

THE MOSQUE, THE SABIL, AND THE TURBAH OF EMIR ASHIQTUMR AND THEIR ENDOWMENTS IN ALEPPO

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Abstract:

The aim of this paper is to study the buildings of Emir Ashiqtumr who ruled the city of Aleppo five times during the Mamluk period. These buildings are his mosque, sabil, turbah, as well as their endowments. Firstly, the paper provides a short biography of the founder based on the relevant historical sources and a discussion of the mosque's names and dating. It also comprises a detailed descriptive study of the architectural units of the mosque with a discussion on some elements, such as the incomplete foundation inscription. The extensions of the Ottoman period are considered with a presentation of their effect on the original plan of the mosque. The paper concluded that the sabil was a separate-sabil at the time of construction, as supported by the archaeological evidence. It also included an architectural description of the demolished turbah and presented an imagined plan based on the statements of the historians. The endowments of Ashiqtumr were considered with a presentation of their role in developing his buildings. Finally, an analytical study of the architectural elements of these buildings was carried out, and a comparison to parallel examples was made.

1. Introduction

This is a detailed study of some examples of Mamluk monumental buildings in the city of Aleppo constructed by one of its deputies (*niwwab al-saltanah*). The majority of the archaeological buildings of the city throughout Islamic history, particularly in the Mamluk period, were owned by the deputies. The city flourished under the patronage of the Zangid and the Ayyubid rule and became one of the greatest cities of Islam [1]. However, its importance declined in the late Ayyubid era and the early Mamluk era as a consequence of the Mongols' attack in 657 AH./1259 AD.

that destructed the city and destroyed the majority of its monumental buildings [2]. After a short period, the Mamluks were able to control the Mongols' advances and defeated them in 658 AH./1260 AD. [3,4]. After that, they commemorated their victory by expelling the Mongols from all Syrian cities and annexing them to their sultanate in Egypt. By this time, Aleppo began a new era under their patronage as they considered it a border city and gave it great care [5]. They provided it with an additional army to strengthen the northern borders of the Mamluk state [6]. Thus, some histor-

ians considered Aleppo as the most powerful and important city after the capital Damascus [7]. For these reasons, the Mamluk sultans used to pay more attention to appointing the deputies of Aleppo than other Syrian cities. Aleppo was ruled by forty-five deputies during the Bahri Mamluk era (658-783 AH./ 1260-1381 AD.), and many of them ruled it more than once [8]. The deputies paid great attention to establish many monumental buildings following the instructions of their sultans, whereas the majority of them established these buildings to commemorate their memories [9]. For example, Emir Ashiqtumr constructed the buildings under study.

2. Methodological Studies

2.1. The constructor

His name is Emir Saif al-Din Ashiqtumr Ibn Abdullah al-Mardini al-Nansiri al-Ashrafi. He was born as a slave in Mardin and was called *al-Mardini* for this reason. The ruler of Mardin sent him to Sultan al-Nasir Hassan in Egypt who promoted him to be one of his close emirs. Therefore, Ashiqtumr earned a new nickname, i.e., *al-Nasiri*, for the patronage of al-Nasir Hassan [10]. After the death of al-Nasir Hassan in 762 AH./1361 AD., Ashiqtumr descended to the slaves of Sultan al-Mansour Mohamed (762-764 AH./1361-1363 AD.), and a new nickname *al-Mansouri* was added to his name [11]. Sultan al-Mansour died in 764 AH./1363 AD., and Sultan al-Ashraf Sha'ban governed the Mamluk state (764-778 AH./ 1363-1376 AD.) [12]. Under his patronage, Ashiqtumr became one of the most important slaves of his state that he donated him his nickname *al-Ashrafi* and appointed him as a ruler *na'ib*, for the first time, of Aleppo in 765 AH./1364 AD. [13]. He ruled the city for one and a half years only and was appointed as a ruler of Tripoli [14]. He continued as a ruler of Tripoli until he returned to Aleppo for the second time in 771 AH./1369 AD. instead of Emir Qushtumr al-Mansouri [15]. Some researchers were confused about the difference between the two emirs, Ashiqtumr and Qushtumr. For example, Talas [16] referred to the two

emirs as the same person and considered Emir Qushtumr the constructor of the mosque under study [16]. This confusion may be due to the verbal convergence between their names because both of them were called *al-Mansouri* and were appointed as rulers of Aleppo in a convergent period. Ashiqtumr continued in Aleppo until he was appointed as a ruler for the second time in Tripoli in 773 AH./1371 AD. [17]. After a short time, he returned to Aleppo for the third time in 774 AH./1372 AD. [18]. A few months later, he was removed from the throne of Aleppo and appointed as a ruler of Damascus in 775 AH./1373 AD. After four months, he was removed from the throne of Damascus, returned to Aleppo for the fourth time, and continued until 780 AH./1378 AD. [19]. Concerning this year, the historical sources reported that he was deposed from Aleppo, arrested, and imprisoned in Alexandria by the order of Sultan Alaa al-din Ali Ibn Sha'ban without mentioning any reasons. After a short time, he was released and allowed to stay in al-Quds with no position [10]. In 781 AH./1379 AD., he was returned for the fifth time as a ruler of Aleppo and continued for ten months. Then, he moved to rule Damascus for the second time in 782 AH./1380 AD. and continued until 784 AH./1382 AD. as he was ordered to stay in al-Quds without a position. Finally, he was appointed as a ruler of Damascus for the third time during the reign of Sultan Barquq in 788 AH./1386 AD. After four months, he was isolated because of his illness, allowed to stay in Aleppo without any position until his death in 791 AH./ 1389 AD., and buried in his turbah (i.e. mausoleum) beside Bab al-Maqam [10,12]. The historians mentioned him as a brave man who could manage the rule affairs. He also was a man of war who achieved a great victory when he conquered Sies in 776 AH./1374 AD. [20].

2.2. The Mosque

2.2.1. Location, names, and dating

The mosque is located within the wall of the old city of Aleppo inside Bab al-

Naiyrab in a district called *al-a'jam* [21], fig. (1). Its original name mentioned by the Mamluk historians was attributed to its constructor, Ashiqtumr mosque, [22,23] and then deviated to be 'Ahsiq mosque [2]. Moreover, there is a more famous name *al-Sakakini*, which correlated with the mosque in a later period and attributed to the supervisor of the mosque *al-mutawally* [2,15]. Herzfeld referred that this name was not mentioned in historical sources [11], but it is more correct to say that this name was not mentioned by the Mamluk historians. It was mentioned only in the sources of the Ottoman period [2,15]. Therefore, we can assert that this name was introduced in the Ottoman period. Concerning dating, the mosque includes an inscription above its entrance. The inscription ends with the construction date (773 AH./1371 AD.). The same date was mentioned also by the majority of the Mamluk historians. Nevertheless, al-Ghuzzi was confused about the date of the mosque and reported that it was constructed in 776 AH./1374 AD. [2]. Moreover, some researchers agreed with the perspective of al-Ghuzzi [16]. However, the inscription proves that the construction was completed in 773 AH./1371 AD.

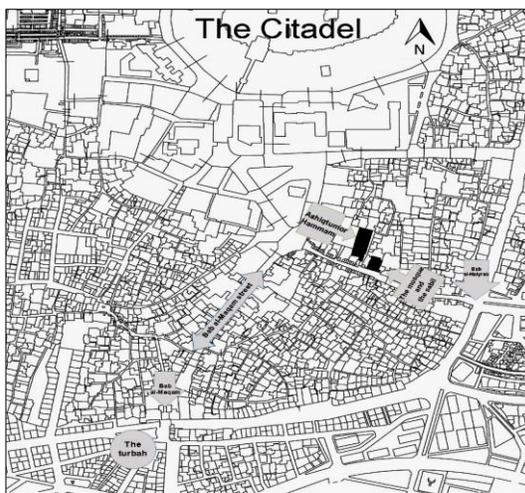


Figure (1) Shows the locations of Ashiqtumr's buildings. (After, *Circle of Aleppo endowments*) developed by the author.

