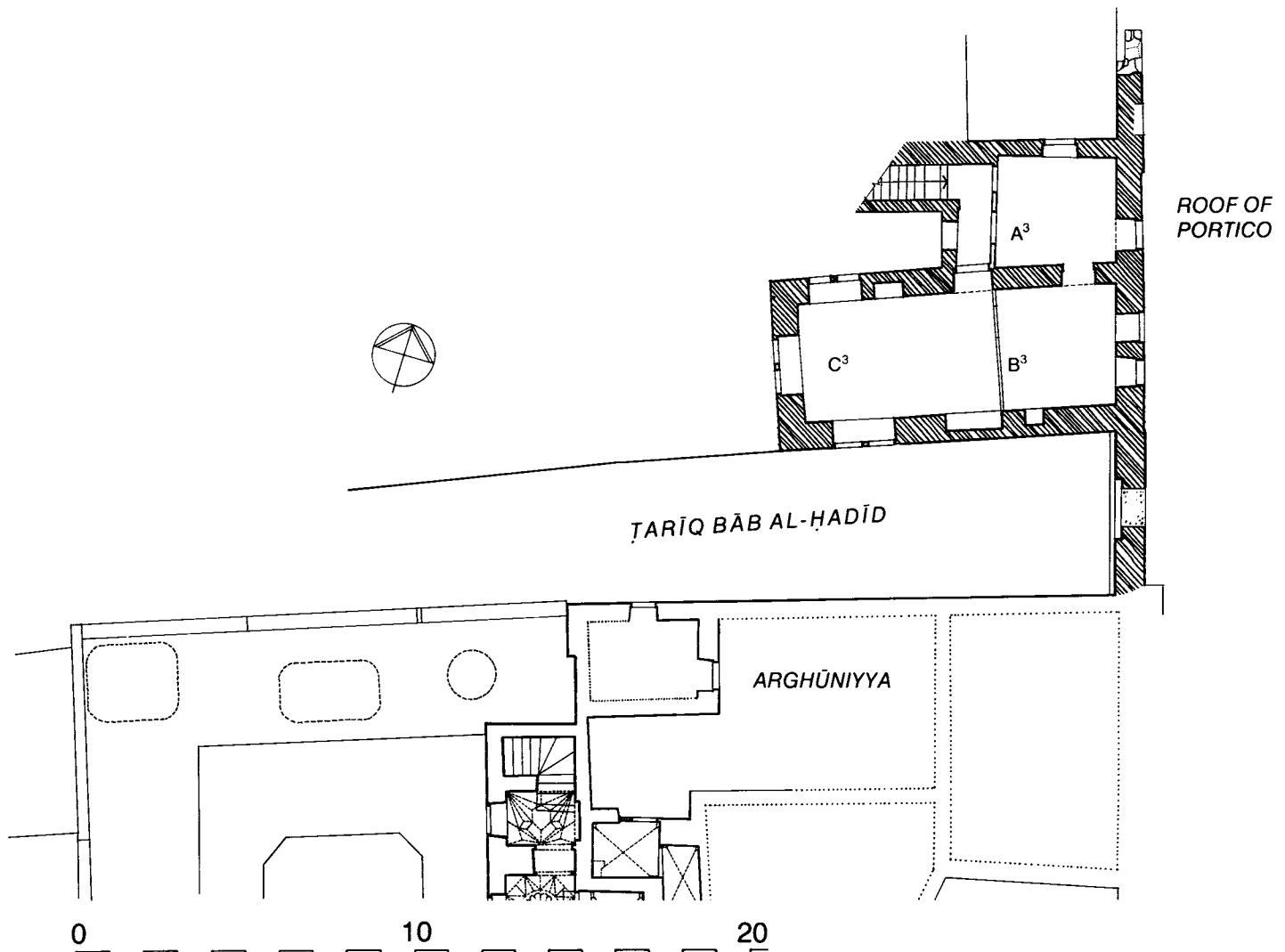


Fig. 58.5 Top floor plan

been six steps down to a gallery that runs north on the east side of the courtyard to give access to six cells ( $M^2$ – $R^2$ ) and, at the north end, a short corridor to a seventh cell ( $L^2$ ). The party walls between five of the cells ( $N^2$ – $R^2$ ) now contain openings, but these must be later insertions. At the south end of the gallery some modern outhouses replace the steps down from the terrace. The extension of the gallery to oversail the courtyard is recent, as are the stairs at the north end which lead up to two modern apartments over this east range of cells.

At the east end of the terrace an archway opens into a barrel-vaulted staircase which originally led to an assembly hall and loggia over the Ḥaram portico (see below).

Next to that archway is a short passageway which, though now blocked except for a window, seems originally to have given access to a small inner court enclosed by those rooms that are located on the roof of the Ribāt of Kurt. The first of these rooms is to the south: a cross-vaulted *iwān*, evidently the one referred to in a document dated 1093/1681 (see above) as the 'middle *iwān*'. Its frontal arch (see *plate* 58.12) is decorated in a unique fashion with paired convex gadroons alternating with single concave ones, all framed by a hoodmould with ornamental 'dog-tooth' emargination of the inner edge. The arch is blocked by a modern partition containing a door and two windows. A window in the rear (south) wall of the *iwān* overlooks the street. East of the *iwān* three steps lead up from the court to a plain door into room ' $Y^2$ ', which is roofed by a folded cross vault and a deep barrel-vaulted recess to the east. It is lit by two windows overlooking the street. In the middle of

the west wall a door (now blocked) connected the room to the middle *iwān*. A door at the east end of the inner court opens into a cross-vaulted room ( $W^2$ ), which has a window overlooking the courtyard of the Ribāt of Kurt to the north.

Two arched recesses ( $U^2$  and  $V^2$ ) open in the north side of the court, under the staircase to the assembly hall and loggia. Both are now partly blocked by thin partitions. A door in the rear wall of the east recess leads north down four steps to a barrel-vaulted chamber ( $T^2$ ). This chamber is linked to the adjoining cell ( $R^2$ ) by a wide opening – presumably a later breach – in the east wall of that cell. The east end of chamber ' $T^2$ ' is open, now leading into a flimsy modern appendage to the east. To the north of ' $T^2$ ' a door opens into a narrow, barrel-vaulted chamber ( $S^2$ ) lit by a slit in its east wall. It is impossible now to be sure that these chambers ' $T^2$ ' and ' $S^2$ ' belong to the original construction. They sit directly above the antechamber to the main hall of the Ribāt, and it is quite likely that they were built at the same time. We have suggested above (p. 148) that the antechamber and ancillary structures at the south end of the Ribāt's courtyard were added by the builders of the Jawhariyya. If so, we should expect there to have been some means of communication between them and the rest of the Jawhariyya. That might have been achieved by the provision of a stairway from the now ruined passageway alongside the north wall of the antechamber (see plan, *fig.* 58.3) up to ' $S^2$ ' and from there by way of ' $T^2$ ' to the inner court. The structures at ground level are too dilapidated and overlaid with debris (see *plate* 7.5) to reveal any trace of such a stairway.

**ASSEMBLY HALL AND LOGGIA**

The barrel-vaulted staircase at the east end of the upper floor terrace leads up to a group of rooms (A<sup>3</sup>-C<sup>3</sup>) that are plainly of Ottoman construction. Originally the stairs will have led onto the roof of W<sup>2</sup> and from there through a door in the upper Haram wall to the assembly hall and loggia on the roof of the Haram portico. These are listed as a *jāmi'* and a *qamāri* in the 1093/1681 document cited above (p. 558). Salzmann's 1854 photograph and Bedford's 1862 one (*plates* 63.13 and 35.5) show the remains of the triple-bayed assembly hall with a *mibrāb* in its south wall above this section of the Haram portico. The anteroom of the assembly hall of the Muzhiriyya lay to the south (see below, p. 584). This section of portico was demolished and rebuilt in 1928.<sup>36</sup> The loggia, which had a view of the Haram according to the document mentioned above,

must have been to the north of the assembly hall. Only slight traces of its west wall survive. And all that now remains of the assembly hall is part of its west wall containing a grilled window (now blocked) overlooking the street. This window opens directly above the Haram gate, Bāb al-Ḥadīd (*plate* 58.13). On the exterior it has jambs of red and greyish *ablaq* set in a shallow recess with a distinctive pointed arch of chevron voussoirs – a treatment more commonly associated with Crusader architecture, though other examples occur in a Mamlūk context at the entrance to the Turba of Barka Khān (no. 2) (where it may be in secondary use) and at the well-head of the Is'ardiyya (no. 33).<sup>37</sup> The remains of a billet cornice similar to the one over the street façade survive above the window (see *plate* 58.13).



Plate 58.5 Vaults at south end of courtyard



Plate 58.6 Vaulting of porch to main hall



Plate 58.7 *Ṭwān* at north end of courtyard (with modern structure above)

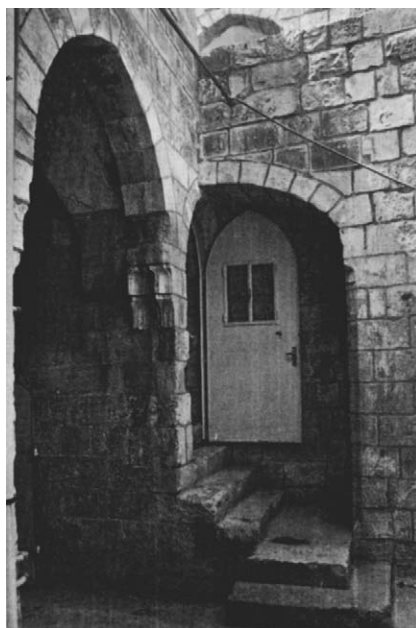


Plate 58.8 Entrance to staircase (the bottom step is modern)



Plate 58.9 Staircase vaulting

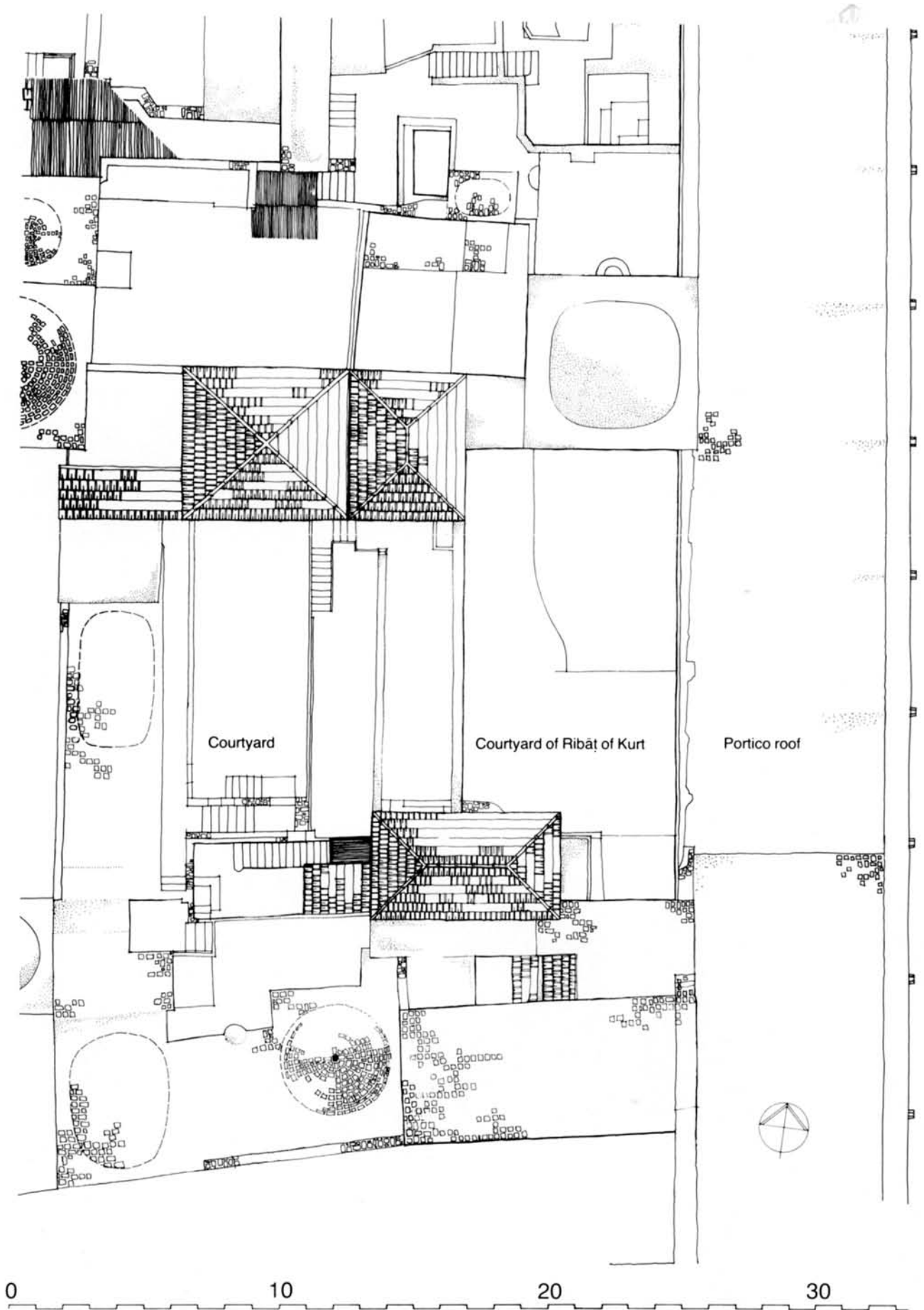


Fig. 58.6 Roof plan

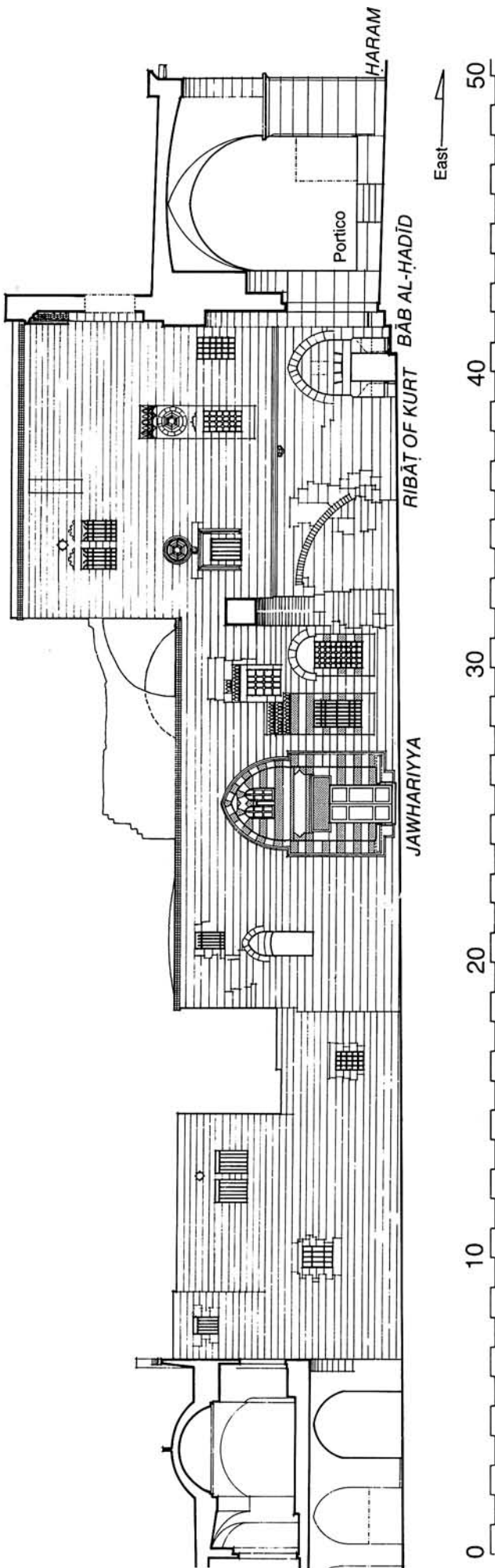


Fig. 58.7 Tariq Bāb al-Ḥadīd: Elevation of north side of street

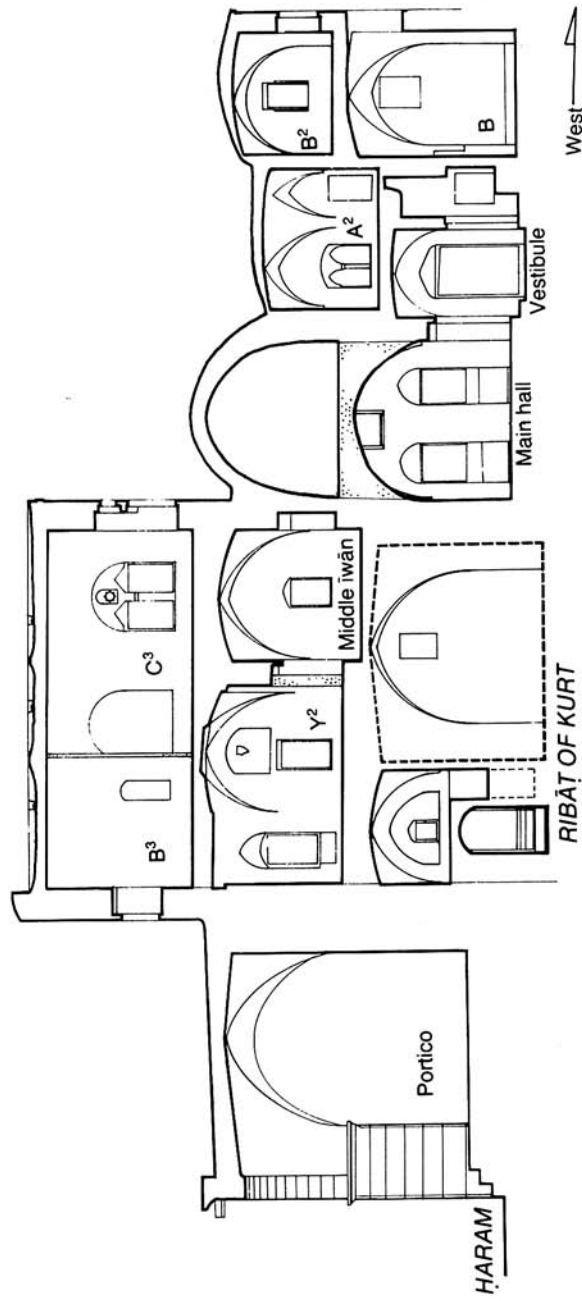


Fig. 58.8 East-west section through main hall looking south



Plate 58.10 Window of mezzanine overlooking street



Plate 58.11 General view from the east



Plate 58.12 Arch (now blocked) of middle *iwān*



Plate 58.13 Bāb al-Hadīd, showing window of assembly hall above

## Notes

- 1 Mujīr, ii, 37.
- 2 *CIA (Ville)*, 327-8, no. 99.
- 3 *Daw*, iii, 82-4; *Nuj.*, vii, 273-4; *Sulūk*, iv, 1234.
- 4 Including the mother of al-Manṣūr 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Barqūq (Sultan in 808/1405), see *Sulūk*, iv, 900. She died in 836/1432.
- 5 *Sulūk*, iv, 652.
- 6 *Sulūk*, iv, 784; *Nuj.*, vi, 636.
- 7 One must be careful to distinguish the careers of these two Jawhars. Both were called Ṣafī al-Dīn (or al-Ṣafawī in the formal style of the inscription), both were Abyssinian and both held the same offices at different times. Their close cooperation is suggested by a joint purchase of property from the State Treasury and the subsequent establishing of it as waqf in late 833 and early 834/1430-31 (Amin, *Catalogue*, no. 89). Jawhar al-Qunuqbāyī made a waqf acting as executor of the estate of his predecessor as Treasurer, Khushqadam al-Rūmī (*op. cit.* no. 360), dated Muḥarram 844/June 1440.

8 *Daw*, iii, 84.

9 *Sulūk*, iv, 1132. His predecessor in this post, Jawhar al-Lālā, had died in Jumādā I 842/December 1438, see *Sulūk*, iv, 1148. Qalqashandī says, 'By custom a servitor was appointed from the court, one of the eunuchs referred to as the *Tawāshīs* (*Ṣubḥ*, xii, 260). For the title, see *CIA (Egypte)*, 311, no. 201, and *CIA (Ville)*, 330, note 5.

10 *Sulūk*, iv, 1222. Among them a residence built by Jawhar near the Azhar in the Quarter of the Turks (*Daw*, iii, 83). Later on the Sultan al-Ghūrī acquired through 'exchange' one of Jawhar's waqfs (Amin, *Catalogue*, nos. 745-5).

11 Al-'Aynī refused to put his name to a farwā that Jawhar obtained to allow the opening of an internal window looking into the Azhar (al-'Aynī, *Tqd al-Jumān*, Ms. Valieddin 2396, 722, s.a. 844).

12 Iṣṣīrī, 34 and 175. This edition, with a small correction to *al-zimām* after Jawhar's name, may be used to supplement the version of Asali, *Mā'ābid*, 197.

13 These four villages will be found, in the order here given, in



HGP, 114, 145, 143, 137.

14 440, no. 92.

15 Sijill, 11, 84. The details of the waqf properties and the incomes are as in Defter no. 602, except that the first figure is 3969.

16 *Pop. & Revenue*, 10.

17 Possibly the first shaykh was Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥassin b. Ḥasan al-Ḥanafī, who died soon after 852/1449 (Mujīr, ii, 225). His successor was Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Dā'ūd b. al-Nāṣirī al-Shāfi'ī, born c.800/1397 (Mujīr, ii, 190).

18 An early holder of this office was a certain Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ghadiya al-Ḥanafī, who was also a muezzin in the Aqṣā and died in 800/1475-6 (Mujīr, ii, 233). His father was Hanafī deputy Qāḍī in Jerusalem and his son a *Shāfi'ī* faqih in the Ṣalāhiyya (Mujīr, ii, 224 and 194). Note that in 983/1575 the teacher of the orphans was a Mūsā b. Ghadiya (Sijill 56, 604).

19 *Tadrīs al-qirā'āt*. Mujīr, ii, 178-80.

20 Note that in this respect the descendants of the freedmen benefit, unlike the restriction of the inspector's post to the first generation.

21 In 968/1561 the *nāzir* received 6 aspers daily (Sijill 40, 138 (3)).

22 These are allowances for extra duties performed by individuals amongst the 25 Ṣūfis.

23 Presumably daily, but not stated.

24 Mujīr, ii, 288.

25 Mujīr, ii, 313.

26 Mujīr, ii, 381.

27 Sa'd al-Dīn Muḥammad, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad and Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar (see the next reference).

28 Sijill 30, no. 894.

29 Sijill 56, 604-5.

30 See two appointments to 'readerships' in the Jawhariyya (part of multiple appointments in various institutions) in Sijill 92, 323(2) in 1021/1612, and Sijill 151, 358(3) in 1066/1656.

31 Although the teacher is mentioned among the officials (see note 18 above), the ten orphans seem to have disappeared. All the bread allowances have been dropped or commuted.

32 For administration, repairs, including those to a well in the village of Kūfiya, and running costs (oil, etc.).

33 In 6 years 17,365 paras were received, i.e. annually 2,894 paras = 5,788 aspers. This figure is decidedly less than the near 16,000 aspers of the Defters quoted above and the 200 gold pieces (= 16,000 aspers) of the 967/1599 lease (see below).

34 Sijill 185, 22-3.

35 Similar roundels decorate the ninth/fifteenth-century minaret of the Ṣalāhiyya Khānqāh (see p. 517). On chevron mouldings see A. Borg, 'The Development of Chevron Ornament', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, xxx, 1967, 122-40.

36 See below, p. 604 n. 48.

37 Earlier examples in Islamic architecture, at Quṣayr Amra and at Fustāt, are illustrated in *EMA*, i<sup>2</sup>, pls. 75 and 76, and *EMA*, ii, pl. 117.

# 59 MINARET OF 'JĀMI' 'UMAR'

مأذنة جامع عمر

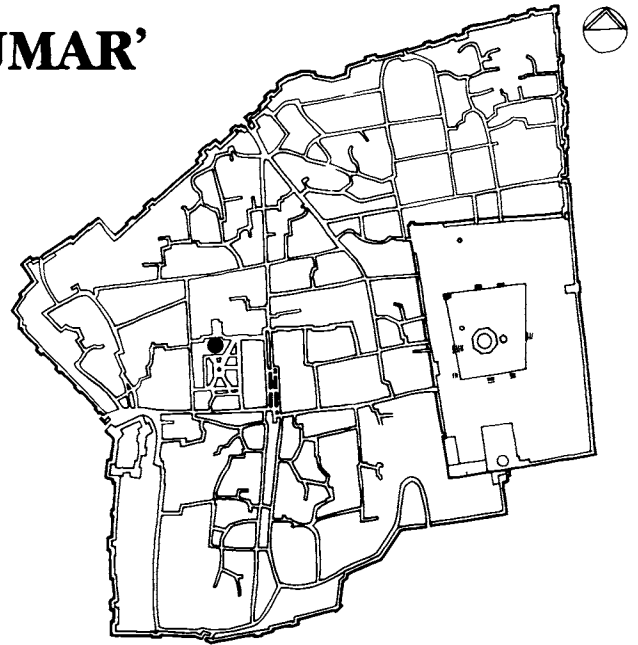


Fig. 59.1 Location plan

Rebuilt before 870/1465  
 Minaret of the Masjid of al-Afḍal 'Alī ('Jāmi' 'Umar')  
*Modern name:* Minaret of Masjid 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb

## I LOCATION (fig. 59.1)

Opposite the main (south) entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, at the east end of the court of the Mosque of al-Afḍal 'Alī.

## II SITE AND BUILDING

The mosque to which the minaret is attached was founded by Salādin's son, al-Malik al-Afḍal 'Alī, in 589/1193<sup>1</sup> in a corner of the Crusader hospital of the Knights of St John. Mujīr al-Dīn (see below) states that the minaret attached to that mosque appears to be built on older foundations. The lower part of the base is now enclosed by later structures but, above these, it can be seen to incorporate large quantities of Crusader masonry, some of which may be *in situ*.

The minaret is of the usual 'Syrian tower' type, square in plan. It consists of a tall base, above which the shaft is divided into three 'storeys' by mouldings. The muezzin's gallery is octagonal in plan as is the lantern, which is surmounted by a circular drum and bulbous dome (*plate 59.1*).

## III HISTORY

Mujīr al-Dīn informs us that the minaret attached to the Mosque of al-Afḍal 'Alī, which is south of and opposite the Church of the

Holy Sepulchre, was renewed some time before 870/1465 and appears to have been built on old foundations.<sup>2</sup>

It has been suggested that the minaret was rebuilt following the earthquake of 863/1458, which is known to have damaged a nearby minaret.<sup>3</sup> However, the decoration of the minaret shares many of the features of the Ṣalāhiyya Minaret (no. 52), which Mujīr al-Dīn dates before 820/1417-18. Common features are: cavetto mouldings with repeating *muqarnas*, billet mouldings and skew-faceted roundels. The muezzin's galleries and their superstructures are virtually identical. This makes it tempting to suppose that the two minarets are more or less contemporaneous, but in the absence of more concrete evidence it may be wiser to adopt Mujīr al-Dīn's dating 'before 870' (1465-66).

In the Ottoman period the Mosque of al-Afḍal 'Alī became associated with 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and was called 'Jāmi' 'Umar'.<sup>4</sup> A recently painted sign over the outer entrance calls it Masjid 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.



Plate 59.1 General view from north-west



Plate 59.2 South face of base

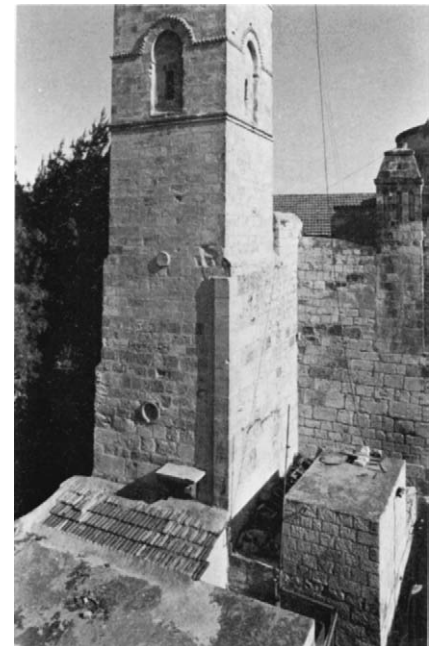


Plate 59.3 Base from north-west

## IV ARCHITECTURE

Where visible above encroaching buildings the masonry of the lower part of the base appears to be earlier than that above. On the south face (*plate 59.2*) this masonry is skewed back in order to clear a window (now blocked) in a wall that runs south from the base of the minaret. This wall must be a Crusader or earlier construction since it contains an engaged column supporting vault and arch springings which are obviously remains of some Crusader building. We can safely assume, therefore, that this part of the base is post-Crusader. The north-west corner of the base is composed entirely of Crusader stones, many of which bear masons' marks. While it is a question whether these stones are *in situ* or not, it is important to note that they include a fine moulding that runs continuously up the north face in what seems to be undisturbed Crusader masonry (see *plate 59.3*). If that masonry is indeed undisturbed it would have appealed to the builders of the minaret as solid foundation.<sup>5</sup>

The base of the minaret is bevelled twice on the east face and once on the west face to reduce its plan form to a square. Apart from dish-shaped roundels in the north and south faces (see *plates 59.2* and *59.3*) and a plain projecting roundel like a protruding column drum in the north face, the base is undecorated.

From the Crusader column mentioned above a half-arch spans northwards to provide a bridge giving access to a door in the south face of the base (see *plate 59.2*). This door opens on a staircase rising within the core of the shaft to the muezzin's gallery.

A cyma recta moulding divides the base from the first storey, which has pointed horseshoe-arched recesses

containing slit windows in all four sides. The voussoirs of the arches are of greyish and cream-coloured *ablaq*, framed by a billet moulding which extends around the shaft at the level of the springing of the arches. The tympanums of the arches are inscribed with Koranic verses<sup>6</sup> (*plate 59.4*). Above the recess in the south side is a sundial, now very badly worn and lacking its gnomon (*plate 59.5*), which could have been read from the bridge to the entrance door.

A cavetto moulding carved with a repeating *muqarnas* motif divides the first storey from the second. The second storey also has window recesses in all four sides. Those in the east and west sides are spanned by double arches supported on a central column. The recesses in the north and south sides contain paired slit windows and have *muqarnas* heads, now much damaged. The recess in the south side is further embellished with nook-shafts in the jambs.

A shallow moulding, similar in profile to the one framing the lintels on the façade of the Āmalikiyya (see p. 311 above), divides the second storey from the third. Little diamond-shaped windows pierce all four sides of the shaft at this level. Above each of them is a roundel composed like the ones on the façade of the Jawhariyya (above, p. 558) of six skew-faceted voussoirs, alternately red and cream-coloured, carved with a zig-zag and surrounded by a billet moulding.

Above the third storey the muezzin's gallery is carried by three roll corbels on each side. Recesses with pointed arches composed of gadrooned voussoirs open in all eight sides of the lantern. Those on the cardinal axes contain openings: small windows in the north, west and south sides and a door in the east side. A continuous billet moulding frames the extrados of the arches.

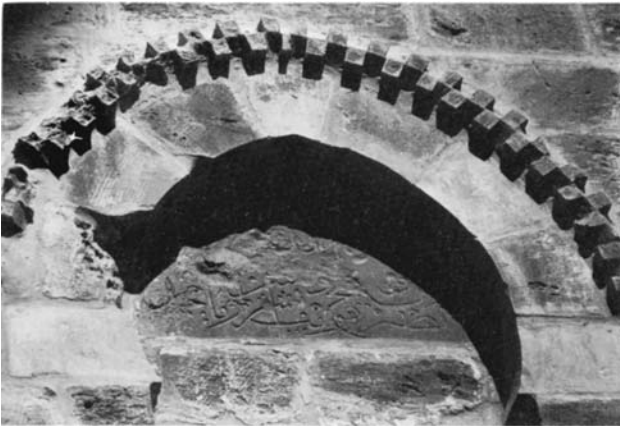


Plate 59.4 Head of recess in south side



Plate 59.5 Sundial

## Notes

- 1 Mujir, 397; *CIA (Ville)*, 95-99.
- 2 Mujir, 397, 400.
- 3 Mujir, 398; *CIA (Ville)*, 102 n.1.
- 4 *CIA (Ville)*, 99-101.

