



The Contribution of Ottoman Rulers in Algeria to Cultural Endowments (Waqf)

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Abstract: This study examines the pivotal role of waqf (religious endowments) as the primary guarantor of the continuity of education and culture in Ottoman Algeria. In the absence of a centralized, state-funded education system, waqf served as a sustainable social and economic engine, supporting a vast network of kuttabs (traditional Quranic schools), madrasas (schools), and libraries. This study aims to highlight the individual contributions of Ottoman rulers in Algeria, particularly during the Dey period, to educational and cultural endowments, and the extent to which these contributed to the revival of intellectual centers in Ottoman Algeria. By documenting the endowments of Ottoman rulers in Algeria in these areas, the study reveals how Algeria maintained high literacy rates, a fact that impressed contemporary European travelers. This demonstrates that waqf was not merely a charitable act, but rather a strategic institutional framework that fostered the flourishing of religious and even intellectual sciences through private endowments, including those of the ruling classes.

Keywords: Endowments(Al-Waqf) - Ottoman Algeria- Rulers -Culture -Educational institutions.

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1. INTRODUCTION:

Education and cultural activity constituted essential components of Islamic societies, closely linked to religious values and social organization. Throughout Islamic history, the Waqf (pious endowment) system played a central role in sustaining educational institutions, ensuring their continuity through financial autonomy and shielding them from political instability.

In Ottoman Algeria (1519–1830), education evolved within a decentralized administrative framework in which the central authority did not directly supervise educational affairs. Contrary to colonial and some modern historiographical narratives that portray this period as marked by intellectual stagnation, historical evidence indicates the existence of a vibrant educational landscape supported primarily through endowments. Mosques, Zawiyas, Kuttabs, madrasas, and libraries formed an interconnected network that provided religious, linguistic, and, to a lesser extent, rational sciences across urban and rural areas.

Although the Ottoman state did not institutionalize education as a centralized public service, this absence of direct control did not imply neglect. Rather, the Waqf system functioned as a substitute institutional framework, financing schools, remunerating teachers, supporting students, and preserving scholarly infrastructure. Ottoman rulers in Algeria—particularly Deys and Beys—actively contributed to this system through personal endowments, reflecting a governance structure in which public authority and private patronage were closely intertwined.

This study examines the contribution of Ottoman rulers in Algeria to scientific and cultural endowments, focusing on educational institutions and libraries. Adopting a historical-analytical approach and drawing on archival documents, Waqfiyyat, local chronicles, and European accounts, the article seeks to reassess

the role of Ottoman authority in fostering educational life and to offer a more balanced understanding of Algeria's intellectual landscape prior to the French conquest.

2. EDUCATION IN ALGERIA DURING THE OTTOMAN ERA:

Scientific and cultural endowments are regarded as among the most virtuous acts of devotion to Almighty God. Consequently, the Islamic Ummah, throughout its history, has accorded immense importance to educational projects, and historically, mosques served as the primary loci within Islam for hosting scholarly circles (Halaqat). Subsequently, schools (Madrasas) began to proliferate outside the mosque's confines, yet they remained intrinsically linked to it. (Yahia, 2005)

Education in Algeria during the Ottoman period was widespread, permeating almost all regions, despite the fact that the central authority did not directly assume the responsibility for educational affairs. A significant neglect of the educational and cultural spheres by the rulers is observable during periods of instability, particularly in the early stages of Ottoman rule—namely the eras of the Beylerbeys, Pashas, and Aghas. During these phases, the administration's primary preoccupation was maintaining political stability, conducting Jihad, and repelling European campaigns, as Algeria served as the western bastion (Thaghr) of the Islamic world. Consequently, the state did not allocate financial aid to education from its treasury, which had been exhausted by military endeavors. (Halim, 2008-2009)

However, this does not imply that the authorities and their figures neglected this aspect entirely; Waqf (endowment) institutions effectively replaced the state in patronizing education, supporting its institutions, practitioners, and students, serving as their primary financial resource. In addition to mosques and Zawiyas (Sufi lodges)—which engaged in education and culture alongside their religious roles (Hamouda, 2003)—a significant number of Kuttab (Quranic schools), madrasas, and scientific institutes flourished. These institutions predominantly provided religious education and took upon themselves the task of training imams, scholars, muftis, judges, and even scribes (Khojas) for the benefit of the state and its chancelleries (Diwans), both at the central level and within the Beyliks. Thus, they were the main suppliers of specialized personnel for various religious institutions (Turin, 1971).