2.2.2. Architectural description

The mosque includes one façade overlooking the outside street. It also includes one entrance that leads to the inside. The interior is composed of an iwan on the southern side and adjacent rooms on the eastern and northern sides. The iwan and the rooms share two open courtyards, fig. (2).

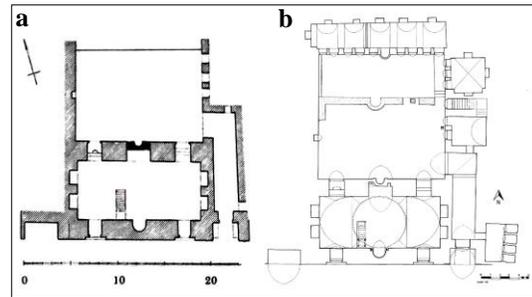


Figure (2) Shows **a.** plan of Ashiqtumr mosque, original plan before the renewal works. (After, *Meinecke, 1992*), **b.** the current plan of the mosque (After, *Circle of Aleppo endowments*)

2.2.2.1. The façade

The mosque has only one façade located on the southern side and overlooks the outside street, which is called *al-Qusilah*. It extends to 24.20 m, including the façade of the sabil (i.e. water dispensary) that neighbors it from the western side about 18.65 m, without the façade of the sabil. It is 7.08 m high. It is built from stone and is devoid of decorations except for the entrance and the windows' areas, fig. (3-a, b). It includes two windows that connect it with the iwan. The two windows are rectangular and have the same height of 2.10 m and the same width of 1.24 m, covered by iron grills, surmounted by a flat stone lintel topped by another one from engaged voussoirs. They are located inside vertical recesses measuring 5.04 m high and 2.14 m wide. The recesses are crowned with three rows of stone stalactites and decorated with black and yellow stone bonds according to *al-Moshahhar* style fig. (3-a, c). At the top of the façade, there are two gutters for draining the rainwater.

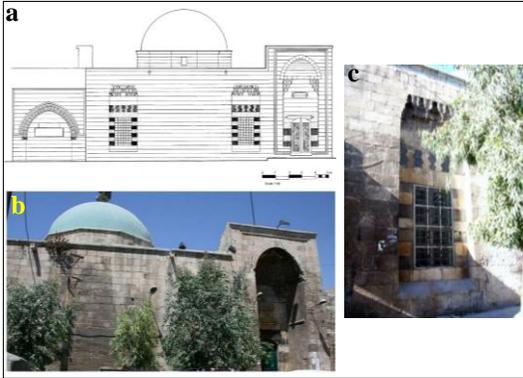


Figure (3) Shows **a.** the main façade of the mosque and the sabil. (After, *Circle of Aleppo endowments*), **b.** the current state of the main façade, **c.** the vertical recesses of the main façade.

2.2.2.2. The entrance

The mosque has only one entrance located on the eastern side of the façade. It is higher than the façade. It is 8.60 m high and 4 m wide. It is bordered with a projecting stone cornice surrounding its four sides. It is composed of a huge recess measuring 7.60 m high, 2.65 wide, and 1.75 m deep. The recess is surmounted by a semi-dome with a pointed sector based on three rows of stone stalactites under the two inner corners. On both the right and left sides of the recess, there is a terrace *miksalah* extending to the depth of the recess and measuring 70 cm high and 50 cm wide. In the middle of the recess from the lower section, there is the door that leads to the inside. It is 2.65 m high and 1.45 wide. It is closed by a pair of wooden shutters and surmounted by a curved arch, fig (4-a). The entrance includes two inscriptions. The first one is located under the semi-dome and is composed of two *Thuluth* lines including al-Basmalah, Shahada (testimony), and verse 33 of *surat al-Tawbah*, fig (4-b). It reads “in the name of Allah the merciful, no God except Allah/Mohamed is the prophet of Allah who sent him for guidance and the right religion”

"بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ/مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
أُرْسِلَهُ بِالْهُدَىٰ وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ"

The second inscription is more important as it is considered the foundation inscription of the mosque. It is located above the carved arch and is bordered inside a cartouche measuring 2.23 m long and 27 cm wide. The inscription includes only one line written in the thulus script. It was read by al- Ghuzzi and al-Tabbakh [2,15], as follows: “*This mosque was built by the poor slave to Allah Ashiqtumr al-Asharfi Allah, may Allah forgive him, and all Muslims in the months of the year 773*”.

"أَنْشَأَ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ الْعَبْدُ الْفَقِيرُ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى أَشَقْتَمُرُ
الْأَشْرَفِيُّ غَفَرَ اللَّهُ لَهُ وَلِلْمُسْلِمِينَ فِي شَهْرٍ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثِ
وَسَبْعِينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ."

If we carefully examined the inscription, we find that there are amputated parts in two areas, fig. (4-c). The first part is located after the word "المسجد" that the following word appears as "الم-/عيد", which was read by al-Ghuzzi and al-Tabbakh as "العبد", and many researchers agreed with them. However, they ignored the letter "م", which appears clearly. By comparing this inscription with many parallel examples in the city of Aleppo during the same period, it is found that the name of the building is usually followed by the word "المبارك". Therefore, the first part of the inscription reads clearly "أَنْشَأَ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ الْمُبَارَكَ الْعَبْدُ...". The second missing part is located around the name of the constructor, which appears as "تمر... رفي". However, these letters were read by the historians as previously mentioned "أشقتمر الأشرفي" [2,15]. Herzfeld presented the same reading and commented that he could not decipher these signs or letters, but they did not refer to any indication except for the founder's name [11]. Nevertheless, the correct reading of the inscription is, as follows:

"أَنْشَأَ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ الْمُبَارَكَ [بَارِكَ] عَبْدُ الْفَقِيرِ إِلَى اللَّهِ
تَعَالَى [أَشَقْتَمُرُ] تَمْرُ [الْأَشْرَفِيُّ] رَفِي غَفَرَ اللَّهُ لَهُ وَلِلْمُسْلِمِينَ
فِي شَهْرٍ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثِ وَسَبْعِينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ"

The mentioned reading was also presented by al-Housieni who dated the missing

parts back to the construction era and assumed that the architect of the mosque found that the stone lintel which included the inscription did not fit with the rotation of the arch. Therefore, he was forced to cut the lintel that caused the missing parts [24], but this assumption is illogical for the following arguments: Firstly, it is clear that the inscription does not mediate the arch of the entrance, and the arch is cut off the straightness of the inscription, which causes the deformation of its general shape, fig. (4-c). It is unlikely that the architect disregarded this formation during construction as it was the only foundation inscription of the mosque. Most importantly, the amputated parts included the name of the constructor, which could not occur during the construction era because it was the only inscription that proved the constructor's name. The carved arch was not used in crowning the main entrances during the Mamluk period, but they were usually crowned by a straight lintel, and the foundation inscriptions were engraved on or above it [25]. This formation was common in the majority of Mamluk mosques of Aleppo, such as the mosque of al-Tunbogha (718 AH./1318 AD.), fig. (5-a), Mehmdar mosque (8th H./14th G.) fig.

(5-b) [26], the mosque of Menkali Bogha (769 AH./1367 AD.) fig. (5-c) [27], and the mosque of al-Atrush (812 AH./1409 AD.) fig. (5-d). At the same time, the straight lintel was replaced by the curved arch to surmount the entrances of the Ottoman mosques, such as al-Khusrawiyyah madrasa (951 AH./1547 AD.) fig. (6-a), the mosque of al-'Adiliyyah (963 AH./ 1555 AD.) fig. (6-b) [28], the mosque of Bahram Pasha (991 AH./1583 AD.) fig. (6-c) [29], and al-Othmaniyyah madrasa (1142 AH./1729 AD.) fig. (6-d). Finally, the historical sources mentioned that the entrance mass was surmounted by a *Kuttab* (i.e. elementary school) for children [23], but it no longer exists and there is no imprint evidence of its ruins. In other words, all the entrance mass was renewed after the first construction. For these arguments, we can assert that the formation of the entrance did not relate to the construction era, but it was renewed during the Ottoman period. It is also supposed that the renovation works represented in dismantling and reconstructing the old stone with some changes occurred in the curved arch and cutting the straight lintel with the inscription to fit with the rotation of the arch.

