

PRIMARY EDUCATION UNDER THE MAMLŪKS:
TWO DOCUMENTS FROM THE ḤARAM IN JERUSALEM

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The starting point for these remarks on primary education under the Mamlūks was provided by two documents preserved at Jerusalem in the collection of mostly late 14th-century material, commonly known as the Ḥaram documents. The two pieces bear the numbers 3 and 49. The latter has not been published previously but the other, no. 3, has been edited by Kāmīl ‘Asalī (*JHD* I, 195-197). Both pieces concern a Qur’ān school, a *maktab*, established and funded by a Mamlūk emir in the last third of the 14th century, at all events before the year 780/1378-9.

Qur’ān schools were often endowed institutions, often as one part of a larger complex that could include mosque or madrasa, mausoleum and public fountain in addition to the *maktab*. It is surprising that Goldziher in his excellent article from early last century on Muslim education makes no mention of *waqfs* as an economic base for regular primary education (Goldziher 1912). Other schools were private enterprises run by an individual who received fees. The following are examples of private arrangements. Zayn ad-Dīn ‘Abdarrahmān ibn Dī n-Nūn (805-81/1402-76) is said to have undertaken “the education of the children in his home town [Gaza]. Many benefited from him because of the excellence of his instruction” (as-Sahāwī, *Daw’* IV, 78). A certain Ibn aš-Šahrūr (born 762/1361, died after 830/1426) “was a tutor of young children (*mu’addib al-atfāl*) at the entrance to the Friday mosque of Baalbek” (as-Sahāwī, *Daw’* IX, 4, no. 18). In Cairo a Mālikī scholar, who was a well-known reciter of the Qur’ān, earned his living by his reciting and by instructing children (*ta’dīb al-atfāl*). His son, showing career continuity, “collaborated with his father in instructing children in the Qur’ān”¹. Of course, it is not always clear whether these examples refer to the teaching of groups gathered in some location or whether the teachers were privately hired and brought into a particular domestic setting. The latter could be the case, as is shown by as-Sahāwī’s report that a Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdarrahmān “brought al-Biqā’ī to his house to instruct his children in the Qur’ān”². The scholar al-Biqā’ī’s own *tarğama* states that he earned his living “from notary work ..., as a copyist and from teaching children” (as-Sahāwī, *Daw’* I, 102). Similarly, in what was plainly a private arrangement, another ‘ālim had a special connection with the Emir Qığmas because he gave

¹ See as-Sahāwī, *Daw’* I, 99; IV, 261.

² as-Sahāwī, *Daw’* IX, 91 (no. 255). None of the four children had any scholastic success!

Qur'ānic instruction to his *mamlūks* (as-Saḥāwī, *Daw'* IX, 25). as-Saḥāwī adds one of his typically sour comments concerning this 'ālim, that "he was wise in the ways of the world, taking an interest in the rich and influential, acting as their teacher, even if they were not bright."

From soundings in as-Saḥāwī's biographical dictionary, I would hazard the opinion that the overwhelming majority of the people who merit an entry within it received their earliest education in a private context, either within their own families, from a father or an uncle or other relation, or from individual private tutors. The entries fall into a pattern. It is common to read that X was born in Y at such-and-such a date and studied the Qur'ān under so-and-so, frequently a relative. Never, as far as I can see, is "in such-and-such a *maktab*" added. It is also true that of those listed by as-Saḥāwī very few seem to have had a career as an elementary schoolmaster (*mu'allim* or *faqīh*).

Perhaps the preponderance of private schooling in as-Saḥāwī's record is only to be expected because the endowed *maktabs*, which were by their very nature charitable institutions, expressly targeted orphans, by presumption the needy members of society. Nevertheless, that social classes did meet, if not in the endowed schools then at least in some private ones, can be inferred from the continuing use that theoretical writings made of *ḥadīth* material which urged the equitable treatment of rich and poor students. A good example of this stress on equal treatment for rich and poor students is found in the writings of the 14th-century Ibn al-Ḥāḡḡ (*Madḥal* II, 94, ll. 25 ff). It is also worth recalling that the historian of Jerusalem, Muḡīr ad-Dīn al-'Ulaymī, tells us that, after having had a private tutor at the age of six, by the age of ten he was studying the Qur'ān in a *maktab* at the Bāb an-Nāzir (al-'Ulaymī, *Uns* II, 188, 237).