The contribution of the Ottoman authority in Algeria was significant in this field, whether through the establishment of schools or endowing them, following the precedent set by mosques and Zawiyas. This was particularly evident during the era of the Deys, which was characterized by relative stability, where state officials contributed to supporting educational institutions as individuals (Bouabdelli, 1984). This phenomenon was not unique to Ottoman Algeria; most institutions established throughout various Islamic periods were individual initiatives by rulers. This pattern was consistent with the Ottoman Empire at large—both in the seat of the Caliphate and its subordinate provinces (Eyalets)—as it is impossible during this period to separate state officials from the governing systems, or the personal wealth of rulers from state funds. Furthermore, the Ottoman authorities and their figures in Algeria did not hinder cultural movements; on the contrary, they were distinguished by their profound respect for knowledge and scholars. (Berkat, 2008)

From this perspective, it cannot be argued that the management of religious and cultural aspects was left to chaos or randomness. Rather, they followed a unified pattern observed across the Ottoman center and its Arab provinces. In addition to Jami' mosques, Zawiyas, Khawaniqas, and Ribats, institutions such as madrasas, institutes, and Kuttab performed educational functions. These were almost entirely dependent on Waqf allocated by either rulers or the public (İhsanoğlu, 1999). During this period, traditional institutions inherited from previous Islamic eras were meticulously preserved. (İhsanoğlu, 1999)

Alongside the Kuttab, there were higher schools (Madaris 'Ulya), which were often connected to mosques where lessons were frequently conducted. Education in these schools focused on literature (Adab), Maliki and Hanafi jurisprudence (Fiqh), and theology (Tawhid). This level of education was primarily the privilege of the affluent classes, producing teachers, scholars, jurists, muftis, and judges. The certificates granted at the time were known as Ijazas, which served as proof of their merit and scholarly attainment (Halimi, 1972).

Educational institutions during this era taught various religious sciences, led by profound scholars, alongside Arabic linguistic sciences such as grammar (Nahw), morphology (Sarf), and rhetoric (Balagha)—including the sciences of eloquence (Bayan), meanings (Ma'ani), and embellishment (Badi'), as well as prosody (Arud). Certain rational sciences were also taught, albeit more modestly, such as mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, medicine, botany, and zoology (Yahia Bouaziz).

Perhaps the most prosperous eras for education and culture in Algeria were the reigns of Dey Muhammad Othman Pasha, Bey Muhammad al-Kabir in the Western Beylik, and Salah Bey in the Eastern Beylik, all of whom exerted great efforts to advance education (al-Madani, 1886).

3. Endowments of the Ottoman rulers in Algeria for al-Katātīb (Quranic Schools):

The Kuttabs—or Msid, as they were commonly referred to in urban centers (Maama, 2016)—constituted the most widespread educational institutions in Ottoman Algeria, spanning both cities and rural districts. These were typically established by religious figures and memorizers of the Quran (Huffaz) (Dayf, 2007). Their numbers in Algeria reached approximately ten thousand, with some accommodating up to 300 pupils. Al-Jamai al-Fassi indicates that there were about one hundred such offices (Maktabs) in the city of Algiers alone (Belhamiss, 1972), while they were counted by the dozens in Constantine, Béjaia, and Tlemcen (Dayf, 2007). These institutions provided education for both male and female children. Those in charge of teaching were known as Talaba (students/scholars) in certain regions, and Fuqaha (jurists) or Mashayikh (sheikhs) in others (Bouaziz, Themes and Issues from the History of Algeria and the Arabs, 2001). The primary mission of these Kuttabs was the memorization of the Holy Quran, where children learned reading and writing using wooden tablets (Alwah), reed pens, ink, and clay. Often, these Kuttabs were annexed to the shrines of saints (Darihs), situated in shops, or attached to non-congregational mosques.