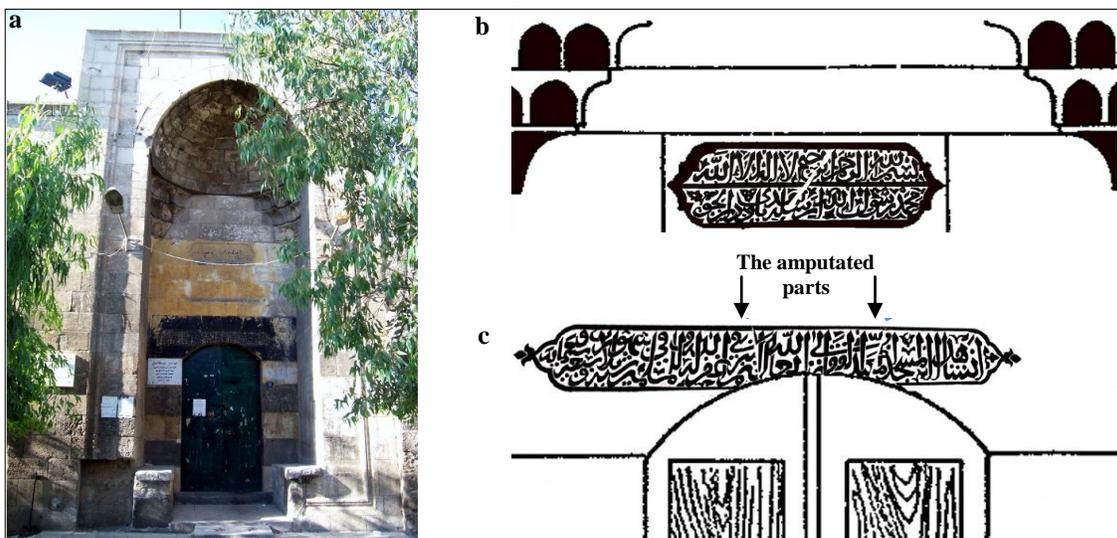


Figure (4) Shows **a.** the entrance of the mosque. **b.** inscription and stalactites in the façade of the entrance, **c.** the foundation inscription above the entrance and its amputated parts.



Figure (5) Shows the straight lintel of the Mamluk entrances, **a.** The mosque of al-Tunbogha 718 A.H/1318 A.D., **b.** Mehmendar mosque 8th A.H/14th A.D., **c.** The mosque of Menkali Bogha 769 A.H/ 1367 A.D., **d.** The mosque of al-Atrush 812 A.H/1409 A.D.

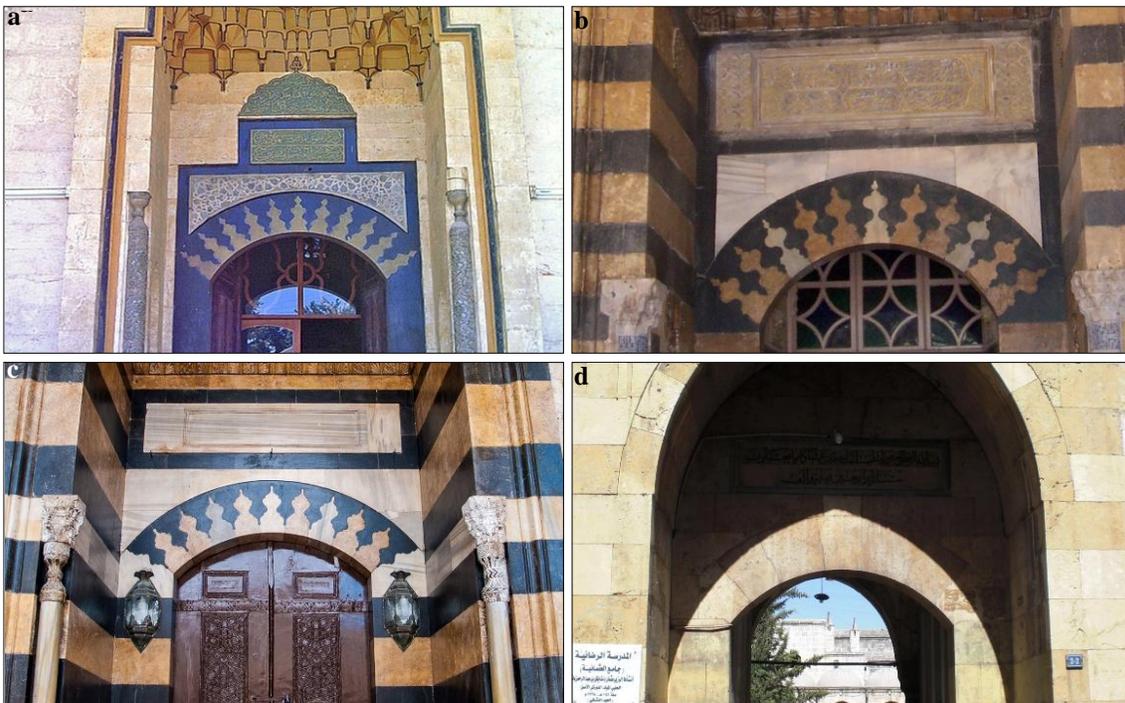


Figure (6) Shows the carved arch of the Ottoman entrances, **a.** al-Khusrawiyyah madrasa 951 A.H/1547 A.D., **b.** the mosque of al-'Adiliyyah 963 A.H/1555 A.D., **c.** the mosque of Bahram pasha 991 A.H/1583 A.D., **d.** al-Othmaniyyah madrasa 1142 A.H/1729 A.D.

2.2.2.3. Inside the mosque

The entrance of the mosque leads to a corridor of 9.5 m long that is surmounted with a pointed vault covered with a stucco layer. This corridor includes a door located behind the entrance from the right side. The door measures 2.10 m high and 75 cm wide. It is surmounted with a straight lintel and leads to a rectangular area used as toilets. On the frontal side, there is another door surmounted with a straight lintel measuring 2.20 m high and 70 cm wide that leads to a square room beyond the corridor. Beside the mentioned door from the left side, there is an arched-open that overlooks directly the courtyard, fig. (2-b).

▪ The open courtyard

It is a rectangular area that measures 13.40 m long and 8.20 wide with a floor paved with stone slabs. Many changes were made to its original plan, which has no buildings around its sides except for the southern one that is occupied by the iwan [30]. The four sides of the current courtyard are built of stone and are 6.30 m high in addition to a renewed wall that reaches 1.45 m high. The southern side includes two entrances connecting between the courtyard and the iwan. The two entrances are surmounted by pointed arches and have the same dimensions of 4.45 m high and 1.55 m wide. They are closed with two wooden shutters and are mediated by a prayer niche that is surmounted by a pointed arch, which measures 2.40 m high and 95 cm wide. Above the arch of the niche, there are two stone corbels used as a base for a projecting cornice. Above the preceding, there is an arched-open with a pointed arch similar to those of the side entrances, but it is higher and more spacious, fig. (7). On the eastern side of the courtyard, there is a door and a window that lead to a renewed room, in addition to the entrance of the ladder that leads to the roof. This side includes an orifice of the cistern, which

supplies the ablution and the sabil. The western side has no extensions except for a simple sabil in the middle. This sabil is composed of a recess that measures 1.80 m high and 75 cm wide, surmounted by a pointed blown arch. It includes a source of water. The northern side of the courtyard represents the borders of the old mosque, but many extensions were added beyond it during the renewal works of the Ottoman period. These works will be mentioned later.

