

THE TURBAT BARAKAT KHĀN OR KHALIDI LIBRARY

by A. G. Walls

I

The subject of this report, the Turbat Barakat Khān or Khalidi Library was the first structure recorded (in 1968) as part of the School's Architectural Survey in the Old City of Jerusalem. Since that time the writer has surveyed other Mamluk buildings in the Tariq Bab al-Silsila (Figs. 1 and 2). The project starting so soon after the Six Day War of 1967 had its teething problems. The inhabitants of the area were hesitant, but soon proved most hospitable and helpful due largely to Dr. J. B. Hennessy, the Director of the B.S.A.J. at that time, who was always available to promote the project. In thanking him, the writer would like, also, to express his thanks to Dame Kathleen Kenyon and the Council of the B.S.A.J. for their support. His gratitude and appreciation go particularly to the Khalidi family and their Waqf, especially those whom the writer has met and who have given him assistance whenever required. He is greatly indebted to the Waqf Council in Jerusalem; to the Director of Antiquities and his staff in the Palestine Archaeological Museum (The Rockefeller Museum); to Mrs. C-M. Bennett, the present Director of the B.S.A.J.; to Père Ch. Couâsnon, O.P., architect to the Latin Community in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; to Herr E. W. Kruger, architect to the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer; to Mr. C. Edwards who took many of the photographs; to the various friends who have discussed the building with the writer; and to Mr. R. W. Hamilton who advised on the presentation of this report.

II. INTRODUCTION

The Turbat Barakat Khān, presently known as the Khalidi Library, is on the south-eastern corner of the junction of the Tariq Bab al-Silsila (The Street of the Chain) and the small lane, 'Aqabat Abu Madyan, which descends by a series of steps to the recently created Wailing Wall Plaza¹ (Fig. 2), (Pl. VII).

As its name implies, the property came into existence as a tomb or cenotaph (the word "*turbah*" could be used for either; in this case it can be inferred it was a cenotaph); but this has long been incorporated in the residence of the Khalidi family in Jerusalem and changes suffered over the years have completely disguised the original form and perhaps even the exact position of the tomb. Founded in A.D. 1900 by Sheikh Ragheb al-Khalidi, an ex-head of the Shar'iyyah Appeal Court, the Library was based on a collection of 12,000 books and manuscripts, written in Arabic, English, French, Persian and Turkish.² Prior to its establishment as a library the Reading Room had been the family mosque adjoining the male guest chambers of the Khalidi domestic complex; the only remaining physical evidence of this use is a prayer niche, *mihrab*, in the wall facing Mecca.

The property occupies an area about 8 m. wide from north to south by 17.5 m. long from east to west. It consists of an open Courtyard, roughly square, flanked by a vaulted room on the east and the library Reading Room on the west. The Courtyard contains three graves. Although owned by the Khalidi family, the buildings to the south of this property cannot be described accurately, as they have been requisitioned by the Occupying Forces.

Our knowledge of the site hitherto depended on two things: (a) five texts, one recording a restoration of the building, the others funerary inscriptions (see p. 44 below); and (b) a brief mention by Mujir al-Dīn al-'Ulaymi in his *History of Jerusalem and Hebron*,³ where he states that, "The tomb of Prince Ḥasām al-Dīn Barakat Khān faces the Taziyyah School. The date of its construction was in the year 792/1390 and was built after his death."

¹ The Library's co-ordinates in the Ordnance Survey of Palestine, 1936, sheet No. 16 of 1924 are 2170, 1508; Burgoyne, *Levant III* (1971), 25-6.

² el Aref, *Jerusalem* (1961), 449, 451, 512.

³ See Sauvage, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hebron* (1876), 161.

It remains now to see what can be inferred from the buildings themselves. These will be examined as follows, in turn the front elevation or facade to the street; the Reading Room; and the Courtyard.

III. DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDINGS

A. *The Facade* (Figs. 3-5)

The most significant part of the building, archaeologically and architecturally, is the elevation to the Tariq Bab al-Silsila. On inspection at least four separate phases of construction can be distinguished.

(a) At the base of the wall, two courses of rough but squared masonry are to be seen immediately above the paved surface of the street. They extend from the east jamb of the Reading Room doorway to the eastern extremity of the property, and appear as a foundation supporting the front wall of the building. At one point in this foundation the top of an arch is discernible, suggesting the existence of an underlying structure.

Constructed from squared stones, the base varies in height from two to three stone courses, the upper course following the levels of the Courtyard on the south side of the wall. For most of the base's length it projects 0.08m. beyond the face of the super-structure, the most obvious projection being below the rectangular window where a sill, ledge or seat may be seen. Other less obvious irregularities include a sill below the eastern jamb of the barred window and a shallow concave cut to accept a column which coincides with the lowest step of the modern pavement.