These Kuttabs were financed through Waqf (endowment) funds; some possessed their own dedicated endowments, while others relied on the endowments of larger mosques and Zawiyas, to which they were often affiliated. Notable examples include the Maktab of the Khidr Pasha Mosque (Naft, 2016) and the office annexed to the Zawiya of Sidi Mohamed al-Sharif. This implies that they benefited from various endowments, including those established by rulers from their private wealth. Among these were: Msid al-Sudan and the Sudan Street School—whose foundation plaque attributes it to Ali Pasha in 1125 AH / 1713 AD (Devoulx, 1867)—as well as the Jenina Square School and the Qaysariyya School. The latter is mentioned in a legal deed dating back to 1089 AH / 1678 AD, stating: "Al-Dayy al-Hajj Muhammad al-Dawlatli has testified that he endowed a shop in the Qaysariyya market to serve as a school for teaching children the Quran" (Hammoush, 2007). Another instance is the endowment by Muhammad Pasha Ibn Bakir (1748–1754 AD) (Ahmed al-Sharif al-Zahar, 1974), who bequeathed an orchard to the "New Maktab" adjacent to the Abdi Pasha Mosque in 1162 AH / 1748 AD, with its revenues dedicated to the teaching sheikh (Naft, 2016).

In addition, there were several small schools specifically for boys where they could learn reading, writing, and the principles of arithmetic (Wolf, 2009). Sources emphasize the abundance of primary schools across the Algerian territory, to the extent that almost no neighborhood in cities or villages was devoid of one. This observation greatly impressed foreign travelers visiting Algeria during this period, who noted the scarcity of illiteracy and the widespread nature of education among the populace (Hamouda, 2003).

While some observers counted dozens of schools, the exact number remains elusive. This ambiguity likely stems from the fact that some chroniclers included Zawiyas and mosques within the count of schools, while others did not. The consensus among a group of Western travelers was the existence of three major "Grand Schools," alongside approximately one hundred institutions ranging from primary schools to Kuttabs (Msids) in Algiers alone. As previously discussed, the functions of mosques and Zawiyas often overlapped with those of schools in the educational field (al-Jilali, 1972).

4. ENDOWMENTS OF THE OTTOMAN RULERS IN ALGERIA FOR MAJOR MADRASAS (THE HIGH SCHOOLS):

Although Algeria did not possess institutes of higher learning or Islamic universities comparable to Al-Azhar, Al-Qarawiyyin, or Al-Zaytuna, Venture de Paradis noted the existence of three "universities"

dedicated to teaching the Maliki rite in the city of Algiers alone during the 12th century AH / 18th century AD (Paradis, 1898). These institutions offered high-level courses and attracted scholars and professors from across the Islamic world (al-Jilali, 1972). The Grand Mosque (Al-Jami' al-A'zam) and its school were the preeminent centers for scholarly instruction in Ottoman Algeria, nearly forming the nucleus of an Algerian university (Lezgham). By the end of the Ottoman period, it employed nineteen professors and a substantial staff (Devoulx, 1867), housing a library rich in books and manuscripts (Halimi A. a.-Q., 1972).

John Paul Wolf (Woulf, P.J.) also cited these three higher schools, alongside numerous smaller schools where children acquired literacy and basic arithmetic (Wolf, 2009). Sources identify two of these three higher education institutions as the Madrasa of the Andalusians and the Qashashiyya Madrasa. Historical and archival records do not indicate that the Ottoman rulers of Algiers established specific endowments (Tahbis) for these two particular schools.

The third institution was the School of Shaykh al-Balad, also known as the Zawiya of Ketchaoua or Zawiya of the Shabarlia. This was a teaching Zawiya following the Hanafi rite and included various facilities, such as five student dormitories and a mosque (Devoulx, 1867). According to its foundational deed, it was established by Mr. Muhammad Khoja, a scribe at the Regency's Chancellery (Dar al-Imara), by order of Pasha Muhammad Othman in 1201 AH / 1786 AD. The Pasha allocated several endowments for it (Lezgham). The school also benefited from endowments bequeathed by Muhammad Khoja, as detailed in the Waqfiyya cited by Yassin Boudria: "...Mr. Muhammad Khoja, the State Treasurer (Daftardar), has testified... that he has bequeathed and endowed... the entire area of the aforementioned Funduq (inn) and its upper floor for the construction of a school..." (Yacine, 2020). The deed further stipulated financial allocations for teachers and resident students (Sa'adallah, 2003). Although it was a Hanafi institution, the founder did not mandate that the teacher must be of the Hanafi rite (Lezgham).