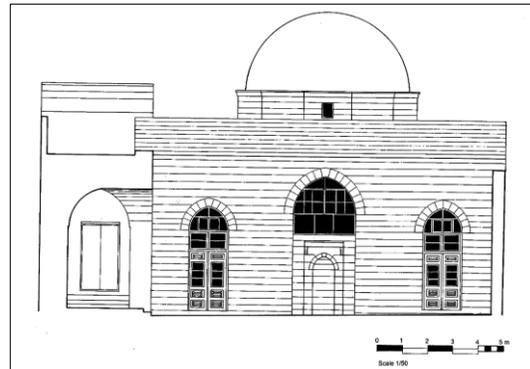


Figure (7) Shows façade of the iwan of the mosque *al-Qibliyyah* (After, *Circle of Aleppo endowments*)

▪ The iwan

This iwan represents the sanctuary *al-Qibliyyah* of the mosque. It can be accessed through the two entrances, which are located on its northern side, fig. (2-b, 7). These two entrances lead to a short corridor of 1.90 m, which is roofed by a pointed vault. The level of the iwan is higher than the courtyard as the two entrances lead to the inside through a stone ladder. The iwan occupies a rectangular area that measures 12.84 m long and 5.70 m wide. Its southern wall includes two recesses, fig. (2-b). The western one measures 2.38 m high, 1.30 m wide, and 1.37 m deep, whereas the eastern recess measures 2.5 m high, 1.30 wide, and 1.35 m deep. Both recesses rise over the iwan level by 60 cm. They are surmounted by a carved arch of stone engaged voussoirs, and each of them includes a window that connects the iwan and the external façade, fig. (8).

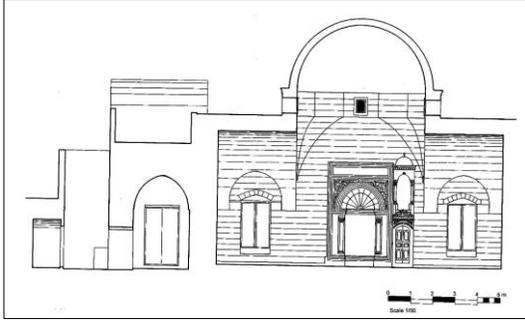


Figure (8) Shows interior sector of the iwan (After, *Circle of Aleppo end-owments*)

The mihrab of the iwan mediates the two mentioned recesses. It is composed of a niche that measures 3.35 m high, 1.25 m wide, and 1.06 m deep. The niche is surmounted by a semi-dome with a pointed sector, bordered by a marble column on every two sides, and covered with new paint with no decorations. The semi-dome is bordered by a projected frieze, and the two triangular areas on every two sides are decorated with floral decorations achieved by prominent carving according to the *Arabesque* style. At the top of the mihrab, there is an inscription that composes one line and in Thuluth by prominent carving, fig. (9-a, b). The content is a part of the 18 verse of *Surat al-Hajj*:

"ألم تر أن الله يسجد له من في السموات ومن في الأرض"

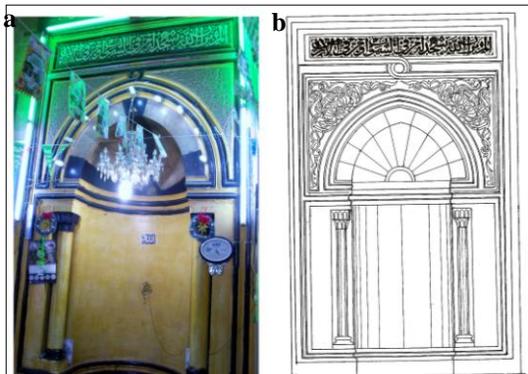


Figure (9) Shows **a.** the mihrab of the mosque, **b.** facsimile of the mihrab and its inscription.

Beside the mihrab from the right side, there is a stone minbar that extends to 2.95 m in the depth of the iwan. It is 95 cm wide and rises to 5.07 m until the level of its summit. The minbar includes an elegant

door that measures 1.50 m high and 55 cm wide, surmounted by a carved arch, and crowned by two rows of stone stalactites. The two triangular areas between the stalactites and the carved arch are decorated with floral decorations made by prominent carving according to the *Arabesque* style. At the top of the stalactites, there is a decorated panel that includes an inscription composed of two lines in the thuluth script and made by prominent carving, fig. (10-a, b). Its content is a part of the 197 verse of *Surat al-Baqarah* and ends with the date of the minbar (1242 AH.), fig. (10-c):

وتزودا فإن خير/ الزاد التقوى
واتقون يا أولي/ الألباب سنة 1242

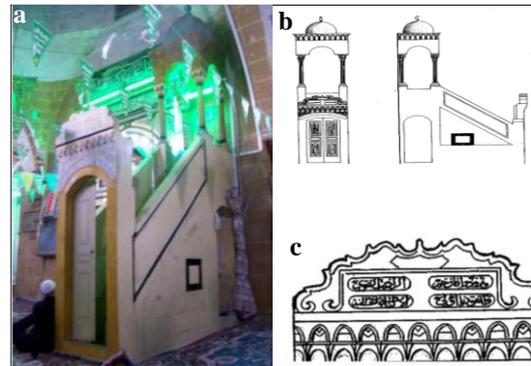


Figure (10) Shows **a.** the minbar of the mosque, **b.** facsimile of the minbar, frontal and side view (After, *Circle of Aleppo end-owments*), **c.** facsimile of the inscription of the minbar

The door leads to a stone ladder that includes six stairs and ends at the seat of the khatib (preacher). The minbar is crowned by a cupola with a pointed sector based on four marble columns. It is surmounted by a brass crescent. The northern side of the iwan includes three recesses. The western and eastern recesses include the two entrances. In contrast, the middle one is higher, more spacious, and includes a hanging reporter's tribune that overlooks the iwan through a wooden handrail decorated with carved decorations. It can be accessed through a stone ladder, fig. (11-a, b). Both of the western and eastern sides are occupied by two recesses, which have the same dimensions of 2.90 m high and 1.40

m wide. These recesses overlook the iwan through carved arches. The two recesses located on the western side have an open ceiling and are used as wind catchers (*malaqif*) to ventilate the iwan. Concerning the ceiling of the iwan, it was divided into three sections. Both of the western and eastern sections are roofed by a pointed vault, whereas the middle one is roofed by a dome with a semi-circular sector. The dome is higher than the vaults of the two sides. It measures 10.75 m high, and its diameter is 5.65 m. It rises over an octagonal drum that includes four windows for ventilating and illuminating the iwan and is based on transition zones from spherical triangle pendentives, fig. (12). The ceiling, including the vaults and the dome, is built of stone, but it seems to be different from the other parts. Thus, it is assumed that it was renewed during the renovation works in the Ottoman period.