(b) A second phase of construction is represented by the front of the Reading Room, which is set apart from the rest of the facade to the east by a vertical straight joint rising, with only minor irregularities near the top, from the ground level to the summit of the building. One of these irregularities is seen at the top of the first complete course above the hood moulding of the doorway. The masonry above this course is set back at the joint by about 0.02 m. behind the wallface below; the set-back diminishes to zero at the west end of the course. The irregular coursing of the masonry above this level suggests that the top of the wall has been reconstructed. The principal features of this facade are the doorway, a rectangular opening set in an elaborately decorated arched recess, the lower part of which was blocked up some years ago converting the door to a window; and the string course three courses above it.

The recessed doorway merits detailed description (Pl. VIII A), for it expresses well the strong influence on the local masons in Jerusalem of the twelfth-century Crusader entrance doors to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Pl. VIII B).⁴ For clarity the hood moulding, the impost blocks and the jambs of the door will be considered after the other details; i.e., the arches, lintel and the recess' jambs (Fig. 6).

The arches both spring from the impost blocks; the upper, constructed of godrons or cushions sculpted in threes, is flush with the facade; the lower, a chevroned arch is halfway between the facade and the rear wall of the recess. Both these arches and the hood moulding above have vertical, central joints. The tympanum has a pseudo-joggled relieving lintel, its joints cut out of the masonry.⁵ The true lintel to the door does in fact have a joggled keystone, which in recent years has been covered by cement. The last of the individual details and the most suggestive of Arab workmanship is the chamfered, slightly bevelled corner drawn to a point at top and bottom on either side of the recess.

All the other mouldings were designed within an overall scheme using differing combinations of the half-palmette, trefoils and billet mouldings. The hood moulding has two functions; one,

⁴ Briggs, *Muhammedan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine* (1924), 105; Boase, *Castles and Churches of the Crusading Kingdom* (1967), 10.

⁵ It will be seen by comparison that the relieving lintel in Fig. 6 is incorrect as it does not show the shallow space left between it and the true lintel.

visually to enclose the composition, which requires a strong form; and, two, to give the impression of flowing over the godrons. Therefore, the scheme was modified to express both functions. The shape of the hood moulding as well as the shadows produced by the close and deeply cut design enclose, while the necessary movement is conveyed by the main lines curving gracefully in "S" like forms to produce circles. Each circle circumscribes four half-palmettes and four single leaves. The divisions between these circles are punctuated by two trefoils, above and below the curving line. Square and isosceles triangle billets combine to crown the hood moulding, adding further strength to the design.

The impost moulding, which is a solid platform from which the arches spring, emphasises its structural function by displaying a series of circles very close together and interlocked by smaller circles or knots to give the feeling of solidarity, immobility, and strength. Each circle has an eight petalled rosette with a circular centre and as on the hood moulding, there are two trefoils to a division, one above and one below the knot. The billets are of a type found throughout Romanesque architecture and consist of two bands of raised square pieces at regular intervals. The third moulding designed within the overall theme is the jamb moulding to the door opening. As this has no structural function it needs only to relieve the hard lines of the opening and succeeds by displaying a delicate and elongated design of half-palmettes alternating with pairs of leaves within a snaking line on a chamfered jamb; isosceles billets are again used to contain the design, but this time they are not as visually robust as the previous example.

On the drawing (Fig. 6) below the imposts on either side of the doorway an "elbowed" column has been inserted. This was suggested by the doorway illustrated in Pierotti.⁶ It is fairly clear that Pierotti's drawing was based on the Khalidi Library doorway, but worked up later with some details invented by him. The possibility is reinforced further by the existence of "elbow" columns on the mausoleum of the emir Kubaki (see below p. 49).

The capitals in Fig. 6 here are based on one (Pl. XIV B) found amongst a miscellaneous collection of other worked stones in a corner of the Courtyard. Corroboration can be gleaned from an early photograph (Pl. X), a detail of which was reproduced by Briggs,⁷ that may possibly show the capital in position. An object appears to project beyond the right-hand corner of the recess which resembles the volutes on the capital recently discovered. This projection can no longer be seen in photographs taken in the same direction. The present condition of the capital may also be taken as an indication of its past association with the doorway: first, it is a re-used capital, only three of the faces are complete with the fourth having only the slightest remains of its former acanthus leaves; and, second, the deterioration of the capital caused by the action of rain seems to be new, and can only have occurred while the capital lay upside down. Therefore it has been sheltered for the majority of its existence and the nearest and most likely position is within the recessed doorway.

Further evidence to support the use of this capital, and its pair is found on the ingos of the door recess where just below the impost block the masonry has been cut back to receive one of the three remaining complete faces of the capital.

Two further points about this facade should be mentioned. It can be seen in Pl. VII that an abrupt change in the masonry occurs where the north-west corner turns into 'Aqabat Abu Madyan: it is clear that the window seen there, and most of the masonry surrounding it, is of a different build from the facade on the Street of the Chain. A similar change of masonry within the Courtyard (pp. 40 and Pl. XIII B below) will confirm that the north facade is all that remains, above the rough foundation or lowest masonry courses, of the building to which it originally belonged. As suggested on p. 26, the uppermost courses of the facade itself seem also to have been rebuilt.