The Western Beylik also hosted a significant number of schools in its major cities, particularly Mazouna, Mascara, Oran, and Tlemcen, witnessing a notable cultural dynamism despite prevailing instabilities. The most prominent contributions in this region were initiated by Bey Muhammad al-Kabir, renowned for his patronage of knowledge. Among the most famous was the Mazouna School, established during the Ottoman era. It is considered one of the oldest schools teaching jurisprudence (Fiqh), Hadith, and scholastic theology (Kalam), serving as a destination for students from across the western regions. Equipped with residential facilities, it produced eminent scholars such as Abu Ras al-Nasiri, who studied under Sheikh Abu Talib Muhammad Ali al-Mazouni. Mazouna's reputation as a "City of Knowledge" was largely due to this school, which received renovations and repairs from Bey Muhammad al-Kabir. In 1212 AH / 1797 AD, he endowed it with a copy of Sahih Muslim and other scholarly works (Saadia Reggad, 2019).

In the same vein, Bey Muhammad al-Kabir constructed two other schools, as mentioned by Al-Mazari: "He was a lover of students, and thus he built for them two schools: the first in Mascara and the second in Oran" (al-Mazar, 1990). The school in Mascara was the Muhammadiya Madrasa, likely built concurrently with the Ain al-Bayda Mosque in 1196 AH / 1781 AD. It functioned as a higher institute; Ibn Sahnoun al-Rashidi remarked that "knowledge almost erupted from its corners." The Bey equipped it with all necessities, including a library, student dormitories, and teachers. He also built an adjacent library filled with rare books, designated as an endowment, while encouraging manuscript copying and authorship (al-Rashidi, 2003). Its administration was entrusted to the head of the Shura Council, the scholar Muhammad al-Jelani (Farkous, 1982). Specific endowments were established for it, as noted by Ibn Zurfa: "Bey Muhammad al-Kabir resolved to construct it, spending lavishly, bringing in water, and designating endowments for it" (al-Dahawi, 2003). Leclerc also noted its foundational inscription: "...this is a statement of the endowments... of Mr. Muhammad Bey... for the Grand Mosque... which he founded and built along with the Hayta School". Furthermore, the Bey allocated funds for the monthly purchase of oil for every room in the school and provided fixed salaries for the student provost and those who corrected their tablets.

Regarding the second major institution, it is the Bey's Madrasa, founded at Khanq al-Nattah in Oran between 1207-1208 AH / 1793 AD. Bey Muhammad al-Kabir allocated substantial funds for its establishment (Yahia, 2005). Al-Mazari described it as "the illustrious and magnificent madrasa built at

Khanq al-Nattah, which houses his mausoleum and is still known today as "The Madrasa" (al-Mazar, 1990). It was one of the preeminent scientific centers of its time, attracting elite instructors and students from all regions, for whom the Bey provided provisions and necessary scholarly resources.

Furthermore, Bey Muhammad al-Kabir strictly monitored the Waqf (endowments), ensuring they were protected from encroachment. In Tlemcen, a city famous for its institutes and schools during the Zayyanid era but which had lost its scientific luster due to Ottoman-era conflicts, historical sources indicate that five large secondary schools existed alongside smaller ones (al-Wazzan, 2018). The cultural and scientific movement in Tlemcen witnessed a revival under Bey Muhammad al-Kabir, who breathed new life into its historically renowned schools (al-Rashidi, 2003). Documented records show that he meticulously tracked the endowments of two Tlemcen schools that had been usurped by private hands to the point that their status as Waqf was forgotten. He restored their original lands and added new endowments (Sa'adallah, 2003). Ibn Sahnoun al-Rashidi observed: "He renovated the two ancient schools of Tlemcen and revived what time had extinguished of their traces... he tracked their endowments which had been seized by plunderers until no trace of their endowment status remained... he found many lands and reinstated them for the benefit of the institutions" (al-Rashidi, 2003).

Emerit mentioned that Tlemcen housed 50 schools during the early years of the French occupation, including two for higher education: the Grand Mosque Madrasa and the Awlad al-Imam Madrasa (Émerit, 1954). These are likely the two institutions whose endowments were restored by Bey Muhammad al-Kabir.