▪ *The renewed extensions*

Many extensions and renovation works were done during the Ottoman period. Some of them did not change the original plan, such as the minbar that was added in 1242 AH./1826 AD. and the ceiling of the iwan that was renewed in 1260 AH./1844 AD. The renewal works that were done in 1260 AH./1844 AD. included many extensions that caused essential changes to the original plan, fig. (2-b). These extensions were added by Mohamed Raji Ibn Mohamed Ali Byazid who wanted to return the teaching activity to the mosque [2]. He appointed al-Shaikh Hussien al-Ghuzzi al-Bali, the father of the famous Aleppo's historian, as a teacher of the mosque and the students who rushed upon him [31]. Therefore, it was required to add some new extensions to the mosque to be fit with the teaching function. The new extensions included many rooms for teaching and residential purposes. This does not mean that the mosque did not perform the teaching function until this period, as the historical sources refer to it as a madrasa since the Mamluk period [10, 23]. The renewal works include an open area located behind the courtyard that is 60 cm high over its level, fig. (2-b), 13.40 m long, and 4.70 m wide. This area was separated from the courtyard by a short wall of 75 cm that included a prayer niche in the middle at the same axis of the courtyard niche and was equal to the height of the mosque's walls as it was the borderline of the mosque on the northern side. Therefore, we can assert that the mosque included two open courtyards after these renewal works, but the mediated wall which separated between them was demolished in a later period. Behind the added courtyard, there is a covered area of 14.35 long and 2.75 wide. It is divided into five rooms roofed by five pointed vaults. Each of them includes a door and a window. It was used for a residential purpose, fig. (13-a, b). When the teaching activity was stopped by the end of the Ottoman period, the function of these rooms has changed

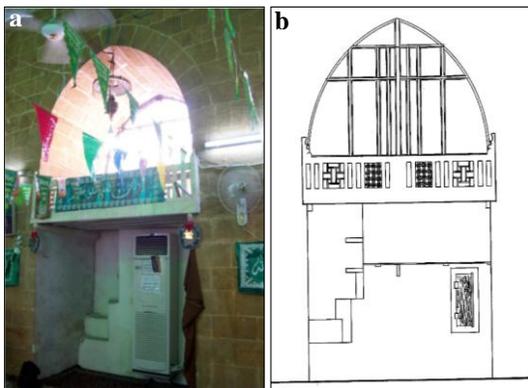


Figure (11) Shows **a**, the reporter's tribune, **b**, facsimile of the reporter's tribune, frontal view (After, *Circle of Aleppo endowments*)

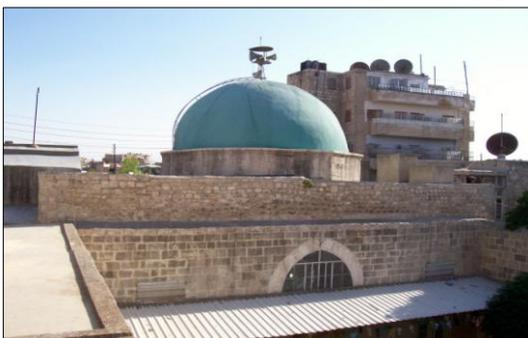


Figure (12) Shows the dome of the iwan; external view

because the three adjacent rooms on the eastern side are currently used for prayer and ablution. Hence, the walls that separated them were demolished, the door of the third room was replaced by a prayer niche, and the door of the second room was replaced by a window. The other two rooms on the western side are currently used as a residence of al-Imam. Furthermore, the wall that separated them was demolished. The renewed extensions include a room that faces the renewed courtyard from the eastern side and is currently used as a residence for al-Muezzin. It measures 3.65 m long and 3.33 wide, roofed by a cross vault, and overlooks the renewed courtyard through two windows and one door, fig. (2-b). Another room faces the eastern side of the old courtyard and measures 3.65 long and 3.20 wide. It is roofed by a pointed vault. It includes a recess on its southern side. However, it has changed to be a door that connects the mentioned room and the corridor that leads to the entrance of the mosque. The renewal works also included the toilets, previously mentioned, located beside the entrance of the mosque from the eastern side. They can be accessed through a door that connects them to the corridor, fig. (2-b).

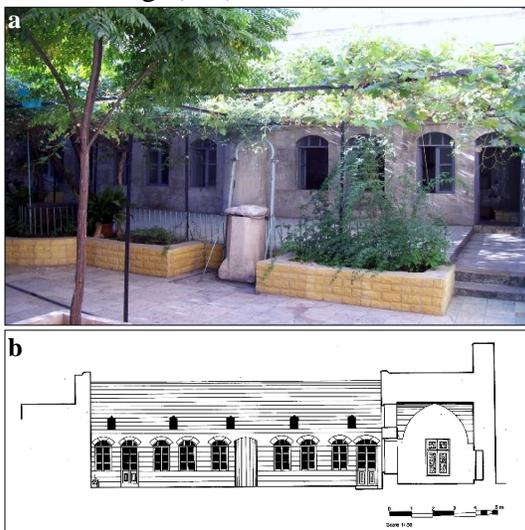


Figure (13) Shows **a**, the teaching rooms in the northern side of the mosque, **b**, the façade of the teaching rooms (After, Circle of Aleppo endowments)

2.3. The sabil

It is located beside the façade of the mosque from the western side, fig. (3-a). Its façade includes an inscription dating it back to 771 AH./1369 AD. This inscription confirms that the date of the sabil preceded the date of the mosque by two years. However, many researchers argued that the sabil had the same date as the mosque. For instance, Talas mentioned that both of the two buildings were constructed at the same time [16] and al-Himsi referred that the date of the sabil was 773 AH./1371 AD. [32]. What promoted the difference in the date of the two buildings was the heterogeneity of their raw material. Moreover, the two façades seemed to be separated, and their bonds were not dovetailed. The façade of the mosque ended by a projecting cornice that did not extend to the façade of the sabil. Likewise, a separated cornice with a different shape determined the façade of the sabil. In addition, the two façades are not on the same straightness that the façade of the mosque rises over the façade of the sabil by 1.5 m. For these arguments, we can assert that the sabil was a separate building at the time of the construction, and the mosque was built beside it in a later period. The sabil overlooks the outside street by a façade of 5.55 m long and 5.58 m high. The façade is occupied by a recess surmounted by a pointed arch decorated with zigzag decorations and determined by a projecting cornice, fig. (14-a). Inside the recess, there is the source of water which connects with a tube inside the building supplied by water from the *Hilan* channel. Inside the arch, there is an inscription that includes three Thulus lines separated with projecting friezes. It measures 1.40 m long and 60 high, fig. (14-b). Its content is, as follows “*al-Basmalah, the 5 verse, Surat Al-Insan, this blessed sabil was constructed by our lord al-Maqqarr al-Ashraf al-‘ali al-Mawlawi al-*

Kafili al-Sayfi Ashiqtumr al-Ashrafi, the deputy of Aleppian provinces in 771”

"بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ إِنْ الْأَبْرَارَ يَشْرَبُونَ مِنْ كَأْسٍ
كَانَ مَزَاجُهَا كَافُورًا أَنشَأَ هَذَا السَّبِيلَ الْمُبَارَكِ مَوْلَانَا
الْمَقْرَأُ الشَّرِيفَ الْعَالِي الْمَوْلُوي الْكَافِلِي السِّيْفِي أَشَقْتَمِر
الْأَشْرَفِي كَافِل الْمَمَالِكِ الْحَلِيبِيَّةِ الْمَحْرُوسَةِ فِي شَهْرِ
سَنَةِ أَحَدَى وَسَبْعِينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ"

Around the inscription, there are four blazons of Emir Ashiqtumr. Each of them is composed of a circle that is divided into three sections. The middle section is the largest and is occupied by a drinking cup. Under the inscription, decorative motives are represented by four eight-head stars, two of them are occupied by the word "محمد", the others are occupied by the word "علي", which are written in the square Kufic script, fig. (14-b) [24].