- 5 See also A.G. Walls, 'Two Minarets flanking the Church of the Holy Sepulchre', *Levant*, viii, 1976, 159-61.
- 6 *CIA (Ville)*, 102-3.

# 60 SOUTH-WEST QANĀṬIR

## القناطر القبليّة الغربيّة

877/1472

South-west colonnade of the Dome of the Rock terrace

Modern name: Mawāzīn Bāb al-Silsila

### I LOCATION (fig. 60.1)

At the south-end of the west side of Dome of the Rock terrace, at the head of the stairway nearly opposite Bāb al-Silsila.

### II SITE AND BUILDING

Mujīr al-Dīn recounted that before the present stairway was built there was a narrow vaulted stairway called the Lane of Kissing (*zuqāq al-būs*) that led up from the Ḥaram esplanade to the Dome of the Rock terrace.<sup>1</sup> Al-ʿUmārī describes that earlier stairway as a vaulted passage with seventeen steps, each step 1 *dhirāʿ* (approximately 0.70m) in width, through which one descends to the lower part of the Ḥaram.<sup>2</sup> This narrow and dubiously-named passage would hardly have been regarded as a suitable means of approach from the main gate of the Ḥaram, Bāb al-Silsila, to the Dome of the Rock. However, it was not until after construction of the initial Ashrafiyya to the north of Bāb al-Silsila had been completed in 875/1470 (see below, p. 591) that the passage was replaced by the present steps and colonnade.

The colonnade follows the general form of the earlier Mamlūk colonnades at the north end of the Dome of the Rock terrace (nos. 16 and 17), comprising a triple-arched arcade carried on two columns and two masonry piers.

### III HISTORY

An inscription on two marble plaques on the east face of the arcade records that:

... this blessed stairway was constructed in the reign of . . . al-Malik al-Ashraf . . . Qāyṭbāy . . . that was achieved during the superintendency of . . . Muḥammad, Superintendent of the Two Ḥarams . . . in the month of Jumādā I of the year 877 (October 1472) . . .<sup>3</sup>

The Superintendent Muḥammad mentioned in the inscription was Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Nashashībī (see below, p. 591) who, according to Mujīr al-Dīn, had the earlier passage blocked and the present stairway built on top of it, and a colonnade like those at other stairways to the terrace erected in 877/1472.<sup>4</sup>

### IV ARCHITECTURE

The southern pier of the colonnade (*plate 60.1*) abuts on the north-west corner of the Qubbat al-Naḥwiyya, built in 604/1207-8. The northern pier is substantially wider (north-south) than the southern since it had to counteract any residual lateral thrust from the arcade without the support of an adjoining structure. The present structure abutting on the northern pier is a later (Ottoman) addition. A very shallow *mibrāb* hollowed out in the north face of the pier must also be a later addition for its symmetrical placement takes account of that Ottoman structure.

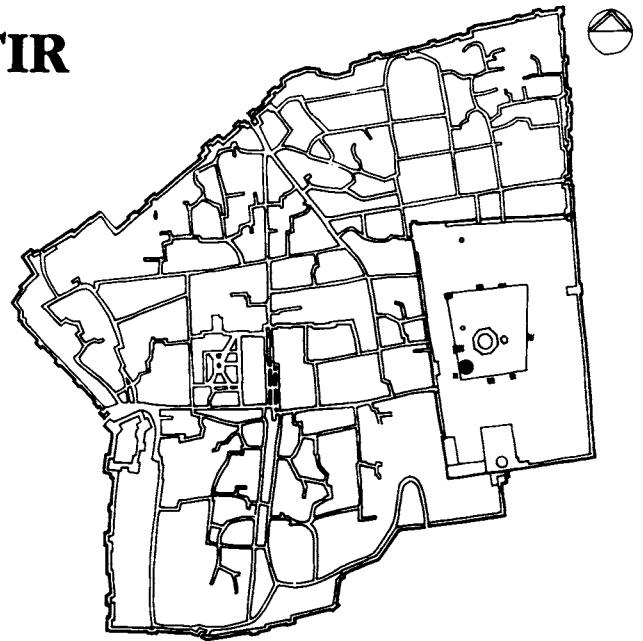


Fig. 60.1 Location plan

The three pointed stilted arches of the arcade spring from the two piers and two columns. The columns, with their pedestals, bases and capitals, are obviously in secondary use. No part of either column matches, the two being assembled from a variety of components all apparently Byzantine in origin. Above the capitals are abaci from which the arches spring. The abaci are moulded to the same profile as a cornice moulding around the piers at the same level.

The three arches are similar in height and span. The middle arch is composed of alternately red and cream-coloured *ablaq* voussoirs. The voussoirs of the outer arches are gadrooned on both faces and on the soffits where the gadrooning bends upwards in a series of chevrons (see *plate 60.1*). A cavetto moulding around the extradoses of the arches continues at either end to form cornices on the piers. In the spandrels of the middle arch are the two inscription plaques on the east face, and on the west face (*plate 60.2*) two lozenge-shaped recesses must once have contained some decorative inlay, now missing. A cavetto cornice extends across the top of the arcade. Above that a gabled coping sheds rainwater.



Plate 60.1 South-west colonnade, from north-east



Plate 60.2 West face

**Notes**

- 1 Mujir, 626.
- 2 Al-'Umari, *Masālik*, 147, 163.
- 3 *CIA (Haram)*, 156-59.
- 4 Mujir, 626.

# 61 RIBĀT AL-ZAMANĪ

## رباط الزمني

881/1476-77

Pilgrim hospice of Ibn al-Zamin

Modern name: not known

### I LOCATION (fig. 61.1)

On the north side of Zuqāq Bāb al-Maḥara, beside that gate, opposite the 'Uthmāniyya (no. 57).

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (fig. 61.2, 61.3 and 61.5)

The tiny site on which the Ribāt al-Zamanī stands was, in part at least, previously occupied by a hall that was a waqf for the Haram.<sup>1</sup> How it came to be acquired by Ibn al-Zamin, whether by *istibdal* (waqf conversion), or by other means, is not recorded. The site is bounded to the east by the Haram wall, to the south by the lane Zuqāq Bāb al-Maḥara, to the west by single-storey buildings inaccessible to us, which once housed the women's lavatory (see above, p. 544), and to the north by Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn.

The smallness of the site meant that to provide adequate accommodation the building had to be laid out on several floors. To the same end, three rooms of the southern lodgings (*rubū'*) of Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn were incorporated into the ribāt.

A tall entrance portal in the street façade opens into a vestibule from which all parts of the building are reached. These comprise two rooms and a passage on the ground floor, with a staircase leading to a mezzanine and an upper floor. Another stair leads from the upper floor to the roof of the Haram portico where until 1927 stood various buildings, some of which may have formed part of the ribāt.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

What Mujīr al-Dīn refers to as the Zamanī Ribāt or pilgrim hospice is situated according to him<sup>2</sup> 'at the Gate of the Ablutions Place, opposite the 'Uthmāniyya Madrasa' (see p. 544). The extant inscription on the building immediately to the right, as one leaves the Haram by the above-mentioned gate, provides positive identification. The inscription uses only the neutral description 'this blessed place'.

#### DATE

According to Mujīr al-Dīn the date of the construction of the ribāt was the year 881/1476-77.<sup>3</sup> This is confirmed by, indeed, it may merely derive from, the inscription,<sup>4</sup> which reads as follows:

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. This blessed place was erected by the servant needful of God Almighty, the Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Zamin, the servitor of the Noble Shrine of the Prophet (upon its inmate be the best of blessings and greetings), in the year eight hundred and eighty-one. May God bless our Lord Muḥammad and his family.

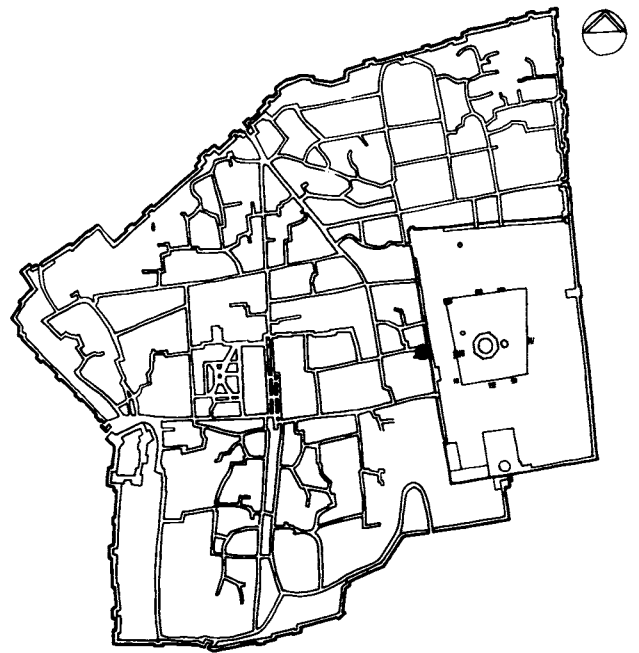


Fig. 61.1 Location plan

#### FOUNDER

The founder named in the above inscription was described by Mujīr al-Dīn as 'one of the courtiers (*khawāṣṣ*) of the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāyṭbāy'. In another source we find him called Muḥammad b. 'Umar, commonly known as Ibn al-Zamin, and described as 'the agent (*wakīl*) and merchant (*tājir*) of the sultan'.<sup>5</sup> He makes a few appearances in the chronicles, exclusively as a person commissioned by the sultan to carry out certain buildings projects.

In 878/1473-74 the Sultan Qāyṭbāy was informed of repair works that were needed in the Prophet's Mosque. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, who by that date had already built in Medina a madrasa called the Zamanīyya, was entrusted with the task. He came to Medina during 879/1474-75, made the necessary arrangements and then returned to Egypt. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad was later commissioned to do further work there. He came from Jeddah to Medina in Jumādā I 881/August-September 1476 and stayed to oversee things personally.<sup>6</sup> This was the year in which own ribāt in Jerusalem was completed. In 882/1477-78 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad was involved in a disturbing incident in Medina, where he had been asked to acquire a site for the construction of a madrasa for Qāyṭbāy. He had taken over the house of a Shī'ite to incorporate it into the new madrasa. The qāḍī, who allowed the demolition of the house, was murdered. Ibn Iyās was on pilgrimage that year and witnessed these events.<sup>7</sup> The story is told differently (with no mention of the dispute which ended in the murder of the qāḍī), and an Amīr Sunqur al-Jamālī is named as intendant of the works, by the historian, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawalī.<sup>8</sup> The latter adds that the madrasa and a separate ribāt too were completed in 884/1479-80 by that same amīr.

In 885/1480 Qāyṭbāy ordered the repair of the Imām al-Shāfi'ī's Mausoleum in Cairo and appointed Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad to be the intendant (*sbādd*) of the works.<sup>9</sup> The next year, 886/1481, he was sent by the sultan to Medina once more to effect a major re-building of the Holy Mosque, which had been seriously damaged by a fire caused by lightning. He took with him a number (some three hundred) of masons, carpenters and workers in marble. The whole operation was not finished until the end of 887/early 1483 and cost the sultan about 100,000 dinars.<sup>10</sup> The intendant is also said to have been Jamāl al-Dīn Sunqur al-Jamālī, who was at that time engaged on building work in Mecca.<sup>11</sup> Under the year 897 Ibn Iyās gives the following short notice:<sup>12</sup>



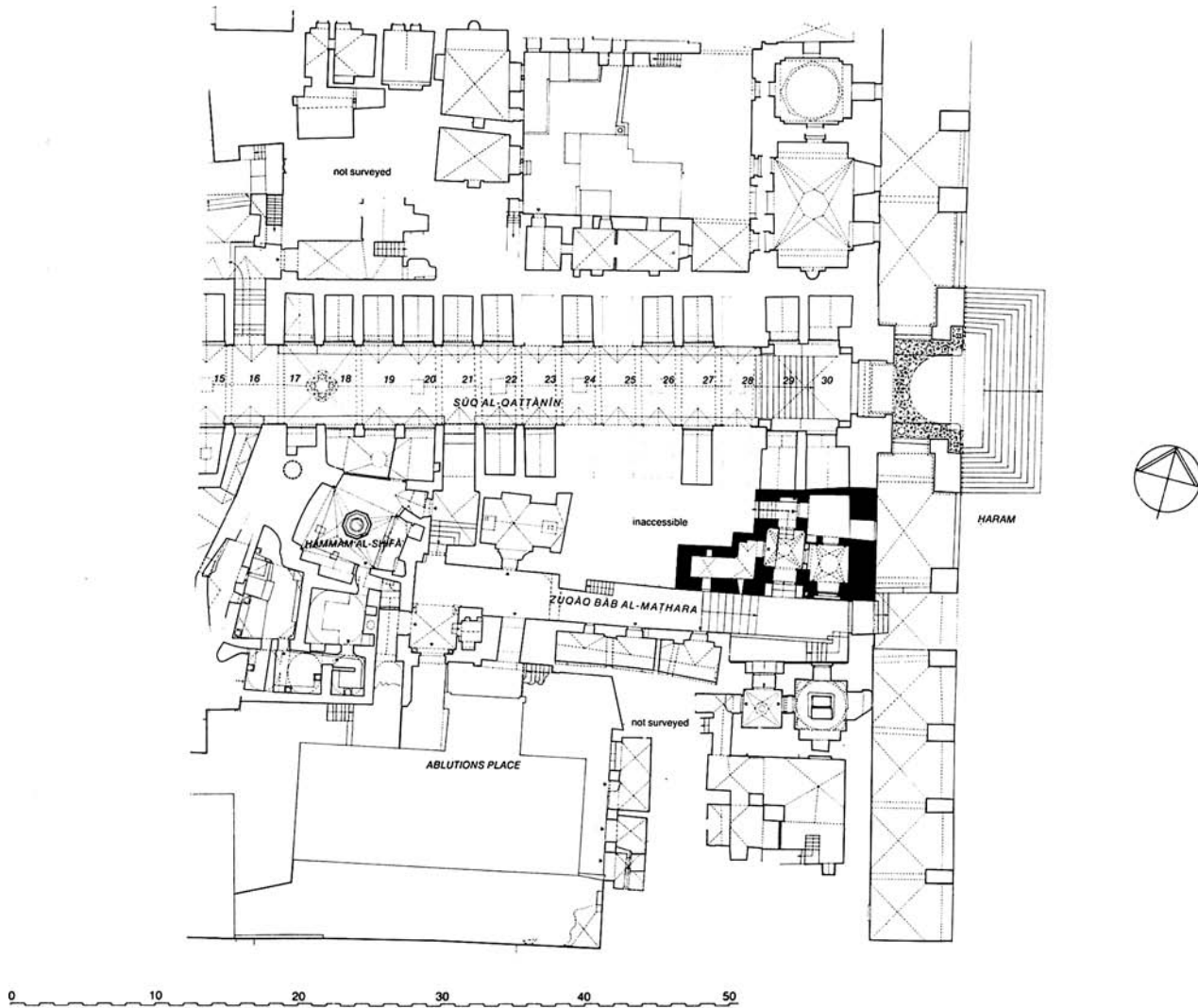


Fig. 61.2 Site plan

In Dhū'l-Qa'da [September-October 1492] there came from Mecca news of the death of the Khwāja Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Zamin. He was a notable merchant,<sup>13</sup> known for his great wealth, and a man of piety and beneficence. He was the founder of the madrasa in Bulaq<sup>14</sup> near the embankment (*al-Raṣīf*), a good and religious man, in whom there was no harm.

The comprehensive entry given in al-Sakhāwī's biographical dictionary<sup>15</sup> confirms and amplifies what has been given above. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. al-Zamin al-Qurashī al-Shāfi'ī was born in Damascus in 824/1421, where he did his early studies, and then followed his father into commerce. His travels took him to Asia Minor and into the Balkans, as far as Semendira (Semendria), when it was still a Christian possession.<sup>16</sup> He acquired a house in Egypt, and having established an intimacy with Qāyṭbāy, upon the latter's accession to the sultanate, was appointed overseer of building projects in Mecca. He had earlier performed a pilgrimage in 844/1441, and lived in Mecca on several different occasions. A son, called Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, whose mother was a slave-girl, was born in Mecca in Muḥarram 883/April 1478.<sup>17</sup> Also resident in Mecca was a nephew, Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Umar, who later married a daughter of Shams al-Dīn. It is interesting to note that he too travelled in commerce, but eastwards to the Malabar Coast. On the death of his uncle he came back but then 'returned with the seasonal convoy to Dabhoi'.<sup>18</sup> Shams al-Dīn's death followed several months of

illness contracted in Mecca, where he had travelled to perform the pilgrimage in 896/1491. He returned to Cairo in a litter and died almost on his arrival, Sunday, 18 Shawwāl 897/12 August 1492. The next day he was buried in his mausoleum.

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

Two sijill entries give some details of repairs carried out on what is referred to as the Zamaniyya Madrasa. They date from 982/1574 and 1093/1682.<sup>19</sup> The first entry, which names the administrator as Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Afīf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jamā'a al-Shāfi'ī, lists a schedule of repairs, totalling 45 gold pieces, and mentions the following features of the building: the lower kitchen, various cells (*khalāwī*), 'the west *iwān* in the south courtyard', and 'rooms at the door of the assembly hall (*majma'*)'.

The later entry reports repairs effected by the administrator of the Zamaniyya and the Khātūniyya, 'Abd al-Rahmān Effendi b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-'Afīfī al-Ḥanafī (*sic*),<sup>20</sup> to both buildings. Those carried out in the Zamaniyya were estimated to cost 245 piastres. The following elements in the building were mentioned: the assembly hall and the eight rooms within, the window (*tāqa*) giving on to the Ḥaram, five 'south' rooms in the western corridor (*diblīz*), an apartment (*tabaqa*) on the roof of the Khātūniyya Madrasa and the *diblīz* below, the *zāwiya* of the madrasa (*sic*), the room overlooking the Cotton-Merchants' Gate, and the steps leading to the west room of the women's residence (*dār al-ḥarīm*).

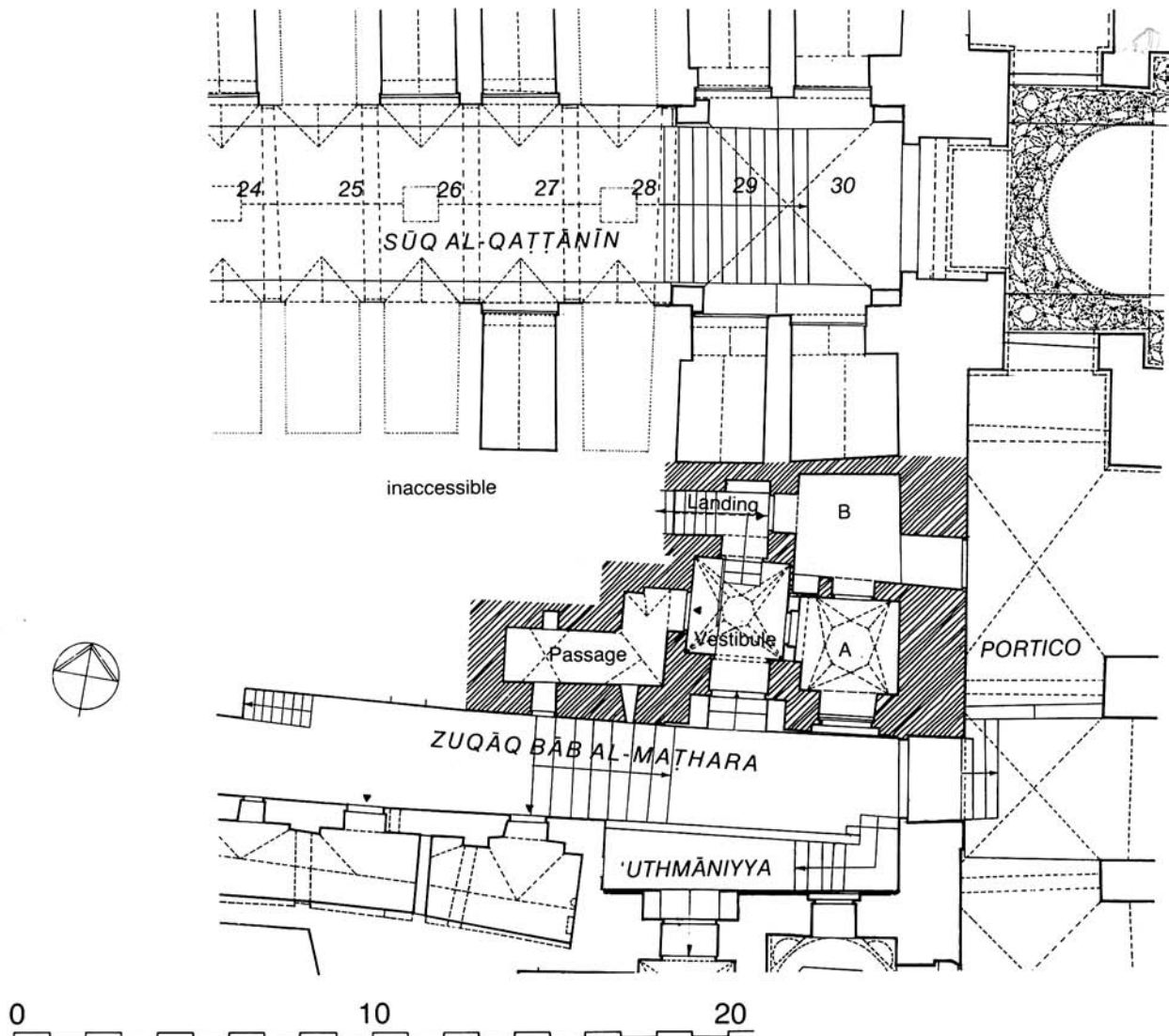


Fig. 61.3 Ground floor plan

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### STREET FAÇADE (plate 61.1)

The street façade is dominated by a tall entrance portal (plate 61.2). To the left (west) of the portal the façade is plain except for a trefoil-headed slit window and a large rectangular window at ground floor level, and another rectangular window at upper floor level. To the right of the portal an elaborately decorated grilled window at ground floor level is surmounted by a plain window at upper floor level (plate 61.2).

The juxtaposition of the principal features of the façade – the portal and the decorated window – and the configuration of the quirky ogee moulding that frames them were clearly inspired by the façade of the 'Uthmāniyya on the opposite side of the street. In the 'Uthmāniyya the aim of the designers was to relate a window in the founder's tomb to the entrance portal containing the foundation inscription. In the Ribāṭ al-Zamaṇī, on the other hand, there is no tomb and here the builders must simply have copied what they saw as a successful design. The details of construction are, however, different from those of the 'Uthmāniyya and bear rather a strong resemblance to those of the Muzhiriyya (no. 62), which was completed in 885/1480-81.

The masonry enclosed by the frame moulding is red and cream-coloured *ablaq*. The entrance portal consists of a shallow, trefoil-arched recess flanked by the usual stone benches. Van Berchem's photographs<sup>21</sup> show that the doorway was blocked up in 1914; it was repaired and reopened

presumably during the 1920s at the same time as the façade of the 'Uthmāniyya was refurbished. The door has a curious disk incised in the centre of its lintel. The inner surface of the disk is less carefully finished than the rest of the lintel as if it were intended to receive some kind of inlay, but no trace of such exists. Two courses above the lintel a joggled string course (the section above the door was replaced during the post-1914 repairs) extends across the façade within the limits of the frame moulding. The profile of the joggling over the door is different from that over the window (see plate 61.2). Above the window lintel the joggling is specially elaborate. If (as at the 'Uthmāniyya) there was originally some similar elaboration over the door, the repairs after 1914 have not preserved it. One course above the joggled string course the foundation inscription is carved on a sunken panel formed by an ornate border of low-relief carving in the rear wall of the portal recess. Towards the top of the recess a grilled rectangular window lights an upper floor room (see below). This window is framed by a low-relief border of stylized vine leaves and tendrils. From one course above the sill of the window to the cusps where the lobes of the trefoil arch meet, the recess is spanned by seven tiers of *muqarnas* corbelling, all carved with arabesque tracery. The top lobe of the trefoil is divided into three sectors, each carved with arabesque tracery.

The grilled window<sup>22</sup> to the right of the portal is set in a shallow recess spanned by four tiers of angular *muqarnas* corbelling covered with arabesque tracery. Similar tracery

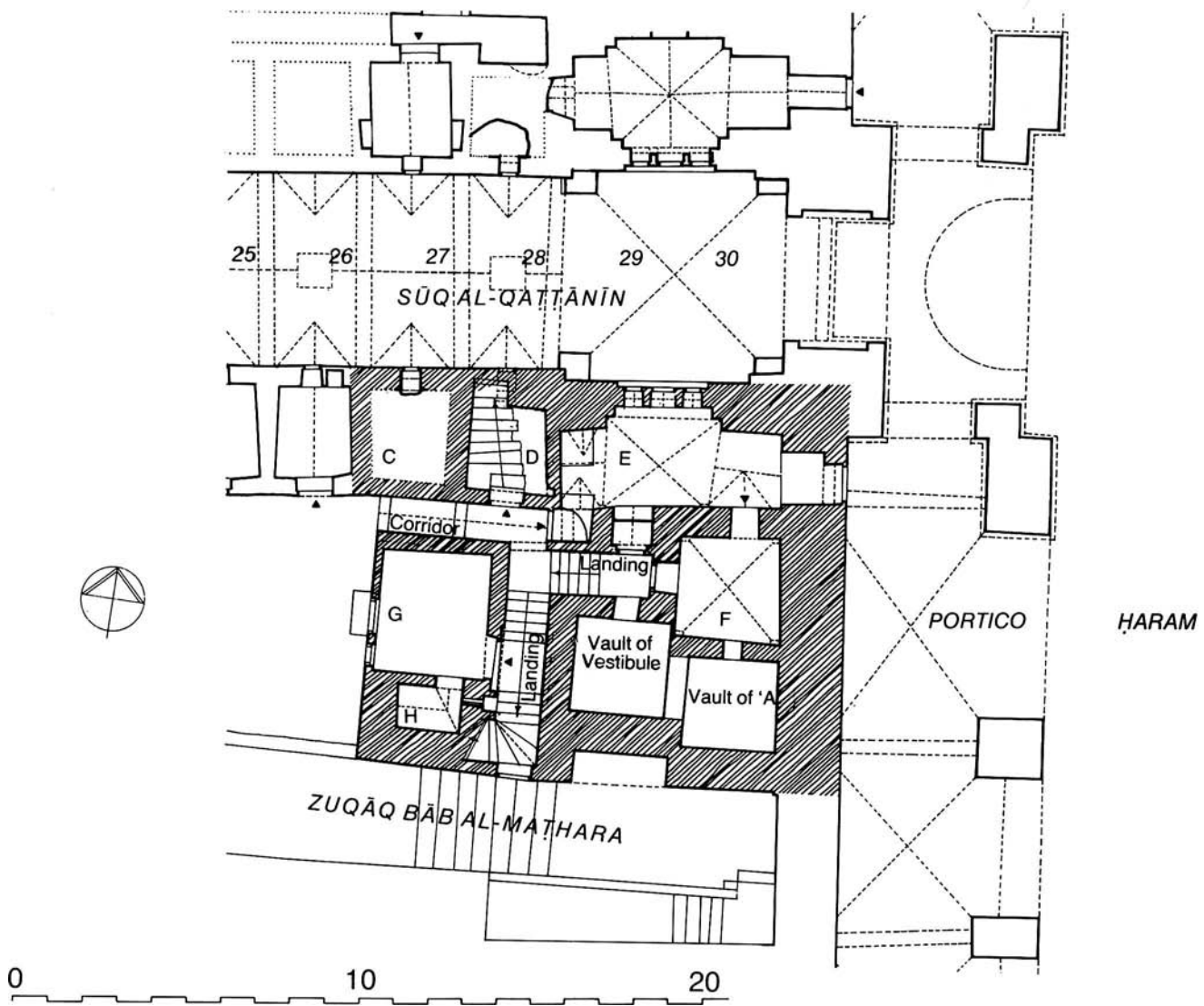


Fig. 61.4 Mezzanine plan



Plate 61.1 Street façade from south-west



Plate 61.2 Entrance portal

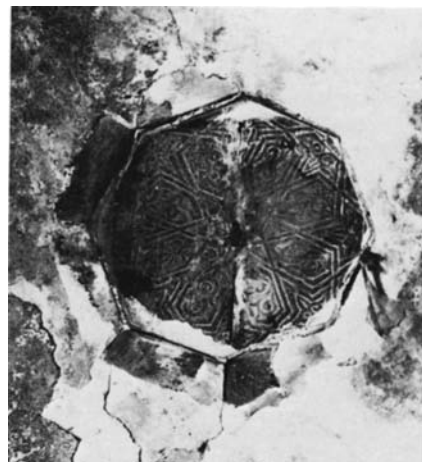


Plate 61.3 Octagonal panel at crown of vestibule's vault

decorates a pseudo-relieving lintel over the window and the course of masonry immediately below the *muqarnas* corbelling. The style of decoration, exemplified by the Ashrafiyya (no. 63), is typical of Cairene Mamlūk architecture during and after the reign of Qāytbāy.

#### GROUND FLOOR (plan, *fig.* 61.3)

The main rooms on the ground floor rise to the height of the ceiling of the adjoining *rubū'* of Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn to the north (see section, *fig.* 61.6), evidently in order to provide a flat roof on which the upper storey was built.

The first of these rooms is the entrance vestibule, roofed by a folded cross vault in which an octagonal panel carved with a strapwork star (*plate* 61.3) is recessed at the crown. A tall archway in the east wall of the vestibule, now largely blocked to leave only a rectangular window (see *fig.* 61.6), opened into what is architecturally the most important room (marked 'A' on the plan). This, too, is roofed by a folded cross vault, which has an octagonal dish decorated with a whirling rosette in plaster at the crown (*plate* 61.4). In the south wall is the decorated window that looks on the street. A door in the north wall leads into room 'B'. The cross vault of room 'B' rises to the same height as the vaults of room 'A' and the vestibule, but a later floor has at some time been inserted below it (see *fig.* 61.6). Along with the door from room 'A' this room has a door (now a window) in its east wall opening under the Ḥaram portico and a door in its west wall opening to a landing at the foot of the stairs to the upper floors. From the entrance vestibule a dog-leg passage, lit from the street by two windows, runs west and comes to a dead end. Perhaps it originally gave access to a room on the north, but there is now no trace of a doorway. The area to the north is inaccessible.

#### MEZZANINE (plan, *fig.* 61.4)

On the north side of the vestibule three steps lead up through a door into the landing at the foot of the staircase to the upper floors. In the east wall of that landing is the door from room 'B'. From the opposite (west) side six steps lead west up to a second landing where a doorway opens north into a corridor running west to a pointed-arched window in the west wall of the building. This corridor gives access to the two (originally three) easternmost rooms (C–E) of the southern *rubū'* of Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn (see above, p. 280). Both the passage and the rooms must have been incorporated into the ribāṭ at the time of its construction. Stairs have been built into the middle room (D) to give access to a yard and adjoining room (*plate* 61.5) above bays 26–30 of Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn, which appear to be Ottoman additions (see above, p. 279). The easternmost room of the *rubū'*, larger than the others, is entered through a door at the east end of the corridor. That room has a window in its south wall opening on the landing at the foot of the staircase, a door in the same wall giving access to the later room in the upper part of room 'A', a window in its east wall opening under the Ḥaram portico, and three windows in its north wall opening on the Sūq.