Secondly the doorway, as it now stands, is not set in the centre of the facade but a certain distance to the east. The explanation of this is given below (p. 35 ff.).

⁶ *Jerusalem Explored* (1864), Pl. XLIV; Pl. XVII A here obtained through kind permission of Dr. Lux, Director of the German Evangelical Institute.

⁷ Briggs, *op. cit.*, Pl. 69.

visually to enclose the composition, which requires a strong form; and, two, to give the impression of flowing over the godrons. Therefore, the scheme was modified to express both functions. The shape of the hood moulding as well as the shadows produced by the close and deeply cut design enclose, while the necessary movement is conveyed by the main lines curving gracefully in "S" like forms to produce circles. Each circle circumscribes four half-palmettes and four single leaves. The divisions between these circles are punctuated by two trefoils, above and below the curving line. Square and isosceles triangle billets combine to crown the hood moulding, adding further strength to the design.

The impost moulding, which is a solid platform from which the arches spring, emphasises its structural function by displaying a series of circles very close together and interlocked by smaller circles or knots to give the feeling of solidarity, immobility, and strength. Each circle has an eight petalled rosette with a circular centre and as on the hood moulding, there are two trefoils to a division, one above and one below the knot. The billets are of a type found throughout Romanesque architecture and consist of two bands of raised square pieces at regular intervals. The third moulding designed within the overall theme is the jamb moulding to the door opening. As this has no structural function it needs only to relieve the hard lines of the opening and succeeds by displaying a delicate and elongated design of half-palmettes alternating with pairs of leaves within a snaking line on a chamfered jamb; isosceles billets are again used to contain the design, but this time they are not as visually robust as the previous example.

On the drawing (Fig. 6) below the imposts on either side of the doorway an "elbowed" column has been inserted. This was suggested by the doorway illustrated in Pierotti.⁶ It is fairly clear that Pierotti's drawing was based on the Khalidi Library doorway, but worked up later with some details invented by him. The possibility is reinforced further by the existence of "elbow" columns on the mausoleum of the emir Kubaki (see below p. 49).

The capitals in Fig. 6 here are based on one (Pl. XIV B) found amongst a miscellaneous collection of other worked stones in a corner of the Courtyard. Corroboration can be gleaned from an early photograph (Pl. X), a detail of which was reproduced by Briggs,⁷ that may possibly show the capital in position. An object appears to project beyond the right-hand corner of the recess which resembles the volutes on the capital recently discovered. This projection can no longer be seen in photographs taken in the same direction. The present condition of the capital may also be taken as an indication of its past association with the doorway: first, it is a re-used capital, only three of the faces are complete with the fourth having only the slightest remains of its former acanthus leaves; and, second, the deterioration of the capital caused by the action of rain seems to be new, and can only have occurred while the capital lay upside down. Therefore it has been sheltered for the majority of its existence and the nearest and most likely position is within the recessed doorway.

Further evidence to support the use of this capital, and its pair is found on the ingos of the door recess where just below the impost block the masonry has been cut back to receive one of the three remaining complete faces of the capital.

Two further points about this facade should be mentioned. It can be seen in Pl. VII that an abrupt change in the masonry occurs where the north-west corner turns into 'Aqabat Abu Madyan: it is clear that the window seen there, and most of the masonry surrounding it, is of a different build from the facade on the Street of the Chain. A similar change of masonry within the Courtyard (pp. 40 and Pl. XIII B below) will confirm that the north facade is all that remains, above the rough foundation or lowest masonry courses, of the building to which it originally belonged. As suggested on p. 26, the uppermost courses of the facade itself seem also to have been rebuilt.

Secondly the doorway, as it now stands, is not set in the centre of the facade but a certain distance to the east. The explanation of this is given below (p. 35 ff.).

⁶ *Jerusalem Explored* (1864), Pl. XLIV; Pl. XVII A here obtained through kind permission of Dr. Lux, Director of the German Evangelical Institute.

⁷ Briggs, *op. cit.*, Pl. 69.

(c) To the east of the straight joint the remainder of the facade (Fig. 4) is composed of three complete and visible arches forming an arcade which may have continued eastwards although now concealed or obliterated by the front of the neighbouring house. It is convenient to defer for the moment the discussion of the elements (Figs. 7, 8, 9) which fill the two western arches. (Unfortunately the requisitioning of the first floor level property to the east of the Courtyard by the Occupying Forces made the measurement even of the elevation impossible.) All three arches with their spandrels are surmounted by a course of masonry and a simple moulded cornice. This is interrupted above the central arch by a row of four corbels, evidently intended to carry a projecting window or other superstructure which has now vanished (cf. the window of the neighbouring property seen in Pl. XV B). The relationship of this window to the arch below it, and to the history of the complex as a whole, will subsequently appear (p. 35 ff.).