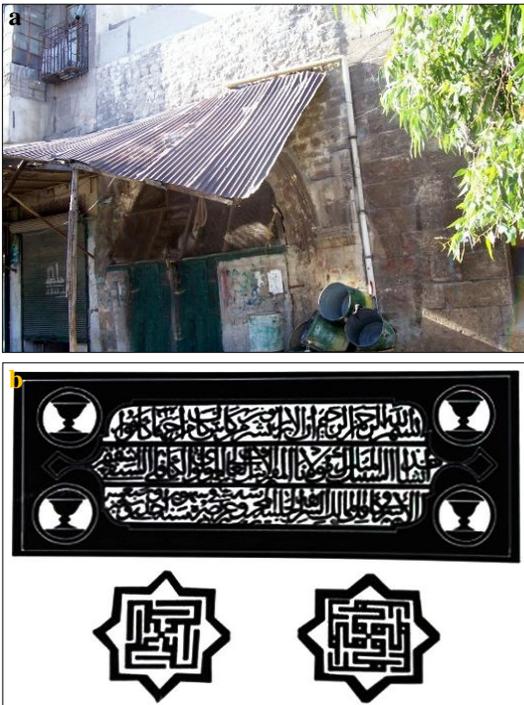


Figure (14) Shows **a.** the façade of the sabil, **b.** facsimile of the inscriptions of the sabil (After, Al-Housieni, 2019)

2.4. The Turbah

The turbah of Emir Ashiqtumr does not currently exist. The historical sources and the researches did not yield any information about the date of its demolition. However,

it is understood that the turbah disappeared in the late Ottoman period as it was described by both the contemporary [22,23] and the Ottoman historians [2,15]. At the same time, the early researches [11,16,33] did not mention this turbah in the lists of the survived buildings in the city. It was situated outside the walls of the old city in front of Bab Al-maqam, fig. (1) [22,23]. It was built by Emir Ashiqtumr in 776 AH./1374 AD. to be his tomb [34]. The historical sources mentioned that he used to stay on it when he was deposed from the rule of the city [23]. Although it disappeared at this time, we can imagine its architectural formation through what was mentioned in the historical sources, fig. (15). It was a striking and spacious building and included an arched entrance built of white stone. The entrance leads to a spacious courtyard that included a fountain or a water pool covered by colored marble and provided with water from the *Hilan* canal [23]. Inside the courtyard, there was a tomb room composed of a square area and surmounted by a great dome [22]. The courtyard included also terraces for sitting made of yellow marble and included an iwan roofed by a pointed vault. The iwan included a mihrab and four windows: Two of them were situated on the right and the left sides of the mihrab and overlooked a back garden, the third window was located on its western side, and the fourth one was located on its eastern side and overlooked a sabil provided with water from the water pool. The turbah included also many rooms used as utilities [22]. Inside the tomb room, Emir Ashiqtumr was buried after his death in 791 AH./1389 AD. Besides his tomb, there was the tomb of al-Shaikh Mohib al-Din Ibn al-Shohna, the historian of Aleppo, who died in 815 AH./1412 AD. The courtyard included also many tombs of al-Shohna family [23].

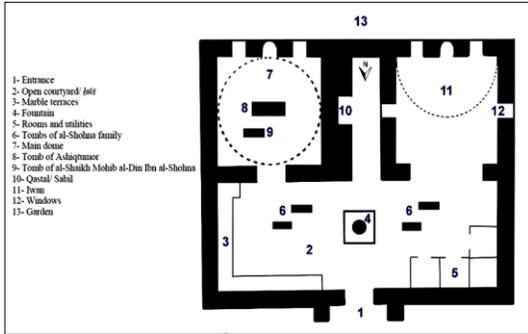


Figure (15) Shows imagined plan of the turbah of Ashiqtumr

2.5. The constructor endowments

The city of Aleppo was generally famous by the great waqfs around its Islamic history [35]. The waqf activities began with the Islamic conquer during the construction of the mosque of al-Shu'aybiyyah, which was the first mosque constructed in the city [36]. Then, the waqf activities spread throughout its history, especially during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods [37]. Regarding the waqf of Emir Ashiqtumr, the historical sources asserted that he endowed a great waqf on his mosque, sabil, and turbah to ensure a permanent yield for developing them after his death [2,15,22,23]. The endowments of Ashiqtumr were limited in Aleppo with no reference to other endowments outside. However, the majority of these endowments disappeared [38]. The khan, for example, was situated in the same district of the mosque [22] but it disappeared. The khans, in general, were considered suitable buildings for the waqf, especially in Aleppo which was famous for its commercial activities [39]. Likewise, Ashiqtumr allocated some shops around the mosque that were rented and produced a continuous yield [23]. He also endowed a bakery and a mill, which were allocated for the same purpose [2]. The aforementioned endowments disappeared. The historical sources did not yield enough information about their accurate location, architectural description, and date of demolishing. The only building that has survived is the ḥamam

(bath house) of Ashiqtumr. It is located in the same district of the mosque, fig. (1). It, in addition to the sabil and the turbah, was endowed on the mosque. It has survived in a good condition, but it is no longer used as a public bath. It is used as a storehouse for storing and mending the car tires, fig. (16-a, b) [40]. The ḥamams, in general, were considered the most appropriate buildings that have always been included in Islamic endowments as they were regarded as profitable foundations that effectively developed the waqfs [41]. The endowments of Ashiqtumr continued to function until the early Ottoman period. This is confirmed by a document dated back to Sha'ban 973 AH., from *al-sijilat al-shar'iyah*, found in Damascus archive, fig. (17). This document mentioned that the ḥamam, the bakery, and eight shops were rented for three years for 20 dinars a month. It stipulated also that the tenant pay 100 dinars to Ahmed Ibn al-Qadi Soliman who was the supervisor *al-Metwalli* of the waqf at the time. The importance of this document is that it yields some valuable information that was not mentioned elsewhere. It did not only stated that the waqf continued to function until this time, but also understood that the waqf was in a good condition as evidenced by the high value of the rent. It also referred to the number of shops that was not determined in the historical sources and the name of *al-Metwalli* who supervised the waqf during this period. Seemingly, the waqf of Ashiqtumr deteriorated by the late Ottoman period according to al-Tabbakh who reported that the yield of waqf was estimated by 50 Ottoman Lira per year at the time [15]. Likewise, al-Ghuzzi mentioned that Mohamed Raji who renewed the mosque in 1260 AH./1844 AD. intended to allocate a great waqf to the mosque but he died before achieving that. He added also that after the death of his father, at the time of Hussein al-Ghuzzi, who was appointed as a teacher in the

mosque, the waqf deteriorated to yield only 600 Ottoman Piasters per year. The mosque was negatively affected that the teaching function stopped, the rooms of Mohamed Raji became a residence for the poor, and the Imam no longer received his salary. Al-Ghuzzi reported that the old endowments of Ashiqtumr were seized by people and fell under their possessions, which lead the mosque to ruin until it was taken care of by the administration of endowments in the city [2].

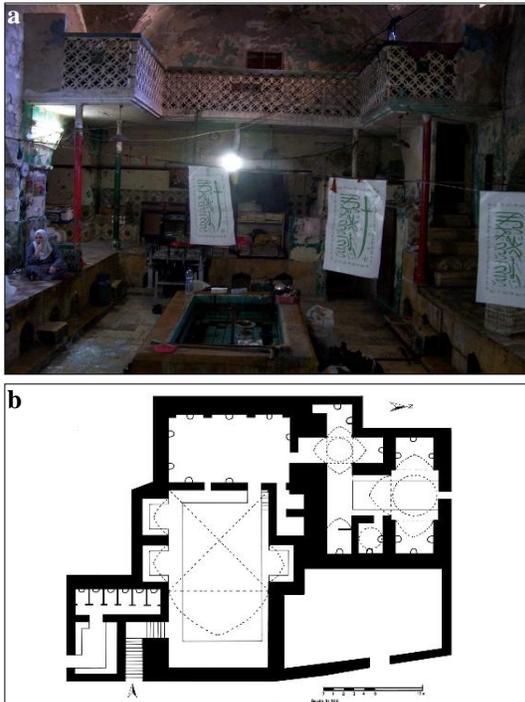


Figure (16) Shows **a.** Ashiqtumr hammam, external section *al-Barrani*. **b.** plan of Ashiqtumr hammam (After, Abd al-Razik, 2014)

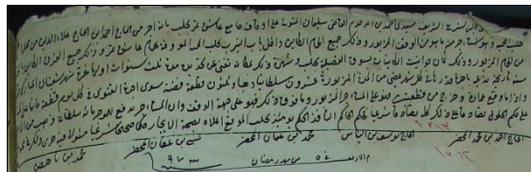


Figure (17) Shows document for renting the endowments of Ashiqtumr, *al-sijilat al-shar'iyah*, Damascus archive, dated by Sha'ban 973 AH..

