NEAR EAST UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY EDUCATION

EDUCATION IN MOSUL IN THE 18TH CENTURY

MASTER THESIS

NADHIM SALEEM MAWLOOD

NICOSIA JANUARY 2021

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SUPERVISOR: Prof. Dr. Slobodan ILIĆ

NICOSIA JANUARY 2021

APPROVAL OF THE THESIS

We certify that we have read the thesis submitted by Nadhim Saleem Mawlood titled "Education in Mosul In The 18th Century" and that in our combined opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Educational

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DECLARATION

I, Nadhim Saleem Mawlood confirm that the work for the following term paper with the title: **EDUCATION IN MOSUL IN THE 18TH CENTURY** was solely undertaken by me and that no help was provided from other sources as those allowed.

All sections of the paper that use quotes or describe an argument or concept developed by another author have been referenced, including all secondary literature used, to show that this material has been adopted to support my thesis.

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ABSTRACT

EDUCATION IN MOSUL IN THE 18TH CENTURY

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This study explores education in Mosul in the 18th century to demonstrate the position of knowledge and education in Mosul, an important Ottoman province in terms of education and other aspects of life. The institutionalization of education in the city stretches back to antiquity, and it provided many famous Muslim and non-Muslim scholars and scientists. During the Ottoman era, Mosul had many schools and madrasahs, and two important colleges that offered a comprehensive education. It was largely due to its intellectual milieu that Mosul was important to Western travelers, missioners, and spies who visited the city and recorded their impressions. Subsequently, the Dominican School was established as a special Western Christian outpost in the province, which increased Western countries' attention on the Vilayet-i Mosul. This work critically analyzes the educational life of Mosul, based on extensive archival resources and secondary sources, to present a pioneering insight into the Ottoman administration during this period. In doing so, the researcher presents a more transparent overview of an important region that has been neglected in Islamic historical studies. This study uses a qualitative historical and textual analysis method. The most notable findings of this study are to dispassionately review historical evidence on the history of Mosul, free from the modern political ideologies that often subvert historical interpretations of the region. Secondly, in the 18th century AD there was a lot of interest in studying the mosques of Mosul, and the Al-Aghawat Mosque was noted as the first mosque to be built by the Jalili family. People used to build mosques in order to study Islamic sciences in the area.

Thirdly, local Christians were studying in Islamic schools and learning scientific subjects among Muslims. Mosul intellectuals also used to go to other countries for education, for their important role in the international dissemination of knowledge.

Keywords: Mosul; Ottoman; Iraq; Kurdistan; Education; Knowledge; Scholar.

ÖZET

18.YÜZYIL MUSUL'DA EĞİTİM

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Ocak 2021

Bu çalışma, önemli bir Osmanlı vilayeti olan Musul'daki, bilgi ve eğitimin konumunu göstermek için, eğitim ve yaşamın diğer yönleri açısından 18. yüzyılda ki eğitimi araştırmaktadır. Şehirdeki eğitimin kurumsallaşması antik çağlara kadar uzanıyor. Bir çok ünlü Müslüman ve gayrimüslim alim ve bilim adamının yetişmesini sağladı. Osmanlı döneminde Musul'da, çok sayıda okul ve medrese ile kapsamlı bir eğitim sunan, iki önemli kolej vardır. Musul, şehri ziyaret eden, izlenimlerini kaydeden, Batılı gezginler, misyonerler ve casuslar için büyük ölçüde entelektüel ortamlar barındırıyordu.

Akabinde Dominik Okulu, eyalette özel bir Batı Hristiyan okulu olarak kuruldu. Bu da Batılı ülkelerin Musul Vilayeti'ne olan ilgisini artırdı. Bu çalışma, aynı zamanda Musul'un eğitim hayatının kapsamlı arşiv kaynaklarına ve ikincil kaynaklara dayanmaktadır. Aynı zamanda eleştirel bir şekilde analiz ederek, bu dönem Osmanlı yönetimine öncü bir bakış açısı da sunmaktadır.

Bu araştırmaları yaparken, araştırmacı; İslami tarih araştırmalarında ihmal edilen, bu önemli bölgenin, önemi ile ilgili olarak daha şeffaf bir bakış açısı da sunuyor. Bu çalışmada nitel bir tarihsel yöntem ile metinsel analiz yöntemi kullanılmaktadır.

Bu çalışmanın en dikkate değer bulguları biri; Musul'un tarihi ve ismiyle ilgili tarihsel kanıtları, bölgenin tarihsel yorumlarını, altüst eden modern siyasi ideolojilerden bağımsız olarak tarafsız bir şekilde gözden geçirmesidir. İkincisi bulgu; MS 18. yüzyılda Musul'daki camileri incelemeye büyük ilgi vardır. Al-Aghawat Camii, Jalili ailesi tarafından yaptırılan ilk cami olarak biliniyordu. İnsanlar, özellikle İslami ilimleri incelemek için çeşitli amaçlarla

camiler inşa ederlerdi. Üçüncüsü buldu ise; yerel Hıristiyanların İslami okullarda okumaları ve Müslümanlar arasında bilimsel konular öğreniyor olmalarydı.

Böylelikle; Musul aydınları, bilginin uluslararası yayılmasında önemli bir rol oynayan Avrupa ülkelerine ve diğer ülkelere eğitim için gidiyorlardı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Musul; Osmanlı; Irak; Kürdistan; Eğitim; Bilgi; Akademisyen.