From the second landing, a flight of six steps rises south to a third landing from where a door leads west into room 'G', which is lit by two windows in its west wall. A door in its south wall opens into a windowless storeroom (H) situated above the ground floor passage.

#### UPPER FLOOR (plan, *fig.* 61.5)

From the third landing the stair rises south, turns west past a window in the façade and then north to emerge at an irregularly-shaped courtyard round which the upper floor rooms are grouped.

There are no rooms at the west end of the courtyard where a parapet wall forms the boundary. On the south side, to the east of the stairhead, a shallow *iwān* has a door in its rear wall that gives access to a narrow room (I) roofed by two cross vaults and lit by the grilled window in the upper part of the entrance portal. From that room a door opens east into a barrel-vaulted

room (J) lit by a window in the street façade (see section, *fig.* 61.6). On the east side of the courtyard a door opens into a barrel-vaulted cell (K). On the north side of the courtyard are three barrel-vaulted cells (M–O) built on the roof of the *rubū'*. At the east end of the north side of the courtyard a door opens to a landing from which a door opens east into room 'L', and an open stair rises north then east to the roof of the Ḥaram portico. The north-east corner of room 'L' is rounded off owing to the propinquity of the massive structure of Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn.

The stair that leads up to the roof of the portico may well originally have given access to buildings there which belonged to the ribāṭ. The tenth/sixteenth and eleventh/seventeenth century documents cited above seem to imply that at the time when they were written there were on the portico roof buildings associated with the ribāṭ. Creswell's 1920 photograph (*plate* 31.1) shows the façade of various structures in just that location, which were subsequently demolished in 1927.<sup>23</sup> The design of one window in that façade has suggested that these structures might have belonged to the 'Uthmāniyya (see above, p. 547), but the possibility that at least some of them belonged to the ribāṭ cannot be ruled out.



Plate 61.4 Vault of room 'A'



Plate 61.5 Yard and room above bays 26–30 of Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn

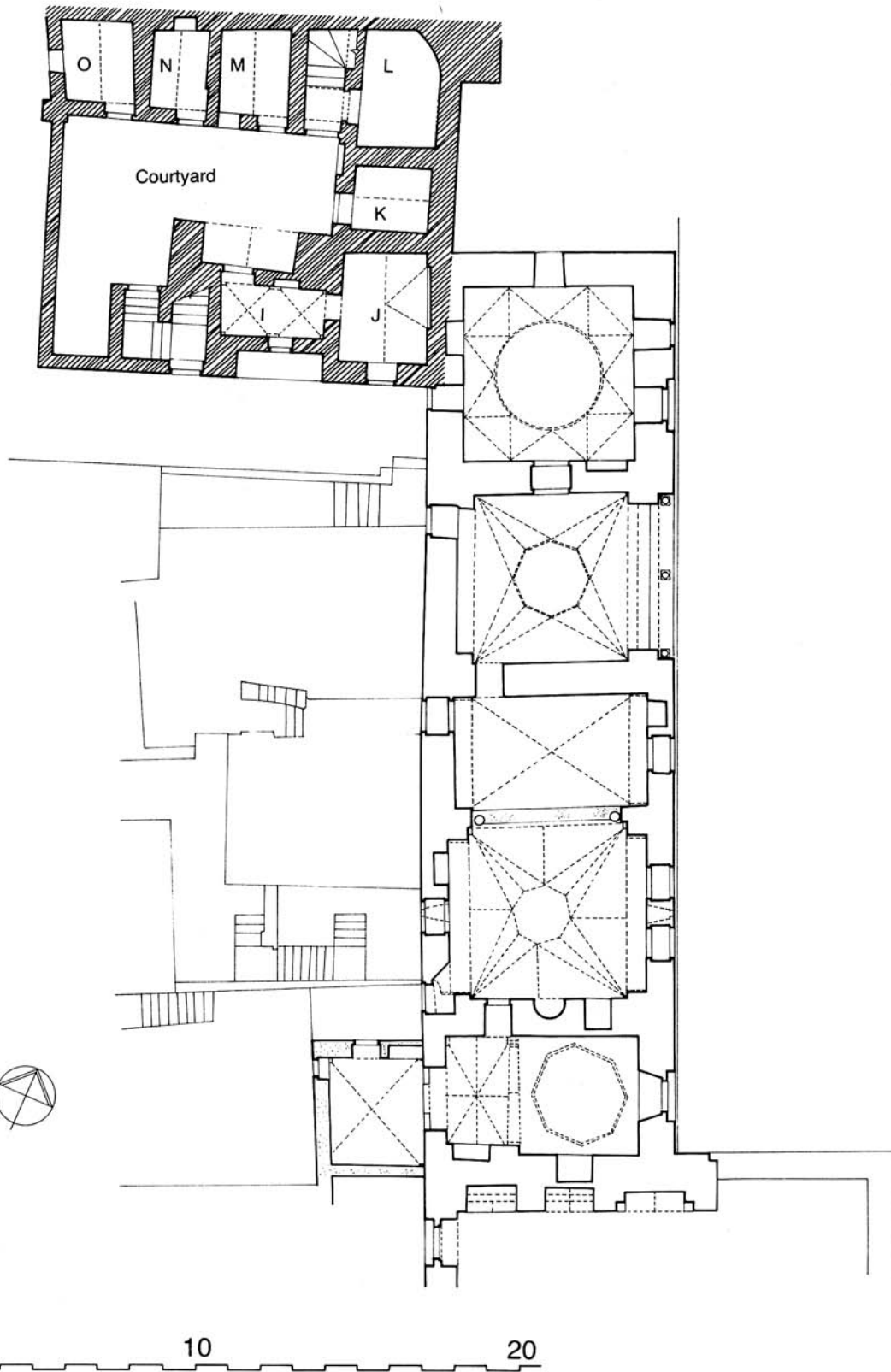


Fig. 61.5 Upper floor plan

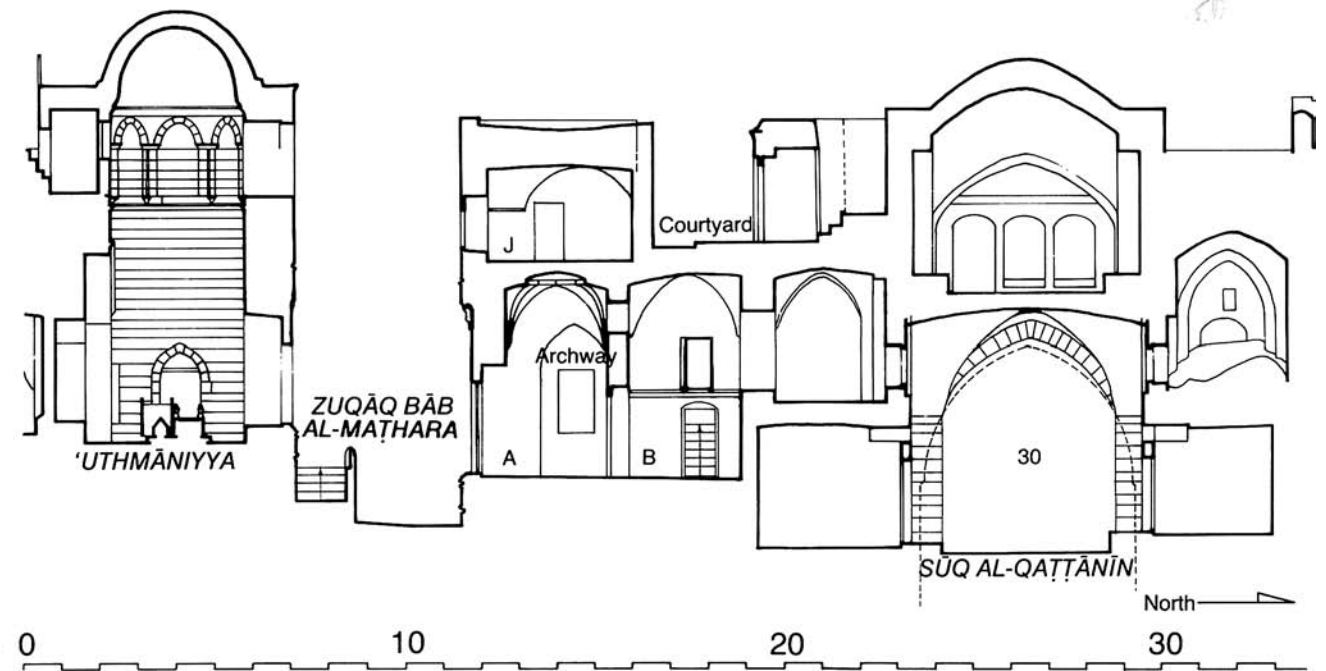


Fig. 61.6 South–north section looking west

## Notes

- 1 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 162.
- 2 Mujīr, ii, 36.
- 3 Mujīr, *loc. cit.*
- 4 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 104.
- 5 Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken*, iii, 225.
- 6 Al-Samḥūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, i, 442-3.
- 7 Ibn Iyās, iii, 145.
- 8 Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken*, iii, 225-6.
- 9 Ibn Iyās, iii, 170.
- 10 Ibn Iyās, iii, 188. According to al-Samḥūdī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Zamīn went to Medina in control of the repair work (*mutawallī al-'imāra*) in the month of Rabi' I, which, since the fire took place at the end of the year, must in fact have been in Rabi' I 887/April-May 1483 (*Wafā' al-Wafā'*, i, 460).
- 11 Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken*, iii, 227-9.
- 12 Ibn Iyās, iii, 293.
- 13 Hence the title *kbwāja* applied to him. As a servitor of the Prophet's Tomb, van Berchem speculated whether he might have been a eunuch. The family background portrayed by al-Sakhāwī in the *tarjama* to be quoted from (note 15 below) makes this impossible. See the long discussion of the titles and his position in *CIA (Ville)*, 346 ff.
- 14 For this madrasa in Cairo, see Ibn Iyās, iv, 114 (s.a. 913) and 202 (s.a. 916). Al-

- Sakhāwī wrote: 'A madrasa there which I do not think was completed' (*Daw*, viii, 261).
- 15 *Daw*, viii, 260-262.
- 16 Semendira, 44 kilometres south-east of Belgrade, was taken by the Ottomans in 1459, see D.E. Pitcher, *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden, 1972, 90.
- 17 *Daw*, ix, 177.
- 18 *Daw*, i, 69. The text specifies Calicut as a trading destination, but Dabhol (Dābul) is an emendation hazarded for (Qāb.l).
- 19 Respectively Sijill 56, 282(2) and Sijill 185, 124.
- 20 Another shaykh and inspector from the late eighteenth century, 'Abd al-Rahmān Effendi 'Afīf Zādeh (of the same family?) is named by Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 323, quoting Sijill 267, 128.
- 21 *CIA (Planches)*, lxxvii. Minor repairs were made to the façade again in 1980. Plate lxxi shows that in van Berchem's day the building was entered through a door (now a window) in the Ḥaram wall under the west portico.
- 22 This window was, like the entrance, partly blocked in 1914 (see preceding note).
- 23 *Bayān al-majlis al-sbar'ī al-islāmī al-a'lā bi-Filastīn*, Jerusalem, 1928, 5, and 37th plate.



# 62 AL-MUZHIRIYYA

## المزهرية

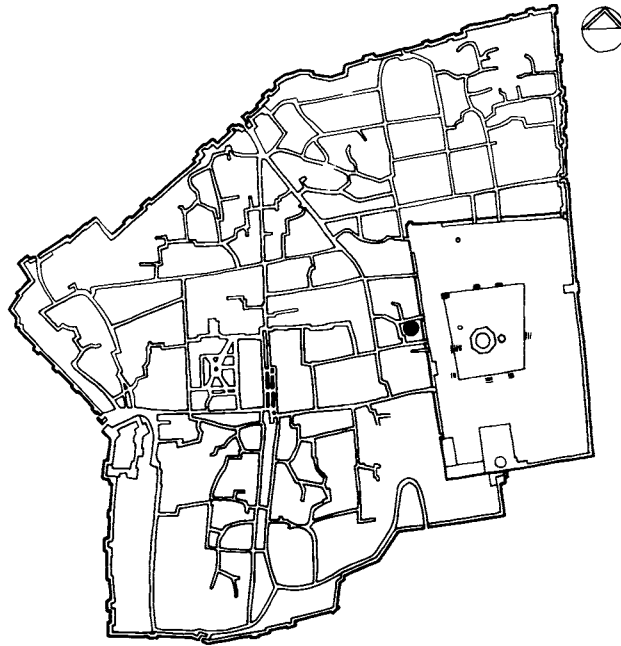


Fig. 62.1 Location plan

885/1480-81

Madrasa of Abū Bakr b. Muzhir

Modern name: Dār al-Sha'bānī

### I LOCATION (fig. 62.1)

On the south side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd to the west of the Arghūniyya (no. 32).

### II SITE AND BUILDING (fig. 62.2 and 62.3)

The site is bounded to the north by the street, Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd, to the east by that part of the Arghūniyya that is a passage giving access to the Khātūniyya, to the north by the Khātūniyya itself, and to the west by some vaulted structures whose history is not known.

The building line established by the Arghūniyya was followed by the builders of the Muzhiriyya but with a small southward deflection of  $1\frac{1}{2}^\circ$  in order to accommodate the overall alignment of the street as dictated by earlier buildings (nos. 7, 32 and 58).

The building has four main parts: (1) A ground floor consisting of various chambers disposed around a courtyard which opens south to a *qibla iwān* with a *mihṛāb*. At the north-west corner of the courtyard a staircase gives access to (2) an upper floor of several small chambers entered from a gallery round three sides of the courtyard, including another staircase which leads up to (3) a top floor on the east and south sides of the courtyard, comprising two decoratively vaulted chambers, a large room over the *qibla iwān* and two small rooms on the roof of the Arghūniyya. (4) Across the roof of the Arghūniyya, on the roof of the Haram portico stood an anteroom and assembly hall that were demolished in 1925<sup>1</sup> and are known from earlier texts, drawings<sup>2</sup> and photographs.

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

There is no extant inscription. Mujīr al-Dīn states that the Muzhiriyya Madrasa is situated in the Bāb al-Ḥadīd Street and adds, 'part of it is built over the Arghūniyya [see p. 356]. There is an assembly hall (*majma*) above the Haram portico.'<sup>3</sup>

#### DATE

Mujīr al-Dīn is once more our only source: 'The construction of the madrasa was completed in the year 885 [1480-81].'<sup>4</sup>

#### FOUNDER

The foundation of this institution was the work of the one-time head of the Chancery Bureau (*dīwān al-insbā'*) in Cairo, Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muzhir al-Anṣārī al-Shāfi'i.<sup>5</sup> During his career he held various offices, including the Inspectorate of the Army. He was born into a family which had long served the Mamlūk régime in important administrative positions. Although no positive connection can be traced it seems likely

that the two brothers, Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 703/1303) and Sharaf al-Dīn Ya'qūb (d. 714/1314), sons of Muẓaffar b. Muzhir, who both held high administrative posts in Damascus, were ancestors of our Zayn al-Dīn Abū Bakr. Both were called 'al-Nābulusī', for the family seems to have originated from Nablus.<sup>6</sup> A Haram document dated 784/1382 contains the testament of a man described as 'one of the Muzhir clan of Nablus'.<sup>7</sup>

Abū Bakr's grandfather, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, was twice head of Chancery (*kātib al-sirr*) in Damascus. He died in Jerusalem in Dhū'l-Qa'da 793/October 1390.<sup>8</sup> Another Haram document,<sup>9</sup> dated that very same month, authorized the sale of five slaves and a mule on behalf of his orphan children. One of these children was another Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad,<sup>10</sup> the father-to-be of Abū Bakr. He had been born in Damascus in 786/1384-85, and followed in the career footsteps of his father, but moved to Cairo and became head of the Chancery there as a result of his association with the Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, established when the latter was still governor in Damascus.

It was in Cairo that Abū Bakr was born, in Rajab 831/April-May 1428.<sup>11</sup> He was orphaned at a young age when his father died on Saturday, 26 Jumādā II 832/2 April 1429.<sup>12</sup> His father was immediately succeeded as head of the Chancery by another son, yet another Muḥammad, known as Jalāl al-Dīn, but in office, as Badr al-Dīn like his father and grandfather. For this appointment he paid 90,000 or 100,000 dinars from his father's estate, but was soon replaced and made secretary to the sultan's son.<sup>13</sup> Still not yet twenty, he died in Rajab 833/April 1430.<sup>14</sup>

Abū Bakr studied all the main Shāfi'i law texts with the leading Shāfi'i scholars, and gained his professional administrative skills through association with the top officials of the day, including his guardian, Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ (see p. 519). His own career proceeded at a measured pace. He eventually became head of the Chancery in 866/1462<sup>15</sup> and held the post until his death. He came to Nablus in early 893/spring 1488 to raise troops for an expedition against the Ottomans, and had hoped to visit Jerusalem but fell ill, and returned to Cairo,<sup>16</sup> where he died on Thursday, 6 Ramaḍān 893/14 August 1488.<sup>17</sup> The next day he was buried in the mausoleum he had built in the Qarāfa cemetery.

He had visited Jerusalem and Hebron 'time after time', and had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca 'more than once'. Two public fountains (*sabilayn*) had been erected by him in Mecca and a ribāṭ and a madrasa in Medina. At Cairo he was the

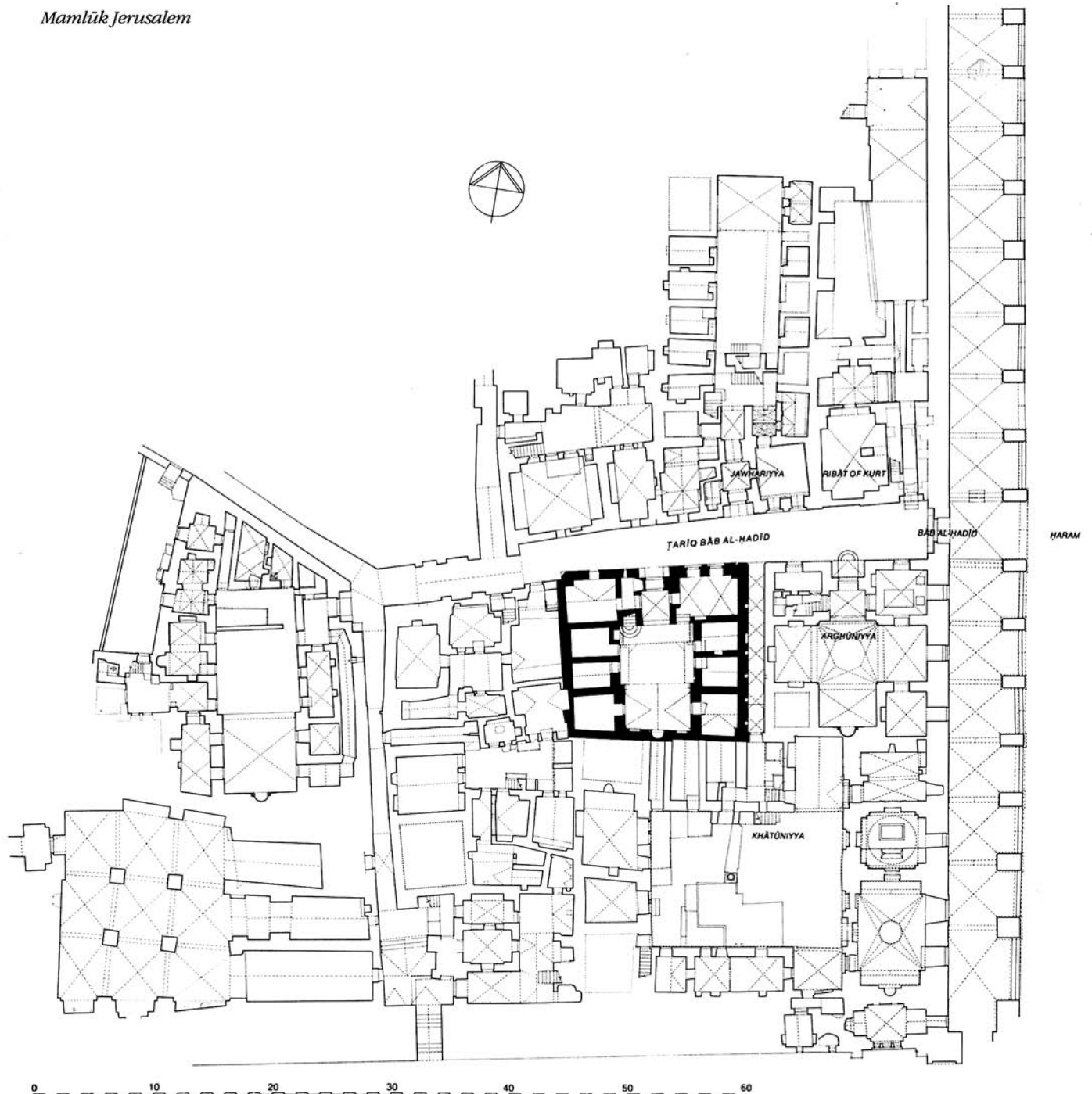


Fig. 62.2 Site plan

founder of a fine madrasa 'near his house' in the Birjawān district, which was completed probably in 884/1479-80, that is, about the same time as the building of his madrasa in Jerusalem.<sup>18</sup> The Cairo madrasa was established, as al-Sakhāwī tells us, to hold a Šūfī community and to provide courses of study in Koranic exegesis, the Tradition of the Prophet, and jurisprudence and other unspecified matters. May one assume the same for the Jerusalem foundation? Al-Sakhawī wrote, 'Likewise he erected a small madrasa (*madrasa latīfa*) in Jerusalem'.

After his death he too was succeeded in the office of head of the Chancery by a son, a fourth Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad.<sup>19</sup> Some years later another son, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, took over that position but only for a few months.<sup>20</sup> In 910/1504 Badr al-Dīn was arrested and died after dreadful torture.<sup>21</sup> A further son committed suicide rather than face what he feared from the sultan, and then, to complete the deaths of three sons of Abū Bakr within the space of one year, Kamāl al-Dīn died of plague in Ramaḍān 910/February 1505.<sup>22</sup>

#### ENDOWMENT

A brief note in the Ottoman defter no. 602 attributes to the waqf of the Muzhiriyya in Jerusalem one half of the village of Bayt Sāḥūr al-Wādī, valued there at 1,250 aspers, and also the Khān of the Banī Sa'd and its lands. No rental value for this is given.<sup>23</sup> However, sijill entries mention other resources. In the appointment of a rent-collector for an obscurely written village, dependent on Jerusalem (read Jāw.t ?), the village was described as waqf for the Muzhiriyya Madrasa.<sup>24</sup> A fruit plantation, sold in 986/1578, was situated in the al-Šarāra land, outside Jerusalem near the Damascus Gate, 'waqf for the Hospital of Saladin and the Muzhiriyya Madrasa'.<sup>25</sup> A later entry specifies that the share of the madrasa was one third.<sup>26</sup>

#### SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

No later references to the functioning of this institution have been found. That appointments, at least nominal ones, continued to be endorsed by the court is shown by the sijill references gathered by Asali. In 1022/1613 a Shaykh 'Ināyat

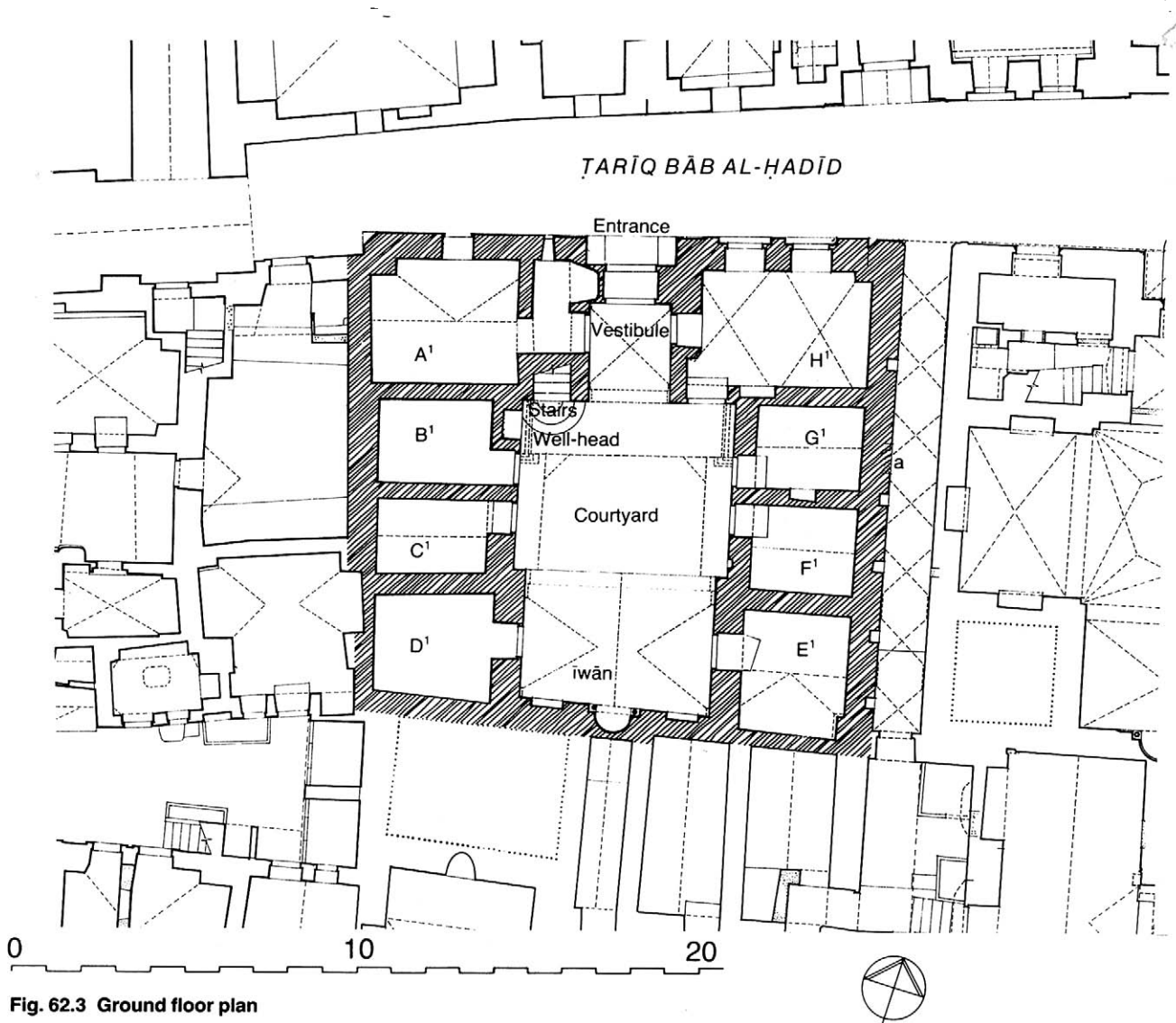


Fig. 62.3 Ground floor plan

Allāh al-Ghazzī was appointed to half the headship (*masbyakba*) and the post of *mudarris*.<sup>27</sup> Other eighteenth-century entries suggest that the Muzhiriyya became at that time the preserve of the al-Dajānī family.<sup>28</sup>

In a report dated 14 November 1923 in the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum (File 100 'Jerusalem') L.A. Mayer states that the entrance to the [anteroom to the] assembly hall had been recently blocked up. It had been open when he first visited some eighteen months earlier.

According to Asali, the building became known as the Sha'bānī House, because that family resided there until 1933, when the Awqāf Administration bought it. It now continues to provide residential accommodation, but is partly ruined.<sup>29</sup>

## ARCHITECTURE

### STREET FAÇADE (figs. 62.6 and 62.7; plate 62.1)

The façade is arranged asymmetrically about a tall portal recess. To the right of the recess are a small pointed slit window and a higher rectangular window lighting ground floor rooms; at upper floor level a recessed panel of *ablaq* masonry contains a double window with pointed horseshoe arches separated by a marble shaft. At the right-hand (west) end of the façade a chamfer with a *muqarnas* head protects the north-west corner of the building from abrasion.

To the left of the portal a pair of identical iron-grilled windows are individually recessed under four tiers of finely modelled *muqarnas* (plate 62.2). Within each recess the window jambs are of red and cream-coloured *ablaq*

supporting a lintel of greyish marble. A relieving arch above each lintel has alternate voussoirs of an unusual yellow stone lightly incised with arabesque tracery. Similar tracery embellishes the next-but-one course above and also the rectilinear *muqarnas* corbelling in a manner similar to that of the Zamanī Ribāt (no. 61). The design of the tracery and of the *muqarnas* corbelling is slightly different in each recess. Directly above the recesses is a double horseshoe arched window, identical to the one to the right of the portal, with a small rectangular window to its left.

The lofty entrance portal, dominating the façade, is built of red, yellow, black and cream-coloured *ablaq* enclosed within a quirked ogee frame moulding (plate 62.1). The shallow (0.80m) recess is spanned by eight tiers of fussy *muqarnas* corbelling and a trefoil horseshoe arch. The door in the rear of the recess is flanked by the usual stone benches. Its lintel is surmounted by a string course of black and yellow *ablaq* joggling. Above the string course a course of red stone separates it from a recessed panel which extends around the recess and onto the façade where it terminates ornamentally within the limits of the frame moulding (see plate 62.2). High in the rear wall of the recess a small squarish window lights one of the upper floor rooms. It has a limestone frame 0.20m wide incised with tracery similar to that of the paired ground floor windows. The badly weathered *muqarnas* corbelling rises from the level of this window's sill up to the cusps where the lateral lobes of the trefoil arch meet the top lobe. This top lobe is filled by a very shallow conch, also carved with low-relief tracery.



Plate 62.1 General view of street façade

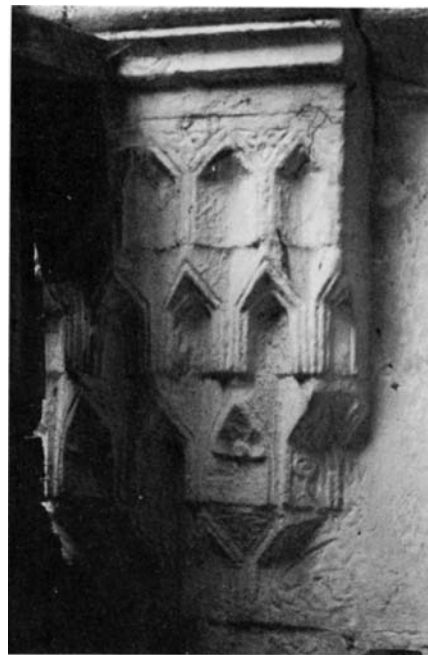


Plate 62.4 East corbel of *iwān* arch



Plate 62.2 Paired windows in façade, with Arghūniyya beyond



Plate 62.5 *Iwān* from roof of upper floor



Plate 62.3 Arched well-recess with gadroon voussoirs and, above it, springing of later arch supporting extension to upper floor gallery

**GROUND FLOOR** (plan, *fig.* 62.3)

The entrance doorway is arranged with internal recesses on either side to allow double door leaves to lie flush with the jambs. (The present door leaves are not original.) The door leads into a cross-vaulted vestibule with openings in all sides: to the east a grilled window (now blocked) into a double cross-vaulted chamber (marked 'H' on the plan) lit by the paired windows in the façade; to the west into a short passage leading to a barrel-vaulted room (A<sup>1</sup>); and to the south an archway springing from *muqarnas* corbels opens for the full width of the vestibule into the courtyard.

The disposition of openings around the courtyard is quite symmetrical save for a gadroon-arched well recess at the north end of the west wall (*plate* 62.3), which gives access to a cistern under the building. Two pointed-arched doors (B<sup>1</sup>, C<sup>1</sup>, F<sup>1</sup> and G<sup>1</sup>) ventilated by slits (of which only the two southern ones remain open – see *fig.* 62.7) under the crowns of the vaults.