The piers which carry the arches rest on the rough masonry foundation described under (a) above. The span of each arch is approximately 3.50 m.; the height to the apex is 5.40 m. above the earlier structure and the arches spring at approximately 2.70 m. The radius of each segment equals two-thirds of the span. It is to be noted that the springing of each arch is set back by about 0.10 m. or 0.15 m. from the face of the pier below it, thus leaving a shelf which could have been used to carry a beam spanning the archway. Because the filling of the eastern arch has decayed, a channel 0.01 m. square in section is now visible, cut into the intrados 0.08 m. in from the face of the voussoir which connects sockets 0.07 m. square and 0.03 m. deep (Figs. 8, 9). One socket is in the keystone, the others, 0.35 m. apart, are in the third voussoir down on the eastern segment, the lower filled by mortar remains. No mention of this channel can be traced in a report made to the Mandatory Department of Antiquities when the grilled window to the Courtyard was restored in 1942 (see Appendix A). For one explanation of the purpose of the shelves and channels, see p. 44 below. Also revealed by the deterioration of the infill, is a plaster surface clinging to the underside of the keystone 0.33 m. in from the face.

The piers, voussoirs, and abutment which are integral with the large arches are built of *malaki* limestone weathered to a warm grey colour. Although the finely tooled dressing has deteriorated through exposure, there still remain indications of Crusader-type tooling^a on the jamb stones of the western rectangular window.

Plate XI B shows a small rectangular window in the western pier of the arcade. It can be seen from the masonry directly above it (including a shallow relieving arch in the second course above the lintel, of which the left-hand stone is also a voussoir) that this window, in spite of its unexpected position at a critical point in the haunch of the arch, is an integral part of its structure. The significance of this will appear below (p. 35). The sill of this window was raised at a date difficult to assess from the form of masonry used. On three of the jamb stones are four circular or elliptical forms, of unknown significance, only one of which may have been cut with proper tools; this has a horizontal line with a vertical cut below it joining its centre point with the circumference. The other three may be copies of the first; a possibility suggested by modern chalk marks drawn by local children imitating these forms. However, few adults could reach the highest of the cut symbols at 2.50 m. above the present pavement level. Their diameters are within the range of 0.10 m. to 0.18 m. Any date attributed to these forms must take account of an isolated one cut into the masonry of the pier to the east. This suggests that they all existed before the arches were filled, as described in the next paragraph. It seems doubtful that they are masons' marks. The other holes and marks found on the masonry are more easily explained, being supports for awnings and other temporary extrusions, such as those seen in Pl. X A.

(d) The two complete arches (Figs. 7, 8, 9) have both been blocked up with an ashlar masonry filling which represents a distinct and later phase of building. Within the filling of the eastern arch

^a I am most grateful to Père Ch. Cousseron, O.P., for his observations regarding the tooling.

there is a doorway which gives access to the Courtyard, and serves as the present approach to the Khalidi Library. At sometime this filling has been rendered with a polished plaster, traces of which can also be seen on the pier to the west. The filling of the western arch is of particular interest, for, besides a window, it incorporates two of the five inscriptions which bear on the history of the Turbah (p. 44 below).

The doorway of the Courtyard has a rectangular opening set in an arched recess. The arch was decorated with godrons and surmounted by a cavetto archivolt which is carried horizontally sideways, at the level of the springing, as far as the intrados of the big arch. At the angles of the archivolt are finely sculpted olive or palm leaves. The recess, 1.74 m. \times 0.35 m., is flanked by two benches. These are uncomplicated by superficial ornament except for a simple fillet moulding.⁹ The jamb stones, the lintel, and the three courses above it are of alternating red and white stones. Sadly, the upper courses of the tympanum were destroyed and rebuilt uncoursed. Further effects of this destruction can be observed in the ill-fitting units of the archivolt and godrons (only the two lowest remain), it was the inherent qualities of the archivolt, perhaps, which saved the coursed masonry above it including the rectangular window from falling apart at the same time as the tympanum.

The two complete voussoirs each have three sculpted godrons, the western trio appearing on the intrados as the voussoir has been turned through 90°. Three more godrons exist, partly covered by cement, below the eastern voussoir of the arch. A photograph taken before the application of the cement-render to the extrados proves that no other godrons exist on this arch.

To the west of the door recess an arched trough was formed with some of its godroned voussoirs cut out of the adjoining pier; there are five complete godrons still visible on the eastern segment and remains of six on the western intrados. The dimensions of this trough are: 0.83 m. wide, a recess depth of 0.50 m. and a total height of 1.25 m. from the bottom of the basin to the keystone, 0.33 m. being taken up by the upstand. The drain, 0.04 m. in diameter, would have been plugged internally when the basin contained water. The arched hood has, at its centre, a "heart" shaped red stone from which the arch stones radiate. These stones were cement rendered, the remains of this surface have a different appearance and different consistency (including animal hairs) from that of the plaster rendering on the facade (see above).