A similar trend was observed in the Beylik of the East, where Beys established primary and secondary schools. Notable bourgeois families in Constantine also contributed to founding schools, despite al-Wartilani's earlier criticism regarding the decline of knowledge and the lack of endowments (al-Wartilani, 1908). This educational landscape shifted significantly during the reign of Salah Bey. By the time of the French invasion, Constantine possessed approximately ninety primary schools (Sa'adallah, 2003).

Constantine experienced its scientific golden age under Salah Bey, one of the Ottoman rulers most dedicated to cultural development. His establishment of the Sidi al-Kattani Madrasa in 1202 AH / 1787 AD exemplifies his commitment to elevating his subjects (Vayssettes, 2019). The school was named after a 12th-century AH saint, Sidi al-Kattani, following the tradition of naming educational and religious sites after scholars and figures of perceived "baraka" (blessings) (Bourouiba, 1978). The curriculum included jurisprudence (Fiqh), arithmetic, grammar, and astronomy. It played a vital role in training a cadre of educated officials for the Beylik's internal administration, including muftis, judges, and imams (Halouch, 2010). Indirectly, Salah Bey also intended for this school to counter the influence of certain Sufi Zawiyas and brotherhoods (Turuqiyya).

This madrasa followed a strict internal code. Professors were appointed by the Bey himself and paid from the budget derived from endowments established by the Bey, state officials, and the wealthy. An overseer (Wakil) was appointed to manage these endowments with a salary of 8 riyals, a caretaker for cleaning and lighting at 7 riyals, while teachers received 30 riyals and students were granted 6 riyals each (Sa'adallah, 2003). Salah Bey registered most of his personal endowments in his private Sijill (ledger) specifically for the Kattani School and mosque, ensuring their continued operation even after his death (Guechi, 2009).

Salah Bey also established the Sidi al-Akhdar Madrasa in 1203 AH / 1789 AD in the Old Casbah, named after the adjacent mosque and its first scholar, Sheikh Sidi al-Lakhdar (Bourouiba, 1978). Salah Bey purchased the lands surrounding the mosque to build the school, featuring a courtyard surrounded by student dormitories. Its graduates included prominent figures such as the Hanafi Mufti Abd al-Qadir al-Rashidi and the Maliki Judge Sheikh al-Ayashi. Additionally, in February 1784 AD, he founded the School of Sheikh Sayyid Abi Qasi'a, endowing it with a collection of books.

5. ENDOWMENTS OF THE OTTOMAN RULERS IN ALGERIA FOR LIBRARIES (AL-MAKTABAT):

Libraries are among the cultural centers identified by Ibn Maimun, who categorized them into two types: Public and Private. These institutions were distributed across the major Algerian urban centers, serving as

destinations for students and scholars from various regions due to the richness of their collections. At the end of the 10th century AH / 16th century AD, Al-Tamgruti noted the abundance of books in the city of Algiers, stating: "The seekers of knowledge there are significant... and books are more available there than in other African lands; one finds many Andalusian books in particular".

Religious sciences dominated the collections, including jurisprudence (Fiqh), exegesis (Tafsir), Hadith, theology (Tawhid), principles of law (Usul), and linguistics. Conversely, works on arithmetic, medicine, astronomy, history, geography, and philosophy were less common (Sa'adallah, 2003). These collections were diverse in origin: some were authored or transcribed locally, while others were imported, particularly from Andalusia, Egypt, Morocco, the Hijaz, and Istanbul. Many were brought by newcomers to Algeria, including Ottoman officials such as Muftis, judges, and scholars, who often brought their personal libraries—particularly Hanafi jurisprudence texts—with them.

Libraries and books received substantial patronage from several Ottoman rulers in Algeria, who dedicated portions of their endowments to them. Indeed, the books themselves often constituted the core of these endowments (Waqf). The endowment of a book followed the same legal protocol as other assets, with the foundational deeds (Waqfiyyat) specifying that a particular volume was endowed "in the way of God for the seekers of knowledge" (Al-Zamala, 2022).

In the city of Algiers, the Grand Mosque housed a library teeming with books and manuscripts (Halimi A. A.-e.-K., 1972). The mosque's overseer (Wakil) and the Maliki Mufti were keen to enrich its collection, primarily with Maliki jurisprudence. This included acquisitions made by Mufti Sa'id Qaddoura in 1050 AH / 1640 AD using surplus endowment revenues (Devoulx, 1867). Devoulx, citing a manuscript by the Mufti's son, recounts that during one of the historical military assaults on the city, the mosque's books were moved to a secure location—a process that took three days and required two camels. Upon their return, the collection was estimated at twelve camel-loads (Hammoush, 2007).