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CHPATER ONE INTRODUCTION

Background

Mosul is one of the largest cities in Iraq, with substantial Arab, Kurdish, and Turkmen populations living there for many centuries. It is located at the Tigris River in northern Iraq. Previously, this city was connected to the province of Diyarbakir in the 16th century. Due to the military aid it rendered to Baghdad and its importance during the conquest, it was connected to Baghdad province in the 15th Century. (Al-Ya'kubi, 1988) After the Battle of Chaldira (1514) Mosul became a part of the Ottoman Empire, and it was an important border region with the Safavids; Mosul intermittently lived under the domination of both states. For instance, Ottoman hegemony was consolidated in 1534, but almost a century later Mosul was under Shah ^cAbbas I in 1624. (Evliya Celebi, 2000) In addition, during the expedition of Sultan Murad IV (r. 1623 to 1640) to Baghdad, he appointed Husrev Pasha as a commander, who included Mosul in the Ottoman rule. (Evliya Çelebi, 2000) From 1518 this city was initially a liva administered under Divarbakir province (Beyat, 2007), but it was subsumed in Baghdad province in 1534. It was subsequently connected to Shahrizor and Baghdad provinces several times (Beyat, 2007). In the years of 1544-1545 Mosul was a Liva with five sanjaqs: Musul, Tikrit, "Tikrit citadel is 140 kilometers from Baghdad on the north side, built close to the Tigris River. The famous Kurdish Muslim leader Saladin al-Ayyubi was born there in 1138. During the 13th-century Mongol invasions of the Muslims world, this city was also destroyed. At the beginning of the 16th century, the Ottomans came to this city, and the famous traveler Evliya Çelebi noted that it had four quarters and large buildings in that city, and that this city was connected to the Mosul province, and located between Tigris and Euphrates. He recorded that the city was located in a desert north of Baghdad, close to Kirkuk; the capital of Shahrizor province, in the north of Mosul. He pointed out that there was a river located between Baghdad and Tikrit in the south, with the River Ishaq located to the east" (Evliya Celebi, 2000). Hushaf, 'Ane and Zaho. Mosul had its own governor appointed in 1597, Husain Bey Bin Janpolad (BOA. KK, Ruus Defter no 262, 265).

Mosul province had eight livas according to Ottoman records of 1587-1588: Musul, "Erbil most of the time Erbil was a liva attach to Shahrizor province, but it **apparently** became part of Mosul for several years, after which was returned back to the Shahrizor province" (Beyat, 2007), Eski Musul, Nuseybin, Sinjar, Bacuvan, Akçe Kale, and Zakho (BOA. KK, Ruus Defter, 262,247-248).

Mosul had seven sanjaks with three tugh *vezarets* (ministries), raising 681,000 akçe, 40,000 kurushes, In addition, Mosul had the Judge of the Subashi Army, and fielded 3,000 soldiers with their guns (Evliya Çelebi, 2000). The Turkish voyager Evliya Çelebi himself acknowledged the fluctuating administrative arrangement of the local sanjaks (which was apparently well known to the Ottomans and is not just a difficulty for historians), and their impressive military reserves:

Mosul province has seven sanjaqs: Liva-i Musul, which is the centre of Mosul province, the Sanjaq Bajvânlı, Liva-i Tikrit, the Sanjaq Eski Mosul, Herûn, Sanjaq-i Bana, and Sanjaq Mutufdaghi. There is no continuity in these sanjaqs. Sometimes they become a part of Baghdad or Hille. Mosul province has timar, ziamat, alaybey, and cheribisha. In the war time totally this province has 9,000 soldiers who are good horse riders and gun users. The Has of Meer of Bajvânlu is 215,000, the khas of Meer of Tikrit is 217,284, the khas of Meer of Herûn is 200,000 (Evliya Çelebi, 2000).

It can be seen that there is different information about the geography of Mosul Province, and the number of sanjaqs. For instance, Katib Çelebi in his book *Jihannuma* counted the sanjaks of Mosul province as six in 1648: Musul, Eski Musul, Bajwanlu, Tikrit, Bane, and Kara Dasni. However, some of the sanjaks were attached to Mosul province in different periods and to Shahrizor province at other times. For instance, sometimes Erbil fortress was affiliated to Mosul province, and sometimes to Shahrizor province. Sinjar fortress similarly was sometimes connected to Mosul province, and sometimes to Diyarbakir province (Beyat, 2007). The province control 66 ziamat and 1004 timar (Murad, 2004). The incomes of Mosul province's *"Saliyane"* amount into 681,000 akçe, as confirmed by the information provided by Çelebi described in Table 2 about annual incomes described by Ali Ayni (Ayni Efendi, 1864).

Study Objectives

The following points summarize the overall research objectives, seeking to:

- 1. Explore the history and geography of Mosul.
- 2. Demonstrate the nature of education in Mosul during the 18th century.
- 3. Articulate the condition of the institutions in Mosul during the 18th century.

Statement of Problem

Many studies have been written on the history of Mosul during the rule of the Ottoman Empire there, in which several books have been cited. They are very useful to reconstruct the history of this city, but the problem is that deficient sources and politically motivated narratives overshadow the exploration of its history. While many studies have recounted the role of the education in Mosul under the Ottoman administration, most of them did not narrate the educational life in Mosul sufficiently. Although, they have given information about the socio-politico-economic and cultural history of people of Mosul, their information is incomplete and insufficient because of not using original manuscripts and other new documents on the history of educational life in Mosul which shed new light on the subject.

In other side, this study utilizes all available sources to produce a more accurate and comparative narration on the subject, that is why this topic was selected.

Research Questions

The present study endeavors to answer the following questions:

- 1. What is the history and geography of Mosul?
- 2. How was educational life in Mosul during the 18th century?
- 3. How many institutions existed in Mosul by the 18th century?

Significance of the Study

This study is primarily important in revealing new knowledge about the history of the city of Mosul during the Ottoman period. In addition, this research discovers the impact of education on the people of Mosul and sheds new light on their place in Ottoman administration. In addition, it offers a contribution to the field of Ottoman

and Mosul studies, discussing the educational situation in Mosul during the Ottoman period by utilizing historical sources.

Scope of the Study

This study was limited to examining the educational life in Mosul during the 18th century, which is a relatively neglected century for studies of Mosul and of West Asia generally. This study considers the history of the city, which is particularly important due to the geopolitical and strategic aspects of the city and region to this day. The study also outlines the nature of scholarship and learning in a cosmopolitan border town of the Ottoman Empire, centered in educational centers in the city. In order to fully understand this, historical sources (e.g. books and journal articles) were analyzed alongside archival sources, using an analytical framework to examine events that unfolded.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF MOSUL AND ITS NAME

Mosul has been referred to by many names throughout history, including Diyar-i Rabi'a, Neynawa, and Mosul. The Christians used the term *Hasin Abraya*, which means "Temporarily Fortress". The Iranians called it *Buz-Ardashir*, while some sources refer to it as *Bih Hormez Kovaz*. After the Muslim conquests, the city was named Mosul, which remains its name to this day, although other epithets have been used in history, including Al- Rabiha, Al- Hazra, and Al- Hadba (Gündüz, 1998). Mosul proved to be the most popular and most used name, but there are no definitive etymological source indicating who coined this term, or where and when it was first used.