No definite conclusion has been reached regarding the small rectangular window, now blocked-up, seen under the crown of the eastern arch. However, it is possible that it is contemporary with the infilling of the arch rather than being formed later. Indeed, the dimension and appearance of the jamb stones of the window and the masonry infilling the western arch are so similar as to leave few doubts.

There are grounds for associating the corbels (Pl XV A) mentioned on p. 32 above, with the construction of the doorway and gridded window to the Courtyard. The corbels are centred above the large eastern arch with 0.77 m. between their centres, each having a maximum projection from the wall of 0.46 m. In size and design they resemble the corbels supporting a projecting window less than a hundred metres to the west in the same street (Pl. XV B). A detailed account of the corbels and window on this other building may be in place, for they give an indication of the type of window which might have been cantilevered from the Khalidi Library. The corbels are of two forms: the first is composed of a quadrant subdivided on each of its projecting faces by rays which join each other across the width of the corbel by changing direction and so producing darts or points which descend or ascend; the second form is more elaborate in profile, and is composed of straight lines and curves but unadorned on the projecting faces. A simple fillet architrave supports the three sides of the window and above it at the corners are small engaged columns, one being chevroned or zig-zag fluted, and the other a compound shaft. Both are capped by two-tiered stalactite capitals. The central column also has a stalactite capital but its shaft, which is not engaged, is larger in diameter and of polished

⁹ Cf. the heavier mouldings on some other Jerusalem benches of the period: Burgoyne, *Levant III* (1971), 11, Fig. 6, Pl. XIII A.

marble. Thus a window, corbelled out from the Library structure, can be imagined easily with the addition of a third bay (Fig. 13). For two reasons I regard it as contemporary with the doorway and its surrounding masonry rather than with the large eastern arch which surmounts them. In the first place, the colour and texture of the corbels bear a general resemblance to the stonework of the former not the latter; secondly, it is clear that the corbels interrupt the moulding that runs above the top of the arcade wall. This ends abruptly at the outer corbels and is not mitred in any way to effect a proper junction or to encircle the window. Since this moulding is certainly contemporary with the wall below it, the corbels and window must be held to be later. Confirmation of this may be gained from the building inscription to be considered on p. 44 below.

We now turn to the filling of the western arch (Figs. 8, 9) which comprises three elements: a grilled window with inscribed lintel, above it an inscribed panel with funerary text, and directly below the keystone of the arch a decorated oculus now blocked up. Of all these elements the grilled window is the most arresting and dominating. Its moulded frame measures 3.34 m. \times 2.38 m. and its opening, 2.24 m. \times 1.26 m. The jambs, like those of the door to the courtyard, are bichrome (red and white) into which are inserted bronze bars to form a grille. The monolithic lintel of white marble has in relief a two lines inscription in *naskhi* Mamluk script recording the restoration of Barakat Khān's mausoleum, the construction of the window, and of a dome, and other architectural features. The emblem in cartouche of the restorer flanks the text at both ends. A decorative veneer varying from 0.05 m. to 0.10 m. thick of joggled black and white stone simulates a relieving lintel above the inscription. The central stone or keystone is larger than the others and has festooned or fleur-de-lys joints with "Allah" inscribed in large characters at its centre. This window was extensively but well restored in 1942 by the then owner, Hajj Raghib Effendi al Khalidi (see Appendix A). At 4.50 m. above the pavement, the funerary text (p. 44 below) inscribed on the marble panel is recessed 0.04 m. from the face of the building, within a chamfered surround measuring 1.35 m. wide by 0.50 m. high.

The oculus has an overall diameter of 0.70 m., an opening of 0.30 m. in diameter and a depth of 0.15 m. to its plastered interior. Its outer border is a wreath of olive or palm leaves identical to those at the angles of the archivolt over the doorway in the filling of the eastern arch (p. 34 above and Figs. 7, 8). This provides a definite link between the infills of the large eastern and western arches.

Traces of white plaster, similar to those found on the infill of the eastern arch, are seen also, at various points in the western arch's infilling.

(c) From these observations some conclusions may be drawn regarding the time sequence of the facade and its various components. We may assume from the straight joint, and from the position of the small window in the haunch of the western arch, that the front of the Reading Room existed before the arcade to the left was built. Had it not been so, and the Reading Room had not been there to provide the necessary abutment for the arch, a window in that position would have been structurally impossible.

But, if the front of the Reading Room existed at the time of the arcade's construction, we must also infer from the eccentric position of the decorated doorway one of two possibilities: first, that the building of the arcade involved the truncation and reconstruction of the north-east corner of the Reading Room. Or, second, that the front of the Reading Room abutted or utilized the wall of an older structure. The second possibility seems more likely: the stones of the Reading Room facade immediately to the west of the vertical joint were cut as quoins or corner stones and not as blocks within an area of masonry. And, it is hard to envisage that this front was originally intended to be so asymmetrical. The implications of this are discussed on p. 44 below.