The mausoleum of Sidi Abd al-Rahman al-Tha'alibi also held a collection of books endowed by Ahmed Pasha, including five volumes of Imam al-Bukhari, a volume of Al-Ulum al-Fakhira, twenty-seven parts of the Holy Quran, and the book *Tanbih al-Anam*.

The endowment of Quranic codices (Masahif) to mosques was a widespread practice (al-Sa'ati, 1996). Dey Baba Hassan endowed a Quran gifted to him by the Ottoman Sultan in 1684 AD to the Ketchaoua Mosque (Maamar, 2016). Professor Wafia Nafti notes an unidentified library to which Muhammad Pasha and the Beyt al-Malji (Treasurer) Bulbul Efendi endowed numerous books between 1753 and 1776 AD. Some of these were brought from Istanbul and written in Old Ottoman Turkish. Regarding the nature of these endowed books, they were varied, led by Quranic codices—essential to any library—followed by Maliki and Hanafi jurisprudence texts.

Hussein Pasha also demonstrated a keen interest in scholarship. Wafia Nafti identifies a library mentioned in a manuscript on Hanafi jurisprudence held at the National Library, which states: "This book was endowed by the late Khalil, son of the late Isma'il Khoja, to the treasury of books (Khizanat al-Kutub) built by Hussein Pasha, pursuant to a will found after his death...".

In the Western Beylik, one of the most prominent institutions was the Mazouna Library, which was rich in various sciences, mostly endowed by the Beylik's rulers (Loukil, 1912). This included Muhammad al-Kabir's endowment of a copy of Sahih Muslim and other works in 1212 AH / 1797 AD (Sa'adallah, 2003). Another notable collection was the library of Abu Ras al-Nasiri, also known as the "Egyptian Library," which was endowed to him by Bey Mustafa al-Ajami (al-Zayani, 2013). Bey Muhammad Ibn Othman additionally provided 100 riyals for its maintenance. (al-Zayani, 2013)

Ibn Hattal al-Tlemceni recorded that Bey Muhammad al-Kabir possessed a massive personal library (al-Tlemcan, 1969), spending vast sums to acquire rare and precious manuscripts. The same Bey established a library annexed to the Grand Mosque of Ain al-Bayda and its school, filling it with exquisite volumes and dedicating a specific building for its housing.

In Constantine, Salah Bey endowed a collection of books to the School of Sheikh Sayyid Abi Qasi'a upon its completion in February 1784 AD. Prior to this, in 1783 AD, he endowed a rare 7th-century AH manuscript of Ma'alim al-Tanzil by Al-Baghawi to the Sidi al-Kattani Mosque and School (Al-Zamala, 2022). Ibn Maimun noted that upon entering Constantine, the French found 17 private libraries containing approximately 14,000 volumes.

6. CONCLUSION:

In light of the aforementioned historical evidence, it is evident that the educational and cultural landscape in Ottoman Algeria was fundamentally sustained by the institution of Waqf (pious endowments). Although the central Ottoman authority did not initially adopt a formal, state-funded educational policy, the individual initiatives of rulers—particularly during the relatively stable Deylicate era and the reigns of enlightened Beys like Muhammad al-Kabir and Salah Bey—played a decisive role in reviving scholarly life.

It can be argued that the Ottoman administration succeeded in preserving the traditional educational structures inherited from earlier Islamic periods, such as the Zayyanid era, and integrating them into a broader Islamic network in the Mediterranean region.

The patronage of education was primarily a personal religious obligation on the part of the rulers, rather than a bureaucratic duty of the state. This blurred the lines between the "private funds" of the Bey or Dey and the public treasury, thus ensuring the continuity of the legacy of knowledge through legal waqf deeds.

While Algiers remained a pivotal center, the eastern and western emirates (Constantine, Oran, Tlemcen, and Mazouna) emerged as vibrant scientific centers, often rivaling the capital in the richness of their libraries and the prestige of their schools.

Beyond its religious value, the rulers used educational endowments as a tool for administrative development, by training judges, muftis, and scribes.

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