Mosul itself has a long history, having originally been inhabited by the Sumerians c. 4000 BC, as part of their great civilization (Gündüz, 1998). It was subsequently a major center of Assyria, opposite the famous city of Nineveh, until the fall of Assyria to the Babylonians and Medes in the late 6th century BC. It was subsequently dominated by Persian and Roman regimes until it became a part of the Islamic state during the caliphate of ^cOmer bin Hattab, and the Muslim leader *'Utbe bin Ferkad al-Salami* included Mosul in Islamic geography. The first Muslim governor appointed to Mosul was Harsama bin Arfaja, who brought many Arab settlers to the province and gave them land. He subsequently selected the border of Mosul province and established the first mosque. Mosul stayed under Muslim hegemony throughout the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates, and under the decentralization and gradual fragmentation of the latter it was practically ruled by the Buwayhids, Seljuks, Marwanis, and Hamdanis. Mosul was particularly important in Islamic history as the capital of the Zengid dynasty (c. 1127-1250), which ruled large parts of the Middle East as vicegerents of the Seljuks.

The city remained important during the Ottoman Empire in terms of education and administration, and there were many important schools in Mosul, which was one of the most important administrative provinces in the Ottoman Empire (Ra'uf, 1975). As an Ottoman province, it was mostly part of Iraq. In his master work on Kurds as represented in *Seyahatname*, Bzhar Othman Ahmed explained Mosul province in

depth. Following the Battle of Chaldiran in 1514, this province became an Ottoman land, but it remained a key target for the Safavids. Ottoman dominion was consolidated in 1534, but it fell to Shah Abbas I in 1624. During Sultan Murad IV's expedition to Baghdad, he appointed Husrev Pasha as a commander of Mosul, which was originally part of Diyarbakir province, as a liva (Ahmed, 2019). Mosul was affiliated with Baghdad province is 1534, and it was connected to Shahrizor and Baghdad provinces at several times (Beyat, 2017). In 1544-1545 Mosul was a liva with five sanjaqs: Musul, Tikrit⁻ Kushaf, 'Ane, and Zakho. Mosul became a province in its own right in 1586, and Aḥmed Pasha was its first governor, quickly succeeded by Husain Bey bin Janpolad in 1587 (Gündüz, 1998).

In fact, there is only a general observation of information about the region in other sources for this period, which makes the limited information Evliya Çelebi presents about Mosul particularly important. This is in contrast to the fundamental geostrategic importance of Mosul as a sensitive border province, whose every administrative unit was essential to Ottoman grand strategy.

CHAPTER THREE EDUCATION IN MOSUL

Education and religious school

If we look at the early history of Mosul, we would see that knowledge and scholars were given importance through many institutions, which reflected the general regard and promotion of learning throughout the Muslim world. This is apparent in the madrasah of Nizamiye established by the Seljuks, during the region of Nizamulmulk "the Grand Vizier of the Sultan Melek Shah, in the 10th century" (Kweser Oğlu, 2016). Some historians believe that the first madrasah in Mosul was established by Abu al-Kasim bin Ahmed in Mosul in the 9th century. (Ahmed, 2019) Regardless of the initial institution, the general culture of learning and patronage under the Abbasid medieval "Golden Age" of Islamic learning was clearly manifest in Mosul, which was an important Abbasid city in the Mesopotamian heartland of the Arab-Islamic state. As a result of the rapid establishment of madrasahs, Islamic sciences and learning in general made a great leap. The madrasahs continued their development into the Ottoman Empire, and produced many great scholars. In this regard Evliva Celebi has spoken of many madrasahs in his Seyahatname wherever he travelled. With regard to Mosul, he described notable scholars and the education in this city as being s very significant, but the information he gave was not detailed. However, information about some places of knowledge and madrasahs in Seyahatname is new and important for historians, because this information is not available in other sources, and the profound influence of these institutions on education over the following centuries has not been explored (Ahmed, 2019).

By the mid-16th century there was a fully-fledged Ottoman education system in Mosul, including schools and many madrasahs. The latter included specialist madrasahs for reading Quran (*dâr'ul- kura*), and studying the Prophet Mohammad's tradition (*darul-hadis*). Such centers of Islamic studies had existed for a long time before the Ottoman period in Mosul, but they continued to flourish under Ottoman patronage and support until the 20th century and the end of Ottoman rule in the province. Traditional madrasah teaching was mainly centered within or around mosques (Alpaslan, 2014), but the Ottoman Empire introduced several independent schools in the provinces (including

Mosul) under its official educational system, including primary schools (*mektebi sıbıyan*), *dar'ul-kura*, *dar'ul-hadis*, and colleges of higher learning (*kulliyah*), alongside the traditional Islamic madrasahs attach to mosques. Moreover, darvish lodges also imparted knowledge, and some hospitals taught medical subjects from the Seljuk period onwards (Ahmed, 2019). Educational life in Mosul undoubtedly improved during the Ottoman era, and the local institutions were contemporary in terms of existing knowledge at the time. This reflected the pro-education ethos of Islamic civilization and the great importance local people attached to them.

Education in Mosques

Mosques in Mosul were used for most educational activities in addition to prayer. Mosque communities sought to improve their thinking and knowledge, and the people of Mosul used the mosque for many activities (Alpaslan, 2014). The al-Agawat Mosque was the first mosque built by the Jalilian family, local rulers and Ottoman officials in Mosul. Ismael Aga, Ibrahim Aga, and Halil Aga, and the grandsons of ^cAbdul Jalil, built many mosques by 1703, and the Pasha Mosque was one of the largest mosques in Mosul, founded by the Governor Muhammad Amin Pasha in 1755 on the advice of his father Husayin Pasha al-Jalili. Al- Rabeha Mosque was instituted by Rabeha Hatun bint Ismael Pasha al-Jalili's endowment. Al- Ziwani Mosque, built by Sulayman Pasha in 1779, was the largest and most extensive mosque in Mosul until the Al-Nabi Shith Mosque, built by the governor Ahmad Pasha Al- Jalili in 1815. Restoration and expansion work was continuous on many mosques in Mosul. In the year 1797, Nu^cman Pasha al- Jalili demolished the small Alsarajhana mosque and built a new complex there that became one of the largest mosques in the city, with an attached school and library (Ra'uf, 1975). In addition, Amin al- Omeri counted 18 congregational mosques, 300 smaller prayer halls, and 14 madrasahs and schools.