The tall barrel-vaulted *iwān* occupies almost the whole of the south side of the courtyard. Its pointed frontal arch springs from *muqarnas* corbels (*plate* 62.4) and its red and cream-coloured voussoirs are framed by a cyma reversa moulding with a circular loop at the crown. Alternate voussoirs (the cream-coloured ones) are each made up of two stones (see *plate* 62.5).

Deep excisions in the *iwān*'s barrel vault provide clearance for doors in the middle of each side wall. The one in the west wall has been blocked up, rendering the room beyond

inaccessible, while that in the east wall is now surmounted by a window not shown in Harvey's drawing of 1909 (*fig.* 62.9).

The south, *qibla* wall contains a decorated *mihrab* flanked by shallow (0.21m deep) rectangular cupboard-like recesses. The alignment of this wall is not at right-angles to the main north-south axis since it follows the line of the pre-existing north wall of the contiguous Khātūniyya (no. 31). This wall is about 3° off the normal Mecca-orientation of the neighbouring *qibla* walls (of nos. 31 and 32) but this appears not to have worried the builders of the Muzhiriyya.

The pointed-arched *mihrab*, semicircular in plan with a nook shaft on either side, is set in a panel of red and cream-coloured *ablaq*, the upper part of which is framed by a rectangular band of black stone enclosing the arch (*plate* 62.6). The columns, probably re-used Crusader elements, are of streaky white marble resting on Mamlūk bases of red stone and supporting vase-shaped capitals (now badly eroded) bearing arabesque tracery in low relief. The stone course immediately above the capitals is similarly decorated, as is the base course. Between these two courses the *mihrab* is lined with five strips of inlaid stone, two black on each side of a central red one, the black ones having palmette finials and the red one a trilobed finial. The conch is of black stone with four drop-shaped inserts of yellowish stone.<sup>30</sup>



Plate 62.6 Ground floor *mihrab*

#### UPPER FLOOR (plan, *fig.* 62.4)

At the west end of the north wall of the courtyard three semicircular steps lead into the enclosed staircase to the upper floor (see *plate* 62.7). Access to the rooms at this level is provided by a gallery round the west, north and east sides of the courtyard. This gallery has been widened on all three sides, the extension being supported by a segmental arch spanning the north end of the courtyard (*plate* 62.7) and half arches spanning the east and west sides. The gallery is shown as it was originally without the extension in *fig.* 31.9.

All the rooms are roofed with barrel vaults except for two on the north side ( $A^2$  and  $K^2$ ) overlooking the street, which are more elaborately vaulted (as shown on the plan, *fig.* 62.4, and section, *fig.* 62.8). These two rooms may have served some more important function than the others. The one in the north-west corner appears originally to have been entered by a door (now blocked; marked 'a' on the plan) at the head of the stairs. Now it is reached through a later opening from the adjoining room ( $B^2$ ) which is in turn reached by a later door from the room ( $C^2$ ) to its south, but which evidently was initially entered through a door (b) opening off the gallery. Room ' $C^2$ ' appears once to have opened to the east for its full width, like an *iwān*.

The other rooms at this level retain their original form. That in the south-west corner ( $E^2$ ) has a slit window in its west wall and a deep cupboard-like recess in its north wall. It opens to the east into a low barrel-vaulted windowless chamber ( $F^2$ ) which sits above the vault of the *qibla iwān*. For some reason this chamber does not occupy all the available space over the *iwān* but has instead a very sturdy north wall varying in thickness from 1.50m at its west end to 1.85m at its east end. It is now piled high with debris, but even if that were removed there would not be sufficient height to stand up in this space (see section, *fig.* 62.7). To the east of chamber ' $F^2$ ' lie a further two small barrel-vaulted rooms ( $G^2$  and  $H^2$ ) in the south-east corner, entered from a porch at the south end of the east gallery. Though these rooms along the south side stand higher than the single storey cells of the adjoining Khātūniyya none has a window in its south wall; indeed three ( $F^2$ ,  $G^2$  and  $H^2$ ) of the four have no windows at all. Two rooms ( $I^2$  and  $J^2$ ) on the east side are likewise devoid of windows.



Plate 62.7 North-west corner of the courtyard



Plate 62.8 Upper floor room ' $K^2$ ' looking east

#### TOP FLOOR (plan, *fig.* 62.5)

A door at the north end of the east gallery opens into the staircase to the top floor. The stair leads into two small chambers, ' $A^3$ ' and ' $B^3$ ', over rooms ' $I^2$ ' and ' $J^2$ ' of the upper floor. The elaborate vaulting of these chambers caught Harvey's fancy: 'curiously ornamented domes and quaintly arranged examples of fan vaulting . . . delight the architect by their excellent combination of structural truth and appropriate



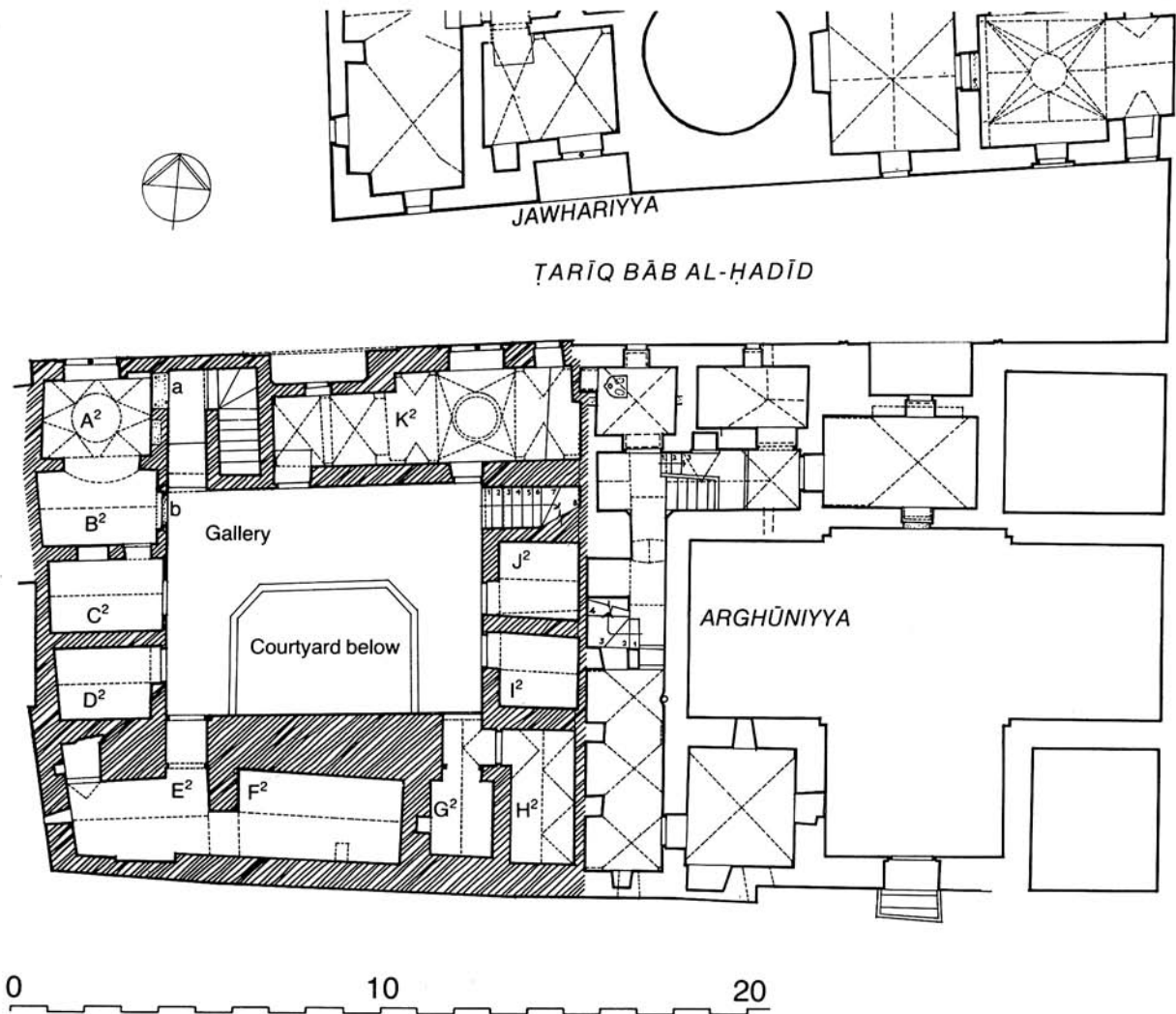


Fig. 62.4 Upper floor plan

decoration'. His drawing of the second vault (B<sup>3</sup>) is fig. 62.10. From 'B<sup>3</sup>' a door opens east into a double cross-vaulted porch (D<sup>3</sup>) leading out to the roof of the Arghūniyya and from there to the former assembly hall above the Ḥaram portico (see below). Access to or from the staircase could have been controlled from a barrel-vaulted room (E<sup>3</sup>) immediately to the south of the porch. A second door opens south from 'B<sup>3</sup>' into a large hall, 'C<sup>3</sup>' (now partly divided by a modern partition), roofed with two cross vaults and a folded cross vault. The elaborate vaulting of the two chambers at the top of the stairs is some indication of the importance of these two halls, 'C<sup>3</sup>' and the assembly hall. The west part of 'C<sup>3</sup>', with the folded cross vault, sits above the *qibla iwān* and has three windows overlooking the courtyard. Here again there are no windows in the south wall, presumably in order not to intrude on the privacy of the courtyard of the Khātūniyya below.

**ASSEMBLY HALL**

Detached from the rest of the building, the assembly hall lay to the east beyond the roof of the Arghūniyya, 'over the Ḥaram portico' as Mujīr al-Dīn wrote. Nothing now survives of it except for a series of vaulting profiles observed in the east face of the upper part of the Ḥaram wall. It was, however, still standing in 1909 when Harvey visited, and it is on the basis of his drawings (our figs. 62.11 and 62.12) and his description that it can be reconstructed with reference to early photographs (such as plate 35.5).

Abutting against the north wall of the assembly hall of the Jawhariyya (no. 58) stood an anteroom (fig. 62.12) leading



Plate 62.9 Mihrāb in assembly hall

south into the assembly hall (fig. 62.11). Access to the anteroom from the roof of the Arghūniyya was by way of a door in the upper part of the Ḥaram wall. The room was roofed with a



folded cross vault rising to an octagonal cupola decorated in plaster with two tiers of *muqarnas* under a fluted domelet. A double window with horseshoe arches separated by a central column (similar to those in the street façade) overlooked the Haram.

Evidently the assembly hall was vaulted in three bays: intersecting barrel vaults to south and north of a central folded cross vault rising to an octagonal cupola decorated with chevron ribs spreading outward and upward from eight small *muqarnas* niches. Harvey's drawing, *fig. 62.11*, shows only the central and southern bays but we may assume the third, northern, one since profiles of three vaults, in addition to that of the anteroom, are discernible in the east face of the Haram wall; and virtually all assembly halls in Mamlūk Jerusalem have tripartite vaults. Each bay overlooked the Haram through paired pointed-arched grilled windows, and each had paired recesses (now blocked up) in the east wall (visible in the surviving masonry though not shown in Harvey's drawing). These recesses must have been cupboards, not windows, for there is no trace of openings in the west face of the wall.

A *mīhrāb* in the south, *qibla* wall of the assembly hall (photographed by Creswell in 1920, *plate 62.9*) was flanked by small recesses on either hand (*fig. 62.11*).

To the south of the assembly hall were further structures on the roof of the Haram portico (see *plate 35.5*), demolished at the same time as the assembly hall, which probably belonged to the 'Uthmāniyya (no. 57).

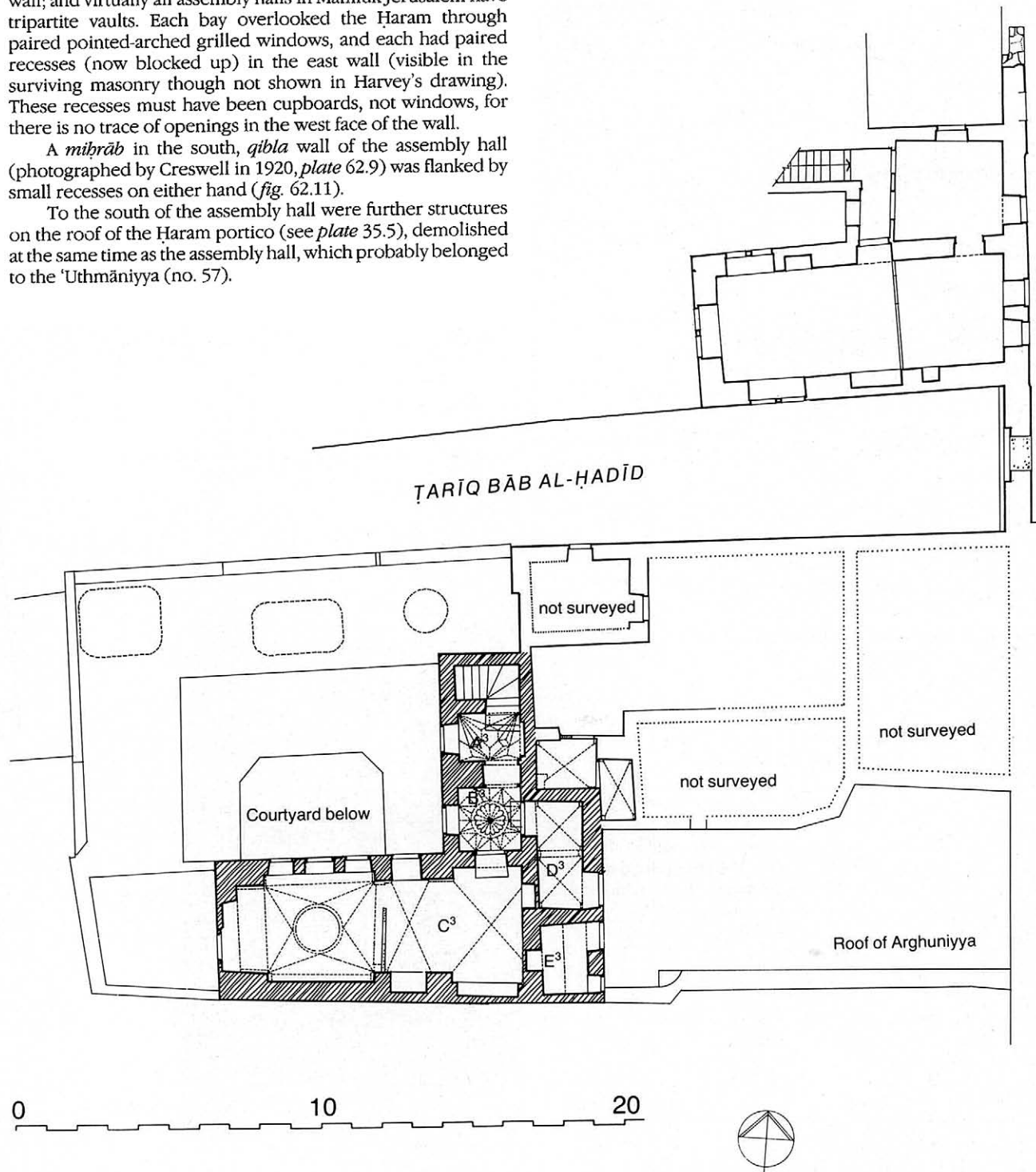


Fig. 62.5 Top floor plan

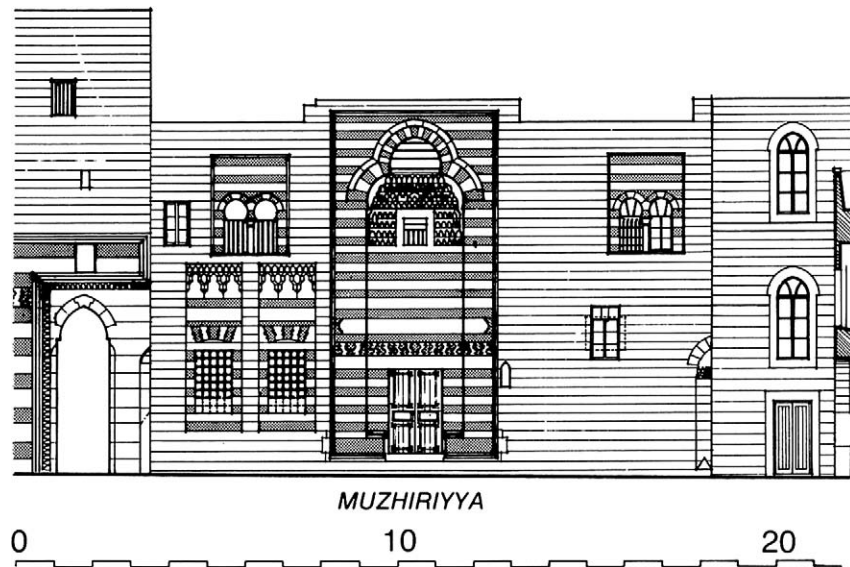


Fig. 62.6 *Ṭarīq Bāb al-Ḥadīd*: Elevation of south side

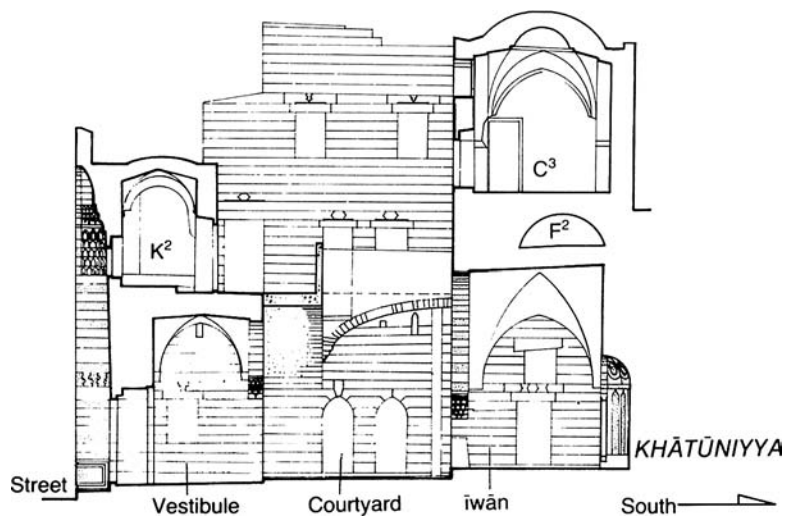


Fig. 62.7 North-south section looking east

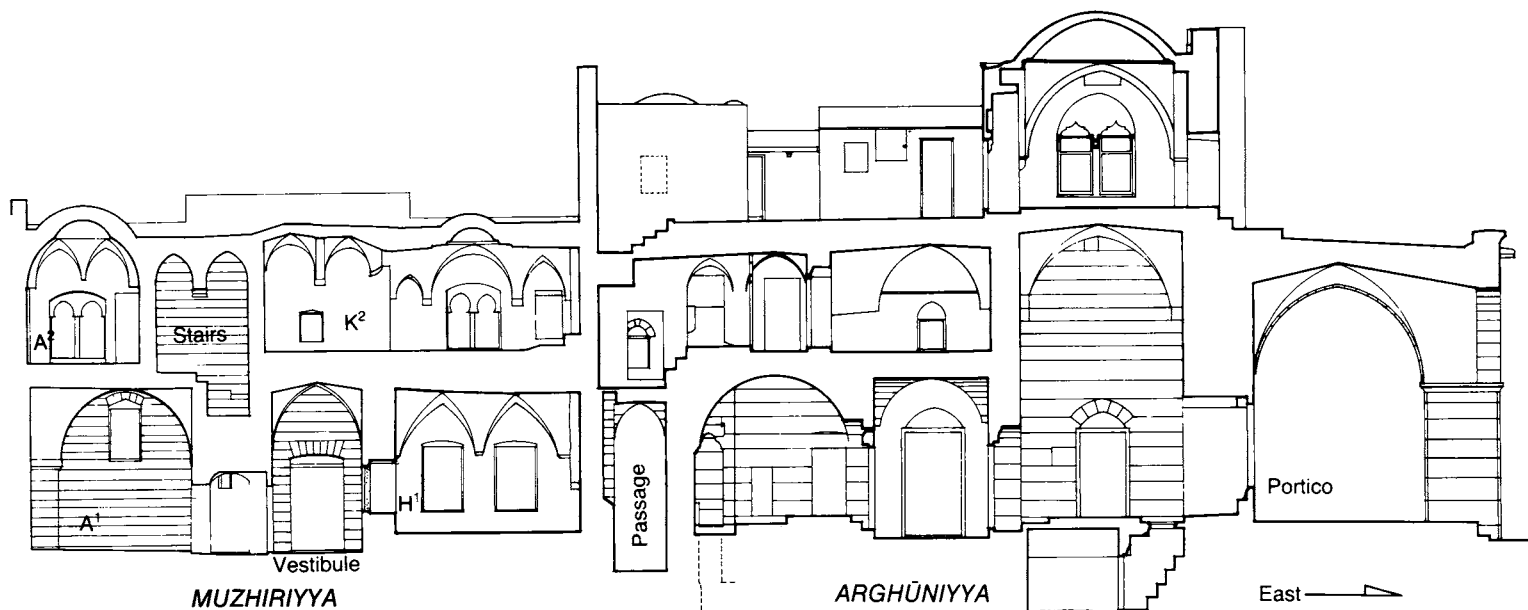


Fig. 62.8 West-east section looking north

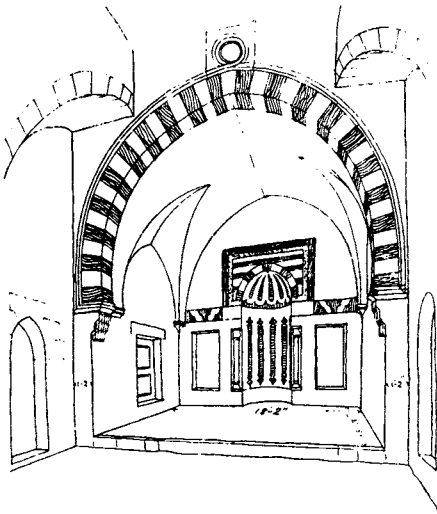


Fig. 62.9 'Entrance courtyard and prayer niche to a Saracenic school Jerusalem'

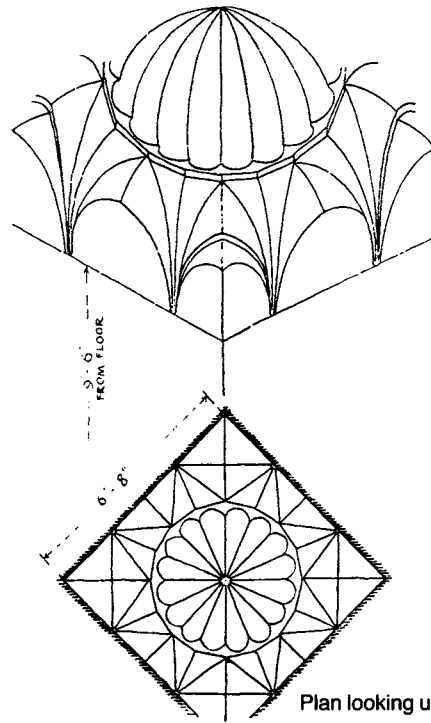


Fig. 62.10 'Vaulted ceiling to a lobby on stair Saracenic school Jerusalem'



Fig. 62.11 'Chapel in an old Saracenic school Jerusalem'

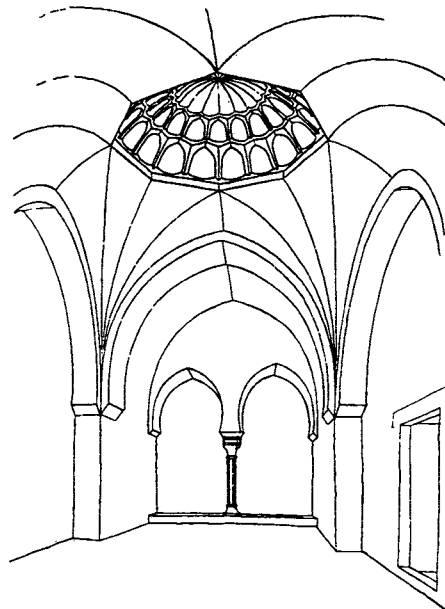


Fig. 62.12 'Ante-chamber to chapel Saracenic school Jerusalem'

## Notes

- 1 An aerial photograph dated 30 March 1925 in the archives of the Palestine Archaeological (Rockefeller) Museum, File 78 'Jerusalem', shows the demolished portico at Bāb al-Hadīd and the structures it supported.
- 2 These drawings, reproduced here as our *figs.* 62.9–62.12, were made by William Harvey in 1909 and reproduced in his article 'A Saracenic School, Jerusalem', *The Builder*, 2 April 1910, 373–74.
- 3 Mujīr, ii, 37; cf. *CIA (Ville)*, 281 note 2.
- 4 Mujīr, *loc. cit.*
- 5 For biographical information, see *Daw*, xi, 88–9; Ibn Iyās, iii, 255; *Nuj.*, vii, see index.
- 6 *Durar*, i, 338–9, and v, 211. See also al-Suqā'ī, *Tālī*, nos. 52 and 297.
- 7 Haram no. 501.
- 8 Mujīr, ii, 162.
- 9 Haram no. 649; see D.P. Little, 'Two Fourteenth-century Court Records from Jerusalem concerning the Disposition of Slaves by Minors', *Arabica*, xxix, 1982, 17–28.
- 10 *Daw*, ix, 39–40; *Inbā'*, iii, 431–2; *Nuj.*, vi, 807.
- 11 Or, according to Ibn Iyās, ii, 255, in 832/1428–9.
- 12 Abū Bakr's mother later married a Coptic official, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mar'a (d. 844/1440), see *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsīm*, fol. 17b. She herself was dead before 879/1474, because Abū Bakr while 'sleeping in his mausoleum as was his custom after the death of his mother' was attacked by 'one of those who recited the Koran there' one night during Ṣafar/April of that year. See Anon. Chronicle, Cairo Ms. Tā'rikh 5631, fols. 140a–b.
- 13 *Nuj.*, vi, 640 and 648–9; *Daw*, ix, 197.
- 14 He was born in 814/1411–2 and died Monday, 10 Rajab 833/3 April 1430, according to *Daw*, ix, 197. Another date given is Monday, 26 Rajab 833/20 April

1430, but = Thursday (*Inbā'*, iii, 450–1; *Nuj.*, vi, 816–7).

15 *Nuj.*, vii, 711.

16 Ibn Iyās, iii, 250 and 253–4; Mujīr, ii, 37.

17 *Daw*, xi, 89; Mujīr, *loc. cit.* Other dates are given, e.g. 3 Ramaḍān/11 August (Ibn Iyās, iii, 255), or 8 Ramaḍān/16 August (Anon. Chronicle, *cit. supra*, fols. 182b–183a). In Jumādā II 892/May–June 1487 had died Sitt al-Khulafā', daughter of the Caliph al-Mustanjid Yūsuf and some-time wife of Abū Bakr (Ibn Iyās, iii, 240–1).

18 *Daw*, *loc. cit.*, says, 'near his house'. He also had a house at Birkat al-Raṭlī, according to Ibn Iyās, iii, 186. The madrasa is still extant in Cairo, see Creswell, *A brief Chronology*, 144. A shaykh of this madrasa, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. 'Alī al-Shāfi'ī, died in Sha'bān 893/July–August 1488 (Ibn Iyās, iii, 254).

19 Ibn Iyās, iii, 255.

20 Ibn Iyās, iii, 429 and 440.

21 Ibn Iyās, iv, 67 and 70–71.

22 Ibn Iyās, iv, 75–76.

23 Defter 602, 450.

24 Sijill 30, no. 1425, dated 962/1555.

25 Sijill 58, 94 (1). The Ṣarāra land is frequently mentioned in the Jerusalem sijills, see, for example, Sijill 40, 470 (3).

26 Sijill 185, 108–9, dated 1093/1682.

27 Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 194, quoting Sijill 94, no page cited, but dated Ṣafar 1022.

28 Asali, *loc. cit.*, quoting Sijill 220, 73 and Sijill 267, 150.

29 Asali, *loc. cit.*

30 This decoration of the semidome is similar to that of the east portal of the palace of Sitt Ṭunshuq (above, p. 487). Whether or not this type of decoration is meant to represent the word 'Allāh' [ie: ﷲ] remains a matter for conjecture.

# 63 AL-ASHRAFIYYA

## الأشرفية

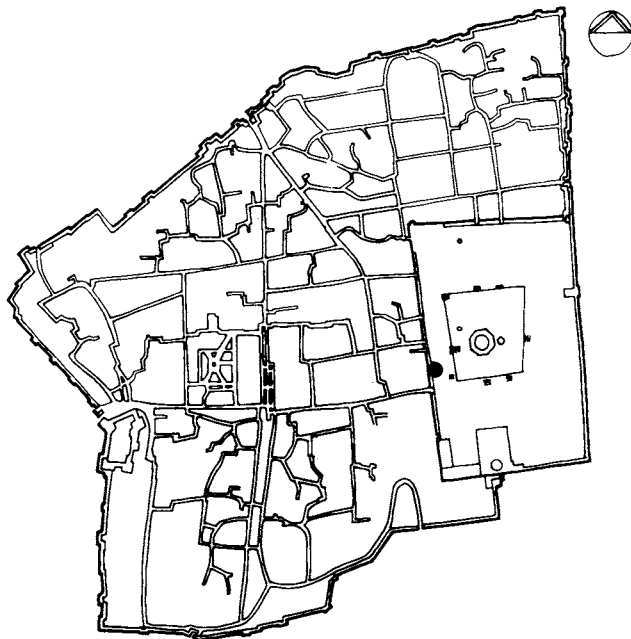


Fig. 63.1 Location plan

887/1482

Madrasa of Sultan Qāyrbāy

Modern names:

Ground floor: Maktabat al-Masjid al-Aqṣā/Aqṣā Mosque Library

Upper floor: Dār al-Fityānī, and others not known

### I LOCATION (fig. 63.1)

At the west border of the Ḥaram between the Bāb al-Silsila Minaret (no. 20) to the south and the 'Uthmāniyya (no. 57) to the north, and partly on top of the Baladiyya (no. 43) and the west portico of the Ḥaram.

### II SITE AND BUILDINGS (figs. 63.2–63.4)

The present building is the third Ashrafiyya to have been built on the site within a space of twenty years (see below). Of the two earlier constructions nothing appears to have survived since each was demolished to make way for its successor. Only two royal cartouches in the name of Sultan Khushqadam, for whom the first madrasa was intended, may be remnants of the initial construction. One of these cartouches is in secondary use alongside some re-used *muqarnas* fragments (that look as if they probably belonged originally to the present Ashrafiyya) in a window recess above the Ḥaram portico at Bāb al-Silsila (plate 63.1). The other is on display in the Mayer Memorial Institute in Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>



Plate 63.1 Royal cartouche (circled) in name of Sultan Khushqadam in secondary use in window recess above Bāb al-Sakīna

The present building is on two floors, ground and upper, of which the upper is the more extensive and important. The boundaries of each floor do not coincide. The lower floor protrudes east from the Ḥaram wall beyond the line of the portico. It extends north from the base of the Bāb al-Silsila Minaret as far as that bay of the portico which supports the south wall of the 'Uthmāniyya. A copy of the endowment deed (*waqfiyya*) is preserved in Cairo,<sup>2</sup> and that document gives the following definition of the upper floor boundaries: to the south

the interior of the Ḥaram, the house belonging to the heirs of the Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umayrī [i.e. the house over the Ḥaram gate] and the roof of the Baladiyya and the ribāt [of Tankiz (see above, p. 240)] known as the Women's Ribāt; to the east the interior of the Ḥaram; to the north the Ḥaram interior again and the 'Uthmāniyya; and to the west the Baladiyya.<sup>3</sup>

Although very badly damaged by earthquakes, enough survives of the building to allow us, with the aid of the *waqfiyya* and Mujīr al-Dīn's description, to establish its original form. Mujīr al-Dīn gives the following outline:

The lower [ground] floor includes an assembly hall (*majma'*), adjoining the east side of the Ḥaram portico, and corresponding to three bays of this portico. This hall has two doors: the first, to the north, is next to a window opening under that part of the portico which supports the 'Uthmāniyya Madrasa; the second, to the east, is flanked by two windows, one on the left and the other on the right of it. In the rear [i.e. south] wall of the *majma'* there is a *mihṛāb* in the western part [of that wall] and a window opening to the south in the eastern part. Next to this stands a well-built porch to the south, beyond which, to the west, is the door leading to the madrasa on the upper floor. This door gives access to a vestibule paved with marble. In this vestibule a door on the right opens into a small room, and against the back (west) wall is a stone bench covered with marble. To the left is a door leading to a spacious staircase that rises to the madrasa on the upper floor and to the Bāb al-Salām Minaret [= Bāb al-Silsila Minaret].