Inevitably more is known about the higher-profile endowed schools, which were founded throughout the Mamlūk state. Schools were established by sultans, emirs, administrators and merchants. Our knowledge of them comes from literary sources and more rarely from the details of the original endowment documents, the *waqfiyyas*. Typically the appointed teachers received a monthly salary (*ḡāmaḳiyya*), a daily bread ration and a set of clothes in winter and summer. The orphan pupils also received a daily bread ration and not infrequently some maintenance money. There were also other benefits distributed at the important annual Muslim festivals.

Educational theory and the practice of the primary *maktabs* were not likely to have been much of an issue in the Mamlūk period. There was a general agreement that the syllabus should concentrate on a basic literacy and numeracy and the memorisation of the Qur'ān. It is true that in Ibn Ḥaldūn one does find a discussion about the practices of different parts of the Islamic world, dealing with the question of to what extent a concentration on, or primacy accorded to, the study of the Qur'ān was desirable and whether it was a sounder practice to start pupils on other subjects so that, for instance, they might gain a solid knowledge of literary Arabic before embarking on the Qur'ān (Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Muqaddima* 1038-1044; Rosenthal 1958: III, 300-

305). A much commoner attitude is likely to have been that expressed by as-Subkī. When dealing with what is proper practice for a Qur'ān-school teacher (there called *mu'allim al-kuttāb*) he wrote: "It is right for a teacher of the young not to teach them anything before the Qur'ān, and then after that the *ḥadīṭ* of the Prophet. He should not discuss matters of belief (*'aqā'id*) with them, but put these aside until they are properly fit for them" (as-Subkī, *Mu'īd* 185). The original *waqfiyya* of Sultan an-Nāṣir Ḥasan lays down that in the *maktab* attached to his foundation the teacher (*mu'ad-dib*) should teach the orphans "what they can manage to learn of the Noble Qur'ān and instruct them in what they are able to learn of the Arabic script and alphabet (*mā yaḥtamilūna ta'allumahu min al-ḥaṭṭ al-'arabi wa-ḥiḡā'ahu*)³. The *waqfiyya* of the Sultan Farāḡ ibn Barqūq lays down that the school master is to teach "the Holy Qur'ān, writing and arithmetic (*al-istiḡrāḡ*)" (Haarmann 1980:45, ll. 582 ff).

The two works of *ḥisba* which are relevant in terms of place and time, those of aṣ-Ṣayzarī (late 13th century) and Ibn al-Uḥuwwa (died 729/1329), follow the same broad lines when dealing with the qualifications and practice of a schoolmaster. Instruction should begin with the short *sūras* of the Qur'ān, writing and arithmetic are specified but also approved poetry and good examples of prose composition are included in the ideal syllabus. Gentle treatment of pupils and moderate punishment for misdemeanours are recommended and both authors stress the need for irreproachable morality on the part of the teacher. Indeed, Ibn al-Uḥuwwa states that it is preferable that he be married. Sultan Farāḡ's *waqf* document actually requires that the schoolmaster appointed should be married and also demands kind and gentle treatment, although I doubt that the acceptable chastisement would meet the approval of a modern school inspector⁴.

In comparison with grand royal foundations and those of emirs in Cairo the *maktab* which features in Haram document no. 49 was a minor affair. However, I know of no other document which puts one in touch with a modest provincial foundation, many examples of which existed perhaps in the smaller towns of Egypt and Syria. This document is a statement of account (dated 14 Rabī' II, 781/30 July, 1379) for a *maktab* in Jerusalem that was established by a certain Emir Faḥr ad-Dīn Iyās al-Manṣūrī. No information about this emir's career is available. At the date of the document he was clearly still living but the business connected with the administration of his educational endowment was transacted on his behalf by his *dawādār*, named Sayf ad-Dīn Aqtimur. The income of the school derived from the revenue of the village of aṣ-Ṣīr, which had presumably been the property of the emir, in the district of Qāqūn. The *dawādār* Aqtimur, according to the account, had been responsible for delivering the cash that had been realised from the produce of the village. By the 16th

³ The text of the *waqfiyya* is quoted in Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadkīra* III, 385-449. This passage is on p. 433.