Education in Dervish Lodges

Many dervish lodges existed throughout Mosul province and all offered some kind of education, with some becoming noted educational centers (Ra'uf, 1975). There were many lodges in Mosul in the 16th and 17th centuries, such as those of İmâm Shemseddin Jemmâs bin İmâm Muḥammed, İmâm °Abdullah bin °Omer, İmâm Musa Kâzım, İmam İsma^cil, İmâm °Omer, İmam bin Ḥassan, İsa Dede, İmâm Yaḥya bin Ebul-Qasım, and

Zeyad bin Ali (BOA. TT-d., no. 998, s. 85, 87, 88 'BOA. TT-d., no. 308, s. 176,177,179 'BOA. TT-d., no. 195, s. 144,146, 147, 'BOA. TT-d., no.660, s. 255-257,269). Some of these lodges had libraries, and all hosted travelling scholars passing through between Iraq and the West, who would deliver lectures during their sojourn in Mosul (Gündüz, 1998). We can say that the lodges in Mosul were used as educational places to teach students, especially Islamic studies, and they played a leading role in this regard.

Hospitals and Medical Schools

There were many hospitals and medical schools in Mosul, as in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. Mosul province had a professional Medical School (*madrasah darulshifa*) which had a teaching hospital, with teachers treating patients, preparing drugs, and instructing medical students (Ra'uf, 2011). In Mosul, Çelebi only noted the presence of surgery teachers (Evliya Çelebi, 2000).

Madrasahs and Schools in Mosul

Primary schools for children provided basic literacy and Islamic education, and mosques often had such schools (Alpaslan, 2014). During the Atabegs of Mosul, there were 17 madrasahs which existed and served the city, although Gündüz (1998) only mentioned two by name from the period 1523-1639: (1) the Madrasah of Hoca Qasim (near the mosque of Nureddin Shehid, which was destroyed then repaired in 1557 under the name of the Madrasah of the Falcon), which was financed by the incomes of many villages as an endowment, including the provision of salaries for the teachers and an allowance for the students; and the Madrasah of Sheikhul Balad, which is known only from Ottoman mention of this institution in 1523.

When Evliya Çelebi visited this city, merely described its schools as "*mektebi dârü' ta 'lîm sıbyân*", and mentioned that they were founded for the education of children, teaching basic reading, writing, and Islamic Education. He described the primary school in the Castle of Tikrit as part of Viliyat-i Mosul in a similar fashion, as a children's school with a normal madrasah for Islamic studies (Evliya Çelebi, 2000). However, other literal accounts note the presence of other madrasahs associated with key mosques, such as the Madrasahs of Prophet Yunus, Prophet Jerjis, and Nuraddin Shehid. For detailed information about these institutions, see Ahmet Gündüz's dissertation (Gündüz, 1998).

Evliya Çelebi recounted the names of many other schools not considered madrasahs that existed in Mosul in his time, such as the school of scholars, the *dâru'l-kurrâ*, *dâru'l-hadîs*, the schools of lodges, and surgical schools (Evliya Çelebi, 2000). The Ottoman Archives mentioned many schools that existed in the 17th and 18th centuries in Mosul, such as the schools of Sindi Efendi bin Mohammad (BOA. AE. SMST. III. 4. 229), Nuri Mosque (BOA. 36. 2685), Sheikh Huzan (BOA.36. 2685), and the Prophet Yunus School and Prophet Sheed School. Many schools provided food and accommodation for students from their endowments (BOA. İ.HUS. 67. 52), which were donated either by prominent local families or by the Ottoman Sultans and other notables of the Empire.

In the Tikrit Sanjaq in Mosul province some schools existed by the time Evliya Çelebi travelled there, but he did not give information about them. The Ottoman Archives provide extensive information (BOA. 12. 892), due to the great direct funding the Ottoman Treasury provided for such institutions (BOA. 12. 892; BOA. 12. 892. 3), such as the Tughay School, endowed by the Ottoman Waqf in 1119 Hijri by Sheikh Ali Efendi (BOA. MA.D. 1119) to see the figure go to page 32. It is clear that the Ottomans gave great importance to madrasahs and education regardless of the ethnicity of their subjects.

Colleges

These were many higher educational institutions in Mosul which served to develop education (Alpaslan, 2014). The Ottoman Archives mention two colleges in Mosul province: the College of Nabi Yunus and the College of Nabi Jerjis. The incomes of several villages were devoted to their upkeep by the Ottoman Empire (BOA.TT-d., no. 998, s. 85-87 'BOA.TT-d., no. 195, s. 145-146 'BOA.TT-d., no. 308, s. 179 'BOA. TT-d., no. 660, s. 237-245). However Evliya Çelebi did not given any information about them. It might be that Evliya Çelebi counted these colleges as mosques, or that he simply did not manage to see and explain everything in Mosul. However, these were major colleges that existed until the 18th century (BOA.AE.SMST. II.13.1298).as well as important Christian institutions operating within the framework of Ottoman governance.

The College of Nabi Yunus

This College is located at the mosque of Nabi Yunus, which is at the east side of the Tigris River. Originally a monastery and then a church, during the Abbasid Caliphate c. 892-901 it was rebuilt by Mu⁺taz Billa as the Mosque of Prophet Yunus. It was subsequently expanded over time, with an endowment of three villages amounting to 16,186 akçe in 1523, rising to 30,964 by 1540, and 53,010 by 1575 (Gündüz, 1998). The great expansion in the College revenues is partly attributable to many of its teachers donating a third of their property to it as an endowment after their death (BOA.AE.SMST.II .00013.01298.001), to see the figure go to page 31.

The College of Nabi Jerjis

This College, located between the New Mosque (Camii Nuri) and the Bridge Gate, has existed since the 3rd Hijri century, and it became a College in 1393 AH. The Ottoman Empire provided the income of Tilkafe village as a foundation for it (Gündüz, 1998). Each day it was provided 20 akçe to cover necessary spending (BOA.AE.SMST.II. 00013.01298.001) to see the figure go to page 30. It was repaired in 1112 AH and 12,512 akçe was donated to its foundation (BOA. IE.EV.27/3671), to see the figure go to page 29.