Since the string course above is correctly centred on the front of the room as it now stands, and not on the doorway, we can infer that it, and all that is above it, was built or rebuilt at a later time. This accords well with the distribution of masonry styles visible in 'Aqabat Abu Madyan (Pl. VII).

So much for the relation of the Reading Room facade to the arcaded frontage which continues it to the east. Here, equally, it is clear that the larger window, with iron grille and inscribed lintel, and

the doorway and drinking trough beyond, with the masonry enclosing all of them, are separate structures later than the arches under which they are built.

Thus we establish a sequence: (1) North wall of Reading Room; (2) Arcade of three arches; (3) Doorway to Courtyard with drinking trough and grilled window; (4) (Probably contemporary with 3) Upper storey corbels.

B. Reading Room

It can be seen both in the 'Aqabat Abu Madyan (Pl. VII) and in the north-west corner of the Courtyard (Pl. XIII B) that the masonry of the east and west walls of the Reading Room breaks courses with that of its north wall. In fact the present owners know that both the east and west walls of the room were rebuilt about a hundred years ago to form a family mosque; and they have also suggested that a floor above the Reading Room was destroyed by an earthquake some time during the last century. There is no reliable evidence for the age or appearance of that lost floor. The *Mihrab* or prayer niche (Figs. 4, 5) associated with the mosque can still be seen behind the bookcases lining the southern wall. It will be apparent from Pl. XIII B that with the exception of the masonry visible at the north end of the east wall (which in fact belongs to the terminal pier of the arcade), and perhaps some other parts of the two lowest courses, all the rest of the wall is of a separate and more recent build, including the door and the window, the sloping roof, and the arched abutment of a vault, now demolished, which must formerly have sheltered the area of the three graves. It is in this later masonry that three of the four funerary inscriptions (p. 45 below) have been preserved (Fig. 10).

C. Courtyard (Figs. 4, 5, 10)

The Courtyard occupies a central position in the site and its earlier history is of crucial interest. To recover this we must take into account the three graves which occupy its western half; the implications of the arcaded facade we have observed from the street; the probable function of the window in this facade, and the contents and significance of the restoration inscription and the four funerary texts that are still associated with the site.

(a) Each of the three graves, in the western half of the Courtyard, is a rectangular slab 0.30 m. high, but their lengths and widths vary: the southern 1.50 m. \times 0.90 m., the middle, 2.30 m. \times 1.00 m., and the northern, 1.70 m. \times 0.90 m. Little else can be said about them other than that they are extremely simple and faced with the same tiles as those used to pave the majority of the Courtyard.

(b) In contrast with the elegant though now dilapidated street frontage, the internal face of the Courtyard wall shows only rough masonry, considerably overlaid with modern pointing. Not much, consequently, of the arcade is to be seen in the Courtyard. As already noted part of its western pier is visible in the north-west corner, forming the northern extremity of the Reading Room wall; while the projecting stones visible in the centre of Pl. XIV A belong to a southward extension of the pier between the western arches. The two uppermost courses are in fact pairs of voussoirs placed directly above the springing of the arches. Below the second pair can be seen the narrow ledge formed at the top of the pier by the setting back of the voussoirs (see p. 32 above). Higher up and towards the right, some of the plaster rendering has fallen away (since this photograph was taken) to reveal part of the curve of the arch (see Fig. 4). The eastern springing and pier of this arch are hard to discern (except perhaps for one projecting stone) due to the abutment of the wall which forms the eastern side of the Courtyard.

The masonry of the eastern wall at ground floor level, though resembling on the whole the masonry of the wall to the street, is too nondescript and too thickly overlaid with pointing for any useful guess to be made about its date. The door and the window in the southern half belong to a small vaulted room in the corner. Their reveals or surrounds appear to re-model older openings in a manner acceptable to the Ottomans; later this type of reveal was used in the first floor fenestration, which is of course of fairly recent construction. It is seen also in the west wall of the Reading Room (Pl. XVI A-B).

It was suggested on p. 32 that the ledges left at the top of each pier in the arcade confronting the street were used to support beams spanning the base of the arches. There is no question of their serving as tie-beams, since they were not lodged in the structure of the piers. More probably they, with the channel sockets in the intrados, formed part of a light framework infilling the arches. From the sockets, timber or metal spokes would join at the centre of the beam (see Fig. 12), the segments so formed filled by panels, either solid or slatted, housed in the intrados channel. Or, the tympanum panel was constructed on the ground and when raised into position timber lugs engaged the sockets; the beam was then positioned and levelled with wedges. A parallel to these arches is found in the series of larger arches with tunnel vaults behind, which from Crusader markets in the Suq el-Bazar or David Street, which is the continuation of the Tariq Bab al-Silsila to the west.¹⁰ The under-surfaces of the arches display square sockets a short distance in from the face, but without connecting channels or shelves. Accepting therefore, the above similarities there is a very strong possibility that the Khalidi Library arcading also fronted a tunnel vaulted market.