⁴ See aṣ-Ṣayzarī, *Nihāya* 103-105; Ibn al-Uḥuwwa, *Ma'ālīm* 170-172; Haarmann 1980:45, ll. 583-591.

century there were no *waqf* lands at aṣ-Ṣir according to the list of the *awqāf* of Palestine in an Ottoman *Tahrir defter*. Indeed by that date it was imperial *pādiṣāhī* land according to Hütteroth and Abdulfattah's study. Thus the *waqf* of the Emir Iyās had failed or been suppressed some time earlier⁵.

The resources of the school also included the rents of at least four shops in Jerusalem and a house (*dār*). The total income for the period in question was 1134 3/4 dirhams. However, it is not clear what period was involved. The rent for some shops and the house is said to have been overdue and for two other shops all that is said is "up to the end of the month Rabī^c II of the year 781" without saying for what period of time before.

After the statement of the receipts there follow details of the expenditure, paid out in the *dawādār*'s presence. The main recipient was the teacher, Burhān ad-Dīn Ib-rāhīm ibn Rizq Allāh an-Nāṣirī, who features as a rather humble *ʿālim* in a large number of varied Ḥaram documents but is totally unknown in other written records. He received 348 dirhams "up to the end of the year 780 [1378-9]". In Ḥaram document no. 3 (see below) his salary is specified as 30 per month, which, broadly speaking, comes to the same annual total. For the sake of comparison, the two *waqf* documents of Sultan Ḥasan (dated 760/1359 and 761/1360) assigned 60 dirhams monthly to two teachers (later increased to 100 dirhams for each of *four* teachers). Two assistants (*ʿarīfs*) with 40 dirhams monthly were also increased in number to four.

In this present document thirteen "orphans" (all male) are listed who, for the preceding year 780, received sums that range from 87 to 10 dirhams. The average is just short of 48. These sums are for their general maintenance, mostly, one assumes, for clothing. Their free education is covered by the salary paid to the schoolmaster. Again for comparative purposes one finds that the *maktab as-sabīl* in Sultan Ḥasan's foundation originally catered for 100 orphans. The sultan's second *waqfiyya* increased this number to 200. Each orphan received each month 30 dirhams (expressly for their maintenance [*nafaqa*] and their clothing [*kiswā*]), the same sum as the teacher in the emir's Jerusalem school. If a pupil "completed the Qur'ān" (*ḥatam al-Qur'ān*), he and his teacher received 50 dirhams each.

On the *verso* of the document six other persons were named with generally lesser sums for each (on average about 20 dirhams) "up to the end of Rabī^c II 781", the month the document was drawn up. There is a discontinuity in the listing and I take these persons to be other personnel of the school. One appears to be called Muḥam-

⁵ İpşirli & at-Tamīmī 1982. For *maktabs* listed there, see p. 46, (schools in Jerusalem and Gaza, each for 10 orphans, founded by Maṅğak, *waqf* dated 771/1369-70); p. 17 (a school for 10 orphans, *waqf* dated 799/1396-7. The founder was T.m.s.n.k (?) al-Ḥusaynī according to the editors. The reading is more than doubtful and one might expect a final *-bak*); p. 53 (a school for "children and orphans" founded by Qādi Aḥmad Çelebi ibn Naṣūḥ near the Bāb as-Silsila in Jerusalem, *waqf* dated 952/1545). See also Hütteroth & Abdulfattah 1977:125; aṣ-Ṣir is listed as P5 in the *liwā* of Nablus, *nāhiya* of Ġabal Šami.

mad ibn Muḥammad al-Mu'allim (perhaps an assistant teacher?). Then other items of expenditure are listed, for notary services (witnessing etc.), for money changing and for a *muhandis*. On the slender evidence of this latter term I assume that the school was in its own dedicated building which had come to require some maintenance. There are also items for mats (*huṣur*) for the school, for a water storage jar (*zīr*)⁶ and other vessels for the orphans, and most interestingly for the cost of ink and pens (expressly "for the orphans") and for paper (fourteen dirhams). No tablets or boards are mentioned. In the details of Sultan Farağ ibn Barqūq's *waqf* for his mosque just outside the Zuwayla Gate it is clear that the orphan pupils of the charity school it contained had to supply their own ink, writing tablets and ink-wells out of the monthly ten *dirham fulūs* they received for their personal expenses⁷. On the other hand, for the *maktab* in Sultan Ḥasan's complex, the *waqf* foundation was to purchase "whatever mats the orphans needed to sit on ... and tablets (*alwāh*), ink, pen boxes and pens and to provide the sweet water they need for drinking and washing their tablets." In the school within the mosque of the Emir Sargitmiš (his *waqfiyya* is dated 757/1356) the overseer (*nāzir*) was also responsible for buying such items needed by the pupils from *waqf* funds (ʿAlī 1965:153).