Madrasahs

Under the Ottoman state and the local Jalili dynasty Mosul enjoyed a long period of relative calmness and stability conducive to learning, unlike the chaotic periods of the Ilhani Turkmen state and Iranian state authority. This enabled a scientific revolution and great efforts to raise the level of education and science of schools. According to Dawood Chalabi's Mahtutât Al Mosul (1927), there was a much needed scientific school in Mosul during the Ottoman Era, with many independent Islamic schools or madrasah mosque appendages. Most of the schools were built by princes and philanthropists as endowments.

Among the most famous schools were Pasha School, Rabi[°]a School, Othman School, and Yaḥya Pasha School. The most famous teachers in those schools were great scientists, including Sheikh Yusuf al-[°]Omari (Hilali, 1959). Mosul was also noted as an important center for religious schools and they were provided with all the books and money they needed from charitable donations. These included schools built by Isma[°]il Pasha and his brothers Ibrahim Aġa and Ḫalil Aġa, the sons of [°]Abdul Jalil bin Malikah Al-Haṣakfi, in the courtyard of Al-Aġwat Mosque in 1702; the school of Ḥaji Maḥmoud bin °Ali Al-Nuumat, built in 1708; the school of Muḥammad Aġa al-Sahrati, built in 1715; the school that Ismael Pasha bin °AbdulJalil built in the courtyard of the Prophet al-Jarjis Mosque in 1716 to teach the Quran and Quranic studies; and the school of Yasin Affendi al-Mufti al-Mousli (d. 1722) (Ahmed, 1992).

In 1755 Mosul was already seen as an eminent city of learning, which was why Gazi Muḥammad Amin Pasha al-Jalili built a school in the Al-Pasha Mosque, upon the recommendation of his father Ḥussein Pasha, known as al-Aminiat School. In 1778, Suleiman Pasha al-Jalili School was reconstructed, with a new library of 400 books. Rabeha Ḫatun bint Isma^cil Pasha al-Jalili established the House of Teaching Quran in the mosque that she built in 1766, and the first student there was Sheikh al-Kura. Its lessons were not limited to Quranic sciences only, and extended to a broader curriculum.

Suleiman Pasha al-Jalili participated in building a large mosque at the shrine of one of his parents in 1779, to which he added a school for teaching different sciences, a house for teaching the Holy Quran, and another one for teaching the prophet narration.

Maḥmoud Pasha al-Jalili built a school in the Al-Maḥmoudin Mosque and provided a library for it in 1796. Nuchman Pasha al-Jalili built a large mosque contemporaneously, finished in 1798, and he built a school in it to teach traditional sciences, including a library (Ra'uf, 1975).

Firdaus Hatun and her husband, Hassan Pasha al-Jalili, were building a school known as Husayniyah in 1816. Ahmad Pasha al-Jalili also established a major school, which was attached to the Mosque of the Prophet Shith' in 1815, which was under construction and expansion until recent time; according to Yassin al-°Omari, "There is no other mosque like this mosque in Mosul".

The Mahmudiyah School was established by Mahmoud Aga and his sister Fathia Hatun for studying science. Haji Zakaria Al-Tajir founded a school and placed 200 book shelves in it in 1786. Other schools was built in the same period like School of Al-Nukandi Mosque, School of Bab al-Toub Mosque, ^cOthman Al-Hatib School, Ibn Al-Habbar School, Al-Haznadar School, and others (Ra'uf, 1975). Al -Nurriyâ School, the Al- Niẓamiyâ School, and the Al- Badriya School continued their motivational activities in the city. The most famed religious schools in Mosul during this period were Aḥmadiya School, yahīa Pasha School, Al- Younsiya School, Al- Nuri Mosque School, Al- Ḫuzamiya School, Al- Aminiya School, and the Jarjisiya School (Ahmed, 1985).

It can be said what distinguished education in Mosul during this period was its independent schools system, which were not attached to mosques, unlike in Baghdad for example, where the schools were completely subsumed in mosque administration. In the independent schools built in Mosul, such as Al- Husayniya School, Yahīa Pasha al- Jalili School, and the Zakariya Al- Tajir School, educators had more scope to focus on education per se, having their own independent endowments and functions dedicated to teach (Ra'uf, 1975).

The Role of Churches

Mosul was basically an Assyrian Christian city before the Arab-Islamic conquests of the 7th century, and its many religious establishments, churches, and monasteries were protected under Muslim rule in the subsequent centuries, extending most neighborhoods of the city and beyond. While the educational establishments of the mainstream Islamic institutions were generally open to non-Muslims, particularly to study non-theological subjects such as medicine etc., the Christian community infrastructure continued to provide education for the local Christian population, either with official schools and colleges such as those mentioned above, or in less institutionalized forms of learning provided in normal religious buildings.

In the 18th century it was estimated that Mosul had about 13 churches, including two attributed to the °Azra (Church of the Virgin Mary). One was called Al-Țahira, which was among the most important churches of Mosul in this period, located on the northern side in the city close to the city wall. The other was called Al-Țaḥtaneyah, to be distinguished from its pure neighborhood of Al-Fawkaniyah. The former was Nestorian, and the latter Jacobin (Syrian Orthodox).

Sham^chun Al-Ṣafa Church in the neighborhood of Mayassa is among the oldest Chaldean churches in Mosul, built in the name of the Apostle Boutros (Peter). The Aḥduma Church is decorated with prominent marble motifs and writings on its doors, and the Church of Saint Betheon includes a small house, an altar, and one temple. The church of Mar Ash^eya, which was in the past a monastery of Yash^eubat Barkusi, was established in the 6th century (Ra'uf, 1975).

CHAPTER FOUR CENTERS OF EDUCATION IN MOSUL

Language

The Ottoman Empire was a multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic tapestry, and within Mosul numerous languages were spoken, including Kurdish, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, in addition to local dialects such as Suriyani and Ibri. Evliya Çelebi described the languages of the people of Mosul (he identified as being primarily Kurdish in ethnicity) thus:

The people of Mosul are resourceful and understand many languages. This ability came from their parents, who talked in Kurdish, and some of them speak Persian. Moreover, they sing an Arabic song and express Arabic words like original Arabs. In addition, they use the Armenian language, which is close to the Kurdish language. For example, when they say "O my eyes!" it means you are a close brother (Evliya Çelebi, 2000).