The staircase leads up to a door that opens into an outer court (*sāḥa samāwiyya*) open to the sky and paved with white flagstones. At the north end of this outer court a rectangular door opens into a small vestibule from which a passage leads to the madrasa over the assembly hall described above.

This madrasa comprises four axial *iwāns*: the south one is the biggest, with a *mihṛāb* in its back (south) wall. Beside the *mihṛāb*, to the east are two windows opening on the Ḥaram and, to the west, two windows opening on the Ḥaram towards the terrace of the [Dome of the] Rock. Opposite them (in the west wall of the *iwān*) are three windows opening on the outer court. In the north *iwān* are two windows opening north and two opening east on the Ḥaram. The east *iwān*, which is the loggia (*ṭārīma*), has three arches on two marble columns. The upper part of it has windows of Frankish glass (*zujāj al-ifranjī*) of the

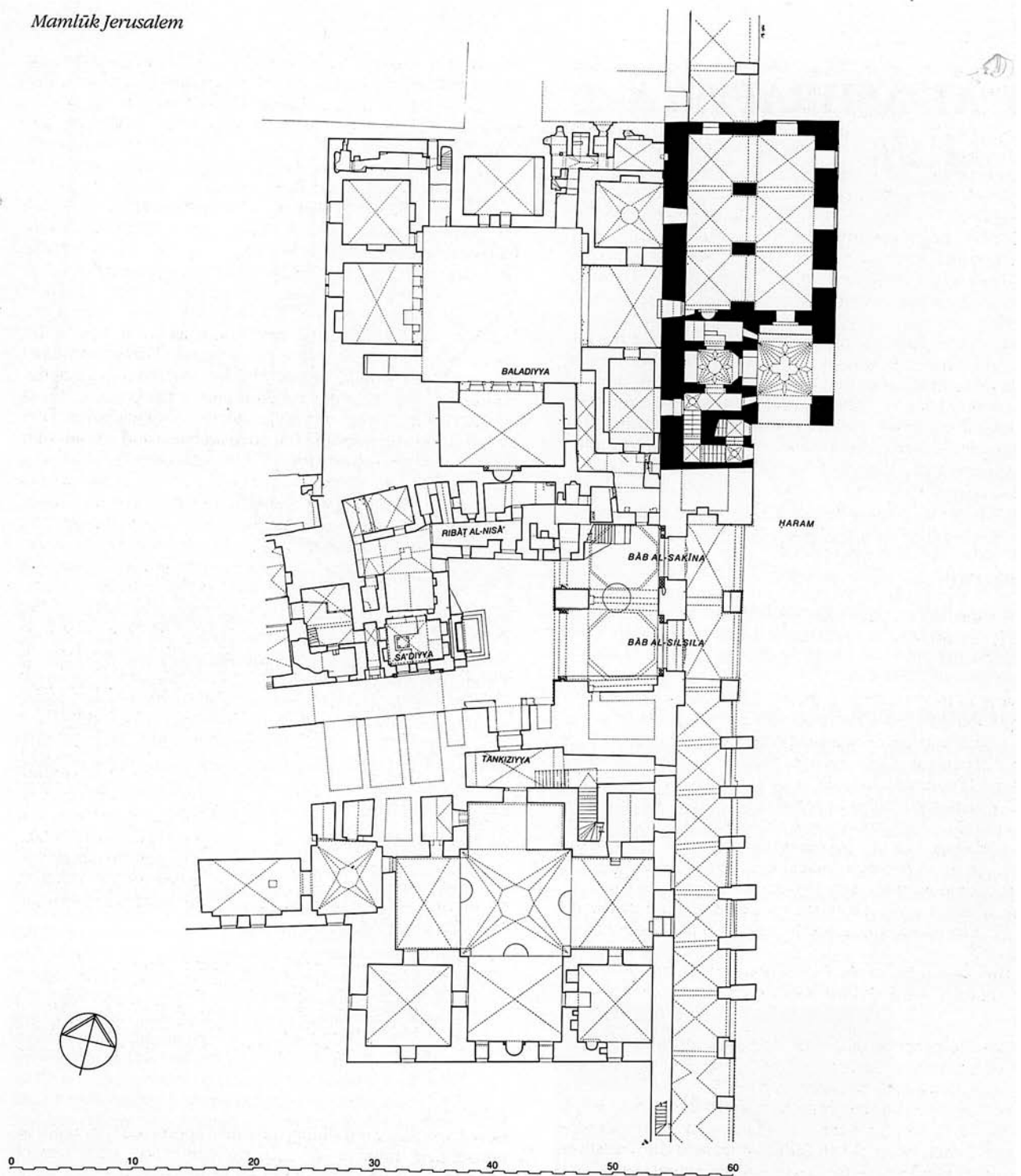


Fig. 63.2 Site plan

utmost splendour and perfection. Facing it is the west *iwān*, which has a window on the outer court of the madrasa. The floor (of the madrasa) is entirely paved with polychrome marble, and the walls are panelled in marble. The ceiling is of wood covered with gold leaf and azure; it is extremely well built and beautiful and very high.

Next to the north *iwān* is a vaulted room entered from the small vestibule mentioned above (at the north end of the outer court), whose door is on the left as you enter. Its floor is paved with polychrome marble, and its walls panelled in marble. It has two windows opening on the north *iwān* of the madrasa. Above this room is a small chamber with a window opening on the interior of the madrasa and another on the outer court.

From the outer court a door leads to another court or terrace where there are vaulted cells, the ablution place

and the facilities (i.e. latrines), all of which are on top of the south and east *iwāns* and other parts of the Baladiyya Madrasa.

The madrasa has carpets and lamps of unsurpassed beauty, the like of which is not found elsewhere. Its roof is clad with lead like those of [other buildings in] the Ḥaram.<sup>4</sup>

### III HISTORY

#### IDENTIFICATION

The Ashrafiyya is identified by the extant inscriptions (see below) and many descriptions and fixings of its position, not least in the copy of the *waqfiyya*.

#### FOUNDER

This is the only royal foundation in Jerusalem of the Circassian



period. Its founder was the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Sayf al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Qāyrbāy al-Mahmūdī al-Zāhirī.<sup>5</sup> It is quite unnecessary to give anything but a short notice of his life and long reign (a little over twenty-nine years). A rough calculation from the date of his death and the age he had then attained (about eighty-four) suggests that he was born around about 817/1414-15. He was Circassian by origin and was imported into Egypt by a merchant called al-Khawāja Mahmūd (hence the 'al-Mahmūdī' in his full name) in 839/1435-36, which means that he was then more than twenty years of age. The Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy purchased him and he entered the barracks of the royal mamlūks to begin his career. He was later bought from the Treasury by the Sultan al-Zāhir Jaqmaq, who eventually gave him his freedom. That accounts for the 'al-Zāhirī' in his name. It was not until 862/1457-58, when he was already in his forties, that the Sultan Ināl made him an amīr of 10. Thereafter his rise, under Khushqadam, was swift, and after a period of confusion following the death of Khushqadam Qāyrbāy was elevated to the sultanate – unwillingly, we are told.

He came to the throne in Rajab 872/January 1468. He was much exercised by problems of foreign policy, with constant trouble from the Aqoyunlu and the Dhulghādirids and the growing threat from the Ottomans. As his long reign continued so his authority in his own realms increased. He was a firm ruler and noted for his scholarly and religious interests, and for his ascetic life. He built extensively in Cairo and in the holy cities of the Hijāz and elsewhere. His death took place on Sunday, 27 Dhū'l-Qa'da 901/7 August 1496.

#### DATE

The story of the building on the site near the Chain Gate is a complicated one. In the first place a madrasa was begun in the name of the Sultan Khushqadam by the Amīr Ḥasan b. Ṭaṭār al-Zāhirī.<sup>6</sup> Ḥasan came to Jerusalem to act as Superintendent of the Two Harams in Jumādā II 869/February 1465,<sup>7</sup> so the building was presumably begun after that date. Khushqadam died in Rabī' I 872/October 1467 and there followed two short reigns of altogether just over one hundred days. Then, at the beginning of Qāyrbāy's sultanate, Ḥasan al-Zāhirī was dismissed and went to Cairo to persuade Qāyrbāy to take over the madrasa (or such of it as had been completed at that time). This the sultan agreed to do and 'inscribed his [own] name over the door'.<sup>8</sup>

This may refer to the inscription now found under the portico of the Bāb al-Sakīna about six metres above ground-level:

The construction of this noble madrasa was ordered by our Lord the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū Naṣr Qāyrbāy (may his triumph be mighty) on the first day of the month of Rabī' I in the year eight hundred and seventy-five [28 August 1470] during the time of our lord, his most noble excellency, Nāṣir al-Dīn Sidī Muḥammad the Treasurer, Superintendent of the Two Noble Harams (may God magnify his position).<sup>9</sup>

One might imagine that this inscription records the date of the completion of the madrasa in its initial guise. However, the superintendent named (he was Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Nashāshībī) took up his appointment in his own right (*istiqlālan*) in Muḥarram 875/July 1470,<sup>10</sup> that is, only a month before. He had, it is true, been present in Jerusalem since the previous year to correct the disorders and administrative irregularities which were the legacy of his predecessor, Bardibak al-Tājī.<sup>11</sup> Yet the above inscription was, as van Berchem has shown, completed in two separate stages. The date and the name of the superintendent were added later than the rest in a separate roundel.<sup>12</sup> According to Mujīr al-Dīn, it was Bardibak al-Tājī who in the year 873/1468-69 'saw to the completion of the madrasa, provided doors for it and furnished it with carpets'.<sup>13</sup>

In Rajab 880/November 1475 Qāyrbāy paid a visit to Jerusalem, where he found the madrasa he had accepted as his

own not to his liking.<sup>14</sup> A few years later, in 884/1479-80, he sent an officer from his court (*khāṣṣakī*) to see to the demolition and extension of the building. The digging of the new foundations began on the 14 Sha'bān 885/19 October 1480.<sup>15</sup> In the following year the sultan sent a team of craftsmen from Cairo to work on the new madrasa. Further changes in the design were then made by the Christian architect who accompanied them.<sup>16</sup>

Van Berchem has argued that these changes concerned the advancing of the building line of the *majma'* (assembly hall) beyond that of the Haram portico to make it jut out into the Haram.<sup>17</sup> It seems that he has forced a meaning upon the text of Mujīr al-Dīn which is not the obvious one. After the destruction of the old madrasa 'which was on the portico of the Haram, the builders embarked on the new construction and built the lower assembly hall, adjoining (*mulāsiq*) the Haram portico to the east'.<sup>18</sup> One would naturally understand from this that the building was outside the building line of the portico. If it is argued that in this passage Mujīr al-Dīn is looking beyond the modifications made by the Christian architect and considering the final stage of the building as it is today, one could ask why then does Mujīr al-Dīn use very similar language in his description (which is later in terms of the progress of his chronicle) of what is manifestly the building before the architect wished to change it: 'when he saw the lower assembly hall built in the Haram next to (*bi-lasq*) the portico, he did not like it and wished to demolish it completely'.<sup>19</sup> To claim that the text here refers to a building within the alignment of the portico is very difficult. In fact, the architect was unable to do as he wished, for reasons that are not specified, and he contented himself with demolishing part of the assembly hall on the south side and also three arches of the Haram portico 'near the door leading to the minaret'. Purely on the basis of these passages, the Christian architect's demolition could have been directed towards the building of the grand portal of the madrasa. That was his contribution, while the advancement of the *majma'* beyond the portico had been planned from 885/1480. After all, Qāyrbāy had taken against the madrasa presumably because it was too small and had ordered its enlargement in 884/1479-80.

The main construction work of the new madrasa was completed after a couple of years and the date was recorded on an inscription band on either side of the entrance within the new imposing portal:

The construction of this blessed madrasa was ordered by the exalted imām and the revered prince, the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū Naṣr (may his triumph be mighty). It was completed in the month of Rajab the Unique in the year eight hundred and eighty-seven [August-September 1482].<sup>20</sup>

#### ENDOWMENT

Before the major rebuilding the sultan appointed sixty Ṣūfīs, an unspecified number of law students and other service personnel. These were supported by the assignment of waqfs in Gaza to the madrasa.<sup>21</sup> The date of this early waqf was 877/1472 according to the later Ottoman defters, or more accurately as 5 Rabī' I 877/9 September 1472 by a Jerusalem sijill reference.<sup>22</sup> However, the extant *waqfiyya* copy in Cairo is dated 21 Shawwāl 881/6 February 1477, an endowment with the rebuilding in mind, no doubt. A further endowment made by Qāyrbāy, necessitated by extra expenditure, is dated 895/1489-90. The properties which formed the endowment for the Ashrafiyya were very numerous indeed. They have been listed elsewhere<sup>23</sup> and there is little point in repeating all the names here. Of the agricultural properties, consisting of widely varying portions of village lands and *mazra'as*, thirty-four belonged to the district of Gaza, three to Hebron, two each to Jerusalem and Ramla and one each to Nablus and the Hawran, making forty-three in all. The urban properties were all in Gaza and were made up of the caravanserai and eight shops in the Turcomans' Market, six *qā'as* in that same quarter, along with a bath-house near the madrasa, a bakery, mill and two orchards,

and outside the city in the Sheep Market, various shops, a *qā'a*, and a press (*miṣara*).

**SUBSEQUENT HISTORY**

**(i) Mamlūk period**

While Khushqadam was still living, Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umayrī al-Shāfi'ī had been appointed as the first shaykh of the initial madrasa.<sup>24</sup> After its completion by Bardibak in 873/1468-69 he gave his inaugural lecture in the assembly room before the Qādis and the ulema on the Koranic text, 'He only shall cause God's mosques to prosper who believes in God and the Last Day, etc.'<sup>25</sup> He was confirmed by Qāyrbāy in 876/1471.<sup>26</sup> It is said that in 886/1481 Burhān al-Dīn al-Karakī was replaced as shaykh by Ṣāliḥ al-Dīn al-Ṭarābulusī,<sup>27</sup> and yet, when in 890/1485 Kamāl al-Dīn b. Abī Sharīf was given the headship of the new madrasa, it was 'by virtue of the death of al-'Umayrī'.<sup>28</sup> With the arrival of Ibn Abī Sharīf and his installation in the presence of many dignitaries, the new madrasa became fully operational. Just two years before, when Felix Fabri visited Jerusalem, he had been able to visit the madrasa, which was still in the process of having its internal decoration and furnishing completed.<sup>29</sup>

As the Tankiziyya was used as the seat of the judiciary, so the buildings of the Ashrafiyya were used for public inquiries. For example, in 895/1490 the conduct in office of the governor of Jerusalem, Duqmāq, was scrutinised by a royal commissioner in the lower assembly hall.<sup>30</sup> In 898/1492 an inquiry was held there into the operation of the madrasas of Jerusalem and their supporting waqfs.<sup>31</sup> In fact, Mujir al-Dīn records that just a little earlier, in 890/1485, after the completion of the new building, the lower *majma'* was assigned to the imām of the Hanbalīs to lead prayers there. Formerly, the Hanbalī imām had used for that purpose the portico of the Ḥaram, just below the Bāb al-Silsila Minaret.<sup>32</sup> This is confirmed by al-'Umarī.<sup>33</sup> As late as 1001/1592 this use by the Hanbalīs continued. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qudsī al-Khurrayshī, having studied in the Azhar, returned to Jerusalem where 'he was imām of the Hanbalīs in the assembly hall (*majma'*), which is below the madrasa of Qāyrbāy'.<sup>34</sup>

In 902/1496 the Ashrafiyya, along with other buildings in Jerusalem, suffered from an earthquake.<sup>35</sup> The damage at that time must have been slight because subsequent Muslim visitors write of the madrasa as though it was still flourishing. Al-Nābulusī gave a detailed independent description of the madrasa with no hint of any destruction or dilapidation,<sup>36</sup> and

in 1080/1669-70 Evliya Çelebi visited the building and climbed the adjoining minaret to enjoy the panoramic view over the city and the Ḥaram.<sup>37</sup> As for Christian pilgrims, Pietro Casola after a visit in 1494 remarked on a marvellous mosque built ten years before, which appears to be the Ashrafiyya. In that connection he added that 'it appears to me that the Moors do not lack good master workmen for their buildings'.<sup>38</sup> Arnold von Harff, who saw the building in 1498, wrote later of 'a beautiful little mosque', built by 'the old Sultan Kathubee, who died five years ago', adding mistakenly that he is 'honourably buried there'.<sup>39</sup>

**(ii) Ottoman period**

The appointments to offices within the madrasa which are recorded in the sijills show that, as was the case generally, they tended to be transferred within families.<sup>40</sup> It is odd to find that the top posts of shaykh and administrator passed into the hands of the al-Dayrī family, who were Hanafīs, and to members of the Ibn Jamā'a family, who had changed their allegiance from the Shāfi'ī school to the Hanafī, although the madrasa had been founded as a Shāfi'ī institution.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, an attempt to abolish the separate post of *mutawallī* and combine it with that of *nāzir* was unsuccessful. In 964/1557 a judgement to that effect was made by the Qāḍī of Jerusalem,<sup>42</sup> based on a reading of the *waqfiyya* – and strangely enough the *waqfiyya* dated 877/1472, not the later ones – a royal decree appointing the then holder of the administratorship after the death of the *mutawallīya*, Miṣrī Khunad, a descendant of the royal founder, in that same year, and finally a fatwā from the Muftī of Istanbul. It should also be noted that some of the sijill entries refer to 'the waqf of the two madrasas', those founded by Qāyrbāy at Jerusalem and Gaza, as though the administration had been amalgamated after the destruction of the madrasa at Gaza.

That was the case with an account presented by 'the *mutawallī* of the waqf of the two madrasas . . . in Jerusalem and Gaza' in the year 962/1555.<sup>43</sup> All the expenditure was for the personnel of the Jerusalem foundation, which included thirty individuals described as 'Sūfīs, readers of Koran parts' and eight law students (*talaba*). This last category is rare for any of the Jerusalem institutions of learning in the sijills that have been examined and certainly suggests a continued functioning.

The waqf lands were leased or farmed out. In 964/1556-57 Mūsā b. al-Shaykh 'Alī al-Khalwatī was given the farm of the rents from two shares (i.e. 2 *qīrāṭs*, each being a twenty-fourth) of Bayt Dajan, two and a third shares of Qaṭrā, and five-eighths of a share of al-Sāfirīyya (?), all described as 'the waqf of the two



Plate 63.2 Top of half-arch at base of north wall of the assembly hall



Plate 63.3 From the top of the Dome of the Rock, January 1978



Plate 63.4 Entrance porch

madrasas'.<sup>44</sup> Four years later the *nāzir* leases to the *mudarris*, or at least the *mudarris* named for the year 966, these same lands and several others for a sum, 88 gold pieces, which is then assigned to him as his salary for that same year, and he was made agent for the collection of the rents outstanding.<sup>45</sup> In later years, rent arrears for two years from two villages, Ibyā (?) and Mājid, were recovered from a Nūr Allāh Jāwīsh, whose father, Ḥasan Jāwīsh, could only produce proof of having paid one year's rent of a three year lease.<sup>46</sup>

The practice of convening inquiries in the Ashrafiyya continued. In 967/1560 a *majlis* was held there before the governor of Jerusalem to look into the Jewish community's leasing of the Ṣalāḥiyya Madrasa's waqf lands in Gethsemane as a cemetery.<sup>47</sup>

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### GROUND FLOOR (fig. 63.3)

###### (i) Assembly hall

The assembly hall incorporates three bays of the west portico of the Haram, built in 737/1336-37, which form the western part of the hall. The eastern part is vaulted in three bays built against these three bays of the portico (see section, fig. 63.8). Four piers of the portico support the vaults; two of the piers remain free standing in the middle of the hall and two are built into the north and south walls (see plan, fig. 63.3). Part of the north wall, where it abuts against the pier, is carried on a half-arch (plate 63.2), apparently designed to discharge the weight of the wall onto new foundations rather than onto the foundation of the pier. This sensible precaution minimized the turning moment on the pier and so reduced the risk of collapse.<sup>48</sup> To west and east of that pier are respectively a grilled window and a door in the north wall of the hall. Both are built of red and cream-coloured *ablaq* masonry enclosed within a quirked ogee frame moulding. Above the window is a smaller rectangular window, and above the door is a pointed-arched window.

In the middle of the east wall of the hall is a door with a rectangular window on either side of it (fig. 63.5, plate 63.3), all constructed in *ablaq* enclosed by frame mouldings like those in the north wall. Each is surmounted by a pointed-arched window. The three openings in this east wall were restored recently when the Aqṣā Mosque Library was established in the hall.

A more elaborately decorated window surmounted by a

circular oculus opens in the eastern part of the south wall (see below). A pointed-arched *mibrāb* of red and cream-coloured *ablaq* occupies the western part of the wall. It has recesses on either side to take nook-shafts but these are no longer in place. A small rectangular window above the *mibrāb* is now blocked up. Between the window and the *mibrāb* a pier of the earlier portico projects into the hall (see plan, fig. 63.3; and section, fig. 63.8). Immediately to the right of the *mibrāb* the wall is stepped back in order not to block an earlier window, now a door, which opens in the rear wall of the east *iwan* of the Baladiyya (above, p. 449), which is the Haram wall forming the west boundary of the assembly hall. Another window of the Baladiyya, that of room 'A' to the north, originally opened under the Haram portico but now opens into this hall.

###### (ii) Entrance

The impressive entrance porch (plate 63.4 and fig. 63.7) stands directly to the south of the assembly hall. Both the porch and the hall were built together, as the continuity of the masonry shows. Therefore, if the Coptic architect in charge of the final construction of the Ashrafiyya, including the entrance porch, retained anything of the earlier assembly hall on the site (see above, p. 591) it must have been no more than its plan and possibly its foundations.

The porch opens through two pointed arches to east and south. Both arches are similarly constructed of red and cream-coloured *ablaq* voussoirs enclosed by a quirked ogee moulding with little loops above the keystones. Iron tie bars are used to connect the springings in order to counteract the tendency of any residual outward thrust to overturn the supporting pier at the south-east corner of the porch. An engaged column carved with low relief arabesques and bearing a royal inscription in the name of Qāyṭbāy<sup>49</sup> above the base, articulates the outer corner of that pier (see plate 63.3). (A smaller engaged column adorns the north-east corner of the assembly hall.)

The vaulting of the porch is a very elaborate form of folded cross vault (plate 63.5) of a type that was popular in Cairo during Qāyṭbāy's reign.<sup>50</sup> Alternate courses are painted red to simulate *ablaq*. The south-east corner of the vault appears to have been rebuilt at some time; it also is painted to simulate *ablaq* though here the painting and the underlying stone coursing do not coincide (see plate 63.5). A cruciform panel carved in low relief with strapwork star patterns is set into the crown of the vault with four smaller lozenges of arabesque

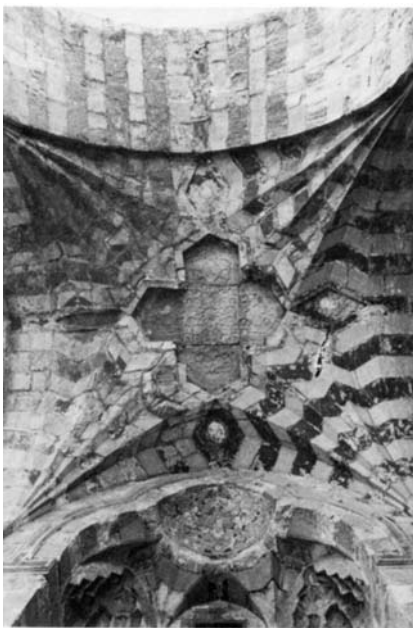


Plate 63.5 Vault over entrance porch



Plate 63.6 Squinch at right-hand (north) side of entrance portal



Plate 63.7 Vault over entrance vestibule

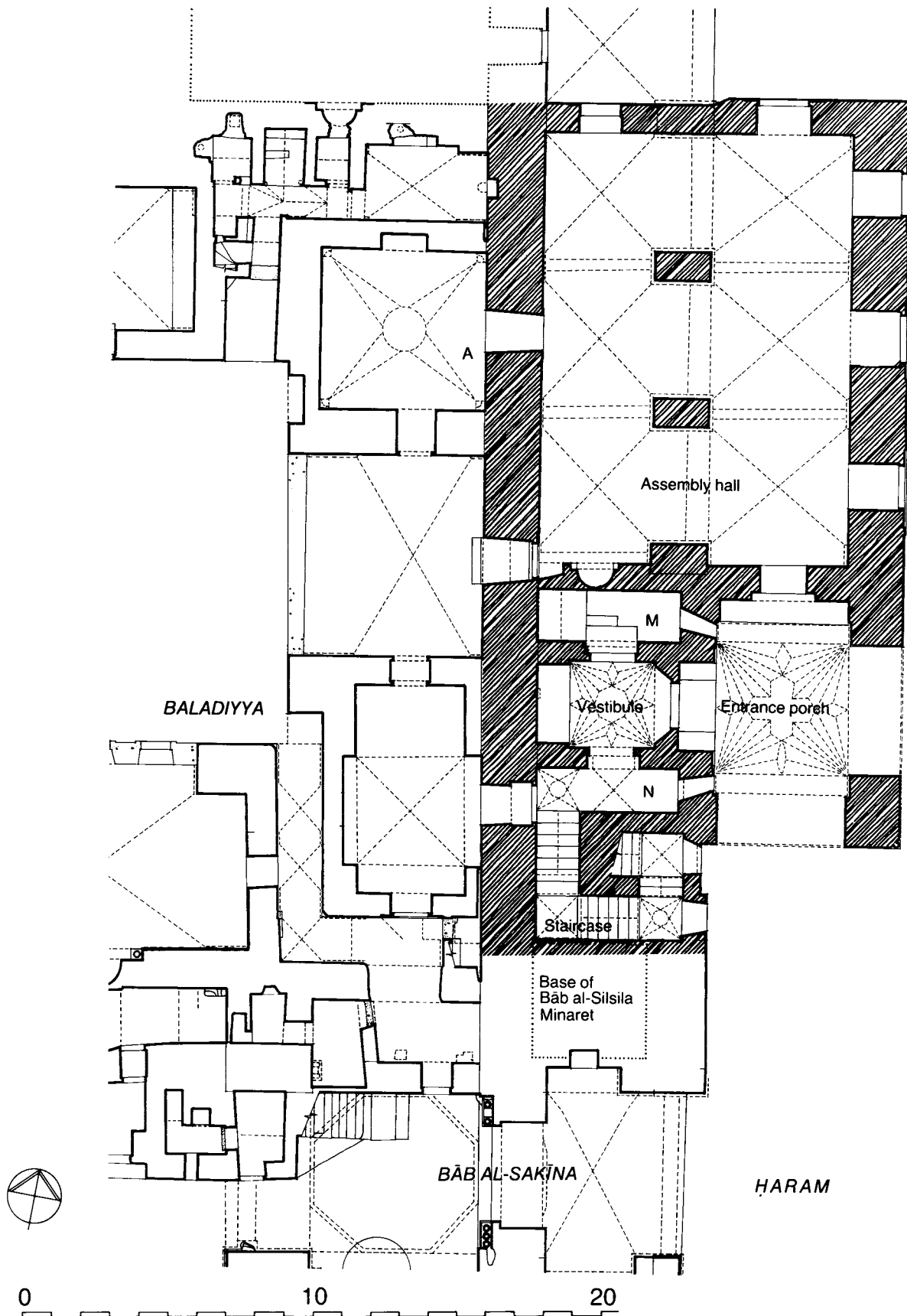


Fig. 63.3 Ground floor plan

inserted between the pointed arms of the cruciform panel and the sides of the vault.

On the north side of the porch is a stone bench above which is the grilled window in the south wall of the assembly hall (see above) set in a shallow recess spanned by an angular

*muqarnas* hood. The window has *ablaq* jambs and a lintel composed of three interlocking stones and decorated with low relief carving. Above the lintel is a joggled pseudo-relieving arch surmounted by the oculus composed of *ablaq* voussoirs, also decorated with low relief carving. Each of these

components is framed by a narrow band of red stone. The three tiers of *muqarnas* corbelling spanning the recess are decorated with low relief arabesques similar to those shown in *plate* 63.6. On either side of that corbelling and in the tympanum above, more arabesque carving surrounds three circular royal cartouches of Qāyṭbāy (*fig.* 63.10).

The entrance doorway is set in a trefoil-arched recess in the west wall of the porch (*plate* 63.4). As if to compensate for its secluded position, the builders seem to have employed every technique of decoration available to them. It is constructed of black, red and cream-coloured *ablaq*, each course being bedded on a thin sheet of lead that, when new, would have appeared on the surface as a thin black line. This technique of using lead instead of mortar for aesthetic effect appears to have developed in Cairo during the ninth/fifteenth century.<sup>51</sup> The lead and the *ablaq* extend only as far as a double quirked ogee moulding (*fig.* 63.7) which frames the recess (see *plate* 63.4 and *fig.* 63.5). This moulding extends to frame stone benches flanking the door. At regular intervals little circular loops (called '*mims*' in Arabic since they resemble that letter in Arabic script) punctuate the moulding. The joggled *ablaq* faces of the benches are decorated with palmette inserts beside the trefoil extensions of the frame moulding. Six courses above the threshold the inscription recording the completion of construction<sup>52</sup> (see above, p. 591) extends around the recess, interrupted by the door opening, and terminates at each end in trefoil *ablaq* finials just inside the frame moulding. The door lintel is a single block of mottled grey granite, on either side of which are small rectangular panels of arabesque carving. Above the lintel is a pseudo-relieving arch composed of intricately interlocking voussoirs of black and cream *ablaq*. This arch is flanked by two panels of carved strapwork. A band of red stone frames these panels and the pseudo-relieving arch. A rectangular grilled window above the arch lights the vestibule within. The intricate decoration of the portal culminates in the vaulting of the recess. Enclosed by the trefoil arch are two *muqarnas* corner squinches supporting a shallow semidome. Alternate voussoirs of the trefoil arch are covered with arabesque carving. The same carving is applied also to the surface of the *muqarnas* squinches (*plate* 63.6). The limestone semidome is inlaid with a fantastic pattern of scrolls and palmettes in red stone highlighted here and there with inserts of a black substance (stone or bitumen) and of turquoise faïence. The original timber door leaves, of walnut inlaid with pinewood according to the *waqfiyya*,<sup>53</sup> bound by beautiful

inscribed brass bands (*fig.* 63.11), are now in the Islamic Museum on the Ḥaram.

The doors open in a splayed embrasure to the lofty vestibule, which is roofed by a multi-faceted cross vault similar to that of the porch except for an octagonal panel in place of a cruciform one at the crown (*fig.* 63.12). It is built entirely of limestone ashlars. A stone bench, originally faced with marble, occupies a pointed-arched recess that spans almost the full width of the back (west) wall. The rear wall of this recess is the Ḥaram wall and in that wall are the remains of one of the springers of that part of the portico that was demolished to make way for the present building (see above, p. 591). To the left (south) of the springer is a curious window with a high, steeply sloping sill like a chute (now partly blocked, see *plate* 63.7). This appears to have been an *abat-four* admitting light to the vestibule from the outer court above.