(c) Let us now review the textual evidence. There is one restoration or building inscription, and one only, which contributes directly to the history of the site: it is inscribed on the marble lintel above the grilled window which today opens on the street from the Courtyard.¹¹ It reads: "This window and the dome in the mausoleum of the late martyr Prince Ḥusām al-Dīn Barakat Khān and the arch and the rooms above it and the blessed portal and the trough and the shops and the rooms above them and the five houses in the Waqf-house have been constructed by the one yearning for God the Exalted, Muḥammad son of Aḥmad, son of Timur al-'Ala'i, may God show kindness unto him, on the 1st of the sacred Dhul-Qa'da in the year 792 (11th October 1390)." We can be quite sure that "this window" in the text refers to the window of which the inscription itself forms the lintel; and we can be nearly certain that "the blessed portal and trough", mentioned close together, are the door to the Courtyard and the trough beside it. But as to the location of the other items—the dome, the tomb of Barakat Khān, the arch (or vault), the shops and the rooms above and the five houses—we gain from the text no guidance.

(d) The first and most obvious question to ask is, "Where was the Tomb?" The answer to that may be sought in the principal funerary text, which is placed in the tympanum of the arch directly above 'Ala'i's restoration inscription. The historical part of this reads: "... This is the mausoleum of Allah's servant eager for His mercy and pardon, Barakat Khān. May Allah illuminate his tomb. He died on Friday 1st Muharram, 644 (19th May 1246); may Allah pardon him, his father and mother, and whoever asks his pardon. Amen...". It has always been thought that the tomb referred to was directly behind the grilled window. The present writer is doubtful. In van Berchem's opinion the construction of 792/1390 amounted to a restoration or perhaps a completion of the mausoleum, which for other reasons he attributed to the daughter of Barakat Khān, widow of Sultan Baybars I (the Sultan died in 676/1277) and mother of Malik Sa'id. And, with the exception of the restoration text, he dated the inscriptions to the seventh century A.H./thirteenth century A.D.

Assuming the evidence for placing the tomb chamber in the Courtyard is not decisive, where else could it have been? The street door of the Reading Room, with its Romanesque style of ornament, suggests the answer. For this small and impressive doorway is very similar in size and design to that of the mausoleum of the Amir 'Ala'al-Dīn Aidughdī al-Kubaki (see Appendix B), a small domed structure, commonly called the Kubakiyya built in 688/1289, in the Mamillah cemetery. So similar are the buildings that, by using dimensions based on the Kubakiyya, the Khalidi Library facade can be returned to its "original" symmetry (p. 35 above); also, the line of the internal face of the eastern wall of the Kubakiyya, when produced, coincides with the straight joint of the Library (see p. 30 above). If Baybar's widow was the builder of Barakat Khān's mausoleum which gives a

¹⁰ Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (1970), 57.

¹¹ van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* (1922), 185-96; Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (1933), 158.

possible date of c. 680/1280, then it is postulated that the Reading Room facade was designed as the entrance to it (Fig. 11).

Returning now to the restoration inscription, set up 148 years after the death of Barakat Khān, let us see what can be gathered¹² regarding the constructions less easily identified (Fig. 13). One of these is a dome, described as built "in the mausoleum of the late martyr" which can imply that the dome existed already. "The arch and the rooms above", denotes either the great arches infilled at this time or the vaults required to support the first floor rooms now destroyed. "The shops and the rooms above them" are most likely to be the shops still seen in the street, grouped in pairs with an upper storey, eastward of the Library. As to the "five houses" nothing in the site or in the words themselves permit speculation; they could be anywhere.

A second epitaph to Barakat Khān is to be found within the Courtyard inscribed on a smaller slab built into the wall of the Reading Room to the right of the doorway seen in Pl. XIII B. It is roughly above the head of one of the three graves there. This second text does not differ greatly from the first, but adds the first name of the deceased, Ḥusām al-Dīn, and gives him a secular title, "Malik al-Umarā", "Prince of the Amirs". Two other slabs built into the same wall bear texts recording the deaths of Ḥusām al-Dīn's two sons, Ḥusām al-Dīn Kara Beg (died 661/1263) and Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (died 678/1279). Each stone is opposite and above one of the remaining two graves. Neither the age of the wall nor when the slabs were embedded in it is known; nor can it be stated that these three texts were carved for these three graves (whose dates cannot be judged from their appearance).

Nevertheless, since tombs in urban properties are not likely to move much or be forgotten, the most natural presumption would be that the graves and texts belonged together and that the graves have preserved their original position. If this be so we have two choices: one, to accept the three tombs as positioned by Baybar's widow about the 1280's; to accept the Kubakiyya and the Reading Room facades as contemporary, dating also from the 1280's; to accept that the arcade was built later with the "market" built over the tombs. Or secondly that 'Ala'i, whose purpose in restoring the tomb is obscure, went further and actually extended the tomb complex to the east. He changed the emphasis of the street facade by using bi-chrome masonry, constructed the grilled window (which in Islamic architecture is often the mark of a tomb) and erected the inscriptions. With this external change, the internal arrangements also required modification. The doorway under the large eastern arch may have led into an antechamber or lobby of access indicated today by the low level pavement seen on the east side of the Courtyard. The Reading Room might have become a small mosque or oratory adjacent to, and communicating with, the new tomb chamber.