We can say that many languages were spoken in Mosul in the 17th century because the people of Mosul themselves were proficient linguists and keen scholars of languages, and because many nations were living in major urban centers such as Mosul. Linguistic science was popular in Mosul, especially during the Ottoman's period. The scholars in Mosul gave particular importance to Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman languages, producing many notable scholars. Mahmood al-Mosuli (d. 1671) wrote a treatise on grammar. al-Sheih Halil bin ^cAli Al Başir, (d. 1762) wrote on calligraphy and Arabic grammar, including *al- Dawr al-Manżuma wal Ṣurr al- Mahtuma*, which consists of 300 paragraphs (Ra'uf, 1975). Halil bin ^cAli al- Başyr (d. 1762) wrote on calligraphy and Arabic grammar.

Salih Al-Sa^chdi (d. 1829), a writer working in Yaḥyā Pasha al-Jalili's office also worked on Arabic grammar and literature. He wrote a commentary on al-Suyuti's book (al- Tafsir). Amin al-^cOmeri (d. 1787) wrote a book about grammar, and ^cIlm al-Qaridh al-Manahl al- Ṣafiya fi ^cIlmi al-^cRuz u al-Qafiyat, and second book named. Ibn Malik wrote al-Alfiyet Ibn Malik (Ahmed, 1992). Sheih Muştapha Al- Darir wrote a book on Arabic grammar named *Al- Naḥwa*, and *Tanķiḥ Talḥis al Nakt*, on the knowledge of meaning and statement "al- Ma^cani wa al- Bayan" (Ibrahim, 1992).

Quran and Hadith

Naturally Quran and Hadith were the two most fundamentally important disciplines of knowledge in Islamic societies, and they were represented in Mosul. Many scholars prepared many students and wrote books in this field, for instance Sheikh Hzer bin 'Ața'ullah al-Mosuli wrote Al-Es'af: Sharh Abiyat al- Qazi wal Kushaf (Ahmed, 1992). Some known families gave importance to this science, such as: Âl-al- Omeri, Âl- al-Fahry, Âl- Yasin Efendi. In addition, the family of Al-Jalil played great role in giving importance to this knowledge. Amin al-Omeri was one of the greatest scholars in Mosul who wrote two books in this field: Tijan al- Tibiyan fi Mushkilat al- Quran, which talks about some issues and definitions in the Quran, and Hada'ek al-Zahr wal Rihan fi al-Bayan 'alâ Balagat Quran al- Karim, which talks about the reality of the Quran and its exoteric and esoteric meanings. Ibrahim bin 'Abdullah al-Mosuli (d. 1746) wrote Tabşr al Mubtadi' Wa Tazkirat al-Muntahi and Al-Rasim 'Alâ Tartib Surah al-Quran al-'Azim. Hassan Pasha Bin al-Haji Hussain Pasha al-Jalili wrote Tartib al-Hassan in 1783 (Ra'uf, 1975). This summarized many commentaries on the Quran, and provided many scholars in statistic and others in volume and chapters of Quran in the new centuries.

Hadith scholars from Mosul included Mohammad bin Ahmad al-°Omeri, who wrote Azhar al- Mu'minin min Kalam Sayed al- Morsalin Muntahab min Ṣaḥiḥ Imam al-Muslimin, and Yosuf bin Molla 'Abdul Jalil al- Mosuli, who wrote Al-Estishfa' Bi Aḥadith al- Mustafa. Sayed Sharafaddin Ismael bin Mohammad bin Dervish al-Huseyni al- Mosuli wrote Muh taṣar al- Targhib wal- Tarhib (Ahmed, 1992).

It can be seen that the knowledge of Quran and Hadith was given importance by the scholars in Mosul and they provided many books in these fields; the fact that they had the confidence and assuredness to disseminate their scholarly opinions on these fundamentally important subjects in Islamic civilization indicates the high level of scholarship in the city.

Fiqh and Usul al-Fiqh

Mosul provided many Muslim scholars of jurisprudence. Sheikh ^cAbdullah al-Rabtaki (d. 1746) wrote many books on Fiqih, the most popular of which was *Manahij fi Bayan Aḥkam al- ʿAshir wal-Ḫaraj*. Mustafa Efendi al-Żarir bin Molla Luțfi al-Mosuli (d. 1774) wrote many books in this field, including *Al-Dur al-Muḥtar*. Fatwa collections were published by Sheikh Nuʿman bin ʿOthman al-ʿOmeri (*Al-Fatawi al-Nuʿmaniyah*) and Amin al-ʿOmeri (*Al-Fawa ʾed al-Manthurah fi al-Fatawy al-Maʾthura*). Besides that, Yaḥya Efendi al-Mosuli, the Ottoman Mufti of Mosul, was a renowned Fiqh scholar (Ra'uf, 1975).

Based on the information above, we can say that the knowledge of Fiqh and Usul al-Fiqh was popular in Mosul, and there were many scholars writing in Fiqh. This reflected the general culture of learning and the ubiquitous thirst of Muslim citizens for Fiqh answers to their daily questions.

Medicine

This science was given importance by the scholars in Mosul. Al-Haji Mohammad ^eAbdali (d. 1750) was one of the great doctors and he was the head of physicians in Mosul by that time. He was known in this field because he had many books and students. Yasin bin Hairullah had a book on medicine under the name *al-Harida al-eArabiya*. Mohammad Amin (d. 1722) had many writings about medicine and was patient it (Omeri, 1967). In addition, Mohammad al-Chelebi (d. 1846), translated a book from Latin language to Arabic under the title *al-Tub al-Jadid al-Kimiyawi* (Ahmed, 1992). In addition, the Italian doctor Fransis Torian, a missionary and physician, pioneered modern Western medicine in Mosul before establishment the Dominican School, which subsequently provided many important medical services and produced graduated physicians. This School served the whole community in Mosul, regardless of religious identity (Ahmed, 1985). Mosul was an importance center to study and practice medicine in the region, and its medical graduates were eagerly invited to serve in other cities (Ra'uf, 1975).