On the north side of the vestibule a pointed-arched doorway, the *ablaq* voussoirs of which are framed by a quirked ogee moulding with a loop at the top and volutes under the springers, opens into a small room (marked 'M' on the plan), now used for storing coffins, lit by a grilled window in its east wall beside the entrance portal. The vault of this room supports a mezzanine chamber, identical in plan, reached by steps through an opening in the west end of its floor, and lit by a window in its south wall opening on the vestibule. The window in its north wall, opening above the *mīhrāb* in the assembly hall, is blocked (see above).

A pointed-arched doorway in the south wall of the vestibule, decorated in the same way as the one in the north wall, leads through a small cross-vaulted hall (N), lit by a window in its east wall, to the main staircase to the upper floor. The west end of the hall, at the foot of the stairs, is roofed by a folded cross vault with an octagonal panel of carved strapwork set into its crown (*plate* 63.8). On the west side of this hall is the grilled window of the Baladiyya tomb chamber (see above, p. 449) opening in the Ḥaram wall.

#### STAIRCASE

The staircase rises in eight flights round a rectangular core (see *fig.* 63.3). All the flights except the top one are roofed by rising barrel vaults. There are landings between the flights, the first and third roofed by cross vaults, the seventh (top) by a barrel vault, and all the others by folded cross vaults with octagonal panels set into the crowns (*fig.* 63.13). At each eastern landing a window opens on the Ḥaram. These windows, pointed-arched



Plate 63.8 Vault of hall at foot of staircase



Plate 63.9 General view of stair tower and Bāb al-Silsila Minaret



Plate 63.10 Break in masonry bond on south side of staircase

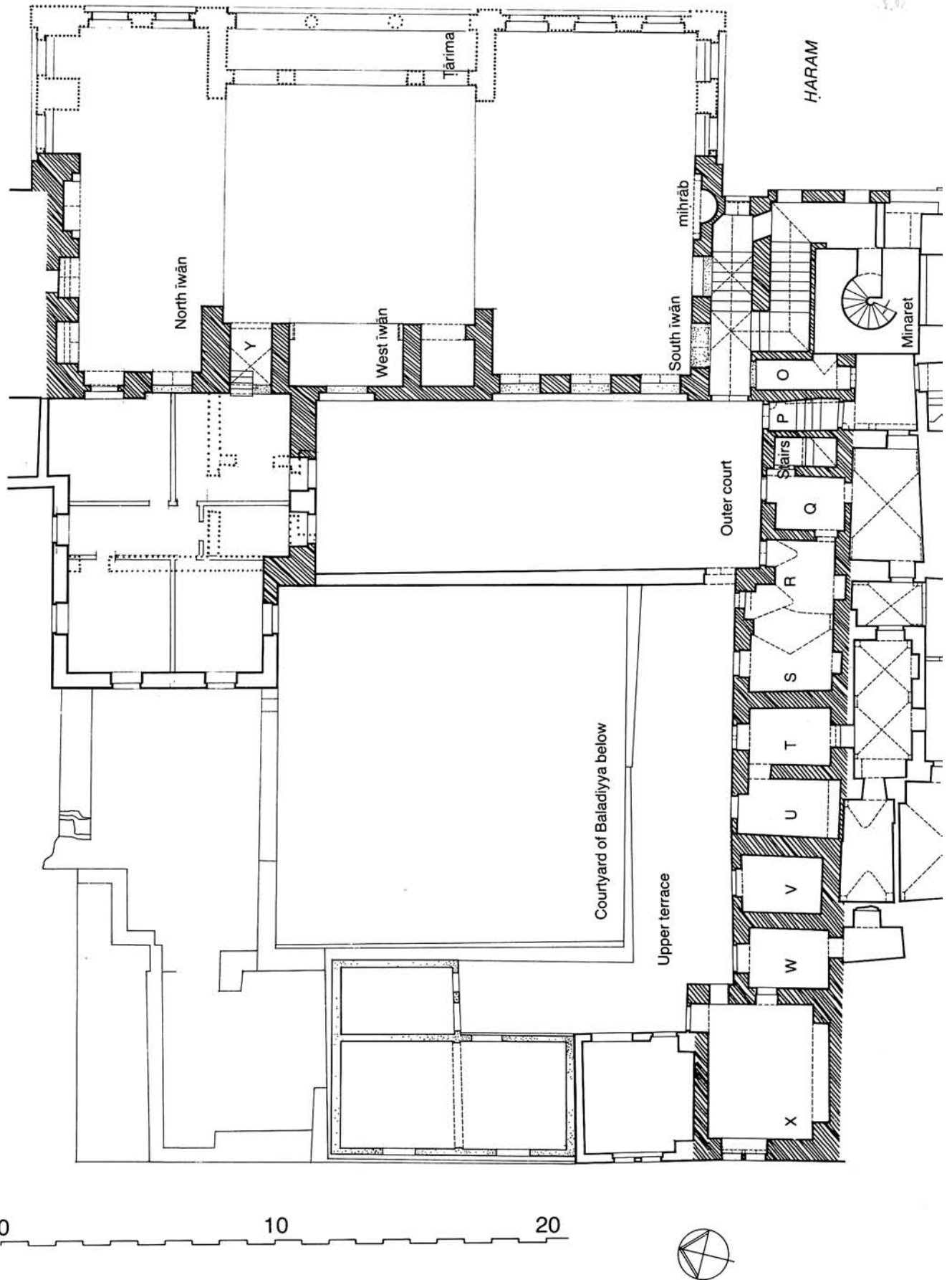


Fig. 63.4 Main floor plan



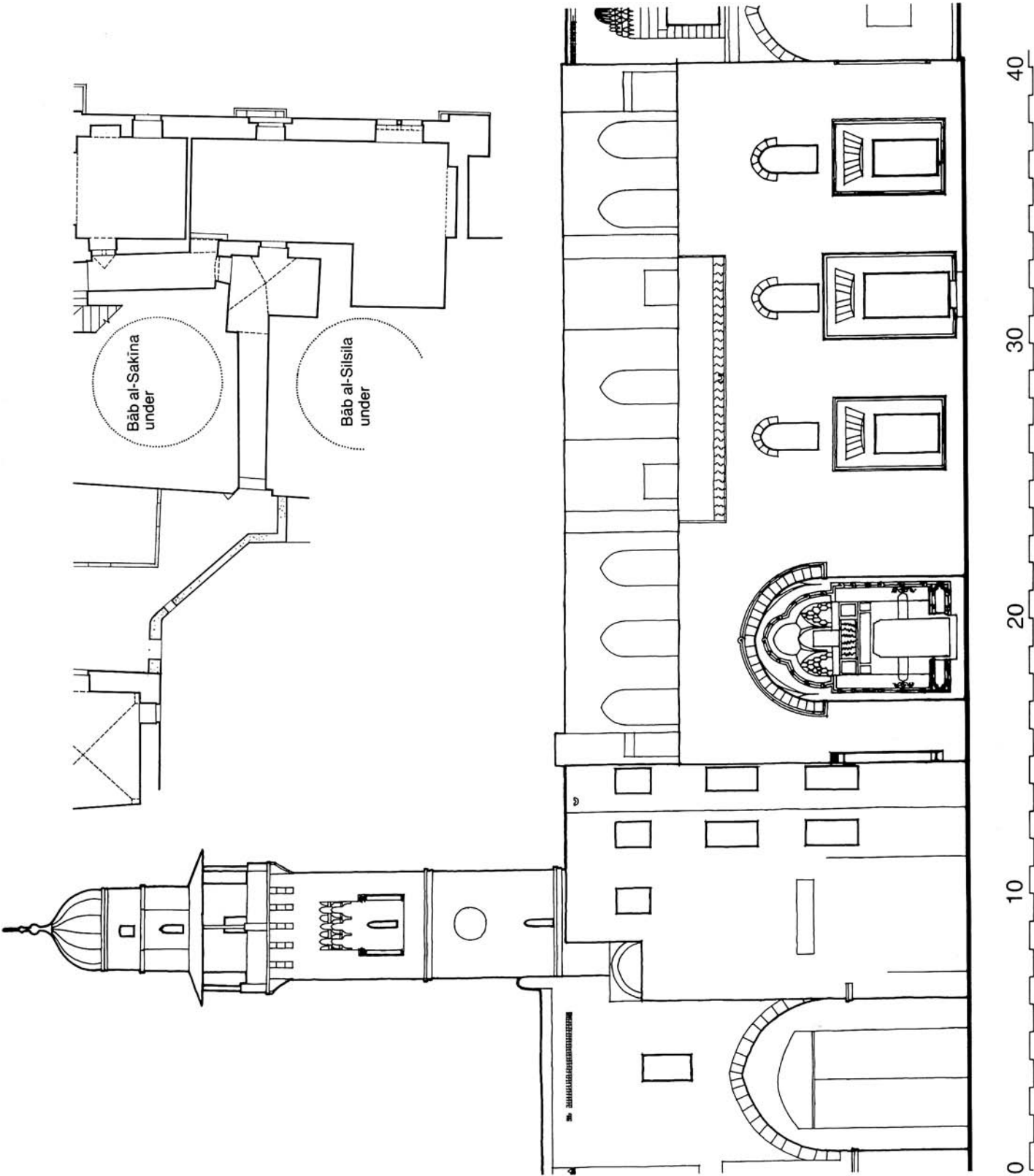


Fig. 63.5 Hâram façade

on the inside and rectangular on the outside, are arranged in pairs with externally matching sill and head heights so as to conceal the fact that there is a stair within (see *plate* 63.9 and *fig.* 63.5). In the north wall of the fourth landing a door (now blocked) opens into a mezzanine chamber above the hall 'N', lit by a grilled window in its north wall opening on the vestibule. The window grille is made of turned wood. In the south wall of the staircase a vertical break in the stonework marks the conjunction between the staircase and the earlier base of the minaret (*plate* 63.10). From the top landing two windows (now blocked) opened north into the south *iwān* of the madrasa (see *fig.* 63.4). A door opens south from the same landing into a parallel flight of eight steps that lead up to the entrance to the minaret. Just beyond that door a second door (now blocked) led into a narrow room (O) lit by a window in its south wall.

UPPER FLOOR (*fig.* 63.4)

At the west end of the top landing a pointed-arched door leads into the outer court. The west face of the door (*plate* 63.11) is decorated like those in the side walls of the entrance vestibule (see above).

(i) Upper terrace

Facing that door is a pointed-arched door, similarly decorated, opening at the south end of the west parapet wall of the outer court. This door opens directly to the upper terrace, situated above the southern part of the Baladiyya. A parapet wall on the north side of the terrace shields the courtyard of the Baladiyya below from view. On the south side of the terrace are six doors leading into six vaulted cells (S-X). The first of these (S) was probably lit originally by a window in its south wall, overlooking the roof of Tankiz's ribāt (see above, p. 240), now blocked by later buildings to the south. Cell 'T' was originally similar to 'S'. The window in its south wall is now a door. Its entrance door was recently blocked and it is now reached from the adjoining cell (U) by way of a new door in the common wall. The south wall of 'U' appears to have been dismantled at some time and replaced by a much thinner wall containing no window. Cells 'V-X' seem never to have had windows in their south walls, the opening in the south wall of 'W' being a later modification.

At its west end the terrace turns north over the west *iwān* of the Baladiyya. In the corner where the south and west parts of the terrace meet, a masonry salient contains the door of cell 'X' which is bigger than the others. The double window in its west wall is a later insertion.

Of the five cells that were situated according to the *waqfiyya*<sup>54</sup> on the west side of the terrace, nothing remains. The present structures there are modern. Nor does any trace exist of the *bāb al-mutawaddā'*, the 'door of the ablution place', which according to the *waqfiyya* was situated at the north end of the terrace. It is unclear whether or not that door led into a private ablution place reserved for the occupants of the madrasa. It is conceivable that it led to the public ablutions



Plate 63.11 South end of outer court

place immediately to the north (the Siqāya of al-ʿĀdil built in 589/1193 which, though much rebuilt, still serves its intended purpose to this day).

(ii) Outer court

At the south end of the outer court are three doors (*plate* 63.11), two with pointed arches flanking a rectangular one. The left-hand door opens into a passage (P) leading towards the property over the Haram gate, which in 895/1490 when the *waqfiyya* was drawn up belonged to the heirs of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmayrī (see above, p. 589). This may be the door referred to in the *waqfiyya* as the *bāb sirr*,<sup>55</sup> the 'secret door', since it would have allowed direct access to the madrasa from the house of al-ʿUmayrī, the first shaykh of the madrasa (see above, p. 592).

The central rectangular door opens into a small room (Q) lit by a window in its south wall. On the left (east) just inside the door is a low opening, now fitted with a grilled door (*plate* 63.12), which leads into a narrow winding staircase down to the entrance of the Baladiyya (see above, p. 447). This also may be the secret door referred to in the *waqfiyya* (the text is not clear) since it allowed access to and from the madrasa that was independent of the main stairs up from the Haram.

A door (presumably a later insertion) in the west wall of 'Q' opens into the adjoining room (R), which is entered through the third (western) door at the south end of the outer court. A recess in the south wall may originally have contained a window, now blocked by adjoining constructions to the south. In addition the room is lit by a high-level window (possibly a later insertion) which opens north on the upper terrace. The west wall has been removed to connect this room with the adjoining cell (S).

The parapet wall on the west side of the court, like those of the upper terrace, shields the Baladiyya courtyard from view. It is remarkable how carefully the privacy of adjoining buildings is preserved.

The upper part of the east wall of the outer court is missing, though some idea of its original height (about 10.5m) may be gained from Salzmann's photograph taken in 1854 (*plate* 63.13) when part of the wall was still standing.<sup>56</sup> Two shallow recesses with sloping sills in the surviving lower part of the wall contain four windows (now blocked), three in the southern recess (*plate* 63.14) which opened on the south *iwān* of the madrasa, and one in the northern recess which opened on the west *iwān*. The decoration of these windows is similar to that of the window in the north wall of the entrance porch on the ground floor: *ablaq* jambs, lintels composed of three



Plate 63.12 Door to stairs down to entrance of the Baladiyya

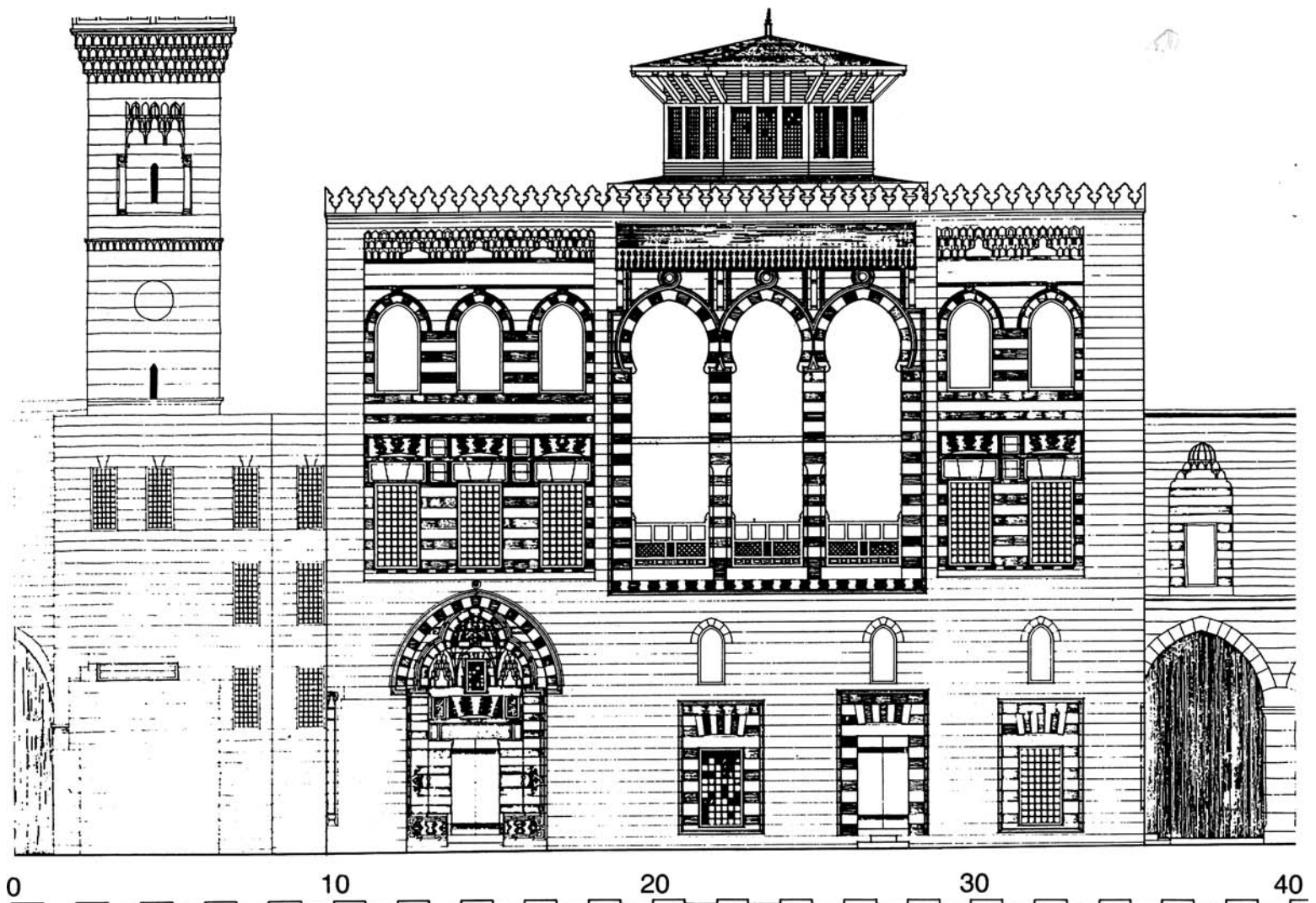


Fig. 63.6 Restored east elevation, after A.G. Walls

interlocking stones carved with low relief strapwork, and joggled pseudo-relieving arches (plate 63.15). A sundial in the wall between the two recesses was designed to display the time with respect to the beginning of the afternoon prayer and also the beginning and end of the interval during which it was permitted to perform the prayer<sup>57</sup> (see fig. 43.5).

At the north end of the court stood an impressive portal, of which only the lower part remains, now incorporated into a



Plate 63.13 General view of west border of Haram looking south. After A. Salzmann (1854).



Plate 63.14 Outer court of Ashrafiyya from the north-west, with Bāb al-Silsila Minaret

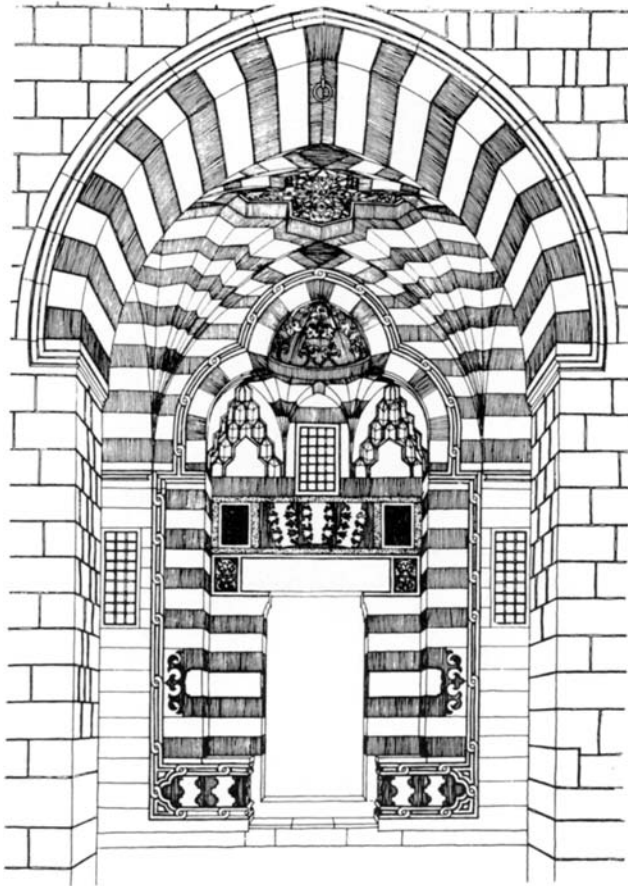


Fig. 63.7 'Fan vaulted porch to a school Jerusalem' (after W. Harvey)

modern wall (plate 63.16). Its decoration, described in great detail in the *waqfiyya*,<sup>58</sup> recalls that of the main entrance on the ground floor: red, white and black 'marble', flanking stone benches, panels of carving on either side of the lintel and relieving arch, a panel of inscription gilded on an azure background, a window (flanked by two small marble columns) above the door, all set in a recess spanned by a *muqarnas* hood (see fig. 63.9). The door leaves were of walnut inlaid with pinewood, bound with filigreed brass bands, with two heavy rings of inlaid brass or bronze for handles.

This doorway gave access to a group of rooms, none of which survives. Mujir al-Din's description and the text of the *waqfiyya* tell us that it opened into a vestibule from where a



Plate 63.15 Lintel of window between outer court and west *iwān*

short passage (marked 'Y' on the plan, fig. 63.4) leads east into the madrasa. Another door opened north into a vaulted room, richly panelled in marble.<sup>59</sup> Two windows (the southern of which is now blocked) in the east wall of this room opened on the north *iwān* of the madrasa. Opposite one of these windows was a door into a latrine (*mustarāh*) with a paved floor in which was a basin (*hawd*) for water. From the latrine, steps led to an upper chamber. On the right of its entrance were two windows, one with a screen of turned wood overlooking the Baladiyya to the west, and another opening on a small yard in which was a door into a room over the vestibule. From this description it would seem that the largely modern boundary wall of the present structure to the north of the outer court must follow more or less the line of the original boundary walls (see plan, fig. 63.4, which includes dotted lines to show how the original internal walls might have been arranged). Room 'I' of the Baladiyya (above, p. 451), which has a curious shaft in its north wall, is directly below where the Ashrafiyya latrine appears to have been located.

(iii) Madrasa

The passage (Y) from the vestibule leads into the north-west corner of the central court (called *dūrqā'a* in the *waqfiyya*) of the madrasa. Only the lower 5.70m of the west wall (originally about 10.5m high) and of the western parts of the north and south walls of the madrasa survive. The eastern parts, overlooking the Ḥaram, have almost entirely disappeared. On the basis of the surviving remains (plates 63.3 and 63.17) and the text of the *waqfiyya* we can, however, establish its original form and decoration. It had four axial *iwāns* disposed symmetrically around the central court.

*South iwān.* The south *iwān* was the largest. The *mibrāb* in the middle of its south wall has recesses in each side for nook-shafts but these no longer survive (plate 63.18). Constructed of plain limestone, the *mibrāb* was originally decorated with some sort of veneer, as pick marks in the spandrels indicate. The *waqfiyya* describes it as being lined with black and white marble, porphyry and mottled granite.<sup>60</sup> To the right of the *mibrāb* are the two windows (now blocked) that opened on the top of the staircase (plate 63.19); to the left were two more windows, overlooking the Ḥaram to the south. In the west wall of this *iwān* are the three windows (now blocked) which opened on the outer court, and opposite these, in the east wall of the *iwān*, were another three windows overlooking the Ḥaram to the east. Above all these openings a gilded Koranic inscription,<sup>61</sup> the western part of which survives (see plate 63.19), ran around the walls of the *iwān* and continued round all the interior walls of the madrasa. A lobed roundel within the inscription above the *mibrāb* may once have contained a royal cartouche (see below), but it is too badly eroded to tell.

*North iwān.* The north *iwān* was similar to the south *iwān* except for its depth (5.31m as opposed to 8.02m), which allowed room for only two windows in its west and east walls. Of five arched recesses in its north wall only the western three

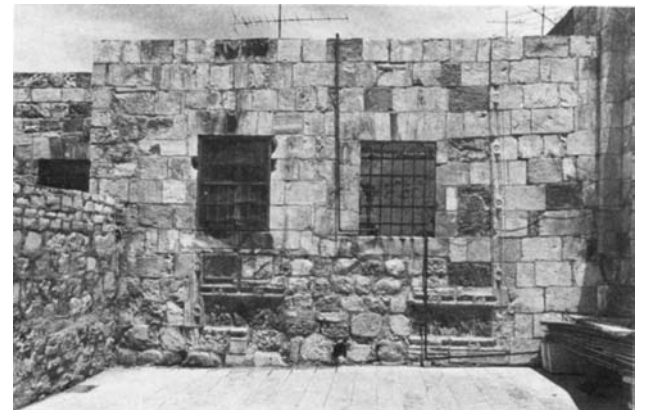


Plate 63.16 North end of outer court

remain (*plate 63.20*) facing those in the south wall of the south *iwān*. The missing eastern pair were windows overlooking the Ḥaram to the north. The three blind western arches could not contain windows since the earlier 'Uthmāniyya lies immediately beyond them; they were used instead as cupboards for books that formed part of the madrasa's endowment.<sup>62</sup> (The central cupboard has a recent window into the 'Uthmāniyya in its rear wall.) The eastern cupboard, opposite the *mihṛāb*, has recesses in each side, presumably for nook-shafts matching those of the *mihṛāb* but these no longer survive. The spandrels of the arches are decorated with arabesque carving in low relief. Above ran the Koranic inscription which includes above the eastern cupboard the surviving lower half of a lobed roundel, like the one over the *mihṛāb*, containing a royal cartouche in the name of Qāyṭbāy.

Salzmann's early photograph (*plate 63.13*) shows that the exterior decoration of the two eastern windows was similar to that of the windows on the east side of the outer court, described above.

Traces of a springing above the west abutment of the *iwān*'s frontal arch (visible in *plate 63.20*) show that the arch rose from *muqarnas* imposts, was slightly horseshoed, and was composed of red and cream-coloured *ablaq* voussoirs framed by a double quirked ogee moulding with loops ('*mims*') at regular intervals around the extrados. It would be safe to assume that the frontal arch of the south *iwān* was similar.

*West iwān.* The springers of the frontal arch of the west *iwān* also survive, and these show that though this arch was decorated like that of the north *iwān* it was highly stilted. The reason for this difference can be deduced from the plan (*fig. 63.4*), for whereas the north and south *iwāns* spanned almost the full width of the central court, the west *iwān* is flanked by the door of the entrance passage (Y) to the north and by another doorway to the south which gave access to stairs leading up to the roof.<sup>63</sup> This meant that the west *iwān* was only 4.26m wide compared with approximately 7.65m for the north and south *iwāns*, and so for the west *iwān* to rise to the same height as these others it had to be stilted. The window (now blocked) in the west wall of the *iwān* opened on the outer court.

*East iwān.* Nothing whatsoever survives of the east *iwān*, but we know from the *waqfiyya* and Mujīr al-Dīn's description

that this was the most significant one. Its frontage on the central court of the madrasa must have been very similar if not identical to that of the west *iwān*, comprising a central stilted arch flanked by two doorways. What made this *iwān* different was the treatment of its east wall. Here was a triple window overlooking the Dome of the Rock. It had three arches supported on two marble columns with gilded capitals and bases resting on a low parapet wall (the lower part of which survives – see *plate 63.3*). The tympanums of the arches were filled with polychrome glass, presumably arranged in decorative patterns set in plaster tracery, with circular shields in the centre bearing religious invocations in green glass.<sup>64</sup> This type of window is called *qamarīyya* in Arabic and the *waqfiyya* refers to the east *iwān* as a *maq'ad qamarī*; Mujīr al-Dīn uses the term *tārima*, equivalent to 'loggia' in English. The significant feature of this loggia was the uninterrupted view it gave of the Ḥaram and the Dome of the Rock.

The floors of the central court and the *iwāns* were paved with polychrome marble, and a marble dado covered the lower part of the walls. The floor of the court was one step lower than those of the *iwāns*; the steps on the south and north sides were of white 'Gaza' marble, and those on the west and east sides were of 'Aleppo' marble.<sup>65</sup> The courtyard and the *iwāns* had a timber roof with, in all probability, an octagonal lantern over the centre of the courtyard. Such octagonal lanterns are a typical feature of contemporary madrasas in Cairo. The carved wooden ceiling was painted gold and azure. The roof itself was covered with a lead cladding. The ceiling was very high. Al-Nābulusī, who visited Jerusalem in 1101/1690 and again in 1105/1693, wrote a detailed account of the building in which he claimed that it was as high as the adjoining minaret, but this is clearly an exaggeration. Nevertheless, we know from the *waqfiyya* that the madrasa's windows were surmounted by other windows, and by extrapolating an arch from the curvature of the surviving springer of the north *iwān* and collating the result with Salzmann's photographs, it can be shown that the ceiling was not less than 10.5m above the floor.<sup>66</sup> Given this imposing height and the extraordinarily elaborate decoration (*plate 63.20*) it is easy to understand why Mujīr al-Dīn was moved to describe the madrasa as the 'third jewel' of the Ḥaram, the other two being the Aqṣā Mosque and the Dome of the Rock<sup>67</sup> (*figs. 63.6* and *63.9*).