3. Results

The following points were extracted from the paper:

- The mosque of Emir Ashiqtumr is compatible with the small areas of the religious buildings of the city, especially those buildings that spread in crowded areas.
- The general plan of the mosque is characterized by its simplicity and compatibility with many examples that were constructed before the Ottoman period in the city of Aleppo.
- The elements and architectural units are compatible with parallel examples in the city such as the lone façade of the mosque with its decorations and the style of the mosque's ceiling.
- The mosque characterized by the multiplicity of the mihrabs as was common in the majority of mosques of the city.
- The study rooted some architectural elements inside the mosque such as the stone minbar, reporter's tribune, and the wind catchers.
- The study commented on the lack of the minaret and supposed that it was included in the original mosque.
- The style of the sabil is compatible with the parallel examples in the city and it was built before the mosque.
- The plan of the turbah is a unique style in the city of Aleppo.

4. Discussion (Analytical study)

The mosque of Ashiqtumr occupies a small area as is customary in the mosques of Aleppo in general, with an exception of a few examples, such as the Great Umayyad mosque. This feature was not limited to the mosques, but it extended to all buildings with their various functions especially inside the souq (market) areas. It is justified by some researches for the large numbers of these buildings, which was a reason for the sufficiency of people's needs, despite their small areas [5]. This explanation seems logical because the districts of Aleppo were crowded with many foundations with various functions; therefore, there was no need to build them with a large space. The same

explanation reflects the reasons for the spread of this feature in many Islamic cities, such as Cairo especially in the Mamluk period [42]. Regarding the plan of the mosque, it is very simple that the original plan was confined to the courtyard and only one iwan, fig. (2-a). What enhanced the simplicity of this plan was that the iwan extended to one area and no arcades mediating it. This style rarely appeared in Aleppo during the Mamluk period, such as the mosque of Othman Ibn Ogelbek (881 AH./1477 AD.) [43]. However, the customary style of the mosques of Aleppo, which spread before the Ottoman period, included the main iwan *al-Qibliyyah* in addition to arcades around one, two, or three sides of the courtyard. At the same time, the main iwan was maximally divided into two, three, or four arcades. This customary plan appeared in the city for the first time in the great Umayyad mosque, which included the main iwan divided into three arcades, and the courtyard was also surrounded by three arcades, which revealed that it was inspired by the great Umayyad mosque in Damascus (86-96 AH./705-715 AD.) [44]. The same plan spread in the majority of the city's mosques before the Ottoman period, such as the mosque of al-Tunbugha (718 AH./1318 AD.), the mosque of Minkali Bugha (767 AH./1365 AD.), and the mosque of al-Tawashi (774 AH./1372 AD.). This style applied also to some mosques with some reduction in details, such as the mosque of al-Mihmindar (8th H. /14th G. century), which included the main iwan and only one arcade on the northern side of the courtyard [26]. Some studies considered this style as a separate type and called it *the Syrian plan*. However, this plan was derived from the traditional plan, which spread in the mosques of the early Islamic period with some changes in details in addition to the local Syrian influences [5]. As for the ceiling of the mosque, the main iwan was divided into

three sections, the western and eastern sections were roofed by a pointed vault, whereas the middle one was roofed by a dome, fig. (8). This type of ceiling was used in the case of the undivided iwan. It was not limited to the mosques but extended to the madrasas since the early period. It appeared in al-Shazbakhtyyah madrasa (589 AH./1193 AD.), the Sultanyyah madrasa (620 AH./1223 AD.), and the mosque of Othman Ibn Ogelbek (881 AH./1477 AD.). In the case of using the arcades in dividing the main iwan, the roof depended on the cross vaults, as shown in the great Umayyad mosque and the majority of the city's mosques. The mosque includes only one façade on the southern side, fig. (3-a). This is considered a customary feature in the majority of the city's mosques, which may be justified by the fact that these mosques are located within other endowments or the crowded souqs. Therefore, they have only one free façade, whereas the adjacent buildings hide the others. The façade of the mosque is decorated by vertical recesses that are surmounted by stone stalactites, fig. (3-c). These recesses were customary elements for decorating the facades of the buildings in the city, especially in the Mamluk period. They were used for decorating the façade of the mosque of al-Sirawi (780 AH./1378 AD.), the mosque of al-Atrush (812 AH./1409 AD.), the mosque of Sahit Hamad (9th H./15th G. century), and the mosque of al-Daraj (9th H./15th G. century) [45]. They continued in the Ottoman period, such as Khan al-Jumrok (981 AH./1574 AD.), Khan al-Wazir (1096 AH./1682 AD.), and the mosque of al-Mashatiyyah (1134 AH./1721 AD.) [46]. These elements were used in early Islamic architecture that appeared for the first time in the Dome of the Rock (Qubbat aṣ-Ṣakhra) in Jerusalem (72 AH./691 AD.) and al-Ukhaydir Palace in Iraq (175 AH./791 AD.) [47]. After that, they spread in Islamic architecture in general, such as

the Egyptian architecture since the Fatimid period in al-Aqmar mosque (519 AH./1125 AD.), the Ayyubid architecture in the façade of al-madaris al-Slihiyyah (639-641 AH./1241-1243 AD.), and widely spread spread in the Mamluk architecture. The façade of Ashiqtumr mosque was decorated with piebald stone *al-Moshahhar*. It was used for decorating many buildings during the Mamluk period in the same city, such as the mosque of al-Tunbugha (718 AH./1318 AD.), the mosque of al-Tawashi (774 AH./1372 AD.), al-Saffahiyyah mosque (828 AH./1424 AD.), and Yalbugha al-Nasri hamam (783-791 AH./1381-1389 AD.) [40]. It continued during the Ottoman period, such as al-Khusrawiyyah mosque (951 AH./1544 AD.), the mosque of al-Adiliyyah (963 AH./1556 AD.) [48], and the mosque of al-Bahramiyyah (991 AH./1583 AD.) [29]. Among the elements that decorate the façade of the mosque, the engaged voussoirs, fig. (3-a) which appeared in the majority of the Mamluk buildings, such as the mosque of al-Tawashi (774 AH./1372 AD.), the mosque of al-Sirawi (780 AH./1378 AD.), and the mosque of al-Atrush (812 AH./1409 AD.). The engaged voussoirs were used in early Islamic architecture for the first time in al-Hayr al-Sharqi Palace (110 AH./728 AD.) [47]. They also appeared in Egyptian architecture since the Fatimid period in the Fatimid Cairo gates (480-485 AH./1087-1092 AD.). After that, widely spread in the buildings with their various functions. As previously mentioned, the mosque includes many mihrabs up to four. Most probably, this replication is due to the renewal works that were done to the mosque. Anyway, the multiplicity of the mihrabs was common in the majority of the city's mosques, such as the mosque of al-Mihmindar (8th H./14th G. century) including five mihrabs [26], the mosque of al-Karimiyyah (654 AH./1256 AD.) including four mihrabs, and the mosque of al-Tawashi (774 AH./