Astronomy and Mathematics

Astronomy and mathematics were popular throughout Mesopotamia since the dawn of civilization, and in the 17th century Mosul was a noted center. Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* provides important information about astronomy in Mosul, usually under the term for astrology, "علم النجوم". Evliya Çelebi also referred to astronomers as owners of astrolabes: "according to Molla Bahshi, who is the owner of Usturlab [sic], the stars..." (Evliya Çelebi, 2000). In the 18th century Mosul had many scholars in this field, such as al-Sheikh Salim al-Wa^eth al-Mosuli (d. 1747), the teacher of Abu al-Barakt Jamaladdin ^cAbdullah bin Ḥusain (d. 1761) (Ahmed, 1985). Mohammad al-^cAbdali also gave importance to environment and wrote two books named *Tathkirat Uli al-Albab fi Istiq^o al-cAmal al-Usturlab*, and *al-Salj wa al-Jamd wa al-Bard*, which talks the reasons for rain and its relationship with the clouds (Ahmed, 1985). Moreover, ^cAbdullah al-Faḥri (d. 1784) wrote several books on the science of astronomy, such as *Tasri^c al- Awrak fi Sharḥ al-Aflak* and *Kitab Sawaniḥ al-Qariḥat fi Sharḥ al-Safiḥat* (Ahmed, 1992).

In the knowledge of algebra, Amin al-^cOmeri (d. 1788), wrote a book under the title *Thari^cat al-Ţulab fi Mahrifat al-Ḥisab*. In addition, Mohammad bin Amin al-^cOmeri published *Risalat fi ^cilm al-Ḥisab* in 1872, a 14-page poem talking about the structure of algebra and its definition.

Tasawwuf

Tassawuf is an Arabic term for the process of realizing ethical and spiritual ideals in addition, Sufism is the science of purification of the heart from bad attributes, to fill it with a good nature and clean the human soul (Alpaslan, 2014). Mosul was noted for its Sufism, and improving this knowledge (Ahmed, 1992). Sheikh Mohammad bin Ahmed al- °Omeri wrote two books in this field, *Azhar al- Aqdasi³ fi al- °Ulum al-llahiyat, and Kuat al- Ashkin.* Ali al- Kadri al- Jahfari (d. 1787) wrote two books, *Keshefe al- Muhadarat fi Hab³ al-Ma^csharat* and *Sa^cadat al- Darein fi al- Salat wal Salam °Ala Sayed al- Kawnayen* (Ra³uf, 1975).

History

Local historians mainly sought to combine the history of Mosul with other places of Iraq. The Jalili family gave great importance to this topic, particularly using history to establish their own role in Iraq in internal and Ottoman policy (Ahmed, 1992). The Jalili family encouraged historians to write history with several methods. For example, Gazi Amin Pasha al-Jalili suggested that Yaḥīa bin °Abduljalili (d. 1783) collect a pure history using sources available at that time, and Amin al-Ḥatib al-°Omeri wrote several histories, including *Siraj al- Muluk wa Manhaj al- Suluk, Manhal al- Awli³a wa Mashrab al-Asfi³a min Sadat al-Mosul al- Ḥadba*, and *Majmu° Shajarat al- Anbiya³ wa al- Muluk*, the latter of which recorded the names of rulers in Mosul, Baghdad and other places of Iraq under the Ottomans.

Yasin bin Hairullah al- Hatib al- Omeri (d. 1816) wrote many books in history, such as *al-Asar al-Jaliat fi al-Hawadis al-Arżya*, *Gara³ib al-Asar fi Hawadis Rub^c al-Karn al-Sals* Ashra, and *Gayat al-Maram fi Tarih Mahasn Baghdad dar al-Salam*. Ali bin Yasin al-Hatib al-Omeri wrote *Rawżat al- Ahbar fi Dhikr Afrad al- Ahiar*, a summary universal history with a chapter on the poets and writers of Mosul. Mohammad bin Mustafa al-Gulami (d. 1722) gave importance to translating historical books, and he wrote *Shamamat al-Anbar wa al-Zuhur al-Mu^canbar*. Husâmaldin ^cUsman al-Omeri (d. 1772) translated a book under the name *al-Rawż al-Nazar fi Tarjumet Adib³ al-^cAşr* (Ra'uf, 1975).

Poetry and Poets

There were some scholars and litterateurs such as Mohammad bin ^cAbdulwahâb Mosuli (d. 1671), who learned languages and studied literature, and the writer ^cAbdulrahman Alshyabany (d. 1706) (Ahmed, 1992) and poet Murad bin ^cAli ^cOmary (d. 1716). Murad bin ^cAli ^cOmary was a lecturer in the Nabi Yunus College, known for "Mahqul and Manqul" knowledge and Arabic, Kurdish, Persian, and Turkish (Omeri, 1974). Notable writers of the early 18th century included Sheikh Mustafa bin ^cAli al-Ġulamy (d. 1717), Basilios Isḥak al-Mously (d. 1721), ^cAbdulbaki bin Aḥmad a l-Mously (d. 1724), and al- Mula Jarjis bin Dervish (d. 1727) (Ahmed, 1992). Mohammad Mustafa bin ^cAli al-Ġulamy was a preeminent poet (Omeri, 1967). Yusuf al- Naib, the son-in-law of Yasin al- Mufti collected "positive and traditional sciences", which his far family trace returns to Kurdish family and taught many students (Ahmed, 1992). Literature in Mosul was essentially provincial and isolated from the metropolitan literary culture of the Ottoman heartlands (Ra'uf, 1975).

Music and Song

During the 17th century a notable musical development started. Sheikh Othman Al-Katib (d. 1732) was one of the most famous composers originally from Mosul (Albukri, 1972), along with the poet and composer Sheikh Qasim al-Rammi (d. 1772) (Omeri, 1967). Sheih Saadi bin Mohammad Amin was famous for his voice and songwriting (Ra'uf, 1975). Ahmad bin °Abdulrahman al- Mosuli wrote a treatise on music, *al-Dur al-SafI fi °IIm al-Musiki* (Mahfuz, 1985).

CJAPTER FIVE

THE ROLE OF NON-MUSLIMS AND TRAVELING FOR EDUCATION

The Dominican School

In the 1750, the Pope Benedict IV allowed Dominican monks to undertake a mission in Mosul, following the success of Al- Risalla Al- Kbushiya in 1724. These monks gathered donations and their first activities included opening a school in Mosul, focused on studying science and French. This school played a major role in the spread of science in the city, being open to both Christian and Muslim children, which helped raise the scientific and cultural level of the city. In 1860 this group established a printing press in the city, which was a great support for teachers and students in providing books and scientific resources printed in different languages such as Arabic, Chaldean, and French. Otherwise, they provided books for the school according to the needs of modern science, to facilitate studying and learning in the Mosul (Hilali, 1959). While Muslims studied "secular" subjects in Christian institutions, local Christians did likewise in Muslim institutions (Ra'uf, 1975).