Plate 63.17 General view of remains of outer court (left) and madrasa (right)



Plate 63.18 *Mihṛāb*



Plate 63.19 Remains of south wall of madrasa, showing *mihṛāb* and Bāb al-Silsila Minaret





Plate 63.20 Remains of north wall of north iwān

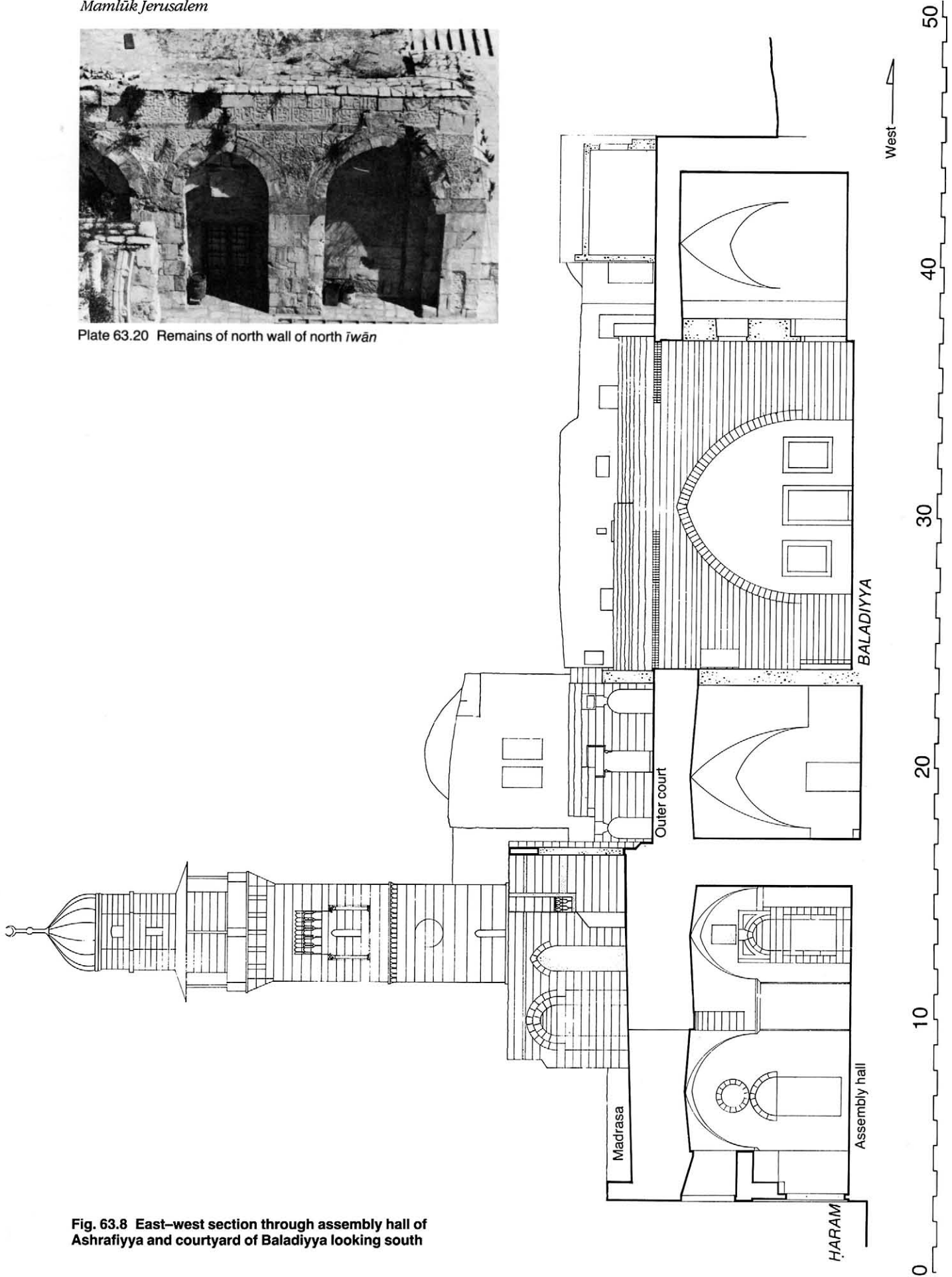


Fig. 63.8 East-west section through assembly hall of Ashrafiyya and courtyard of Baladiyya looking south



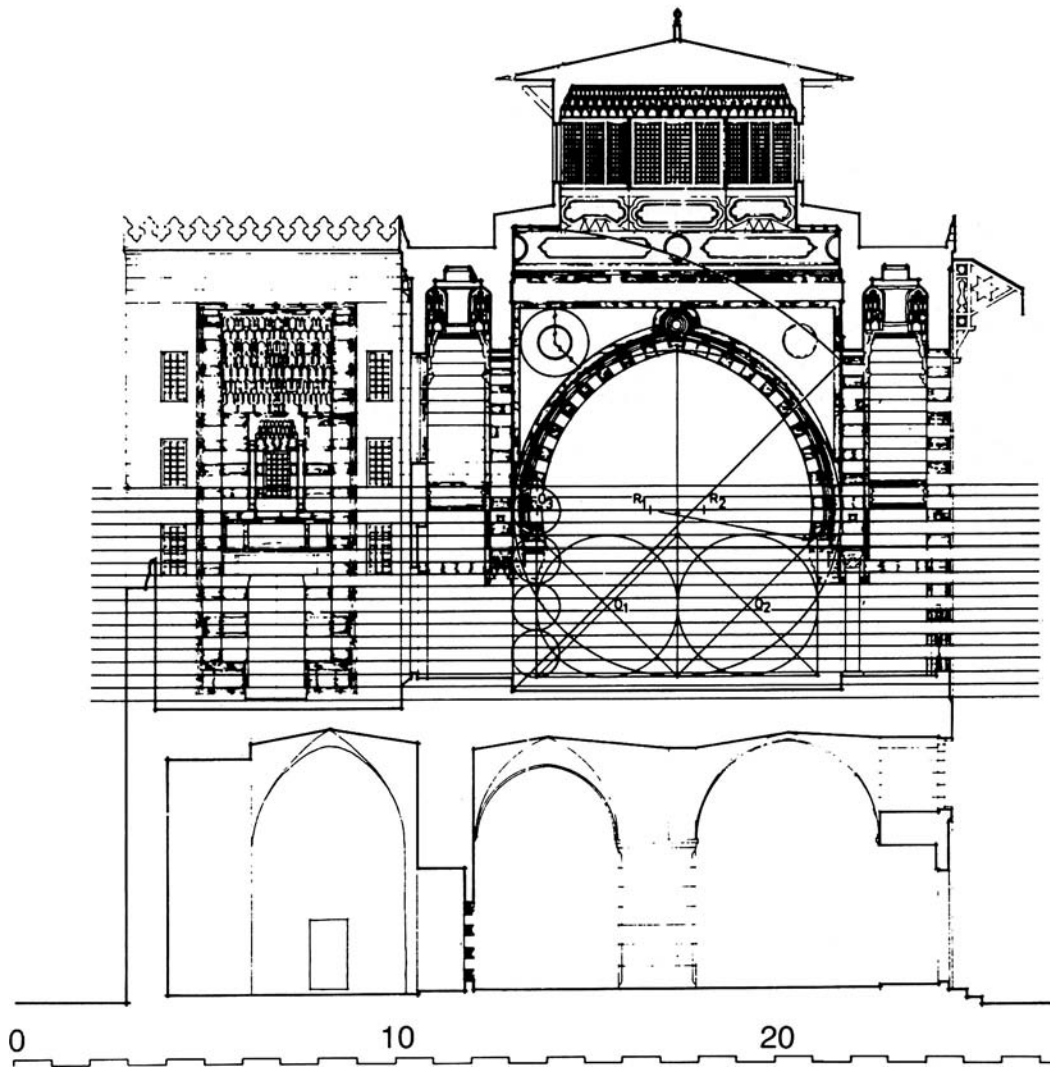


Fig. 63.9 West-east section looking north (restored), after A.G. Walls

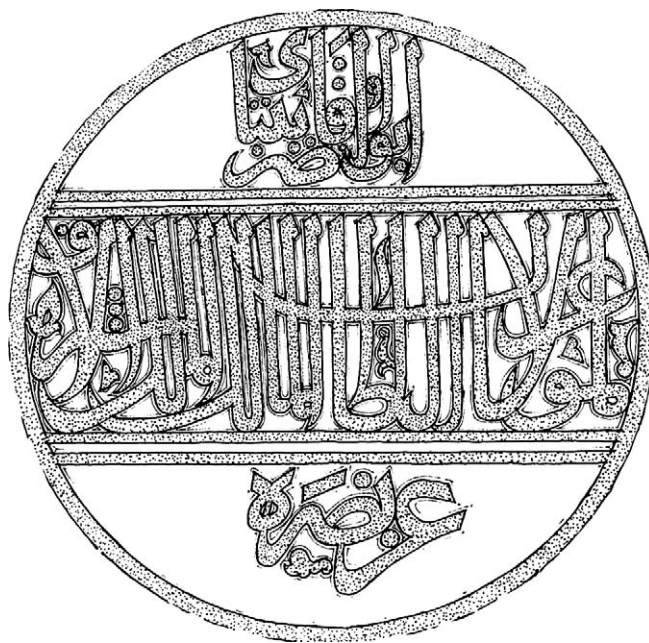


Fig. 63.10 Royal cartouche of Qäyrbäy

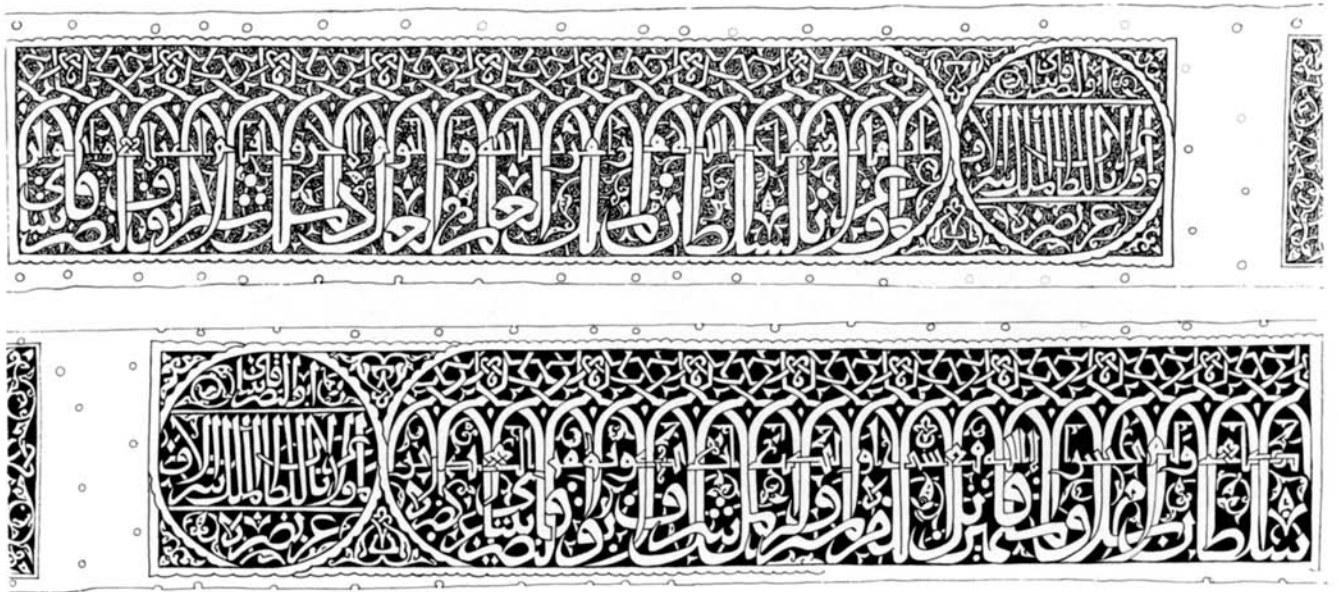


Fig. 63.11 Inscribed brass bands on entrance door

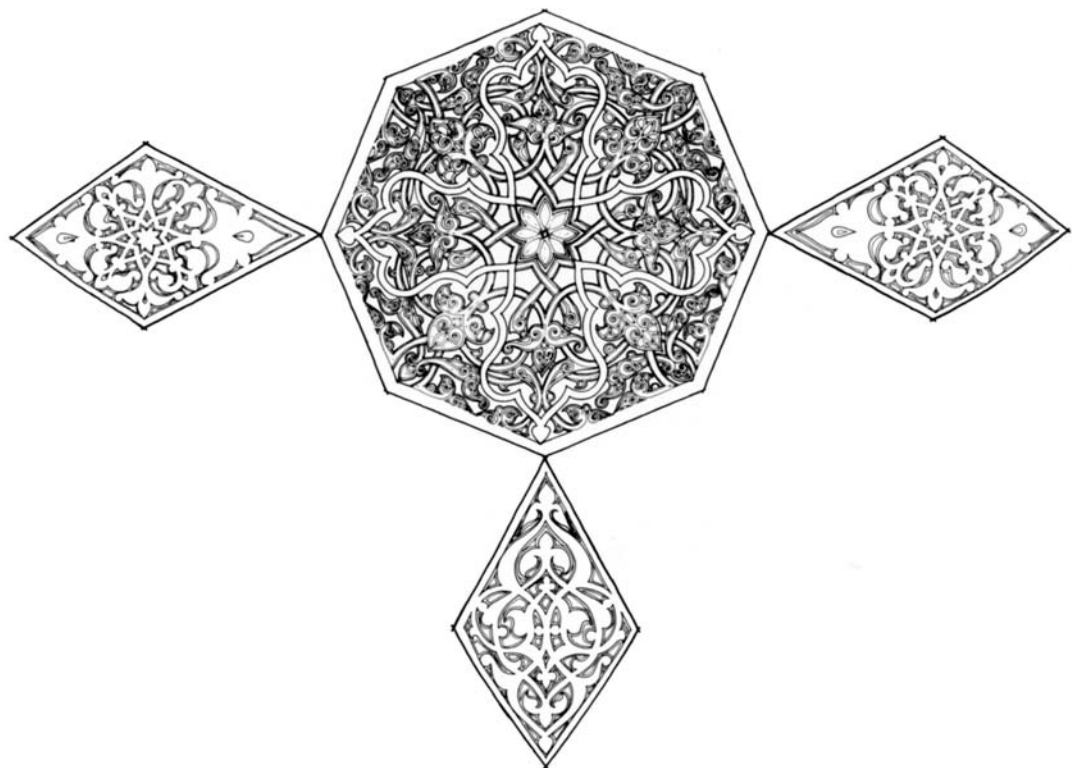
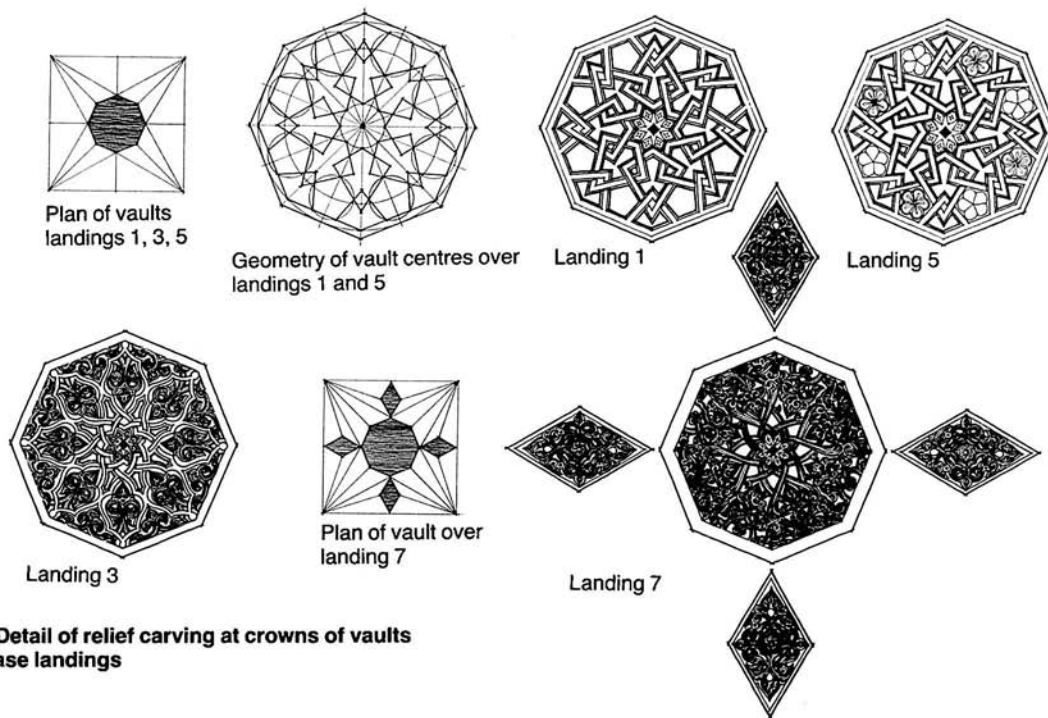


Fig. 63.12 Detail of relief carving at crown of vestibule vaulting



**Fig. 63.13** Detail of relief carving at crowns of vaults over staircase landings

### Notes

- 1 M.H. Burgoyne and A. Abul-Hajj, 'Twenty-four Mediaeval Arabic Inscriptions from Jerusalem', *Levant*, xi, 1979, 134-35.
- 2 Published by 'Abd al-Latif Ibrāhīm, *Waṭbiqat al-Sultān Qāyṭbāy* (Silsilat al-dirāsāt al-wathā'iqiyya 2) in the Proceedings of the *Mu'tamar al-thālib li'l-ābār fi'l-bilād al-'arabiyya*, Cairo, 1961, 389-434, referred to here as 'Waṭbiqa'.
- 3 *Waṭbiqa*, 429.
- 4 Mujir, 659-61.
- 5 See *EF*, s.v. Kā'it Bāy; main source is Ibn Iyās, iii, 324.
- 6 Mujir, ii, 35, 99, 284, and in particular 280-81.
- 7 Mujir, ii, 280-1.
- 8 Mujir, ii, 284.
- 9 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 105.
- 10 Mujir, ii, 287-8.
- 11 Mujir, ii, 286-7.
- 12 *CIA (Ville)*, 365.
- 13 Mujir, ii, 286.
- 14 Mujir, ii, 35 and 315. The Sultan spent only a few days there, see Ibn Iyās, iii, 112.
- 15 Mujir, ii, 35-6.
- 16 Mujir, ii, 326-7.
- 17 *CIA (Ville)*, 362 and note 6.
- 18 Mujir, ii, 325.
- 19 Mujir, ii, 326. Note that the porch (*dargāh*) is said to be contiguous to (*bi-lasq*) the lower assembly hall to the south of it, see Mujir, ii, 328.
- 20 *CIA (Ville)*, no. 106.
- 21 Mujir, ii, 294-5.
- 22 İpşirli, 39-41; Defter 602, 444; Sijill 33, 497 (1).
- 23 İpşirli, 39-41 and Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 161.
- 24 Mujir, ii, 284-5.
- 25 Sūra ix, v. 18. See Mujir, ii, 286.
- 26 Mujir, ii, 288.
- 27 Cited from S. Tamari, *Al-Ashrafiyya*, etc., 545, note 35 (see note 66).
- 28 Ibn Iyās, iii, 218; Mujir, ii, 333.
- 29 See the text of Felix Fabri cited in *CIA (Ville)*, 371, note 2.
- 30 Mujir, ii, 350.
- 31 Mujir, ii, 364.
- 32 Mujir, ii, 32.
- 33 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik*, 163: 'At the end of [this section of the portico] to the south is a *miḥrāb* adjoining the minaret, where a separate prayer ritual is performed by a single imām.'
- 34 Al-Muhibbi, *Kbulāsāt*, iii, 340.
- 35 This is the date preferred by Mayer, see 'A Sequel to Mujir ad-Din's Chronicle', *JPOS*, xi, 1931, 86-7. Perhaps the date intended in the Ms. used by Mayer was 952/1545. That is later than the death of Mujir al-Din, however, and the Ms. goes on to mention an event in 906. In any case, as we shall see, the madrasa was apparently functioning in 962/1555 (cf. A.G. Walls and D.A. King, 'The Sundial on the West Wall, etc.', *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, xv, London, 1979, 16 and 20, note 7).
- 36 Quoted in Asali, *Ma'ābid*, 173-5.
- 37 St. H. Stephan, 'Evliya Tshelebi's Travels in Palestine (cont.)', *QDAP*, ix, 1939, 100.
- 38 *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage*, etc., tr. Margaret Newett, Manchester, 1907, 253.
- 39 *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, tr., etc. M. Letts, Hakluyt Society 2nd series, xciv, London, 1946, 210.
- 40 Eg. in 984/1576 two brothers replace their step-brother in a Koran 'readership', Sijill, 57, 57 (5); a son follows his deceased father as *bawwāb, farrāsh* and lamp-lighter (*sha'āl*), Sijill 90, 61 (3); three brothers hold half the post of *mutawallī*, Sijill 151, 510 (1); a member of the al-Dayrī family inherits from another a 'readership' and the post of clerk, Sijill 184, 294 (2).

- 41 Sijill 1, no. 871; Sijill 31, 544 (6) (Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jamā'a al-Shāfi'ī); Sijill 40, 232 (now al-Ḥanafī); Sijill 57, 475 (5).
- 42 Sijill 33, 497 (1).
- 43 Sijill 30, 384 (3). The total income for the year 961/1554 was 8,778 aspers. The following stipends were paid: the shaykh 2,000, the imām 360, Koran reader 40, Ḥadīth reader 160, for a person with no office specified 80. The thirty Sūfis received altogether 1,620, the law students 160 and there were other pensions for individuals and other officials, such as deputy *nāzir*, factor (*āmīl*) of the waqf, clerk of the waqf, attendance clerk (? *nuqatī*), *musbidd*, combined *farrāsh* and lamp-lighter (*waqqād*), and water-carrier. Plus administrative and lighting costs the whole expenditure was 7,898 aspers, leaving a surplus of 880.
- 44 Sijill 33, 486 (4).
- 45 Sijill 40, 232.
- 46 Sijill 58, 566 (1).
- 47 Sijill 40, 390.
- 48 Part of the portico at Bāb al-Ḥadīd, after the assembly halls of the Jawhariyya (no. 58) and the Muzhiriyya (no. 62) were built on its roof, began to lean outwards until it had to be supported by flying buttresses. It was eventually demolished and rebuilt in 1928. *Bayān al-majlis al-shar'ī al-islāmī al-a'lā bi-Filasṭīn*, Jerusalem, 1928, 6 and first plate.
- 49 *CIA (Ville)*, 373.
- 50 W. Harvey, 'Saracenic Vaulting', *AR*, November 1911, 241-5.
- 51 The earliest instance of the use of lead between stone courses is at the entrance portal of the Mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (818-23/1415-20) in Cairo. Subsequently the technique was used in the portals of: the Mosque of Gāni Bek (830/1426-27); the Mosque/Mausoleum of Qāyṭbāy (877/1472-73); the Sabīl-Kuttāb of Qāyṭbāy (884/1480-81); the Mosque of Qijmās al-Ishāqī (885/1480-81); and the Khānqāh and the Mosque/Mausoleum of al-Ghūrī (909-10/1503-4).
- 52 The interior decoration – marble paving, marble panelling, gilding, etc. – was completed later (see above, p. 592).
- 53 *Waṭbiqa*, 417.
- 54 *Ibid.*, 420.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 420.
- 56 Another photograph by Salzmann, taken from the east, also shows the upper part of the wall: A. Salzmann, *Jérusalem. Etude et reproduction photographique de la ville sainte depuis l'époque judaïque jusqu'à nos jours*, 2 vols., Paris, 1856.
- 57 A.G. Walls and D.A. King, *op. cit.*, 16-21.
- 58 *Waṭbiqa*, 420-21. The very precisely detailed descriptions of the lavish decoration throughout the building given in the *waqfiyya* were probably intended to make it difficult for others to appropriate precious building materials for re-use elsewhere. At any rate, following the damage caused by the earthquake, the Ashrafiyya was plundered for its building stones, several of which were re-used in the *imaret* of Khaṣṣakī Sulṭān before 959/1552.
- 59 *Waṭbiqa*, 427-8.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 423.
- 61 *CIA (Ville)*, 373-4.
- 62 *Waṭbiqa*, 426.
- 63 *Ibid.*, 426.
- 64 *Ibid.*, 427.
- 65 'Aleppo marble' was a trade name for a patinated limestone imported from North Syria by the Mamlūks for *ablaq* work, according to J.M. Rogers, 'Waqfiyyas and Waqf-registers', *K. des O.*, xi, 1976-77, 185 n. 9.
- 66 Two quite different reconstructions of the Haram façade have been attempted. The first, by D. Chen, is unrealistic. S. Tamari, 'Al-Ashrafiyya: an Imperial Madrasa in Jerusalem', *Memorie della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche Accademie dei Lincei*, xix, 1976, 537-68, pl. v. The second (reproduced here as fig. 63.6) gives a good idea of how the madrasa might originally have looked: A.G. Walls, 'Al-Ashrafiyya: Third Jewel of the Third Shrine of Islam', *Arts and the Islamic World*, ii, 1984, 7-12.
- 67 Mujir, 383.

# 64 SABĪL QĀYTBĀY

## سبيل قايتباي

887/1482

Public fountain of Sultan Qāyṭbāy

*Modern name:* Sabīl Qāyṭbāy

### I LOCATION (fig. 64.1)

On the Ḥaram esplanade about 15m north-east of the Ashrafiyya (no. 63).

### II SITE AND BUILDING (plate 64.1)<sup>1</sup>

The sabīl is situated at the north-west corner of a raised stone prayer platform (*muṣallā*) with a free-standing *mīhrāb* on the south side (plate 64.2). Directly underneath lies a vast cistern, the source of the sabīl's water supply, said to have been an ancient gate passage.<sup>2</sup>

The sabīl, built entirely of stone, consists essentially of a simple square room, with large grilled windows in the south, west and north sides, and an internal well-recess and an entrance door in the east side. Over this room a stilted dome is raised on a tall zone of transition. The exterior of the dome is decorated with arabesque carving in low relief: the only significant sculptured arabesque dome that exists outside Cairo (see above, p. 91).

### III HISTORY

Little of the early history of the sabīl is known. Mujīr al-Dīn tells us that

... among the buildings restored by Sultan Qāyṭbāy when he rebuilt his madrasa was the sabīl facing it in the interior of the Ḥaram, above the well opposite the west stair of the [Dome of the] Rock. A stone dome formerly stood over this well, like the other wells<sup>3</sup> in the Ḥaram. It was demolished and the new sabīl was built, the floor paved in marble, and it had an elegant appearance.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, according to Mujīr al-Dīn, an earlier domed sabīl once stood on the site. The date of that earlier dome is not known exactly, but around the present sabīl an inscription, commemorating restorations made in 1300/1883 by the Ottoman Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, includes the information that the original structure was erected by the Mamlūk Sultan Ināl (reigned from 857/1453 to 865/1461) and was rebuilt by Sultan Qāyṭbāy in Shawwāl 887/November-December 1482. Van Berchem<sup>5</sup> deduced that the text of this restoration inscription is in fact a slightly abbreviated version of an earlier inscription, seen and roughly copied by Sauvaire in 1865,<sup>6</sup> which commemorated Qāyṭbāy's rebuilding.

Apart from his two major surviving monuments in Jerusalem – this sabīl and the nearby madrasa – Qāyṭbāy was responsible also for the renovation in 874/1469 of the main aqueduct to the city<sup>7</sup> and for the construction of two fountains (*fiṣḥiyya*), one just to the south of the platform on which his sabīl stands and one between the two Ḥaram gates Bāb al-Silsila and Bāb al-Sakīna.<sup>8</sup>

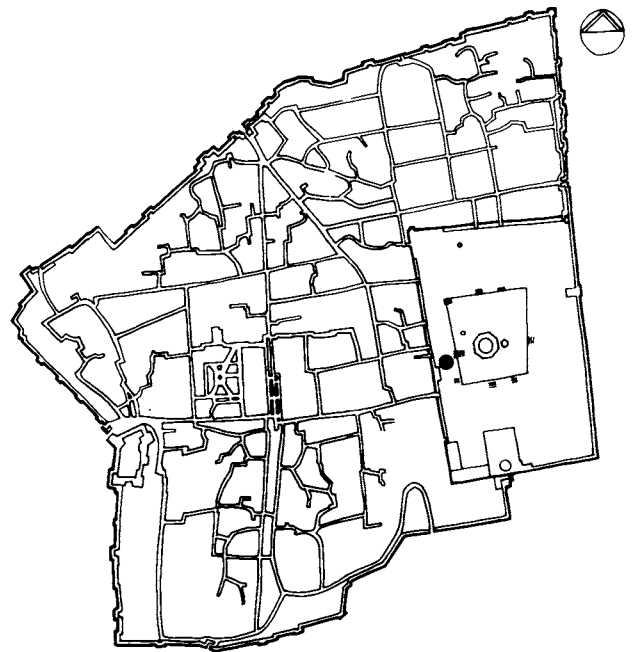


Fig. 64.1 Location plan



Plate 64.1 General view showing location of Sabīl Qāyṭbāy



Plate 64.2 *Mīhrāb* at south end of *muṣallā*

Christel Kessler, in an article devoted to Qāyrbāy's sabil, speculated that it was built by the same team of Egyptian craftsmen after they had completed the construction work on Qāyrbāy's madrasa some three months before the date mentioned in the sabil's inscription.<sup>9</sup>

#### IV ARCHITECTURE

##### EXTERIOR (elevations, figs. 64.3–64.6)

The sabil is an often repaired structure of three distinct 'storeys' (plate 64.3). A rectangular base (7.65m high) supports a transition zone (2.18m high) carrying a short drum and pointed dome (3.45m high). Thus the overall height is 13.28m. The south, west and north sides of the base are pierced by large (3.42m x 1.94m) grilled windows. The east side contains the entrance door.

The base storey is not quite square in plan at the exterior, being 4.60m x 4.80m. The extra length is due to the thickening of the eastern side for the well-recess. Consequently, while the west façade (fig. 64.5) is symmetrical, the north and south façades (figs. 64.6 and 64.4) are asymmetrical with the window placed somewhat west of centre in each. Engaged columns with typical Mamlūk bases and *muqarnas* capitals articulate the four corners.

The *ablaq* construction in courses of alternately red and cream-coloured stone begins immediately west of a vertical doubled quirked ogee moulding on the north and south façades (figs. 64.6 and 64.4). It continues west interrupted only by the vertical mouldings (for which cream-coloured limestone is used throughout) through the north-west and south-west corner shafts (plate 64.4) onto the west façade. The north-west and south-west corner shafts are composed of alternating courses of red and cream-coloured zig-zag components; the cream-coloured ones are carved with arabesque and strapwork reliefs. The interlocking vousoirs of the window lintels (not original, see below, p. 610) are also *ablaq*. A flight of four stone steps leads up to a stone shelf at the base of the north and west windows. On the south side, where there is no need for steps owing to the additional height of the open-air prayer platform, an ancient sarcophagus<sup>10</sup> is placed below the window shelf. All three stone shelves are supported by four typically Mamlūk brackets: those at the north and south windows are similar while the two central brackets on the west side are slightly more elaborate (fig. 64.5).

The east façade (fig. 64.3) is constructed in cream-coloured limestone ashlar, which returns through star-patterned north-east and south-east corner shafts to the vertical

moulding of the north and south windows where the *ablaq* coursing begins. The south-east corner shaft is carved with a repeating arabesque arranged round simple eight-pointed star patterns and six-lobed rosettes (plate 64.5). The north-east corner shaft is carved with a now much disfigured pattern of strapwork in which eight-pointed stars play a role (see reconstruction fig. 64.9). The plain entrance door (1.95m x 0.89m) is reached by four semicircular stone steps (not original, see p. 610) resting on the pavement of the prayer platform. Above the entrance the double moulding projects 3 cms more than elsewhere. This moulding frames a red monolithic lintel bearing on small stalactite shoulders, a relieving arch of *ablaq* joggling, and an arrangement of three upright oblong stone tablets. Here the moulding is enriched by hexagonal links enclosing floral bosses (plate 64.6). Clearly this moulding, distinct from the rest, is an integral part of the panel of decoration over the door (fig. 64.3). The moulding extends to either side with irregularly spaced plain circular links to form the lower border of the band of inscription which runs around the four sides. This inscription, which contains some Koranic verses and details of the foundation and restorations (see above, p. 606), is surmounted by a similar moulding. On the east face, below this moulding, an undecorated water spout (fig. 64.3) drains rainwater from the gutter<sup>11</sup> cut into the upper end of this storey at the foot of the receding second storey, which is the zone of transition. Placed where it is, the spout spills water from the gutter over that portion of the east wall that is devoid of decoration (see fig. 64.3); any elaborate ornament here would be quickly eroded.

The zone of transition, square in plan at its base, is stepped twice externally. The first step converts the square to an octagon with its corners supported by half-pyramidal buttresses<sup>12</sup> (fig. 64.10). The second step, from the octagon to a dodecagon has a half-pyramidal buttress on each of the eight corner facets. A pointed-arched window is placed centrally in each side. This storey is crowned by a cyma reversa cornice which extends on the east side round a water spout draining a gutter cut into the twelve-sided upper surface of the transition zone (plate 64.7).