IV. CONCLUSION

The history and family relations of the three persons commemorated by the surviving epitaphs have been discussed in detail by Max van Berchem. A lengthy account here is unnecessary. Briefly, however, Barakat Khān was a Khwarazmian chieftain who, having helped to ravage the lands of Syria and Mesopotamia in A.D. 1240-1, was slain and decapitated in battle outside Homs in 1246. The two sons commemorated here, Ḥusām al-Dīn Kara Beg and Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Beg, served as soldiers or governors under the famous Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Dhahir Baybars, and died in 1263 and 1279 respectively. Why any of these persons should have been commemorated at Jerusalem is unknown. Van Berchem suggests that the pious founder of their memorial was the daughter of Barakat Khān who married Baybars and became the mother of his successor, al-Malik al-Sa'id. This lady may well, like other dowagers, have retired to Jerusalem and there honoured her father and two brothers with a cenotaph.

This makes an attractive hypothesis; it is hardly more. Whoever the founder, and whenever the

¹² I depend heavily here on van Berchem's discussion of the text's meaning.

event, the street door of the Reading Room appears as the one surviving and still recognisable vestige of the original architectural complex. The rest is either disguised by subsequent renovations or has perished. The featureless tiles of the graves make them impossible to date other than very generally towards the end of the nineteenth or beginning of the twentieth centuries A.D. The resemblance of the doorway to the style of the Kubakiyya, built for a man who died 688/1289 (ten years after the later surviving brother, Muḥammad Beg) points to the last quarter of the thirteenth century as the date of the foundation of Barakat Khān's mausoleum.

At some time after this we have suggested a reconstruction of the north-east corner of the Reading Room simultaneous with the construction on the street of the arcaded frontage, still distinguishable amongst later elements in the present facade. Of this arcaded structure it can only be said that it appears to have comprised a series of three (or possibly more) vaulted compartments open to the street; with light screens closing the tympanums of the arches, and resembling (at least in their front aspect) the medieval markets still in active use higher up the street. However, two questions remain, for which satisfactory answers, have not been found: what was the purpose of the rectangular window in the terminal pier and why a century or more after the foundation of this mausoleum did a pious descendant or dependent of the family, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-'Ala'i, restore it and build such a large extension to the tomb?

Nothing is known of Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad save that his designation as "al-'Ala'i" denotes him as a freedman of one 'Ala'al-Dīn, possibly the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr 'Alī (d. 783/1381) who bore that designation, and that his public office entitled him to the armorial blazon carved on the lintel of his window¹³ (Fig. 9).

In building the shops and the five houses "al-'Ala'i" was expanding the *Waqf* property attached to the mausoleum as well as improving the fabric of the tomb itself. The small vaulted room at the south-east corner of the court is probably also his work.

Al-'Ala'i's dome and the roof must have fallen in one of the severe earthquakes which afflict Palestine periodically.

It is the writer's considered assessment that the present Reading Room of the Khalidi Library is where the mausoleum of Barakat Khān really was and that the Courtyard, which is the area previously considered to be the mausoleum, should now be thought of as an extension to the mausoleum.

APPENDIX A

The window was extremely well restored in 1942¹⁴ by the then owner, Hajj Raghib Effendi al Khalidi. The immediate cause of this work was the need to save the broken inscribed monolithic lintel. The break may still be seen near the centre of the inscription. The restoration required the removal of the three courses above it. One of the stones taken down proved to be a "corinthian" capital cut down and laid on its side with its top exposed; it was replaced during the reconstruction. The restoration exposed also the rubble backing to the joggles against the segmental arch of the window recess (see Fig. 4, Section 1:1). A few of the jamb stones were retained to hold the grill in position and are easily identified, the red most easily, as the modern version is really pink with yellow striations called *slayeb*, coming from el-Tantur near Bethlehem. The others, on removal, broke up easily, both the red and white stone being laid on cant and thickly veined. This break up, of the red stones especially, can be seen on many Mamluk buildings in Jerusalem. The stones must have come from a shallow vein. Although the masons would know the disadvantages of stones laid on cant they persisted in doing it, no doubt because it had the depth of colour required by the architects.

The restoration also showed that the original cement was a mixture of mud and lime, which, over the centuries, had lost its adhesive qualities. The broken inscription was replaced strengthened by a spoilt marble column from the Katholikon repairs in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and bought from the Greek Patriarchate for one Palestinian pound. The column was rabbetted and fitted to the fragmented inscription avoiding the need for either bronze dowels or mastic cement; materials which according to the

¹³ van Berchem, *op. cit.* (1927), 195; Mayer, *op. cit.*, 16 ff.

¹⁴ Palestine Archaeological Museum, ref. A6/63.