Traveling for Education

There were many scholars from Mosul who travelled many places to get new knowledge and improve their education. They particularly travelled to Baghdad and Aleppo, which were the major centers close to Mosul and educated peopl. In addition, some scholars left Mosul to study in abroad. For example, Haji Mohammad Saeed al-Jawadi went to Damascus. Sheikh Mohammad bin Ahmed al-Omeri travelled to Damascus, Tarablus, Baghdad, and Yemen. Sheikh ^cAbdulrahim al- Faez went to Aleppo, Baghdad, Jerusalem, and Cairo, where he stayed for four years to study under Sheikh Mohammad al- Sanbawy's teachers. Upon his return, he came to the city of ^cAkka. The governor of the city (Ahmed Pasha al-Jazzâr) appointed him as imam of the mosque. Moreover, some missionaries played a great role to make educational relationships between Mosul and Catholic countries. In the mid-17th century Kasha Alyas al-Mosuly visited Rome, Marseilles, Spain, and Portugal. This pilgrim was a pioneering Eastern voyager who visited the West. He wrote of his travels to America in 1868 under the title *The First Eastern Tripper to America*. Kasha Hdir Kildany al-Mosuly visited Roma in 1724 and wrote many books such as the Kildany–Turkish

Dictionary, which provided 1340 words, and the Alkldan–Arabic Dictionary. These travellerss played an important role in disseminating modern education and facilitating the encounter between Mosul and the Western world (Ra'uf, 1975).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

To conclude this study, we consider that, the city of Mosul has an ancient history and the Sumerians are the first to inhabit it 4000 years ago. Also, Mosul was part of the Islamic state in the era of the caliphate of Omar bin Al-Khattab. Mosul played an important role in the era of the Ottoman Empire in terms of administration and finance.

On the science and education in Mosul, it may become evident to us that the city is of great importance to ancient and contemporary historians. And there were many schools, such as Nizamiye School, which was dedicated to Islamic sciences and knowledge in general. Evliya Çelebi was one of the travelers who visited Mosul and spoke about the many sciences and skills people possessed at that time.

Besides that, science and knowledge have a long history in Mosul and great importance for the people of Mosul. In the 18th century AD, there was a lot of interest in studying in the mosques, and the Al- Aghawat Mosque is considered the first mosque to be built by the Jalili family. People used to build mosques for prayer, and for the study of Islamic sciences.

In addition, the Darulshifa was founded in Mosul for education, educational purposes as well as patient treatments. The College of Prophet Yunus and the College of Prophet Georges were of great importance according to Ottoman documents. Mosul is a city for coexistence between different nationalities, speaking different languages such as speaking Arabic, Kurdish, Persian, Turkish, and in a variety of dialects.

Moreover, scholars have shown great importance in the various sciences in Mosul, such as the sciences of the Qur'an and Hadith, and many books have been written in these fields and students have been.

Hence, it seems to us that with the arrival of the Jalili family to power in Mosul in the 18th century, they had an important role in the development of science and knowledge

and the emergence of many scholars in the fields of astronomy, medicine, history, mathematics, etc. The matter did not stop here, but went beyond that to poetry, literature and study in Islamic schools. Many mosques and books were allocated for the benefit of people and they had a major role in the development of civil and culture in Mosul.

There were the Dominican school of Christian clerics in Mosul, who were spreading Christian thought and faith in the peninsula and Iraq. This study analyzed the Mosul area during the 18th century in terms of educational and other aspects. It's been clear that Mosul had a great importance to the Ottoman because of its important location. There were many different nations in Mosul and Muslims and non-Muslims existed there until now, and many scholars graduated from there as well as it considered as a great city in terms of education and business.

There were many different schools in Mosul dedicated for education and the developed hospitals and collages that made the Mosul so special in the view of others.

The Christians were studying in Islamic schools and learning science among Muslims. Mosul intellectuals used to go to other countries for education, and in that era, the Mosul people were heading to Europe in order to obtain science.

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The Ottoman archive belongs to the administrative situation of Mosul:

BOA. KK, Ruus Defter no 262, 265.

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The Ottoman archive belongs to Education in lodges:

BOA.TT-d., no. 998, s. 85, 87, 88

BOA.TT-d., no. 308, s. 176,177,179

BOA.TT-d., no. 195, s. 144,146, 147

BOA.TT-d., no.660, s. 255-257,269

The Ottoman archive about Madrasah and Scholl in Mosul:

BOA.AE.SMST. III. 4. 229

BOA.36. 2685

BOA.36. 2685

BOA.İ.HUS.67. 52

BOA.12.892

BOA.12.892

The Ottoman archive about Colleges:

- BOA.TT-d., no. 998, s. 85-87
- BOA.TT-d., no. 195, s. 145-146
- BOA.TT-d., no. 308, s. 179
- BOA.TT-d., no. 660, s. 237-245
- BOA.AE. SMST.II.13.1298

APPENDICES

BOA.IE.EV.27/3671

The Archive gives information on the economy situation of the College of Nabi Jerjis. It was repaired in 1112 AH and 12,512 akçe was donated to its foundation.

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The Ottoman Archive gives information about the economy status of the College of Nabi Jerjis. Each day it was provided 20 akçe to cover necessary spending.



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BOA.AE.SMST.II.00013.01298.001

The Ottoman Archive illustrates the great expansion in the College revenues is partly attributable to many of its teachers donating a third of their property to it as an endowment after their death



BOA.MA.D. 1119

This document shows the asking for repairing the Tughay School, which was endowed by the Ottoman Waqf in 1119 Hijri by Sheikh Ali Efendi.

صد ومطالب ولان مطل مال ومادب محتدافد سلطافر وتي نعم نظرادند معروض داع قلاعارى بود دكه موصلاه واقع طغاى 330 بابام مهوم شيخ علىفن فت محلولندن بوداعيل ينظلاف انها الدصعيل رديوا وزرس ف مأنام وحيف ايتميل سابقا مرجوم اولان شيز الاسلام اشا رتيله اوح سند مقدادى بوداعىلرى ابقاومتررابدوب كبجن وقعن مذكودا ولان تحديثام كمسذ يندخلاف أنها مدرسها و ذربدن الوب غل دوتعدَّى ايتُ سلطاغك الطاف عملرند ذرجاا ولنورك بوداعيلر شدكا لاؤل اشاد Le julas اللعروالانا

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