On top of the transition zone sits in recess a plain circular drum, two courses high, which supports the dome. The exterior of the dome is somewhat deformed by the action of earthquakes and the effect of unchecked vegetation, which has eroded the pointing. The surface of the dome is covered with sweeping arabesques, carved in low relief in a distinctive bevelled style. The uppermost details of the decoration are extremely difficult to distinguish since a later restoration has



Plate 64.3 General view from the south-east



Plate 64.4a South-west corner shaft

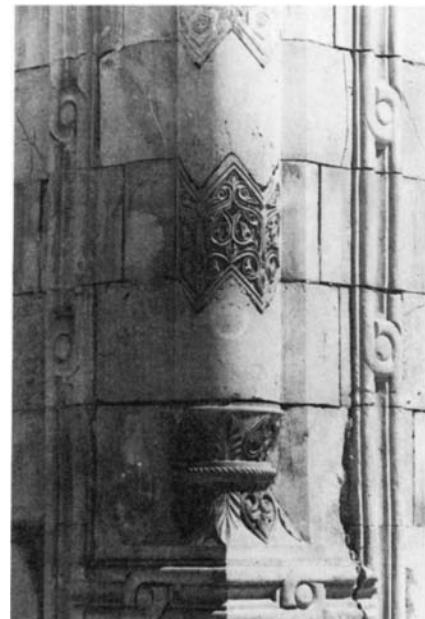
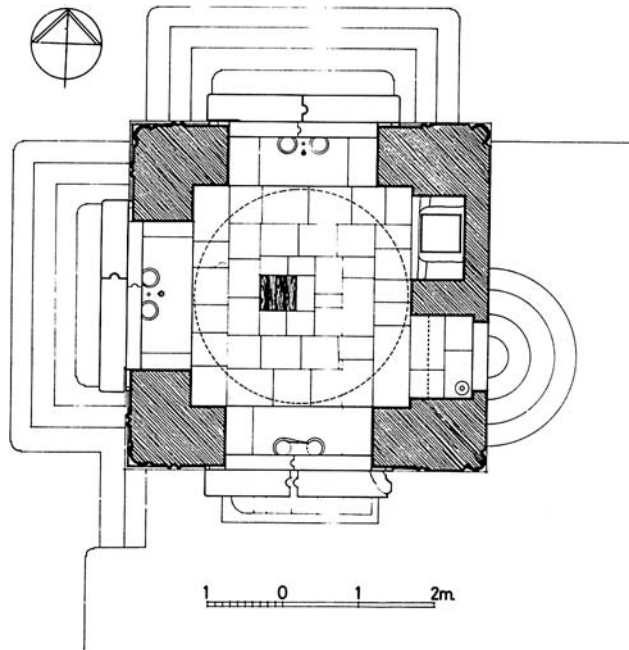


Plate 64.4b South-west corner shaft



Plan 64.2 Ground floor plan

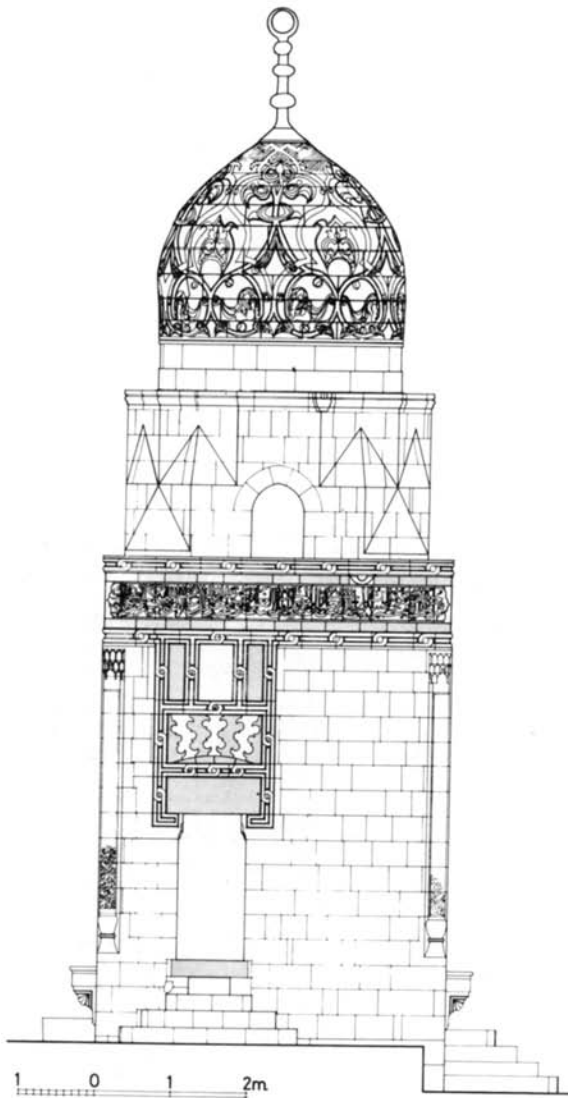


Fig. 64.3 East elevation

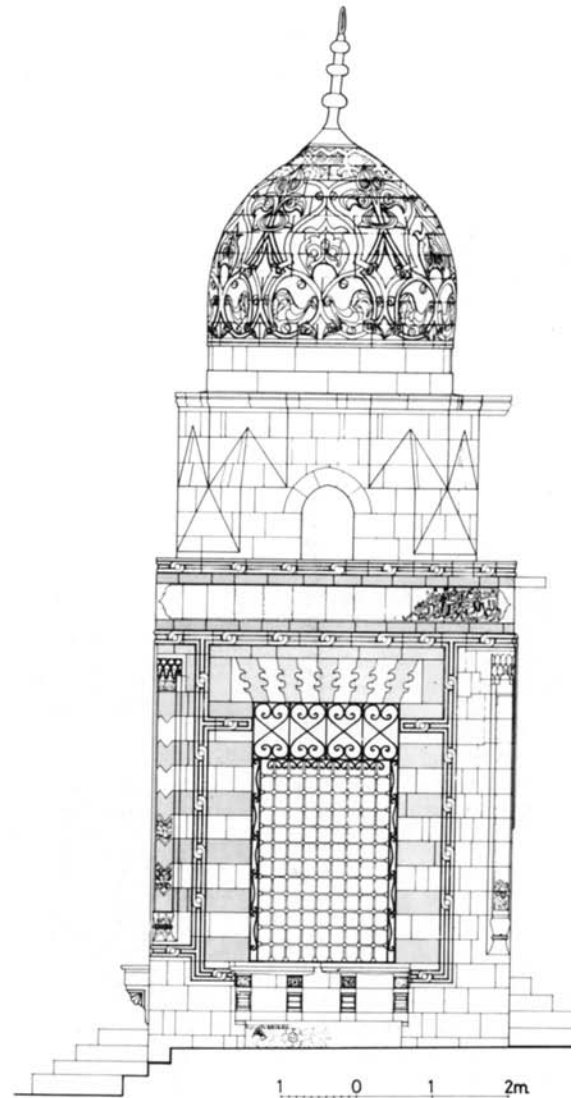


Fig. 64.4 South elevation



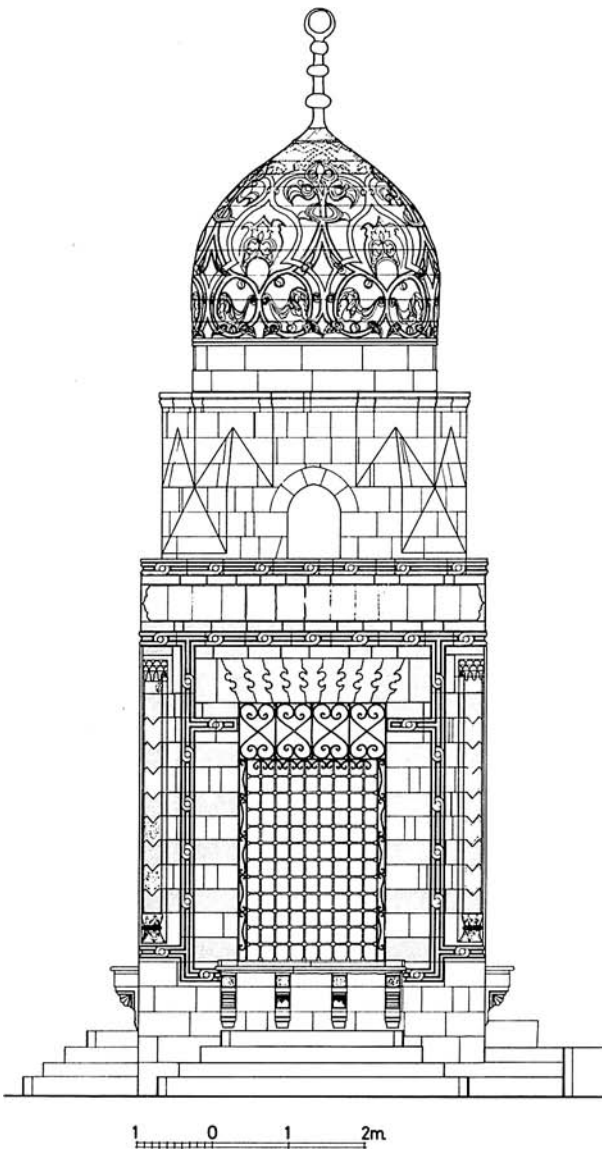


Fig. 64.5 West elevation

obscured the carving under a layer of cement. The whole is capped by a typical Islamic crescent finial of bronze, which, unlike others in the Ḥaram, faces east–west rather than north–south.

The carving of the dome, quintessentially Egyptian in style, shows little resemblance to Egyptian craftsmanship in the technique of its construction. Not only is the ‘apex-seeking’ pattern less evenly and elegantly adapted to the dome surface than in Cairo examples, but also there is no consistent coordination between the vertical axes of the pattern and the vertical joints in the masonry, as was hitherto a cardinal rule.<sup>13</sup> This anomaly led Christel Kessler to suggest that the team of Egyptian craftsmen responsible for the construction did not include a dome specialist. She notes furthermore that the design is not fully interpreted; that is, not all parts of the arabesque foliage are carved out in the oblique cutting technique usually applied to give a filigree refinement, and where the carving is executed it is often handled in such a way as to obscure rather than enhance the motif (e.g. the pairs of large leaves at the lower rim, see *plate* 64.7). Such imperfections are not found in any of the other arabesque decorations elsewhere on the sabil, and therefore give the impression that the carving of the dome, or at least part of it, was left to hands unfamiliar with the work. Thus, Kessler concludes, the Egyptian team was prevented somehow from seeing the work through to its proper conclusion.

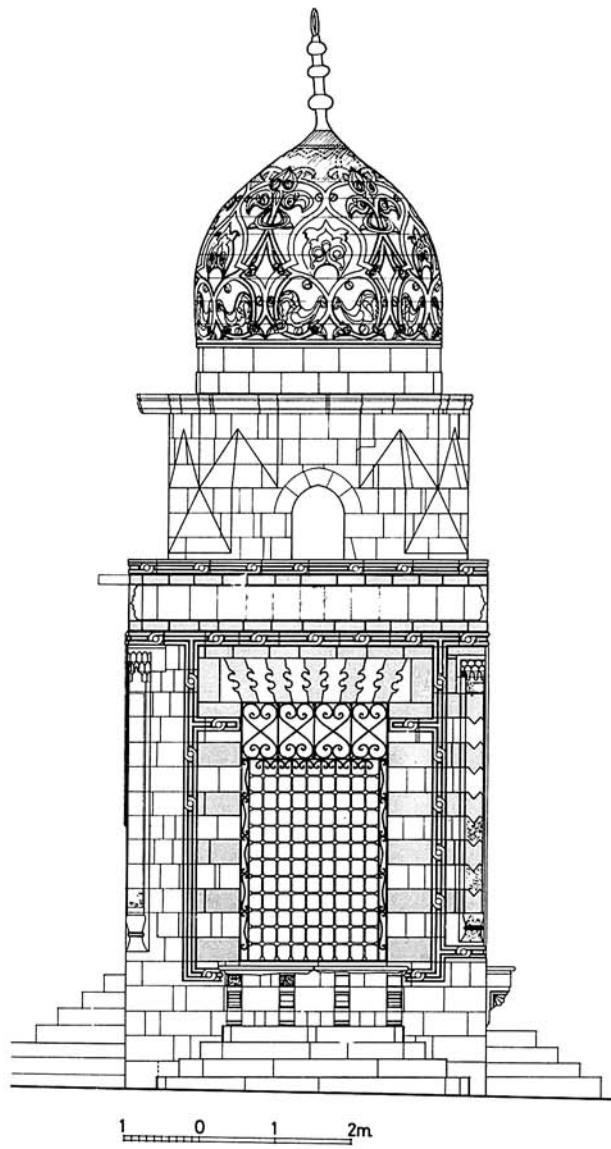


Fig. 64.6 North elevation

*INTERIOR* (plan, *fig.* 64.2; sections, *figs.* 64.7 and 64.8)

The domed interior is 2.91m square and the floor level now stands 1.73m above the esplanade of the Ḥaram. The base storey is 5.30m high, the transition zone 2.02m high and the dome 3.32m high. The total height of the interior is therefore 10.64m.

In the internal sills of each of the main windows are two circular openings (*fig.* 64.2). Underneath these openings are water troughs. There is a bronze ring between the holes at the north and west windows. It is said that cups (two per window) were chained to these rings.<sup>14</sup> Wooden planks in the middle of the floor of stone slabs (*fig.* 64.2) cover another trough which has now been partly filled with sand and houses a water-tap.

The window jambs are of *ablaq* construction with a narrow (0.12m) red stone band extending upwards to frame the decoratively carved limestone spandrels of the internal *ablaq* pointed arch over each window. A shallow disk 0.13m in diameter is cut into the stone above the keystone of each of the three arches (*fig.* 64.7). The recessed tympanums of these arches (i.e. the back of the external joggled *ablaq* lintels) are plastered.

The well-recess is situated in the east side to the north of the entrance. The well and door recesses, contained by an *ablaq* wall (*fig.* 64.8) are spanned by flat arches composed of three stones elaborately carved with star-pattern strapwork in relief (*plate* 64.8), similar to ones in the Ashrafiyya. Over these

flat arches are two joggled relieving arches separated by a small panel of strapwork. Continuing upwards we find a plain limestone panel surrounded by a red stone frame (*fig.* 64.8) modelled at each end in a fashion similar to the external inscription tabulae. There is no trace of an inscription on this internal panel.

A red stone band borders the upper end of the walls of the square room immediately below *muqarnas* pendentives. This device of providing in the interior the transition from the square room to the round base of the dome consists of six tiers, expanding upwards from one niche at the lowest level to six niches at the highest (*figs.* 64.7 and 64.8). The pendentives are separated by the pointed-arched clerestorey windows set in a frame of arabesque (not shown on the sections; see *plate* 64.9). A haphazard array of wooden beams now spans the space between these windows and supports a metal hook probably intended for the attachment of a lamp chain. The whole of the zone of transition is ornamented with an elaboration of relief carving. A simple moulding separates the transition zone from the dome. In a few places there are traces indicating that the interior of the dome was at one time whitewashed and painted with an artificially regularized network of courses and vertical joints. At the apex is an *ablaq* medallion consisting of a central circular red stone surrounded by a cream-coloured limestone border carved with lozenge and spear-shaped reliefs radiating from the centre.

#### SEQUENCE OF CONSTRUCTION AND RESTORATION

The inscription around the exterior of the *sabīl* (see above) commemorates three phases of construction: first, the original domed *sabīl* of Sultan Īnāl; second, Sultan Qāyrbāy's 'restoration' in 887/1482; and finally, the restoration by Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd in 1300/1883. We must now ask ourselves (1) is there any trace of Īnāl's original dome? (2) How much of Qāyrbāy's construction remains? (3) What is the extent of the subsequent restorations? The existing structure has the appearance of a homogeneous whole, which suggests that its overall design dates from one particular period. There is nothing in the present lower courses of the masonry of the *sabīl* to question Mujīr al-Dīn's statement that Īnāl's *qubba* was completely destroyed. Mujīr al-Dīn's description leads us also to believe that the floor 'paved in marble' must have been lifted at some time, probably during the Ottoman period. The present stone floor is therefore a later replacement.

From the evidence contained in the inscription it is clear that there was no major restoration between Qāyrbāy's original

foundation and 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's repairs of 1883. Therefore early photographs might help us to identify those parts, in addition to the inscription, which are not original. Only a handful of pre-1883 illustrations<sup>15</sup> is available but those that do exist confirm that the restorations of 1883 took the form of repairs rather than any major remodelling of the structure. However, the Ordnance Survey photograph cited in note 15 shows the lintel of the north window decorated with star-pattern strapwork; the present joggled *ablaq* lintels of the three principal windows and their plastered interior faces may, therefore, all be replacements datable to 1883. At the same time the step to the door and the north and west windows were reconstructed. The window grilles are Ottoman in part at least. The cement coating to the top of the dome was almost certainly part of the 1883 repairs, while the painted coursing on the interior of the dome, evidently applied in an effort to disguise the unevenness of the stonework, is only presumably so.<sup>16</sup>

The next piece of evidence we have at our disposal is the photographs taken in the 1920s by Creswell. These show that the *sabīl* was almost identical then to what it is now. But a few minor differences are discernible. The finial faced south-west to north-east rather than east-west as now. Also, the south-west column base was badly chipped. In fact this damaged base lies amongst the architectural debris scattered around the Islamic Museum on the Ḥaram and so presumably it was removed and replaced by the present one after 1920.<sup>17</sup> Severe erosion of the fifth and sixth courses above the base of the north-eastern corner shaft may be seen in a photograph of the east façade. These stones have since been replaced. A deterioration in the precision of the strapwork design on these two units, and on several parts of the south-eastern corner shaft, serves to confirm the originality of the others. Likewise parts of the moulding over the door are carved differently from the rest.<sup>18</sup> However, the 1920 photographs show a slight difference in the colour of these stones, and suggest that they were part of the 1883 repairs. Missing circular links in the lower half of the vertical moulding at the east end of the north side imply a repair after the restoration of 1883. The absence today of cracks in the masonry of the transition zone, shown in Creswell's photographs, further evidences some post-1920 repairs.

Thus we may conclude that in form the *sabīl* stands today virtually as it was built in 1482. There is no visible trace of Īnāl's original construction, and the restorations of 1883 – apart from the window lintels – and the repairs after 1920 did little to modify the original design.



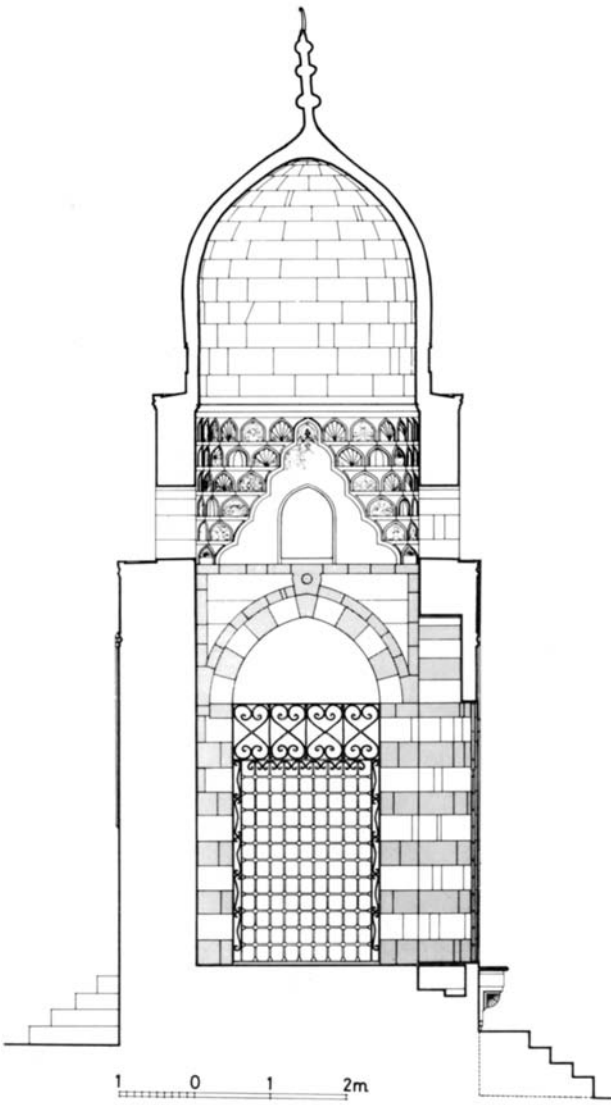
Plate 64.5a South-east corner shaft



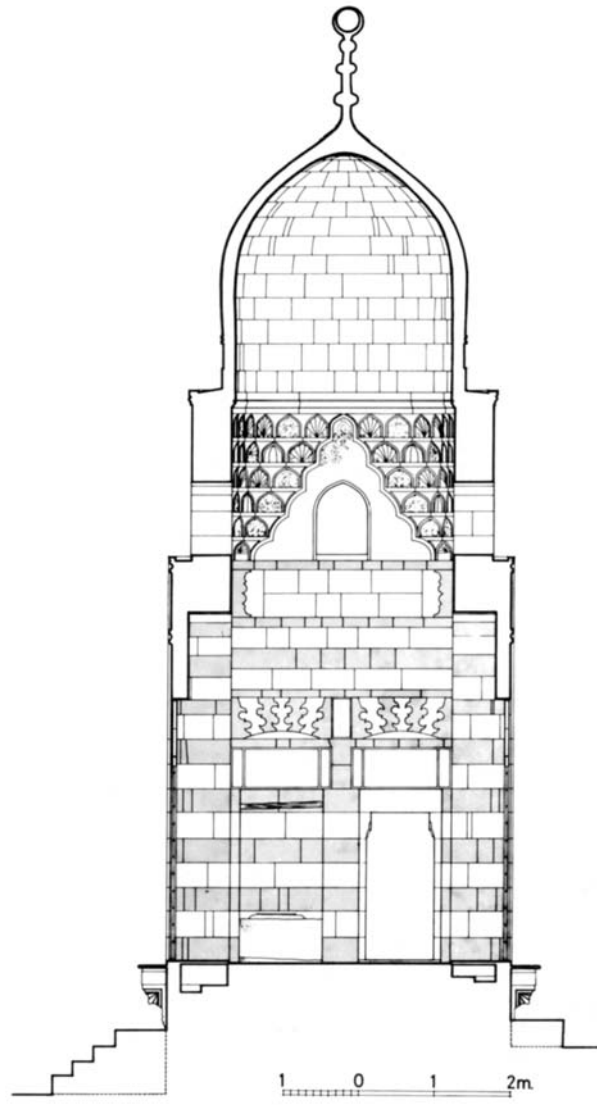
Plate 64.5b South-east corner shaft



Plate 64.6 General view from the east



**Fig. 64.7** East-west section



**Fig. 64.8** North-south section



**Plate 64.7** General view from south-west



**Plate 64.8** East wall

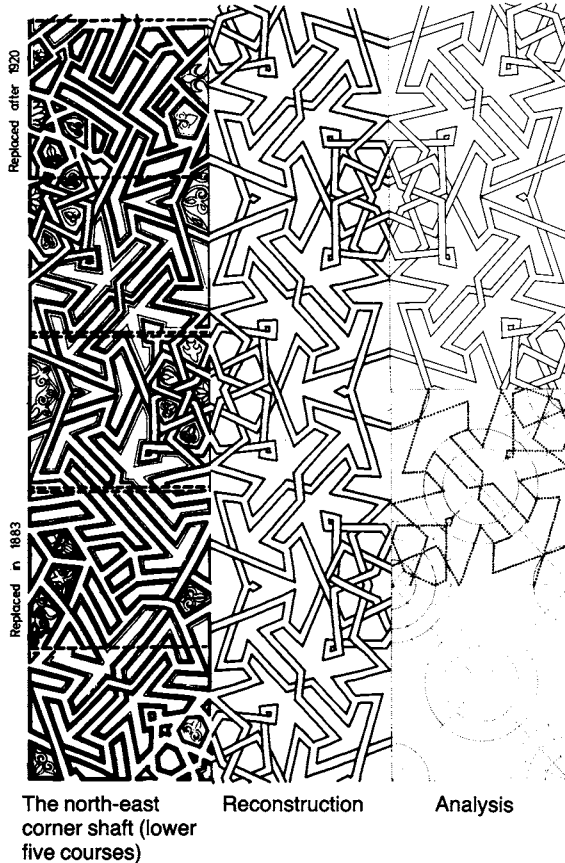


Fig. 64.9 Strapwork on north-east corner shaft



Plate 64.9 Interior zone of transition

Notes

- 1 Much of the present description of this building, including history and architecture as well as the drawings, is taken from an article by C. Kessler and M. Burgoyne, 'The Fountain of Sultan Qāytbāy in the Sacred Precinct of Jerusalem', *Archaeology in the Levant: Essays for Kathleen Kenyon*, ed. R. Moorey and P. Parr, Warminster, 1978, 250-69.
- 2 Warren Report No. XLI 'Bāb el-Mathara', *PEFQS*, ii, 1869, 107.
- 3 E.g. Sabīl Sha'lān (613/1216-17) and the Well of Ibrāhīm al-Rūmī (no. 56).
- 4 Mujir, 388.
- 5 *CIA (Haram)*, 159-62.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 161. According to *CIA (Ville)*, 5, Sauvair's copy was made about 1865.
- 7 *CIA (Ville)*, 338-43.
- 8 Mujir, 661.
- 9 C. Kessler and M. Burgoyne, *op. cit.*, 250-68.
- 10 C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine 1873-1874*, London, 1899, 138-39, suggests that this antique sarcophagus like others around the Haram must have come from the monument known today as the Tombs of the Kings.
- 11 One stone from a fine inscription in kufic script has been re-used in the paving of this gutter near the water spout. The epigraphic style strongly resembles that of inscriptions found in the Fakhriyya (no. 22) and the Qubbat al-Mi'rāj (built 593/1200-1, refurbished 1195/1781), which van Berchem (*CIA (Haram)*, 55-56, 133)

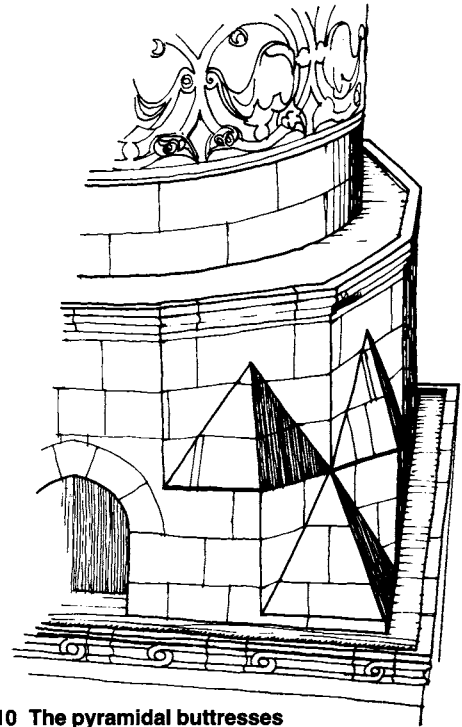


Fig. 64.10 The pyramidal buttresses

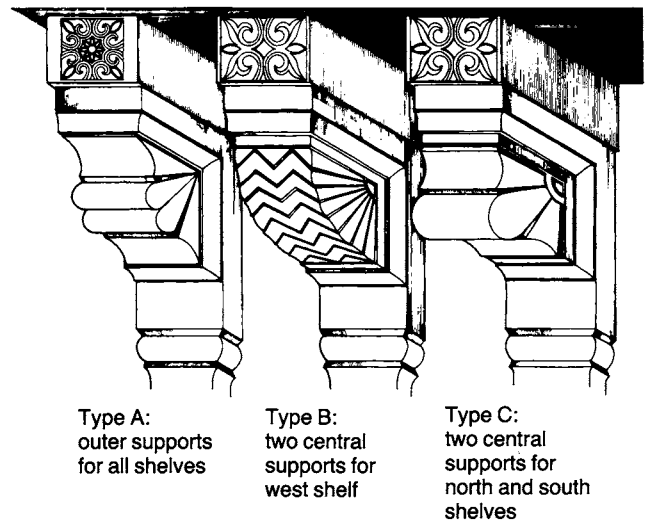


Fig. 64.11 Isometric of bracket types

- 12 The sloping sides of these buttresses would have the advantage of shedding water directly into the gutter below.
- 13 C. Kessler, *The Carved Masonry Domes of Medieval Cairo*, London, 1976.
- 14 W. Harvey, 'The fountain of Kaït Bey, Jerusalem', *The Builder*, xcvi, 1910, 16-17.
- 15 Photograph dated 1862 by Francis Bedford, published in Mrs Mentor Mott, *Stones of Palestine*, 1865, facing p. 68; *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem: Photographs*, London, 1865, pl. 6b; J.E. Hanauer, *Walks in and around Jerusalem*, second edition, London, 1926, pl. 166.
- 16 At the same time the vegetation that was weakening the structure was removed. Once again a proliferation of Golden Henbane and Syrian Golden Drop is beginning to break up the fabric of the sabīl. Recently scaffolding has been erected around the sabīl with a view to repairing the stonework.
- 17 Also in the debris around the Museum lies a single carved stone evidently intended to replace the badly eroded neck below the capital of the north-west shaft but for some reason never fitted.
- 18 It should be observed that the carving of specific groups of architectural ornament by obviously different hands does not necessarily indicate a restoration. Undoubtedly, several masons, each with his own cutting style, would have been employed in the construction of the sabīl.

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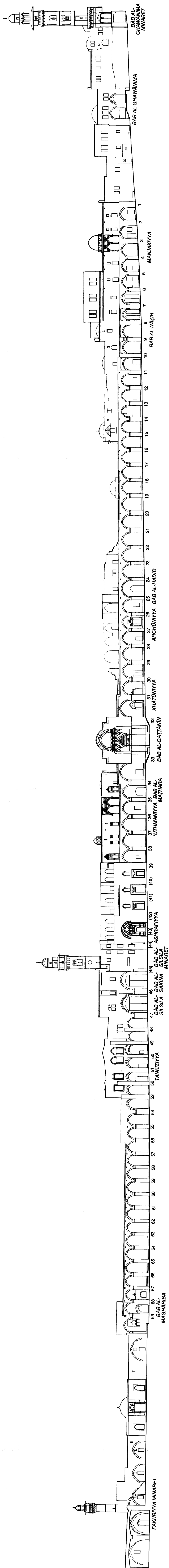


Fig. 12.2 West Portico: Elevation

This elevation and the elevation of the North Portico on p. 160 are reproduced at 1:500.



**Fig. 14 Map showing the location of Mamlūk monuments**



- 1 North Portico
- 2 Turba of Barka Khān
- 3 Ribāṭ of 'Alā' al-Dīn
- 4 Mu'azzamiyya Minaret
- 5 Ribāṭ al-Mansūrī
- 6 Al-Kubakiyya
- 7 Ribāṭ of Kurt al-Mansūrī
- 8 Al-Dawādāriyya
- 9 Al-Awḥādiyya
- 10 Ghawānima Minaret
- 11 Al-Jāliyya
- 12 West Portico
- 13 Al-Sa'diyya
- 14 Al-Jāwiyya
- 15 Al-Karimiyya
- 16 North Qanāṭir
- 17 North-east Qanāṭir
- 18 Al-Tankiziyya
- 19 Ribāṭ al-Nisā'
- 20 Bāb al-Silsila Minaret
- 21 Al-Amīniyya
- 22 Al-Fakhrīyya
- 23 Fakhrīyya Minaret
- 24 Sūq al-Qaṭānīn
- 25 Al-Sallāmiyya
- 26 Al-Almalkiyya
- 27 Summer Pulpit
- 28 Turba of Turkān Khātūn
- 29 Al-Kilāniyya
- 30 Al-Fārisiyya
- 31 Al-Khātūniyya
- 32 Al-Arghūniyya
- 33 Al-Fārūsiyya
- 34 Dār al-Qur'ān al-Sallāmiyya
- 35 Al-Manjakiyya
- 36 Al-Tāziyya
- 37 Ribāṭ al-Mārdīnī
- 38 Bāb al-Asbāṭ Minaret
- 39 Al-Bistāmiyya
- 40 Al-Lu'lu'iyya
- 41 Al-Zāwiya al-Lu'lu'iyya
- 42 Al-Hanbaliyya
- 43 Al-Baladiyya
- 44 Al-Wafā'iyya
- 45 Al-Tashamuriyya
- 46 Al-Qiramiyya
- 47 Al-Wakāla
- 48 Dār al-Sitt Tunshuq
- 49 Turba of Sitt Tunshuq
- 50 Minaret in Hārāt al-Yahūd
- 51 Al-Subayhiyya
- 52 Salāhiyya Minaret
- 53 Al-Bāsiyya
- 54 Al-Ghādiriyya
- 55 Al-Hasaniyya
- 56 Well of Ibrāhīm al-Rūmī
- 57 Al-'Uthmāniyya
- 58 Al-Jawhariyya
- 59 Minaret of 'Jāmi' 'Umar
- 60 South-west Qanāṭir
- 61 Ribāṭ al-Zamānī
- 62 Al-Muzhriyya
- 63 Al-Ashrafiyya
- 64 Sabīl Qayṭāy