The total expenditure of the Jerusalem school is stated to equal the income (1134 3/4 dirhams). The total monthly expenditure for the personnel alone in Sultan Ḥasan's school was over 6,500. The figures are here given in the Mamlūk style *siyāqa* numerals. The difficulties they present may explain why the expenses can only be made to total 1134 dirhams (three quarters short). The fractions could easily have been misunderstood. All the figures must remain doubtful.

Ḥaram no. 3 is closely associated with the other document. It contains an order of the same *dawādār* Sayf ad-Dīn Aqtimur, appointing Burhān ad-Dīn an-Nāṣirī as *faqīh* of the Emīr Iyās's *maktab*⁸. One should say "re-appointing", as the order is dated 25 Rabīʿ II, 781/10 August, 1379, that is, just a few days after the statement of account. Burhān ad-Dīn had clearly been functioning as teacher through the previous year. Does this mean that the post was "un-tenured" and subject to review? At all events it argues for a certain strict control by the founder exercised through his *dawādār*. The salary is specified as 30 dirhams per month, which is in line with the 346 dirhams received by Burhān ad-Dīn for the preceding year 780. Permission is given for his salary to be drawn from the rents received from the Jerusalem property,

⁶ Bagader (1984:54) mentions the *zīr*, "a cool water container with glasses for the children to drink".

⁷ See Haarmann 1980:46. In an early 18th-century charity school in my own village of Eynsham in England the teacher had to supply such consumables out of his annual salary of ten pounds.

⁸ Published by Kāmil ʿAsalī (*JHD*) but with a serious error in line 7 of the *recto*, where *an yaktub al-maqarr al-karīm* is read instead of the correct *faqīh maktab al-maqarr* etc. At the beginning of l. 8 read *allatī la-hu* rather than *al-hāliyya*.

which might have been due monthly. Thus his salary should henceforward be paid monthly, more desirable than waiting for a lump sum at the end of the year! In addition Burhān ad-Dīn as teacher is given responsibility for the management of the *waqf* properties in Jerusalem, to fix the rentals annually. This new arrangement is to be in force with effect from the beginning of the month, Rabīʿ II (781) and the authority of his predecessor, presumably for the management of the *waqfs* as distinct from the teaching, is accordingly cancelled.

Haram document no.49

19.5 x 28.5 cm. See Little 1984:348.

The document was folded three times vertically and twice laterally. The final text on the far left of the *verso* probably served as identification of the contents.

Recto

Right-hand side:

- | | | |
|-----|--|----|
| | بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم | ١ |
| | اوراق | ٢ |
| | مباركة بما صرف على الفقيه الامام بالمكتب انشا المقر العالى الفخرى | ٣ |
| | اياس المنصورى اعز الله تعالى نصره بمدينة القدس الشريف من المال المحضرى؟ من مغل | ٤ |
| | قرية الصير من عمل قاقون المعمورة الواصل على يد المجلس العالى السيفى اقطر دوا دار | ٥ |
| | المقر العالى الفخرى المشار اليه وما تحصل من الحوانيت بالقدس الشريف | ٧ |
| | مما صرف ذلك بحضور الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ برهان الدين الناصرى معلم | ٨ |
| | الايتام و من يضع خطه عليها من الشهود بتاريخ رابع عشر شهر ربيع الاخرة | ٩ |
| | سنة احدى وثمانين وسبعماية | ١٠ |
| | من الدراهم ١١٣٤ (٣/٤+) | |
| (ا) | من قرية الصير المذكورة ٦٦٣ (١/٢+) | |
| (ب) | من يد ناصر الدين محمد الطورى مما كان تاخر تحت يده من اجرة الدار والحوانيت بالقدس الشريف بمقتضى المحاسبة ٢٥٩ (٣/٤+) | |
| (ت) | من اجرة الدار وحانوت عبد الله المصرى الي اخر شهر ربيع الاول سنة ٧٨١ ٧٥ | |
| (ث) | من اجرة حانوت احمد المغربى الي اخر شهر ربيع الاول سنة ٧٨١ ٣٦ | |

Left-hand side:

- | | | |
|-----|--|----|
| | خضم ذلك ١١٣٤ (٣/٤+) | ١ |
| | الشيخ برهان الدين الناصرى معلم الايتام الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠ ٣٤٨ | ٢ |
| | الايتام الاتى ذكرهم فيه ٧٨٦ (٣/٤+) | ٣ |
| (ا) | حسين بن فرج الله الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠ | ٨٧ |
| (ب) | ابراهيم بن الفنس؟ الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠ | ٨٢ |
| (ت) | خليل بن الفنس؟ الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠ | ٨٢ |
| (ث) | ابو بكر بن السيحة؟ الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠ | ٨٥ |

٢٨	(ج) احمد بن جواد؟ الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠
٢٠	(ح) احمد بن القطان الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠
٨٢	(خ) محمد بن السبق؟ الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠
٥٥	(د) محمد بن حسن الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠
٥٣	(ذ) على بن حسن الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠
٣٠	(ر) عمر بن خلف الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠ (...؟)
٣٠	(ز) ابراهيم بن محمد الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠
٣٠	(س) على بن الحمال الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠
١٠	(ش) محمد بن الشاهد الى اخر سنة ٧٨٠

Verso

Right-hand side:

١٥	(ا) سيف الدين بن خليفة الي اخر شهر ربيع الاخر سنة ٧٨١
١٥	(ب) محمد بن محمد المعلم الي اخر شهر ربيع الاخر سنة ٧٨١
٢٣	(ت) عيسى بن خليل الي اخر شهر ربيع الاخر سنة ٧٨١
(١/٤+)	٢٧ (ث) احمد بن الي اخر شهر ربيع الاخر سنة ٧٨١
١٥	(ج) عبد الله بن المعلم الي اخر شهر ربيع الاخر سنة ٧٨١
(١/٢+)	٢٠ (ح) احمد بن البيطار؟ الي اخر شهر ربيع الاخر سنة ٧٨١

١٨	(خ) ثمن حصر للمكتب
٦	(د) ثمن حبر واقلام للايتام
٥	(ذ) ثمن زير وجرتين للايتام
٥	(ر) اجرة صيرفى
٣	(ز) اجرة مهندس
٧	(س) ثمن ورق
١٠	(ش) اجرة شهود

ان شا الله

الحمد لله وحده وصلواته على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلامه

حسبنا الله تعالى ونعم الوكيل

Witnesses from right to left:

١	حضرت الصرف المذكور والامر على ما شرح فيه باطنا كتبه احمد بن محمد بن خليل
٢	حضرت ذلك والامر على ما نص وشرح فيه باطنا كتبه ابو بكر بن محمد بن
٣	حضرت الصرف المذكور والامر على ما نص وشرح فيه باطنا كتبه ابراهيم بن رزق الله الناصرى

On far left:

١	ورقة مباركة بما صرف على الايتام بمكتب الامير
٢	العالي الفخرى اياس المنصورى بالقدس الشريف
٣	اعز الله نصره بتاريخ رابع عشر ربيع الاخرة سنة احدى وثمانين وسبعماية

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الذرية

لشم بركاتنا الفخرية على ايامنا
لناصحة ورحمة بما نراه لشم

ارادنا
منارة كما هو على الفقه والادب بالمشي اسال الله العال العليم
المانع المنعم بركاته على القدر بمرسه الفخر للبريد من المال المحرم معل
والمعروف عن كون للجمهور الاصل على ان المجلس للعال السني
انظر رد ادراك للعال السني للملائمة وما يحصل من المجلس بالمشي
ما هو هذا حصو لشم للشم والشم بركاتنا الفخرية على ايامنا
للشم وروعه حله على ما هو والشم واما في ايامنا الفخرية

اسماء الايام
سبع

حسين وهاك
لناصحة ورحمة
لشم

الذرية
الذرية

حليل لشم
لناصحة ورحمة
لشم

لشم حواد
لناصحة ورحمة
لشم

محمد السني
لناصحة ورحمة
لشم

علي حرد
لناصحة ورحمة
لشم

لشم حواد
لناصحة ورحمة
لشم

محمد السني
لناصحة ورحمة
لشم

ورد للصا
لشم
ورد بالصا
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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من
الانبياء والمرسلين
الذين هموا من عندنا
بشرا من انفسنا
وهموا من عندنا
بشرا من انفسنا

عيسى بن مريم
الذي جعلنا من
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