1372 AD.) including three mihrabs [45]. The mosque includes a stone minbar added in 1242 AH./1826 AD., fig. (10-a,b). The stone minbars existed in many examples in Aleppo, such as the mosque of al-Tunbugha (718 AH./1318 AD.), the mosque of al-Haddadin (743 AH./1343 AD.), the mosque of Banqusa (768 AH./1368 AD.), and the mosque of al-Tawashi (774 AH./1372 AD.). Although the examples of the stone minbars are numerous in Aleppo, they are unusual in Islamic architecture. Among their rare examples, two examples are situated in Cairo. The first is the minbar of the mosque of Emir Shaykho al-Nasri (750 AH./1349 AD.), and the second is the minbar of Khanqah al-Nasir Farj Ibn Barquk added by Sultan Qaitbay in 888 AH./1483 AD. The western side of the iwan included two recesses with an open ceiling that were used as wind catchers (*Malaqif*) to ventilate the iwan, which was considered a unique example in the religious buildings in Aleppo. Firstly, this element appeared in the architecture of the ancient Egyptian in the tomb of Nib Amon which dated back to the 19th dynasty [49]. After that, it reappeared in Islamic architecture in Cairo in the mosque of al-Salih Tala'i' (555 AH./1160 AD.), al-Malik al-Kamil madrasa (622 AH./1225 AD.), the complex of Qalawun (683-684 AH./1284-1285 AD.), al-Nasir Mohamed madrasa (703 AH./1303 AD.), and khanqah Baibars al-Jashankir (706 AH./1306 AD.). It was widely spread in all types of buildings during the Circassian and Ottoman periods [50]. The iwan of Ashiqtumr mosque included a reporter's tribune, fig. (11-a,b). It was a common element in the majority of the city's mosques and was usually hanged above the entrance of *al-Qibliyyah*. It is well-known that the mosques of Islam included this element since the early Islamic period as it was located in the middle of the main portico. Since the space of the mosques was reduced, the location of this element was changed to be hanged above

the entrance of the sanctuary. Seemingly, it was different in Aleppo city as the great Umayyad mosque was the largest mosque in the city but the reporter's tribune was hanging over the entrance of its sanctuary. Likewise, it took the same place in the majority of the city's mosques, such as the mosque of al-Haddadin (743 AH./1342 AD.), the mosque of al-Tawashi (774 AH./1372 AD.), the mosque of al-Sirawi (780 AH./1378 AD.), and the mosque of Taghrbardi (797 AH./1394 AD.). Regarding its raw materials, it was made of wood in the Ashiqtumr mosque like the aforementioned examples and made of stone in the mosque of al-Mihmindar (8th H./14th G. century), the mosque of al-Tunbugha (718 AH./1318 AD.), and the mosque of al-Atrush (812 AH./1409 AD.). Strangely, the mosque of Ashiqtumr did not include a minaret although it was a prominent example among the city's mosques and attributed to a great Amir who played a great role in the history of the city. The historical sources classified it among the congregational mosques since the Mamluk period, but they did not refer that the mosque included a minaret [18, 23]. At the same time, the minaret did not disappear, altogether, in its parallel examples. Otherwise, the minaret disappeared in some examples of the city's mosques, but these mosques were classified as small mosques for the five prayers, such as the mosque of al-Tarsosi (549 AH./1154 AD.), the mosque of Qasim al-Nono (770 AH./1368 AD.), and the al-Yashbakiyyah mosque (824 AH./1421 AD.). The minaret disappeared also in al-Zawayah, such as al-Bazzaziyyah Zawyah (790 AH./1388 AD.) and al-Nassimi Zawyah (820 AH./1417 AD.). Regarding the congregational mosques, they always included the minaret except for the mosque of Ashiqtumr. Thus, we could suggest that the mosque might include a minaret, but it was lost after the construction era and was not reconstructed. What supports this assumption is that the

mosque included other buildings, but they no longer exist, such as the kuttab, which surmounted the entrance. The same case may apply to the minaret. As for the sabil fig. (14-a), the study asserted that it was a separate building, and the constructor built the mosque beside it. Generally, the sabils were famous in the historical sources of Aleppo by *Qastal*, which means a pottery tube [51]. However, it is more correct to use the term *sabil* as referred to them in their inscriptions. The sabil of Ashiqtumr depended on the same feature and the same plan that was followed in the city. This plan was composed of an arched recess that included a water tube and a ground basin to receive and collect the water, such as the sabil of Emir Qarasunqor (703 AH./1303 AD.), the sabil of Emir al-Tunbbugha (717 AH./1317 AD.), and the sabil of al-'Atawi (748 AH./1347 AD.). Likewise, the same plan was customary in Damascus and occurred in all examples of its sabils, such as the sabil of al-Baridi (8th H./14th G. century), the sabil of al-Khaznah (807 AH./1404 AD.), the sabil of al-Darwishiyah (982 AH./1574 AD.), and the sabil of Othman pasha (1150 AH./1737AD.) [52]. Otherwise, the sabils of Cairo were totally different. They were not limited to a wall recess, but they included a complete building composed of a sabil room with a *Shazerwan* connected with pottery tubes that supplied the sabil windows with water. Moreover, the sabils of Cairo are surmounted, in most cases, by the Kuttab, such as the sabil of Emir Asinbugha (772 AH./1370 AD.), the sabil of Emir Inal (794 AH./1391 AD.), and the sabil of Sultan Qaitbay (884 AH./1479 AD.). Most probably, the different plan of Aleppo and Cairo sabils was due to the method of supplying the water. While the sabils of Aleppo were supplied directly by water through pottery tubes connected with the city water web, those of Cairo depended on cisterns, which required an

architectural space represented in the sabil room to lift the water and prepare it for drinking. The sabil includes a blazon represented by a drinking cup inside a circle fig. (14-b). This blazon proves that Ashiqtmur played the role of *al-Saqi* although that this function was not mentioned among his nicknames in both the historical sources and the inscriptions of his buildings. This blazon appeared in many buildings in Aleppo, such as the mosque of al-Atrush (812 AH./1409 AD.), Bab al-Maqam sabil (831 AH./1428 AD.), al-Ramadanyyah sabil (898 AH./1493 AD.), and Khayrbik turbah (920 AH./1514 AD.) [11]. Regarding the turbah of Ashiqtmur fig. (15), it did not follow the traditional plan, which was limited to a room surmounted by a dome. According to the description of the historical sources, it included many extensions, such as the iwan, an open courtyard, terraces, an interior sabil, and a water pool inside the courtyard. Hence, the plan of this turbah was a unique example in Aleppo because of these extensions which did not appear combined in another example. At the same time, some of these extensions appeared in parallel examples in Aleppo, especially the iwan and the courtyard. For instance, the turbah of Othman Ibn Oghilbik in 881 AH./1476 AD. included an iwan that overlooks directly the burial room [46] and the turbah of Emir Khayrbik in 920 AH./1514 AD. contained an iwan and an open courtyard.

5. Conclusion

This is an architectural and archaeological study of the mosque, the sabil, and the turbah of Emir Ashiqtmur in Aleppo. Firstly, the study corrected the confusion of some researchers about the two Emirs, i.e., Ashiqtmur and Qushtumr, as they referred to Qushtumr as the constructor of the mosque. Depending on the historical sources, the study asserted that the mosque's fame al-Sakakini occurred during the Ottoman period. The study also corrected the confusion of some historical sources and some researchers about the date of the mosque.

By providing many arguments, the study asserted that the entrance of the mosque was renewed, and its inscription was amputated during the Ottoman period. The study assumed that the ceiling of the iwan did not relate to the construction era, but it was renewed during the Ottoman period in 1260 AH. Depending on the historical sources, it is confirmed that the teaching function was held in the mosque since its construction. The study reported that the renewal works made essential changes to the original plan, such as the renewed courtyard and the teaching rooms. Moreover, it is suggested that the mosque might include a minaret, but it was lost and was not rebuilt. The study corrected the confusion of some researchers about the date of the sabil. It was confirmed, by many arguments, that it was a separate sabil at the time of its construction. A new title al-Saqi was added to the constructor based on the blazon, which appeared on the sabil. The study presented an imagined plan of the turbah based on the description of the historical sources. Finally, the endowments of Ashiqtmur were considered as they continued to function until the Ottoman period as mentioned in a document Wathiqah published in this study.

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